



Navigating
Multilateralism:

G20

Agenda
Evolution
and the Rising
Global South

Navigating Multilateralism: G20's Agenda Evolution and the Rising Global South

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The report cannot be construed as a Harvard or Stanford study.



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MESSAGE

The unceasing flow of people, knowledge, and goods has become the lifeblood of our global society, and with it, the rise of multilateralism to facilitate shared solutions to shared challenges. Throughout history, the landscape of global collaboration has consistently adapted to geopolitical shifts. Instances like the Long Depression in the 19th century, the aftermath of World War II, the Great Depression, and the 2020 pandemic stand as examples of transformations in the nature of international cooperation; demonstrating the innate flexibility in collaborative frameworks and adeptness in navigating the global landscape. Initially formulated to address crises, its scope has expanded beyond crisis management, embracing a broader agenda focused on fostering sustained cooperative endeavours for global productivity and growth. These frameworks are now geared not only towards alleviating immediate challenges but also towards architecting strategic pathways for enduring global well-being.

The Group of Twenty, or G20, emerges as an important player in this international landscape. Our world is grappling with complex interlinked crises – climate-induced disasters, geopolitical tensions, post-pandemic recovery, and economic slowdown. A unique banding together of developing and developed economies, the G20 members comprise nearly 85 per cent of the world GDP, over 75 per cent of international trade, and two-thirds of the world population. It represents not only a diverse array of nations but also a cross-section of global interests and priorities. From the financial crisis of 2008 to the recent challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic, G20's ability to coordinate policies and organize resources has been pivotal in mitigating the adverse effects of these crises and charting a path towards recovery.

In a significant first, the Troika of the G20 in 2023 comprises three emerging economies– Indonesia, India, and Brazil, with South Africa next in line to assume the G20 Presidency. This is reflective of the larger trend in our globalized, interconnected world; developing countries from the global south are the main drivers of global growth and call for a more prominent role in shaping decisions within the multilateral paradigm. According to the IMF, growth is expected to rise to 4.6 per cent in 2023 in the Asia-Pacific region; an increase from 3.8 per cent last year. This will largely be led by the resilient economies of India and China. Nonetheless, there are negative global headwinds facing the Emerging Markets and Developing Economies (EMDEs) in the form of inflation, monetary tightening, and policy challenges, making it all the more important to provide space for their experiences and concerns in global forums. The discussions, negotiations, and commitments made at the G20 have far-reaching implications and thus merit thorough examination. This study makes one such attempt and traces the evolution of the G20 agenda over its eighteen presidencies. The uniqueness of the study lies in its focus on analysing diplomatic language and G20 commitments; linguistics plays a significant role in multilateralism, and each line in the G20 Leaders' Declaration is open to negotiation by all member states. Rooted in this understanding, evaluating the content and strength of the commitments and the various themes they embody gives a keen insight into the evolution of global multilateralism - and where it should head in the future.

A close examination of the most recent G20 Presidency under India, in the second part of the study, is undertaken due to three distinct contextual elements – the complex global environment marked by interconnected challenges, the unique composition of the first troika of G20 consisting solely of developing nations, and the temporal alignment of this presidency with the midpoint of the 2030 Agenda. India assumed this role amid lasting socio-economic effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, geopolitical tensions in Ukraine, and unresolved issues raising doubts about achieving consensus on discussed matters. The New Delhi Summit was a significant event and reflective of the increasing influence of the global south in the economic landscape. In line with current global scenario, developing economies, facing amplified vulnerability to contemporary challenges, were central during the Indian presidency, addressing issues pertinent to the global south. Key agenda items included women-led development, sustainability, progress towards Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), advocating digital public infrastructure, and supporting developing nations in leveraging these advancements.

As observed in the study, unlike past trends where sustainability and development matters were subsumed within economic contexts, this presidency emphasized these issues independently. It extended discussions beyond traditional economic realms by integrating social and environmental priorities. For instance, the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration acknowledged Artificial Intelligence (AI) not just as an economic catalyst but also as a tool to enhance sustainability. The addition of the African Union at the New Delhi Summit bolstered inclusivity, lending credibility to decisions and fostering greater collaboration among diverse nations. Critics have often highlighted concerns regarding the non-binding nature of G20 commitments, limited membership, and absence of a fixed secretariat. However, the forum's flexibility and informality have proven advantageous in addressing pressing global issues. Embracing complexity, the G20's unconventional diplomacy model may exemplify a new facet of multilateralism, emphasizing adaptability and pragmatism over rigid structures. Nonetheless, the forum's closed-door meetings and lack of transparent negotiation demand a focus towards broader representation, especially from developing nations, to address challenges comprehensively. To sustain momentum, future G20 Presidencies must prioritize inclusivity, enhance public diplomacy, adopt a more holistic agenda responsive to global complexities, and collectively strive for a more relevant multilateral future.

This study, therefore, marks a significant milestone in G20 documentation and research, and it would not have been possible without the collective effort, diligence, and insights of Dr Amit Kapoor, my colleague at Stanford University, and his team at the Institute for Competitiveness. As we move forward, I am confident that the impact of our collective work will facilitate larger policy debates surrounding multilateralism and the future of our shared world.

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MESSAGE

The discourse on growth and development, in recent times, has brought to light the urgent need for greater inclusivity, sustainability and resilience. One way to mitigate global challenges of all nature – political, economic, and social, is to further global cooperation through multilateral forums. The G20 includes economically influential nations of the world, encompassing both developed and developing countries. Since its elevation to the leaders' level in 2008, in the aftermath of the economic crisis, the forum was instrumental in enabling economic recovery and financial stability through consensus on several fiscal policy matters. Treading along that path, the mandate of the forum has been to promote economic growth by facilitating global cooperation. However, economic growth without social progress remains futile if the aim is to achieve holistic development for the world. The G20 has since evolved and broadened its agenda to encompass issues of both economic and socio-environmental nature. This was greatly evident in the Leaders' Declaration released during the New Delhi Summit in September 2023, where India's attempt was to bring attention to the concerns of the Global South.

Climate change, health crises, geopolitical tensions, and their cascading economic and social impact have been found to disproportionately affect the global south, necessitating the need for a platform to voice their concerns. With India as the bridge between the developed and developing nations, the G20 agenda, under its Presidency, featured a cross-cutting theme of sustainable development across all discussions, a reinvigorated commitment to accelerate progress towards the achievement of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and mechanisms to institutionalize special assistance to the developing nations to achieve it. An example is the consensus on scaling up investment and climate finance from billions to trillions of dollars from all sources. Towards this end was also the introduction of a 'Triple Agenda' that emphasized tackling extreme poverty, increasing sustainable lending, and creating a third funding mechanism. Closer collaboration with the private sector emerged as a key theme, highlighting the potential for attracting private capital to drive sustainable development initiatives. The focus was also on reforming capital adequacy frameworks for MDBs, ensuring more efficient resource utilization and maximizing their impact on global development. These collective efforts are aimed to drive progress toward a more inclusive and effective multilateralism suited to the complexities of the 21st century.

Moreover, with India as the Chair of the G20 in 2023 and the current Troika comprising three developing nations (Indonesia, India and Brazil), a special focus on the growth trajectory of the developing nations is needed to encourage equitable growth across the world. This study attempts to contribute to the research on multilateralism using G20, a premier multilateral forum, by undertaking an analysis of the shift in the forum's agenda over the eighteen presidencies from solely economic to socio-environmental issues. The analysis also highlights the progress made and the areas where more concerted efforts are needed. Additionally, the examination of the Indian Presidency delves deep into the changing nature of the G20 agenda, introducing a newer approach towards multilateralism and setting an example for future presidencies. I extend my deepest appreciation to all who have contributed to this endeavour. It has been an honour to collaborate with my colleague at Stanford University, Richard Dasher, whose constant support was extremely helpful in this research. I would also like to thank my co-authors at the Institute for Competitiveness - Anshul Sharma, Navya Kumar, and Taneesha Shekhawat, and my research team – Pallak Goyal and Kartik, who were crucial for the fruition of this report.

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Executive Summary



A World with Cascading and Interlinked Challenges



While international cooperation has long been a part of the world's history, today's complex transnational challenges necessitate a fresh approach to multilateralism that acknowledges nations' interdependence and the imperative to collaborate on solving shared global problems. At this point in time, the world is experiencing multiple challenges each with its own complexities. The after-effects of the COVID-19 pandemic continue to impact the world across multiple dimensions; estimates of lives lost globally range from 7-15 million.¹ Most countries are yet to return to the pre-pandemic levels of employment, or hours worked (Samaan et al., 2023). From 3.5% in 2022, global growth is expected to slow down to 3.0% in 2023, and stay flat at 2.9% in 2024, well below the 2000-19 average of 3.8% (International Monetary Fund, 2023b). At the same time, rising food and energy prices, have seen inflation levels spiral to their highest levels in decades. The ensuing cost-of-living crisis has eroded the purchasing power of households. The monetary tightening to combat inflation has in turn led to tighter financial conditions, especially for MSMEs, further impacting growth prospects. According to the recently released Global Sustainable Development Report 2023 by the United Nations, the world has fallen behind between 2020 and 2023 on several key SDG indicators (United Nations, 2023b). Pertinent examples include eradicating extreme poverty, increasing vaccine coverage, ensuring primary education completion, and reducing greenhouse gas emissions, amongst others. Furthermore, progress on more than 50 per cent of the targets of the SDGs is weak and insufficient; on 30 per cent, it has stalled or gone into reverse (United Nations, 2023b). At the current pace, it would take over 100 years to close the gender gap, according to the World Economic Forum (WEF) Gender Gap Report (WEF, 2019).

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) notes that to remain consistent with a 1.5° C pathway, a 43 per cent reduction in emissions would be required by 2030 over 2019 levels (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2023). Technology transfer and access to finance would be critical enablers, especially for countries of the global south. The UN Secretary-General's SDG Stimulus to Deliver Agenda 2030 notes that a "great finance divide" limits the ability of developing countries to invest in SDGs, climate action, and pandemic recovery. Furthermore, the report notes that developing countries often accessed finance at 5-8x higher rates of interest than that of developed nations (United Nations, 2023d). Rising global interest rates have exacerbated global debt vulnerabilities. In our endeavours towards a net-zero future, trillions of dollars of investments are required. At the same time, the commitment of developed countries to mobilise USD 100 billion of climate finance annually is expected to be met for the first time only in 2023. The investment gap and inequalities in the global financial architecture necessitate comprehensive reforms of the international financial architecture according to the United Nations.

¹ WHO and UN Estimates.



The Need for Multilateralism and the G20

Multilateralism recognizes the imperative for nations, diverse in socio-economic and cultural terms, to collectively address global issues. The G20, established in 1999 with 19 member countries, the European Union, and now the African Union, serves as a pivotal platform. It unites leaders from major economies worldwide, accounting for approximately 85% of global GDP, 75% of global trade, and two-thirds of the global population. The African Union's inclusion bolsters representation for developing nations, and the G20 would now encompass nearly 80% of the global population, 97 UN member countries, 88% of world GDP, and 79% of global trade². This highlights the G20's pivotal role in shaping the world's future and advancing international cooperation. The G20, under India's Presidency, has placed a renewed emphasis on fortifying social outcomes, intertwining economic growth with socio-environmental development. . By adopting solutions to facilitate investments, particularly private finance, to increase climate finance and scaling Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) globally, the G20 has moved towards a path for sustainable growth and innovation. Drawing parallels with the UN Secretary-General's SDG Stimulus, it is evident that the financial chasm hampers the aspirations of developing nations, constraining their ability to invest in SDGs, climate initiatives, and post-pandemic recovery. The G20, recognizing these disparities, has been instrumental in advocating for reforms in the international financial architecture and in multilateralism as a whole. In the face of rising global interest rates and the looming shadow of debt vulnerabilities, the G20's role becomes even more paramount.

Furthermore, going forward the G20 must take cognizance of the cascading and interlinked crises of today have a disproportionate impact on the global south. The countries most vulnerable to climate change have not been the major cause of it. . Additionally, based on World Bank projections, Emerging Markets and Developing Economies (EMDEs) would account for nearly 3/4th of global GDP growth by 2030, necessitating the need to improve the equitable representation of these countries at the table where decisions are made.

About the Study

From its inception as a forum to facilitate global cooperation during economic crises, the G20 has consistently faced criticism for its perceived bias towards economic matters. Thus, the study is guided by the research question – How has the G20 agenda evolved over the years? To this end, the study provides a comprehensive analysis of the G20's agenda evolution, with a particular focus on the theme and strength of commitments in the Leaders' Declarations. To conduct the analysis, this study employed two research methodologies – content analysis and language analysis. The

² Calculations made by authors based on UNCTAD estimates for trade, and World Bank estimates for GDP and population.



content analysis maps the G20 Leaders' Declarations to the themes of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), offering insights into thematic priorities and trends over time in the forum's agenda. Language analysis identifies strong commitments within these declarations and categorizes them as economic or socio-environmental commitments, based on their first point of impact. The study concludes by highlighting the challenges faced by the G20 and the trends in the evolution of its agenda. While it initially prioritized economic issues, as global challenges became increasingly multifaceted, the G20 adapted by expanding its scope to address a broader range of issues. This adaptability is crucial because the forum's relevance depends on its ability to respond to contemporary issues affecting the planet's well-being and future, such as climate change and pandemics.

Additionally, the second part of the study examines the current Indian G20 Presidency. It is crucial due to several factors: first, it coincides with interlinked challenges like the current geopolitical tensions, post-pandemic repercussions, energy crises, and climate change. Second, it's a halfway point for the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda, offering an opportunity to assess its integration into the forum's agenda. Third, India is part of a developing nations' Troika (Indonesia, India, Brazil), the first one in the history of the G20, making it significant for understanding the representation of the Global South in multilateralism. The study discusses SDG integration in the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration and representation through the role of people's participation in the Presidency and the inclusion of the African Union at the G20 Leaders' Summit held in September 2023.

In summary, this study contributes insights into the evolving landscape of global governance, the role of multilateralism, and the adaptability of the G20 as a forum for addressing complex global challenges. As our interconnected world continues to evolve, the lessons derived from this research can guide policymakers and leaders toward more effective, cooperative, and multilateral approaches to resolving shared global issues. Critics have raised valid concerns about the G20, pointing to issues like its non-binding commitments, limited membership, and the absence of a fixed secretariat. However, the G20's informal and flexible nature has proven effective in addressing urgent global challenges. The recent addition of the African Union at the New Delhi Summit has bolstered inclusivity and legitimacy, encouraging cooperation among a diverse group of nations. In an era marked by intricate global issues, the G20's unconventional diplomatic approach sets an example for a modern form of multilateralism—one built on adaptability and pragmatism rather than rigid structures. The G20's evolution, especially under the Indian Presidency, signifies a shift toward inclusivity, sustainability, and the integration of development-for-development's-sake, guiding future G20 presidencies. Going forward, transparency remains a challenge, as many meetings are held behind closed doors, emphasizing the need for broader representation at these meetings, particularly from developing countries. Therefore, future G20 Presidencies should aim for greater inclusivity, public engagement, and balanced agendas that adapt to the evolving complexities of the world. This collective effort is vital to maintain the forum's and multilateralism's relevance in the future.



Chapter 1: Introduction



In today's era of heightened global interconnectedness—facilitated by easy international travel, technology, and real-time communications - the challenges we face as a global community have grown in complexity and scale. From climate change to public health emergencies and geopolitical tensions, the need for global cooperation has never been more urgent. While international cooperation has been an age-old phenomenon, today's transnational challenges call for a multilateralism suited to contemporary times, one that recognizes the unprecedented interdependence of nations and the imperative to work collectively to address the world's shared problems.

One significant forum that embodies this commitment to multilateralism is the Group of Twenty or G20. Established in 1999 and comprising 19 member countries, the European Union, and now the African Union³, the G20 brings together leaders from the world's major economies, representing both developed and developing nations. Its primary mission is to foster international economic cooperation and policy coordination.

³ The African Union was recently admitted as a permanent member into the G20 at the New Delhi Summit in September 2023



It serves as a unique platform where countries, diverse in their socio-environmental and cultural metrics, engage in dialogue, come up with potential solutions and seek common ground on pressing global challenges thereby paving a way forward.

The fact that the G20 members currently account for about 85% of world GDP, over 75% of global trade and two-thirds of the global population underscores the prominent role the forum plays in shaping the future of the world and international cooperation.

The African Union's addition to the G20 enhances the representation of developing countries in the forum. The G20 would now encompass almost 80 per cent of global population, account for 88.5 per cent of the world's GDP, and represent 79 per cent of global trade.⁴ Beyond these figures, the G20 draws its prominence from a number of other areas that are increasingly becoming more important. For instance, the G20 currently accounts for over 80 per cent of the global greenhouse gas emissions (Singal, 2023). While this shows its contribution to a global challenge, the forum also has the potential to present its solutions. According to the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA), the cumulative deployment of all renewables was around 1385 GW in the G20 in the year 2014. Renewable capacity in the G20 has more than doubled to around 2890 GW in 2022 (Ministry of New and Renewable Energy, 2023).

The 2008 financial crisis and its spillover effects highlighted how interconnected nations are, leading to the creation of the G20 for a collective response and coordinated action. The forum moved beyond the traditional North-South blocs; instead, discussions focused on addressing global challenges with diverse interests and alliances (Kloke-Lesch & Gleichmann, 2010). However, since the forum was born to facilitate global cooperation during an economic crisis, it has always been contended that the priority of the forum remained tilted towards economic issues. As the global challenges we are faced with become more intertwined in their social, environmental, and economic dimensions, it becomes important to work towards a more holistic inclusion of 'development-for-development-sake', expanding the mandate further and beyond exclusive economic concerns. From climate change mitigation to pandemic response, the G20's relevance hinges on its ability to adapt and respond to diverse, deeply-rooted, and contemporary issues which affect the health and future of our planet.

On the basis of this rationale, this study attempts to explore whether the G20 has remained biased towards economic issues by assessing the evolution of the G20 Agenda.

⁴ Calculations made by authors based on UNCTAD estimates for trade, and World Bank estimates for GDP and population.



Given the G20's significance and influence, an assessment of its agenda over the years provides valuable insights into the evolution of the forum and its key priorities. This, in turn, can shed light on the direction that multilateralism should take in the future to address the world's common challenges better. This study is, therefore, situated at the intersection of existing studies which either normatively assess the outcomes of G20 Presidencies or those which determine the compliance of each presidency's outcomes.⁵ In a different attempt at assessment, this study is a qualitative assessment of G20 Leaders Declarations in terms of their content and strength of commitments. The aim is to shed light on the nature of global challenges the Group of Twenty chooses to address and strongly commit to, whether these have a predominant economic basis, and how this has changed over the years. Two distinct methodologies are employed to carry out the assessment⁶ -

I. Textual Content Analysis:

The Leaders' Declarations of all 18 presidencies (2008-2023)⁷ are put through an SDG mapper tool that maps the keywords found in the document to the seventeen Sustainable Development Goals at both the goal and target levels. This word-frequency analysis represents the relative importance given to the different SDGs in the text and hence gives insight into the thematic evolution of the G20 agenda over the years. The SDGs have also been widely divided into three categories – social, environmental, and economic – and an analysis of the mapping with this division facilitates the investigation of the research question – whether the G20 agenda has been skewed in favour of economic concerns and how this trend has evolved over the years.

II. Language Analysis:

The content analysis only takes into account the number of times a keyword is mentioned, and while it is in itself an important insight, it does not take into account how strongly a particular theme is mentioned. To substantiate the first part of the study, the language analysis is carried out by qualitatively classifying the statements in the Leaders' Declarations into strong commitments, and further classifying the strong commitments into economic or socio-environmental commitments, to evaluate what kind of themes the G20 commits more strongly to. The basis of this analysis lies in the fact that G20 commitments gain their legitimacy from their 'recall value' – the commitments are not legally binding and are as 'strong' as their ability to be recalled in subsequent multilateral forums and discussions. An understanding of whether these strong commitments are more economic or socio-environmental in nature reveals which of the two the G20 allows itself to be held more accountable to, and thus makes more concrete progress for.

⁵See Utoronto G20 Research Group Compliance Reports

⁶For detailed explanation of the methodologies, refer to Chapter 4.

⁷ 2009 and 2010 both had two summits. The analysis is limited to eighteen presidencies and does not include the Extraordinary Virtual Summit, held on March 26, 2020, under Saudi Arabia's Presidency, and the Extraordinary Summit on Afghanistan, held on October 12, 2021, by Italy since they were unconventional, virtual meetings held to discuss specific accentuating external circumstances and do not reflect the evolution of the G20 agenda as much as they reflect standalone concerns that the G20 chose to address.



The Leader's Declarations are used as the source for both analyses as they are the most comprehensive source for a particular presidency's priorities as well as reflect consensus of the G20 members.

01. The Sustainable Development Goals: Common Goals for Shared Problems



The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) built upon the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and were conceived with the primary objective of creating global targets to address the intricate shared environmental, political, and economic challenges facing our planet (United Nations, 2012). In January 2013, an Open Working Group was established that comprised of representatives from 70 countries, and which produced a preliminary agenda in July 2014. Subsequently, negotiations among member states took place, and on September 25, 2015, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the 17 SDGs along with 169 associated targets as part of the historic commitment to the 2030 agenda (United Nations, 2013). The formulation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development was the result of an unprecedented three-year participatory process within the United Nations, which included national-level consultations, thematic dialogues, and extensive surveys (United Nations, 2023a).

While the SDGs were introduced in 2015, the SDG mapping exercise for this study starts from 2008 itself since the software matches a comprehensive list of keywords to the different SDGs. Hence, the exercise does not depend on the existence of the SDGs but rather uses their classification as a holistic repository of the different aspects of sustainable development - social, environmental and economic. Given the extensive and rigorous deliberations that went into the formulation of the 17 goals and 169 targets, they can reasonably be accepted as an appropriate yardstick to measure and map the different facets of sustainable development, and methodically evaluate the thematic evolution of the G20 Agenda in the context of common goals for our shared problems.

02. Language as a Tool of Analysis



Language is an important aspect of studying, classifying, and analysing diplomatic documents. Since the Leaders' Declaration is drafted after multiple rounds of negotiations, the language is carefully employed and is laden with meaning; it reflects the finer nuances of the negotiation and action verbs are used cautiously. 'We welcome' or 'we support' is differentiated from 'we commit to' in the strength of its claim. The language analysis in this study is carried out manually by a group of researchers rather than using action-verb-based qualitative coding since the exercise requires careful contextualisation of the terms used. For instance, 'We commit to reducing CO₂ emissions by x%' is a stronger commitment



than ‘We commit to supporting the reduction of emissions, which is a rising problem of our times’ even though both mention the strong action verb ‘we commit’. This is because the action verbs and action measures succeeding it in the latter instance are much weaker, and a keyword-based natural language processing technique will not be able to capture the finer nuances of this distinction.

However, it is important to acknowledge that the ‘strength’ of the commitments in the analysis is based primarily and qualitatively on the kind of language used, without making a judgement on how ‘important’ the content of the commitment is; different commitments may be perceived as strong or weak by member countries differently. The inclusion of a commitment on a theme that was hitherto absent may be perceived as a big win for some countries, even if it is not mentioned very strongly or very frequently. Keeping this in mind, the study’s distinction between a ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ commitment is grounded only in the rationale of their recall value; as noted, G20 commitments are not legal mandates and thereby hold no country to any obligation to ratify them. Thus, the commitments gain their legitimacy principally from recall value – the ability of subsequent G20 forums or other institutions and countries to hold the G20 members accountable to the commitments they made by recalling them or strengthening them further. The commitments that meet the criteria set out in this study – measurable, action-oriented – can be more easily recalled as it is easier to track the progress of quantifiable, measurable targets within a timeframe as opposed to those which are non-specific and use vague language. Hence, they are classified as ‘strong’ commitments.

The aim of this study is to contribute valuable insights into the evolving landscape of multilateralism, and the effectiveness of the G20 as a forum for addressing complex global challenges. As our interconnected world continues to evolve, the lessons drawn from this research can help guide policymakers toward more effective, cooperative, and multilateral approaches to solving our shared problems.

The second part of the study delves deeper into the facets of the present Indian Presidency. This focus is aimed at contributing to the real-time documentation of the presidency, which warrants closer consideration for three distinct reasons; the Indian presidency comes at a time of accentuating external circumstances such as geopolitical tensions, post-pandemic adverse effects, energy crisis, climate change etc. In light of the difficult terrain the previous presidency faced in reaching consensus, there were apprehensions about reaching a full consensus this year. Secondly, the presidency is positioned at the halfway point of implementing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and is thus an opportune chance to take stock of how sustainable development needs to be integrated into multilateralism and how future approaches should be envisaged. The third reason for the current presidency’s significance is that India is part of a developing nations’ Troika (Indonesia, India, Brazil), one that has occurred for the first time in the history of the G20. A deep dive into the Indian Presidency’s position on inclusion and ‘representing the voice of the Global South’ can help discern the role of representation in the future of multilateralism. To this end, there are discussions and sections centred around the details of India’s presidency, the nature of integration of the SDGs in the New Delhi Leaders’ Declaration, the role of people’s participation in the presidency, and the significant inclusion of the African Union at the New Delhi Summit.



Chapter 2: Historical Development of Multilateralism



01. Emergence of Global Cooperation

Technological advancements played a pivotal role in shaping the growth of multilateralism in the 20th century, where nations came together to solve interconnected global problems, which is the focus of this section. In order to understand the emergence of multilateralism, the section explores the role of advancements in technology such as transport and communication, which facilitated the migration of goods, labour, and ideas, which became essential catalysts in driving globalization, and later paved the way towards modern multilateralism. Although alliances between kingdoms, empires, and regions existed much prior to the 20th century, modern multilateralism represents a more structured and formalized approach to international cooperation. Modern multilateralism involves structured cooperation and diplomacy among multiple sovereign nation-states, sometimes facilitated through international organizations. In this light, the section explores the emergence of multilateralism.



The concept of nation-states has evolved over centuries, with notable developments, such as the Magna Carta in 1215, and the use of standardized currency, among others occurring in the Middle Ages, led by nations such as France, Spain, Portugal, England, and the Netherlands. During this period, these nations began to coalesce under centralized authority, replacing previous systems like monarchies and theocracies. This transformation laid the groundwork for the emergence of nation-states, where a constitution defined a nation of equals based on a shared language, culture, and fixed territorial boundaries. Furthermore, with events like the American and French Revolutions, the idea of nation-states along the lines of a national identity gained momentum. The process of industrialization in the 19th century, which marked a significant shift from agrarian economies to industrial economies, accelerated the interconnectedness of nations. Industrialization fostered the development of efficient transportation networks in the form of steam-powered ships and railways and enabled faster and more cost-effective movement of goods and people across borders. European, and especially British, domination in the nineteenth century was somewhat a result of their industrial expertise, which travelled to the world using these transport methods (Pomeranz & Topik, 2013). The capital accumulated by the trade of goods and the pursuit of more capital further fueled the need for technological advancement to improve efficiency and productivity in industries and consequently contribute to the growth of international trade.

Development in the field of communication, led by the invention of the telegraph, connected nations, which accentuated the birth of multinational corporations. Companies like The East India Company, The Dutch India Company, oil companies, Kodak, Ford etc., owing to the ease of coordinating business operations and the growth in global demand, were all making investments overseas in search of resources and trading internationally (Weinshall, 1975). This created an interwoven supply chain network of resources, capital, and human resources across the world, laying the first steps of globalization (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002). Thus, industrialization led to increased trade, urbanization, and the growth of capitalist economies, resulting in the expansion of national economies beyond their immediate geographic boundaries. This interplay between industrialization and globalization, led by technological advancements in communication and transportation, led to greater recognition of the need for international cooperation. As nations became more interconnected, it became evident that challenges and issues transcended national borders and required collective action. Economic crises, such as the Long Depression in the late 19th century, demonstrated the interconnectedness of national economies and the need for coordinated responses (Nye & Welch, 2014). Each dominating economy in the world, the Dutch, the British, or the Americans, had developed their financial systems leading to investment of accumulated capital, and interflow between nations (Sylla, 2002). Moreover, the intensification of colonialism and imperialism during this period also highlighted the importance of international cooperation. European powers engaged in the scramble for colonies and resources, leading to geopolitical tensions and conflicts (Schroeder, 1986). This spurred discussions on global governance, the balance of power, and the need for rules and institutions to manage international relations.

Along with industrialization, the devastating impact of two world wars in the 20th century further highlighted the need for international cooperation. The scale of destruction and loss of life necessitated the establishment of structures or institutions that could prevent future conflicts and promote peace and stability. The establishment of the League of Nations after World War I, envisioned by US President Woodrow Wilson was the step towards institutionalizing multilateralism (UN Geneva Library, n.d.), and later the United Nations after World War II, championed by US President Franklin D. Roosevelt, were significant steps towards fostering global cooperation and addressing shared challenges (Department of State US Government).



02. The Age of Multilateralism

Multilateralism, defined as an approach to international diplomacy and cooperation in which multiple countries or states work together to address common challenges, solve global problems, and make collective decisions, emerged in the aftermath of World War II. It emphasized the importance of dialogue, negotiation, and collaboration among multiple nations rather than relying solely on unilateral actions or bilateral agreements. The emergence of the Bretton Woods system in 1944 was the first such example and emphasized the need for international economic cooperation in the post-war era. The conference recognized the importance of stable monetary and financial systems in facilitating economic growth and preventing another global economic collapse after the Great Depression of the 1930s. The main outcomes of the conference were the creation of three key institutions: the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) (which was later replaced by the World Trade Organization in 1995).

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) was established to promote international monetary cooperation and exchange rate stability (International Monetary Fund, 2023a). Member countries contributed funds to the IMF, which could then provide financial assistance, by short-term lending, to countries facing balance of payments problems. By stabilizing exchange rates and providing financial support, the IMF aimed to prevent competitive currency devaluations and foster economic stability and cooperation among nations (Woods, 2008). Similarly, The World Bank, officially known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), was created to provide financial and technical assistance for the reconstruction and development of war-torn and developing countries (World Bank, 2023). Its primary goal was to reduce poverty and support long-term economic development by funding infrastructure projects and other development initiatives.

Therefore, the establishment of the IMF and the IBRD provided mechanisms for countries to coordinate their monetary policies, stabilize exchange rates, and provide financial assistance to countries in need. The United States sought to enhance economic cooperation with its allies. The system, created by IMF and IBRD, fostered stability in international monetary relations by pegging currencies to the U.S. dollar and ensuring the convertibility of currencies for international trade. This also contributed to establishing a United States-led hegemony of Western economies in the world, which continues to date (Sylla, 2002). A key role, thus, was played by these institutions by providing financial assistance, promoting economic development, and coordinating economic policies among member countries.

In the aftermath of World War II, the prominence of multilateralism took further shape with the formation of the United Nations (UN) in 1945. The UN aimed to maintain international peace and security, promote human rights, foster social progress, and facilitate international cooperation on economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian issues (United Nations, 2023c). It served as a platform for dialogue and collaboration among nations, providing a framework for addressing global challenges and conflicts through diplomacy and multilateralism (Department of State, US Government). In the early years of the post-war period, the primary focus of global cooperation was rebuilding war-torn nations and establishing a stable economic order. The Marshall Plan, introduced in 1948, was a significant initiative by the United States to provide financial aid and support the reconstruction of Europe (Long & Eichengreen, 1991). The plan not only aided in the recovery of European economies but also strengthened transatlantic ties and set the stage for economic cooperation among Western countries.



Amid the intensifying Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, the need for a framework for closer cooperation among Western countries became evident. In 1951, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was established by six European nations as a means to coordinate the production and distribution of coal and steel. The success of the ECSC led to the formation of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957, which aimed to create a common market among its member states (Valls, 2016). The EEC later evolved into the European Union (EU), an influential regional bloc promoting economic integration, political cooperation, and shared governance among its member states. These bodies, although were later dissolved or assimilated into existing bodies, highlight the importance of international cooperation in the geopolitics of that era.

03. The Birth of G7

In the 1970s, as global economic dynamics continued to evolve, a need arose for enhanced coordination among the major industrialized economies. This led to the formation of the Group of Seven (G7) in 1975. The cause of its inception can be traced to when the global economy experienced upheaval following the collapse of the Bretton Woods fixed exchange rate system. In 1971, the United States' decision to abandon the convertibility of the US dollar into gold, known as the "Nixon Shock," led to the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system (Guasconi, 2016). This event marked the end of the stable post-war international monetary order and ushered in a period of economic uncertainty and volatility worldwide. Recognizing the need for enhanced cooperation among major economies during this tumultuous time, the leaders of six major advanced nations—the United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Japan, and Italy—gathered at the Rambouillet chateau in France in 1975 (Yamashita, 2012). Canada joined the following year, leading to the establishment of the Group of Seven (G7). The G7 provided a platform for these countries' leaders to engage in informal discussions, exchange ideas, and coordinate policies to address pressing global economic challenges (Smith, 2011).

The G7's primary objective was to foster economic cooperation and stability among its member nations. Through regular summits and informal meetings, the leaders sought to build trust and understanding, laying the groundwork for coordinated economic actions. The G7's role in addressing economic issues was instrumental in steering the world economy through multiple crises (Smith, 2011). During the 1970s and 1980s, the G7 confronted several significant economic challenges, including soaring inflation rates, oil price shocks, and currency crises. Through concerted efforts and policy coordination, the G7 played a crucial role in stabilizing exchange rates, controlling inflation, and mitigating the impact of the oil crises on global economic growth (Hajnal, 1999). Moreover, the G7's engagement extended beyond its member states, as it sought to address the needs of the broader international community. The G7 engaged in development assistance and supported poverty reduction initiatives in developing countries. This outreach demonstrated the G7's commitment to global economic stability and its recognition of the interconnectedness of the world's economies (Fратиanni, Savona, & Kirton, 2003). The G7 also played a significant role in shaping international economic governance. It helped facilitate dialogue and cooperation with other major international organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The G7's influence in these institutions enabled it to advocate for policies that aligned with its goals of fostering economic growth and stability (Fратиanni, Savona, & Kirton, 2003).



In the 1990s, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War created new opportunities for international cooperation and geopolitical realignments. The G7 expanded its focus beyond purely economic issues, addressing broader global challenges such as environmental protection, infectious diseases, and political stability (Yamashita, 2012). These discussions allowed the G7 to demonstrate its capacity to address emerging global issues collectively. While the G7's coordination efforts were significant, there were criticisms that the forum lacked inclusivity (Yamashita, 2012). As the global economic landscape evolved, the G7 faced calls for broader representation to better address the complexities of the international economy. In 1999⁸, recognizing the need to involve major emerging economies in global economic governance, the G20 was established. The G20 comprised the G7 nations and 13 additional major emerging economies, reflecting a more inclusive approach to international economic cooperation. The G20 provided a diverse platform for addressing contemporary economic challenges, building on the G7's legacy of cooperation while also accommodating the increasing importance of emerging economies. The G20's expanded composition aimed for a more comprehensive representation of diverse perspectives and interests in shaping international economic policies. It was expected to facilitate discussions on a broader range of issues, including development, poverty reduction, climate change, and global financial stability. The G20, therefore, became a prominent forum for global economic governance, reflecting the changing dynamics and power structures in the international system.

In recent times, there have been plenty of discussions on multilateralism coming under strain. Some even casted aspersions on the future of multilateralism. In this context, one must note that all of history has seen international cooperation being threatened, break down and change shape as per the reformed geopolitical reality. This has happened time and again. From the time of the Long Depression in the 19th Century, aftermath of World War II, and the Great Depression, to the pandemic in 2020, it is evident that the contours of international cooperation have been shifting shape. It is important to reiterate that this adaptation to changing dynamics of the world is of the essence. There is an important difference in the nature of multilateralism that is noteworthy. At the very early stages of international cooperation, it was the need to respond to a crisis that called for countries to band together and address the challenge at hand. Over the years, multilateralism went beyond cooperation for addressing crises to include the spirit of cooperation for productivity and growth. In this study's attempt to assess the outcomes of G20 presidencies over the years and trace the nature of expansion of G20's agenda, it also carries learnings for its future course. It highlights the various ways in which the forum must adapt to be not just relevant but also effectual.

⁸ The Group was named G8 during Russia's participation from 1998-2014, thereafter the group reverted to the Group of Seven (G7). G20 was established in 1999, when the group of developed countries was G8.



Brief Comparative Analysis of Multilateral Organisations

Aspect	Need for Consensus	Representation of Developed and Developing Countries	Tackling Global Issues with Effective Solutions	Discussion-Based Negotiations Among Leaders
G20	Smaller group, streamlined decision-making process	Equal representation of developed and developing nations	Effective in addressing global challenges, rapid response	High-level, direct engagement of heads of state/government
UN	Extensive membership, often struggles to reach consensus	Diverse membership with varying levels of influence	Complex decision-making, potential for inaction	Bureaucratic processes and prolonged negotiations
IMF	Voting power skewed towards developed countries	Greater voting power for developed countries	Narrow focus on financial matters	Technical experts and officials handle negotiations
WTO	Consensus-based decision-making can lead to gridlock	Perceived bias towards wealthier nations	Consensus-based decisions can hinder timely action	Limited political commitment and accountability
ILO	Deliberative, consensus-driven approach	Inclusive representation of member states	Focused on labor and social issues	Direct involvement of member state representatives
G7	Smaller group, streamlined decision-making process	Focused on advanced economies	Limited in scope but decisive on certain issues	High-level, direct engagement of heads of state/government

Multilateral forums play a crucial role in addressing global challenges and fostering international cooperation. This comparative analysis examines how various multilateral organizations, including the Group of Twenty (G20), the Group of Seven (G7), the United Nations (UN), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organization (WTO), differ in terms of their effectiveness and characteristics. The evaluation is across four characteristics – need for consensus, representation of developed and developing countries, the ability to address global issues, and negotiation dynamics among leaders. These aspects encompass decision-making efficiency, inclusivity, problem-solving effectiveness, and negotiation dynamics, which are crucial for evaluating the comparative effectiveness and functionality of these organizations in addressing global challenges.



01. Need for Consensus

Multilateral forums vary in their capacity to achieve consensus efficiently. Smaller groups like the G7 and G20 have an advantage in this regard, as they can make decisions more swiftly due to their limited membership. The G7 comprises advanced economies, while the G20 includes both developed and emerging economies. These smaller groups can respond rapidly to emerging global challenges.

In contrast, the UN, with its extensive membership of 193 member states, often encounters challenges in reaching consensus due to its diverse composition. In UN General Assembly, a resolution can be passed by two methods – by consensus or by vote. If passed by consensus, the members of the General Assembly engage in negotiations until all diverse views are addressed and accommodated; if passed by vote, a resolution just requires a simple majority to pass. Thus, the prolonged negotiations required for consensus (and the possible dilution of the resolution caused by accommodating all views) are side-stepped by passing resolutions by vote (United Nations, n.d.). The IMF and WTO face their own difficulties; the IMF's voting power is weighted in favor of developed countries (International Monetary Fund, 2022), and the WTO, while open to all countries, has been criticized for favoring wealthier nations (Gnath et al., 2012)(Siddiqui, 2016).

02. Equal Representation of Developed and Developing Countries

The level of representation for both developed and developing nations varies among multilateral forums. The G20, which brings together a diverse array of economies, offers balanced representation. This inclusiveness allows for a more equitable dialogue on global issues, enhancing the legitimacy of the forum. The G7, on the other hand, focuses primarily on advanced economies, potentially limiting the diversity of perspectives (Hajnal, 2019). Critics however, have pointed out how both these groups are far from being representative of the entire world, as they have exclusive membership (Gnath et al., 2012). In the UN, the large number of member states means that representation is diverse. While efforts are made to include all nations, the distribution of power can still be unequal, as demonstrated by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC, n.d.). The IMF and WTO primarily reflect the interests of developed countries, with limited representation and influence for developing nations (Gnath et al., 2012).



03. Tackling Global Issues with Effective Solutions

Different multilateral forums have varying degrees of effectiveness in addressing global challenges. The G20, due to its focus on primarily economic and financial matters and lately evolving to encompass a more holistic set of challenges, can act swiftly when needed. For instance, it played a key role in coordinating a global response to the 2008 financial crisis and during the COVID-19 pandemic; it brought leading countries together to cooperate in a bid to mitigate the crises. The G7, with its exclusive membership of advanced economies, can also act decisively on certain issues, but its scope is more limited compared to the G20. The UN's decision-making process can be complex at times and the need for unanimous consent in the Security Council can lead to inaction in crises (Frederking & Patane, 2017). The IMF's focus on financial matters may not always align with the comprehensive approach required for multifaceted challenges, while the WTO's consensus-based decision-making can result in gridlock on critical trade issues (Gnath et al., 2012).

04. Discussion-Based Negotiations Among Leaders

The negotiation dynamics among leaders in multilateral forums are influenced by their formats. The G20 and G7, which bring together heads of state and government, encourage high-level, direct discussions. This format allows for frank and candid dialogues, potentially leading to more constructive outcomes (Hajnal, 2019). In the UN, decision-making often involves bureaucratic processes (Munshi, 2016), and negotiations can be protracted, leading to diluted and non-binding resolutions. The IMF and WTO mainly rely on technical experts and officials for negotiations, limiting the level of political commitment and accountability (Gnath et al., 2012).

Conclusion

In conclusion, various multilateral forums, including the G7, G20, UN, IMF, and WTO differ in their effectiveness and characteristics. The G20, marked by a leaner and more efficient decision-making process, is capable of promptly reaching consensus and potentially addressing immediate global challenges. Its inclusivity, accommodating both developed and developing nations, lends a broader perspective to discussions. However, other organizations, such as the G7, contribute distinct strengths, albeit within more confined domains. Therefore, smaller groups like the G7 and G20 are advantageous for achieving consensus more efficiently, but they may have limitations in terms of representation.

The United Nations grapples with complexity due to its extensive membership, potentially causing delays in consensus. Meanwhile, the IMF and WTO face their unique challenges, reflecting the interests of predominantly developed countries. In the multifaceted realm of international governance, these organizations each serve vital functions and form part of the intricate tapestry of global cooperation, with the G20, along with others, contributing to collective efforts in addressing global issues.





