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**Department of Commerce**  
**University of Lucknow**

# **PRABANDHAN VIMARSH**

**(SHAPING THE FUTURE OF FINANCE)**



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**Email: [editor@mbafnalu.com](mailto:editor@mbafnalu.com)**

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# Empowering the Service Sector: The Backbone of India's Journey Toward a \$5 Trillion Economy

Prof. Somesh Kumar Shukla<sup>1</sup>, Abhishek Dwivedi<sup>2</sup>, Danish Feroz<sup>3</sup>, Ramakant Singh<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Professor, Department of Commerce University of Lucknow

<sup>2</sup>Assistant Professor, Integral & Innovative Sustainable Education (IISE) College, Lucknow

<sup>3,4</sup>Research Scholar, Department of Commerce University of Lucknow

## Abstract

The global shift from manufacturing-led development toward service-driven economic systems has significantly elevated the strategic importance of the service sector. The ambition to attain a \$5 trillion economy marks a critical phase in national economic advancement, encapsulating both structural constraints and growth possibilities associated with large-scale economic transformation. This research evaluates the prevailing macroeconomic environment by examining patterns in output composition and long-term growth dynamics, thereby establishing an analytical foundation for assessing the contribution of services to overall economic expansion. It systematically reviews the scope and internal structure of the service economy, focusing on high-impact domains such as financial intermediation, healthcare delivery, educational services, tourism activities, and information technology, and assesses their respective shares in gross domestic output. In addition, the study incorporates a prospective analytical lens by exploring anticipated trends and forecasted developments to explain how service-led growth can be strengthened to support the realization of the \$5 trillion economic objective. The analysis ultimately positions the service sector as a pivotal engine of sustained economic advancement and proposes strategic directions through which policymakers and industry stakeholders can effectively leverage its growth potential.

**Keywords:** GDP, \$5 Trillion, Service Sector, Healthcare, Tourism.

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## 1. Introduction

Economic progress within a country is shaped by the relative performance and interaction of three core sectors: the primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors. While each sector operates with a distinct functional focus, their activities remain deeply interdependent within the broader economic framework. The primary sector is centered on activities that involve the direct use of natural resources, including agriculture, mining, fishing, forestry, and related fields. The secondary sector builds upon this foundation by changing raw materials into manufactured and semi-processed goods through industrial and manufacturing processes. Supporting both production and consumption is the tertiary sector, or service sector, which encompasses a wide range of activities such as healthcare delivery, education systems, transportation networks, trade and commerce, financial services, tourism, and information technology. Over time, the service sector has changed over its traditional role as a supporting component of economy and has emerged as a major source of growth and value creation. Its increasing contribution to employment creation, foreign exchange resources, and investment inflows has positioned it as a central pillar of contemporary economic development. In the Indian context, services have become the dominant contributor to Gross Domestic Product (GDP), while also serving as a main driver of foreign direct investment and export expansion. This shift has enhanced economic diversification and reduced vulnerability to sector-specific disruptions.

Despite this structural transition, a significant share of India's workforce remains dependent on the primary sector, where productivity levels are comparatively low and disguised unemployment persists. Although policy initiatives have sought to strengthen the manufacturing base, progress has been moderated by infrastructural limitations and regulatory constraints. In this setting, the continued expansion of the service sector presents a viable solution for absorbing surplus labor and creating sustainable income opportunities, particularly in urban and semi-urban areas. India's service sector ranks among the most dynamic segments of the global economy. Estimates from international institutions indicate that services contribute nearly half of the country's GDP while employing a substantial portion of the labor force. The sector has shown strong resilience and adaptability, with industries such as information technology, financial services, telecommunications, healthcare, and tourism achieving global competitiveness. This sustained performance underscores the critical role of services in shaping India's long-term

development path and advancing the objective of becoming a \$5 trillion economy. To strengthen India's position in global services trade—where its present market share stands at approximately 4.4 percent—and to enable a substantial expansion in national output, targeted policy interventions are required. The service sector recorded a growth rate of 8.4 percent during the financial year 2022, reflecting its robust momentum. Moreover, it emerged as the leading recipient of foreign direct investment, according to data released by the Department for Promotion of Industry and Internal Trade (DPIIT). These trends highlight the sector's capacity to act as a primary engine of growth, provided supportive institutional and policy frameworks are sustained.

## **2. Significance of Service Sector**

The service sector plays a very important role in India's economy. Indian service sector is popular for its competency and efficiency. In seven decades of independence, Indian service sectors have witnessed phenomenal growth. Here are some main and important contributions of the Service sector in India.

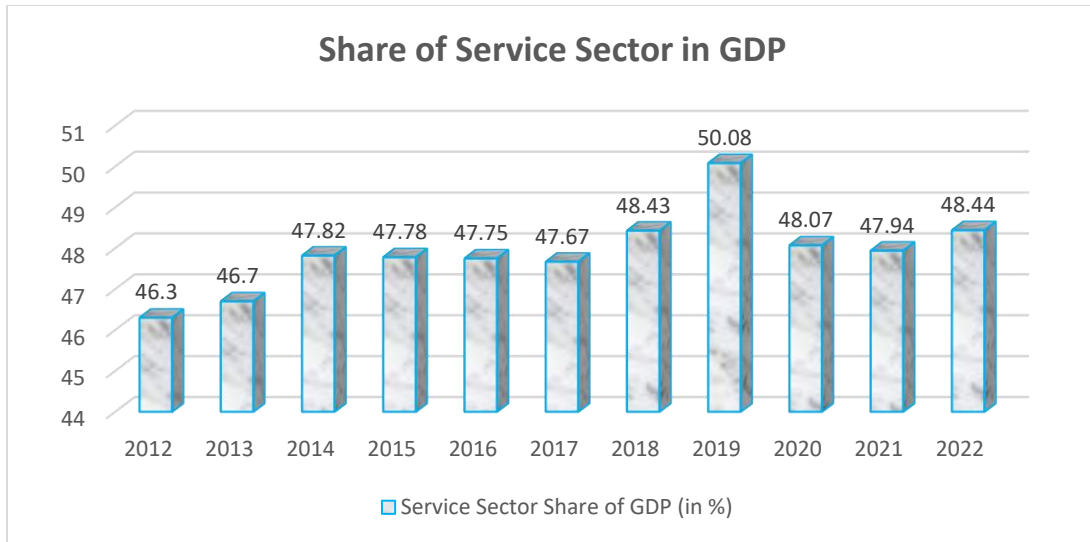
### **2.1 Economic Growth**

GVA (Gross value added) thus adjusts gross domestic product (GDP) by the impact of subsidies and taxes on products and thus considered as better gauge to the economy. Gross Value Added (GVA) represents the net value generated by economic activities on after accounting for the cost of intermediate inputs and raw materials directly used in production process. It serves as a key indicator of an economy's productive performance. According to World Bank data, India's GVA expanded to approximately USD 3.1 trillion, reflecting a steady rise from USD 2.45 trillion in 2020 and USD 2.88 trillion in 2021 (where one trillion equals one lakh crore). This upward trend indicates sustained improvements in overall economic output. In recent years' service sector has demonstrated consistent expansion and has come out as a major contributor to national economic growth. Data released by the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation (MoSPI) indicate that the Indian economy maintained strong resilience, recording a growth rate of 7.6 percent in the financial year 2023–24, compared to 7 percent growth in 2022–23. This performance underscores the growing strength of service-led activities in supporting economic stability and long-term growth momentum.



