

A Critical Examination of India's Climate Diplomacy

A Two Level Approach

by

Anmol Mukhia

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Abstract

Since the 1992 UNFCCC negotiations, India has framed the climate change problem as one of allocating rights to the global commons, emphasising 'climate equity'. The key negotiation started during the Kyoto Protocol (1997) when India played a crucial role in defending the importance of 'common but different responsibilities.' India convenes a 'Green Group' of 72 countries to bolster the possibility of a legally binding protocol, but without any commitment. On the other hand Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) set out in the Kyoto Protocol of 1997 served two objectives - 1) to help non-Annex I (developing countries including India and China) in accomplishing sustainable development and in contributing to the ultimate objective of the UNFCCC, which is to prevent dangerous climate change; 2) to help Annex I (industrialized countries) in accomplishing consistency with their quantified emission limitations and reduction commitments of greenhouse gas (GHG) emission caps. The main idea was necessary for the transfer of 'financial resources' and 'technology' to seek cooperation on emission and abatement of carbon emissions from the developing countries. India was keen to form a coalition group of Brazil, South Africa, and China, known as BASIC, just before the Copenhagen climate conference in December 2009. India, for the first time, offered voluntary mitigation commitments at the Copenhagen climate negotiation and took the initiative to reduce its carbon footprint at the domestic level, such as lowering the energy intensity of industrial production, increasing the renewable energy consumption and scaling up afforestation rates with new environmental acts, official

missions and the establishment of various environmental institutions. India continued to play a proactive role, setting nationally determined emission targets, committing to a 35 per cent reduction in carbon emissions under the Paris Agreement in 2015, and placing importance on solar energy with the formation of the International Solar Alliance.

The puzzle for us is that neither foreign policy theories, existing diplomacy theories, nor International Relations (IR) theories clearly explain the ongoing phenomenon of state-changing behaviour in international negotiations. Thus, the question arises: why do some states agree to change their positions in international negotiations while others do not? More exclusively in terms of climate negotiation, which has been prolonged for more than 27 years, where a top actor withdraws from the parties, and an ordinary actor becomes a prominent member in decision-making. India has been known as a deal-breaker in the climate negotiations by many countries; however, at the Copenhagen Summit in 2009, India abandoned its old strategies and made a strategic commitment to voluntary reductions in its carbon emissions. The book illustrates how a sudden change in India's foreign policy towards climate negotiations, which remains insufficient for traditional IR approaches to explain, can help explain the changing positions of countries in both the short and long run through this case study in the theory-building process. Our investigation into this puzzle follows the borderline of enquiry that all states defend their policies, and no state randomises their policies to be undefended.

How We Proceeded

The conceptual model, however, does not discard the two audiences, i.e., domestic and international, as proposed by Robert Putnam's two-level game theory, but within these two pressures, we introduce 'prestige' for the state to take actions in the negotiation process. In climate diplomacy, at the domestic level, India moved towards eco-friendly policies to save energy while eradicating poverty, and at the international level, India sought to be perceived as a responsible actor. For that, like any other state, India is seen as sticking to its old core interests while pursuing broader interests in the international arena. These concepts of sticking/seeking in domestic and international policies underwent further testing beyond the arena of climate negotiations and were subsequently applied to state outcomes in larger foreign policy decision-making.

Situating this Thesis in the Literature

In Chapter 3, the subheading "*3.1. Poverty Impact in India*" offers India's vulnerability and its relations to climate change. This was further elaborated as "poverty as polluter" by the then Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at the Stockholm Conference of the UNHCE (1972), even before the birth of the UNFCCC (1992). This led to the country's foreign policy to see the environment as an important aspect of discussion, where India stood for the "equity" based on the climate negotiation. Many Indian practitioners added to these ideas with their own interpretation in terms of India's 'stand for equity'. However, India was seeking more space for itself to be taken cognisance of on the international podium while raising the voice of equity. Since its independence (1947), India's

foreign policy was known for the Non-Alignment Movement, which stands for not being under the influence of the “super blocs”, but was also known for seeking political space in the international sphere for further bargaining. This argument was further strengthened by the writing of Nitin and Agarwal, “Global Warming in an Unequal World”, based on per capita equity rights as highlighted in Chapter 2 and the analytical part of Chapter 5. Consequently, Indian scholars fostered the explicating and extolling of officials’ positions on international climate negotiations, as noted in Chapter 4. In order to balance and bring insight, scholars have written extensively on India’s position before and after the Copenhagen climate negotiation, where India was known as a deal maker for many countries. This was further illustrated by an excerpt from the Lok Sabha in Chapter 4 (4.8), where debate inside the Indian parliament drives towards being flexible in terms of climate change negotiations.