Timeline

Washington, USA

External Context

2007-08 Financial Crisis; Financial Ministers meeting of G20 countries under the G8 ambit in Brazil; 2008 US Presidential Elections



2008

Pittsburgh, USA

External Context

Global Financial Crisis And Economic Slowdown; Global Trade And Protectionism; Doha Development Round;



2009

Seoul, Korea

External Context

Global Economic Recovery; Trade Imbalances; Sovereign Debt Crisis;

Theme/Priorities

Shared Growth Beyond Crisis



2010

Los Cabos, Mexico

External Context

Eurozone Debt Crisis; Strengthening Of IMF; Conflicts in Gaza and Central African Republic;

Theme/Priorities

Building Consensus for Fair and Sustainable Development



2012

Brisbane, Australia

External Context

Ebola Outbreak In Africa; Russia-Ukraine Crisis; US-led coalition intervention against ISIS; Narendra Modi becomes India's Prime Minister;

Theme/Priorities

Acting Together to Lift Growth and Create Jobs, Building a Stronger, More Resilient Global Economy and Strengthening Global Institution



2014

London, United Kingdom

External Context

Global Recession Impact; Formation of BRICS;

Toronto, Canada

External Context

Global Financial Crisis; Eurozone Debt Crisis; Gulf of Mexico Oil Spill; Fiscal Imbalances; Climate Change;

Theme/Priorities

Recovery and New Beginnings

Cannes, France

External Context

Eurozone Debt Crisis; Syrian Civil War begins; Trade Imbalances; Iran And North Korea's Nuclear Programs;

Theme/Priorities

Building Our Common Future: Renewed Collective Action for the Benefit of All

St. Petersburg, Russia

External Context

Use Of Chemical Weapons In Syria; Conflict in South Sudan; Global Financial Instability; Croatia joins the European Union;

Theme/Priorities

Boosting Economic Growth and Job Creation





Time

Antalya, Turkey

External Context

Terrorist Attacks in Turkey and Paris; European Migrant Crisis; Adoption of SDGs

Theme/Priorities

Collective Action for Inclusive and Robust Growth

Hamburg, Germany

External Context

Global Protests About The G20 Effectiveness; North Korea conducts Nuclear tests;

Theme/Priorities

Shaping an Interconnected world

Osaka, Japan

External Context

Ebola Outbreak In Africa; Protests in Hong Kong;

Theme/Priorities

Ensure Global Sustainable Development

Rome, Italy

External Context

COVID-19 Pandemic; Contraction of Commerce; US re-joins Paris Agreement; Development of COVID-19 Vaccine;

Theme/Priorities

Realizing Opportunities of the 21st Century for All

New Delhi, India

External Context

Russia-Ukraine Conflict; COVID-19 Pandemic Recovery; Lagging Progress on SDGs

Theme/Priorities

One Earth. One Family. One Future



2015 2016 2017 2018 2019 2020 2021 2022 2023

Hangzhou, China

External Context

Ruling Against Apple On Taxation; Zika Virus; UK votes to exit European Union; Donald Trump becomes President; Paris Agreement signed;

Theme/Priorities

Towards an Innovative, Invigorated, Interconnected, and Inclusive World Economy

Buenos Aires, Argentina

External Context

Protests Due To High Inflation in Argentina; China-US Trade War; Trump reimposes sanctions on Iran;

Theme/Priorities

Building Consensus for Fair and Sustainable Development

Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

External Context

COVID-19 Pandemic; Global Economic Recession; India-China border skirmishes; US withdraws from Paris Agreement

Theme/Priorities

Realizing Opportunities of the 21st Century for All

Bali, Indonesia

External Context

Russia-Ukraine Conflict; COVID-19 Pandemic caused Economic Slowdown

Theme/Priorities

Recover Together, Recover Stronger



Chapter 3: G20 Evolution – A Literature Review



The Group of Twenty (G20) has emerged as a prominent forum for international cooperation, addressing global economic challenges and fostering collaboration among major economies. This chapter examines the context, and evolution of the G20 as a premier economic forum. It also delves into the challenges it faces in maintaining its effectiveness, inclusivity, and legitimacy. To understand these elements better, this literature review has been divided into two sections.

The first section gives a brief overview of G20's conception in 1999 as a meeting in the already established G7 (erstwhile G8) and traces the evolution of the G20 since its establishment in 2008. It highlights the pivotal role the G20 assumed during the 2008 financial crisis and its subsequent expansion of the agenda to address a broader range of global issues. Each summit's focus and key outcomes are briefly discussed, showcasing the G20's response to emerging challenges and its subsequent evolution. The second section outlines the challenges faced by the G20 in maintaining its position as a premier economic forum. It explores issues such as limited attention to development issues or narrow focus on economic matters, non-accountability, lack of representation, and exclusive decision-making processes. These challenges raise concerns about the effectiveness, inclusivity, and legitimacy of the G20's actions and outcomes.



01. Evolution of G20: Rise of a Forum for International Cooperation

September of 1999, following an announcement from the governors of the G7 countries on including the 'systematically significant economies' for improving international cooperation to achieve sustainable economic growth, marked the official birth of G20. The financial crisis of 1997 in Asian countries acted as a catalyst for this announcement; acknowledgement of the shift in global economic balance and the emergence of new players in the form of India, China, South Africa, Brazil, and other developing countries led to the recognition of a gap in global governance exercised by the G7 countries, and thus 12 new countries⁹ were added to the forum. Formed under the mandate of discussing financial and economic issues, supporting globalization, and ensuring equitable distributions of economic growth, the group was key in achieving a consensus on establishing a code of conduct to improve economic and financial transparency and strengthening financial systems (G20, 2007). The Asian crisis and its aftereffects stood testimony to the fact that global challenges could not be addressed through a limited group of member countries any longer. The decade of 1990s saw emerging economies grow at a rapid pace particularly those in Asia. World trade as a proportion of global GDP rose to new highs – from 40 percent in 1991 to 62 percent in 2006. This period also witnessed the share of global trade of G20 members grow from 11 percent to 19 percent. In a world where traditionally, a few economic powers dominated the global economy, a greater number of developing nations were now growing in terms of their economic clout (G20, 2007).

The formation of G20 had been floated by Paul Martin, erstwhile Canada's Finance Minister, within the G7 as he believed that emerging economies were key to the solutions to global issues. The structure of G-X, as he proposed, was to remain informal without a permanent secretariat, fixed laws of proceedings, and have a group of representative countries which reflect the regional balance. A small group, as was reasoned, would be crucial to facilitate informal and frank discussions among the members which would be crucial to its effectiveness, as seen by the example of G7. Thus, the forum consisted of 20 members, instead of 19, as it left the possibility of "...pressure for additional members. "G-20" was adopted on the basis that it was a round number, suggesting finality, and was consistent with the number of countries represented plus the European Union.¹⁰ " (G20, 2007) In addition to the membership, a troika system was adopted where the chair presidency would be assisted by the preceding and succeeding presidency with the aim of maintaining continuity between

⁹ Argentina, Australia, Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, the Republic of Korea, Mexico, the Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, and Türkiye

¹⁰ G-20 MEMBERSHIP | Association of Accredited Public Policy Advocates to the European Union. <https://aa lep.eu/g-20-membership>



annual sessions. Procedurally, the G20 meetings remained informal, as were the G-7 meetings, as "...without a charter, votes, or legally binding decisions, members interact as equals." (G20, 2007)

Reaction to the establishment of a new international forum was positive from the new member countries as they were provided a platform to voice their concerns and were treated as equal contributors to the global economy. This sentiment is captured well in an excerpt from the speech of then Minister of Finance of South Africa, prior to the Ministerial Meeting in Canada in 2000:



"Next week, we go to the G-20 meeting in Canada – a group that includes "systemically significant" countries. Countries, like ourselves, influential, although not powerful; countries with a voice; with potential. The G20 provides us with an opportunity to make new allies among the middle powers to engage with the G7; to push for structural change in a world where the inequalities are often reinforced by what, in the post-Cold war era, has been a completely lopsided balance of power. We do this for ourselves, but we also need to engage on behalf of our neighbours. Because if our neighbours fall by the wayside, we are dragged down too."

T.Manuel, 2000

However, criticism was aimed at its lack of accountability mechanisms for the member countries and zero representation from the poorest countries in the world. It was hoped that the non-G7 member countries would be the key drivers in broadening the agenda of the forum beyond what was already discussed by G7. This was reflected in the passing of the chair from Canada to India in 2002, the first example of such a transition from an advanced economy to a developing economy. Under India's presidency, the members reaffirmed their commitment to Millennium Development Goals and supporting Africa through New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). (G20, 2007)

From 2003 to 2007, the Group of Twenty (G20) served as a critical platform for global economic cooperation, with each presidency playing a vital role in shaping the group's agenda and achieving key milestones. Under Mexico's presidency in 2003, the G20 prioritized fostering economic stability and growth through financial market regulation and reforming the international financial architecture to prevent future crises¹¹. During Germany's presidency in 2004, the G20 continued its focus on financial market regulation and intensified efforts towards sustainable development and poverty reduction. It advocated for increased debt relief for developing countries and explored ways to enhance trade liberalization¹².

China assumed the presidency in 2005, and energy security and climate change took center stage in the G20 discussions. Under China's leadership, the group explored sustainable energy development and strategies to address the challenges posed by climate change. In 2006, Australia's presidency underscored the significance of infrastructure development and investment in driving global economic growth. The G20 discussions centered on promoting private sector involvement in infrastructure projects and enhancing investment opportunities. During South Africa's presidency in 2007, the G20 continued its efforts to promote sustainable development and poverty reduction, with a particular focus on Africa. The group emphasized the role of trade in economic development and advocated for fair and open global trade policies (G20, 2007).

¹¹ G-20, Communiqué, G-20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors, (Morelia, Mexico, 26–27 October, 2003).

¹² G-20, Communiqué, Meeting of Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors, (Berlin, 20-21 November, 2004).



The 2008 financial crisis marked a turning point for the G20. As the crisis unfolded, it became clear that a global response was needed to stabilize financial markets and restore economic growth. In 2008, the G20 held its first Leaders' Summit in Washington, D.C., which brought together heads of state and government, finance ministers, and central bank governors. The summit resulted in a joint communiqué that outlined a coordinated plan of action to address the crisis, including measures to stabilize financial institutions, promote economic growth, and enhance regulatory oversight (G20, 2008).

Following the success of the Washington Summit, the G20 assumed a more prominent role in global economic governance. In subsequent summits, the G20 expanded its agenda to address a broader range of issues. The London Summit in 2009 focused on coordinating fiscal stimulus packages, reforming financial regulation, and supporting global trade. It also established the Financial Stability Board (FSB) to strengthen international financial regulation and supervision (Hajnal, 2019).

The G20 continued to evolve in subsequent years, with each summit addressing new challenges and expanding the forum's agenda. The Toronto Summit in 2010 focused on strengthening financial regulation and reforming international financial institutions. It also launched the Mutual Assessment Process (MAP), a framework for G20 countries to assess and coordinate their policies to achieve strong, sustainable, and balanced growth (G20, 2010a). The Declaration makes a reference to an oil spill incident in the Gulf of Mexico and highlights the need to share best practices for marine environment protection. It also recognizes 2010 as an important year for development, further acknowledging the need to work with the Least Developed Countries. This shows how the broadening of G20's agenda, from economic to development matters, had in fact started early on even if in a limited manner. The G20 summits in Cannes (2011) and Los Cabos (2012) primarily focused on addressing the Eurozone debt crisis and its potential global implications (Kathuria & Kukreja, 2019). These summits emphasized the need for fiscal consolidation, structural reforms, and financial sector stability. The G20 leaders also reaffirmed their commitment to promoting growth, job creation, and financial market reforms (Hajnal, 2019). The 2011 summit also introduced the 'Sherpa Track' which later dealt with non-financial issues at the G20 meetings. While this track was officially introduced in 2011, both Toronto (2010) & Seoul (2010) constitutes significant stepping stones that laid the foundations for the Sherpa Track. The Seoul Development Consensus for Shared Growth marks a watershed moment in G20's history. It set out the forum's commitment to collaborate with developing nations and LICs in particular. The document notes the significance of 'shared prosperity', the disproportionate impact of crises on vulnerable and poorest countries, and the need for 'developing countries and LICs to become new poles of global growth' (Seoul Summit, 2010b).

The St. Petersburg Summit in 2013 prioritized the development of a growth agenda and focused on structural reforms, investment promotion, and job creation. Discussions on improving infrastructure investment and



strengthening global financial safety nets gained prominence (G20 Research Group, 2013). Additionally, the issue of tax avoidance and base erosion and profit shifting gained importance with the establishment of the G20/OECD BEPS project. The Brisbane Summit in 2014 centered on boosting infrastructure investment, enhancing trade, and promoting employment. G20 leaders committed to implementing strategies to lift global GDP growth by an additional 2% over the next five years. The summit also emphasized the importance of sustainable development and climate change, laying the groundwork for the Paris Agreement negotiations in 2015 (OECD, 2014).

The G20 continued to broaden its agenda in subsequent summits. The Antalya Summit in 2015 highlighted the refugee crisis, global terrorism, and cybersecurity as pressing issues requiring international cooperation. This year was an important juncture given its focus on Sustainable Development. Leaders expressed their commitment to implement the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The Hangzhou Summit in 2016 focused on structural reforms, innovation, and promoting inclusive growth. It also addressed issues such as climate change, green finance, and international tax cooperation (Hajnal, 2019). The Antalya Summit marked a major breakthrough in the field of security in cyberspace. Building on this further, the Hangzhou Declaration highlighted the G20 Digital Economy Development and Cooperation Initiative and discussed addressing the digital divide through 'expanded and better and affordable broadband access, flow of information for economic growth, trust and security, while ensuring respect for privacy and personal data protection, investment in the ICT sector, entrepreneurship, digital transformation, e-commerce cooperation and enhanced digital inclusion'. The two Summits made important strides in the discussions on digitalization in G20's agenda.

During the Hamburg Summit in 2017, discussions revolved around trade, sustainable development, and the digital economy. Leaders reaffirmed their commitment to the Paris Agreement and recognized the importance of the United Nations' 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The summit also highlighted the need for fair and sustainable global trade, while acknowledging the concerns about protectionism (Kathuria & Kukreja, 2019). The Buenos Aires Summit in 2018 centered on future work, infrastructure for development, and sustainable food future. G20 leaders discussed the impact of technological advancements on the global economy and the future of work, focusing on skills development, labor market adaptation, and social protection. The summit also emphasized the need for sustainable infrastructure investment and improving food security. The Osaka Summit in 2019 addressed pressing issues such as trade tensions, economic inequalities, and the digital economy (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan, 2019). It highlighted the importance of a rules-based international trading system and called for reforming the World Trade Organization (WTO). The summit also recognized the potential of emerging technologies and called for their responsible and inclusive development.

The Riyadh Summit, held virtually in 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic, focused on addressing the health, economic, and social impacts of the crisis. G20 leaders pledged to mobilize resources for global COVID-19 response efforts, ensure access to vaccines, and support the recovery of the global economy. The summit emphasized the importance of international cooperation and multilateralism in combating the pandemic. The Rome Summit in 2021 marked the 20th anniversary of the G20. The summit's theme was "People, Planet, Prosperity," reflecting the growing recognition of the interconnectedness between economic growth, social well-being, and environmental sustainability. Discussions centered on topics such as climate change, energy transition, global health, and digital transformation. The summit aimed to address the urgent challenges of our time and build a more inclusive and sustainable future.



The G20 has significantly evolved since its origin in 2008. Starting as a response to the financial crisis, it gradually expanded its agenda to encompass a wide range of global challenges. With each summit, the G20 addressed emerging issues, such as trade tensions, technological advancements, climate change, and the COVID-19 pandemic. The forum's focus has shifted from crisis response and economic stability to broader considerations of sustainable development, social inclusiveness, and environmental sustainability. The G20 continues to play a vital role in shaping global economic governance and promoting international cooperation on pressing global issues. However, a few challenges to its claim as a premier forum for global dialogue and cooperation still remain, which are discussed in the next section.

02. Future of G20: Challenges to its Claim as a Premier Forum for International Cooperation

The G20 has now positioned itself as a premier economic forum, aiming to address global economic challenges and promote international cooperation among the world's major economies. However, several issues have been raised that cast doubt on the effectiveness and inclusivity of the G20's claim.

The first concern is the lack of sufficient attention to development issues on the G20's agenda. While economic matters are undeniably important, the forum's narrow focus often sidelines pressing challenges faced by developing countries. Development issues such as poverty, inequality, access to education and healthcare, and sustainable development goals often receive limited attention or are overshadowed by economic concerns (Hajnal, 2019). This imbalance reinforces the perception that the G20 primarily caters to the interests of economically powerful nations, leaving behind the needs of the most vulnerable (Kaul, 2019). A notable example is the limited focus on addressing global health crises. Despite the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, which has had severe socio-environmental consequences worldwide, the G20's response has largely revolved around economic recovery and vaccine distribution to a limited extent. The G20's emphasis on economic matters at the expense of pressing health and development challenges underscores the need for a more comprehensive and balanced agenda.

Conversely, G20's fixation on economic issues while downplaying or neglecting other crucial global challenges is another area of concern. Non-economic issues such as climate change, social justice, human rights, and gender equality require urgent attention and collective action (Kaul, 2019). However, the G20's narrow focus on economic growth, trade, and financial stability often sidelines these interconnected challenges. This limitation prevents the G20 from fully addressing the complexity and interdependence of global issues, hindering the potential for comprehensive and sustainable solutions (Hajnal, 2019). One such example is the G20's response to climate change. Despite being a critical global challenge with far-reaching economic, social, and environmental implications, climate change has historically received limited attention within the G20 framework. Although climate issues have gained some traction in recent years, the G20's efforts have been criticized as insufficient and lacking concrete commitments. The lack of robust action and prioritization on climate change raises concerns about the forum's effectiveness in tackling one of the most pressing challenges of our time (Johnstone, 2021).



Non-accountability is another issue that hampers the G20's claim as a premier economic forum. The forum operates on a voluntary basis, and its decisions lack binding force, making it primarily an informal arrangement. While the G20 leaders issue joint communiqués and action plans, there are no robust mechanisms for monitoring, evaluating, or enforcing the implementation of these commitments (Kaul, 2019). This lack of accountability raises questions about the effectiveness, legitimacy, and impact of the G20's decisions, as there are no clear consequences for non-compliance (Hajnal, 2019). In the absence of a permanent secretariat, the Troika system emphasizes continuity over anything among presidencies. This incentivizes presidencies to focus on legacy issues from previous presidencies instead of bringing current, and sometimes pressing, issues onto the agenda.

The lack of representation within the G20 is another significant concern. While it includes major economies, the forum falls short of adequately representing the diversity of global interests. Many smaller economies, particularly those from Africa, Latin America, and certain regions of Asia, often feel marginalized and excluded from decision-making processes. The limited representation raises questions about the democratic legitimacy and fairness of the G20's actions and outcomes. It undermines the forum's ability to capture the breadth of global perspectives and inclusively address the challenges faced by diverse economies (Vestergaard & Wade, 2011). For example, African countries, despite being home to a significant portion of the world's population and facing unique developmental challenges, have limited representation within the G20. This lack of inclusivity has implications for the effectiveness and credibility of the G20's decisions, as it excludes critical voices and perspectives from shaping global economic governance. In addition, the G20's decision-making processes have been criticized for their lack of transparency and inclusivity. While the forum brings together heads of state, finance ministers, and central bank governors, decisions are primarily made by a select group of nations, leaving little room for broad-based representation or meaningful participation from other stakeholders. This exclusivity undermines the democratic legitimacy and transparency of the G20's decision-making processes, further contributing to the perception of it being a 'closed-door elite club' rather than an inclusive forum (Hajnal, 2019) (Kaul, 2019) (Vestergaard & Wade, 2011).

In conclusion, the G20's claim as a premier economic forum is challenged by several significant issues. Its limited attention to development issues, or its fixation on economic matters, non-accountability, lack of representation, and exclusive decision-making processes raise concerns about its effectiveness, inclusivity, and legitimacy. To address these issues, the G20 needs to broaden its agenda to incorporate a more comprehensive range of challenges, enhance accountability mechanisms, ensure better representation of diverse economies, and adopt transparent and inclusive decision-making processes. By addressing these shortcomings, the G20 can strive towards becoming a more effective and inclusive platform for global economic governance.



Handwritten text in Italian: "FIDELITY AND INTEGRITY" (FIDELTÀ E INTEGRITÀ)



PEOPLE
PLANET
PROSPERITY

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Chapter 4: Methodology



The G20 has positioned itself as a premier economic forum to address global challenges and promote international cooperation among major economies. However, concerns have been raised regarding its effectiveness and inclusivity. In 2012, for the first time, the Mexican government publicized the division of work at the Los Cabos summit into a finance track – focusing on economic and financial themes – and a sherpa track – that focuses more on broader development issues (Hajnal, 2019). Despite the division and the increasing significance given to the Sherpa track over the years, criticism towards its claim as premier forum has continued. As a forum that was born out of an economic crisis, a key issue identified is the G20's fixation on economic growth and relative neglect of critical socio-environmental challenges. Lack of accountability, poorly-represented membership, and non-transparent decision-making processes further raise doubts about the G20's legitimacy and impact. The forum's voluntary nature and absence of binding decisions hinder its ability to effectively address global issues. Based on the shortcomings of the G20 forum identified in the literature, the study aims to explore the following research question;



How has the G20 agenda evolved over the years



Has the G20 agenda broadened to be more inclusive of issues beyond the economic discourse?



What kind of commitments are mentioned in stronger terms - those with an economic premise or socio-environmental premise?

Insights into the evolution of the G20 in terms of its agenda and the nature of its strong commitments can help draw recommendations and insights into what purpose the G20 is presently serving and which direction it should grow in to remain relevant and effective in the future. The evolution of the agenda from 2008-2023¹³ is investigated by employing two distinct but interrelated methodologies. The Leaders' Declaration of each Presidency is used as the source for both analyses. These primary source documents are obtained from the archive of the G20 Research Group, University of Toronto's information centre - hosted as a website that contains a comprehensive and permanent collection of information on the G20 forum¹⁴.

The Leaders' Declarations are the principal documents of each summit and reflect the G20 summit agenda. They reflect the Presidency's priorities, member countries' contributions, G20's response to contemporary events, and most importantly, consensus achieved through rigorous negotiations. As the term suggests, a 'Summit' is the pinnacle reached after a year of multiple meetings both at the Working Group level and the Sherpa level. Each Working Group works towards a communique consisting of their specific agenda. The Leaders' Declaration reflects the Working Groups' achievements to a certain extent. A Leaders' Declaration, being a political statement, assumes a rather top-down approach without delving deep into technicalities/details from Working Group outcome documents. Meetings at the Sherpa level start with discussions around priorities and sharing of interventions by member countries, Guest countries and International Organisations. Sherpas convene in the 3rd or 4th meeting to focus on text-based negotiations, before which the Presidency seeks multiple rounds of comments on the draft Declaration. It is after careful consideration and negotiation that the final declaration is drafted. For this reason, the Leaders' Declarations are the most comprehensive reflection of the presidency's targets and, thus, an appropriate primary source for the purpose of an analysis of the G20 agenda. The analysis is also supported by other official G20 documents like ministerial communiqués, action plans, as well as academic papers, policy reports, commentaries, media coverage and press releases related to the G20 forum. The detailed methodologies of the two-pronged analyses are explicated in the next two sections.

¹³ The analysis is limited to eighteen presidencies and does not include Extraordinary Virtual Summit, held on March 26, 2020 under Saudi Arabia's Presidency, and Extraordinary Summit on Afghanistan, held on October 12, 2021 by Italy.

¹⁴ <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/>



01. Content Analysis through SDG Mapping

The United Nations defines the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as a “universal call to action to end poverty, protect the planet and improve the lives and prospects of everyone, everywhere.”¹⁵ In 2015, all UN Member States adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which encompassed 17 Goals and charted a 15-year course to accomplish these sustainable development objectives. The 17 SDGs and 169 targets holistically capture three dimensions of development - Economic, Social, and Environmental (United Nations, 2015).



Mapping the Leaders' Declarations to the Sustainable Development Goals can assist in a content analysis of the policy documents and identifying trends in the evolution of its themes. This exercise can give considerable insight into what issues have received attention from the G20 forum and which have been ostensibly absent.

The Leaders' Declarations of each presidency are fed into the SDG Mapper tool- a tool developed by the European Commission to map policy documents to the sustainable development goals of the 2030 agenda in an effort to mainstream the SDGs into decision-making processes.¹⁶ The SDG Mapper is a web-based tool available on the KnowSDGs platform¹⁷, enabling users to instantaneously map any document with the SDGs at both the goal and target levels. The tool employs text-mining techniques to detect the SDGs in policy documents through the recognition of keywords – actions and terms – as they relate to the various goals and targets of the agenda. The keywords, which can consist of single or multiple terms, were identified through an iterative process by a team of experts from different fields¹⁸. This approach of text analysis based on keywords assesses the semantic prevalence of the particular SDGs in the Leaders' Declarations, as well as their frequency - giving a granular insight into their relative importance in the text as compared to the other SDGs (Steve, Giulia, Daniela, Michele, & Luisa, 2023). There are two relevant visualisations that are obtained through this exercise;

¹⁵ <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/development-agenda/> accessed July 23, 2023

¹⁶ <https://knowsdgs.jrc.ec.europa.eu/sdgmapper#learn> accessed July 21, 2023

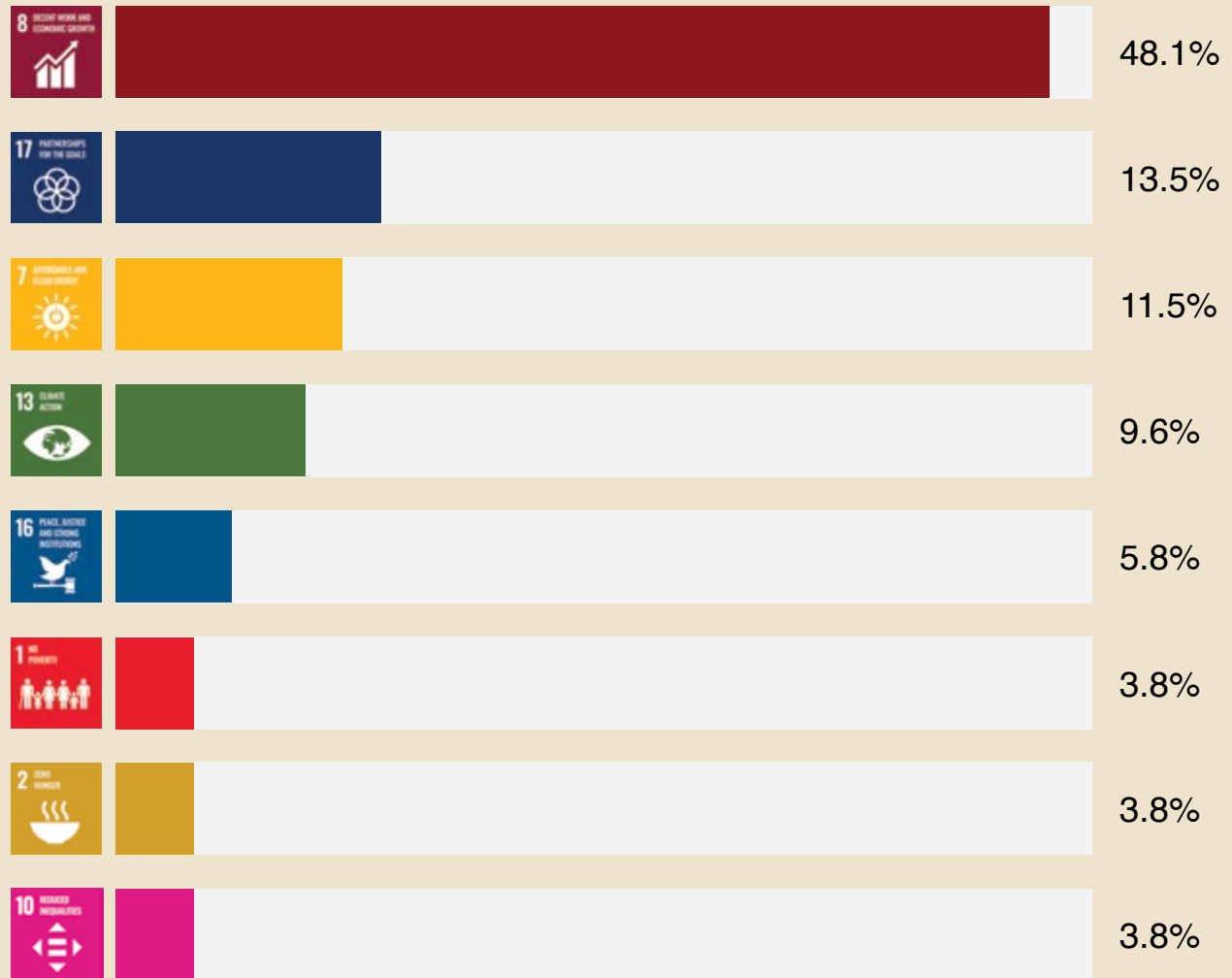
¹⁷ <https://knowsdgs.jrc.ec.europa.eu>

¹⁸ The complete list of keywords can be found at https://code.europa.eu/knowsdgs/sdgmapper_keywords/-/raw/main/keywords/term_matrix.xlsx



Figure 1: SDG Goal Mapping, Illustration from 2014 Brisbane Leaders' Declaration

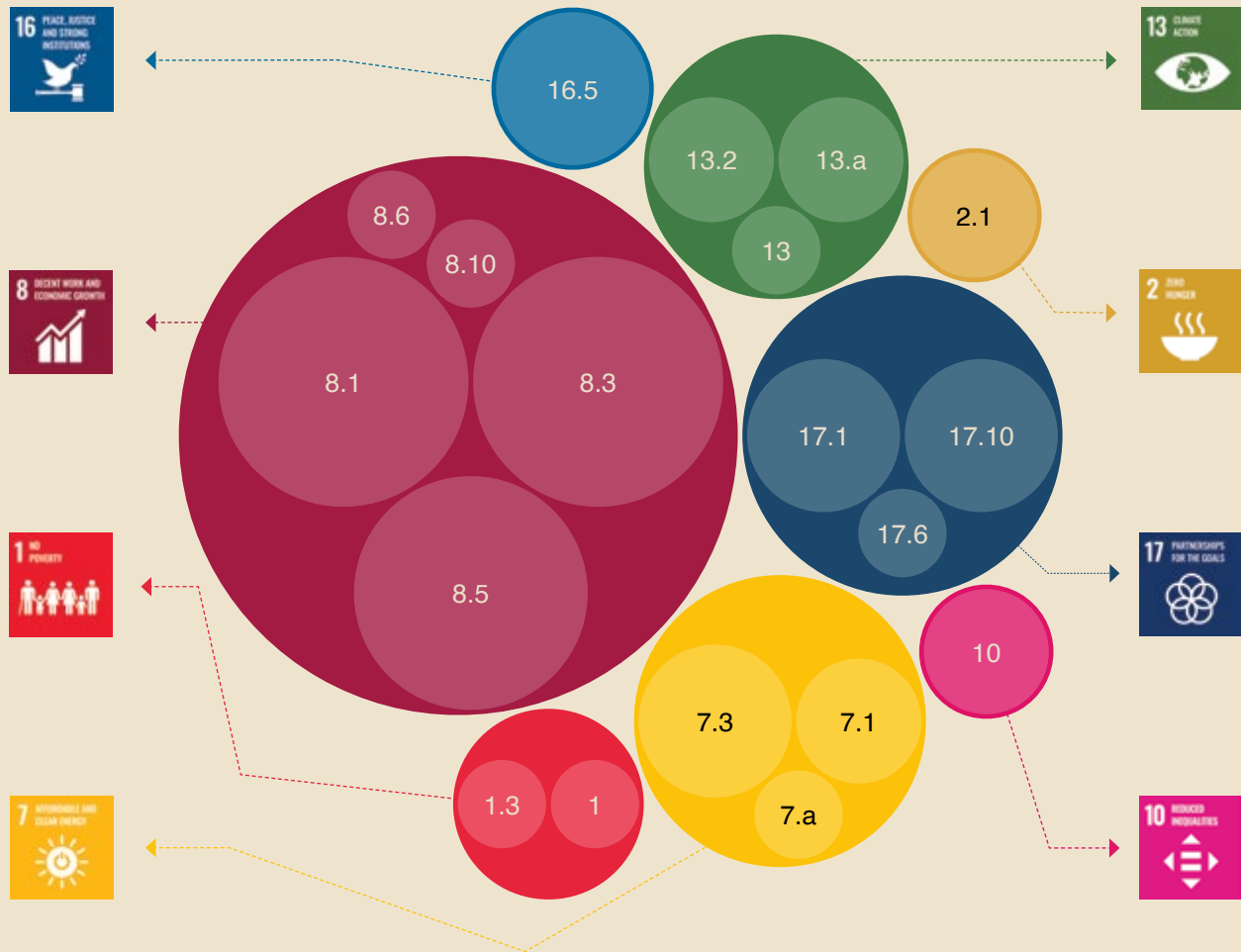
Relevant SDGs



The first figure (Figure 1) obtained shows a bar graph of all the SDGs detected at the goal level, mapped along the percentage of corresponding keywords identified in the text as a proportion of the total number of keywords detected. The resulting graph gives a representation of the relative importance of the different SDGs in the text, thereby giving insights into how the agenda of the G20 has been evolving over the years – including any percentage changes in the themes covered.



Figure 2: SDG Target Mapping, Illustration from 2014 Brisbane Leaders' Declaration



The second figure (Figure 2) obtained is a bubble graph that further granulates the result down to the target level. The size of the SDG goal bubbles and the target bubbles within them represents the relative occurrence of keywords related to that particular goal or target.



The raw results and data are also made available in the following format for each presidency document:

Table 1: SDG Goal Mapping Raw Results, 2014 Brisbane Leaders' Declaration

SDG Rank		Count	Percentage
1st	SDG 8	25	48.08
2nd	SDG 17	7	13.46
3rd	SDG 7	6	11.54
4th	SDG 13	5	9.62
5th	SDG 16	3	5.77
6th	SDG 1	2	3.85
7th	SDG 2	2	3.85
8th	SDG 10	2	3.85
9th	SDG 3	0	0
10th	SDG 4	0	0
11th	SDG 5	0	0
12th	SDG 6	0	0
13th	SDG 9	0	0
14th	SDG 11	0	0
15th	SDG 12	0	0
16th	SDG 14	0	0
17th	SDG 15	0	0

Table 2: SDG Goal and Target Mapping Raw Results, Brisbane Leaders' Declaration¹⁹

Goal	Sum_of_keys	Count_of_keys	Target	List_of_keys
SDG 8	25	10	8.1, 8.3, 8.5, 8.6, 8.10	econom growth, inclus growth, sustain growth, job creation, creat qualiti job, entrepreneurship, unemploy, qualiti job, youth unemploy, financi inclus
SDG 17	7	6	17.1, 17.6, 17.10	tax administr, taxpay, tax evas, knowledge-shar, multilater trade system, trade facilit
SDG 7	6	4	7.1, 7.3, 7.a	energi access, electr generat, energi effici, financ energi
SDG 13	5	4	13.0, 13.2, 13.a	climat chang, nation determin contribut, unit nation framework convent climat chang, green climat fund
SDG 16	3	2	16.5	corrupt, anti-corrupt
SDG 1	2	2	1.0,1.3	reduc poverti, social protect
SDG 10	2	2	10.0	reduc inequ, reduc poverti inequ
SDG 2	2	1	2.1	food secur

¹⁹ The list of keys identified are incomplete words because the Porter stemming algorithm implemented in the NLTK python library is employed to stem the text. Stemming refers to the process of reducing words to their word roots in order to capture keywords' morphological variants. For detailed text-mining methodology of the SDG mapper tool, see (Steve, Giulia, Daniela, Michele, & Luisa, 2023).



Since the SDG mapping is based on a keyword and word-frequency analysis, it does not give a comprehensive insight into how the terms are being used or the strength of the commitments made; the number of times a goal is reiterated does not necessarily imply that the G20 presidency's commitment to it is strong. Thus, it is important to corroborate the SDG mapping exercise with an analysis of the strength of the commitments and identify the nature of these strong commitments. This is explored and strengthened in the second part – the language analysis. Both analyses together give a fuller picture of the evolution of the G20 agenda and help to achieve triangulation of research results that lend them more credibility and reliability.

02. Language Analysis for Strength and Nature of Commitments

To further understand how the G20 agenda has evolved, not only in terms of SDG themes but investigating the nature of strong commitments made, a qualitative method of language analysis is employed in three steps:



Identification of strong commitments from all the statements in a Leaders' Declaration

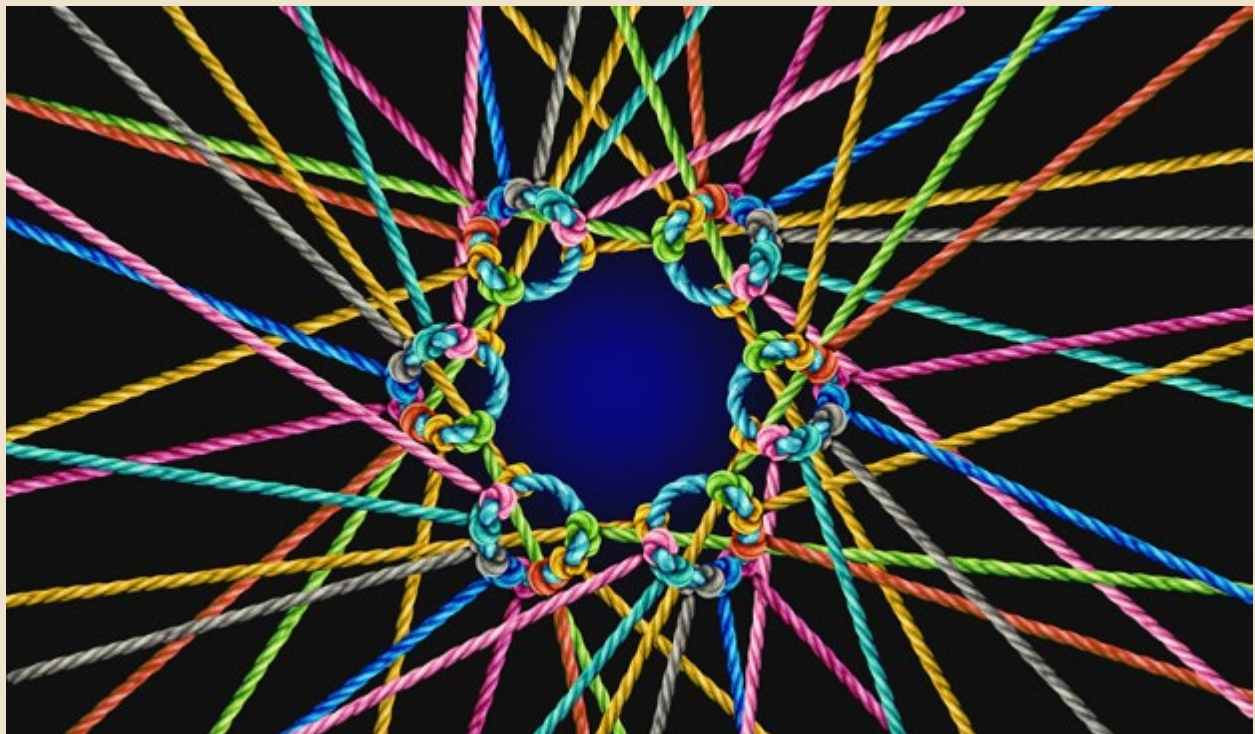


Classification of the strong commitments into two categories based on whether they have an 'economic' or 'socio-environmental' premise



Mapping the proportion of strong economic commitments and strong socio-environmental commitments as a proportion of total strong commitments

The stages and rationale for the analysis are further expounded;





I. Identifying Strong Commitments from Leaders' Declarations

Not all statements of the Leaders' Declaration can be described as commitments. Some are used for setting the context of the problem(s) –

Example:



We met in Bali on 15-16 November 2022, at a time of unparalleled multidimensional crises. We have experienced the devastation brought by the Covid-19 pandemic, and other challenges including climate change, which has caused economic downturn, increased poverty, slowed global recovery, and hindered the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals.

G20 Bali Leaders' Declarations, Para 2. (2022)

Others 'welcome', support, or lend their vote of approval to agreements, negotiations and treaties that have taken place in the international relations sphere but contain no direct commitment by the G20, or, 'reiterate' a previous commitment made by the G20 without adding to it –

Example:



We welcome the Türkiye and UN-brokered two Istanbul Agreements signed on 22 July 2022 and consisting of the Initiative on the Safe Transportation of Grain and Foodstuffs from Ukrainian Ports (Black Sea Grain Initiative) and the Memorandum of Understanding between the Russian Federation and the Secretariat of the United Nations on Promoting Russian Food Products and Fertilizers to the World Markets, on the unimpeded deliveries of grain, foodstuffs, and fertilizers/inputs from Ukraine and the Russian Federation, to ease tension and prevent global food insecurity and hunger in developing countries

G20 Bali Leaders' Declarations, Para 8. (2022)

There are some statements that merely 'acknowledge' or 'recognize' the problem statement without setting out actions or goals to overcome them –

Example:



We acknowledge that affordable and high-quality digital connectivity is essential for digital inclusion and digital transformation, while a resilient, safe and secure online environment is necessary to enhance confidence and trust in the digital economy. We recognize the importance of policies to create an enabling, inclusive, open, fair and non-discriminatory digital economy that fosters the application of new technologies, allows businesses and entrepreneurs to thrive, and protects and empowers consumers, while addressing the challenges, related to digital divides, privacy, data protection, intellectual property rights, and online safety.