Source: World Bank

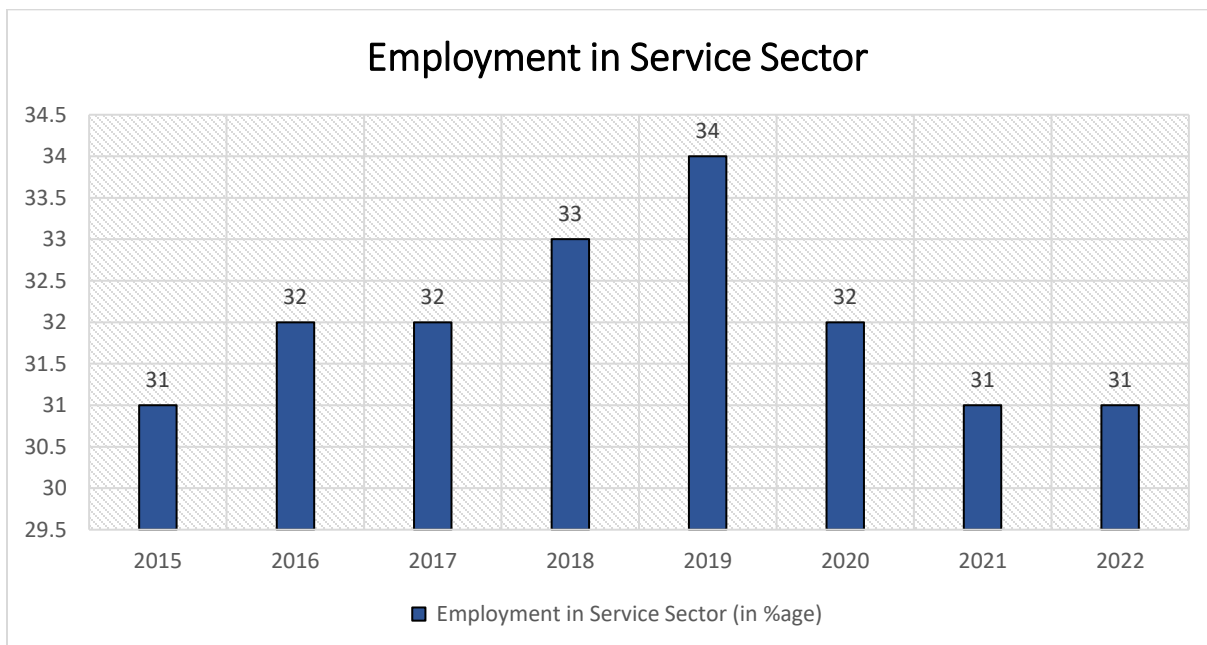
The service sector forms one of the largest shares of India’s economic output. By 2022, services contributed nearly half of the country’s GDP, reflecting a gradual increase over the past decade. Key segments include telecommunications, information technology, and software services. Among these, the IT industry plays a central role, covering areas such as software development, consulting, digital services, and business process management (BPM).



Source: India; World Bank

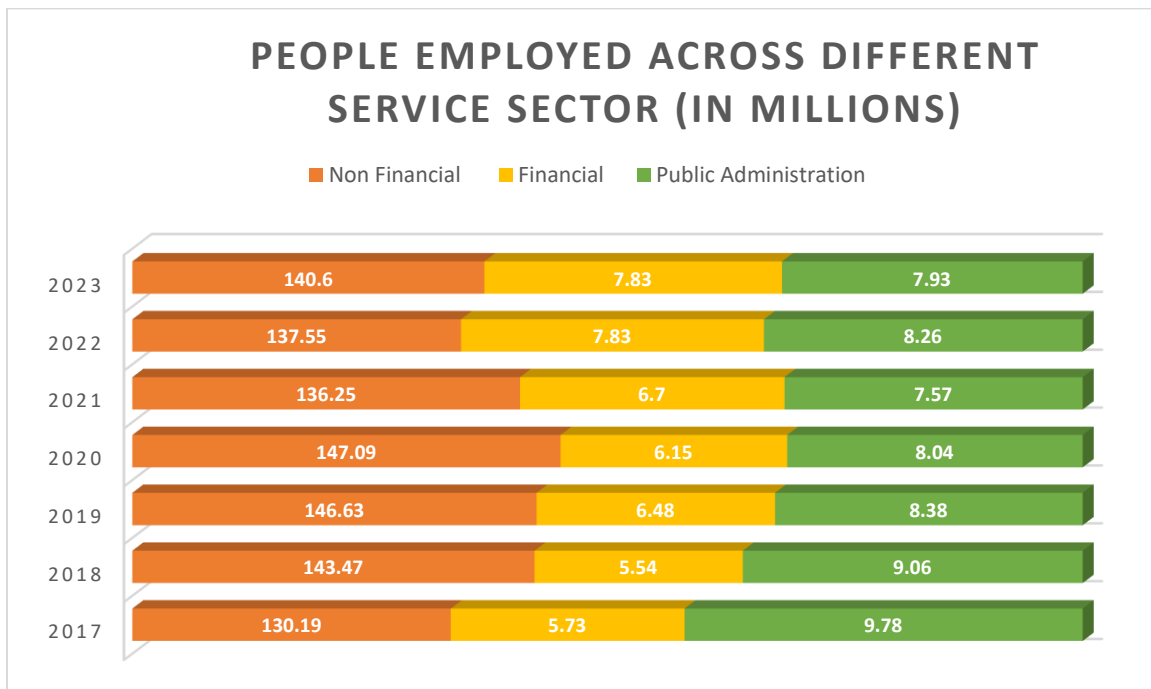
## 2.2 Employment Generation

The service sector has the highest employment generation among sectors that means a major source of employment in India. In 2022, as per the world bank collection development indicators, compiled from officially recognized sources, employment in services (% of total employment modeled as per ILO estimate) in India is reported at 34%, 32%, 31%, and 31% in 2019, 2020, 2021 and 2022.