Our Construct

The foreign policy of any country is shaped by power and constrained by two major factors: ideational (conditional choice) and interest (situational choice). To these, we add ‘prestige’ as a discretionary choice equally important for a country to drive/dictate its foreign policy decision-making.

Ideational factors include identity, which is historically and culturally linked. A country’s conditional choice depends on the identity that has shaped its policies throughout its history. Whereas interest as a situational choice can be demarcated purely in positivist terms, if bridging theories such as the social constructivist concept of ideational factors are taken into account.

A country's rational choice is based on rationality, and its calculation is based on information gathered, which helps it to avoid misperception.

However, prestige as a discretionary choice is limited to the state, as it depends on how ambitious some state or country is in terms of influencing foreign policymaking. With the introduction of soft power by Nye and others, international relations scholars have noted that states not only look for hard power in terms of military and economic statecraft but also seek their audience in terms of persuasion. In two-level theories, domestic constraints are mostly seen as public opinion along with domestic parties and media or vice versa. And at the international level, the stronger the coalition, the stronger the country's image is seen as influencing both regional and international negotiations. Here, prestige for the state emphasises discretionary choice.

Historical evolution of India's foreign policy in terms of climate diplomacy has influenced the policy makers of both inside and outside India's parameters. The intervening variable 'prestige' explains why India voluntarily reduced its carbon-emission target in negotiations, abandoning the old strategy of breaking the deal. This book examines India's climate negotiations and its rigid and flexible strategies through an in-depth case study.

The research is divided into six chapters, with the core chapters starting with Chapter 1, followed by Chapter 2, which conceptualises the theoretical foundation for India's foreign policy decision-making in the context of climate diplomacy. This has elaborated on preexisting theories, such as neoclassical realism and the two-level game, as well as other theories for

understanding state behaviour in foreign policy decision-making. However, most cases in the existing literature are ideographic case studies. Therefore, this chapter elaborates the hypothesis that generalises beyond the data. It also attempts to construct a theory rather than simply rely on existing theory.

Chapter 3 examines India's vulnerability; without it, the basic understanding of domestic policies is hard to explain. India is a large, democratic country known for its polarised views on its existence. The country's thriving gross domestic product (GDP) led to India being called a 'rising power', which has since evolved into an ambitious 'responsible power' at the Copenhagen climate summit. Despite being a high-growth economy, at the domestic level, the challenges posed by a dense population are pushing it towards poverty, driving energy demand and an ecological crisis in its own geography. Therefore, this chapter illustrates the ongoing challenges posed by India's present and upcoming policies.

Chapter 4 illustrates domestic constraints on how India maintains its policies and acknowledges climate change. India, in an attempt to balance its status quo with the international pressure, also opened the space for the business group to strengthen India's position for the long term. This also helped India construct its climate policies from top to bottom, with centralised laws introduced first at the centre, then at the state and sub-state levels. This helped formulate the nationally determined action plan as a draft paper to submit to the Paris conference, which was introduced during the Copenhagen negotiations.

Following this, Chapter 5 is India's negotiation with international players. How new groupings such as BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, China and India) played an important role in coalition building. The fear of isolation and changing diplomacy among other states led India to push forward, seeking international prestige rather than retreat from its rigid policies. The illustration in Figure 5.6 shows the maximalist goal of prestige that helps the state drive through discretionary choice in foreign policy decision-making.

Lastly, Chapter 6 concludes. Thus, this chapter recommends the urgency of further study of a state within the two-level approach, which has played out in many historical crises.

Thus, this book provides a more comprehensive explanation of the state's choice to change behaviour in certain negotiations and makes a theoretical contribution to the existing literature on India's climate change, in particular, and on larger state foreign policy decision-making in general.