G20 Bali Leaders' Declarations, Para 24. (2022)



There may be some statements that can be deemed commitments but are not concrete or well-defined and do not lay out specific actions to achieve the goal –



Example:

We are committed to supporting the adoption of innovative practices and technologies, including digital innovation in agriculture and food systems to enhance productivity and sustainability in harmony with nature and promote farmers and fishers' livelihoods and increase income, in particular smallholders by increasing efficiency, and equal access to food supply chains

G20 Bali Leaders' Declarations, Para 9. (2022)

The study aims to understand how strongly the presidency commits to economic commitments as opposed to socio-environmental commitments. Thus, for the purposes of our analysis, only strong commitments are identified. There is also the logistical difficulty of differentiating weak commitments from mere statements, thus making the analysis more robust by only identifying what can be clearly defined – the stronger commitments. The study classifies commitments in the Leaders' Declarations as 'strong' if they meet all the following four criteria:

- 1 The commitment is measurable (having a timeframe and/or quantifiable targets) AND/OR have an action plan set out to achieve it.
- 2 The actions and targets set out in the commitment are discrete in that they are well-defined, specific, and not vague.
- 3 The commitment is not merely a reiteration of a previous commitment. For a commitment to be deemed 'strong' in this case, it should not be a mere report on the progress of a previous commitment but state a continuation of the commitment while meeting criteria 1 and 2, or, state actions that take the commitment further ahead in the sense of meeting criteria 1 and 2.
- 4 The commitment is not directing an institution/forum beyond the purview of the G20. The exception to this rule is when the G20 forum is directing institutions/forums over which the G20 exercises effective control via the powers of its member countries – i.e., a forum where G20 members have a majority voting share and can reasonably influence the decision-making process. The direction given/suggestion made then has to meet criteria 1 and 2.



II. Classification of Strong Commitments into Economic and Socio-Environmental Categories

After the identification of strong commitments in the Leaders' Declarations, they are classified into two categories based on whether they have an economic or socio-environmental²⁰ premise. Similar to the logic of classification of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by the United Nations into Economic, Social, and Environmental, the criteria for our study are set out as follows -


A strong commitment is deemed to have an economic premise if the first point of impact of the goal/target/commitment is economic growth, financial stability, job creation, or infrastructure. It is deemed to have a socio-environmental premise if the first point of impact of the goal/target/commitment is environmental betterment or social development, which includes, but is not limited to, climate change, health and well-being, poverty and inequality reduction, justice, food security, gender empowerment etc.


Akin to the literature on the SDGs, we acknowledge the interrelatedness of economic goals with socio-environmental ones. Our goal, thus, is not to say one is completely separate from the other but to have a better understanding of what ultimate objective – economic or socio-environmental growth - the commitment is predominantly catering to. Our classification depends on the principal of first point of impact, which involves a two-step inquiry:



²⁰ Here, socio-environmental refers to issues that are classified as social or environmental based on the 'first-point of impact' methodology, not connoting the interconnected term 'socio-environmental'.



 deciphering what the underlying intention of the target/goal/commitment is, based on the language used

 postulating that if the commitment was hypothetically achieved, what will be positively impacted first – economic growth or environmental/social development?

The inquiry, hence, does not evaluate the sum-total positive or negative externalities of a commitment on economic or socio-environmental growth, but is more of an evaluation of what the commitment was intended for. As a study evaluating the evolution of the G20 agenda over the years to give recommendations on the future trajectory of the forum, the intentions behind the commitments made - deciphered using a qualitative analysis of the diplomatic language used - are far more important than the unintentional consequences of those commitments in actuality.

A few examples are given to further clarify the process of this exercise:

Example 1:
This year we set an ambitious goal to lift the G20's GDP by at least an additional two per cent by 2018.

-G20 Brisbane Leaders' Declarations, Para 3. (2014)

Strong Commitment, Economic Premise

Reasoning:

The commitment sets out a quantifiable target within a timeframe and is hence deemed a 'strong' commitment. The aim of the commitment is to uplift GDP and thus falls under the category of having an economic premise.

Example 2:
The G20 Food Security and Nutrition Framework will strengthen growth by lifting investment in food systems, raising productivity to expand food supply, and increasing incomes and quality jobs

-G20 Brisbane Leaders' Declarations, Para 11. (2014)

Strong Commitment, Socio-Environmental Premise

Reasoning:

The commitment is deemed 'strong' as it has a concrete framework and action plan (the relevant communique is appended to the Leaders' Declaration). The commitment has a socio-environmental basis, as its primary aim is to strengthen food security which directly contributes to social development.



Example 3:

We agree to the goal of reducing the gap in participation rates between men and women in our countries by 25 per cent by 2025, taking into account national circumstances, to bring more than 100 million women into the labour force, significantly increase global growth and reduce poverty and inequality.'

G20 Brisbane Leaders' Declarations, Para 9. (2014)

Strong Commitment, Economic Premise

Reasoning:

The commitment is deemed 'strong' as it has a quantifiable goal within a set time-frame. While at first glance, the commitment seems to have a socio-environmental rationale and talks about reducing the gap between men and women, a closer study of the text shows that it only speaks of participation rates; the commitment does not mention the wage gap or improving the working conditions of women, all measures that would empower women and reduce gender inequality in the job market. Going by the principle of first point of impact, if the commitment were to be achieved, the first consequence would be greater global growth due to higher participation rates. Whether these jobs pay women well, improve their living conditions, and treat them fairly is not given first priority (even if all this could reasonably be said to be an externality of such an action). The order of the last sentence, '... significantly increase global growth and reduce poverty and inequality', also gives away the primary intention of increasing global growth through this measure. Hence, nuanced and close reading of the commitment shows that it has an economic premise.





Limitations of the Methodology

- 1 A language-based qualitative analysis of a document is inherently subjective and based on opinions and judgements of the researchers. Thus, identification of 'strong commitments' in Leaders' Declaration and classification into 'economic' and 'socio-environmental' as per the aforementioned methodology is inevitably limited and non-standardized in nature.
- 2 The methodology used to identify a 'strong commitment' is context-agnostic i.e., it is based on a commitment's recall value – determined by the presence of an action plan or quantifiable targets. However, the mention of a subject in the leaders' declaration even without quantifiable actions can be a 'strong' commitment in different contexts – for instance, inclusion of a hitherto excluded issue or getting consensus on a contentious topic even if it is not committed to in strong terms. Additionally, what may be a 'win' for one country may not be so for another. These distinctions fall out of the purview of this methodology that aims to only evaluate commitments as 'strong' based on their potential for better accountability monitoring.
- 3 The primary source used for the qualitative analysis in the study is the Leaders' Declarations of the presidencies. In each presidency, the declaration is varied in structure, length, and content. This causes non-uniformity in the source text used to evaluate each presidency's agenda.



Chapter 5: Content Analysis



The inception of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) took place during the Rio+20 - United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development in Rio de Janeiro in 2012. They built upon the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and the primary aim was to formulate global objectives intended to address the pressing environmental, political, and economic complexities that confront our planet (United Nations, 2012). Subsequently, an Open Working Group was established in January 2013 that had representatives from 70 countries who came up with a draft agenda in July 2014. Member-state negotiations followed, and on 25 September 2015, the 17 SDG goals and 169 targets were adopted at the historic United Nations General Assembly, embedded in the larger commitment to the 2030 agenda (United Nations, 2013). Following the G20 Leaders' commitment in 2015 to further align G20 work with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the G20 adopted the 2016 G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development to ensure that no one is left behind in its efforts to eradicate poverty, achieve sustainable development and build an inclusive and sustainable future for all.



As the coordinating body and policy resource for sustainable development across the G20, the Development Working Group adopted its accountability products and has been reporting on the progress of development commitments. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development was informed by a three-year-long participatory process that was unprecedented in UN history, which involved national-level consultations, thematic dialogues, door-to-door surveys etc. (United Nations, 2023a). The agenda lays out a blue-print for action over the next 15 years to address challenges related to five pillars: people, planet, prosperity, peace, and partnership.

There are multiple reasons as to why the study understands the evolution of the G20 agenda by mapping Leaders' declarations to the SDGs. The SDGs cover a wide range of interconnected issues, including poverty eradication, health, education, gender equality, clean water, climate action, and more. These goals facilitate a more rational and pragmatic integration of the three facets of sustainable development: economic, environmental, and social. This holistic approach acknowledges the interdependencies between social, economic, and environmental factors in development. SDGs encompass a range of targets from reducing inequality within and among countries, ending abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence and torture against children to conserving and sustainably using the oceans, seas and marine resources, among many other targets. The SDGs' framework also comprises seven specific targets that directly address individuals with disabilities, as well as an additional six targets concerning individuals in vulnerable circumstances. The sheer breadth of issues that SDGs cover and their universality make them a useful metric in the context of this study.

Mapping the Leaders' Declarations with the holistic and rigorously formulated Sustainable Development Goals will give insights into the evolution of themes over the years at the G20, further explicating whether the discourse of the international forum has been able to go beyond its exclusive economic context or not. This content analysis is carried out by feeding the Leaders' Declarations from 2008 to 2023 into the SDG Mapper Tool of the European Commission. The 'KnowSDGs' platform features the SDG Mapper, a web tool that maps policy documents in any official EU language to the Sustainable Development Goals at both the goal and target level. The keywords relating to the 17 goals and 169 targets are identified by a diverse group of experts through an iterative process where the defined target and goal keywords were applied to a test data, and over- and under-detected keywords were identified and the keywords further refined to come up with the final list of keywords (Borchardt et al., 2023). The user receives the SDGs and targets detected data in the form of bar graphs and bubble charts, offering a perspective into what has been the relative thematic priorities of the different declarations, and hence the presidencies. Since the tool employs a keyword-based word frequency analysis, it is possible to map documents from even before 2015, the year of introduction of the SDGs, using the SDGs as a comprehensive repository of development themes that the keywords can be aligned to.



01. SDGs, Goal and Target Level Mapping for all Leaders' Declarations

Table 3 reveals the year of introduction for the seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as they appeared for the first time in the SDG mapping exercise, i.e., the summit declaration where keywords relating to that particular SDG were first detected. A Majority of the SDGs found identification in the first two years of the forum, and all SDGs were detected by 2013.

Table 3 SDGs at Goal Level and Year of First Mention

SDG	Year when it was first detected
1	Washington, 2008
2	Washington, 2008
3	Petersburg, 2013
4	London, 2009
5	Los Cabos, 2012
6	Los Cabos, 2012
7	Washington, 2008
8	Washington, 2008
9	Pittsburgh, 2009
10	Washington, 2008
11	Los Cabos, 2012
12	Pittsburgh, 2009
13	Washington, 2008
14	Seoul, 2010
15	Los Cabos, 2012
16	Washington, 2008
17	London, 2009



Figure 3: SDGs detected for all Leaders' Declarations, Goal Level: KnowSDGs mapping tool output

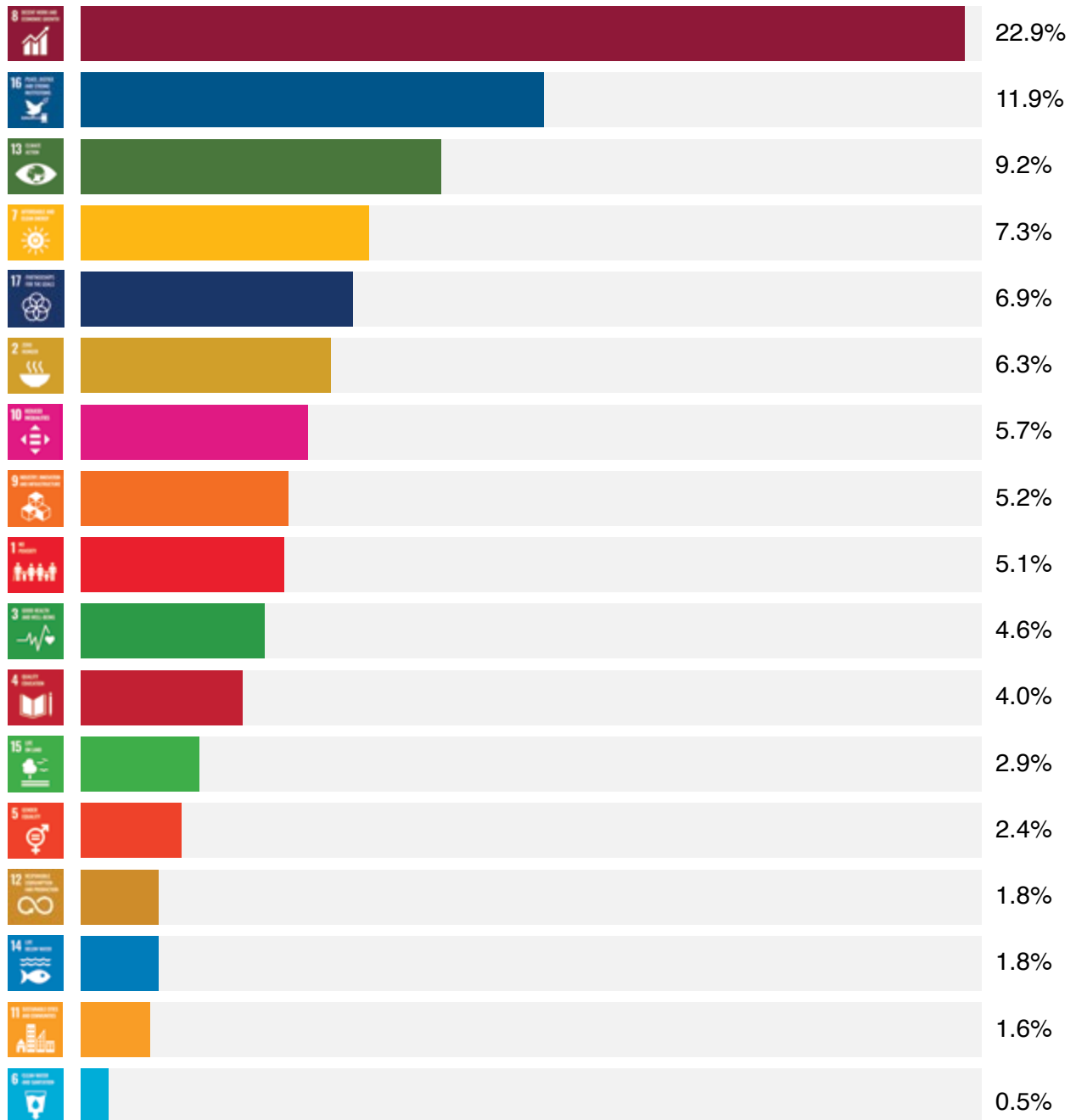


Figure 3 depicts the proportion of Sustainable Development Goals found in all the Leaders' Declarations taken together (2008-2023). By far, keywords associated with SDG 8 (*Decent Work and Economic Growth*) find the most overall mention - close to one-fourth of the total SDG keywords detected in all the declarations over the years. SDG 16 (*Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions*) ranks second with 12.5 per cent share of keywords.



02. Trend over the Years: Mapping the Multiple Dimensions of the G20 Agenda

The Sustainable Development Goals, though interlinked intrinsically, can be said to represent three dimensions of sustainable development: Economic, Social, and Environmental (United Nations General Assembly, 2015). Without discounting the indivisibility of the dimensions of sustainable development – that is, duly acknowledging how one dimension can correlate to the goals of other dimensions in varying degrees – the authors classify the 17 goals into three categories based on the paper’s methodology of deciphering ‘first point of impact’ – what dimension the goal will primarily affect. The ‘SDGs Wedding Cake’ model²² was developed by Johan Rockström and Pavan Sukhdev and presented at the Stockholm EAT Food Forum in 2016 (Folke et al., 2016) that divided the 17 goals into three layers that represent interlinkages between them in a bidirectional manner; the ‘economy’ at the top of the cake caters to the ‘society’ which in turn functions within the ‘biosphere’(Philippidis et al., 2020). Altering and adapting the same to the methodology and purposes of our study, this paper classifies the SDGs – both at the goal and target level – into three categories of Economic, Social, and Environmental Sustainability.²³

Table 4: Classification of the SDGs, Goal Level ²⁴

SDG	Name	Classification
1	No Poverty	Economic
2	Zero Hunger	Social
3	Good Health and Wellbeing	Social
4	Quality Education	Social
5	Gender Equality	Social
6	Clean Water and Sanitation	Environmental Sustainability
7	Affordable and Clean Energy	Environmental Sustainability
8	Decent Work and Economic Growth	Economic
9	Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure	Economic

²² <https://www.stockholmresilience.org/research/research-news/2016-06-14-the-sdgs-wedding-cake.html>, accessed August 12, 2023

²³ The paper’s classification of the SDGs differs from the ‘Wedding Cake’ Model in that SDG 12 (*Responsible Consumption and Production*) is classified under Environmental Sustainability rather than Economy, SDG 1 (*No Poverty*) is classified under Economy rather than Society, and SDG 7 (*Affordable and Clean Energy*) is classified under Environmental Sustainability rather than Society. The changes are made based on the paper’s categories and the divergent connotations they have from the categories defined by the Wedding Cake Model, and an analysis of the targets and indicators within each SDG goal and what might be their ‘first point of impact’.

²⁴ For classification of the SDGs at the target level, see Appendix II.



10	Reduced Inequalities	Economic
11	Sustainable Cities and Communities	Social
12	Sustainable Consumption and Production	Environmental Sustainability
13	Climate Action	Environmental Sustainability
14	Life Below Water	Environmental Sustainability
15	Life on Land	Environmental Sustainability
16	Peace Justice and Strong Institutions	Social

Figure 5: Proportion of the Three SDG Dimensions in the Leaders’ Declarations, Goal Level²⁵

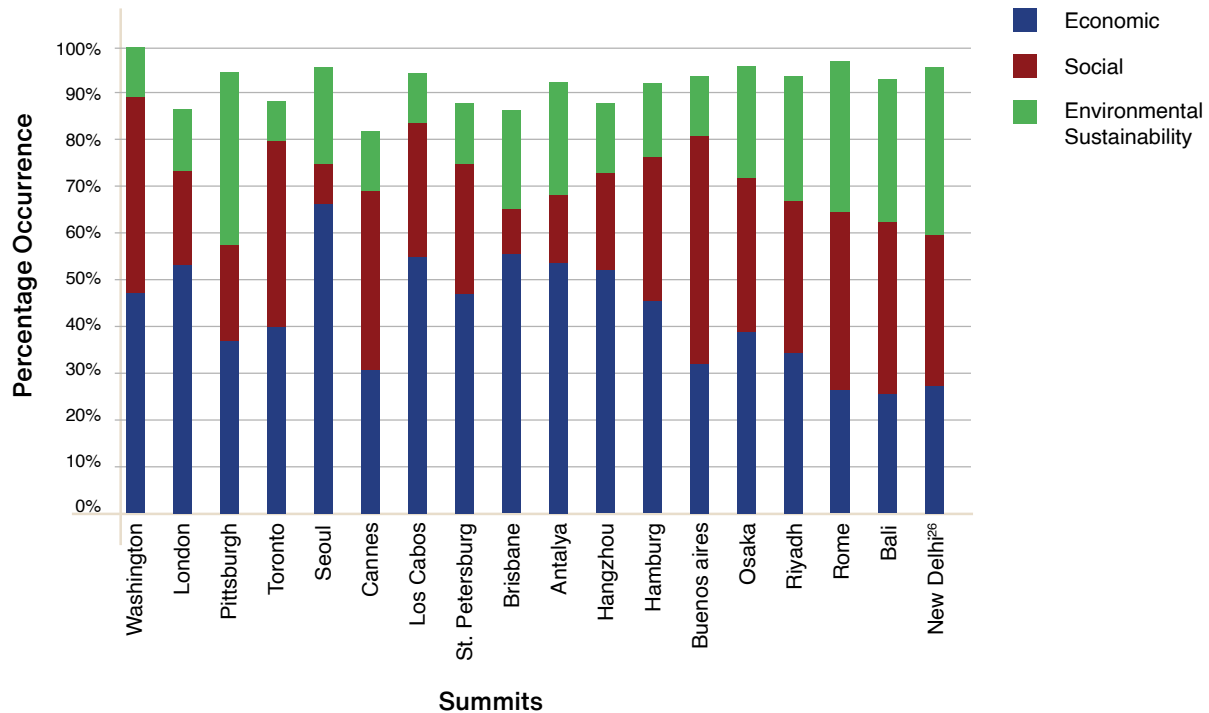


Figure 5 exhibits the changes in the proportion of social, economic, and environmental sustainability goals over the G20 presidencies. In the first declaration at the Washington Summit, both social and economic goals dominated with 42.1 per cent and 47.4 per cent share respectively, while environmental sustainability goals comprised 10.52 per cent. Nonetheless, the prevalence of environmental concerns has grown in the G20 agendas over the years; the average percentage share of environmental keywords in the first six presidencies was 17.16 per cent, 16.64 per cent for the next six presidencies, but a higher 27.11 per cent for the last six declarations. The proportion between the three dimensions has steadily become more balanced over the presidencies. This implies that, at least in terms of frequency of word occurrence, the Leaders’ Declarations increasingly give uniform space to goals from all three categories – economic, social and environmental. This does not, however, reflect the context that the goals are mentioned in, and how strongly they are committed to. The section on language analysis delves deeper into these insights.

²⁵ The observed shortfall of the sum of proportions of economic and socio-environmental dimensions from 100% is due to the exclusion of SDG 17 (*Partnerships for the Goals*) from any classification since it is an overarching goal encompassing collaboration for all goals.

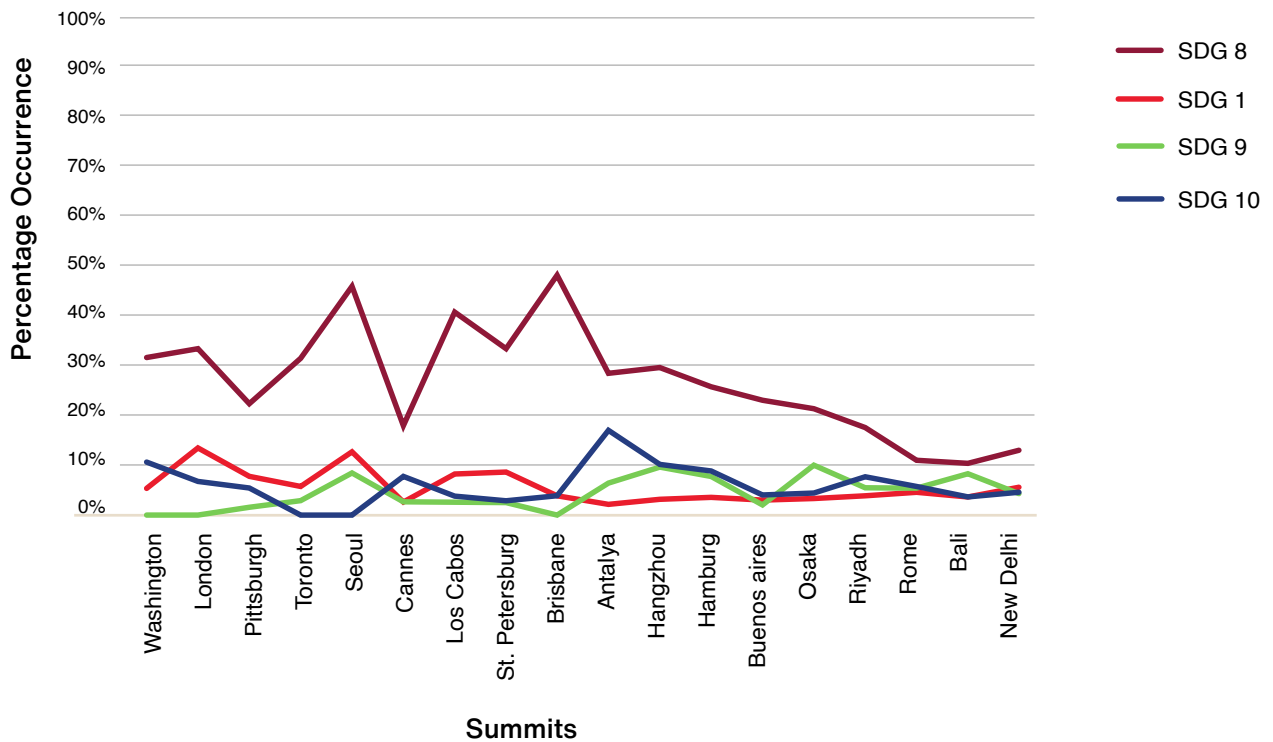
²⁶ A comprehensive analysis of the SDG mapping is done for the Indian Presidency separately in the second half of the study.



An Economic Growth Centric Focus

As Figure 6 shows, the high proportion of economic goals in the Leaders' Declarations over the years has been driven by SDG 8 – Decent Jobs and Economic Growth. The 8th sustainable development goal aims to ‘Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all’;²⁷ and is the SDG that most directly and wholly relates to the fulfilment of economic and financial goals. SDG 1 (*No Poverty*), SDG 9 (*Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure*), and SDG 10 (*Reduced Inequalities*) are more socio-environmental in nature in comparison to SDG 8, and have received far lesser attention, especially in the earlier presidencies.

Figure 6: Economic SDGs (1, 8, 9, 10) over the Presidencies



²⁷ <https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal8>, accessed 1 August, 2023



SDG 8 can be seen to exhibit a downward trendline across the summits (Figure 6), implying that the percentage share of keywords relating to the goal as a proportion of total SDG keywords detected has declined over the years. However, there has also been more dispersion of keywords across the goals; there are a greater number of Sustainable Development Goals that find a mention in the Leaders' Declarations over time, reducing the percentage share of SDG 8. While the first Washington Declaration only had keywords relating to seven SDGs, the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration contained keywords relating to all seventeen SDGs. The Sustainable Development Goals formally came into effect from January 2016 after adoption at the UN summit in September 2015 (United Nations General Assembly, 2015); the uptick in SDG keywords in successive years relating to the specific goals may also be reflective of how the formalization of the SDGs in the 2030 agenda helped to mainstream the keywords in policy language globally. That is to say, keywords related to the SDGs found more mention in the subsequent declarations precisely because of a greater awareness of the keywords as a result of the establishment of the 2030 agenda, and an eagerness on part of nations and institutions to portray inclusive sustainable development coverage. Nonetheless, despite the reduction in percentage share of SDG 8, the goal has dominated the top ranks in all presidencies – its share of keywords ranks first in 13 declarations, second in 3, and third in the previous two summits (2021, 2022) (Table 5).

Table 5: SDGs detected in G20 Leaders' Declarations

Summit	Number of SDGs Detected	SDG 8 Rank
Washington, 2008	7	#2
London, 2009	8	#1
Pittsburgh, 2009	11	#1
Toronto, 2010	8	#1
Seoul, 2010	7	#1
Cannes, 2011	8	#2 (tied with SDG 17)
Los Cabos, 2012	15	#1
St. Petersburg, 2013	14	#1
Brisbane, 2014	8	#1
Antalya, 2015	11	#1
Hangzhou, 2016	12	#1
Hamburg, 2017	17	#1
Buenos Aires, 2018	14	#1
Osaka, 2019	17	#1
Riyadh, 2020	17	#1
Rome, 2021	17	#3
Bali, 2022	16	#3
New Delhi, 2023	17	#2



Figure 7: Percentage Occurrence of the Three SDG Dimensions in the Leaders' Declarations, Goal Level

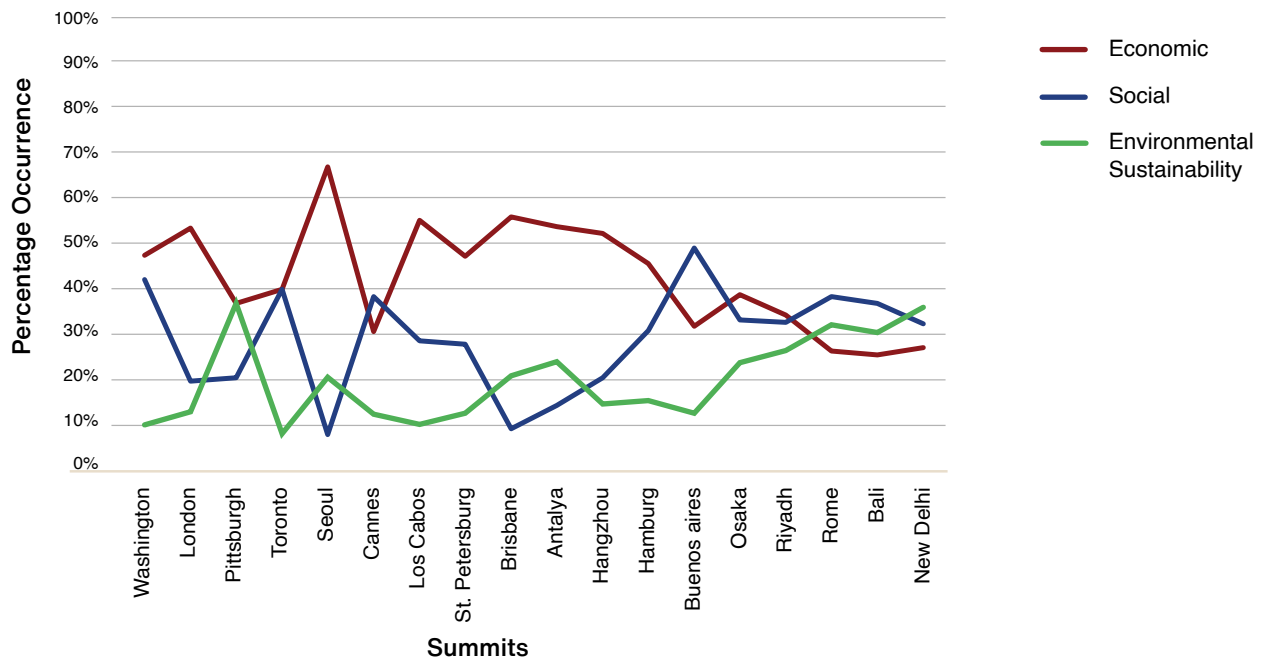
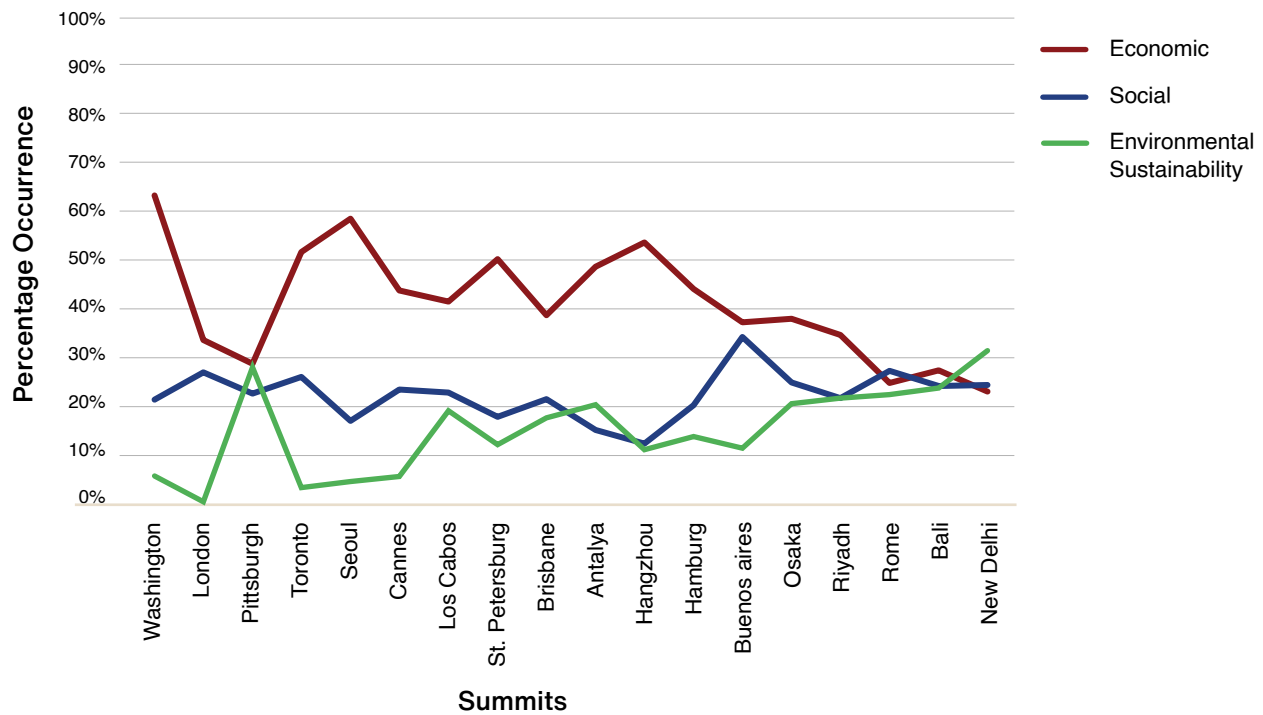


Figure 8: Percentage Occurrence of the three SDG Dimensions in the Leaders' Declarations, Target Level ²⁸



²⁸ The shortfall of the sum of proportions of economic and socio-environmental keywords from 100% at the target level is due to the exclusion of all SDG 17 targets (Partnerships for the Goals) from any classification, as well as all 'X:0 targets (1.0, 2.0 etc) as they represent 'others terms detected at the goal level' and cannot be classified at the target level.



Figure 7 and 8 show the percentage occurrence of social, economic, and environmental sustainability SDGs detected across the presidencies at the goal (17) and target (169) level respectively. The target level analysis classifies the 169 targets into the economic, social, and environmental sustainability dimensions, and thus provides a more granular insight into the evolution of themes in the G20. This is because, for instance, it is possible for social or environmental goals to have economic sub-targets even if the overarching aim and first point of impact of the goal is non-economic, and vice-versa. Classifying and analysing the trend of the targets gives a more complete picture of the nature and category of commitments made at the various presidencies.

While the trend at the goal level is more unsteady, with greater overlaps and some instances where the social SDG keywords outweigh the economic ones, the target level trend is more stable with a consistently higher dominance of economic themes by a margin. This implies, importantly, that while the Leaders' Declarations may mention keywords related to goals that are classified as social and environmental, they might still, in context, be more specifically targeted at the economic aspects of social and environmental problems. This serves as further evidence of the subservience of these development concerns to economic growth. At the same time, the overall trend of all three categories reaching an equilibrium and finding equal representation in the declarations more recently holds true at both the goal and target level. For the last three presidencies – Rome, Bali, New Delhi – the proportion of economic keywords has hovered at less than 30 per cent, and both social and environmental keyword occurrence exceeded that of economic keywords at the goal level. In fact, in the latest New Delhi declaration, the percentage of economic SDGs at the goal level falls at the target level, implying that socio-environmental aspects of economic goals were given prominence, making a turn from previous trends.

03. Evolution of 'Development': An Interconnected World

The Seoul Summit in 2010 was a momentous occasion in that it was the first time in the history of the forum that a non-G8 country had assumed its presidency. 'Development' was a high priority on the agenda. It was an attempt to move beyond the financial crisis context of the G20 and provide the much-needed mediation between developed and developing nations in an era which was steadily moving beyond the emergency and international cooperation did not wield the urgency it once did (Choe, 2010). To that end, Korea had established its credentials as a premier player in the field of international cooperation. Between 2002 and 2009, Korea significantly augmented its net official development assistance (ODA) spending, increased from USD 279 million to USD 816 million. In the same year, Korea attained membership in the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (Thomas Kalinowski, 2010). The establishment of a Development Working Group was agreed upon at the G20 Toronto Summit in 2010 and the development agenda was taken forward in the Seoul summit through the *Seoul Development Consensus for Shared Growth* and the *Multi-Year Action Plan on Development*. Interestingly, the SDG mapping for the Seoul Leaders' Declaration



reveals an excessive share of keywords relating to SDG 8 and economic growth – 45.8 per cent. The pillars of the newly-formed Development Working Group (DWG) were Infrastructure, Human Resource Development, Trade, Private Investment and Job Creation, Food Security, Growth with Resilience, Domestic Resource Mobilization, Knowledge Sharing, and Financial Inclusion (Peter I. Hajnal, 2019). Although a step in the right direction, the pillars and the summit mandate seem to focus narrowly on economic growth as the basis for sustainable development (Thomas Kalinowski, 2010). This origin of developmental concerns in the G20 was far from any holistic understanding and inclusion of the theme for its own sake but rather within the ambit of the economic growth agenda.

This also speaks to the evolution of the definition of ‘development’ in global and multilateral policy. The crisis of 2008 revealed the interconnectedness between nations, and the forming of the G20 as a forum that uniquely bands together developed and developing nations in a multilateral dialogue went beyond the previous ‘North-South’ divide. Industrialised countries and emerging economies do not act as representatives of the North and South blocs but the discussions rather focus on overcoming global challenges with interests and alliances that cut across traditional groupings (Adolf Kloeke-Lesch & Colin Gleichmann, 2010). Given the wide diversity of national economic models, competitiveness capacities and natural endowments, the aim of the forum is precisely to give space to development policy as a global cooperation exercise; developed economies go beyond an aid-centric model of assistance, the significance of emerging market economies is recognised, and a discourse on shared global responsibility is established.

Traditionally in the G20 presidencies, economic SDGs – specifically SDG 8 – have dominated. This phenomenon is visible both at the goal and target level. However, over time and particularly in the last couple of years, the mention of social, economic and environmental sustainability themes in the Leaders’ Declarations has become more balanced, and all three categories find an equitable mention, at least in terms of word frequency. While mandated as a ‘premier forum for international economic cooperation’, the aim of G20’s multilateralism now needs to go beyond simple monetary growth – it equally needs to thrive towards ensuring that the growth is sustainable, shared, and inclusive.

In our interconnected world, with the understanding that monetary growth does not necessarily always translate to higher social prosperity, it is imperative to shift our understanding of ‘development’ to a multifaceted concept where economic and socio-environmental elements cannot, and should not, be divorced from each other, and must find equal emphasis in global diplomacy. The Indian Presidency perhaps presents a beacon of hope in this direction, where many agenda items were issues of ‘development-for-development’s-sake’ such as Lifestyle for Environment and Women-Led Development (G20 India, 2022). The New Delhi Leaders’ Declaration, like last



year's Bali Declaration, finds the highest percentage mention of SDG 13 – Climate Action – out of all SDGs.²⁹ However, the proportion has considerably shot up, with 11.7 per cent keywords relating to SDG 13 in the Bali document (26 keywords out of 222 total keywords detected) and a 17.2 per cent mention in the New Delhi document (53 keywords out of 308 total keywords).

As much as it is the goal to reduce the GDP per capita disparity between the developed and developing economies, so is to bridge the gap in social and environmental progress. The G20 commitments do not have legal binding, however, the forum has the ability to develop innovative approaches to solving global challenges as a unique platform for dialogue between advanced and emerging economies. G20 countries represent two-thirds of the world population, 85 per cent of global GDP, and over 75 per cent of global trade (G20 India, 2023a). This breadth of coverage ensures the representation of differing regional challenges, and compels discussion on issues such as shared prosperity, climate justice etc. The forum began as an acknowledgment of the interlinkages between nations in times of crisis. Consequently, it has the potential to become a medium of international exchange for issues that do not necessarily have suitable support because they do not have a self-evident profit motive, such as the non-economic aspects of development. Ensuring that social progress accompanies monetary growth requires careful policy intervention, agenda setting, and knowledge exchange, all goals which can benefit from a forum of multilateral and global exchange like the G20. There is a long way to go to achieve global equality of opportunities and outcomes, and a case can be made to diversify future G20 agendas to a more equitable balance between economic and non-economic commitments, so as to equip nations to bridge this gap further.

²⁹ Results from the SDG Mapper Tool on the KnowSDGs Platform, see appendix III



Chapter 6: Language Analysis



In an increasingly globalized world connected by economic, social, and environmental dimensions – sometimes intertwined to create complex global issues, the Group of Twenty (G20) has emerged as a pivotal force, aiming to orchestrate international cooperation among the world's major economies. Its thematic evolution over the years, as analyzed in the previous chapter, has been characterized by a necessary shift in the face of an evolving global context – from a born-out-of-crisis multilateral platform focused primarily on economic matters to an important forum that confronts a broad spectrum of global challenges that now go beyond its original mandate. This evolution rests not only on the evolving external factors but also on how this group of powerful nations perceived their role in the management of crises, and how strongly they commit to the resolution of these challenges. This section, therefore, undertakes qualitative analysis to evaluate the forum's nature of strong commitments over the years.



The analysis hinges on two aspects – the number of strong commitments made in a presidency and their classification into the dimensions of economic and socio-environmental, as per the methodology discussed in Chapter 4. As the G20 has evolved, so too have its commitments. Strong commitments, as quantifiable expressions of intent, are an important aspect necessary to evaluate the evolution of the agenda of G20. Furthermore, an inquiry needs to be made as to whether the G20 has moved beyond an economic mandate to embrace socio-environmental considerations, environmental sustainability, and holistic and inclusive growth. The interplay between economic and socio-environmental commitments, as illuminated by this analysis, can help evaluate the role played by the forum in this age of globalization.

This analysis spans the G20's eighteen presidencies, from its beginning at Washington in 2008 until the recently concluded New Delhi summit in 2023. Using this analysis, the study aims to trace the gradual broadening of G20's agenda to incorporate socio-environmental issues in its discussions such as climate change, women empowerment, sustainability, etc. The methodology employed, therefore, utilizes diplomatic language, delving into commitments that carry recall value and potential for tangible change. This stage involves the process of sifting through the Leaders' Declarations to isolate genuine commitments from contextual statements, mere approvals, and reiterations. Later, by classifying commitments based on their primary point of impact, the methodology comprehensively classifies the identified strong commitments across economic and socio-environmental categories. The primary impact of a commitment determines its classification; if economic growth, financial stability, or job creation is the initial consequence, it's deemed to have an economic premise. If environmental betterment or social development, such as climate action or poverty reduction, takes precedence, it's attributed to a socio-environmental premise. Thus, to carefully evaluate its role, the study undertakes the analysis across the two aspects discussed above.

In terms of strong commitments, the declarations from the meetings of the forum have grown from containing a handful of commitments made in the earlier presidencies to a significant number in the later years, reflecting on its resolve to leverage global cooperation in mitigating challenges. Furthermore, the forum has gradually shifted away from its exclusive economic mandate and committed to issues beyond economic dimensions alone, reflecting its adaptability in the face of evolving complexity of global challenges and the requirement of cooperation-based action towards their solution. The shift also highlights the global acknowledgment that holistic development is not merely a function of economic progress but incorporates social dimensions crucial to human growth.