Source: World Bank

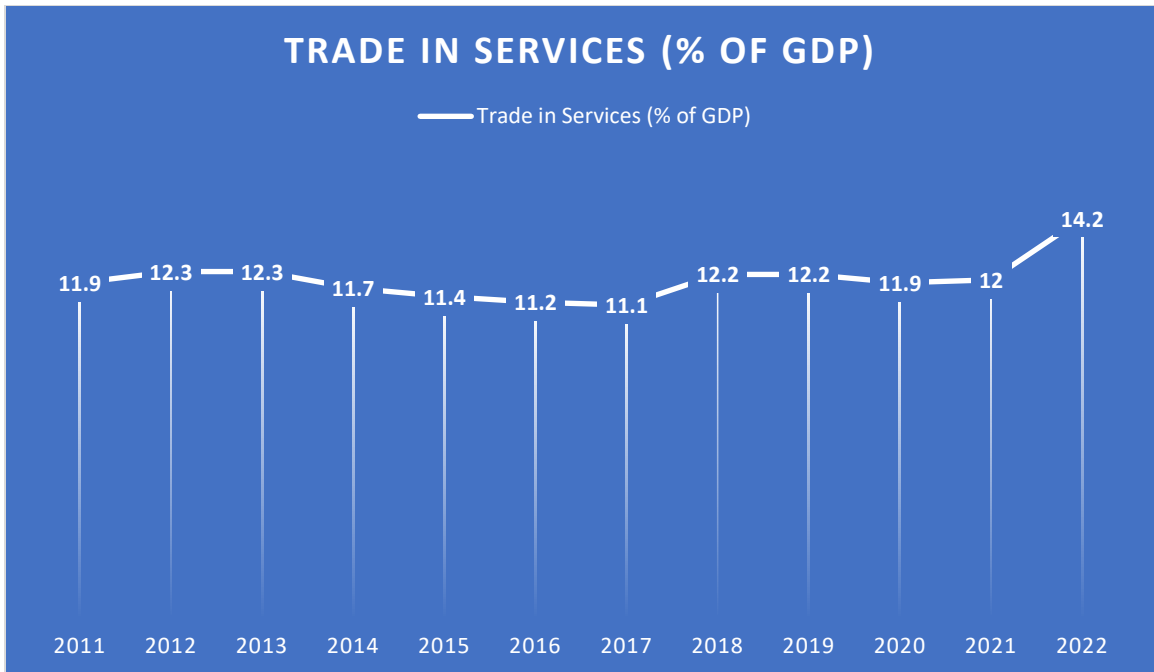
Among the three segments of the service sector of India, it was the non-financial services segment that constituted the greatest number of employees in financial year 2023 at 140.6 million (1 million = 10 Lacs). Meanwhile, the other two segments number of employees stood below eight million. The service sector has become important to rise not only our GDP, as well as make it the key vehicle for employment generation.



Source: Statista and World Bank

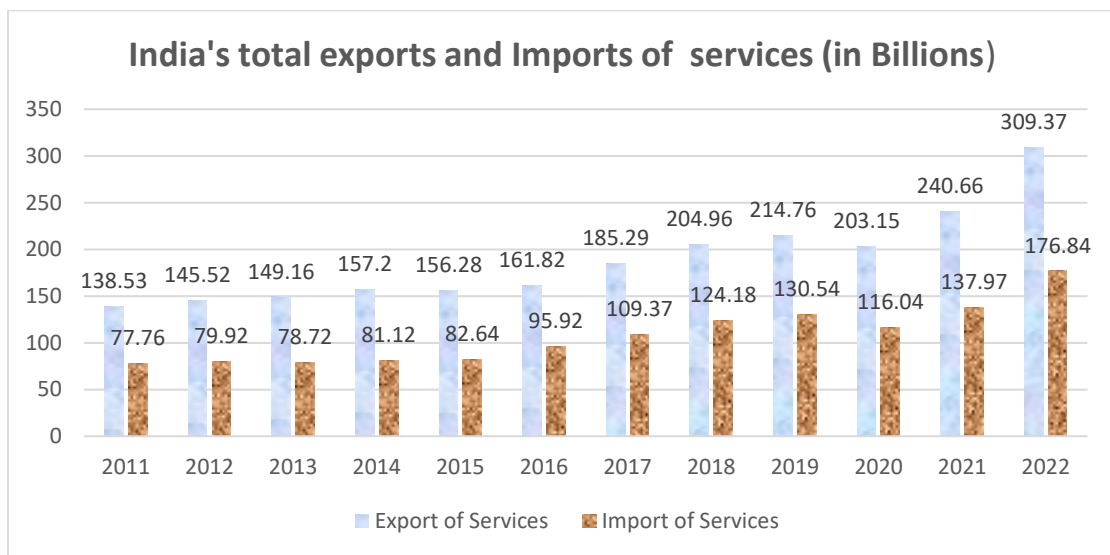
### 2.3 Foreign Exchange Generation

Service-based industries such as IT, BPO, and medical tourism have emerged as major Trade in services refers to the exchange of services between domestic residents and foreign entities, including services delivered through overseas affiliates. As indicated in the chart, India's share in global services exports increased by 2.3 percent during the period from 2020 to 2022 sources of foreign exchange inflows for the Indian economy.



Source: World Bank & IMF

According to chart shown above, in financial year 2022, service sector accounted for 309.37 billion i.e., 37.2% of the total exports in India {1 billion = 100 Crores (1 Arab)} while Imports accounted for 176.84 billion i.e., up to 19.2% of the total imports. The share of services in the world trade had increased in the past two decades and it is one of the primary drivers of the domestic growth.



Source: World Bank, IMF

## **2.4 Improvement in Quality of Life**

The service sector has played a key role in enhancing the overall quality of life by improving access to essential services such as education, healthcare, banking, insurance, transportation, and communication. These improvements have contributed to better living standards and human well-being, thereby positively influencing India's Human Development Index (HDI). As a result, India's position in the United Nations Human Development Index improved to 134th among 193 countries.

## **2.5 Contribution to Startups and Innovation:**

India's startup ecosystem has expanded rapidly in recent years, with a large share of new enterprises emerging from the service sector. Continuous policy support and institutional initiatives have encouraged entrepreneurial activity across the country. According to the Department for Promotion of Industry and Internal Trade (DPIIT), the number of recognized startups increased to 1,17,254 as of 31 December 2023, compared to around 61,000 in January 2022. These startups have generated over 12.42 lakh direct employment opportunities, making a significant contribution to innovation, job creation, and economic growth.

## **3. Challenges**

### **3.1 Shortage of Skilled Workforce**

One of the large constraints affecting service sector, particularly Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs), is the limited availability of adequately trained manpower. Owing to skill gaps, many enterprises are compelled to employ workers who lack formal training, which often results in lower service quality and difficulty in meeting domestic as well as international standards. In addition to workforce challenges, MSMEs frequently encounter financial constraints. Complex lending procedures, stringent documentation requirements, and limited access to institutional credit restrict their ability to secure business loans or extend financial support to employees.

### **3.2 Taxation Burden**

The service sector is subject to multiple layers of direct and indirect taxation, making it one of the most heavily taxed segments of the economy. Despite its expanding contribution to national income, the sector has received limited tax-related incentives. Neither central government nor state governments have introduced targeted tax concessions or holiday schemes specifically designed to support fast-growing service-based industries.