Keywords: Climate Diplomacy, Two-level approach, Prestige, Deal Maker, Responsible Power

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Selected Acronyms

AWA-KP – Ad Hoc Working Group on Further Commitment for Annex I Parties

AWA-LGA – Ad Hoc Working Group on Long Term Cooperation Action

BASIC – Brazil, South Africa, India and China

CD – Climate Diplomacy

CA – Copenhagen Accord

CDC – Common but Different Convergence

CBDR – Common but Different Responsibilities

CSE – Centre for Science and Environment

CBRI – Central Building Research Institute

CDM – Clean Development Mechanism

COP – Conference of Parties

CSO – Central Statistics Office

DD – Defensive Diplomacy

EPI – Environment Performance Index

EU – European Union

FAR – Fourth Assessment Report

RTI – Right to Information

GG – Green Group

GHG – greenhouse gas

GHF – Green Climate Fund

G77 – Group of 77

G20 – Group of 20

G8 – Group of 8

GCHQ – Government Communication Headquarters

ISRP – Indian Space and Research Organization

IMF – International Monetary Fund

IEA – International Energy Agency

INCCA – Indian Network on Climate Change Assessment

IPCC – Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

INDC – Intended Nationally Determined Contribution

IAY – Indira Awaas Yojana

LDC – Least Development Countries

MEA – Ministry of External Affairs

MEF – Major Economic Forum

MRV – measurement, reporting and verification

MGNREGA – Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment
Guarantee Act

NAPCC – National Action Plan on Climate Change

NAMA – nationally appropriate mitigation action

NGRBA – National Ganga River Basin Authority

NREGA – National Rural Employment Guarantee

PMCCC – Prime Minister Council on Climate Change

P5 – Permanent Five

PMUY – Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana

PMAY-G – Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojana-Gramin

PNAS – Proceeding of the National Academy of Sciences of the US

SAARC – South Asia Association of Regional Cooperation

SEI – Stockholm Environment Institute

US – United States

UNSC – United Nations Security Council

UNFCCC – United Nations F Climate Change

UDHR – United Declaration on Human Rights

WB – World Bank

WBGU – German Advisory Council on Global Change

WWF – World Wild Fund

WTO – World Trade Organization

WGMA – World Glacier Monitoring Service

Chapter 1

Introduction

Research Background

Background of the Study

Why did some states agree to change their position in the international climate negotiations, while others disagree with it? In seeking an answer to this question, this research examines India's foreign policy in 2009. As India has been known as a "deal-breaker"¹ in the climate negotiations by many countries, however, at the Copenhagen Summit 2009, India abandoned its old strategies and made a commitment to voluntarily reduce its carbon emissions (Betz, 2012). The purpose of this research is to focus on the sudden change in India's foreign policy towards climate negotiation, which remains insufficient for traditional IR approaches to explain. They fail to understand and explain that climate policies must address two audiences: "domestic" and "international". Indian philosophy is known as darsana² (cognition), which provides an orientation to Indian philosophical thought and worldview. Narlikar and Narlikar (2014), in their book "Bargaining with Rising India", argue that effective bargaining is key to dealing with rising powers through persuasive negotiation. The studies elaborate in the following

¹ Joachin Betz, "India's turn in Climate Policy: Assessing the Interplay of Domestic and International Policy Change", GIGA Working Papers No. 190, March 2012. URL: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/71739763.pdf>

² Sue Hamilton, *Indian Philosophy: A very short introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 8.

chapters that, at the international level, India sought to be perceived as a responsible actor without compromising under external pressure, and at the domestic level, India sought to continue its development agenda. Even in these two-level studies, the existence of the State cannot be ignored. The state is equally important, as it articulates its situation in decision-making that shapes the foreign policy of certain states. Today, climate change represents one of the biggest diplomatic challenges in the 21st century. Climate Diplomacy online forum defines, “climate change is one of the greatest challenges in the 21st Century, thereby demanding an important role in foreign policy. In light of the slow pace of progress in international climate negotiations, a strong role for state foreign policy in international climate policy has been called for in “climate diplomacy”³.