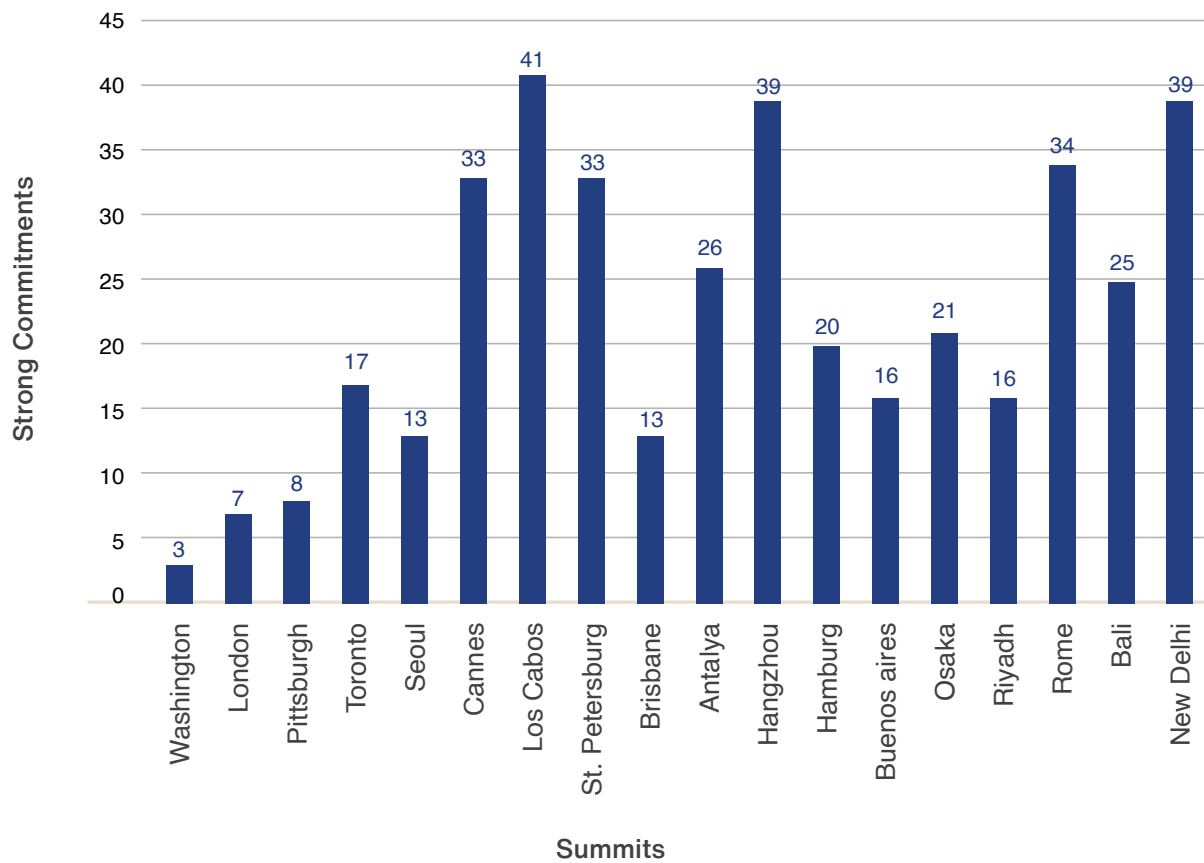
The following sections, therefore, delve deeper into these inquiries and aim to corroborate these ideas using a qualitative analysis of the leaders' declarations of each presidency. The chapter is divided into three sections – analysis of strong commitments, analysis of the distribution of strong commitments into economic and socio-environmental, followed by a brief discussion of the findings from this section.



01. Trend of Strong Commitments

Examining the trajectory of strong commitments across G20 presidencies the study attempts to provide a uniform and a quantifiable lens using which the forum’s transformative journey and the shifting priorities of its member nations, across the years, can be understood. Quantifying these so-called “strong” commitments, therefore, contributes to examining the diversity of the subjects and the willingness of the forum to address and act on such issues pertaining to these subjects in a concrete manner, which can lead to tangible change.

Figure 9: Number of Strong Commitments Across Summits



The first summit held in Washington 2008, under the presidency of United States of America, forged agreement on three areas which can be identified as strong commitments. Marked by an era of global financial crisis, the call for the forum was to take action to mitigate its effects and pave a path to recovery by leveraging global cooperation. The forum, comprising of 19 countries and the European Union that collectively represented around two-third of world’s GDP, undertook this responsibility, and discussed the issues at hand and deliberated upon an inclusive path to global recovery; leveraging the capacity of Multilateral Development Banks, reforming their functioning, agreeing to fiscal stimulus, and relieving trade restrictions, all of which were considered crucial for a swift and sustainable recovery. Commitments also pertained to ensuring resilience and stability in the global financial system so as to avoid the risk of another such crisis.



In the following years, as global challenges magnified in complexity and urgency, so did the number of strong commitments. The UK (London Summit) and United States of America (Pittsburgh Summit) presidencies, touted as a follow-up to assess the progress on the commitments made in Washington, led to a greater number of strong commitments, seven and eight respectively; reflecting a stronger will of the members to address the erstwhile challenges. Most of the commitments made in these summits pertained to issues of financial reform, global recovery, and strengthening resilience of the financial system. The Canadian presidency in 2010 witnessed a rise in the number of strong commitments made, amassing an impressive count of 17. This was marked by a pivotal departure from an exclusive focus on economic matters aiming for a more comprehensive approach encompassing a diverse range of global concerns such as fossil fuel subsidies, agriculture, food security, and tackling corruption.

“ *Narrowing the development gap and reducing poverty are integral to our broader objective of achieving strong, sustainable, and balanced growth and ensuring a more robust and resilient global economy for all. In this regard, we agree to establish a Working Group on Development and mandate it to elaborate, consistent with the G20’s focus on measures to promote economic growth and resilience, a development agenda and multi-year action plans to be adopted at the Seoul Summit.*

[The G20 Toronto Summit Declaration, Para 13 \(G20, 2010a\)](#)

The momentum persisted through subsequent summits, such as Seoul, Cannes, and Los Cabos, where the number of strong commitments displayed a gradual increase with presidencies recording thirteen, thirty-three, and forty-one commitments respectively; the broad areas around which commitments were made listed are in Appendix IV. This underscored the G20’s increased undertaking of the role of a forum representing global issues and furthering its scope to include issues related to remittances, marine environment, financial inclusion, green growth, and climate finance. This was in accompaniment to the strong commitments on economic issues carried over from its initial years. It also emphasized the need for comprehensive solutions that transcended traditional boundaries and recording the need of co-operation to overcome these challenges.



“ Recognizing that 2.5 billion people and millions of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) throughout the world lack access to formal financial services, and the crucial importance for developing countries to overcome this challenge, we launched in Seoul an ambitious Global Partnership for Financial Inclusion (GPII). We commend the ongoing work by the GPII to foster the development of SME finance and to include financial inclusion principles in international financial standards.

G20 Leaders' Declaration, Cannes, Para 78 (G20, 2011)

“ We welcome the creation of the G20 study group on climate finance, in order to consider ways to effectively mobilize resources taking into account the objectives, provisions and principles of the UNFCCC in line with the Cancun Agreement and ask to provide a progress report to Finance Ministers in November.

G20 Leaders' Declaration, Los Cabos, Para 71 (G20, 2012)

“ We highlight that green growth and sustainable development have strong potential to stimulate long term prosperity and well-being... We also acknowledge the G20 efforts to voluntarily self-report on current actions taken to integrate green growth and sustainable development into structural reform agendas. We will self-report again in 2013, on a voluntary basis, and ask appropriate officials to report back on countries' efforts and progress on incorporating green growth policies in structural reform agendas and in relevant national plans to promote sustainable development.

G20 Leaders' Declaration, Los Cabos, Para 73 (G20, 2012)

The St. Petersburg and Brisbane summits brought about as many as thirty-three and thirteen strong commitments respectively in their pursuit of addressing pressing global challenges. The declarations from these presidencies highlighted the G20's commitment to bolstering economic growth while concurrently prioritizing sustainability and inclusivity. In the Brisbane Summit in 2014, the Leaders committed to economic growth of the G20 countries by 2 percent and created an action plan to that end. Additionally, one could see strong commitments made in areas of corruption, financial reform, clean energy etc.

“ This year we set an ambitious goal to lift the G20's GDP by at least an additional two per cent by 2018. Our actions to... create quality jobs are set out in the Brisbane Action Plan and in our comprehensive growth strategies.

G20 Leaders' Declaration, Brisbane, Para 3, 4 (G20, 2014)

Continuing the momentum, in successive summits like in Antalya, Hangzhou, and Hamburg, the G20's agendas spanned a wide range of issues including financial reforms, trade, sustainable development, and climate change. The robust count of strong commitments during these periods corroborated the G20's evolving role as



an inclusive platform adept at addressing multifaceted global challenges. During these presidencies, various strong commitments were made in new areas such as Women Empowerment in the Hamburg summit –

“ We also commit to take further action to improve the quality of female employment and eliminate employment discrimination, and reduce gender compensation gaps and provide women with protection from all forms of violence. We will improve women’s access to labour markets through provision of quality education and training, supporting infrastructure, public services and social protection policies and legal reforms, where appropriate

Hamburg G20 Leaders’ Declaration: Shaping an Interconnected World (G20, 2017)

Food Loss during Antalya summit in 2015 –,

“ We also commit to reducing food loss and waste globally. We welcome Expo Milano with the theme “Feeding the Planet – Energy for Life”. We also welcome our Agriculture Ministers’ decision to establish a new platform to improve the way we and other countries can measure and reduce food loss and waste. We also welcome our Agriculture Ministers’ decision to establish a new platform to improve the way we and other countries can measure and reduce food loss and waste.

Antalya G20 Leaders’ Communiqué, Para 20 (G20, 2015)

and, Anti-Microbial Resistance in Hangzhou summit in 2016 –

“ Antimicrobial resistance (AMR) poses a serious threat to public health, growth and global economic stability. We affirm the need to explore in an inclusive manner to fight antimicrobial resistance by developing evidence-based ways to prevent and mitigate resistance, and unlock research and development into new and existing antimicrobials from a G20 value-added perspective, and call on the WHO, FAO, OIE and OECD to collectively report back in 2017 on options to address this including the economic aspects.

Hangzhou G20 Leaders’ Communiqué, Para 46 (G20, 2016)

Sustaining equilibrium between continuity and innovation, summits like Buenos Aires and Osaka balanced reaffirming established commitments with introducing novel solutions. Issues such as data security, elder care, and marine conservation found their place in the final documents from these presidencies.

“ We share, and call on other members of the international community to also share, as a common global vision, the “Osaka Blue Ocean Vision” that we aim to reduce additional pollution by marine plastic litter to zero by 2050 through a comprehensive life-cycle approach that includes reducing the discharge of mismanaged plastic litter by improved waste management and innovative solutions while recognizing the important role of plastics for society.

G20 Osaka Leaders’ Declaration, Para 39 (G20, 2019)



“ We will cooperate to encourage the interoperability of different frameworks, and we affirm the role of data for development. We also reaffirm the importance of the interface between trade and the digital economy, note the ongoing discussion under the Joint Statement Initiative on electronic commerce, and reaffirm the importance of the Work Programme on electronic commerce at the WTO... To foster public trust and confidence in AI technologies and fully realize their potential, we commit to a human-centred approach to AI, and welcome the non-binding G20 AI Principles, drawn from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Recommendation on AI

G20 Osaka Leaders' Declaration, Para 11 and 12 (G20, 2019)

This aptly illustrated the G20's increasing focus on responding to emergent challenges while constantly adhering to its commitment to pre-existing goals, with stronger commitments emerging for crucial development issues such as early child development in Buenos Aires –

“ We launch the G20 Initiative for Early Childhood Development and stand ready to join all stakeholders in enhancing quality and sustainably financed early childhood programs that consider the multidimensional approach of ECD, as means of building human capital to break the cycle of intergenerational and structural poverty, and of reducing inequalities, specially where young children are most vulnerable.

G20 Leaders' Declaration, Para 14 (G20, 2018)

In Italy's presidency, the G20 experienced a rise in the count of strong commitments. With the world grappling with the Covid-19 pandemic the leaders of the member countries agreed to an impressive tally of 34 strong commitments. The commitments ranged from the subjects of healthcare, support to vulnerable countries, to environment, education, and digital economy exemplifying the forum's evolving agenda as it had gradually established itself as a premier multilateral forum. In a similar vein, Bali summit had a robust count of 26 strong commitments. Indonesia's presidency not only reiterated the G20's commitment to addressing a diverse spectrum of intricate challenges but also solidified its position as a platform for global dialogue and collaborative action.

Following the Bali summit, the mantle shifted to India in 2023. In the face of a complex global context where recovery from the pandemic, war, and sluggish progress towards sustainable development goals were issues demanding immediate resolve, the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration came out with thirty-nine strong commitments. The highlight of the presidencies' commitments was to bring sustainability to the center of its agenda, thus reaching a consensus on accelerating progress towards SDGs, as well as highlighting the importance of sustainability in economic development, and the role of emerging technologies like AI in contributing towards the same.



Additionally, under the Indian Presidency, G20 welcomed African Union (AU) as a permanent member. Other development issues such as reform of MDBs, women empowerment, land degradation, and climate financing, Green Development Pact and LiFE were also on its agenda (G20, 2023)

“...we commit to robust collective actions that will enable the world to embrace sustainable. production and consumption patterns and mainstream Lifestyles for Sustainable Development. Relevant studies on it show that it could contribute to significant emission reduction by 2030 for a global net-zero future. Commit to implement the G20 High-Level Principles on Lifestyles for Sustainable Development.

G20 Leaders' Declaration, New Delhi, para 36 (G20, 2023)

“The rapid progress of AI promises prosperity and expansion of the global digital economy. It is our endeavour to leverage AI for the public good by solving challenges in a responsible, inclusive and human-centric manner, while protecting people's rights and safety... Will promote responsible AI for achieving SDGs.

G20 Leaders' Declaration, New Delhi, para 61 (iii) (G20, 2023)

“We agree to create a new Working Group on Empowerment of Women to support the G20 Women's Ministerial and look forward to the convening of its first meeting during the Brazilian G20 Presidency.

G20 Leaders' Declaration, New Delhi, para 68 (G20, 2023)

“We welcome the African Union as a permanent member of the G20 and strongly believe that inclusion of the African Union into the G20 will significantly contribute to addressing the global challenges of our time. We commend the efforts of all G20 members which paved the way for accession of the African Union as a permanent member during India's Presidency of the G20.

G20 Leaders' Declaration, New Delhi, para 76 (G20, 2023)

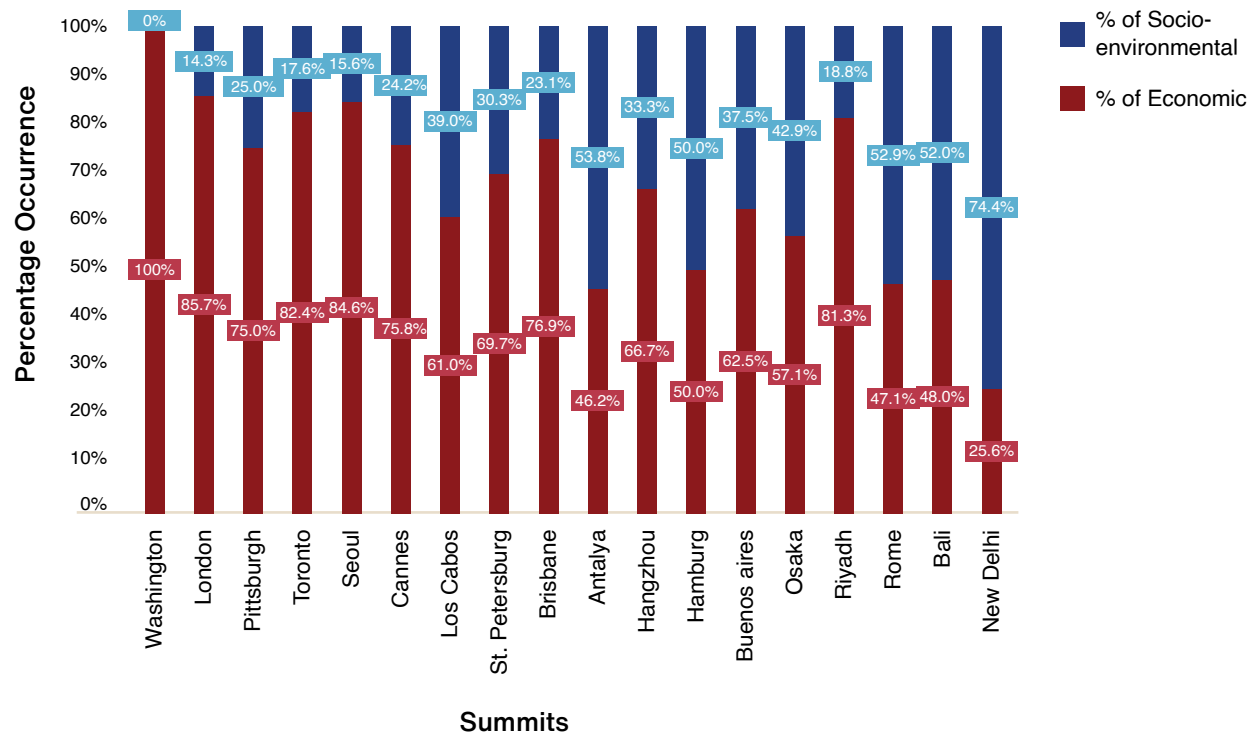
In conclusion, an analytical exploration of the numerical progression of strong commitments paints a picture of growth of consensus in the forum, in terms of both the number of commitments, as well as the issues it addressed in the process. This exemplifies an understanding by the forum of the complex global challenges, and determination to drive the necessary change. With the world facing pertinent issues such as uneven economic growth, climate change, gender discrimination, and slow rate of sustainable development, the forum has grown to adapt itself to the evolving context.



02. Insights into Strong Commitments: Socio-Environmental and Economic Dimensions

The purpose of this section is to investigate whether The Group of Twenty (G20), a congregation of the world’s most influential economies, evolved from a predominantly economic-focused forum to a platform that aspires to balance economic aspirations with broader socio-environmental considerations. To that end, this analysis delves into the G20’s journey, dissecting the interplay between strong economic and socio-environmental commitments over the years. By scrutinizing the quantitative distribution of strong commitments, this study aims to understand the comprehensive nature of the evolution of G20’s agenda.

Figure 10: Distribution of Economic and Socio-environmental Strong Commitments



The earlier years of the G20, beginning from the summit in Washington, were marked by a near absolute emphasis on economic growth, recovery, and economic resilience, in the face of the existing crisis. All three strong commitments made during that summit indicate towards the forum’s dedication towards bolstering economic stability and financial resilience. This economic-centric stance set the tone for the G20’s initial identity as a platform focused on driving global prosperity through economic cooperation and coordination.



As the G20 transitioned to the UK's presidency, the emergence of a single socio-environmental commitment within the mix heralded a subtle yet significant shift in its agenda. While economic commitments remained dominant at 85.7%, the inclusion of a socio-environmental commitment reflected the forum's awareness of the interconnectedness between economic growth and societal well-being. In London, commitments centered on financial stability, economic stimulus, banking regulations, trade support, poverty reduction, and addressing climate change to combat the global financial crisis (G20, 2009a). Therefore, the G20 from this point can be said to have begun to acknowledge the imperative of encompassing broader socio-environmental dimensions within its agenda. The Pittsburgh summit marked an inflexion point in the G20s trajectory. Balancing economic commitments at 75.0% with socio-environmental commitments at 25.0%, the G20 exhibited a stronger effort to expand its scope beyond mere economic imperatives. The Pittsburgh Summit re-emphasized economic commitments along with supporting development, and addressing climate change as key socio-environmental priorities for global stability and growth (G20, 2009b). This equilibrium showed early signs of the forum's vision of crafting an agenda that holistically addresses the interconnected challenges of the contemporary world – a vision that weds economic robustness with socio-environmental inclusivity.

Subsequent summits, from Toronto to Seoul, echoed this trend of balancing economic and socio-environmental commitments. The addition of the Development Working Group in 2010, focusing on global development issues, along with a call to broaden the G20's scope in the face of subsiding economic crisis and the establishment of the forum as a leading global body contributed to this change (G20, 2010b). With economic commitments accounting for 82.4% and 84.6% respectively, and socio-environmental commitments occupying 17.6% and 15.4%, the G20 displayed an early shift in its agenda. Although Toronto emphasized fiscal consolidation, financial regulation, and job creation, Seoul summit centered on addressing trade imbalances, currency issues, boosting development in low-income countries, and enhancing economic governance to ensure global economic stability and sustainable growth (G20, 2010b). This shift can also be attributed to its successful handling of the economic recovery after the financial crises, and thus heralding its status as one of the premier forums to call for global co-operation. The rise in prominence brought the impetus onto the members of the forum to address other global challenges and arrive at solutions leading to tangible change in the world. Thus, the forum's dexterity in recalibrating its agenda to encompass a spectrum of concerns was crucial to maintain its relevance as a multilateral forum.

The G20's journey took a significant turn during the French presidency, as it embraced its changing priorities and established a 'Sherpa Track' in addition to the finance track. The Sherpa Track encompassed development issues, and held dedicated ministerial to address these challenges along with the already existing meetings of finance ministers about economic issues. While economic commitments retained a substantial presence at 75.8%, socio-environmental commitments surged to 24.2%. Emergence of strong commitments on issues such as nutritional security, and measures to improve the presence of small farmers in the global value chains, were important milestones in the forum's agenda, which had earlier been focused on economic goals (G20, 2011). Including nutrition and food security as a commitment broadens G20's focus, highlighting socio-environmental well-being, health, and food security.

The subsequent summits of Los Cabos and St. Petersburg sustained this equilibrium. Economic commitments, standing at 61.0% and 69.7% respectively, coexisted harmoniously with socio-environmental commitments at 39.0% and 30.3%. At Los Cabos, leaders prioritized tackling financial stability and economic growth amidst the backdrop of the lingering global financial crisis. The summit also highlighted the need for sustainable



development, emphasizing inclusive growth and the importance of energy efficiency (G20, 2012). In 2013, the St. Petersburg G20 Summit centred its discussions on fostering job creation and advancing international tax cooperation. The summit aimed to address the pressing issues of tax evasion and avoidance by multinational corporations (G20, 2013). Additionally, discussions on Syria's conflict and the global response to chemical weapon use showcased the forum's reluctance to discuss geopolitical issues.

The Brisbane summit reverted to G20's strong economic focus with 76.9% economic commitments and 23.1% socio-environmental commitments; the forum did commit to addressing a multiplicity of global challenges while retaining its economic roots as exemplified by the Brisbane Action Plan which targeted a strong economic growth for G20 countries. Also, the endorsement of reduction of gender gap by 25 percent by 2025 in the labour force reflects the gender responsiveness of the forum (G20, 2014). However, the subsequent Antalya summit emerged as a transformative juncture. Socio-environmental commitments reached dominant 53.8%, outweighing economic commitments at 46.2% for the first time across the forum's history. The presidency gave weight to issues such as counterterrorism efforts, refugee crises, and climate change mitigation (G20, 2015). The summit emphasized the importance of international cooperation in facing these complex challenges, reflecting a broader commitment to global stability and sustainability. This marked a paradigm shift where the G20 exhibited a heightened focus on non-economic issues. The adoption of Sustainable Development Goals in the same year might have had an impact on this development at the G20 summit.

The Hangzhou summit mirrored an equitable coexistence between economic and socio-environmental commitments at 66.7% and 33.3% respectively, whereas the Hamburg summit, mirroring a 50-50 split between economic and socio-environmental commitments, emphasizing the forum's permanent shift to a broad agenda which focuses multifaceted issues. Key topics at the Hangzhou included boosting global economic growth, structural reforms, promoting innovation, climate change, and sustainable development (G20, 2016). In Hamburg, women empowerment was the highlight as, under the leadership of Angela Merkel, strong commitments on reducing gender gap in employment, skill, and access to labour markets were made (G20, 2017).

Following summits of Buenos Aires and Osaka had economic commitments standing at 62.5% and 57.1% respectively, and socio-environmental commitments commanding 37.5% and 42.9%. In Buenos Aires, leaders addressed trade tensions, emphasizing the need to reform the World Trade Organization to uphold fair and open trade practices. Moreover, discussions also centred on sustainable development, gender equality, and the urgent challenge of climate change, which had by now become a mainstay at the forum given its global importance (G20, 2018). In Osaka, Leaders also made strides in addressing climate change through the Osaka Blue Ocean Vision, aimed at reducing marine plastic pollution (G20, 2019). Additionally, discussions on data security laid the groundwork for enhanced digital protection measures.

The Riyadh summit witnessed a resurgence in economic commitments at 81.3%, while socio-environmental commitments had a meagre share of 18.8%. This resurgence can be attributed to the emergence of an economic crisis in the face of the pandemic, and the focus of the forum to take collaborative action towards a global solution. The Rome summit culminated in a delicate balance, with economic commitments comprising 47.1% and socio-environmental commitments accounting for 52.9%. Given the external context of the times, with the ongoing pandemic, the Italian Presidency made notable strides in ensuring vaccine access, technology-sharing for research and development, and ensuring healthcare access for all during its summit



(G20, 2021). The Bali summit maintained the balance with socio-environmental commitments slightly edging economic commitments at 52.0% to 48.0%. This highlights the evolving nature of G20's commitment to a comprehensive, inclusive, and sustainable global agenda (G20, 2022). At the same time, it is important to note that these three presidencies were met with unprecedented health and humanitarian crises. While in both Riyadh and Rome the pandemic overshadowed the discussions, the Russian war on Ukraine grabbed the centre stage in Bali, obstructing consensus among members on important matters. In this scenario, India took over the G20 presidency.

In New Delhi, the socio-environmental commitments reached the highest proportion of 74.4% of the total strong commitments. The focus of the presidency towards accelerating action towards sustainable development goals, and bringing sustainability to the centre stage of every discussion can be the reason for this surge. The Indian presidency built upon its novel approach to SDGs by introducing lifestyle changes in individuals and communities, imploring them to be the drivers of change. Additionally, the emphasis on women-led development, harnessing the power of AI for public good and achieving SDGs, climate financing, reducing disaster risk by expanding universal coverage of early warning systems, , and addressing land degradation were the reasons for an invigorated focus on socio-environmental issues, a new for the forum (G20, 2023). In terms of economic commitments, which stood at 25.6%, the presidency emphasised the role of private sector in leading development and called for action to ease the path to business for small businesses and startups. Along with it, the emphasis on digital economy and the digital public infrastructure to support universal financial inclusion composed the strong economic commitments for the presidency.

In conclusion, the evolution of the G20's priorities and commitments over the years reflects the forum's adaptability and responsiveness to the changing global landscape. Beginning with a primary focus on economic growth, recovery, and resilience in the aftermath of the global financial crisis, the G20 gradually expanded its agenda to incorporate broader societal dimensions. This shift was evident in the inclusion of socio-environmental commitments and the establishment of the Development Working Group, highlighting the interconnectedness of economic and societal well-being. The G20's journey witnessed pivotal moments, such as the Cannes summit's introduction of the 'Sherpa Track,' the Turkish presidency's paradigm shift towards non-economic issues, and the Indian presidency's emphasis on sustainability and transformative change. These achievements show that the G20 has come to realize that dealing with today's complex global challenges requires a well-rounded approach that links economic goals with broader socio-environmental factors.





03. Broadening the Lens: Socio-Environmental Realignment

Over the years, the G20 has shifted its priorities. Initially, it primarily concentrated on enhancing economic growth, but it has now expanded its concerns to encompass the well-being of people. This section discusses the findings from the above analysis regarding the G20's commitments and their potential implications for the future.

One key finding is the G20's responsiveness to shifting global priorities. It originated as a response to the 2008 global financial crisis, with its early strong commitments heavily skewed toward economic recovery and financial stability. However, as global challenges intensified in complexity and urgency, the G20 demonstrated its ability to adapt. It broadened its agenda, gradually introducing socio-environmental commitments to address issues beyond the economic realm. This adaptability is a crucial feature of the forum as being an influential platform capable of tackling diverse global challenges.

Furthermore, the inclusion of the African Union as a permanent member during India's presidency signifies the forum's recognition of the importance of representing the global south. This move aligns with the forum's growing emphasis on addressing development disparities and reducing inequalities across the world, as reflected in its strong commitments related to sustainable development goals (SDGs) and women's empowerment. By incorporating diverse voices and perspectives, the G20 strengthens its capacity to develop comprehensive and equitable solutions to global issues.

Additionally, the G20's transition from an economic-focused forum to a platform addressing multifaceted global challenges highlights its growing relevance and influence. The forum's ability to balance continuity with innovation, as seen in Argentina and Japan, demonstrated its capacity to respond to emerging challenges while retaining its commitment to established goals. The shift from an exclusive focus on economic matters to a more comprehensive approach, as observed in the Toronto summit, emphasizes the forum's understanding that economic stability cannot be achieved in isolation from broader socio-environmental considerations. The G20's commitment to addressing issues like food security, disaster risk, corruption, and poverty reduction demonstrates its recognition of the need for a holistic approach to global problem-solving.

Another significant insight is the G20's role in shaping the trajectory of international cooperation. As it expanded its agenda to encompass issues like climate change, food security, and antimicrobial resistance, the G20 addressed challenges pertaining to countries beyond its members, emphasizing its claims as a forum for the world's problems, and not being limited to its members. The high number of strong commitments during the Rome summit, amidst the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, exemplifies the forum's capacity to rally global cooperation during crises. The G20's actions transcend symbolic gestures, translating into concrete measures with the potential for tangible global impact.

Lastly, the G20's increasing emphasis on sustainability is a notable finding. The New Delhi Leaders' Declaration's strong focus on accelerating progress toward SDGs, promoting sustainability in economic development, and harnessing emerging technologies like AI for sustainable development highlights the forum's commitment to environmental stewardship and long-term well-being. This shift aligns with global imperatives related to climate change and sustainable development, positioning the G20 as a key player in advancing these critical agendas.



Chapter 7: Discussion of Findings



G20 has undergone significant changes in terms of the evolution of its agenda under the eighteen presidencies, with each presidency proactively making strides towards consolidating the forum's position as a premier multilateral forum globally. Created initially to facilitate global cooperation in the face of a grave financial crisis and pave the way for global recovery, the group has since positioned itself as a multilateral discussion forum aiming to find solutions to global issues – economic and beyond. As per the findings of this study, the agenda of the G20 has indeed broadened to foster inclusivity beyond the economic discourse, increasingly given space to development issues such as climate change, sustainability, and women empowerment, among others, over the years.

Initially, socio-environmental issues were discussed only under the ambit of economic concerns and stronger commitments were still being made for issues pertaining to the economic domain, reflecting lingering economic priorities. Notable events aside - such as the increased emphasis on gender equality in Hamburg in 2017, or an action plan for the conservation of marine environment at Osaka in 2019 - the forum's initial prioritization of economic dimensions raised concerns about its ability to become a leading forum for global issues which are intricately interwoven with social and environmental facets of development.



Moreover, since the G20 positions itself as a forum for global issues, the lack of representation in the forum has been another prominent criticism of the forum; it is said to reduce its ability to diversify the issues discussed, especially from LDCs and LMICs. To improve this, the G20 has, over the years, invited guests to its summits, often representing nations from Africa, South America, Asia, and international and regional organizations such as the Caribbean Community, Development Bank of Latin America, Food and Agriculture Organization etc. However, criticism has still persisted about their limited to no influence on the agenda and the negotiations that take place at the summit.

G20 commitments do not have any legal binding, entailing that their relevance and 'effectiveness' remains tied to their recall value, i.e., how strongly they can be recalled at other multilateral forums and how precise and detailed they are, so as to make it easier to measure and hold member states accountable for them. Subjects like migration, refugee crisis, and other geopolitical concerns have made their way into the leaders' declarations of recent summits, indicating cognizance by the members, but there are no strong commitments made towards their resolution. This can be attributed to the forum's way of functioning, where absolute consensus is paramount and diverging views of member states on these subjects often make their inclusion in the declaration difficult. Given the growing prestige of the forum, its increasingly important role in diplomacy and global governance, and to sustain its relevance, it is important for G20 to tackle these issues strongly as they have a significant impact on the world. Nonetheless, the trend of G20 agenda evolution is encouraging; despite the initial dominance of economic SDGs as well as economic-themed strong commitments, both analyses show a shift towards a more equitable distribution between economic and socio-environmental issues.

The average percentage share of environmental, social, and economic goals for the first nine presidencies (2008-2014) was 16.42, 26.23, and 48.1 per cent respectively, and for the last nine presidencies (2015-2023), the average share became 24.2, 32.15, and 37.34 per cent respectively. Thus, the share of social and environmental goals rose while that of economic goals fell down. In the latest New Delhi Leaders' Declaration, environmental goals had the highest share with 36.03 per cent, and the SDG with the highest proportion in the declaration was SDG 13 - Climate Action (17.2%). For the last three presidencies, the percentage share of economic SDGs detected is lesser than the share of social SDGs and SDGs relating to environmental sustainability. In the language analysis, the number of strong commitments identified has grown over the presidencies, in addition to the detection of more socio-environmental themed strong commitments. Although the forum had begun giving space to socio-environmental issues from 2010, the number of strong commitments were economic in nature. Gradual shift towards strong socio-environmental commitments over the years highlights the ability of the forum to acknowledge the complexities of multidimensional global issues, as well as its adaptability



in committing to their solutions. As a testament, In the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration, the proportion of socio-environmental commitments out of the total strong commitments is a significant 74.4%. This forward-looking approach aligns with their broader presidency agenda of integrating social and environmental priorities, showcasing India's commitment to holistic development on the global stage.

To further investigate the Indian Presidency's approach to G20, its expansion of the mandate beyond exclusively economic concerns, and the lessons that can be drawn from it for the future of multilateralism, the next section looks closely at the 2023 Indian Presidency. In a significant first, India found itself as part of troika of developing nations and vocally positioned itself as 'Voice of the Global South'. The G20 forum in 2023 also found itself dealing with an adverse external context, against the backdrop of unprecedented multidimensional crises – geopolitical tensions, climate crisis, post-pandemic recovery. The Indian Presidency also comes at the midway point of the implementation of the 2030 Agenda, and is thus an important mark to reflect on how sustainable development needs to be incorporated in multilateralism. The significance of India's presidency thus go beyond the particular year, but also reflect deep lessons into where multilateralism needs to head to be more inclusive, representative, and resilient.

India Takes the Helm

G20

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2023 INDIA

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FAMILY • ONE FUTURE



India Takes the Helm

The G20 occupies a unique position as a twenty-first-century institution, providing a platform where both developed and developing nations hold equal standing. The G20 has historically played a pivotal role in guiding international financial institutions and influencing global economic governance, owing to the significant influence of its member countries. In 2022, India assumed the G20 Presidency, passed on from Indonesia³⁰, during which it held the New Delhi Summit in September 2023. The G20 Presidency in 2023 presented an opportunity for India to influence and navigate the G20's role in addressing pressing global challenges and shaping global responses. The leadership of a nation³¹ within a multilateral forum assumes a crucial role in its diplomatic engagements. This study, therefore, examines India's tenure as the chair of the G20 against a backdrop of intricate global challenges and opportunities.

The rationale behind the examination of the current presidency is the three unique circumstances it finds itself in – the multidimensional global context of the time with interlinked challenges; the first troika of G20 consisting exclusively of developing countries; and, the alignment of the presidency with the halfway point of the 2030 Agenda. India assumed the Presidency in the midst of lingering economic and social repercussions of the COVID-19 pandemic, the geopolitical conflict in Ukraine, and other issues that lent to doubts about the achievement of a consensus on the various issues discussed under its tenure. John Kirton, the Director of the G20 Research Group at the University of Toronto, called the New Delhi Summit “the most important one ever held by G20 leaders” (Kirton, 2023a). The influence and significance of the global south in the global economic order is expanding. At the same time, developing economies are more vulnerable to the cascading challenges of our times, and hence the current developing nations' troika and in turn India's presidency was significant in the anticipated bringing forth of issues affecting the global south. Issues such as women-led development, increasing focus on sustainability, accelerating progress towards the SDGs, promoting digital public infrastructure, and assisting developing countries to benefit from these developments were some of the key priorities on the Presidency's agenda. The complex global headwinds and the process of navigating these challenges multilaterally by a developing country is the subject of academic inquiry in this study, with the aim of discerning lessons for future presidencies. Furthermore, it comments on the evolution of multilateralism as it adapts to the changing contours of the global order. This contribution to the discourse on global governance and multilateralism aims to deepen the understanding of the challenges and opportunities that nations encounter



³⁰ G20 Presidency is rotational in nature, i.e., it rotates among its members from year to year; India was offered the G20 Presidency in 2021, which it requested Italy to swap with in order to coincide with India's 75 years of Independence in 2022. Later, India swapped the Presidency with Indonesia, thus deferring it twice. (Source: (ANI [@ANI], 2018); (The Straits Times, 2020))

³¹ The Washington Post reported that critics contend that India's G20 hosting used extravagance for domestic political gains ahead of General Elections in 2024. (Mehrotra & Shih, 2023)

when shaping global forums. It underscores the potential for fostering collaborative, multilateral solutions in an interconnected world that continues to undergo rapid transformation.

The first section of the study gives a detailed overview of the G20 presidency under India, outlining its key priorities, the Working Groups (WG) and Engagement Groups (EG), and a list of invited guest countries and institutions. The second section explores representation within the G20 as a forum, and domestically under the Indian Presidency, while the third section dissects the presidency's approach to accelerating progress on the SDGs. The last section traces India's diplomatic approach to the multilateral order, highlights its outcomes as the chair of the G20 Presidency, and its implications for the future of the forum and the wider multilateral order.

India's G20 Presidency: An Overview

The role of the chair in the G20 presidency holds paramount significance within the framework of this multilateral forum. Rotating annually among member countries, the chair's role entails a multifaceted array of responsibilities and functions that underpin the effective operation of the G20. These duties encompass agenda-setting, wherein the chair determines the focal points for deliberations across a spectrum of global economic, financial, and socio-political issues, including climate change, global health, and sustainable development (Kripalani, 2021). Furthermore, the chair assumes the role of hosting a series of meetings and summits throughout its tenure, including the Leaders' Summit and various ministerial gatherings. These forums provide a platform for member states to engage in substantive discussions and policy coordination on the predetermined agenda items. The chair's duties extend to fostering consensus among member countries, necessitating adept negotiation and mediation skills in order to facilitate agreement on pressing global matters. Beyond this, the chair represents the G20 on the international stage, interfacing with a plethora of international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund, Financial Stability Board, the World Bank and others to advance collective objectives in global economic stability and development. Equally significant is the role of the chair in reporting on the outcomes of G20 meetings, ensuring transparency and accountability in the collective decision-making process. Finally, the chair may introduce long-term initiatives that are deemed vital for the G20's sustained relevance and efficacy.

The G20 Leaders' Declaration in New Delhi was the result of over 200 meetings across 60 cities with an impressive attendance of 100,000 delegates. India aimed to make a substantial contribution to the G20's mission of achieving faster, sustainable, and inclusive global growth, particularly in light of the economic challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic and geopolitical conflicts (Modi, 2023). Emphasising the theme of '*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*' or 'One Earth – One Family – One Future', this Presidency's overarching goal has been to increase the representation of the developing world's concerns at the table with the aim to foster equitable growth for all.

Logo of the Presidency

India's G20 logo (Figure 11) draws inspiration from the country's national flag's colours - featuring saffron, white, and green highlighting alphanumeric characters, and blue representing the Earth. The Earth sits within a tricolored lotus, India's national flower, symbolizing hope, shared knowledge, and prosperity. The lotus embodies principles from Indian mythology, emphasizing unity in diversity (PIB, 2022a).

Figure 11: G20 2023 Logo



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ONE EARTH • ONE FAMILY • ONE FUTURE

Theme of the Presidency

Building upon India's rich spiritual heritage, this G20 Presidency was guided by the principles of global unity encapsulated in the theme – “One Earth, One Family, One Future.” Inspired by the ancient Sanskrit adage *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*, meaning the world is a single interconnected entity, the theme for India's G20 Presidency encompassed three core- dimensions:



'One Earth' centres around nurturing the planet by advocating sustainable and eco-friendly lifestyles. The aim is to protect the environment and its resources.



'One Family' seeks to foster harmony within the world by depoliticizing crucial supply chains, including those for food, fertilizers, and medicines. This depoliticization aims to prevent humanitarian crises arising from geopolitical tensions.



'One Future' encourages candid dialogues among the world's most influential nations on critical issues such as climate change and the mitigation of risks associated with weapons of mass destruction. This dialogue aims to bolster global security.

These guiding principles draw inspiration from the ancient Sanskrit text of the *Maha Upanishad*, which emphasises the interconnectedness of all life forms, encompassing humans, animals, and microorganisms, with one another and the earth (PIB, 2022a).





Priorities of the Indian G20 Presidency

For the first time in the history of the G20, the troika of the G20 comprised of three countries from the Global South - India, Indonesia and Brazil. The troika refers to the grouping of three countries that make up the previous, current, and incoming G20 presidents. While India was the Chair of the G20 in 2023, the country's predecessors were Indonesia, and the next member host will be Brazil. This close collaboration with G20 troika members was evident in the numerous joint working sessions held during the Indian Presidency where the troika members were co-chairs of certain working groups. A brief overview of the priorities set for G20 2023 are listed below.