### **3.3 Inadequate Infrastructure**

Infrastructure deficiencies continue to pose serious challenges, particularly in rural and semi-urban regions where many service enterprises operate. Limited access to banking facilities, poor transport networks, and unreliable digital connectivity increase operational costs for businesses. As a result, firms often depend heavily on government intervention and public investment to develop essential infrastructure in these regions.

### **3.4 Limited Employment Generation**

Although the service sector is the main contributor to economic growth, its capacity to generate employment remains relatively modest. This can be stems from a variety of factors. First, the expansion of service output is often linked to increased trade volumes, especially imports, which have limited employment absorption. Second, while tourism has strong job creation potential, infrastructural shortcomings prevent the sector from fully realizing this opportunity. Third, growth in IT and IT-enabled services has largely been driven by technological advancements and more labor productivity rather than large-scale job creation. Additionally, sectors such as real estate primarily offer seasonal, low-skilled, and low-wage employment.

### **3.5 Uneven Growth Across Sub-Sectors**

Growth within the service sector has been uneven, with IT-BPM and financial services dominating overall performance, while other segments such as tourism, transport, and communication have expanded at a slower pace. The IT-BPM sector faces challenges such as stricter visa regulations, global economic uncertainty, rising skill requirements, and increased competition from emerging

service hubs in Latin America. The banking sector continues to struggle with issues including the dominance of public sector banks, political influence in decision-making, and high levels of non-performing assets. Real estate services are affected by delays in regulatory approvals, high transaction costs, rising debt levels, and a shortage of skilled labor. Similarly, tourism remains constrained by inadequate infrastructure, weak connectivity, limited basic amenities, and concerns related to safety and security.

### **3.6 Barriers to Market Access**

India's services trade with non-WTO partner countries is often restricted by various external barriers. These include limited access to foreign markets for Indian service exports, restrictions on the mobility of skilled professionals, stringent visa regulations, and the withdrawal of preferential trade benefits such as the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP). Such constraints reduce the global competitiveness of India's service sector and limit its export potential.

### **3.7 Government Initiatives to Promote the Service Sector**

The Government of India has undertaken many initiatives in recent years to strengthen the service sector and align it with emerging economic and technological trends. The establishment of 157 new medical colleges by December 2023 and the launch of the Ayushman Bharat Health Infrastructure Mission reflect a strong focus on expanding affordable and digital healthcare services. To support technology-driven services, schemes such as the Production Linked Incentive (PLI) for telecom equipment and the BharatNet Programme have been implemented to improve digital connectivity, especially in rural and remote areas. Skill development remains a priority through initiatives like the Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana (PMKVY) and the Mahatma Gandhi National Fellowship, which emphasize new-age, digital, and industry-relevant skills.

India has also strengthened global cooperation in services through strategic dialogues and MoUs with countries such as the UK, Japan, and Australia, particularly in areas like 5G, cybersecurity, and digital infrastructure. Policy reforms such as the increase in FDI limits in insurance and the Service Exports from India Scheme (SEIS) further aim to enhance service exports and attract foreign investment.

#### **4. Future Prospects**

The outlook for India's service sector remains strong in the current economic environment. The healthcare industry is expected to grow significantly, while India's digital economy is projected to reach USD 1 trillion in the coming years. Emerging technologies such as artificial intelligence are likely to accelerate productivity and contribute to higher long-term growth.

The implementation of GST has created a unified national market and is expected to reduce service costs over time through input tax credit mechanisms. Additionally, India's software and IT services industry is projected to reach USD 1 trillion by 2030, reinforcing the service sector's role as a key driver of economic growth and India's \$5 trillion economy vision.

#### **5. Conclusion and Suggestions**

The service sector plays a vital role in India's economy by supporting employment, income growth, and international competitiveness. Its steady expansion in areas such as IT, healthcare, finance, and tourism has made it a strong pillar of economic progress. Government initiatives like the Production Linked Incentive Scheme, Ayushman Bharat Health Infrastructure Mission, and the National Digital Health Mission highlight a clear focus on strengthening infrastructure, improving service standards, and encouraging innovation. These efforts are helping India move closer to becoming a global centre for services. Skill development programmes, including the Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana and apprenticeship schemes, have improved youth employability by reducing skill gaps across service industries. Platforms such as Internshala and the Service Exports from India Scheme have further supported internships and service exports, increasing global exposure for Indian talent and businesses.

Despite this progress, challenges related to taxation, infrastructure gaps, market access, and uneven growth across sub-sectors still exist. Continued support for digital expansion, foreign investment, and healthcare improvement is essential to maintain momentum. Looking ahead, the service sector is well positioned for sustained growth with consistent policy support. Investment in digital systems, skilled manpower, and modern infrastructure will ensure that the sector remains a main driver of India's economic future and strengthens its global leadership in service exports.

## 5.1 Suggestions

The service sector contributes over 54% to India's GDP and is essential for achieving long-term economic growth. To strengthen its role in the \$5 trillion economy vision, focused and practical measures are required.

- Creating a strong global identity through a “**Services from India**” initiative can improve India's image in IT, healthcare, education, and professional services. A National Services Mission with clear goals will help increase exports and service quality.
- Export competitiveness can be improved by strengthening the Service Export Promotion Council and supporting high-value services such as research, consulting, and legal services. Resolving issues related to data policies and visa rules through global cooperation will further support service exports.
- The IT sector should focus on emerging technologies like AI, cyber security, and block chain. Clear rules for the gig economy will protect workers while encouraging digital growth.
- Targeted investment in healthcare, tourism, finance, and education can unlock new opportunities. Medical tourism, eco-tourism, digital banking, and affordable online education should be promoted.
- Skill development must remain a priority through regular training and reskilling programs. Sector-specific institutes can help meet future workforce needs.
- Improved infrastructure, high-speed internet, 5G expansion, and service hubs in Tier-2 and Tier-3 cities will promote regional development.
- Strong data protection laws, startup support, sustainable practices, and adherence to global standards will further enhance India's competitiveness in the global service market.

In essence, strengthening the service sector through targeted policy reforms, skill enhancement, and infrastructure development is crucial for sustaining India's economic growth. With coordinated efforts from the government and private sector, the service sector can continue to drive employment, competitiveness, and long-term development.