The research also proposes a new dimension of ‘foreign policy of prestige’. This argument is theoretical rather than inductive; it assumes the State seeks prestige that involves reward. Since the 1991 UNFCCC negotiations, India has framed the climate change problem as one of allocating rights to the global commons, emphasising climate equity. The key negotiation started during the Kyoto Protocol when India played a crucial role in defending the importance of ‘common but different responsibilities. India convenes a ‘Green Group’ of 72 countries to bolster the possibility of a legally binding protocol, but without any commitment (Dubash & Rajamani, 2015). Thus, this different commitment was translated into ‘no new commitments for developing countries’⁴.

³See Climate Diplomacy, Environment Conflict Cooperation (ECC). URL: <https://www.climate-diplomacy.org/about-climate-diplomacy>

⁴ UNFCCC 1995

On the other hand “Clean Development Mechanism”⁵ (CDM) set out in the Kyoto Protocol of 1997 has two objectives- 1) to help non-Annex 1 (developing countries including “India”) in accomplishing sustainable development and in contributing to the ultimate objective of the UNFCCC, which is to prevent dangerous climate change; 2) to help Annex 1 (industrialized countries such as the Northern countries) in accomplishing consistence with their quantified emission limitations and reduction commitments of greenhouse gas (GHG) emission caps⁶ (Gippner, 2013). This has been discussed in detail in Chapter 3. The main idea was to facilitate the transfer of financial resources and technology to secure cooperation on the abatement of carbon emissions from “developing countries”. This position has been under attack since the Copenhagen summit in 2009, when opposition came not only from developed countries (the European Union member states and the United States) but also from non-Annex I developing states, as well as various social movements and interest groups. This trend was also evident in India, where interest groups and social movements actively pressured the Indian government to uphold its commitments to the climate negotiations. India, for the first time, offered voluntary mitigation commitments at Copenhagen and took the initiative to reduce its carbon footprint at the domestic level, such as lowering the energy intensity of industrial production, increasing the renewable energy consumption and scaling up afforestation rates with new environmental acts, official

⁵ UNEP, Clean Development Mechanism. URL:

https://unfccc.int/files/cooperation_and_support/capacity_building/application/pdf/unepcdmintro.pdf

⁶ Gippner in ‘Climate Change and Least Developing Countries: A Himalayan Perspective’, 26 May 2013.

missions and the establishment of various environmental institutions.

Objective of the Study

Foreign policy is defined by state choice leading to policy/practices. Even after extensive research on foreign policy, certain state behaviour is not adequately explained by these theories. Either some theories are limited in scope, or the pre-existing theory still dominates. However, the objective of this research is to identify a theory that explains a phenomenon that is relevant at all times.

Research Scope and Limitations

The research provides empirical grounding with a conceptual theoretical background, contributing to the scholarship of foreign policy. The case study will also attempt to construct and validate a theoretical proposition. Therefore, the research chooses the period from 2009 to 2015 for several reasons, including the general election leading to a new government, changes at the Environmental Ministry, progress towards the Copenhagen Climate Conference, etc. The Year 2009 was a milestone for India in its position towards climate change at both the national and international levels. Because of its issue-oriented focus, this research is particularly focused on the case of the Copenhagen climate summit. This helps us focus on a particular aspect and achieve a concrete result.

Methodology

This research aims to provide a theoretical and empirical analysis of India's participation in climate negotiation processes. Process tracing will be used in hypothesis-generating studies and also in ideographic case studies that aim to explain/interpret a single historical episode. Process tracing methods will be used to trace the links between possible causes and their observed outcomes by focusing on sequential processes (George & Bennett, 2004, pp. 6-13). George and McKeown assert that the primary objective of process tracing is "intended to investigate and explain the decision process by which various initial conditions are translated into outcomes." Process tracing can involve either an inductive or a deductive approach. Thus, "successful process tracing requires the use of a plethora of sources"⁷. Stone (1981) defines analytical narrative as the "organization of material in a chronologically sequential order, and the focusing of the content into a single coherent story"⁸. However, Climate Change itself is a process which is gradually moving the whole planet into a catastrophic scenario. Developing countries like India have realised the degradation caused by the use of non-renewable fossil fuels in the emission process. The book examines the rising threats posed by omnipresent environmental hazards, which heighten the state's insecurity and complicate its efforts to balance internal and external threats in the context of climate change (Mukhia, 2018, p. 147). In this process, India is negotiating within both domestic and international systems to enhance its prestige.