Table 6: Key Priorities, G20 2023

Priority	Summary
 Strong, Sustainable, Balanced and Inclusive Growth	The New Delhi Leaders' Declaration reflects a commitment to fostering strong, sustainable, balanced, and inclusive growth amidst the current global economic challenges. Addressing the uneven recovery, the leaders emphasised the importance of unlocking trade for growth, supporting a rules-based multilateral trading system, and discouraging protectionism. Additionally, they prioritised preparing for the future of work by addressing skill gaps, promoting financial inclusion, and maintaining a zero-tolerance stance on corruption through international cooperation and asset recovery mechanisms.
 Accelerating Progress on Sustainable Development Goals	The New Delhi Leaders' Declaration emphasises on accelerating SDG progress with a focus on digital transformation, addressing economic vulnerabilities, and endorsing data principles. The leaders prioritised eliminating hunger through sustainable agriculture and fertilizer trade cooperation. On global health, Finance-Health Collaboration, and optimizing financing mechanisms for pandemic response was also emphasised. Additionally, the agenda laid focus on delivering quality education, recognising culture as a transformative driver of SDGs.
 Green Development Pact for a Sustainable Future	The New Delhi Leaders' Declaration encompasses a comprehensive Green Development Pact, emphasising environmentally sustainable economic growth, addressing macroeconomic risks associated with climate change, and fostering transition pathways. The document further includes mainstreaming sustainable lifestyles (LiFE), designing a circular economy, implementing clean and inclusive energy transitions, and delivering on climate and sustainable finance. Priorities extended to conserving ecosystems, harnessing the ocean-based economy, ending plastic pollution, financing resilient urban infrastructure, and reducing disaster risk. These commitments underscore a holistic approach to global challenges, promoting sustainability, inclusivity, and resilience across various sectors.
 Multilateral Institutions for the 21st Century	The New Delhi Leaders' Declarations highlights the need for reinvigorating multilateralism, emphasising its role in addressing interconnected global challenges. Additionally, there is a commitment to reform international financial institutions, aiming to enhance their effectiveness, transparency, and representation. The document also recognises the need to manage global debt vulnerabilities, emphasising the implementation of the Common Framework for Debt Treatments and fostering international cooperation to address debt challenges in low and middle-income countries.

 <p>Technological Transformation and Digital Public Infrastructure</p>	<p>The New Delhi Leaders' Declaration recognises the pivotal role of technology in fostering inclusive and sustainable development through Technological Transformation and Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI). Acknowledging the importance of secure DPI, the G20 welcomes the voluntary G20 Framework and India's Global Digital Public Infrastructure Repository (GDPIR), aiming to build a comprehensive digital infrastructure. Additionally, the G20 commits to building a safe and resilient digital economy, endorsing high-level principles, and toolkits, including those for cyber education and awareness. The regulation of crypto-assets and Central Bank Digital Currency (CBDC) is a key focus, with the G20 endorsing policy recommendations for the former and discussing macro-financial implications for the latter. Furthermore, the G20 commits to fostering digital ecosystems, supporting initiatives like the Global Initiative on Digital Health, and emphasizes responsible AI use to address societal challenges.</p>
 <p>Gender Equality and Empowering All Women and Girls</p>	<p>The New Delhi Leaders' Declaration reaffirms the forum's commitment to gender equality, focusing on enhancing economic and social empowerment, bridging the digital divide, driving gender-inclusive climate action, securing women's food security, and creating a dedicated Working Group on the Empowerment of Women. These initiatives highlight the G20's recognition of the crucial role women play in global development and sustainability, emphasizing education, economic opportunities, digital inclusion, and climate resilience.</p>

Invitees to the New Delhi Summit

The G20 Summit presided by India saw the greatest number of guest country participants (9) and guest organisations as participants (14). While most member and guest countries were represented by their heads of state, Russia, China and Mexico were represented at the ministerial level. Russia was represented by Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov. Premier Li Qiang represented China, while Economic Secretary Raquel Buenrostro represented Mexico (Bhatnagar, 2023) (Secretary of Foreign Affairs, 2023).

Table 7: List of countries as guest participants G20 2023




















S.No.	G20 2023 Invitee	
1		Bangladesh
2		Egypt
3		Mauritius
4		Netherlands
5		Nigeria
6		Oman
7		Singapore
8		Spain
9		United Arab Emirates



Table 8: List of organisations as guest participants G20 2023

S.No.	G20 2023 Invitee	
1		United Nations
2		International Monetary Fund
3		World Bank
4		World Health Organisation
5		World Trade Organisation
6		International Labour Organisation
7		Financial Stability Board
8		Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
9		African Union
10		New Partnership for Africa's Development





11		Association of Southeast Asian Nations
12		International Solar Alliance
13		Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure
14		Asian Development Bank

Table 9: List of member participants G20 2023

S.No.	G20 Member Participants	
1.		Argentina
2.		Australia
3.		Brazil
4.		Canada
5.		China
6.		France
7.		Germany
8.		India
9.		Indonesia
10.		Italy

S.No.	G20 Member Participants	
11.		Japan
12.		Mexico
13.		South Korea
14.		Russia
15.		Saudi Arabia
16.		South Africa
17.		Türkiye
18.		United States of America
19.		United Kingdom
20.		European Union

Workstreams under the Indian G20 Presidency

The G20 Presidency Chair determines the G20 agenda for the year. It operates through two parallel tracks: the Finance Track and the Sherpa Track. The Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors lead the Finance Track, while the Sherpas - personal emissaries of the Leaders - lead the Sherpa Track. Within these two tracks, there are specialized Working Groups focused on specific themes. These groups consist of representatives from relevant ministries of member countries, invited/guest countries, and various international organizations. The Ministry of Finance primarily leads the Finance Track, and these Working Groups meet regularly throughout the Presidency's term. Sherpas oversee negotiations throughout the year, discussing Summit agenda items and coordinating the G20's substantive work. Additionally, there are Engagement Groups that bring together various stakeholders from civil society, parliamentarians, think tanks, women, youth, labour, businesses, and researchers from G20 countries. It's important to note that the G20 does not have a permanent secretariat. The Presidency receives support from the troika, which includes the previous, current, and incoming Presidency countries.









Sherpa Track

For India, the G20 Sherpa was Amitabh Kant, who was previously the CEO of NITI Aayog (National Institute for Transforming India). During India's Presidency, the Sherpa Track convened 13 Working Groups³² and 4 Initiatives to address priorities and offer recommendations. India introduced the Disaster Risk Reduction Working Group under its Presidency for the G20, highlighting the importance of research on best practices for disaster risk reduction. Additionally, the G20 Chief Scientific Advisors Roundtable was also established under India's Presidency. Table 10 briefly summarises the priorities of each of the working groups. The subsequent tables list the initiatives and conferences that are part of the Sherpa Track.

Table 10: List of Working Groups, Sherpa Track, G20 2023

S.No.	Working Group	Year of Inception	Priorities
1	 Agriculture	2011	Originally aimed to address global food price fluctuations, over time, it has evolved into a crucial platform for fostering collaboration in matters pertaining to agriculture, particularly in the context of the UN 2030 agenda with a focus on achieving the "Zero Hunger" goal (SDG 2). This working group promotes the exchange of information and joint efforts on various global challenges, including food security, nutrition, combatting antimicrobial resistance, reducing food waste, promoting sustainability, and strengthening inclusive and resilient food supply chains.
2	 Anti-Corruption	2010	The group advises G20 Leaders on anti-corruption efforts. Its aim is to establish common legal standards among G20 countries to combat corruption, focusing on public and private sector integrity, bribery, international cooperation, asset recovery, beneficial ownership transparency, and capacity-building.
3	 Culture	2021	The group seeks to enhance global collaboration to bolster cultural and creative sectors.

³² In the G20's decision-making process, Working Groups play a crucial role by assembling experts and officials from pertinent ministries to engage in thorough examination and discussions concerning a wide array of globally significant issues that fall within their respective areas of focus.

4	 Digital Economy	2021	This group provides general directives to policymakers regarding the utilization of digital capabilities within economies with a focus on achieving digital transformation encouraging public participation for inclusive growth.
5	 Disaster Risk Reduction	2023	India's Presidency has introduced a new working group focused on Disaster Risk Reduction. The objective is to encourage collaborative initiatives among G20 nations, foster interdisciplinary research, and facilitate the exchange of best practices in disaster risk reduction.
6	 Development	2010	Following the adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its associated goals in 2015, the Development Working Group has played a pivotal role. It has actively supported Sherpas in advancing the G20 Sustainable Development agenda while also collaborating with other workstreams for better aligning G20's work with the objectives of the 2030 Agenda for sustainable development.
7	 Education	2018	The group's focus is to enhance learning outcomes, ensure equitable access through technology and financing, and foster global collaboration. It also works with other working groups to address cross-cutting issues such as skill development.
8	 Employment	2015	This working group delves into dialogues concerning labor, employment, and social aspects, with the objective of fostering resilient, sustainable, equitable, inclusive, and employment-generating economic growth.
9	 Environment and Climate Sustainability	2019	The group's focus lies on environmental and climate-related matters, encompassing aspects like resource efficiency, circular economy, ocean well-being, marine debris, coral reef preservation, soil quality deterioration, diminishing biodiversity, water resource supervision, and strategies for alleviating and adapting to climate fluctuations, among others.
10	 Energy Transitions	2018	This working group engages in discussions regarding energy security, accessibility, and affordability, along with energy efficiency, renewable energy, innovation, technology, and financing considerations.

11	 Health	2017	The group strives to establish societies focused on sustainable well-being, dedicated to achieving fair health outcomes for both current and future generations. It addresses matters related to the readiness of healthcare systems for health crises, the One Health approach, Digital Health, Universal Health Coverage, adherence to International Health Regulations, Sustainable Financing, and more.
12	 Trade and Investment	2016	The group's focus lies on reinforcing the G20 trade and investment framework, facilitating global trade growth, upholding the integrity of the multilateral trade system, fostering cooperation in global investment policies, and championing the development of inclusive and seamlessly coordinated global value chains.
13	 Tourism	2020	This group has served as a forum for member countries and relevant stakeholders to engage in discussions, deliberate on strategies, and provide guidance for the advancement of tourism at both local and global levels. This includes addressing common challenges similar to those posed by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Table 11: List of Initiatives, Sherpa Track G20 2023

S.No.	Initiatives	Focus
1	 Research and Innovation Initiative Gathering	This forum is dedicated to bolstering research and innovation collaboration among G20 member nations. RIIG's mission is to further enhance and intensify cooperation in the domains of science, technology, and innovation.
2	 Space Economy Leaders Meeting	This forum promotes discussions on the growing impact of space activities and partnerships on the global economy, with a focus on ensuring the sustainability of outer space.
3	 G20 Empower	The objective of this forum is to expedite the advancement of women's leadership and empowerment within the private sector by utilizing its distinctive coalition that brings together business leaders and governments from the G20 nations.
4	 G20 Chief Scientific Advisors Roundtable	Established during India's Presidency, this forum seeks to unite Chief Scientific Advisors of G20 Heads of State/Government to establish an efficient platform for addressing global science and technology policy issues. The focus during the New Delhi Summit was on "One Health," shared scientific infrastructure, collaboration in emerging technologies, and evolving standards.

Table 12: List of Conferences, Sherpa Track G20 2023

S.No.	Conferences	Focus
1	G20 Conference on "Crime and Security in the age of NFTs, AI and Metaverse"	During India's G20 Presidency, the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, held the G20 Conference titled "Crime and Security in the Era of NFTs, AI, and the Metaverse" in July 2023. The conference served as a platform for extensive deliberations and discussions concerning the crime and security ramifications associated with emerging and cutting-edge technologies.

Finance Track

Out of the eight workstreams within the Finance Track, the agenda discussions on International Taxation and Financial Sector issues are held directly at the G20 Finance and Central Bank Deputies level. The other six workstreams have dedicated working groups for the same. The agenda on International Taxation is overarched by the OECD's Inclusive Framework, and the discussions are primarily on the prevention of tax evasion, bank secrecy, tax avoidance by multinational corporations etc. Similarly, the discussions on Financial Sector issues are facilitated by the Financial Stability Board where the focus is on improving global financial system resilience, risk management, climate-related financial risk etc. The following table lists the 6 Working Groups that convened during the course of the Indian Presidency.

Table 13: List of Working Groups, Finance Track, G20 2023

S.No.	Working Groups	Priorities
1	Framework Working Group	This group co-chaired by India and the UK, engages in discussions concerning global macroeconomic issues that are currently relevant. It also monitors global risks and uncertainties while exploring potential areas where policy coordination can promote Strong, Sustainable, Balanced, and Inclusive Growth (SSBIG) within the G20.














2	International Financial Architecture	Co-chaired by South Korea and France, this working group focuses on topics concerning the international financial structure, including the global financial safety net (GFSN), development finance, the management of debt vulnerabilities, the improvement of debt transparency, capital flow management, and the promotion of local currency bond markets.
3	Infrastructure Working Group	The working group co-chaired by Australia and Brazil, focuses on issues related to developing infrastructure as an asset class, promoting high-quality infrastructure investments, exploring Infratech, and identifying innovative methods to mobilize financial resources for infrastructure projects.
4	Sustainable Finance Working Group	Led by co-chairs the U.S. and China, this working group convenes to strategize how to steer the focus of the G20, international organizations, and other stakeholders towards pivotal aspects of the sustainable finance agenda.
5	Global Partnership for Financial Inclusion	Co-chaired by Italy and Russia, this group works toward improving financial infrastructure, promoting tech-friendly policies, facilitating remittances, ensuring financial literacy and consumer protection, and bridging the digital divide.
6	Joint Finance and Health Task Force	The focus areas of the Task Force include enhancing pandemic Prevention, Preparedness, and Response (PPR), promoting information exchange, coordinating Finance and Health Ministries, facilitating collective action, addressing cross-border health emergencies, and ensuring effective resource management with a One Health approach.

Engagement Groups

Under India's Presidency of the G20, there were 11 Engagement Group Summits held before the final Leaders' Summit in New Delhi. It is important to note that out of the 11, Startup20 Engagement Group is the newest addition to the G20, introduced by India. The following table briefly summarises the priorities of each engagement group under the G20.

Table 14: List of Engagement Groups, G20 2023

S.No.	Engagement Groups	Year of Inception	Priorities
1	 Business20	2010	Engaging with a wide array of companies and business entities, the B20's central mission revolves around seeking input from top global business figures regarding issues related to global economic and trade governance. In the context of India's G20 Presidency, the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) has assumed the role of B20 Secretariat holding discussions on policy advocacy across the country to tackle industry-specific concerns.
2	 Civil20	2013	C20 serves as a forum for Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) across the globe to represent a non-governmental and non-business perspective within the G20.
3	 Labour20	2011	The L20 brings together trade union leaders from G20 nations, serving as a platform to provide analyses and policy recommendations to address labor-related issues.
4	 Parliament20	2010	The P20 operates under the leadership of Speakers from the Parliaments of G20 member countries with the aim to incorporate a parliamentary dimension into global governance by raising awareness, garnering political support for international commitments, and ensuring the effective translation of these commitments into national policies and actions.
5	 Science20	2017	This group works towards presenting science-based policy recommendations after achieving a consensus among international experts within the G20 states.
6	 Supreme Audit Institutions20	2022	This serves as a platform for discussions on the role of Supreme Audit Institutions in upholding transparency and accountability.

7	 Startup20	2023	Introduced by the G20, under the Indian Presidency; the objective of this group is to establish a unified platform for startups from G20 member states to collaboratively formulate actionable guidelines on development of support infrastructure, addressing financial gaps, augmenting employment prospects, achieving SDG targets, bolstering climate resilience, and fostering inclusive entrepreneurial opportunities.
8	 Think20	2012	The T20 is an 'idea-bank' uniting think tanks and specialists to deliberate on pertinent global socio-environmental concerns.
9	 Urban20	2017	The objective of U20 is to cultivate an ongoing dialogue among cities to recognise the critical role of urban areas in advancing the sustainable development agenda.
10	 Women20	2015	The main goal of W20 is to realize the "25x25" pledge established at the Brisbane Summit in 2014, targeting a 25% reduction in the gender gap in workforce participation by 2025. W20 centers its efforts on achieving 'gender-inclusive economic growth'.
11	 Youth20	2010	Y20 offers a platform for the youth to articulate their perspectives and concepts regarding G20 priorities, generating a set of recommendations that are presented to the G20 Leaders.

The next section details the Indian Presidency's approach to the 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals.

II. The Need for Representation: G20, India, and the Global South





01. Troika of Developing Nations: A Significant ‘First’

Previously, the only developing nations³³ to have held the G20 Presidency have been Mexico, Türkiye, China, Argentina, Saudi Arabia and Indonesia (in that order). India becomes the seventh developing nation to become a G20 Chair. The predecessor, the incumbent and the successor together form the troika and work in tandem to further the forum’s agenda on a multilateral level. In the absence of a permanent secretariat or monitoring body, the troika plays a vital role in maintaining the G20’s ongoing initiatives and ensuring the continuity of its priorities. This unique mechanism not only fosters coherence within the G20 but also facilitates a seamless transition of objectives between presidencies. The 2023 Presidency is significant as the troika comprised three developing nations for the first time – Indonesia, India and Brazil; Indonesia being the predecessor and Brazil the successor. This presented India with the opportunity to lead the discussions on issues concerning the developing world in cooperation with Indonesia and Brazil. The same is reflected in the Leaders’ Declaration at the New Delhi Summit in terms of the commitments that the member nations agreed upon.

Similarly, the next troika after G20 2023 also holds relevance for the same sake. India handed over the Presidency to Brazil and the next troika will comprise India, Brazil and South Africa. This extends the chance to further enable these developing countries to work together on policy matters most concerning from a developing country’s lens in continuity. The next G20 troika is special also because India, Brazil and South Africa, earlier in 2003, formed the IBSA Dialogue Forum – a tripartite grouping of democracies with similar challenges for the promotion of South-South cooperation. India being the current Chair of the IBSA, held even more significance in steering the global order towards prioritising the challenges faced by the Global South. It’s important to highlight that there are now two troikas, both exclusively composed of developing countries. This represents a remarkable opportunity for these nations to collectively advocate for and advance the interests and issues that are of utmost importance to the global south. This opportunity is significant as the global south is poised to be a major driver of global growth in the coming years, while also being more vulnerable to today’s cascading challenges. Thus, it is important to give them an enhanced voice and representation in international fora.

02. India as the Voice of the Global South

The term ‘Global South’ originated in 1969 when American writer and activist Carl Ogelsby used it in an article during the Vietnam War. He introduced this concept to highlight the unequal power dynamics between the northern and southern regions of the world. Looking back in history, during the Cold War era, the global landscape was divided along ideological lines. Countries that aligned with nations such as the USA and countries in Europe were categorized as First World countries. On the other hand, those adhering to communist ideologies, including the Soviet Union, China, and Eastern European nations, fell into the

³³ The developed/developing economies classification has been taken from: United Nations (2023). World Economic Situation and Prospects 2023. New York.

Second World category. Meanwhile, the majority of nations that were non-aligned and often characterised by relative poverty, underdevelopment, or ongoing development efforts were collectively known as Third World countries. With the dissolution of the USSR and the end of the Cold War, the Second World ceased to exist (Patrick & Huggins, 2023). This eventually led to the contemporary division between the First World and the Third World. In the following years, the term 'Global South' gained prominence, particularly in the 1980 Brandt report, which categorized countries based on their economic status. This report distinguished wealthier nations, mostly in the Northern Hemisphere, from poorer ones primarily located south of an imaginary line called the Brandt line (Brandt, 1980). As the Cold War ended, the term 'Third World' fell out of favour due to its negative connotations. 'Global South' emerged as a more neutral and inclusive label. It became synonymous with the Group of 77 (G77), a coalition of postcolonial and developing countries formed in 1964 to advocate for their collective economic interests at the United Nations. Today, the Global South is an important concept in international relations, reflecting the challenges and aspirations of a diverse group of nations (Patrick & Huggins, 2023).

The significance and influence of the Global South in the global economic order is on the rise, and developing economies are poised to be major contributors to future growth. The IMF projects that India and China will contribute to half of the global growth in both 2023 and 2024, while the Asia and Pacific region remains the most "dynamic" region this year with an estimated growth of 4.6 per cent in 2023, up from 3.9 per cent in 2022 (International Monetary Fund, 2023d). India's Sherpa for the G20 2023 presidency, Amitabh Kant, stated that 80 per cent of global growth is now originating from the countries in the Global South, signalling the shifting tides in growth trends (Teena Jain Kaushal, 2023). The shifts in the international order have provided the Global South - despite the substantial differences between its constituents - with a renewed sense of collective identity akin to that of the Western world. Global South countries like China, India, Brazil, South Africa have become important and active actors in international relations (Stephan Klingebiel, 2023).

India's G20 Presidency came about in a particularly tense world. The multiple geopolitical tensions, persistent impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, multiple climate-related challenges, the food and energy supplies crisis and the subsequent sharp increase in inflation further highlighted the concurrent problems around the world.

However, it would not be wrong to argue that these global crises disproportionately affect countries of the global south, which encompass nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America that are often characterized by lower economic development and a history of colonialism. This is in stark contrast with the wealthier and more economically developed nations of the Global North, including the USA, Europe, and Canada, further exacerbating global disparities (Malhotra, 2023).



The 'UN Secretary-General's SDG Stimulus to Deliver Agenda 2030' underscores the existence of a "great finance divide" that hinders the ability of developing countries to allocate resources towards SDGs, climate initiatives, and post-pandemic recovery efforts. Additionally, the report points out that developing countries frequently secure financing at interest rates 5-8 times higher than those observed in developed nations (United Nations, 2023). Rising global interest rates have exacerbated global debt vulnerabilities. According to the latest IMF data, 10 low-income countries (LICs) are in debt distress, while another 52 are at moderate to high risk of debt distress (International Monetary Fund, 2023c).

The countries most vulnerable to climate change are not the major cause of it. The IPCC estimates that 3.3 to 3.6 billion people live in contexts highly vulnerable to climate change and that regions with development constraints exhibit high vulnerability to climatic hazards (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2023). The rising incidence of extreme weather and climate events has placed millions of individuals at risk of severe food insecurity and reduced water availability. The most significant negative effects have been observed in numerous areas and communities across Africa, Asia, Central and South America, Least Developed Countries (LDCs), Small Island nations, the Arctic, and on a global scale, particularly impacting Indigenous Peoples, small-scale food producers, and low-income households (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2023). Between 2010 and 2020, the mortality rate among individuals affected by floods, droughts, and storms in highly vulnerable regions was 15 times higher when compared to regions with very low vulnerability (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2023).

Earlier in January 2023, India positioned itself as the 'Voice of the Global South' during the Voice of Global South Summit. 125 developing nations participated in this virtual summit where over the course of 8 ministerial sessions, priorities of the developing world spanning finance, environment, energy, healthcare, education, trade, and foreign policy were discussed (Ministry of External Affairs, 2023a). With India as the host of this summit, the attempt by the Indian government was to foster collaboration to address pressing issues concerning the global south and to allow developing countries outside of the G20 to participate in these discussions at a global stage. The theme of this summit – 'Unity of Voice, Unity of Purpose', in some ways, was the precedent to the theme of India's G20 Presidency – 'One Earth, One Family, One Future.' The ministerial discussions ranged from digital healthcare solutions to vocational training, financial inclusion, connectivity infrastructure, climate finance, and sustainable lifestyles, encompassing multiple avenues of global governance and development (Rajiv Bhatia, 2023). The relevance of this event in the context of the G20 is that India attempted to bring about greater South-South Cooperation by reaching out to over 120 developing countries across the world and seeking their views on global issues that could potentially fall under the purview of the G20 agenda for that year. An example of making this attempt actionable could be the announcement of Global South Center of Excellence, Global South Science and Technology Initiative, Global South Young Diplomates Forum and Global South Scholarships. Following the first summit, India

held a second Voice of the Global South summit on 17 November 2023 in virtual mode. The second summit, held under the theme “Global South: Together for Everyone’s Growth, with Everyone’s Trust”, started with a Leaders’ session chaired by the Prime Minister of India, which was followed 8 ministerial sessions and another concluding leaders’ session (The Indian Express, 2023c). At the summit, the leaders emphasized reforming global governance, prioritizing human-centric development, climate action, and inclusive energy transitions. Addressing financing issues, leveraging technology equitably, and advocating for women-led development were key. They urged multilateral reform, stressed the role of women in sustainable growth, and called for integrating Global South nations into global value chains. Their commitment to achieving the 2030 Agenda’s SDGs, countering terrorism, resolving conflicts through dialogue, and bolstering cooperation summed up their vision for a unified, peaceful ‘One Future’ for humanity. (Ministry of External Affairs, 2023b) Further, 2022-2023 being the year of India’s G20 Presidency, the Voice of the Global South Summit enabled India to account for diverse views on issues of development among the global south while shaping the agenda for the G20, positioning itself as a bridge between the developed and the developing.

In a multilateral forum like the G20, it is crucial that diversity in representation is ensured. Currently, one way the forum accounts for this is by way of inviting other countries and regional organisations as guest participants to the summit. The hope is that such participation offers an opportunity to countries outside the G20 to put forth their concerns to be consensually deliberated upon and resolved through agreeable solutions. In this light, the following section first sets the background for the need for more representation from the developing world and then elaborates further on the inclusion of the African Union as a permanent member of the G20, 2023 onwards.

03. Going Beyond G20

Concerns about the lack of inclusivity within the G20 persist, as the forum, while comprising major economies, falls short of effectively representing the diversity of global interests. This lack of representation often leaves smaller economies, particularly those from Africa, Latin America, and specific Asian regions, feeling marginalized and excluded from crucial decision-making processes. Consequently, the G20’s ability to encompass a broad spectrum of global perspectives and inclusively address diverse economic challenges is undermined (Vestergaard & Wade, 2011). To illustrate, African countries, despite their substantial share of the world’s population and distinct development needs, have limited representation within the G20. This lack of representation raises concerns regarding the effectiveness and credibility of the G20’s outcomes, as it excludes the perspectives of the majority of the developing nations. Efforts to make G20 more encompassing of global interests have included inviting guest nations and representatives from regions like Africa, South America, and Asia,



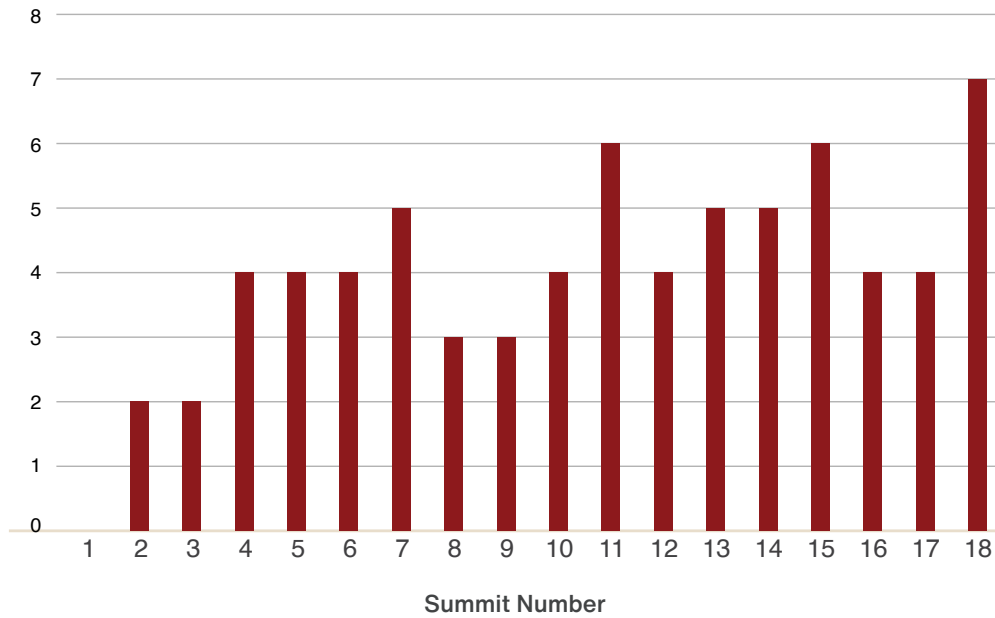
as well as international and regional organizations such as the Caribbean Community, Development Bank of Latin America, New Partnership for Africa's Development, and more, to G20 Summits. A positive step in addressing this issue is the recent addition of the African Union (AU) to the forum during the New Delhi Summit in 2023. This development reflects the forum's commitment towards broadening its agenda while recognising the importance of including more voices from the global south in shaping global governance.

With the objective of mapping and analysing representation of countries invited as guests at the G20 Summits, this section tracks the number of invitations extended to countries outside the G20 over the 18 Summits from 2008 to 2023 through mentions in official communication, including press releases and communiqués. This analysis, as per the following chart, shows that 37 countries outside of the G20 were invited as guest participants to the Summits over the last 15 years. The heat map (Figure 13) depicts the frequency of invitations to the Summit – the darker the color, the more the number of invitations the country has received over the years.

Some outliers, those that have received the greatest number of invitations so far, include Spain with 17 invitations (now a permanent invitee), Singapore (13 invitations) and The Netherlands (10 invitations). Conversely, from the Latin American region - countries like Chile (3 invitations) and Colombia (1 invitation), and Africa - Nigeria (1 invitation), Chad (1 invitation), Zimbabwe (1 invitation) and Mauritius (1 invitation), have received less frequent invitations. However, from Asia, Vietnam stands out with 5 invitations since 2010, while other countries like Myanmar, Laos and Bangladesh have only been extended an invitation once so far.

This is representative of Vietnam's growing importance in global value chains. Since 2008, there has been an overall increase in the participation of developing countries with the New Delhi Summit registering the maximum participation with 7 developing countries as guest participants. An observation during this analysis was that if a regional organisation is a guest invitee to the Summit, by extension, the Chair country of the respective organisation is also invited as a guest. For example, Zimbabwe was the Chair African Union in 2015 and hence was a guest participant at the Summit as well. Similarly, when Laos was Chair of ASEAN in 2016, it was extended an invitation as a guest participant as well.

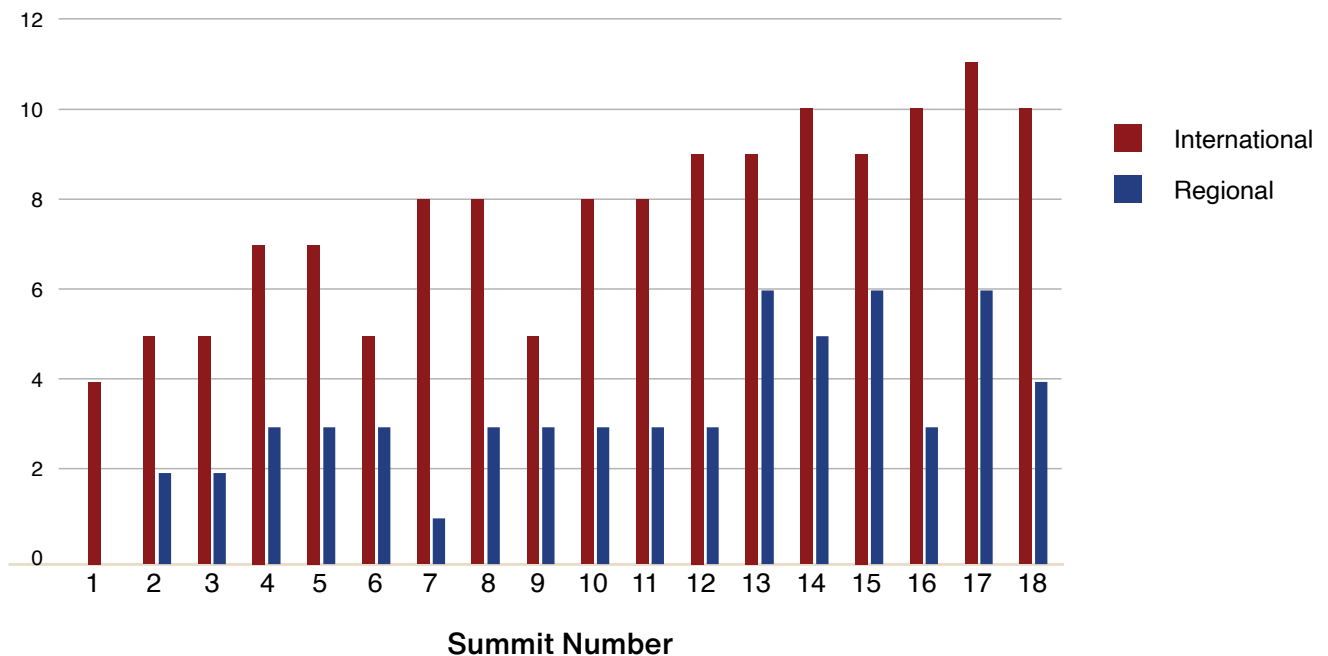


Figure 12: Number of developing countries as guest participants to the G20 2008-2023**Figure 13:** Heatmap representing the number of invitations extended to non-G20 countries from 2008 to 2023**No. of Invitation**



Building more on the participation of multilateral organisations in the G20 Summits, the list of organisations invited as guests to the Summits between 2008 and 2023 were studied through mentions in press releases and communiques. It was found that a total of 31 such organisations were guest participants at the Summits since 2008. Further, for this analysis, these organisations were grouped into two categories – international and regional, regional organisations covering regional economic forums and geopolitical groupings. Tracking the number of invitations per organisation, it was found that New Partnership for Africa’s Development received the greatest number of invitations (15 invitations) among the regional organisations. This is comparable to some of the international organisations like the United Nations, World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, who have been guest participants at all G20 Summits so far. Other regional organisations like ASEAN and African Union, have also received more frequent invitations with 13 invitations each. At this stage, examining the level of representation of regional organisations per Summit becomes crucial. The number of organisations (both international and regional) as guest participants in the G20 Summits from 2008 to 2023 are presented in the following chart. In the initial years, the presence of international organisations was far greater than that of the regional organisations. The first G20 Summit had no representation of regional organisations but over the years, the participation of both international and regional organisations became more balanced with Bali registering a participation of 6 regional organisations, the most so far. It can be noted that despite certain dips, there has been an overall increase in regional participation over the years.

Figure 14: Number of organisations as guest participants at the G20 2008-2023



04. Welcoming AU in the G20: A Historic Step

As of September 10, 2023, The African Union has attained the status of a permanent member in the G20, an equivalent status to that of the European Union, which is the sole other regional bloc enjoying full membership privileges. The African Union's incorporation as a permanent member represents the bloc's first expansion since its establishment in 1999. Up until now, South Africa was the sole African representative in the G20, leading to calls from many African leaders for more equitable representation, similar to the multiple European nations and the European Union within the group.

India had previously proposed that the African Union should attain permanent membership within the G20 (Reuters, 2023a), a proposal that received unanimous support (NBC News, 2023). Prime Minister Modi having written to G20 leaders in June, and the proposal being formally incorporated into the Summit's draft communique during the third G20 Sherpas meeting in Hampi, Karnataka, in July, India can be said to have played a proactive role in the culmination of this addition to the G20 (PIB, 2023e). India's role in furthering the cause of AU's permanent membership aligns with India's continuous engagement with Africa since late 2000s. In 2015, India organized the India-Africa Forum Summit, attracting 40 leaders from across the African continent. Over recent years, India has significantly increased its diplomatic efforts towards Africa by unveiling plans to establish 18 new embassies, expanding the total count from 39 to 47 on the continent (The Indian Express, 2023b). As part of the Africa Outreach program, India has conducted ministerial-level visits to every African nation (Bhattarcharjee, 2023). The final push for AU's membership at the G20 is the culmination of India's long-drawn efforts in maintaining amicable relations with African countries. During the opening session of the New Delhi Summit, Prime Minister Modi made a significant announcement, welcoming the African Union (AU) as the latest member of the 55-nation grouping (Acharya, 2023). Following this, Azali Assoumani, President of the Union of Comoros and the current AU chairperson, assumed full membership status within the G20 (Acharya, 2023). Officials view this move as a crucial step toward establishing a global architecture and governance that is just, fair, inclusive, and representative.

In addition, India also extended invitations to Nigeria, Egypt, and Mauritius as 'Guest Countries' at the G20 Summit. In an interview with The Hindu on September 8, 2023, President Assoumani of Comoros, the current AU Chair, emphasized Africa's potential to address the current challenges facing the continent. He called upon G20 member nations to invest in Africa's industrialization and the utilization of its resources for manufacturing goods and stressed the importance of providing job opportunities in Africa to retain its youth. He also suggested collaboration with Europe to train the continent's workforce, highlighting a cooperative approach to address shared goals (Bhattarcharjee, 2023). Similarly, according to Vincent Magwenya, spokesperson for South African President Cyril Ramaphosa, the inclusion of the African Union in the G20



marks a significant milestone that will amplify the influence of Africa and the Global South. He described this development as a "very positive step" and emphasized that this inclusion aligns with the reforms that have been advocated, signifying a positive stride in the desired direction (The Times of India, 2023a). This satisfaction from the African leaders now presents the G20 with the opportunity to incorporate issues concerning the global south in the forum's workings moving forward, encouraging greater participation from developing nations.

The COVID-19 pandemic has underscored our global interconnectedness, necessitating the recognition and engagement of diverse voices in the development discourse. The United Nations Development Programme's "Leave No One Behind" (LNOB) initiative, enshrined in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), represents an unequivocal commitment by all UN Member States to eradicate poverty in all its forms, dismantle discrimination, and address the disparities and vulnerabilities that marginalize individuals. The G20, under the Indian Presidency, exemplified this principle by promoting initiatives aimed at advancing the SDGs, with a particular focus on the concerns of developing nations, notably the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and Small Island Developing States (SIDS). It prioritized the needs and vulnerabilities of LDCs and SIDS, recognizing their disproportionate vulnerability to climate change. Efforts to secure predictable financing and technology access for disaster risk management will significantly aid these nations in addressing the looming climate crisis. Throughout this presidency, India's initiatives were aimed to break down silos within the G20 and promote equitable participation. The increased representation and a developing perspective played a role in expanding the G20's agenda, reflecting its evolving role as a platform to address a wider array of global challenges, especially those pertinent to the Global South. The heightened emphasis on representation and inclusivity underscores a commitment to ensuring that the voices and concerns of developing nations reflect more prominently on the G20's future agenda. In a bid to improve inclusivity and representation on the domestic front, India adopted public participation or *Jan Bhagidari* as part of its presidency aiming to include diverse local voices in the G20 agenda. In this regard, the next section presents details of *Jan Bhagidari* in the Indian Presidency.

05. Domestic Representation: Public Participation in the Indian G20 Presidency

“... [Indian G20 Presidency] has become a people-driven movement. Over 200 meetings will have been organised in 60 Indian cities across the length and breadth of our nation, hosting nearly 100,000 delegates from 125 countries by the end of our term. No Presidency has ever encompassed such a vast and diverse geographical expanse.”

– Prime Minister Narendra Modi (PIB, 2023f)

Figure 15: Map of cities where G20 events were held





In an attempt to take diplomacy to the people, the Indian G20 Presidency emphasised Public Participation or *Jan Bhagidari*, at every step – right from the process of agenda setting, logo design, and events around the meetings, to exhibitions creating opportunities for active civic engagement with the G20. Beginning from organising *Jan Bhagidari* events, inviting suggestions for the Presidency’s priorities, and engagement groups, to taking meetings to 60 cities in the country – the Indian G20 Presidency aimed to fulfil its vision of making it a ‘People’s G20’.



Public Participation and Governance



Public participation is a cornerstone of democratic governance, and its importance extends from local to global contexts. In a democratic society, the legitimacy of government derives from the continuous engagement and consent of the governed. This consent isn't a one-time occurrence during elections; it's an ongoing process facilitated by mechanisms such as town hall meetings, public hearings, and consultations. These platforms empower citizens to voice their concerns, hold government officials accountable, and ensure transparency in decision-making. Public participation is not merely an essential feature of good governance; it also serves as a safeguard against corruption, mismanagement, and the abuse of power.

Good governance relies on informed decision-making processes, which are enriched by public participation. It provides decision-makers with a broader range of perspectives, expertise, and local knowledge. This diversity of inputs helps in crafting policies and strategies that consider the unique needs and nuances of different communities and demographics. Additionally, public participation fosters active dialogue between government institutions and civil society organizations.

These organizations often possess specialized knowledge, offering valuable insights and recommendations on various issues (McLaverty, 2017). This inclusivity results in more effective, evidence-based policies, reinforcing the principles of good governance. Inclusive governance is a core component of good governance. Public participation also ensures that marginalized and underrepresented groups have a voice in decision-making processes, embracing diversity within society. Moreover, a vibrant civil society is essential for good governance, as it encourages citizens to become actively engaged in civic affairs, enhances social stability, and strengthens cooperation between citizens and authorities. At the local level, public participation plays a crucial role in influencing decisions that directly impact daily lives. Initiatives such as participatory budgeting empower community members to have a say in allocating public funds for local projects, infrastructure development, and public services (McLaverty, 2017). This grassroots approach empowers communities, enhancing the quality of life and reinforcing the principles of good governance at the local level.



The Relevance of Public Participation for Multilateral Organizations



Multilateralism, a vital approach to addressing intricate global issues, acknowledges the necessity of collaboration among nations (Grigoryev & Pabst, 2020). Multilateral organizations like the G20 have emerged as pivotal players in international cooperation, tackling a wide spectrum of global challenges, including climate change, peacekeeping, public health, and human rights. To ensure their effectiveness and legitimacy, these organizations must actively involve the public in decision-making processes. Public participation enhances the legitimacy of multilateral organizations by making them responsive to citizens' needs and concerns (Grigoryev & Pabst, 2020). Furthermore, it serves as a means of holding these organizations accountable, reducing the risk of corruption and mismanagement while reinforcing principles of good governance on a global scale. Public participation ensures that multilateral organizations benefit from a diverse range of perspectives and expertise (Slaughter, 2013), enriching discussions and leading to more effective solutions. Representing a substantial portion of the world's population and economic output, the G20's effectiveness in addressing pressing issues depends on its ability to engage with diverse stakeholders, including civil society and environmental organizations, resulting in more well-rounded and effective policies.

To achieve this, the G20 must establish formal mechanisms for involving civil society organizations and experts, including regular consultations and active solicitation of policy recommendations. This engagement with external expertise embodies "transnational civil society" as a bridge between national politics and public accountability (Slaughter, 2013). Active participation of civil society organizations, representing sectors such as environmental conservation and human rights, is crucial for transparency and public involvement. Additionally, raising awareness about the G20's

global impact through effective public campaigns is essential (Slaughter, 2013). The Civil 20 (C20) provides a practical model for integrating public participation into the G20. As the voice of civil society within the G20, the C20 champions policies addressing social and environmental concerns, aligning with the G20's mission. Through extensive consultations and comprehensive policy recommendations, the C20 has influenced the G20's agenda on issues like income inequality, climate change, and global health. Enhancing public participation and transparency within the G20 is vital for addressing global challenges effectively. By actively engaging civil society organizations, experts, and the public, the G20 can access a broader range of perspectives and expertise, leading to better-informed decision-making and policies serving the global community. This deliberative accountability framework strengthens the G20's public legitimacy and its capacity to manage global issues and transnational connections.