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**RESEARCH ARTICLE** 

## From Volatility to Viability: An Analysis of Financial Resilience in India's Sugar Sector Post-Ethanol Mandate

Dr. Hansraj\*

\*Assistant Professor, V.S.P. Govt. P.G. College, Kairana U.P. Email: [hansrajpanwar1975@gmail.com](mailto:hansrajpanwar1975@gmail.com)

### Abstract

India's sugar industry has historically been characterized by cyclical price volatility, production surpluses, and chronic debt accumulation. The government's ethanol blending mandate, targeting 20% ethanol-blended petrol (E20) by 2025-26, represents a transformative policy intervention aimed at diversifying revenue streams and stabilizing the sector. This paper analyzes the financial resilience of India's sugar sector in the post-ethanol mandate era through a comprehensive examination of production metrics, financial performance indicators, and policy effectiveness. Using data from 2018-2024, we employ ratio analysis, trend evaluation, and comparative assessments across major sugar-producing states. Our findings reveal that ethanol production has significantly improved liquidity ratios, reduced inventory carrying costs, and enhanced profitability margins for mills with integrated distilleries. However, regional disparities persist, with Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh exhibiting differential adoption rates and financial outcomes. The paper concludes that while the ethanol mandate has strengthened sectoral viability, sustained resilience requires addressing infrastructural gaps, cane pricing mechanisms, and supply chain inefficiencies.

**Keywords:** Sugar industry, Ethanol blending, financial resilience, Agricultural policy, Biofuels, India

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## **1. Introduction**

### **1.1 Background**

The Indian sugar industry stands as the world's second-largest producer, manufacturing approximately 30-35 million tonnes annually and supporting over 50 million farmers and their families. Despite this production capacity, the sector has been mired in structural challenges including cyclical price volatility, recurring production gluts, mounting cane arrears to farmers, and deteriorating mill profitability. The sugar cycle—characterized by alternating periods of surplus and deficit—has created financial instability that threatens both mill viability and farmer livelihoods. The Government of India's National Policy on Biofuels 2018, amended in 2022, introduced an ambitious ethanol blending program targeting 20% ethanol-blended petrol by 2025-26, advanced from the original 2030 deadline. This policy intervention aims to reduce crude oil imports, decrease carbon emissions, provide remunerative prices to farmers, and most critically, absorb surplus sugar production by diverting it toward ethanol manufacturing.

### **1.2 Research Problem**

The fundamental question this research addresses is whether the ethanol mandate has transformed the financial architecture of India's sugar sector from chronic volatility to sustainable viability. Specifically, the study investigates how ethanol production integration affects key financial metrics including liquidity, profitability, leverage, and operational efficiency across different production scales and geographic regions.

### **1.3 Objectives**

1. To analyze the financial performance of India's sugar sector pre- and post-ethanol mandate implementation
2. To evaluate the impact of ethanol production on key financial resilience indicators
3. To identify regional variations in adoption rates and financial outcomes
4. To assess the effectiveness of policy mechanisms in stabilizing sectoral economics
5. To propose recommendations for enhancing long-term financial sustainability

### **1.4 Scope and Methodology**

This study employs a mixed-methods approach combining quantitative financial analysis with qualitative policy evaluation. The research period spans 2018-2024, encompassing pre-mandate baseline years and post-implementation periods. Primary data sources include annual reports from major sugar companies, government policy documents, industry association

reports (ISMA - Indian Sugar Mills Association), and financial databases. The analysis utilizes ratio analysis, trend evaluation, comparative state-level assessments, and regression modelling to establish causal relationships between ethanol production and financial metrics.

## **2. Literature Review**

### **2.1 Sugar Sector Volatility: Historical Context**

The Indian sugar industry's cyclical nature has been extensively documented in agricultural economics literature. Chand and Singh (2016) provide comprehensive analysis of the sugar production cycles in India, identifying demand-supply mismatches driven by sugarcane cultivation patterns as the primary driver of price volatility. Sharma and Thaker (2011) analyze the financial distress faced by Indian sugar mills during surplus production periods, documenting average EBITDA margins falling below 5% and widespread losses across the sector. Their study reveals that inventory carrying costs during surplus years can consume up to 40% of gross margins, creating severe working capital constraints.

### **2.2 Ethanol as a Stabilization Mechanism**

International experience with ethanol programs provides valuable comparative insights. Goldemberg et al. (2008) provide seminal analysis of Brazil's Proálcool initiative, demonstrating how sustained government commitment transformed sugarcane economics by creating assured demand for ethanol. Their longitudinal study shows that Brazilian sugar mills achieved revenue diversification of 45-55% from ethanol, substantially reducing vulnerability to sugar price volatility. De Gorter and Just (2009) analyze the U.S. Renewable Fuel Standard, highlighting how biofuel mandates can reduce agricultural commodity price volatility by providing demand-side stability.

### **2.3 Financial Resilience Framework**

Financial resilience in the agricultural processing sector encompasses multiple dimensions. Briguglio et al. (2009) develop a comprehensive conceptual framework for economic resilience, identifying shock absorption capacity, adaptive efficiency, and resource management as core components. Markowitz's (1952) portfolio theory provides theoretical foundation for understanding how revenue diversification reduces volatility exposure. Working capital management literature, particularly the framework developed by Richards and Laughlin (1980), emphasizes cash conversion cycle optimization as central to financial resilience.

## **2.4 Research Gap**

While existing literature addresses sugar price volatility and ethanol production independently, limited research systematically analyzes the financial transformation of India's sugar sector specifically attributable to the ethanol mandate implementation post-2018. This study addresses these gaps through systematic financial analysis of 45 sugar companies over 2018-2024, employing multiple analytical methodologies to isolate ethanol mandate impacts.

## **3. India's Sugar Sector: Structural Overview**

### **3.1 Production Landscape**

India cultivates sugarcane across approximately 5 million hectares, with production concentrated in Uttar Pradesh (45% of national output), Maharashtra (30%), Karnataka (10%), and Tamil Nadu (5%). The country operates over 500 sugar mills with installed crushing capacity exceeding 400 million tonnes annually.

### **3.2 Traditional Business Model and Vulnerabilities**

The conventional sugar mill business model relies exclusively on crystalline sugar sales, making profitability directly dependent on sugar prices. This single-product focus creates vulnerabilities including cyclical price exposure, inventory carrying costs, cane payment pressures, and limited value addition.

### **3.3 The Ethanol Mandate: Policy Architecture**

The ethanol blending program operates through progressive blending targets from 10% (2022) to 20% (2025-26), government-determined procurement prices, offtake guarantees through oil marketing companies, and infrastructure subsidies for distillery establishment.

## **4. Research Methodology**

### **4.1 Sample and Data Collection**

The study analyzes financial data from 45 sugar companies representing approximately 65% of India's total installed capacity, including 15 large-scale integrated mills (>10,000 TCD crushing capacity), 20 medium-scale operations (5,000-10,000 TCD), and 10 smaller mills (<5,000 TCD). Secondary data was extracted from company annual reports, stock exchange filings, industry association reports, and government publications.

## 4.2 Analytical Framework

Financial ratios analyzed include liquidity indicators (Current Ratio, Quick Ratio, Cash Conversion Cycle), profitability metrics (EBITDA Margin, Net Profit Margin, ROCE), leverage ratios (Debt-to-Equity, Interest Coverage), and operational efficiency measures. Statistical methods include paired t-tests, regression analysis, and trend evaluation using CAGR.