⁷ Verma 2013: 20

⁸ *ibid.* 20

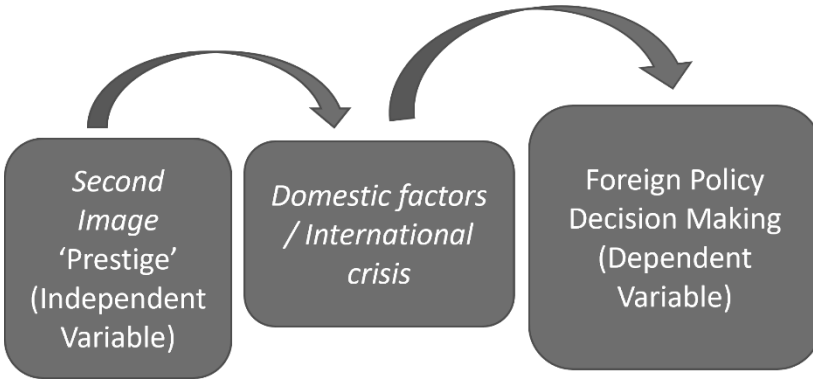


Figure1.1. Variables

Source: Author conceptualisation⁹

This case study is particularly useful in explaining other phenomena because it violates the existing theoretical prediction. This also explains that, as with any other negotiation failure, the Copenhagen climate negotiations failed. This research is purely qualitative, using both inductive and deductive methods to analyse India's participation in the Copenhagen climate negotiations. Therefore, this research uses case study analysis and, within this case study, will attempt to understand and interpret a spatially bounded set of events, such as India's negotiation at the Copenhagen summit. Figure 1.1 shows that the dependent variable is directly influenced by the independent variable, i.e., state ambition for prestige. However, domestic factors and international crises come as intervening variables. India's climate diplomacy, as a case in itself and, within it, a case study of

⁹ For State or Second Image, 'prestige/status quo' plays an equal importance to domestic and international constraints. For the prestige/status quo state pursue any defensive measure to meet its objectives.

conceptual 'diplomacy', is examined, where 'prestige' plays a crucial role in foreign policy decision-making.

For raw data generation, India's portal "Right to Information¹⁰" is used, which provides a timely response to citizens' requests for government information from all the Ministries of the Government of India. Moreover, for in-depth analysis, data from the World Bank group via email is used, and to compare the BASIC countries, the IMF DataMapper software is applied. Apart from the data provided, the analytical piece also relies on key sources and chief negotiators, particularly at the Copenhagen climate conference, through email interviews.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Primary question: Why did India shift its position from a rigid negotiator to become a more flexible actor in the voluntary reduction of carbon emissions?

Secondary question: What factors were motivating India's decision-making in climate change negotiations?

Hypotheses:

- 1) The Copenhagen 2009 commitment was easier because the voluntary reduction made by the Indian government did not require fulfilling strict emission reduction levels.
- 2) In foreign policy, 'prestige' is equally important to domestic and international pressures.

¹⁰ Right to Information Acts 2005 mandates timely response to citizens for government information.

- 3) The growing international isolation of India in climate negotiations vis-à-vis the goal of being a responsible power led India to shift its position at Copenhagen.

Significance of the Research

This research seeks to extend India's position from 'regional to responsible' power. This research also attempts to conceptualise the state's prestige-based foreign policy. The behaviour of a state is hard to define, which has led to war and peace, difficult diplomacy, and the formation of new allies into close friends through the sharing of information. This helps states perform at their best in policy-making. This argument can also be studied in the context of sudden change, such as the US President's withdrawal from the Paris Climate Agreement, countries' interest in becoming P5 members, China's rise, India's stance on nuclear and climate policies, and so on.