In an increasingly interconnected world, global challenges require the collective wisdom and engagement of a wide range of stakeholders. The G20, as a prominent multilateral forum, should continue to embrace public participation as a means to enhance its legitimacy, effectiveness, and impact. The integration of diverse perspectives, expertise, and voices will be instrumental in addressing the complex issues that define our era. Public participation is an important facet of a more inclusive and responsive global governance system. It is integral to good governance at all levels, from local to global. It empowers citizens, ensures transparency, and fosters trust between citizens and their institutions. At the global level, multilateral organizations like the G20 benefit from public participation by increasing legitimacy, enhancing accountability, and enriching discussions with diverse perspectives and expertise.

Jan Bhagidari

India is a democratic country and holds the largest elections in the world. After assuming the G20 Presidency, India positioned itself as the “Mother of Democracy” and aimed to make its Presidency as “People’s G20”. In this light, this section delves into India’s initiatives and their significance in achieving this vision. India’s G20 Presidency has been marked by a strong emphasis on public participation, or *Jan Bhagidari*. Leveraging civic engagement in making the Presidency’s agenda more inclusive and aligned with citizen’s needs, Indian governments took active efforts towards ensuring people’s participation. The first step towards achieving that was to create spaces for people enabling them to contribute to the Presidency in a meaningful manner. Also, this need to engage citizens has been reflected in the wide range of events and activities that have been organized across the country to engage citizens in discussions on the G20’s agenda. Some of the examples of initiatives that have been undertaken in India include, firstly, the Jan Bhagidari events;

Ministry of Education organized *Jan Bhagidari* events across the country, reaching over **25 crore participants** (Jaishankar, 2023).



These events covered a wide range of topics including G20, education, and India’s priorities such as – climate change, sustainable development, digital transformation and women’s empowerment. Additionally, as an initiative for awareness by engagement, Mega Beach cleanup Campaign was held in 20 G20 member and invitee countries along with all the coastal states & UTs of India. The purpose of the event was to sensitize and raise awareness about the impact of marine waste on the environment and encourage the people to take action for preventing the same. It was probably one of the biggest showcases of ‘Jan Bhagidari’ under the Indian G20 Presidency and it saw an active participation from all stakeholders (Ahuja, 2023).

Secondly, India launched a number of online consultations to gather feedback from the public on G20 priorities. These consultations were aimed to receive responses from people from all walks of life and engage their participation to create a more holistic and inclusive agenda targeted at addressing their challenges. An example of this is the online portal for suggestions³⁴ that was hosted by the Indian government.

³⁴ (MyGov, 2022)



Thirdly, initiatives which sought engagement from people during the Presidency such as “#G20India Story” invited individuals to share their experiences and insights related to G20 events happening in their cities or any G20 *Jan Bhagidari* (people's participation) events they've attended. This initiative encouraged people to share their thoughts through articles, videos, photos, or audio clips³⁵.

It aimed to collect and disseminate various perspectives on India's G20 journey, thereby amplifying the voices of the people. Another example of it was the MyGov portal; it served as a hub for people to actively engage in India's G20 journey. It offered opportunities for individuals to showcase their knowledge and creativity.³⁶ Participants could take part in activities such as essay competitions, quizzes, and more. By participating in these initiatives, individuals were targeted to become active contributors to India's G20 Presidency and its objectives. This was important because it ensured that the G20's decisions are more responsive to the needs of the people.

³⁵ (G20 India, 2023b)

³⁶ (MyGov, 2023)

Engagement Groups

The Indian Presidency's use of engagement groups has been another way to increase public participation in the G20 process. These groups potentially helped to raise awareness of the G20, generate new ideas, and create a sense of ownership among citizens. The Indian Presidency's efforts to increase public participation in the G20 process are in line with the global trend towards more inclusive and participatory governance.

India's G20 Presidency had 11 Engagement Groups, each diverse in its targeted area, stakeholders, and discussion. These groups organized events across various locations in the country – aimed at holding discussions on a plethora of subjects ranging from 'Role of Youth', importance of startups, LGBTQ rights, among others. This initiative provided a platform for diverse stakeholders, including civil society, parliamentarians, think tanks, women, youth, and entrepreneurs, to engage in meaningful discussions leading to the creation of spaces where dialogue was held on topics which are crucial to the citizens.

The engagement groups in India saw active participation from people as over 125,000 delegates engaged with Youth20, and nearly 450,000 people were engaged by Civil20 worldwide (Jaishankar, 2023).

The Engagement Groups ensured comprehensive deliberation and participation from different sectors of society. These groups brought together representatives from civil society, youth, and other stakeholders to discuss the G20's agenda and to provide input on the G20's decisions after which they held a Summit event. The G20 engagement groups played unique roles in advising the G20 on critical global issues. For instance, Business20 focused on responsible and sustainable business growth, with an emphasis on supporting small and medium-sized enterprises and digital access. Civil Society20 (C20) used *Jan Bhagidari* events through the formats of C20 *Chaupal*, C20 *Samajshala* and C20 Ambassador Program to advocate for inclusivity, human rights, gender equality, and climate action, with a focus on addressing the needs of marginalized groups. Startup20, which was established the current Presidency, promoted an ecosystem supporting startups, emphasizing diversity and inclusion. Labour20 (L20) emphasized the importance of creating decent jobs, investing in social protection, and ensuring that workers have a voice in decision-making and held Jan Bhagidari events in the industrial clusters, voicing the concerns and needs of the labourers. The Youth20 represented youth organizations and urged action on climate change, sustainable development, and youth inclusion. In addition to these engagement groups, Women20, Think20, SAI20, Urban20, Science20, and Parliament20 collectively contributed to an inclusive approach to addressing the world's most pressing issues through the G20 platform. Most recently, the ninth edition of the P20 Summit was held on October 13, 2023. The summit's overarching theme revolved around "Parliaments for One Earth, One Family, One Future." It served



as a gathering for Speakers of Parliaments from G20 member countries and invitees, underscoring the importance of the parliamentary dimension within the G20 and highlighting the potential for parliamentary collaboration to achieve common objectives. Throughout the summit, four high-level sessions addressing key subjects, including expediting progress on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), facilitating the transition to sustainable energy, advancing women-led development, and the transformative impact of public digital platforms in people's lives (PIB, 2023j). The groups' recommendations were taken into consideration by the G20 leaders when drafting the final declaration of the Summit. The declaration included commitments on a range of issues, such as sustainable development, climate change, global governance, and youth empowerment. The engagement groups, thus, tried to ensure that the voices of all stakeholders were heard at the G20 Summit. This was in line with the Indian Presidency's idea of taking diplomacy to the people and making it a people's Presidency.

Other Initiatives

India engaged its citizens in its Presidency through sector-specific initiatives. These initiatives were designed to reach out to specific groups of people, such as youth, women, and the business community, and to involve them in discussions on the G20's agenda. For example, the G20 Digital Economy Task Force and The G20 Health Working Group organized a series of events to engage citizens on the topic of digital governance (Laskar & Jayaswal, 2023). These events included a hackathon, a workshop on data governance, and a public consultation. The 'University Connect' program was designed to engage students, professors, and Vice-Chancellors from 75 universities across the country. This program sought to highlight the importance of India's youth as the nation's builders and leaders of tomorrow, emphasizing their contribution to international growth and cultural showcase (Deccan Herald, 2023).

Additionally, the Presidency also held a number of side-events and exhibitions to engage people. The exhibitions showcased India's cultural richness, sustainability efforts, and achievements in various fields and covered themes like culture, future work, and technology. These exhibitions were open to the public and introduced India's heritage to international delegates. The "Bharat: The Mother of Democracy" exhibition, overseen by the Ministry of Culture, spotlighted India's democratic ethos, including values like freedom, equality, and inclusiveness. It prominently showcased India's merit-based governance system, as opposed to hereditary authority (Gautam, 2023). Inside the Bharat Mandapam, the venue for the G-20 Summit, a diverse array of exhibitions displayed India's cultural treasures, technological advancements, and shared heritage with G20 member

nations and invitee countries. Among the exhibits were culturally significant artifacts such as the Magna Carta, Belvedere Apollo, and Fahua lidded jar, symbolizing global cultural exchange and cooperation. Digital spectacles in this exhibition included iconic pieces from countries like France, Germany, and Mexico, alongside India's own Panini's *Ashtadhyayi* and *the Rig Veda* (The Indian Express, 2023a). The Crafts Bazaar, with its focus on 'One District One Product' and GI-tagged items, displayed India's diverse handicrafts (The Hindu Bureau, 2023). Moreover, technology-driven exhibitions highlighted sustainable mobility, drone technology in agriculture, and the future of work (Gohain, 2023). Spanning 34,000 square feet and featuring 14 experience zones, one of these exhibitions was not limited to G20 delegates but also engaged the local community (PIB, 2023d).





In principle, there are a number of benefits to using sector-specific initiatives to engage citizens in global governance. First, it allows for a more targeted approach. By focusing on specific groups of people, it is possible to reach out to them in a way that is relevant to their interests and concerns. Second, it can help to build trust and understanding. By engaging with people on issues that are important to them, it is possible to build relationships and create a sense of ownership. Third, it can help to generate new ideas and solutions. By bringing together people from different backgrounds and with different perspectives, it is possible to come up with innovative solutions to the challenges facing the world. By using sector-specific initiatives, the Indian Presidency has been able to reach out to a wide range of people and engage them in discussions on the G20's agenda. Additionally, exhibitions allow the local community to present their cultural heritage and achievements. With the widespread exposure, gained through G20 events, the potential of these skills, products, and ideas to emerge as future exports might be influenced. Thus, the engagement of people through these events helps them in getting recognition and can potentially create a more inclusive and holistic address of their needs.

Overall, India's Presidency placed substantial emphasis on integrating public participation. Public participation serves as a cornerstone of effective governance across various levels, ensuring transparency, accountability, and the infusion of diverse viewpoints. In the context of global organizations such as the G20, it bolsters legitimacy and enriches discourse through the inclusion of multifarious perspectives. India's strategy for public engagement encompassed a multi-pronged approach, featuring initiatives such as Jan Bhagidari events, engagement groups, and targeted sector-specific endeavours. These endeavours were aimed at harnessing the collective input of a diverse array of stakeholders and facilitating their influence over the G20's agenda. Exhibitions served as platforms to showcase India's cultural heritage, technological advancements, and shared global legacy. These exhibitions, notably open to the general public, facilitated cross-cultural exchange and underscored India's rich heritage on the global stage. By ensuring that G20 decisions are responsive to the needs and aspirations of the people, India's approach aligns with the worldwide trend toward more inclusive governance. In today's interconnected world, the importance of involving all stakeholders in decision-making cannot be overstated. Understanding the focus areas of the G20 under the Indian Presidency, the next section highlights on its achievements and the legacy it left.

III. SDGs under Indian Presidency: Integrated Solutions to Interlinked Crises





“ Unless we act now, the 2030 Agenda will become an epitaph for a world that might have been.

– António Guterres, Secretary-General, United Nations, 2023

01. The 2030 Agenda and a Multidimensional External Context

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) succeeded the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and were conceptualized during the Rio+20 - United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development in Rio de Janeiro in 2012. In January 2013, an Open Working Group was founded with representatives from 70 countries, which concluded into a draft agenda in July 2014. After negotiations, the 17 SDG goals and 169 targets were adopted at the historic United Nations General Assembly on 25 September 2015 as part of the larger commitment to the 2030 Agenda (United Nations, 2013). Established after a three-year-long unprecedented participatory process in UN history, the agenda laid out an action plan for the next 15 years to address challenges related to five pillars: people, planet, prosperity, peace, and partnership.

The world stands at the halfway mark of the 15-year plan laid out by the 2030 Agenda, and an evaluation of around 140 SDG targets with available data reveals that almost half of them moderately or severely deviate from their desired trajectory, while over 30 per cent have either shown no progress or regressed below their 2015 levels (United Nations, 2023b). Given the current trends, it is projected that 575 million individuals will still be residing in extreme poverty by 2030, with only around one-third of nations achieving their goal of reducing national poverty levels by half. Remarkably, the world has returned to hunger levels last witnessed in 2005, and food prices remain elevated in more countries compared to the period from 2015 to 2019 (United Nations, 2023b). If current patterns persist, it will take an astonishing 286 years to bridge the gender gaps in legal protection and eliminate discriminatory laws. Regarding education, the repercussions of years of insufficient investment and learning losses will cause an estimated 84 million children to be excluded from school by 2030, and 300 million children or young people attending school will exit without the ability to read and write (United Nations, 2023b). Since 2015, there has been a decline in political will to act, a lack of coordination with International Organizations, and a fragmentation of international priorities that has led to a split focus. As the current external context comprising multidimensional crises indicates, a holistic approach is needed for the achievement of the 2030 Agenda. Three



years into what was intended to be the 'decade of action', there has, in fact, been a reversal of years of progress on the SDGs due to a number of global challenges - pandemic and the slow post-pandemic recovery, disruption in global supply chains, the threat of ecological collapse and climate disasters, Russia-Ukraine war, rising debt vulnerability, increased inequality, energy insecurity amongst many others. The 2030 Agenda and its fruition are in dire shape, and the United Nations, in their annual Sustainable Development Goals Report, called for 'unprecedented collaboration' among members of the Group of Twenty in the 2023 Summit so as to reignite global commitment to the Agenda (United Nations, 2023b).

02. G20 and the 2030 Agenda

The very first G20 Leaders' Declaration at Washington in 2008 reaffirmed the importance of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the context of 'mobilizing all sources of financing for development' (G20, 2008). This commitment to the MDGs found reaffirmation in most subsequent Leaders' Declarations. *A Framework for Strong, Sustainable and Balanced Growth* was put forth in the Pittsburgh Summit and taken forward in the Toronto Summit. The Seoul Development Consensus for Shared Growth focused on development commitments, especially with respect to the MDGs (Tanu M. Goyal & Prateek Kukreja, 2020). A Working Group on Development was agreed upon in the Toronto Summit in 2010 and adopted the following year. *A Multi-Year Action Plan on Development* was also adopted at the Seoul Summit and the Development Working Group (DWG) was given the task of monitoring its progress and reporting it to the Sherpas (G20 Seoul Summit, 2010a). To uphold transparency and accountability, the DWG came out with its first accountability report in 2013 at the Russian Presidency and established the Accountability Framework in 2014 during the Australian Presidency (G20 Development Working Group, 2020).

Since the introduction of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in 2015, the G20 has expressly aligned itself and its work to the principles of the Agenda. As a major multilateral forum that uniquely bands together developed and developing nations, the G20 bears a significant responsibility for the Agenda and accordingly committed to using its comparative advantage as a global economic forum in advancing individual and collective actions for the SDGs from the very beginning. The G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development was adopted in 2016 and framed collective action around Sustainable Development Sectors (SDS) including Infrastructure, Agriculture, Food Security and Nutrition, Human Resource Development and Employment, Financial Inclusion and Remittances, Domestic Resource Mobilization, Industrialization, Inclusive



Business, Energy, Trade and Investment, Anti-Corruption, International Financial Architecture, Growth Strategies, Climate Finance and Green Finance, Innovation, and Global Health (G20 Hangzhou Summit, 2016). The action plan mandated the Development Working Group as the coordinating body and policy resource for sustainable development across the G20. It also tasked the DWG with conducting Annual Progress Reports on the G20's collective action for sustainable development (G20 Development Working Group, 2020). The commitments and actions on the global goals mandated by the G20 have grown in quantitative terms since the adoption of the G20's 2030 action plan (OECD & UNDP, 2019).





03. India's G20 Presidency: A Cross-Cutting Focus on Sustainable Development

India's Presidency aligned with the midway point of implementing the 2030 agenda. It served as a significant opportunity to assess the achievements and influence of actions taken up to this point and to shape future strategies. As the COVID-19 pandemic has evidenced, global problems require coordinated action and international policy consensus for optimal effectiveness, and here is where the G20 forum's comparative advantage comes into play. India's G20 Presidency set forth the following priorities (PIB, 2022b):



Strong, Sustainable, Balanced and Inclusive Growth



Accelerating Progress on Sustainable Development Goals



Green Development Pact for a Sustainable Future



Multilateral Institutions for the 21st Century



Technological Transformation and Digital Public Infrastructure



Gender Equality and Empowering All Women and Girls

While the third priority most directly emphasizes implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals and the 2030 Agenda, all six priorities relate to one or more SDGs. The motto of India's Presidency - *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam* or 'One Earth - One Family - One Future' was in line with the ethos of the SDGs. The 2030 Agenda and the SDGs were not relegated to one vertical of the Indian Presidency but rather infused into all working groups as a foundational principle.



There has been cross-cutting work produced on sustainable development and the 2030 Agenda across different working groups, like the *'G20 2023 Action Plan on Accelerating Progress on the SDGs'* and *'G20 High Level Principles on Lifestyles for Sustainable Development'* adopted at the Development Ministerial Meeting in Varanasi, the *'Goa Roadmap for Tourism as a Vehicle for Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals'* at the Tourism Ministerial Meeting in Goa, the *'Chennai High Level Principles for a Sustainable and Resilient Blue/Ocean-Based Economy'* annexed to the outcome document of the Environment and Climate Minister's Meeting in Chennai, and the *'Gandhinagar Implementation Roadmap'* for land restoration, annexed among many others. This 'Whole-of-G20' approach and increased collaboration between different groups reiterate the importance of, and accelerate the progress on, the SDGs.

Most notably, India put forth a seven-year action plan for accelerating progress on the SDGs, which presents an integrated roadmap for G20 actions. The action plan was adopted by the G20 Development Ministers in Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh, on 12 June 2023 (G20 Development Ministerial Meeting, 2023a), and the primary focus is to:

- 1 Foster a global and enabling system that promotes the development goals and priorities of countries in the Global South.**
- 2 Tackle the bottlenecks encountered by developing nations and amplify their concerns in global decision-making.**
- 3 Optimize synergies, minimize trade-offs, and address the spill overs while pursuing sustainable development.**
- 4 Offer assistance for accessing affordable finance, capacity-building, and technology transfer.**
- 5 Ensure that policies are coherent across the development, environmental, and climate agendas.**

The High-Level Principles of the Action Plan acts as a guide for global efforts as well as G20 actions for the next seven years, acknowledging the importance of enhanced representation and voice of developing countries in the global governance landscape. They are focused on poverty alleviation, disaster risk reduction and preparedness, access to finance and technology, promoting country-owned development cooperation models that are scalable and tailored to local conditions, and recognizing the crucial role of finance in achieving development as well as leverage support from International Financial Institutions (IFI) and MDBs through innovative financing for sustainable production. The Action Plan has highlighted the role of 'Financing for Development' through enhancing the provision of sufficient, affordable, and sustainable financing especially for developing nations for them to achieve their SDG target, and improving



the mobilization of funds from all sources. Furthermore, it advocates for bolstering efforts to reform the international financial architecture and adapting Multilateral Development Banks to make them more responsive to the developmental requirements of the Global South (G20 Development Ministerial Meeting, 2023a). Notably, one also finds similar commitment made by Leaders in the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration to scale up climate finance from "billions to trillions" (G20, 2023).

The action plan places strong focus on three transformative transition areas that can catalyze action on all SDGs: Digital Transformation, Implementing Sustainable, Inclusive and Just Transitions Globally while Leaving No One Behind, and Sustainable Development through Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women (G20 Development Ministerial Meeting, 2023a).

The three transformative actions are aimed at acting as a force multiplier for accelerating progress across all the Sustainable Development Goals and contributing to a stronger multilateral system. The *G20 Principles on Harnessing Data for Development (D4D) to Accelerate Progress on the SDGs* are a significant acknowledgement in the forum of the growing data-divide and supports capacity building in data. In line with this, India launched the 'Data for Development Capacity Building Initiative' that encourages and trains policy-makers, officials, and other relevant stakeholders from developing countries to take forward the actions outlined in the G20 principles (PIB, 2023h). With the understanding that the current transition pathways to a global net zero have high costs and premiums, the Action Plan under the Indian Presidency is a step towards providing the momentum for securing sustainable, inclusive, and just transitions which will help ensure the future survival of the planet, while meeting aspirations, and basic needs of people.³⁷ 'Women-Led Development'³⁸, a term previously uncoined in the G20, is one of the overarching priorities of the Indian G20 Presidency and positions women as agents of change, decision-makers, and solution providers. Its mention as a transformative transition area underscores the importance of gender equality and women empowerment in achieving inclusive growth. The consensus on this Action Plan contributes to strengthening global solidarity and recognizing the interlinkages between the SDGs, thereby building political momentum for the need for reforming the global governance architecture and the way we respond to crises through concrete and collective actions.

³⁷ While 'Sustainable, Inclusive, and Just Transitions' has been a priority area in the 2023 presidency, there have been critical commentaries on the weak and non-committal language on phasing out fossil fuels. In a piece titled 'A Devil's Deal on Climate at the G20's New Delhi Summit', the Lead Researcher on Climate Change at Utoronto's G20 Research Group, Brittaney Warren, contended that the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration made no advances on phasing out fossil fuels and weakened the coal commitment made at the 2022 Bali Summit. The following were the two relevant paragraphs from the NDLD and have also not been identified as a "strong commitment" as per the methodology of this study;

- "Will increase our efforts to implement the commitment made in 2009 in Pittsburgh to phase-out and rationalise, over the medium term, inefficient fossil fuel subsidies that encourage wasteful consumption and commit to achieve this objective, while providing targeted support for the poorest and the most vulnerable." (New Delhi Leaders' Declaration, Pg. 15)
- "Recognise the importance to accelerate the development, deployment and dissemination of technologies, and the adoption of policies, to transition towards low-emission energy systems, including by rapidly scaling up the deployment of clean power generation, including renewable energy, as well as energy efficiency measures, including accelerating efforts towards phasedown of unabated coal power, in line with national circumstances and recognizing the need for support towards just transitions" (New Delhi Leaders' Declaration, Pg. 15)

³⁸ See Box on Women-Led Development



Women-Led Development



The G20 Development Ministers, on 12th June 2023 unanimously adopted the G20 Action Plan which recognised Sustainable Development through Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women as a key transformative area for Accelerating Progress on the SDGs. It reaffirmed that gender equality is of fundamental importance and recognized the need for creating an enabling environment that promotes, inter-alia, justice for all, gender equality, and fundamental freedoms for the advancement and empowerment of all women and girls for achieving sustainable and inclusive growth. 'Women-led Development' (WLD) emanates from this concept, and it recognises that gender equality is a fundamental human right and empowering all women and girls to realize their full potential is not only key to implementing the 2030 Agenda and achieving its Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), but also for ensuring sustainable, inclusive and resilient development.

Women's empowerment has been a cross-cutting priority area for several G20 Presidencies. Starting from 2014 with the adoption of the Brisbane '25by25' Target, the discussions have broadened over time. With the launch of the Women 20 engagement group during the Turkish Presidency in 2015, leaders had envisaged the necessity of strengthening gender equality and women's empowerment as an important focus area of the G20. The G20, under the Indian Presidency, chose WLD as one of its priorities, emphasizing that gender equality and women's empowerment is not only essential but a prerequisite for achieving the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

The unique term coinage of 'Women-led Development' is an interesting shift away from the narrative of 'women's development' – women as passive beneficiaries of development - to them being active members of change. To this end, WLD stresses upon the following key dimensions:



Economic and Social Empowerment

Aims to support investment in women and girls' education, with a strong focus on STEM to help them develop basic literacy, numeracy, and socio-emotional skills that are essential. It seeks to remove the various structural and financial barriers that currently prevent women and girls from accessing quality education and from realizing their full potential. This also includes their ability to participate as productive members of the economy.



Bridging the Digital Divide

Digitalisation and re-skilling are key tools in empowering women to re-join the workforce and in creating new booming sectors in the economy. Digital technology presents an opportunity to narrow gender gaps by enhancing access to information, financial services, and welfare services. Hence bridging the digital divides can create conditions for safe, equitable and inclusive digital learning environment, to complement in-person education, for all women and girls.



Environmental and Climate Action

Women often bear the brunt of the impact of climate change, particularly in developing countries. This amplifies the existing gender inequalities. The climate change crisis coupled with gender inequality is a challenge and it poses a threat to health, safety and livelihood of women and girls around the world. Environmental and climate action, therefore, aims to support and increase women's participation, partnership, leadership and decision-making in climate change mitigation, adaptation, and disaster risk reduction strategies



Women's food security and nutrition

Food security and nutrition is the cornerstone of individual and community development as it lays the foundation for her children's health, family, and community. This dimension recognizes the vital role of women in sustainable and resilient agriculture and food systems, particularly in developing countries, and promote policy interventions that encourage women's engagement in the development and use of appropriate, climate-resilient agricultural technologies and other innovative approaches.

Notably, a Working Group on the Empowerment of Women was created by the G20 under India's Presidency with the aim of supporting the G20 Women's Ministerial. The group will convene its first meeting during the Brazilian G20 Presidency.

Yet again epitomizing the interconnected nature of the SDGs and the comprehensive approach needed to achieve them, themes of food security and nutrition were advanced keeping sustainability in mind. The *G20 Deccan High-Level Principles on Food Security and Nutrition* are a set of seven principles aimed at fostering coordination and facilitating a united approach towards alleviating global hunger and malnutrition while promoting sustainable growth (G20 Agriculture Ministerial Meeting, 2023). The principles add a long-term vision to tackling food insecurity, beyond the short- and medium-term goals. With the goal of achieving sustainable transformation of agriculture and food systems, the principles place emphasis on leveraging digital technologies, enhancing innovation, and scaling up responsible investments in the Agri-sector. It also highlights promotion of a One-Health approach and invites strengthening policies and actions on climate-resilient agriculture. The principles put a special focus on empowering the marginal and small farmers through their integration in the Agri-value chains. There is also a focus on the needs of vulnerable and deprived populations through facilitation of humanitarian aids and assistance for people in vulnerable situations. Additionally, with the *G20 High Level Principles on Lifestyles for Sustainable Development* (G20 Development Ministerial Meeting, 2023b), the Presidency brings the sustainability discourse to the level of the individual and community. 'LiFE' – Lifestyle for Environment - was introduced by Prime Minister Modi at COP26 in Glasgow and advocates for environmentally conscious lifestyles. It is an exemplification of traditional Indian lifestyles, where there has long existed a culture of thrifting, reusing, recycling and mindful consumption (Kapoor & Kumar, 2023). Such a focus on consumer choices adds a layer of nuance to the green transition debates and



highlights the need for active involvement and coordination amongst stakeholders at all levels. The Green Development Pact³⁹, as mentioned in the G20 New Delhi Leaders' Declaration, brings emphasis on key areas like mainstreaming LiFE, implementing clean, sustainable, just, affordable, and inclusive energy transitions, conserving, protecting, sustainably using, and restoring ecosystems among others. The Green Development Pact aims to address environment preservation and macroeconomic risks of climate change to "pursue environmentally sustainable and inclusive economic growth and development in an integrated, holistic and balanced manner" (G20, 2023).

Green Development Pact



With Agenda 2030 nearing its deadline with a lagging progress on the achievements of the SDGs across the world, it becomes crucial for multilateral forums like the G20 to acknowledge the impending climate crises. The adoption of the Green Development Pact in the New Delhi Summit reflects the forum's move towards strengthening climate change cooperation as envisaged by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The Green Development Pact advocates for a 'Sustainable Future' majorly focusing on three broad themes – Climate and Sustainable Finance for All, Development and Environment Ambitions, and Implementing Clean, Sustainable, Just, Affordable & Inclusive Energy Transitions. The document set actionable targets for the member countries, offering special assistance to the developing countries in achieving the same. It called for 'rapidly and substantially scaling up investment and climate finance', beginning with ambitious targets for 2030 to reach net zero emissions by 2050. In this regard, the estimated financial support for developing countries is USD 5.8-5.9 trillion in the pre-2030 period and USD 4 trillion per year for clean energy technologies by 2030 (G20, 2023). Also, the G20 recognised the need

to reduce Global GHG emissions by 43% by 2030 relative to 2019 levels urging the countries to enhance their NDC (Nationally Determined Contribution) targets. Furthermore, there was consensus on endorsing the G20 Technical Assistance Action Plan (TAAP) for climate investments and second replenishment of the Green Climate Fund.

India's approach towards balancing development with climate and environment ambitions was reflected in its LiFE approach – Lifestyle for Sustainable Development, which emphasises the need for a pro-planet lifestyle. This citizen-centric approach to combating climate change is also captured in India's amended NDC. The launch of the Resource Efficiency and Circular Economy Industry Coalition (RECEIC) at the Environment and Climate Sustainability Working Group meeting in July 2023 was another step towards recognising the potential of collaboration on determining appropriate financing measures and improve resource efficiency (G20 Environment and Climate Sustainability Working Group, 2023). On Energy Transition, the most notable achievement of this

³⁹ See the Box Green Development Pact



presidency was the agreement on tripling the Renewable Energy capacity by 2030. The International Energy Agency conducted an assessment earlier in 2023 that revealed that this measure had the potential to prevent 7 billion tonnes of carbon dioxide emissions by 2030. Therefore, this agreement reflects the forum's strong commitment towards just energy transitions. There was also consensus on facilitating access to low-cost financing for developing countries trying to meet these targets. Additionally, on the Energy Transitions front, the adoption of the High-Level Voluntary Principles on Hydrogen, and the launch of the Green Hydrogen Innovation Centre and the Global Biofuels Alliance reflect the forum's commitment to move towards a greener future. This presidency also saw the adoption of the



Voluntary High-Level Principles for Collaboration on Critical Minerals for Energy Transitions that are aimed at supporting sustainable and responsible supply chains, including critical minerals, semiconductors and technologies, for energy transitions. Finally, the adoption of the Chennai High-Level Principles for a Sustainable and Resilient Blue/Ocean-based Economy is another move towards ensuring the marine ecosystems are conserved and protected with a special focus on sustainable usage of marine resources. Lastly, this Leaders' Declaration, formally institutionalised the Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) Working Group while recognising the need for accelerated implementation of the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (SFDRR) (G20, 2023).

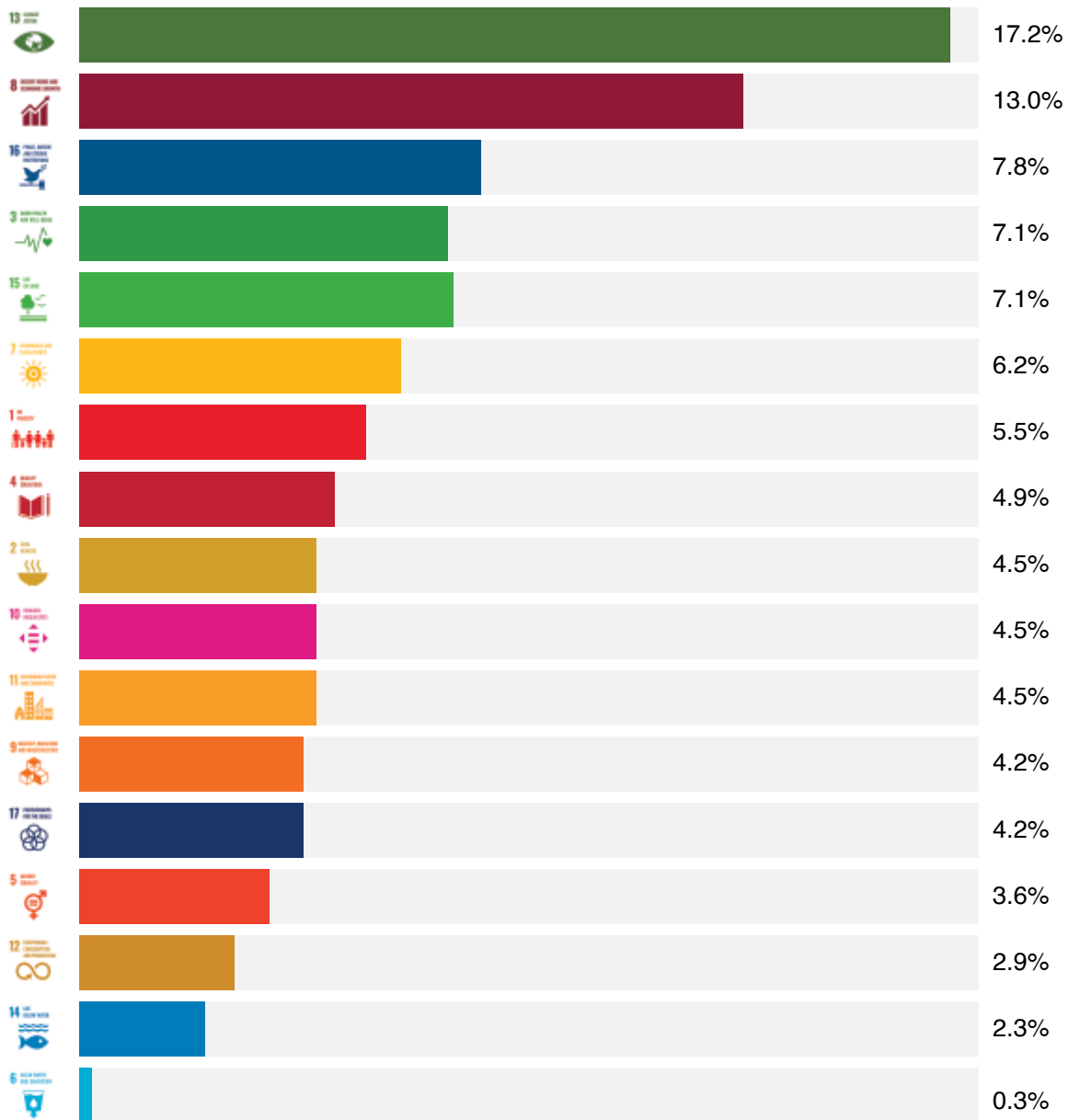




04. Content Analysis of the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration

Using the KnowSDG⁴⁰ mapper tool, the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration was analysed to gain insights into its distribution of keywords across SDGs, and the following results were obtained –

Figure 16: Proportions of SDGs detected in the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration

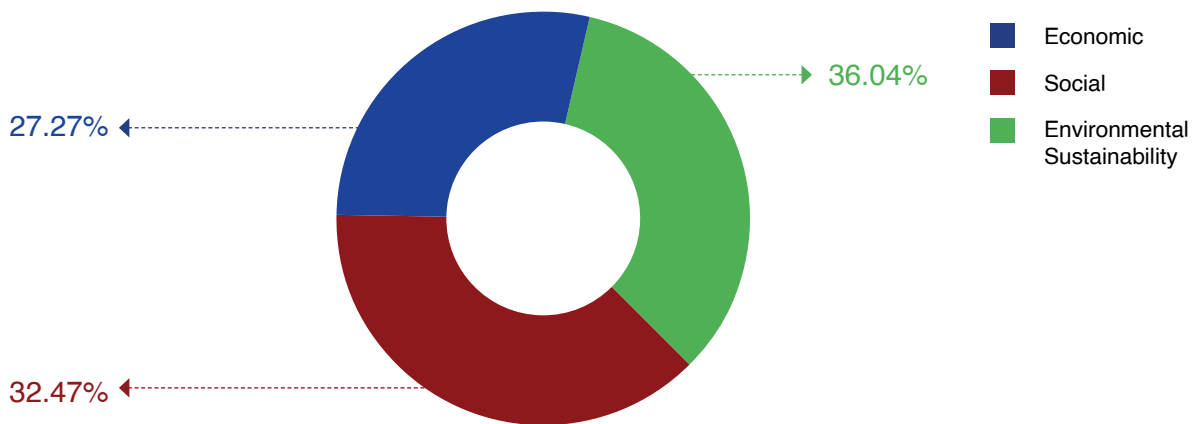


⁴⁰ Methodology for the KnowSDG mapper tool is described in Chapter 4 of the report



The highest proportion of keywords were found to relate to SDG 13, Climate Action, at 17.2 per cent, and followed by SDG 8, Decent Work and Economic Growth, with a 13 per cent share. In order to gain a more comprehensive insight into nature of these SDGs, the authors classify the 17 SDG goals into their three dimensions - Economic, Social, and Environmental Sustainability.⁴¹ Loosely adopted from the 'SDGs Wedding Cake' model by Johan Rockström and Pavan Sukhdev that was presented at the Stockholm EAT Food Forum in 2016 (Folke et al., 2016) and divided the 17 goals into three layers that represent interlinkages between them in a bidirectional manner - the 'economy' at the top of the cake caters to the 'society' which in turn functions within the 'biosphere'(Philippidis et al., 2020) – this report makes the classification based on deciphering 'first point of impact', i.e. a qualitative judgement into what dimension the goal will primarily affect. As per this classification, the proportion of economic, social, and environmental SDG keywords detected in the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration were as follows;

Figure 17: Percentage Occurrences of Economic, Social, and Environmental Sustainability SDGs in the 2023 G20 Declaration



There seems to be an equitable distribution of keywords/themes detected between the three dimensions, evidencing how the Leaders' Declaration is well-balanced and gives representation to all the interlinked dimensions – a prerequisite to comprehensively tackle the headwinds and achieve the 2030 Agenda. The Group of Twenty was borne out of the context of a financial crisis, and for several presidencies, the focus has been disproportionately on the economic agenda. Even the inclusion of developmental issues was under the ambit of global growth. However, the holistic inclusion of the SDGs in the 2023 Agenda embodies the spirit of the SDGs – integrated solutions to interlinked crises. It is a step towards an inclusive multilateralism that

⁴¹ Refer to Chapter 5 for methodological details.



gives prominence to development-for-development's-sake. The New Delhi Leaders' Declaration put emphasis on sustainability, elevating it to a prominent position on the agenda. Unlike previous presidencies, which typically confined their strong commitments on sustainability, environment, or other development matters within the realm of economic considerations⁴², the G20, under the Indian Presidency, shifted away from this trend; it placed significant importance on addressing development issues like SDGs, environmentally conscious lifestyles, and women's empowerment as intrinsic necessities rather than solely economic concerns. As an illustration, the utilization of Artificial Intelligence (AI), which has been a longstanding subject of discussion for its potential to drive economic advancement, was invoked as a mean to do 'public good' and accelerate achievement of the SDGs in the outcome document.

The Indian External Affairs Minister, S Jaishankar, said that the SDG agenda is a landmark not only in its universality and its applicability to all countries but also in its integrity - its success is contingent on addressing the agenda comprehensively (The Economic Times, 2023a)

During the Summit on September 9, 2023 in New Delhi, India, the G20 came out with a Leaders' Declaration and reached a 100 per cent consensus on all developmental and geopolitical issues (Live Mint, 2023). The New Delhi Leaders' Declaration has explicitly mentioned the 'Sustainable Development Goals', 'SDGs', or the '2030 Agenda' twenty times, an increase from 15 mentions in the Bali Declaration.⁴³ The Finance Minister of the country, Nirmala Sitharaman, took to social media website 'X' to state that the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration emphasized a human-centric globalization and spotlighted concerns of the Global South, and said in a briefing that the Indian Presidency had 'walked the talk' (India Today, 2023). The global multi-crises surrounding the Indian G20 Presidency do make the 100 per cent consensus commendable. In fact, German Ambassador Philip Achermann labelled the 2023 Presidency 'maybe politically the most difficult Presidency' (The Economic Times, 2023b).

The Sustainable Development Goals are indivisible and exceedingly integrated, and need to be addressed as such. India's focus on the SDGs as the binding theme for all discussions shows the Presidency's priority on sustainability and inclusive growth, going beyond mere economic concerns. The explicit focus on coming out with High-Level Principles and Action Plans that promote assistance to the developing countries to achieve their SDG targets reveals a larger learning that goes beyond India's particular presidency – increased representation and leadership positions at multilateral forums helps to exemplify the experience and concerns of developing countries at the international level, thereby creating an ecosystem where they can be addressed and resolved in a more efficient manner. G20 as a unique banding together of developed and emerging economies helps to create a linkage that can facilitate inclusive growth through technology transfer, knowledge spillovers, and discussion of best-case practices.

⁴² As evidenced by the SDG analysis at the goal and target level in Chapter

⁴³ Results from a text analysis of the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration through the SDG Mapper web tool of the KnowSDGs platform: <https://knowsdgs.jrc.ec.europa.eu/>

IV. Multilateral Diplomacy: India and the Evolving World





01. India in the Multilateral Order

In the contemporary multilateral world, characterized by an array of institutions and norms, countries strategically utilize their positions to address global challenges while safeguarding their domestic interests. This delicate equilibrium profoundly impacts a nation's trajectory of growth, ultimately dictating its competitive advantages and overall prosperity. Along these lines, India, an emerging and increasingly influential actor in the multilateral arena, can embrace four principal approaches to shape its international strategy. Firstly, "Rule-Taking," which refers to aligning itself with established and emerging international norms and institutions. Secondly, "Rule-Making," which involves contributing to the creation of new norms and institutions. Thirdly, "Rule-breaking" – challenging existing global orders to secure greater accommodation within established institutions. Lastly, a "Rule-Shaping" approach, collaborating with others to influence emerging norms and the development of nascent regimes (Jones et al., 2013). This structured framework is employed to trace India's evolving role and strategies in the landscape of global diplomacy.

While states have always interacted with each other, we can loosely relate the emergence of the contemporary multilateral order to the aftermath of World War II, a period in which, the need for states to cooperate beyond their domestic interests was solidified. This period gave rise to a system of global governance characterized by institutions – such as the United Nations, IMF, the World Bank, designed to facilitate collaboration on global issues and preserve the sovereignty of nations. Over time, these institutions and the norms they upheld became powerful tools through which nations could pursue both global and domestic objectives.