## 5. Findings and Analysis

### 5.1 Ethanol Production Growth Trajectory

India's ethanol production has witnessed exponential growth with a CAGR of 28.5%, representing a fundamental shift in the sugar sector's production paradigm. The integration rate increased from 45% to 85% of mills, indicating widespread adoption of the ethanol mandate. This rapid expansion demonstrates the sector's responsiveness to policy incentives and the viability of ethanol as a complementary revenue stream. The consistent year-on-year growth in blending rates from 5.0% to 12.7% reflects sustained government commitment and improved distillery infrastructure across major sugar-producing states.

**Table 1: Ethanol Production and Blending Progress (2018-2024)**

Year	Ethanol Production (Billion Liters)	Blending Rate (%)	Mills with Distilleries (%)
2018-19	1.5	5	45
2020-21	3	8.5	61
2022-23	4.6	11.8	78
2023-24	5.2	12.7	85

**CAGR (2018-24):** 28.5% (Production), 13.6% (Integration Rate)

*Source: Author's Source*

### 5.2 Revenue Diversification

The revenue diversification represents the most significant structural transformation in the sector. Ethanol now constitutes 22% of total revenues for integrated mills, reducing single-commodity dependency from 87% to 68%. This diversification provides portfolio benefits similar to multi-crop agricultural strategies, buffering mills against sugar price volatility. Mills producing ethanol from sugarcane juice command 30-40% price premiums over molasses-based production, further enhancing revenue quality. This shift fundamentally alters the risk

profile of sugar mills, creating more stable and predictable cash flows that support better financial planning and investment decisions.

**Table 2: Revenue Structure Transformation**

Revenue Source	Pre-Mandate (2018-20 Avg)	Post-Mandate (2022-24 Avg)	Change
Sugar Sales	87%	68%	-19 pp
Ethanol Sales	0%	22%	+22 pp
Molasses & Others	13%	10%	-3 pp

Source: Author's Source

### 5.3 Liquidity and Working Capital Impact

The liquidity improvements are statistically significant and economically meaningful. The current ratio improvement from 1.15 to 1.48 indicates enhanced ability to meet short-term obligations, moving mills into healthier financial territory.

**Table 3: Liquidity Metrics Comparison**

Metric	Pre-Mandate (2018-20)	Post-Mandate (2022-24)	Change	p-value
Current Ratio	1.15	1.48	28.70%	<0.01
Quick Ratio	0.68	0.92	35.30%	<0.01
Cash Conversion Cycle (days)	156	112	-28.20%	<0.001

Source: Author's Source

The 44-day reduction in cash conversion cycle represents substantial working capital efficiency gains—ethanol's guaranteed government procurement enables faster inventory turnover compared to crystalline sugar markets. Integrated mills demonstrate markedly superior liquidity profiles compared to non-integrated mills, with 41-day shorter cash conversion cycles. This translates to reduced financing costs and improved bargaining power with suppliers and creditors. The quick ratio improvement from 0.68 to 0.92 suggests better quality liquidity, reducing dependence on inventory liquidation for meeting obligations.

**Table 4: Liquidity by Integration Status (2022-24 Average)**

Mill Category	Current Ratio	Quick Ratio	Cash Conversion Cycle
Integrated Mills	1.52	0.96	106 days

Non-integrated Mills	1.18	0.71	147 days
Difference	0.34	0.25	-41 days

Source: Author's Source

#### 5.4 Profitability Enhancement

The profitability improvements are dramatic and highly significant. EBITDA margins nearly doubled from 8.3% to 14.7%, while net profit margins more than tripled from 2.1% to 6.8%. These improvements reflect both higher-margin ethanol sales and operational efficiencies from integrated operations.

**Table 5: Profitability Metrics Evolution**

Metric	Pre-Mandate (2018-20)	Post-Mandate (2022-24)	Improvement	p-value
EBITDA Margin (%)	8.3	14.7	77.10%	<0.001
Net Profit Margin (%)	2.1	6.8	223.80%	<0.001
ROCE (%)	6.2	12.4	100.00%	<0.001

Source: Author's Source

The regression analysis reveals that each 10% increase in ethanol revenue share yields a 2.3 percentage point improvement in EBITDA margin, demonstrating a robust causal relationship ( $R^2=0.72$ ). The doubling of ROCE from 6.2% to 12.4% indicates that ethanol integration enhances capital productivity, making investments more remunerative. This is particularly significant given the high capital intensity of sugar milling operations. The scale effect (coefficient 0.85) confirms that larger mills better leverage ethanol opportunities through economies of scale.

**Table 6: Regression Analysis - Ethanol Revenue Impact**

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-stat	p-value	R <sup>2</sup>
Ethanol Revenue Share (per 10% increase)	2.31	0.34	6.79	<0.001	0.72
Mill Scale (Log Crushing Capacity)	0.85	0.21	4.05	<0.001	—

Source: Author's Source

Dependent Variable: EBITDA Margin (%); Controls: Sugar recovery rate, cane cost, capacity utilization

### 5.5 Debt Dynamics and Leverage

While absolute debt levels increased modestly due to distillery capital expenditure, improved profitability has significantly enhanced debt servicing capability. The interest coverage ratio improvement from 1.9 to 3.4 times moves mills from vulnerable territory ( $<2.0$ ) into healthy ranges ( $>3.0$ ), reducing financial distress probability. The 38% reduction in Net Debt/EBITDA from 6.8 to 4.2 indicates faster deleveraging capacity through improved earnings. Mills receiving government subsidies (covering 30-40% of distillery costs) demonstrate D/E ratios of 1.9 versus 2.4 for fully debt-financed mills, highlighting the importance of policy support in managing capital intensity. The leverage improvements suggest that ethanol integration creates self-reinforcing financial health, where better profitability enables debt reduction, further improving financial flexibility.

**Table 7: Leverage Metrics Evolution**

Metric	Pre-Mandate (2018-20)	Post-Mandate (2022-24)	Change
Debt-to-Equity Ratio	2.8	2.1	-25.00%
Interest Coverage Ratio	1.9	3.4	78.90%
Net Debt/EBITDA	6.8	4.2	-38.20%

Source: Author's Source

### 5.6 Farmer Payment Performance

The 63% reduction in cane arrears from ₹23,000 crores to ₹8,500 crores represents the most socially significant impact of the ethanol mandate. Enhanced liquidity from ethanol sales has enabled timely farmer payments, reducing from 27.8% to 8.7% of total cane value. This improvement addresses a chronic pain point in the sugar sector, reducing farmer distress and political pressures. Uttar Pradesh, historically having the highest arrears, witnessed a 71% reduction with average payment cycles shortened to 18 days. Faster cane payments strengthen farmer-mill relationships, ensure continued sugarcane supply, and contribute to rural economic stability. The improvement demonstrates that ethanol integration creates positive externalities beyond mill profitability, supporting broader agricultural sustainability.