Review of Literature

India's climate diplomacy assumes 'prestige' as a prominent factor from broad security risks (Chellaney, 2009; Mehra, 2009), to national economic interests¹¹ (Subramanian et al. 2009), to energy security (Fujiwara, 2010) and to ecological vulnerability (Buys et al., 2009; Rong, 2010). However, a notable exception to this is Dubash (2009), who highlights a mix of selected material and ideational influences and points to prestige, as Scott Sagan does in his study of 'State going nuclear'. This literature review can be divided into three levels. There is a 'Level of Analysis' in understanding a state's foreign policy towards climate change.

¹¹ Subramanian et al. 2009

This helps us to understand the actual motive and to explain where state power lies in foreign policy decision-making:

Macro Level Analysis

According to Rosenau (2011), foreign policy analysis lacks a general theory. Distinguishing between 'pre-theory' and 'theory', he highlights the need for a theory which renders raw material compatible and ready for theorising (Rosenau, 2011, pp. 145-150). In the absence of a pre-theory, the general enterprise of theory building suffers, and in this case, the emphasis on uncovering causality is important for explaining the nature of state politics. According to the International Relations (IR) realist school of thought, 'state' is selfish and 'rational state' seeks security for its own interest, for power or survival. The passage of the *Politics Among Nations* defines "the goals that might be pursued by states in their foreign policy can run the whole range of objectives any state has ever pursued or might possibly pursue" (Morgenthau, 1965, pp. 8-9). While here, the concept of security has to be broadened from 'hardcore security' (military or economic) to climate security, which is equally important in the present scenario. It is clear that no proper agreement has been reached so far on climate change, resulting in threats and opportunities that are both a blessing and a curse for some states. Neoclassical realism, by integrating foreign policy theorising with international relations concepts, provides an appropriate research framework to analyse India's climate diplomacy. Thus, with the neoclassical realist theory, this chapter recognises both international/domestic constraints in India's climate cooperation, relative-gains concerns associated with technology/resource demands, and the inward strategy of self-help in the crisis of climate diplomacy.

Unlike neo-realism, which explains states' behaviour solely through changing systemic pressures (the balance of power), neoclassical realism accounts for how security strategy is driven by both domestic and international variables. In other words, the domestic perception of systemic changes is key to neoclassical realism, which takes into account what happens within the black box rather than treating the state as a black box, as neo-realism does. Neoclassical realism, as a study of both structure and domestic factors and their complex interactions, will be applicable in this chapter, with the special focus on the concept "self-help", which is ignored by the majority of neoclassical realists themselves. The neoclassical approach argues that the ambition of the state is driven by the state's relative material interest (power), but the impact of power capabilities on foreign policy is indirect, and it has to go through intervening unit-level variables such as decision-maker perception and state structure¹² (Rose, 1998). Assuming that India's climate diplomacy since 2009, from rigid to flexible, stubborn to voluntary reduction of carbon emission, was based on the leader's perception towards the domestic need of environmental security, as India is vulnerable to climate change, where self-help was considered as the best help.

Micro Level Analysis

There has been a lack of concern for defining Indian IR theory by the Asian scholars too, because Navnita Chadha Behera (2010) in her chapter "Re-imagining IR in India" highlighted pedagogy concerns and disciplinary location, which sets as a disadvantage.

¹² See Gideon Rose in "Neo Classical Realism and Theories of Foreign policy", 1998.

A mainstream IR scholar studying international politics explains that state behaviour is visible only through a hard political understanding. Neorealists such as Waltz (1959) give an explanation of his 'Three Images,' which is crucial in analysing levels of world politics - international, state, and individual, but realists have been given much more focus only towards the second image. Moreover, Elman argues that neo-realism can be used to make deterministic predictions about foreign policy (Elman, 2011, p. 123). However, studies have also been disputed over whether neo-realism can be considered a foreign policy theory (Elman, 2011, p. 110). This is why neoclassical realism seeks directly to address the theory of foreign policy. Gideon Rose (2011) argues that foreign policy can be explained by relating the 'external' to the domestic dimension via intervening variables in neoclassical realism (Rose, 2011, p. 73). This assumption might qualify in understanding a certain point that there might be linkage politics, but it is not sufficient in explaining the study areas like climate politics.