India's emergence as an independent nation in 1947 coincided with the nascent stages of the evolving multilateral order. India's early signs towards being a 'rule taker' are characterized by its adoption of a democratic order which was heavily influenced by Western ideals, and the upholding of the charters and principles laid down by the United Nations to navigate global order and foster peace and international co-operation. However, under the leadership of its first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, India also articulated a foreign policy of non-alignment, marking its first unique approach to multilateralism which was embedded in staying away from polarisation while also not succumbing to isolationism (Damodaran, 1983). This strategic stance to steer clear of the Cold War polarization dominated by the United States and the Soviet Union, opting instead to position India as a moral authority (Singh, 1992); was a clear challenge to the existing global order. Central to this approach were the principles of sovereignty, non-interference, and peaceful coexistence. India's non-alignment was welcomed by newly independent nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Together, they formed the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), a coalition upholding



these principles. In essence, India's non-alignment policy and its leadership within NAM reflected the aspirations of newly independent nations seeking to assert their autonomy and influence in the global landscape. However, the end of the Cold War brought about significant shifts in the global landscape. The dissolution of the Soviet Union heralded a new era of unipolarity, with the United States assuming a preeminent global role. This transformation necessitated a reassessment of India's foreign policy approach, as it confronted the dual challenge of adapting to a changing world order while safeguarding its strategic interests.

In the early 1990s, India adopted the policy of economic liberalization and acknowledged the rapid globalization in the world. This shift involved embracing market-oriented reforms and opening the Indian economy to foreign investment and trade. This economic recalibration was a departure from India's erstwhile self-reliant economic policies and ushered in a new era of economic diplomacy as a central facet of India's global engagement. The economic boost achieved by India post-liberalization helped develop the capacity to bid for a better position in the multilateral world, dominated by economic order. This newfound prosperity brought with itself a capacity to challenge existing norms thus adopting the approach of a “rule-breaker”. In 1998, under Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, India conducted nuclear tests, defying global non-proliferation norms and facing sanctions. Later, India negotiated a civil nuclear deal with the US in 2005, bypassing the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty (NPT). India also sought membership in groups like NSG, Wassenaar Arrangement, Australia Group, and MTCR, shifting its stance on export control regimes. By doing so, India aims to play a responsible role in curbing technology proliferation while securing access to advanced technologies for its development and security needs (Jones et al., 2013).

Acknowledging the current times as an age of multilateralism, as opposed to the polarised world of the previous century, India has shifted its approach towards a more pragmatic stance of “rule-shaper” where it practices “multi-alignment” characterized by strategic alliances with multiple countries and ideological positions in an attempt to balance its international image and domestic interests (Jones et al., 2013). This approach is signified by India's active engagement within prominent forums such as BRICS (comprising Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa), the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), the G20, as well as the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (the Quad, involving the United States, Japan, Australia, and India). These platforms provided India with opportunities to actively participate in the formulation of emerging norms and regional security architecture. Another example has been India's growing stature within the G20, a forum that has gained significance for addressing economic and financial issues on a global scale. The more India engages with these forums, the more its capacity develops to shape international norms and institutions according to its interests which has the potential to reflect directly onto its domestic growth and prosperity. In 2022, India assumed the Presidency of G20 and positioned itself as the “Voice of the Global South”, reflecting its priority to bring issues of developing countries to the fore and strengthen its approach as a “rule-shaper”.



02. Highlights of G20 Leaders' Declaration, New Delhi

“*India is taking charge of the G-20 at a time when the world is simultaneously grappling with geopolitical tensions, economic slowdown, rising food and energy prices, and the long-term ill-effects of the pandemic... [when] the world is looking at the G-20 with hope. Today, I want to assure that India's G-20 Presidency will be inclusive, ambitious, decisive, and action-oriented... [During India's Presidency, the guests] will participate in this unique celebration in India, the 'Mother of Democracy'. Together, we will make the G-20, a catalyst for global change*

– Prime Minister Narendra Modi, Closing Session of G20 Summit, Bali ⁴⁴

With these words, the Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, announced the undertaking of G20 Presidency by India in 2022. As highlighted in his address, the world was passing through a crucial time; surrounded by complex and pressing issues which required urgent addressal. Although the commitments made by G20 are legally non-binding, the coming together of leaders of prominent countries brings forth a diplomatic opportunity in itself to address global issues and formulate a path to tangible change. The catch with G20, however, is its mandate for consensus. Every statement that comes out of the Summit, in the Leaders' Declaration, has to be agreed upon by all the members of the forum. Therefore, given their prominent global stature, diverging views on crucial subjects such as conflict, climate change addressal, agriculture, or trade etc. often lead to intense negotiations sometimes leading to a mere reiteration of the problem without any solution. The ability to bring consensus is often borne by the Chair and represents its diplomatic and political ability. Indian Presidency, therefore, had its task cut out with a number of pressing global issues; and its ambition of their holistic addressal. The following section briefly highlights key achievements of the Presidency –

Inclusion of African Union

One of the highlights of the Indian Presidency was the inclusion of the African Union (AU) to G20. The inclusion of the AU as a permanent member in 2023 under India's Presidency is a significant step towards shaping representation in a multilateral forum. The AU represents 55 African countries and a population of over 1.4 billion people, making it the world's second-most populous continent. Africa is also home to some of the world's fastest-growing economies, with a combined GDP of over \$3 trillion.

⁴⁴ (Modi, 2022)



The AU's addition to the G20 enhances the representation of developing countries in the forum. The G20 now encompasses almost 80 per cent of the global population, accounts for 88.5 per cent of the world's GDP, and represents 79 per cent of global trade.⁴⁵

It also gives Africa a stronger voice in influencing the course of global economic decision-making. This inclusion was also important because Africa is disproportionately affected by issues poverty, hunger, climate change, and conflict. With the chair at the high table, AU can use its platform in the G20 to advocate for policies and programs that will help to address these challenges. In addition, the inclusion of the AU in the G20 under a developing country's Presidency sends a strong message about the need for South-South cooperation. By welcoming the AU as a permanent member, the G20 has built significant momentum on raising the issue of diversity and representativeness in other multilateral institutions like the UN Security Council and WTO.

Consensus on Language of the Declaration

In G20, consensus is the basis of the Leaders' Declaration. This leads to line-by-line negotiations on all language, as each members tries to align its domestic positions with the outcome of the forum. In such a situation, the balancing act between achieving a strong language and acknowledging a wide range of issues becomes the chairs' responsibility. Indian Presidency happened amid rising geopolitical tensions between Russia and Ukraine that had far-reaching global implications, and overshadowed a lot of important discussions within the forum.

Under these circumstances, the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration came out with a condemnation of the conflict in Ukraine, as well as, in the forum's first, a condemnation of acts of religious hatred including against religious symbols and holy books.

In the first instance, the leaders had agreed to a statement of condemnation on the conflict in Ukraine at the Bali Summit in 2022 which displayed divergence of views on the matter through reflecting the voting record of resolutions adopted by UN Security Council and UN General Assembly (G20, 2022).

⁴⁵ Calculations made by authors based on UNCTAD estimates for trade, and World Bank estimates for GDP and population.



“This year, we have also witnessed the war in Ukraine further adversely impact the global economy. There was a discussion on the issue. We reiterated our national positions as expressed in other fora, including the UN Security Council and the UN General Assembly, which... deplores in the strongest terms the aggression by the Russian Federation against Ukraine and demands its complete and unconditional withdrawal from the territory of Ukraine. Most members strongly condemned the war in Ukraine and stressed it is causing immense human suffering and exacerbating existing fragilities in the global economy... There were other views and different assessments of the situation and sanctions. Recognizing that the G20 is not the forum to resolve security issues, we acknowledge that security issues can have significant consequences for the global economy.

It is essential to uphold international law and the multilateral system that safeguards peace and stability...The peaceful resolution of conflicts, efforts to address crises, as well as diplomacy and dialogue, are vital. Today's era must not be of war.”

– G20 Leaders' Declaration, Bali, Para 3 and 4⁴⁶, 2022

Although the statement used in Bali “deplores” and “condemns” the war in Ukraine, it was concise in nature when adopted.

However, the New Delhi Declaration, therefore, went beyond condemning the conflict and recalled the voting records to give a clear message on prosperity and peace for the planet and the people. The G20 leaders noted with deep concern the immense human suffering while also reiterating that national positions on the matter as in Bali Declaration. What stood out however was the reaffirmation of the fact that the forum's mandate was for international economic cooperation and not for resolving geopolitical tensions even while highlighting the negative economic impacts of the war in Ukraine⁴⁷.

“We note with deep concern the immense human suffering and the adverse impact of wars and conflicts around the world.

Concerning the war in Ukraine, while recalling the discussion in Bali, we reiterated our national positions...and underscored that all states must act in a manner consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the UN Charter in its entirety...all states must refrain from the threat or use of force to seek territorial acquisition against the territorial integrity and sovereignty or political independence of any state. The use or threat of use of nuclear weapons is inadmissible.

⁴⁶ No commitment pertaining to climate change was “an ambitious advance on the Bali ones.” (Kirton, 2023b)

⁴⁷ Crucially, in order to achieve consensus, the statement does not directly mention “Russia” or “aggression”, softening the language considerably from Bali Declaration.



Reaffirming that the G20 is the premier forum for international economic cooperation, and recognizing that while the G20 is not the platform to resolve geopolitical and security issues, we acknowledge that these issues can have significant consequences for the global economy.

We highlighted the human suffering and negative added impacts of the war in Ukraine with regard to global food and energy security, supply chains, macro-financial stability, inflation and growth...and the economic disruption which has derailed progress towards the SDGs. There were different views and assessments of the situation.

In this context, emphasizing the importance of sustaining food and energy security, we called for the cessation of military destruction or other attacks on relevant infrastructure. We also expressed deep concern about the adverse impact that conflicts have on the security of civilians thereby exacerbating existing socio-environmental fragilities and vulnerabilities and hindering an effective humanitarian response.

We will unite in our endeavour to address the adverse impact of the war on the global economy and...will uphold all the Purposes and Principles of the UN Charter for the promotion of peaceful, friendly, and good neighbourly relations among nations in the spirit of 'One Earth, One Family, One Future'

Today's era must not be of war."

– G20 Leaders' Declaration, New Delhi, Para 7-14⁴⁸, 2023

In the second instance, the forum agreed to a statement which said

“*...we strongly deplore all acts of religious hatred against persons, as well as those of a symbolic nature without prejudice to domestic legal frameworks, including against religious symbols and holy books."*

– Para 78, G20 Leaders' Declaration, New Delhi Summit, 2023

This statement came in the wake of events of burning of Quran in Sweden and Denmark, leading to the Danish government proposing a legislation to ban such acts of burning of religious books (Divya A, 2023). Recognition of religious hatred by a prominent multilateral forum, such as the G20, and its condemnation marks a shift by the forum to a position where it can address pertinent cultural issues.

⁴⁸ abridged as per the authors' discretion.



Focus on Sustainability and Environment

The New Delhi Summit was also notable for many other firsts in its Leaders' Declaration. Foremost among them was the recognition of combating climate change and adopting sustainable practices as a long-term and holistic goal, and therefore, the G20 adopted a long-term vision towards this end. Leaders acknowledged that there is a significant gap in both ambition and action towards the Paris Agreement temperature goals. After extensive negotiations, the group for the first time agreed on the need for global peaking of the GHG emissions not later than 2025, to keep the world on track for achieving the temperature goals. Also, while reciting the target of reducing emissions to 43% by 2030 for 1.5°C, the group showed their commitment to achieve the 1.5°C goal. Under the Paris Agreement, the G20 called to set an "ambitious, transparent and trackable" New Collective Quantified Goal of Climate Finance in 2024. All this ambition was balanced keeping in mind the needs and priorities of developing countries. It was appropriately emphasised that technology development and transfer, capacity building and financing for developing countries is of utmost importance for the world to make progress on these targets. The Indian presidency also came out with Gandhinagar Implementation Roadmap (GIR) and Gandhinagar Information Platform (GIP) for strengthening the G20 Global Land Initiative, so as to raise the ambition in action towards ecosystem restoration. Another first for the Indian G20 Presidency is the due recognition given to the forests and their sustainable management for the global good. The subject is appropriately addressed by balancing the need for combatting deforestation and simultaneously making provisions for the social and economic challenges for the people dependent on them.

Carrying this idea, the Presidency came out with 'High-Level Principles on Lifestyles for Sustainable Development' (LiFE) which shifted perspective to a human-centric and pro-growth approach to climate action and sustainable development (G20 Development Ministerial Meeting, 2023b). Under this ambit numerous new initiatives were undertaken. In terms of global collaboration towards combating climate change, the 'High-Level Voluntary Principles on Hydrogen' were aimed to promote the production and utilization of Hydrogen in a bid to contribute to the achievement of carbon neutrality⁴⁹.

G20 members also agreed to triple the capacity of renewable energy⁵⁰ in order to accelerate clean energy transition and achievement of SDGs by 2030. Furthermore, the subject of climate finance was given momentum by members agreeing to a substantial scale-up of investment from billions to trillions of US dollars (G20, 2023).

⁴⁹ No commitment pertaining to climate change was "an ambitious advance on the Bali ones." (Kirton, 2023b)

⁵⁰ This commitment included several release clauses and no promise to reach the goal. (Kirton, 2023b)



Establishment of Disaster Risk Reduction Working Group

Under the G20 2023, the focus was on advancing the discourse on a wide spectrum of issues. One notable development was the establishment of the Disaster Risk Reduction Working Group (DRRWG) during the Indian G20 Presidency. This establishment underlines the collective dedication to addressing disaster challenges and mitigating future risks, especially considering concerns that prevailing policy and investment decisions do not align adequately with the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030. The DRRWG's mission involves accelerating action and achieving the Sendai Framework's goals, with an emphasis on proactive, people-centered disaster risk management encompassing geophysical disasters, social inclusion, and poverty reduction. Moreover, the G20 discussions centered on enhancing the resilience of critical infrastructure systems and essential social services. To this end, various strategies and recommendations were put forth, including fostering collaboration between the public and private sectors to ensure the creation and maintenance of resilient, sustainable, and accessible infrastructure. There was also a call to incorporate disaster risk reduction into regulatory frameworks and employ resilience metrics for infrastructure investments, along with advocating for the integration of nature-based solutions and the development of risk assessment tools. International cooperation and investment in inclusive, sustainable infrastructure, particularly in developing countries, were prioritized. Furthermore, addressing the need for financing Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) and reducing investment risks was a key focus within the G20 deliberations. Several actions were contemplated, including the development of comprehensive national DRR financing strategies and providing support to developing nations in formulating their own strategies. Equitable resource allocation for various disaster risk management functions was underscored, with an emphasis on transparency, innovative financing tools such as resilience bonds, private sector engagement, and the strengthening of international partnerships. These efforts collectively aimed to enhance the effectiveness of DRR initiatives on a global scale.

Coining 'Women-led Development' in G20

In his remarks at the Bali Summit, the Prime Minister of India stated, “Global development is not possible without women’s participation. We have to maintain priority on women led development even in our G-20 agenda”. In line with this remark, the Presidency succeeded in achieving consensus on the idea of ‘Women-led development’ adding to the earlier discourse on women empowerment (G20, 2023).

This was accompanied by an acknowledgement of women’s role in fighting climate change, promoting sustainability and enabling solutions to the issues they face in accessing opportunities across education, finance, entrepreneurship, and beyond.



'Women-led development' encompassed four key dimensions. Firstly, it prioritizes Economic and Social Empowerment, focusing on investing in women and girls' education, particularly in STEM fields, to improve their basic skills and eliminate barriers to quality education and economic participation. Secondly, it emphasizes 'Bridging the Digital Divide', leveraging digitalization and re-skilling to empower women in the workforce and enhance access to information and financial services. Thirdly, it addresses Environmental and Climate Action, advocating for increased female involvement in climate change mitigation, adaptation, and disaster risk reduction to combat gender disparities exacerbated by environmental challenges. Lastly, Women's Food Security and Nutrition recognize the vital role of women in sustainable agriculture and food systems, promoting policies that encourage their engagement in climate-resilient agricultural technologies and innovative approaches to ensure food security and community well-being. Additionally, leaders of the G20 agreed to the creation of a new working group on the empowerment of women, that will focus on the women-led development, leadership among others and support the G20 women's ministerial panel which will convene its first meeting during Brazil's presidency.

Promoting Digital Public Infrastructure

the Indian Presidency led the creation of 'G20 Framework for Digital Public Infrastructure' which focused on improving equitable access to services using innovative public and private sector solutions for their last-mile delivery (G20, 2023).

To further its idea of making development inclusive and universal, A report developed by Global Partnership for Financial Inclusion (GPII) under the G20 India Presidency defines DPI as 'interoperable, open, and inclusive systems supported by technology to provide essential, society-wide, public, and private services. It also highlights DPI's role in accelerating digital transformation in an inclusive way' (GPII, 2023). While there was no fixed and accepted definition of DPI, the concept has been described in multiple ways including in terms of its form, uses, and values (Kapoor & Watson, 2023). However, India's G20 Presidency has been successful in getting consensus on DPI's definition and on the 'G20 Framework for Systems of Digital Public Infrastructure'.

The applications of this framework ranged from improving governance, strengthening data security, and contribute to financial inclusion.

During the Presidency, DPI has been a focal point for constructive dialogue among member countries. India's own experience with initiatives like Aadhaar digital ID, CoWIN, and Unified Payment Interface (UPI) underscored the significance of DPI, enabling access to services, welfare programs, and financial inclusion.



India's successful deployment of DPI during the COVID-19 pandemic has demonstrated its potential in Low-and-Middle-Income Countries, enhancing financial inclusion and governance while mitigating corruption. India has signed Memorandums of Understandings with several nations to share its DPI expertise, fostering technological ecosystems globally. The 'G20 Framework for Systems of Digital Public Infrastructure' and the 'Global Digital Public Infrastructure Repository' have gained recognition, promoting the use of DPI for societal good, with a focus on safety, security, and data privacy. The Declaration also takes notes of India's One Future Alliance (OFA) proposal that aims to help LMICs implement DPI through capacity building, provision of technical assistance and funding. India has highlighted the importance of building a strong and inclusive Digital Personal Identification (DPI) system that places a high priority on safety, security, reliability, and accountability, while also upholding principles of data privacy, intellectual property, and human rights. In collaboration with the World Health Organization (WHO), the Global Initiative on Digital Health has been founded, promoting cooperation among countries and entities to bring about this groundbreaking vision. Utilizing digital health has been established as a powerful catalyst for propelling improvements in health outcomes, ultimately driving progress towards attaining Universal Health Coverage and accomplishing the health-related Sustainable Development Goals by the year 2030. Digital health interventions play a pivotal role in enhancing healthcare on multiple fronts, including aiding individuals in effectively managing their health and wellness journeys, facilitating healthcare providers in adhering to established guidelines and delivering top-notch care, and fortifying healthcare systems by optimizing supply chains and workforce management. By leveraging the Digital Public Infrastructure consensus is brought on utilizing digital public goods as enablers in achieving Universal Health Coverage while also attempting to democratize technologies.

Proactive approach to Reform of MDBs

During the Indian Presidency, the Independent Expert Group (IEG), co-convened by Lawrence Summers and NK Singh, issued a report outlining a comprehensive triple agenda for Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs).

This innovative agenda encompassed three fundamental components: firstly, a mandate to eradicate extreme poverty, advance shared prosperity, and contribute to global public goods; secondly, the ambitious goal of tripling sustainable lending levels by the year 2030; and thirdly, the establishment of a versatile funding mechanism facilitating innovative engagement with investors.⁵¹

The Indian Presidency also underscored the pivotal role of private sector involvement within MDBs, recognizing it as a transformative catalyst for these institutions. It advocated for heightened coordination between the public and private arms of MDBs, promoting systematic use of Cascading principles, guarantees, blended finance, political risk insurance, and foreign exchange hedging. Furthermore, the Presidency called for essential operational changes

⁵¹ John Kirton, Director of the G20 Research Group at University of Toronto, stated that there was "little new" on the reform of MDBs in New Delhi Leaders' Declaration. (Kirton, 2023b)



within MDBs, urging the reduction of project preparation timelines, streamlined procedures, and an expansion in the scale and scope of their activities. Also, at the final meeting of the G20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors (FMCBGs) in Marrakesh, Morocco, the FMCBGs welcomed the Report of the G20 Independent Expert Group on Strengthening Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs). The report highlighted the need for transformative changes in MDBs, including the mobilization of private capital, strengthening financial capacity, and promoting collaboration among MDBs (PIB, 2023i)

Additionally, the Presidency's roadmap for implementing the G20 Independent Review of MDBs Capital Adequacy Frameworks (CAF) recommendations was aimed at promoting adaptive risk tolerance definitions, giving due credit to callable capital, expanding financial innovations, enhancing credit rating agency assessments, and improving access to MDB data and analysis. It hoped for collaboration and systematic efforts among MDBs in implementing these recommendations. Furthermore, discussions on Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) and its role in expediting financial inclusion, as well as tackling Debt Vulnerabilities, showcase the Presidency's holistic approach to financial reform. The Indian Presidency gave prominence to the macro-financial implications of crypto assets and their potential impact on financial stability. It accentuated the necessity of addressing the unique concerns of the Global South in the context of crypto assets. Roundtable discussions on crypto assets further enriched policy deliberations in this area. The G20 FMCBGs also adopted the G20 Roadmap on crypto assets with the aim to coordinate global policy, develop regulations, and consider the implications for Emerging Markets and Developing Economies (EMDEs) (PIB, 2023i)

Strong, Sustainable, Balanced and Inclusive Growth

The New Delhi Leaders' Declaration reflected the need for strong, sustainable, balanced, and inclusive global growth amidst cascading crises. Acknowledging economic uncertainties, the member nations committed to policies to bolster long-term growth, protect vulnerable populations, and address the cost-of-living crisis. The G20 recognised the importance of private enterprise, resolving to collaborate with the private sector to create resilient global value chains, facilitate sustainable investments, and support inclusive growth. To this end, the G20 adopted the G20 Generic Framework for Mapping Global Value Chains (GVC). Additionally, the G20 renewed its commitment to a rules-based multilateral trading system, encouraging fair competition, discouraging protectionism, and endorsing initiatives to address challenges faced by MSMEs. The adoption of High-Level Principles on Digitalization of Trade Documents also strengthened the forum's commitment towards legacy issues like trade. Further, other long-standing subjects like future of work and corruption also found space in the NDLD. The leaders endorsed the to preparing for the future of work by addressing skill gaps, promoting decent work, and ensuring inclusive social protection policies globally. Furthermore, they endorsed the G20 2023 Financial Inclusion Action Plan (FIAP) to advance financial inclusion in a more action-oriented manner. The leaders also reaffirmed their commitment to zero tolerance for corruption, endorsing three high-level principles to strengthen international cooperation, asset recovery mechanisms, and integrity in combating corruption.



Other Notable Achievements

In a first, India came out with an outcome document by the G20 Foreign Ministers giving impetus to offering tangible resolutions to issues on diplomacy and geopolitics in the forum's agenda moving forward. It was, in fact, in the Foreign Ministers Chair Summary and Outcome Document that issues like counter-terrorism and counternarcotics were given due attention.

In a bid to make the world safer, the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration also focused on combating money laundering which, it recognized, is used to promote terrorism in the world. In the context of United Nations, G20 recognized the essentiality of reforms and the need for reinvigorated multilateralism to address our challenges was also reflected. Important principles of international development cooperation – such as host-country ownership, equal partnerships, tailoring such cooperation efforts with local needs, etc were highlighted by G20.

03. India's Diplomacy: Building Consensus and Cultural Showcase

Role of Leadership in Deriving Consensus

“ *We were clear from the beginning that we did not want a divided G20. Consensus was our only option... The deal was clinched owing to the Prime Ministers' credibility, and emerging markets working together to bring G20 together and speak in one voice, enabling us to achieve consensus a day earlier*

– Amitabh Kant, G20 Sherpa, India⁵²

India's G20 Presidency featured a significant emphasis on diplomatic efforts, including negotiations and consultations across various working groups throughout the year. India's presidency involved an accelerated G20 schedule, with the Summit scheduled in September 2023. The first meeting occurred in December 2022, immediately after India assumed the presidency from Indonesia. This required achieving consensus within the Sherpa Track and all working groups within a specified timeframe, facilitated by Sherpa Amitabh Kant and his team, emphasising the crucial role of a Sherpa in the forum.

Sherpas, serving as personal emissaries for G20 leaders, play an important role in coordinating the preparatory aspects of G20 summits. Their primary responsibilities involve collaborating with counterparts from other G20 nations, engaging with diverse stakeholders beyond governmental domains—such as businesses and civil society groups—and conducting regular meetings, usually three to four times annually.

⁵² Mishra, R. (2023, September 18). Interview—“Bharat's G20 Presidency has been inclusive, ambitious, decisive and action oriented.” Amitabh Kant. Organiser.Org. <https://organiser.org/2023/09/18/196405/bharat/bharats-g20-presidency-hasbeen-inclusive-ambitious-decisive-and-action-oriented/>



Supported by Deputy Finance Ministers, Sherpas focus on aligning policies, adapting to the evolving G20 agenda, and navigating collaboration between member countries to create an outcome document; influencing the strategic trajectory of G20 summits and initiatives (Hajnal, 2019).

Negotiations on the draft leader's declaration began in July 2023 during the Third Sherpa Meeting in Hampi. The G20 Sherpas met for the 4th and last Sherpa Meeting from September 3-6, 2023 in Manesar. During this period, the Sherpas of G20 member countries as well as representatives from invitee countries had deliberations in 12 sessions over the course of three days, to finalize the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration (Directorate of Information, Public Relations, and Languages, Government of Haryana, 2023). These negotiations entailed extensive discussions regarding the text itself and the desired level of ambition for the G20. This involved multiple rounds of bilateral talks and discussions within smaller groups, such as the Emerging Market Economies (EMEs). EMEs played a significant role in forging consensus on geopolitical matters, highlighting the diplomatic influence of emerging economies. Amidst intensive negotiations and challenges, particularly concerning the Russia-Ukraine issue, leaders faced a complex situation. The G20 sherpas resorted to isolated discussions as a last-ditch effort to find common ground before the leaders' Summit (Gupta & Sidhartha, 2023). The challenge lay in crafting a consensus that accommodated the diverse positions of member states. European Council President Charles Michel expressed doubts about achieving consensus, stating that "it is difficult to predict whether leaders will reach a consensus on a declaration, but the EU will support India's efforts for a final communique" (Reuters, 2023b).

India's G20 Sherpa emerged as a central figure in these diplomatic efforts. Recognizing the urgency and complexity of the situation, India's G20 Sherpa along with counterparts from Brazil, South Africa, and Indonesia, initiated a collaborative approach. They were later joined by four additional emerging economies: Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Mexico, and Argentina. The negotiations involved nearly 200 hours of discussions and multiple drafts. This negotiation process stood out for its shift from adversarial positions to cooperative problem-solving. India's G20 Sherpa introduced 15 basic principles as a starting point, encouraging all sherpas to offer their perspectives (Som, 2023). This collaborative endeavour resulted in a draft aimed to "accommodate all without offending anyone" (Gupta & Sidhartha, 2023). Importantly, India and other emerging markets collectively exerted pressure on the G7 nations, which held divergent views on the Russia-Ukraine situation. "The negotiations" also emphasized the importance of development issues over war-related matters. The final draft was submitted only after "painstaking" bilateral discussions with key stakeholders, including Russia and China (Gupta & Sidhartha, 2023; Som, 2023). There are informal 'sofa talks' that occur at the meetings, giving the leaders an opportunity to forge deeper connections and discuss key issues in an informal setting (Banerjee, 2023). The G20's informal structure helps to strengthen the vital component of trust in diplomacy, and perhaps facilitated the 100 per cent consensus achieved during the Indian Presidency.

Joint finance and sherpa track meetings were held during the Fourth Sherpa Meeting to discuss and finalize the text and its placement, even incorporating inputs from the finance track. The consensus achieved through the Sherpa Meeting on climate and energy is significant given the vast variation in climate ambitions and clashing interests across the members of the G20. Similarly, agreement on the Russia-Ukraine conflict was difficult given the diametrically opposite views of the western bloc and Russia on the topic. Nonetheless, tough negotiations gave way to a 100 per cent consensus on the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration. The principles of transparency, accountability, and openness to discuss all inputs were reflected in the Declaration. Written comments were also solicited during virtual negotiation sessions to ensure comprehensive consideration of all country remarks. In summary, the emergence of the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration reinforces the significance of cooperative diplomacy in tackling pressing global issues.



Idea of India: Multicultural Democracy

“ It is a proud occasion for every Indian to assume the G-20 Presidency. We will organize G-20 meetings in different cities and states of our country. Our guests will get full experience of India’s amazing diversity, inclusive traditions, and cultural richness.

– Prime Minister Narendra Modi, Closing Session of G20 Summit, Bali⁵³

Hosting 200+ meetings across 60 cities, the Indian G20 Presidency was understood as an opportunity to showcase India’s rich and diverse cultural heritage to the world. The Summit, hosted in New Delhi, highlighted India’s architectural and historical treasures. At the ceremonial dinner, President Droupadi Murmu and Prime Minister Narendra Modi welcomed world leaders against a replica of the ancient Nalanda University, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, aiming to imply India’s commitment to diversity, meritocracy, and knowledge sharing (PTI, 2023b).

Moreover, across the span of a year, the Presidency hosted meetings at sites of great cultural and historical significance. For instance, the iconic Sun Temple at Konark in Odisha took center stage during the Summit’s inauguration. This 13th-century marvel, also a UNESCO World Heritage Site, symbolizes India’s ancient wisdom and embodies the nation’s commitment to progress, democracy, and continuous change (PTI, 2023b). The Ministry of Culture curated a special ‘Culture Corridor’ that displayed iconic art objects, including Panini’s grammar treatise, Rig Veda inscriptions, and digital images of Bhimbhetka cave paintings, showcasing India’s cultural richness. As part of the G20 diplomacy, India gifted exquisite handcrafted products representing the nation’s traditions and diversity, such as Sandook (treasure chest), Kashmiri saffron, Pekoe Darjeeling and Nilgiri Tea, Araku Valley coffee, Sundarbans honey, Kashmiri Pashmina, Kannauj Ittar, and Khadi, all embodying India’s craftsmanship, a long history of culture and tradition, and its natural resources (The Times of India, 2023b). Additionally, special stamps and coins commemorated India’s G20 Presidency and its journey towards 100 years of independence. The G20 Summit also celebrated India’s musical heritage with a performance called ‘Bharat Vadya Darshanam,’ featuring traditional Indian instruments and diverse musical styles (PTI, 2023a). Furthermore, an ‘Agriculture Street’ exhibition provided insights into India’s agricultural legacy, emphasizing millet farming and food security initiatives. The visit allowed spouses of world leaders to interact with women farmers from millet-producing states, showcasing grassroots-level changes and innovation in the agricultural sector (PIB, 2023g).

⁵³ (Modi, 2022)



India's G20 Presidency presenting its architectural marvels and cultural heritage also carried a symbolic idea. The act of showcasing culture during international gatherings like the G20 Summit served as a tangible representation of the principles of global unity and interconnectedness, a principle it adopted as the theme of the Presidency under “One Earth. One Family. One Future”. It carried the idea that cultural diversity can act as a catalyst for diplomatic relations. Furthermore, by hosting meetings across the country, and engaging people through suggestions, feedbacks, and other events, it took the G20 Presidency to the people allowing them to take centre-stage. In this line, by sharing its cultural traditions, India emphasised on preserving and honouring cultural legacies in fostering international harmony. This emphasis on cultural exchange embodied the country's belief that strengthening diplomatic ties and promoting tolerance can ultimately contribute to a more cohesive and interconnected global community.

04. From New Delhi to Rio de Janeiro: Legacy and Lessons

“ Our G20 Presidency strives to bridge divides, dismantle barriers, and sow seeds of collaboration that nourish a world where unity prevails over discord, where shared destiny eclipses isolation. As the G20 President, we had pledged to make the global table larger, ensuring that every voice is heard and every country contributes. I am positive that we have matched our pledge with actions and outcomes.

– Prime Minister Narendra Modi (PIB, 2023f)

Our current global challenges have reversed hard-earned progress in areas like health, education, and productivity, posing risks for future generations. The Summit was significant in addressing these global issues and fostering collective efforts to formulate mitigation strategies. It underscored the importance of robust multilateralism, as a lack thereof could exacerbate global multipolarity.

During this gathering of global leaders, the collaborative approach of the G20 demonstrated diplomatic finesse and ambition. The Indian Presidency's approach incorporated public participation, a focus on sustainability, inclusivity, holistic solutions, and technology utilization. Through these principles, the G20 made concerted efforts towards bridging gaps between the 'global north,' which has historical burdens, and the 'global south,' which holds aspirations for the future (Tiwari, 2023). This approach is also reflected in the G20 Leaders' Declaration. India's G20 presidency advocated for collaborative solutions on complex issues, generating over 110 outcome documents⁵⁴ on global matters. It also emphasized the human dimension of diplomacy, highlighting that global challenges affect real communities. The G20 moved toward fostering understanding, empathy, and collaboration among both the developed and developing nations, transcending political differences to advance a shared vision for a unified future.

Since the New Delhi Leaders' Summit was held much before the Presidency passes on to Brazil in December 2023, the Government of India scheduled another virtual summit, on

⁵⁴ Despite a high number of documents, there were criticisms regarding the commitments; John Kirton, the director of the G20 Research Group at University of Toronto stated, “Most commitments were weak, with G20 leaders largely promising to keep doing what they had already committed to do, to explore options, endorse or support others' work, or commission studies.” (Kirton, 2023b).



November 22, 2023, to track compliance of the decisions taken during the September Summit (The Times of India, 2023c). It is significant that the G20 Leaders' will meet twice under the same Presidency, and tracking compliance is a step in the right direction for the forum. As the G20 Presidency transitions from India to Brazil, India's role has been instrumental in shaping norms and providing lessons for future presidencies.⁵⁵ It demonstrated its ability to promote a more sustainable, inclusive, and interconnected world, exemplifying its diplomatic approach as a "rule-shaper" in the multilateral order. India's G20 Presidency has left an enduring impact on the forum by shaping global norms and promoting sustainability, technology, and inclusivity. It emphasizes the G20's role in addressing global challenges and promoting a more connected and harmonious world. The global agenda and discourse are shaped collectively, including contributions from both the global north and the global south, as we look ahead to upcoming G20 presidencies.

G20 Virtual Taking Stock Summit



As mentioned previously, in the absence of legally binding directives and a permanent secretariat, it becomes difficult to monitor, evaluate, and enforce the implementation of the commitments made at the G20 summit. Nonetheless, G20 under the Indian presidency saw efforts to instil an element of taking stock of the commitments made, signifying that the work does not end with the summit but is a continuous process. During the concluding session of the 18th G20 Leaders' Summit, Prime Minister Narendra Modi proposed to the G20 leaders that they convene virtually towards the end of India's G20 presidency to advance the directions given by the participating leaders in their interventions. The aim of this virtual summit – held on November 22, 2023 – was to energize the implementation of the Summit's outcomes, with a special emphasis on executing the Leaders' Declaration, which was adopted unanimously at the leader's summit (Ministry of External Affairs, 2023c). The virtual summit saw participation from all 21 members of the G20 including the African Union, 9 guest countries, and 11 international organisations (The Times of India, 2023d). Evidencing India's convening power, the virtual

summit marked the fourth meeting hosted by the Prime Minister during the G20 presidency, with participation from several world leaders. The two 'Voice of Global South' summits – one held in January and the other in November – and the G20 Leader's summit held in November constitute the other three such events (Ministry of External Affairs, 2023c). The virtual summit, held a little over two months after the Leader's summit, took place in the context of certain new global developments like the Israel-Hamas conflict. Prime Minister Narendra Modi condemned civilian deaths and terrorism, asserting that it is critical to prevent the conflict between Israel and Hamas from taking on any regional form (PIB, 2023k). Russian President Vladimir Putin – who was not present at the G20 Leader's Summit in September – joined the virtual summit, making it the first time he addressed G20 leaders since the war began in 2022. Putin said that there is a need to think about "how to stop this tragedy" and that "Russia has never refused peace talks with Ukraine", making it some of his most conciliatory remarks on the conflict (Faulconbridge et al., 2023). Additionally,

⁵⁵ President Lula stated that following up on India's achievements, the theme for the next Presidency was announced to be "Building a Just World and a Sustainable Planet", and its priorities focused on social inclusion and the fight against hunger; the energy transition and sustainable development (in its economic, social and environmental dimensions); and the reform of global governance institutions (Kirton, 2023b).



it provided a platform to discuss updates on the deliberations that took place in the Leader’s Summit; Prime Minister Narendra Modi announced the completion of the Digital Public Infrastructure Repository that incorporated over 50 DPIs from 16 different countries. He also proposed the creation of a Social Impact Fund to facilitate the implementation of DPIs in the Global South and promised 25 million dollars to this fund on India’s behalf. In line with the discourse on women-led development, India is implementing 33 per cent reservation for women in the Parliament and state legislative assemblies (PIB, 2023k). Voicing concerns of the Global South was a pertinent theme, and other discussions included global regulation of Artificial Intelligence, focusing on how the benefits of AI must reach the society; necessary safeguards against its malicious usage must be present and robust, green credit and environmental protection (PIB, 2023k). Additionally, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman affirmed support for five critical agendas: MDB reforms, digital infrastructure,

crypto assets roadmap, climate finance, and future city financing during the virtual summit. These received “overwhelming appreciation” and indicating intent for continuity in the upcoming Brazilian presidency. Collaboration among MDBs in innovative finance areas was explored, while the international expert group’s report garnered positive reception, instigating actions by respective bank boards (The Times of India, 2023d).

While the G20’s adaptability and lack of rigid structures might arguably give it a competitive edge over other multilateral forums, it distinctly lacks a follow-up mechanism. India’s attempts to keep the momentum going for the discussions that take place during the summit and throughout the presidency is a welcome step that should be taken forward in future presidencies, to complement the pre-existing consultative mechanism that takes place between nations of the troika to determine the agenda of the next presidency.



Conclusion



The study conducted a comprehensive examination of the evolution of the G20's agenda, with a real-time study of the Indian G20 Presidency, and its implications for 21st-century multilateralism. Over the course of its eighteen presidencies, the G20 has progressively assumed a more significant role in shaping global governance by addressing a wide array of interconnected global challenges – economic growth, healthcare, sustainability, financial reforms, gender equality, and agriculture, among others. However, it has not been without its share of criticisms, particularly for its predominant focus on economic matters, even when dealing with multifaceted issues like sustainability and gender equality. The rising stature of G20 and its position as a 'premier' multilateral forum, focused on issues which affect the world rather than just its

members, necessitated a shift towards a broader and more holistic agenda. Assessing this evolution of its agenda over the years, the study found that the G20 has shown considerable adaptability in response to the evolving global context.

Improving progress towards the attainment of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) at the mid-point of the 2030 agenda requires a more cross-cutting focus by countries. As per the SDG-based content analysis, the trend is optimistic - the proportion of keywords in the Leaders' Declaration across the presidencies has shifted towards a more balanced distribution between social, economic, and environmental sustainability themes. In the outcome document from the most recent G20 Leaders' Summit, it was observed that the

proportion of economic keywords at the target level was lower than the proportion identified at the goal level; this implies that while some keywords related to an SDG that was classified as economic in nature, a granular analysis at the target level shows that the keywords were targeted at social or environmental aspects of the economic goal, thereby reducing the proportion of economic keywords at the target level. This finding was in contrast to many summits of the past, where economic goals dominated at the target level, implying an emphasis on the economic aspects of social and environmental issues. An example of this is the Riyadh summit, where although the impact of COVID-19 was discussed across all dimensions, the strong commitments made to mitigate the impact primarily leaned towards an economic nature.

Similar results were observed from the language analysis, as the G20 Leaders' Declaration under the Indian Presidency had over 74 per cent strong commitments made on socio-environmental issues, marking a significant shift in the agenda of the forum, where proportions have either been dominant towards economic discussions or lingered around parity in past leaders' declarations. Strong commitments around sustainability, environment, or other development issues have often been limited to their economic purview; the Indian presidency, however, discussed development issues such as SDGs, women empowerment, etc. as a necessity in themselves. Going a step ahead, they spoke about certain traditional economic issues under the purview of social and environmental priorities. For example, the application of Artificial Intelligence (AI), which has long been talked about as a tool for promoting economic progress, was agreed upon as a way to improve sustainability in the New Delhi Leaders' Declaration. Moving forward, as global issues become more interlinked in nature, the multilateral forums, such as the G20, need to respond to them in a similar manner.

It is important to acknowledge that critics have raised concerns about the non-binding nature of the G20's commitments, its limited membership, and the absence of a fixed secretariat. Yet, the G20's flexibility and informality have proven advantageous in addressing urgent global issues. G20, under the Indian Presidency, marked a significant step in bringing forth the Global South – by including African Union, acknowledging the disproportionate effect of prevalent global challenges, and highlighting their issues by holding special summits (such as the Voice of the Global South summit). By emphasizing issues that disproportionately affect

these nations—such as socio-environmental concerns, developmental needs, gender parity, and sustainable technology—the presidency reiterated the imperative for collective action towards their solution; necessitating inclusive representation and participation of Global South countries, considering their status as some of the fastest-growing economies. This recognition signifies the growing relevance of Global South nations in shaping global agendas and highlights the urgency of their active involvement in collaborative efforts; which might set the norm for future G20 Presidencies and other multilateral forums which seek collaborative action to global problems.

In an era of complex, intertwined challenges, the G20's unconventional approach to diplomacy can exemplify a new approach to multilateralism, in particular – how multilateralism can thrive through adaptability and pragmatism rather than rigid structures. A caveat however is that since most of its meetings are behind closed doors, as the meeting procedures are not transparent and no information on negotiations is officially made public, the need for more representation in the room is all the more important. Although it has moved to improve it, the need for more diverse voices, especially from developing countries, is crucial for a holistic address of problems. Additionally, along with acknowledging the diversity of global issues, the G20 members also need to catalyze compliance with their commitments, given their non-binding nature. The Indian Presidency made efforts to instill a process of taking stock of the commitments made at the Leader's summit by hosting another virtual summit towards the end of the presidency. Holding multiple meetings at the leaders' level helps to maintain the momentum of discourse, trace developments on commitments made, and also address any new global developments. Carrying forward the momentum, G20 must explore the multiple dimensions of inequality – such as race, gender, education, health, food security, and approach them in a comprehensive and targeted manner. Additionally, G20 must take concrete actions towards mitigating the impact of migration caused by distress and work towards the rehabilitation of refugees. The future G20 Presidencies must aspire to be more inclusive, taking diplomacy to the public, become more holistic and balanced in their agenda, adapting to the evolving complexities of the world, and collectively work towards a better future for the world; all of which is a necessity for keeping the forum, and multilateralism as a whole, relevant to the future.