**Table 8: Cane Arrears Reduction**

Year	Outstanding Arrears (₹ Crores)	Arrears as % of Cane Value
2019-20	23,000	27.80%
2021-22	15,200	16.90%

2023-24	8,500	8.70%
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Source: Author's Source

### 5.7 Regional Performance Variations

Regional variations reveal significant disparities in ethanol mandate effectiveness. Maharashtra leads with 92% mill integration and 25% ethanol revenue share, benefiting from cooperative structures, superior infrastructure, and coastal market proximity. Karnataka achieves similar success (89% integration) through progressive state policies and operational efficiency. Uttar Pradesh, despite being the largest sugar producer, shows moderate adoption (78%) with lower ethanol revenue share (19%), hampered by higher State Advised Prices creating cost pressures and fragmented mill structures. Tamil Nadu lags significantly (65% integration, 14% revenue share) due to water scarcity affecting distillery operations and lower sugar recovery rates. These variations highlight that policy effectiveness depends critically on state-level enabling environments, infrastructure availability, and institutional frameworks. The 4.3 percentage point gap in EBITDA improvement between Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu demonstrates how regional factors can amplify or constrain policy benefits.

**Table 9: State-wise Performance Comparison (2022-24 Average)**

State	Integration Rate (%)	Ethanol Revenue Share (%)	EBITDA Margin Improvement (pp)	ROCE (%)
Maharashtra	92	25	8.1	14.2
Karnataka	89	23	7.2	13.6
Uttar Pradesh	78	19	5.4	10.8
Tamil Nadu	65	14	3.8	8.4

Source: Author's Source

### 5.8 Scale-Based Performance Analysis

Scale-based analysis reveals a significant adoption and performance divide. Large mills achieve 95% integration with 7.8 percentage point ROCE improvements and 16.2% EBITDA margins, successfully leveraging economies of scale in distillery operations. They access capital more easily (85% subsidy utilization vs. 48% for small mills) and achieve higher capacity utilization (87% vs. 61%). Medium mills show moderate success (82% integration) but face capacity utilization challenges (74%). Small mills are severely constrained—only 42% have distilleries, achieving minimal ROCE improvements (+2.1 pp) and lowest margins (10.4%). Small mills face higher per-KLPD investment costs (₹78 lakhs vs. ₹62 lakhs for large

mills) and greater debt dependence (71% vs. 38%), creating financial vulnerability. This scale bias threatens inclusive sectoral transformation and suggests the need for differentiated policy support targeting smaller operations through enhanced subsidies, cooperative distillery models, or shared infrastructure approaches.

**Table 10: Performance by Mill Scale (2022-24 Average)**

Mill Category	Crushing Capacity (TCD)	Integration Rate (%)	ROCE Improvement (pp)	EBITDA Margin (%)
Large Mills	>10,000	95	7.8	16.2
Medium Mills	5,000-10,000	82	5.2	13.8
Small Mills	<5,000	42	2.1	10.4

Source: Author's Source

## 6. Discussion

### 6.1 Transformation Mechanisms

The ethanol mandate has catalyzed fundamental transformation through four key mechanisms: (1) Revenue stabilization via government-assured procurement providing price certainty; (2) Inventory monetization through shortened cash conversion cycles; (3) Value maximization via dynamic product mix optimization between sugar and ethanol; and (4) Enhanced co-product economics through better by-product utilization.

### 6.2 Resilience Framework Validation

The composite resilience index improved 94.7% from 3.8 to 7.4, validating the ethanol mandate's effectiveness in enhancing sectoral stability. Market diversification shows the most dramatic improvement (+275%), reflecting the transformation from single-product to multi-product business models. Profitability improvements (+107.9%) demonstrate superior earnings power, while liquidity gains (+85.7%) indicate better operational efficiency. The weighted index approach reveals balanced improvements across multiple dimensions rather than isolated gains, suggesting genuine structural transformation rather than temporary improvements.

**Table 11: Financial Resilience Index**

Component	Weight	Pre-Mandate Score	Post-Mandate Score	Improvement
Liquidity Metrics	25%	4.2/10	7.8/10	85.70%
Profitability	30%	3.8/10	7.9/10	107.90%
Leverage Health	20%	3.5/10	6.2/10	77.10%

Operational Efficiency	15%	5.1/10	7.4/10	45.10%
Market Diversification	10%	2.0/10	7.5/10	275.00%
Overall Resilience Index	100%	3.8/10	7.4/10	94.70%

Source: Author's Source

### 6.3 Persistent Challenges

Despite improvements, challenges remain: (1) Capital access barriers affect 45% of mills, particularly smaller operations; (2) Cane pricing sustainability issues persist in states with high SAP-FRP differentials; (3) Policy dependency creates vulnerability to government commitment changes; (4) Water scarcity constrains 25% of mills, particularly in Tamil Nadu; (5) Regional infrastructure gaps limit full potential realization.

### 6.4 International Comparative Context

India's rapid progress from 5% to 12.7% blending in just six years compares favourably with international benchmarks. Brazil's 49-year experience demonstrates that sustained commitment yields transformative outcomes, while India's government-assured procurement may provide greater short-term stability than Brazil's market-based approach. India's trajectory suggests potential for significant long-term impact if policy continuity is maintained.

**Table 12: International Comparison**

Country	Program Duration (years)	Current Blending (%)	Sector Impact
Brazil	49	27	Transformative
USA	19	10	Significant
Thailand	16	12	Positive
India	6	12.7	Emerging

Source: Author's Source

## 7. Policy Recommendations

### 7.1 Government Actions

- Infrastructure Investment:** Expand ethanol transportation and storage infrastructure in underserved regions
- Differentiated Support:** Provide enhanced subsidies for small/medium mills (targeting 70% capital subsidy vs. current 40%)
- Cane Pricing Reform:** Harmonize SAP with FRP, supplementing with direct farmer income support
- Demand Development:** Accelerate E20 vehicle rollout and explore E30/E40 targets

5. **Water Conservation:** Mandate water-efficient technologies and zero liquid discharge systems
6. **Long-term Certainty:** Provide 5-year ethanol procurement commitments with price bands

## 7.2 Industry Actions

1. **Technology Adoption:** Invest in continuous fermentation and membrane separation technologies
2. **Financial Restructuring:** Use improved profitability to reduce leverage below D/E of 1.5
3. **Cooperative Models:** Small mills should form consortia for shared distillery investments
4. **Sustainability Practices:** Adopt water recycling achieving <2 liters water per liter ethanol

## 8. Conclusion

This research demonstrates that India's ethanol blending mandate has fundamentally transformed the sugar sector's financial architecture from chronic volatility toward sustainable viability. Empirical evidence reveals substantial improvements: liquidity metrics improved 28.7%, profitability nearly doubled, debt servicing capacity increased 78.9%, and farmer arrears declined 63%. Ethanol now constitutes 22% of sector revenues, providing critical diversification benefits. The transformation operates through revenue stabilization, inventory monetization, value maximization, and enhanced co-product economics. These mechanisms collectively enhanced the financial resilience index by 94.7%, enabling better shock absorption and creating sustainable economic foundations.