Therefore, it is somewhat interlinked, which cannot be avoided. James Rosenau (1969), in his linkage politics, provides insight into the correlation between domestic and international conflict behaviour. The linkage approach focuses on how the international environment affects politics within the state, i.e., the reversed second image. Moreover, Russett (1990) highlights the general impact of domestic politics on its foreign policy. However, neither the structure nor the process of domestic politics is independent of what occurs outside the state (James & Rioux, 1998, p. 785). In more detail, Ernst Hass has studied the impact of parties or interest groups, particularly the spill-over effect on the EU integration process. But those studies focused on the supranational body and

ignored the state. Others, like Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane, highlight state interdependence but, again, drive the idea towards international regimes. The well-known scholarship on decision making has been provided by Graham T. Allison (2011), who studies bureaucratic politics in foreign policy, challenging the view of more domestic-international outcome studies, in which intra-national politics is highly controlled by bureaucratic politics. As intuition suggests, foreign policies are formulated by political leaders under multiple constraints, and international negotiations can be effective for their survival (James & Rioux, 1998, p. 782).

However, in the field of climate diplomacy/climate politics, such macro- and micro-level explanations are insufficient, and to explain domestic policies and state preferences that underlie international negotiations, we also need a theory of domestic politics.

Meso Level Analysis

This level is not very well studied or given much importance by scholars and scientists in international relations / foreign policy. Given its subjective nature and strong cognitive component, it cannot be ignored in foreign policy decision-making. This assumption is that national preferences are either explained by “domestic” political processes or by “external” factors, such as a state's position in the world system. The understanding of climate change from Rational Choice theory identifies public-choice problems as central to negotiation. Other theories, such as the Polyneuritis Theory, combine rational choice and psychological or cognitive approaches within a systemic framework. It emphasises a multi-perspectivist approach, which involves identifying several

alternative decision-making models from the literature and evaluating how well each illuminates and accounts for a given empirical case. Stern highlights the works of Kleiboer (1998), *The Multiple Realities of International Mediation*, which bridges the gap between foreign policy and international relations by developing four models of international conflict, such as political power, political psychological, human needs, and structural determinism, which explain and evaluate empirical cases of third-party intervention (Stern, 2004, p. 106). However, Robert Jervis (1976) highlights the process of “perception,” which is how states learn from past experience, and argues that this process also leads to misperception because of limited information gathering. Vann Newkirk (2016) categorises climate change as a prisoner’s dilemma, showing that, rather than both players defecting, cooperating is the best option for negotiators. Akira Okada (2004) studies international climate negotiations using a non-cooperative bargaining model of negotiation on emission reduction in the study of the Kyoto Protocol.

Mabey et al. (2013) highlight three specific core elements in terms of climate diplomacy to pursue the national interest for each state, i.e., to know yourself, to know others, and the capacity to influence. According to him:

- i) *Know yourself* holds the capacity to develop and understand how climate change influences or impacts the state's core national interests. In debating national interest in the parliament, which is not easy but politically contested with opposition, along with the interest groups, media and public opinion.

ii) *Knowing others* who gather and analyse intelligence on the interests, constraints, and capacities of other actors about how they perceive the action or position of other states. And the most important aspect of the state in the final step is the state.

iii) *Capacity to influence/persuasion*, which is to integrate its national priorities through political and diplomatic channels (Mabey et al 2013: 7).

K. J. Holsti explains the concept of a 'national role conception' in diplomacy (Holsti, 2011, p. 220). While Ole Holsti extends it to study the 'image' of the state in foreign policies and how it impacts decision-making, it is evident in the theoretical focus (O. R. Holsti, 2011, p. 257). Similarly, Alexander L. George's 'operational code belief system' plays an important role in understanding the theoretical dimension of information processing that leads a state to act in a certain way (George, 2011). When foreign policy decision-making is influenced in large part by a belief, along with strategic interaction among other actors, resulting in a certain political outcome. Moreover, one must add belief to foreign policy decision-making, where emotion and cognition can co-produce a leader's or negotiator's belief in shaping state foreign policy (Mercer, 2011, p. 243). On the other hand, state foreign policy is also shaped by the process of "political learning" (Stein, 1994). Even after political learning, Robert Jervis (1968) explains how states misperceive other states due to limited information. Therefore, one can say that understanding state behaviour and its diplomacy in world affairs is not easy; it is complicated.