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Appendix

I. Classification of the SDGs at the Goal Level⁵⁷

SDG	Name	Classification
1	No Poverty	Economic
2	Zero Hunger	Social
3	Good Health and Wellbeing	Social
4	Quality Education	Social
5	Gender Equality	Social
6	Clean Water and Sanitation	Environmental Sustainability
7	Affordable and Clean Energy	Environmental Sustainability
8	Decent Work and Economic Growth	Economic
9	Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure	Economic
10	Reduced Inequalities	Economic
11	Sustainable Cities and Communities	Social
12	Sustainable Consumption and Production	Environmental Sustainability
13	Climate Action	Environmental Sustainability
14	Life Below Water	Environmental Sustainability
15	Life on Land	Environmental Sustainability
16	Peace Justice and Strong Institutions	Social

⁵⁷ SDG 17 excluded

II. Classification of the SDGs at the Target (169) Level⁵⁸

Classification	Targets
Economic	1.1; 1.2; 2.3; 4.4; 8.1; 8.10; 8.2; 8.3; 8.6; 8.9; 9.1; 9.2; 9.3; 9.5; 10.1; 10.4; 10.5; 10.7; 16.4; 16.5; 1.a; 1.b; 10.a; 10.b; 10.c; 11.c; 2.a; 2.b; 8.a; 8.b; 9.a; 9.b;
Environmental Sustainability	1.5; 2.4; 2.5; 3.9; 6.1; 6.3; 6.4; 6.5; 6.6; 7.1; 7.2; 7.3; 8.4; 9.4; 11.3; 11.5; 11.6; 11.7; 12.1; 12.2; 12.3; 12.4; 12.5; 12.6; 12.7; 12.8; 13.1; 13.2; 13.3; 14.1; 14.2; 14.3; 14.4; 14.5; 14.6; 14.7; 15.1; 15.2; 15.3; 15.4; 15.5; 15.6; 15.7; 15.8; 15.9; 11.a; 11.b; 12.a; 12.b; 12.c; 13.a; 13.b; 14.a; 14.b; 14.c; 15.a; 15.b; 15.c; 5.a; 6.a; 6.b; 7.a; 7.b;
Social	1.3; 1.4; 2.1; 2.2; 3.1; 3.2; 3.3; 3.4; 3.5; 3.6; 3.7; 3.8; 4.1; 4.2; 4.3; 4.5; 4.6; 4.7; 5.1; 5.2; 5.3; 5.4; 5.5; 5.6; 6.2; 8.5; 8.7; 8.8; 10.2; 10.3; 10.6; 11.1; 11.2; 11.4; 16.1; 16.2; 16.3; 16.6; 16.7; 16.8; 16.9; 16.1; 16.a; 16.b; 2.c; 3.a; 3.b; 3.c; 3.d; 4.a; 4.b; 4.c; 5.b; 5.c; 9.c;

III. Number of Keywords Detected for each Leaders' Declaration, KnowSDGs Web Tool⁵⁹

Goal Level

	Washington	London	Pittsburgh	Toronto	Seoul	Cannes	Los Cabos	Saint Petersburg	Brisbane	Antalya	Hangzhou	Hamburg	Buenos Aires	Osaka	Riyadh	Rome	Bali	New Delhi	Percentage
SDG 1	1	2	10	2	3	1	13	21	2	2	5	6	3	6	5	11	8	17	5.055698372
SDG 2	1	1	13	4	0	9	18	13	2	6	9	8	5	3	3	12	25	14	6.255355613
SDG 3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	12	12	19	9	24	6	22	4.584404456
SDG 4	0	1	4	0	0	0	2	9	0	0	2	9	11	7	4	9	20	15	3.984575835
SDG 5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	6	5	9	6	12	7	11	2.442159383
SDG 6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	2	0	1	0.471293916
SDG 7	1	0	28	0	0	0	3	18	6	15	16	14	6	8	8	13	16	19	7.326478149
SDG 8	6	5	29	11	11	7	65	82	25	27	47	44	23	39	23	27	23	40	22.87917738
SDG 9	0	0	2	1	2	1	4	6	0	6	15	13	2	18	7	13	18	13	5.184233076
SDG 10	2	1	7	0	0	3	6	7	2	16	16	15	4	8	10	14	8	14	5.698371894
SDG 11	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	2	2	3	7	6	14	1.628106255
SDG 12	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	2	1	8	2	10	5	9	1.799485861
SDG 13	1	2	18	2	4	5	8	11	5	6	7	4	6	15	12	30	26	53	9.211653813
SDG 14	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	3	0	9	2	12	4	7	1.799485861
SDG 15	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	2	0	3	8	12	17	22	2.913453299
SDG 16	7	1	10	10	2	6	24	45	3	7	20	17	14	21	18	30	18	24	11.8680377
SDG 17	0	2	7	4	1	7	9	29	7	7	19	13	6	7	8	7	15	13	6.898029135

⁵⁸ SDG 17 excluded

⁵⁹ <https://knowsdgs.jrc.ec.europa.eu/sdgmapper>

IV. Results of Qualitative Language Analysis of Leaders' Declaration of G20 Summits

Summits	Strong Commitments	%age of Economic	%age of Socio-environmental	Key Areas
Washington	3	100.0%	0.0%	Economic Recovery; Financial Reforms; Trade
London	7	85.7%	14.3%	Economic Growth and Recovery; Financial Reforms; Trade
Pittsburgh	8	75.0%	25.0%	IMF and World Bank Reform; Economic Growth; Fossil Fuels and Climate Financing
Toronto	17	82.4%	17.6%	IMF and World Bank Reform; Economic Growth; Agriculture; Anti-Corruption
Seoul	13	84.6%	15.4%	Development; Financial Regulation and Sustainability; Anti-Corruption
Cannes	33	75.8%	24.2%	Decent Work; Agriculture and Food Security; Trade and Taxation
Los Cabos	41	61.0%	39.0%	Climate and Clean Energy; Sustainable Agriculture; Economic Growth and Jobs
St. Petersburg	33	69.7%	30.3%	Employment; Free Trade; Green Growth
Brisbane	13	76.9%	23.1%	Economic Growth; Gender Equality; Clean Energy
Antalya	26	46.2%	53.8%	Anti-Corruption; Strengthening Private Sector; Quality Jobs
Hangzhou	39	66.7%	33.3%	Sustainable Development; Innovation; Decent Work
Hamburg	20	50.0%	50.0%	Gender Issues; Healthcare; Clean Energy
Buenos Aires	16	62.5%	37.5%	Financial Reform; Anti-Corruption; Agriculture
Osaka	21	57.1%	42.9%	Marine Conservation; Data Protection and Digitization; Global Finance
Riyadh	16	81.3%	18.8%	COVID-19; Financial Resilience; Trade Reform
Rome	34	47.1%	52.9%	Healthcare; Energy and Climate; Financial Inclusion
Bali	25	48.0%	52.0%	Economic Recovery; Agriculture; Environment
New Delhi	39	25.6%	74.4%	Sustainability; Women Empowerment; Climate Financing

V. List of Guest Participants at the G20 2008-2023

Year	Summit	Invitees- International Organizations ⁶⁰	Type of Organisation ⁶¹	Invitees - Countries	Type of Economy ⁶²
2008	Washington, United States of America	World Bank	International	The Netherlands	Developed
		Financial Stability Forum	International	Spain	Developed
		United Nations	International		
		International Monetary Fund	International		
2009	London, United Kingdom	New Partnership for Africa's Development	Regional	The Netherlands	Developed
		ASEAN	Regional	Spain	Developed
		United Nations	International	Ethiopia	Developing
		World Bank	International	Thailand	Developing
		International Monetary Fund	International		
		World Trade Organisation	International		
		Financial Stability Forum	International		

⁶⁰ This list of invitees (countries and organisations) at the G20 was collated from the various press releases and communiqués published under each G20 Presidency so far.

⁶¹ For the purposes of this study, these organisations were classified as International and Regional based on the descriptions available on their websites and other official documents recognising their outreach.

⁶² For the purposes of this study, these organisations were classified as Developed, Developing and Economy in Transition based on the categorisation in the World Economic Situation and Prospect report published by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), in partnership with the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the five United Nations regional commissions: Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (UNECLAC), Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) and Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (UNESWA) in 2023.

Year	Summit	Invitees- International Organizations ⁶⁰	Type of Organisation ⁶¹	Invitees - Countries	Type of Economy ⁶²
2009	Pittsburgh, United States of America	New Partnership for Africa's Development	Regional	The Netherlands	Developed
		ASEAN	Regional	Spain	Developed
		International Monetary Fund	International	Ethiopia	Developing
		United Nations	International	Thailand	Developing
		World Bank	International		
		World Trade Organisation	International		
		Financial Stability Forum	International		
2010	Toronto, Canada	Financial Stability Board	International	Ethiopia	Developing
		International Labour Organisation	International	Malawi	Developing
		International Monetary Fund	International	The Netherlands	Developed
		OECD	International	Spain	Developed
		United Nations	International	Vietnam	Developing
		World Bank	International	Nigeria	Developing
		World Trade Organisation	International		
		ASEAN	Regional		
		African Union	Regional		
		New Partnership for Africa's Development	Regional		
2010	Seoul, South Korea	Financial Stability Board	International	Ethiopia	Developing
		International Labour Organisation	International	Malawi	Developing
		International Monetary Fund	International	Spain	Developed
		OECD	International	Vietnam	Developing
		United Nations	International	Singapore	Developing

Year	Summit	Invitees- International Organizations ⁶⁰	Type of Organisation ⁶¹	Invitees - Countries	Type of Economy ⁶²
		ASEAN	Regional		
		New Partnership for Africa's Development	Regional		
		African Union	Regional		
		World Bank	International		
		World Trade Organisation	International		
2011	Cannes, France	African Union	Regional	Equatorial Guinea	Developing
		New Partnership for Africa's Development	Regional	Ethiopia	Developing
		Global Governance Group	International	Singapore	Developing
		Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf	Regional	Spain	Developed
		United Nations	International	United Arab Emirates	Developing
		World Bank	International		
		Financial Stability Board	International		
		International Monetary Fund	International		
2012	Las Cabos, Mexico	ASEAN	Regional	Cambodia	Developing
		International Labour Organisation	International	Spain	Developed
		International Monetary Fund	International	Chile	Developing
		World Bank	International	Colombia	Developing
		OECD	International	Ethiopia	Developing
		World Trade Organisation	International	Benin	Developing
		Financial Stability Board	International		
		United Nations	International		
		Food and Agriculture Organisation	International		

Year	Summit	Invitees- International Organizations ⁶⁰	Type of Organisation ⁶¹	Invitees - Countries	Type of Economy ⁶²
2013	St. Petersburg, Russia	African Union	Regional	Spain	Developed
		New Partnership for Africa's Development	Regional		
		United Nations	International	Kazakhstan	Economy in Transition
		World Bank	International	Ethiopia	Developing
		Financial Stability Board	International	Senegal	Developing
		International Monetary Fund	International	Singapore	Developing
		OECD	International		
		World Trade Organisation	International		
		Global Governance Group	International		
		International Labour Organisation	International		
		ASEAN	Regional		
2014	Brisbane, Australia	African Union	Regional	Spain	Developed
		New Partnership for Africa's Development	Regional	Senegal	Developing
		ASEAN	Regional	New Zealand	Developed
		United Nations	International	Singapore	Developing
		World Bank	International	Myanmar	Developing
		Financial Stability Board	International		
		International Monetary Fund	International		
		Global Governance Group	International		
2015	Antalya, Türkiye	African Union	Regional	Spain	Developed
		New Partnership for Africa's Development	Regional	Azerbaijan	Economy in Transition
		ASEAN	Regional	Malaysia	Developing
		United Nations	International	Senegal	Developing
		World Bank	International	Singapore	Developing

Year	Summit	Invitees- International Organizations ⁶⁰	Type of Organisation ⁶¹	Invitees - Countries	Type of Economy ⁶²
		Financial Stability Board	International	Zimbabwe	Developing
		International Monetary Fund	International		
		Global Governance Group	International		
		World Trade Organisation	International		
		OECD	International		
		International Labour Organisation	International		
2016	Hangzhou, China	Financial Stability Board	International	Chad	Developing
		International Labour Organisation	International	Egypt	Developing
		International Monetary Fund	International	Kazakhstan	Economy in Transition
		OECD	International	Laos	Developing
		United Nations	International	Senegal	Developing
		World Bank	International	Singapore	Developing
		World Trade Organisation	International	Thailand	Developing
		African Union	Regional		
		ASEAN	Regional		
		New Partnership for Africa's Development	Regional		
		Global Governance Group	International		
2017	Hamburg, Germany	African Union	Regional	Spain	Developed
		Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation	Regional	Norway	Developed
		New Partnership for Africa's Development	Regional	The Netherlands	Developed
		International Labour Organisation	International	Singapore	Developing
		International Monetary Fund	International	Guinea	Developing

Year	Summit	Invitees- International Organizations ⁶⁰	Type of Organisation ⁶¹	Invitees - Countries	Type of Economy ⁶²
		Financial Stability Board	International	Vietnam	Developing
		World Bank	International	Senegal	Developing
		World Trade Organisation	International	Switzerland	Developed
		OECD	International		
		United Nations	International		
		World Health Organization	International		
		Global Governance Group	International		
2018	Buenos Aires, Argentina	African Union	Regional	Spain	Developed
		Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation	Regional	Chile	Developing
		New Partnership for Africa's Development	Regional	The Netherlands	Developed
		International Labour Organisation	International	Rwanda	Developing
		International Monetary Fund	International	Singapore	Developing
		Financial Stability Board	International	Senegal	Developing
		World Bank	International	Jamaica	Developing
		World Trade Organisation	International		
		OECD	International		
		United Nations	International		
		World Health Organization	International		
		Global Governance Group	International		
		Development Bank of Latin America	Regional		
		Caribbean Community	Regional		
		Inter American Development Bank	Regional		
2019	Osaka, Japan	Global Governance Group	International	The Netherlands	Developed

Year	Summit	Invitees- International Organizations ⁶⁰	Type of Organisation ⁶¹	Invitees - Countries	Type of Economy ⁶²
		ASEAN	Regional	Spain	Developed
		G3	International	Singapore	Developing
		African Union	Regional	Vietnam	Developing
		Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation	Regional	Thailand	Developing
		New Partnership for Africa's Development	Regional		Developing
		United Nations	International	Chile	Developing
		International Monetary Fund	International	Senegal	Developing
		World Bank	International		
		World Trade Organisation	International		
		International Labour Organisation	International		
		Financial Stability Board	International		
		OECD	International		
		Asian Development Bank	Regional		
		World Health Organization	International		
2020	Riyadh, Saudi Arabia	Food and Agriculture Organisation	International	Jordan	Developing
		Financial Stability Board	International	Singapore	Developing
		International Labour Organisation	International	Spain	Developed
		International Monetary Fund	International	Switzerland	Developed
		OECD	International	Vietnam	Developing
		United Nations	International		
		World Bank	International	United Arab Emirates	Developing
		World Health Organization	International	Rwanda	Developing
		World Trade Organisation	International	South Africa	Developing
		Arab Monetary Fund	Regional		

Year	Summit	Invitees- International Organizations ⁶⁰	Type of Organisation ⁶¹	Invitees - Countries	Type of Economy ⁶²
		Islamic Development Bank	Regional		
		ASEAN	Regional		
		African Union	Regional		
		Gulf Cooperation Council	Regional		
		New Partnership for Africa's Development	Regional		
2021	Rome, Italy	Financial Stability Board	International	Spain	Developed
		World Trade Organisation	International	Brunei	Developing
		World Health Organization	International	Democratic Republic of Congo	Developing
		World Bank	International	The Netherlands	Developed
		International Labour Organisation	International	Rwanda	Developing
		United Nations	International	Singapore	Developing
		International Monetary Fund	International		
		Food and Agriculture Organisation	International		
		OECD	International		
		African Commission	Regional		
		G3	International		
		New Partnership for Africa's Development	Regional		
		ASEAN	Regional		
2022	Bali, Indonesia	Pacific Islands Forum	Regional	The Netherlands	Developed
		New Partnership for Africa's Development	Regional	Rwanda	Developing
		African Union	Regional	Senegal	Developing
		G3	International	Singapore	Developing
		Caribbean Community	Regional	Spain	Developed
		Asian Development Bank	Regional	Suriname	Developing
		FIFA(International Football Federation)	International	Ukraine	Economy in Transition
		International Olympic Association	International	United Arab Emirates	Developing

Year	Summit	Invitees- International Organizations ⁶⁰	Type of Organisation ⁶¹	Invitees - Countries	Type of Economy ⁶²
		Financial Stability Board	International		
		International Labour Organisation	International		
		International Monetary Fund	International		
		Islamic Development Bank	Regional		
		OECD	International		
		United Nations	International		
		World Economic Forum	International		
		World Health Organization	International		
		World Trade Organisation	International		
2023	New Delhi, India	United Nations	International	Bangladesh	Developing
		International Monetary Fund	International	Egypt	Developing
		World Bank	International	Mauritius	Developing
		World Health Organisation	International	The Netherlands	Developed
		World Trade Organisation	International	Nigeria	Developing
		International Labour Organisation	International	Oman	Developing
		Financial Stability Board	International	Singapore	Developing
		OECD	International	Spain	Developed
		African Union	Regional	United Arab Emirates	Developing
		New Partnership for Africa's Development	Regional		
		ASEAN	Regional		
		International Solar Alliance	International		
		Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure	International		
		Asian Development Bank	Regional		

VI. Summary of Events G20 2023, Source: G20 India

S.No.	Meeting	Date	City	State
1	G20 HOMs event	25-27 November	Port Blair	Andaman & Nicobar
2	1st Sherpa Meeting	4-7 December	Udaipur	Rajasthan
3	1st Development Working Group Meeting	13-16 December	Mumbai	Maharashtra
4	1st Finance & Central Bank Deputies Meeting	13-15 December	Bengaluru	Karnataka
5	1st Framework Working Group Meeting	16-17 December	Bengaluru	Karnataka
6	1st Joint Health-Finance Task Force Meeting	20 December	Virtual	NA
7	1st Meeting for the Global Partnership for Financial Inclusion	9-11 January	Kolkata	West Bengal
8	Think 20 Inception Meeting	13-14 January	Delhi	Delhi
9	1st Infrastructure Working Group Meeting	16-17 January	Pune	Maharashtra
10	1st Health Working Group Meeting	18-20 January	Thiruvananthapuram	Kerala
11	B20 Inception Meeting	22-24 January	Gandhinagar	Gujarat
12	StartUp20 Inception Meeting	28-29 January	Hyderabad	Telangana
13	1st International Financial Architecture Working Group Meeting	30-31 January	Chandigarh	Chandigarh
14	Science 20 Inception Meeting	30-31 January	Puducherry	Puducherry
15	1st Education Working Group Meeting	31 Jan-2 Feb	Chennai	Tamil Nadu
16	1st Sustainable Finance Working Group Meeting	2-3 February	Guwahati	Assam
17	1st Employment Working Group Meeting	2-4 February	Jodhpur	Rajasthan
18	1st Energy Transitions Working Group Meeting	5-7 February	Bengaluru	Karnataka
19	Youth 20 Inception Meeting	6-8 February	Guwahati	Assam
20	1st Tourism Working Group Meeting	7-9 February	Rann of Kutch	Gujarat
21	RIIG Inception (SERB)	8-9 February	Kolkata	West Bengal
22	1st Environment and Climate Sustainability Working Group Meeting	9-11 February	Bengaluru	Karnataka

S.No.	Meeting	Date	City	State
23	Urban 20 Inception Meeting	9-10 February	Ahmedabad	Gujarat
24	G20 EMPOWER Inception	11-12 February	Agra	Uttar Pradesh
25	1st Agriculture Deputies Meeting	13-15 February	Indore	Madhya Pradesh
26	1st Digital Economy Working Group Meeting	13-15 February	Lucknow	Uttar Pradesh
27	B20 Event	17-18 February	Imphal	Manipur
28	2nd Finance & Central Bank Deputies Meeting	22-23 February	Bengaluru	Karnataka
29	1st Culture Working Group Meeting	23-25 February	Khajuraho	Madhya Pradesh
30	1st Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors Meeting	24-25 February	Bengaluru	Karnataka
31	Women 20 Inception Meeting	27-28 February	Aurangabad	Maharashtra
32	G20 Foreign Ministers Meeting	1-2 March	Delhi	Delhi
33	1st Anti-Corruption Working Group Meeting	1-4 March	Gurugram	Haryana
34	B20 Event	2-3 March	Aizawl	Mizoram
35	RIIG event (CSIR)	2-3 March	Ranchi	Jharkhand
36	2nd Meeting for the Global Partnership for Financial Inclusion	6-7 March	Hyderabad	Telangana
37	SAI 20 Inception Meeting	13-15 March	Guwahati	Assam
38	2nd Education Working Group Meeting	15-17 March	Amritsar	Punjab
39	B20 Event	15-17 March	Gangtok	Sikkim
40	StartUp20 Side Meeting	18-19 March	Gangtok	Sikkim
41	Labour 20 Inception Meeting	19-20 March	Amritsar	Punjab
42	2nd Joint Health-Finance Task Force Meeting	20 March	Virtual	NA
43	Civil20 Inception Meeting	20-22 March	Nagpur	Maharashtra
44	2nd Sustainable Finance Working Group Meeting	21-23 March	Udaipur	Rajasthan
45	2nd Framework Working Group Meeting	24-25 March	Chennai	Tamil Nadu
46	RIIG event (DBT)	24-25 March	Dibrugarh/Itanagar	Arunachal Pradesh
47	2nd Environment and Climate Sustainability Working Group Meeting	27-29 March	Gandhinagar	Gujarat

S.No.	Meeting	Date	City	State
48	1st Trade & Investment Working Group Meeting	28-30 March	Mumbai	Maharashtra
49	2nd Infrastructure Working Group Meeting	28-29 March	Visakhapatnam	Andhra Pradesh
50	1st Chief Science Advisors Round Table	28-29 March	Ramnagar	Uttarakhand
51	2nd Agriculture Deputies Meeting	29-31 March	Chandigarh	Chandigarh
52	2nd Sherpa Meeting	30 Mar-02 Apr	Kumarakom	Kerala
53	1st Disaster Risk Reduction Working Group Meeting	30 Mar-01 Apr	Gandhinagar	Gujarat
54	2nd International Financial Architecture Working Group Meeting	30-31 March	Paris	NA
55	2nd Tourism Working Group Meeting	1-4 April	Siliguri/Darjeeling	West Bengal
56	2nd Energy Transitions Working Group Meeting	2-4 April	Gandhinagar	Gujarat
57	2nd Employment Working Group Meeting	3-5 April	Guwahati	Assam
58	Science 20 event;	3-4 April	Agartala	Tripura
59	B20 Event	4-6 April	Kohima	Nagaland
60	G20 EMPOWER Meeting	5-6 April	Thiruvananthapuram	Kerala
61	2nd Development Working Group Meeting	6-9 April	Kumarakom	Kerala
62	2nd Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors Meeting	12-13 April	Washington DC	NA
63	Women 20 Meeting	13-14 April	Jaipur	Rajasthan
64	2nd Health Working Group Meeting	17-19 April	Goa	Goa
65	Meeting of Agriculture Chief Scientists (MACS)	17-19 April	Varanasi	Uttar Pradesh
66	SELM	17-18 April	Shillong	Meghalaya
67	2nd Digital Economy Working Group Meeting	17-19 April	Hyderabad	Telangana
68	RIIG event (SERB)	19-20 April	Dharamshala	Himachal Pradesh
69	3rd Education Working Group Meeting	26-29 April	Bhubaneswar	Odisha
70	Youth 20 event	26-28 April	Leh	Ladakh
71	Science 20 event;	1-2 May	Kavaratti	Lakshadweep

S.No.	Meeting	Date	City	State
72	3rd Development Working Group Meeting	9-11 May	Goa	Goa
73	2nd Culture Working Group Meeting	15-17 May	Bhubaneswar	Odisha
74	3rd Energy Transitions Working Group Meeting	15-17 May	Mumbai	Maharashtra
75	RIIG event (MoES)	18-19 May	Diu	Dadra And Nagar Haveli Daman And Diu
76	3rd Environment and Climate Sustainability Working Group Meeting	21-23 May	Mumbai	Maharashtra
77	3rd Tourism Working Group Meeting	22-24 May	Srinagar	Jammu & Kashmir
78	2nd Disaster Risk Reduction Working Group Meeting	23-25 May	Mumbai	Maharashtra
79	2nd Trade & Investment Working Group Meeting	23-25 May	Bengaluru	Karnataka
80	2nd Anti-Corruption Working Group Meeting	25-27 May	Rishikesh	Uttarakhand
81	3rd Employment Working Group Meeting	31 May-2 June	Geneva	NA
82	3rd Health Working Group Meeting	4-6 June	Hyderabad	Telangana
83	3rd International Financial Architecture Working Group Meeting	5-7 June	Goa	Goa
84	4th Development Working Group Meeting	6-9 June	Delhi	Delhi
85	Development Ministers Meeting	11-13 June	Varanasi	Uttar Pradesh
86	SAI 20 Summit	12-14 June	Goa	Goa
87	3rd Framework Working Group Meeting	12-14 June	Kochi	Kerala
88	3rd Digital Economy Working Group Meeting	12-14 June	Pune	Maharashtra
89	3rd Agriculture Deputies Meeting	15-17 June	Hyderabad	Telangana
90	Women 20 Summit	15-16 June	Mahabalipuram	Tamil Nadu
91	Science 20 event	16-17 June	Bhopal	Madhya Pradesh
92	Agriculture Ministers Meeting	17 June	Hyderabad	Telangana
93	4th Tourism Working Group Meeting	19-20 June	Goa	Goa

S.No.	Meeting	Date	City	State
94	3rd Sustainable Finance Working Group Meeting	19-21 June	Mahabalipuram	Tamil Nadu
95	4th Education Working Group Meeting	20-21 June	Pune	Maharashtra
96	Tourism Ministers Meeting	21-22 June	Goa	Goa
97	Labour 20 Summit	22-23 June	Patna	Bihar
98	Education Ministers Meeting	22 June	Pune	Maharashtra
99	3rd Joint Health-Finance Task Force Meeting	22 June	Virtual	NA
100	3rd Meeting for the Global Partnership for Financial Inclusion	24-26 June	Bali, Indonesia	NA
101	3rd Infrastructure Working Group Meeting	26-28 June	Rishikesh	Uttarakhand
102	B20 Event	1 July	Surat	Gujarat
103	StartUp20 Summit Meeting	3-4 July	Gurugram	Haryana
104	RILG Summit	4-5 July	Mumbai	Maharashtra
105	Research Ministers Meeting	5-6 July	Mumbai	Maharashtra
106	SELM	6-7 July	Bengaluru	Karnataka
107	Urban 20 Summit	7-8 July	Ahmedabad	Gujarat
108	3rd Culture Working Group Meeting	09-12 July	Hampi	Karnataka
109	3rd Trade & Investment Working Group Meeting	10-12 July	Kevadia	Gujarat
110	3rd Sherpa Meeting	13-16 July	Hampi	Karnataka
111	3rd Finance and Central Bank Deputies Meeting	14-15 July	Gandhinagar	Gujarat
112	3rd Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors Meeting	17-18 July	Gandhinagar	Gujarat
113	4th Energy Transitions Working Group Meeting	19-20 July	Goa	Goa
114	4th Employment Working Group Meeting	19-20 July	Indore	Madhya Pradesh
115	Science 20 Summit	21-22 July	Coimbatore	Tamil Nadu
116	Labour and Employment Ministers Meeting	21 July	Indore	Madhya Pradesh
117	Energy Ministers Meeting	22 July	Goa	Goa
118	3rd Disaster Risk Reduction Working Group Meeting	24-26 July	Chennai	Tamil Nadu

S.No.	Meeting	Date	City	State
119	4th Environment and Climate Sustainability Working Group Meeting	26-27 July	Chennai	Tamil Nadu
120	Environment and Climate Sustainability Ministers Meeting	28 Jul	Chennai	Tamil Nadu
121	Civil 20 Summit	30-31 July	Jaipur	Rajasthan
122	G20 EMPOWER Summit	1-2 August	Gandhinagar	Gujarat
123	Think 20 Summit	1-2 August	Mysuru	Karnataka
124	Ministerial Meeting on Women Empowerment	2-4 August	Gandhinagar	Gujarat
125	Anti-Corruption Ministers Meeting	12 August	Kolkata	West Bengal
126	4th Digital Economy Working Group Meeting	16-18 Aug	Bengaluru	Karnataka
127	Youth 20 Summit Meeting	17-20 August	Varanasi	Uttar Pradesh
128	4th Health Working Group Meeting	17 August	Gandhinagar	Gujarat
129	Health Ministers Meeting	18-19 August	Gandhinagar	Gujarat
130	Digital Economy Ministers Meeting	19 August	Bengaluru	Karnataka
131	Joint Health-Finance Ministers Meeting	19 August	Gandhinagar	Gujarat
132	4th Trade & Investment Working Group	21-22 August	Jaipur	Rajasthan
133	4th Culture Working Group meeting	24-25 August	Varanasi	Uttar Pradesh
134	Trade & Investment Ministers Meeting	24-25 August	Jaipur	Rajasthan
135	B20 Summit	25-27 August	Greater Noida	Uttar Pradesh
136	Culture Ministers Meeting	26 August	Varanasi	Uttar Pradesh
137	2nd Chief Science Advisors Round Table	27-29 August	Gandhinagar	Gujarat
138	B20 Event	Sept/Oct	Shimla	Himachal Pradesh
139	4th Sherpa Meeting	3-6 September	Delhi	Delhi
140	4th Finance and Central Bank Deputies Meeting	5-6 September	Delhi	Delhi
141	Joint Sherpas and Finance Deputies Meeting	6 September	Delhi	Delhi
142	G20 Leader's Summit	9-10 Sep	Delhi	Delhi

S.No.	Meeting	Date	City	State
143	4th Sustainable Finance Working Group Meeting	13-14 September	Varanasi	Uttar Pradesh
144	4th Meeting for the Global Partnership for Financial Inclusion	15-16 September	Mumbai	Maharashtra
145	4th Framework Working Group Meeting	18-19 September	Raipur	Chhattisgarh
146	4th Infrastructure Working Group Meeting	21-22 September	Khajuraho	Madhya Pradesh
147	4th International Financial Architecture Working Group Meeting	21-22 September	Korea	NA
148	5th Finance and Central Bank Deputies Meeting	11 October	Marrakesh	NA
149	Virtual Summit	22 November		

VII. List of Documents Annexed to the New Delhi G20 Leaders' Declaration, 2023

S.No.	Ministerial/Working Group Outcome Document
1	G20 Agriculture Ministers' Meeting Outcome Document and Chair's Summary (16-17 June 2023, Hyderabad)
i.	G20 Deccan High Level Principles on Food Security and Nutrition 2023
ii.	Stocktaking of G20 Initiatives in Agriculture - Presidency's Summary Statement
2	G20 Anti-Corruption Ministers' Meeting Outcome Document and Chair's Summary (12 August 2023, Kolkata)
i.	G20 High-Level Principles on Strengthening Law Enforcement related International Cooperation and Information Sharing for Combatting Corruption
ii.	G20 High-Level Principles on Strengthening Asset Recovery Mechanisms for Combatting Corruption
iii.	G20 High-Level Principles on Promoting Integrity and Effectiveness of Public Bodies and Authorities Responsible for Preventing and Combatting Corruption
iv.	Accountability Report 2023 on Mutual Legal Assistance (MLA)
v.	Compendium of Good Practices in Enhancing the Role of Auditing in Tackling Corruption
3	Culture Ministers' Meeting Outcome Document and Chair's Summary - Kashi Culture Pathway (26 August 2023, Varanasi)
i.	G20 Culture Working Group Terms of Reference
4	Development Ministers' Meeting Outcome Document and Chair's Summary (12 June 2023, Varanasi)
5	Action Plan on Accelerating Progress on the SDGs (12 June 2023, Varanasi)

S.No.	Ministerial/Working Group Outcome Document
i.	G20 High Level Principles on Harnessing Data for Development (D4D) to Accelerate Progress on the SDGs
ii.	Implementing Sustainable, Inclusive and Just Transitions Globally, while leaving no one behind
iii.	G20 Action Plan on Sustainable Development through Gender Equality on Sustainable Development through Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women
6	G20 High Level Principles on Lifestyles for Sustainable Development (12 June 2023, Varanasi)
7	G20 Digital Economy Ministers' Meeting Outcome Document and Chair's Summary (19 August 2023, Bengaluru)
i.	G20 Framework for systems of Digital Public Infrastructure
ii.	G20 High Level Principles to Support Business in Building Safety, Security, Resilience, and Trust in the Digital Economy
iii.	G20 Toolkit on Cyber Education and Cyber Awareness of Children and Youth
iv.	G20 Toolkit for Designing and Introducing Digital Upskilling and Reskilling Programs
v.	G20 Roadmap to Facilitate the Cross-Country Comparison of Digital Skills
8	G20 Disaster Risk Reduction Working Group Meeting Outcome Document and Chair's Summary (24- 25 July 2023, Chennai)
9	G20 Environment & Climate Ministers' Meeting Outcome Document and Chair's Summary (28 July 2023, Chennai)
i.	Chennai High Level Principles for a Sustainable and Resilient Blue/Ocean-Based Economy
ii.	Presidency's Gandhinagar Implementation Roadmap (GIR) And Gandhinagar Information Platform (GIP) For strengthening the G20 Global Land Initiative.
iii.	Compendium of Best Practices on Restoration of Mining Affected Areas.
iv.	Compendium of Best Practices on Restoration of Forest Fire Affected Areas
v.	Best Practices for Water Management
vi.	Technical Study on Accelerating the Transition to a Sustainable and Resilient Blue Economy
vii.	G20 Report on Actions Against Marine Plastic Litter – Fifth Information Sharing Based on G20 Implementation Framework
viii.	Knowledge Exchange on Circular Economy in Steel Sector
ix.	Knowledge Exchange on Extended Producer Responsibility for Circular Economy
x.	Knowledge Exchange on Circular Bioeconomy
xi.	Resource Efficiency and Circular Economy Industry Coalition (RECEIC)
10	G20 Education Ministers' Meeting Outcome Document and Chair's Summary (22 June 2023, Pune)
i.	G20 EdWG Report: Education Policies and Programmes in G20 Countries
ii.	G20 EdWG Compendium: Education Policies and Programmes in G20 Countries
11	G20 Energy Transitions Ministers' Meeting Outcome Document and Chair's Summary (22 July 2023, Goa)
i.	G20 High-Level Voluntary Principles on Hydrogen
ii.	Voluntary High-Level Principles for Collaboration on Critical Minerals for Energy Transitions
iii.	Voluntary Action Plan on Doubling the Global Rate of Energy Efficiency Improvement by 2030

S.No.	Ministerial/Working Group Outcome Document
iv.	Voluntary Action Plan for Lowering the Cost of Finance for Energy Transitions
v.	Voluntary Action Plan for Promoting Renewable Energy to Accelerate Universal Energy Access.
12	G20 Foreign Ministers' Meeting Chair's Summary and Outcome Document (1-2 March 2023, New Delhi)
13	First G20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors Meeting Chair's Summary and Outcome Document (24 - 25 February 2023, Bengaluru)
i.	IMF G20 Note on the Macro financial Implications of Crypto Assets
ii.	FSB Chair's Letter to G20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors, February 2023.
iii.	FSB Report on the Financial Stability Risks of Decentralised Finance
iv.	FSB Report on the Financial Stability Aspects of Commodities Markets
v.	FSB report: G20 Roadmap for Enhancing Cross-border Payments - Priority actions for achieving the G20 targets
vi.	OECD Secretary-General's Tax Letter to G20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors, February 2023.
vii.	OECD Secretary-General Tax Report to G20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors
14	Third G20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors Meeting Outcome Document and Chair's Summary (17-18 July 2023, Gandhinagar)
i.	G20 Report on Macroeconomic Impacts of Food and Energy Insecurity and their implications for the global economy
ii.	G20 Report on Macroeconomic risks stemming from climate change and transition pathways
iii.	G20 Roadmap for implementing the recommendations of the G20 Independent Review of MDBs Capital Adequacy Frameworks (CAFs)
iv.	Volume 1 of the G20 Expert Group on Strengthening MDBs
v.	IMF Report on potential macro-financial implications of widespread adoption of CBDCs
vi.	BIS Innovation Hub (BISIH) Report on "Lessons learnt on CBDCs"
vii.	OECD's report on "Towards Orderly Green Transition – Investment Requirements and Managing Risks to Capital Flows"
viii.	G20 note on the total global ambition of USD 100bn of voluntary contributions for countries most in need
ix.	G20 Principles for Financing Cities of Tomorrow: inclusive, resilient and sustainable
x.	G20/OECD Report on Financing Cities of Tomorrow
xi.	G20/ADB Framework on Capacity Building of Urban Administration
xii.	G20 Sustainable Finance Working Group Deliverables, 2023
xiii.	Framework on Economic Vulnerabilities and Risks (FEVR) and the initial Report for economic vulnerabilities and risks arising from pandemics
xiv.	Report on Best Practices from Finance Health Institutional Arrangements during Covid-19
xv.	Report on Mapping Pandemic Response Financing Options and Gaps developed by the WHO and World Bank
xvi.	G20/OECD Roadmap on Developing Countries and International Taxation Update 2023

S.No.	Ministerial/Working Group Outcome Document
xvii.	OECD Report on 'Enhancing International Tax Transparency on Real Estate'
xviii.	Global Forum Report on 'Facilitating the Use of Tax-Treaty-Exchanged Information for Non-Tax Purposes'
xix.	Global Forum Update on the implementation of the 2021 Strategy on Unleashing the Potential of Automatic Exchange of Information for Developing Countries
xx.	FSB Chair's Letters to G20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors, April and July 2023
xxi.	FSB's global regulatory framework for crypto-asset activities: Umbrella public note to accompany final framework
xxii.	FSB's high-level recommendations for the regulation, supervision, and oversight of crypto-asset activities and markets
xxiii.	FSB's high-level recommendations for the regulation, supervision, and oversight of global stablecoin arrangements
xxiv.	BIS Report on "The crypto ecosystem: key elements and risks"
xxv.	FSB Consultation Report on addressing liquidity mismatch in open-ended funds-Revisions to the FSB 2017 policy recommendations
xxvi.	FSB Consultative document on Enhancing Third-Party Risk Management and Oversight: A toolkit for financial institutions and financial authorities
xxvii.	FSB Roadmap for Addressing Financial Risks from Climate Change: 2023 Progress Report
xxviii.	FSB Recommendations to Achieve Greater Convergence in Cyber Incident Reporting: Final Report
xxix.	FSB Concept Note on Format for Incident Reporting Exchange (FIRE) - A possible way forward
xxx.	Revised G20/OECD Principles of Corporate Governance
xxxi.	IMF-FSB Synthesis Paper: Policies for Crypto-Assets
xxxii.	FSB progress report on enhancing the resilience of NBFIs
xxxiii.	FSB report on the financial stability implications of leverage in NBFIs
xxxiv.	G20 Policy Recommendations for Advancing Financial Inclusion and Productivity Gains through Digital Public Infrastructure
xxxv.	Update to Leaders on Progress towards the G20 Remittance Target
xxxvi.	Regulatory Toolkit for Enhanced Digital Financial Inclusion of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs)
xxxvii.	G20 2023 Financial Inclusion Action Plan
xxxviii.	Updated GPFI Terms of Reference
xxxix.	GPFI Progress Report to G20 Leaders
xl.	G20 Financial Inclusion Action Plan Progress Report 2021-23
xli.	FATF Report- Countering Ransomware Financing Report (March 2023)
xlii.	Targeted Update on the Implementation of the FATF Standards for Virtual Assets (June 2023)
xliii.	FATF Report on Guidance on Beneficial Ownership Transparency for Legal Persons (March 2023)
15	G20 Health Ministers' Meeting Outcome Document and Chair's Summary (18-19 August 2023, Gandhinagar)

S.No.	Ministerial/Working Group Outcome Document
16	G20 Labour & Employment Ministers' Outcome Document and Chair's Summary (21 July 2023, Indore)
i.	List of reports prepared by International Organizations
17	G20 Policy Priorities on Strategies to Address Skill Gaps Globally (21 July 2023, Indore)
18	G20 Policy Priorities on Adequate and Sustainable Social Protection and Decent Work for Gig and Platform Workers (21 July 2023, Indore)
19	G20 Policy Options for Sustainable Financing of Social Protection (21 July 2023, Indore)
20	G20 Meeting of Agricultural Chief Scientists (MACS) Chair's Summary and Outcome Document (17-19 April 2023, Varanasi)
i.	G20 Millet and other Ancient Grains International Research Initiative (MAHARISHI)
21	G20 Tourism Ministers' Meeting Outcome Document and Chairs' Summary (21 June 2023, Goa)
i.	G20 Goa Roadmap for Tourism as a Vehicle for Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals
22	G20 Trade & Investment Ministers' Meeting Outcome Document and Chairs' Summary (25 August 2023, Jaipur)
i.	G20 Generic Framework for Mapping GVCs
ii.	Jaipur Call for Action for enhancing MSMEs' Access to Information
iii.	High Level Principles on Digitalization of Trade Documents
23	G20 Ministerial Conference on Women Empowerment - Chair's Statement (2-4 August 2023, Gandhinagar)
24	G20 Chief Science Advisers Round Table - Outcome Document and Chairs' Summary (28 August 2023, Gandhinagar)
25	G20 Research Ministerial Meeting - Outcome Document and Chairs' Summary (5 July 2023, Mumbai)



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