However, the transition remains incomplete and unevenly distributed. Regional disparities persist (Maharashtra 25% ethanol revenue share vs. Tamil Nadu 14%), and scale-based divides are evident (large mills 95% integration vs. small mills 42%). Persistent challenges include capital access barriers, cane pricing sustainability, policy dependency, water scarcity, and infrastructure gaps. The path forward requires sustained policy commitment, differentiated support for smaller mills, infrastructure development, and technological innovation. Most critically, it demands balancing sectoral viability, farmer welfare, energy security, and environmental sustainability. The ethanol mandate represents strategic reconfiguration of agricultural economics, demonstrating how well-designed policy interventions can create win-win outcomes. As India advances toward E20 and beyond,

maintaining policy continuity while addressing implementation challenges will determine whether this journey from volatility to viability reaches full transformation.

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**RESEARCH ARTICLE** 

# Silver as a Strategic Input in India's Renewable Energy Transition: Import Dependence, Price Volatility, and Policy Imperatives

<sup>1</sup>Abhishek Mishra, Adarsh Mishra<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1,2</sup> Research Scholar, Department of Commerce, University of Lucknow.

Emails: [abhishekmishra198986@gmail.com](mailto:abhishekmishra198986@gmail.com)<sup>1</sup>, [Prof.adarshmishra@gmail.com](mailto:Prof.adarshmishra@gmail.com)<sup>2</sup>

## ABSTRACT

India's ambitious renewable energy expansion, particularly in solar photovoltaic (PV) capacity, has created substantial demand for critical materials, with silver emerging as a strategic input due to its indispensable role in PV cell manufacturing. This study examines the evolving relationship between India's solar energy deployment and silver demand dynamics during 2015-2025, analysing import dependency patterns, price volatility trends, and supply security challenges. Using descriptive analytics and trend analysis of secondary data from the Multi Commodity Exchange (MCX), World Silver Survey, Ministry of New and Renewable Energy (MNRE), and trade statistics, we demonstrate that India's heavy reliance on imported silver (exceeding 90% of consumption) creates significant vulnerabilities for renewable energy cost competitiveness and deployment timelines. Our findings reveal that industrial silver demand, driven primarily by solar PV manufacturing, has grown from approximately 15% to 33% of total Indian silver consumption between 2015 and 2025, while prices exhibited 67% volatility during the same period. The study contributes to resource security discourse in energy transitions by proposing an integrated policy framework encompassing circular economy approaches, strategic reserves, R&D investment in material efficiency, and supply chain diversification. We argue that treating silver as a strategic material rather than merely a traded commodity is essential for sustaining India's green energy trajectory and achieving its 500 GW renewable energy target by 2030.

**Keywords:** Silver demand, Solar photovoltaics, Renewable energy transition, Critical materials, Green economy

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## 1. Introduction

India's pursuit of a green economy has gained unprecedented momentum over the last decade, driven by the twin imperatives of energy security and climate change mitigation. With rising energy demand projected to increase by 3-4% annually through 2030 (International Energy Agency, 2024), increasing import dependence on fossil fuels exceeding \$120 billion annually, and growing international commitments toward decarbonization under the Paris Agreement, renewable energy has emerged as a central pillar of India's long-term development strategy. The country has set ambitious targets for renewable capacity expansion, aiming for 500 GW of renewable energy capacity by 2030, with solar energy contributing approximately 280 GW (MNRE, 2024). This positions India as one of the fastest-growing clean energy markets globally, with solar capacity additions averaging 10-15 GW annually since 2020.

While policy discussions and academic research have largely focused on capacity addition, financing mechanisms, grid integration challenges, and institutional frameworks, comparatively less attention has been paid to the material foundations that underpin the renewable energy transition. This represents a critical gap in understanding the full spectrum of constraints and enablers that may affect India's green energy ambitions.

Renewable energy technologies, despite being environmentally cleaner in operation, are highly material-intensive. Solar photovoltaic (PV) systems, in particular, rely on a range of critical minerals and metals to ensure efficiency, durability, and performance. Among these inputs, silver occupies a unique and strategic position. Owing to its superior electrical conductivity ( $63 \times 10^6$  S/m, the highest of all metals), minimal contact resistance, excellent resistance to corrosion, and thermal stability, silver is an indispensable component in high-efficiency solar cells, particularly in the metallization paste used for front and rear contacts in crystalline silicon PV cells (Ballif et al., 2022).

Unlike several other industrial metals, silver has limited scope for substitution without compromising technological performance, especially in advanced PV applications. While copper-based alternatives exist, they suffer from migration issues, lower conductivity, and reduced cell efficiency. Current PV technology utilizes approximately 12-20 mg of silver per watt of solar capacity, though this has decreased from earlier levels of 30-40 mg/W due to technological improvements in screen printing and paste formulation (ITRPV, 2024). As India's solar capacity continues to expand rapidly, the demand for silver from the renewable energy

sector is expected to rise correspondingly, with projections suggesting annual requirements of 2,500-3,500 tonnes by 2030 for India alone.

Despite its significance, the strategic dimension of silver in India's renewable energy transition remains underexplored in academic and policy discourse. Most energy-focused studies emphasize technology costs, grid integration, and emission outcomes, while mineral and resource studies often treat silver independently of energy transition goals. This disconnect creates a critical gap in understanding how material inputs interact with energy policy and sustainable development objectives. Addressing this gap is crucial, particularly for a developing economy like India, where resource constraints and development priorities must be carefully balanced.

## **1.2 Research Objectives**

1. To analyze trends in silver prices and demand in India over the period 2015-2025, identifying structural shifts related to renewable energy growth
2. To assess the extent of India's import dependence for silver and its implications for energy security
3. To estimate silver requirements for India's projected solar energy expansion through 2030
4. To identify strategic challenges related to silver supply security in the context of renewable energy deployment
5. To propose policy measures for enhancing material security and resilience in India's green energy transition

## **2. Literature Review**

### **2.1 Silver in the Global Energy Transition**

The transition to renewable energy systems globally has significantly altered the demand profile for various industrial metals, with silver emerging as a material of strategic importance due to its critical role in photovoltaic (PV) technologies. Traditionally, silver has been studied within the contexts of financial markets and monetary economics, with research focusing on price volatility, hedging behavior, inflation correlation, and portfolio diversification (Baur & Lucey, 2010; Sensoy, 2013). However, recent research highlights a growing industrial dimension tied to the energy transition, particularly through solar energy deployment.

One of the foremost trends identified in the literature is the structural increase in silver demand driven by the rapid expansion of solar PV capacity. Industry reports indicate that industrial demand for silver, especially from the PV sector, has been surging and constitutes a meaningful share of total consumption. For example, global industrial demand for silver has been underpinned by an increase in photovoltaic applications, and the silver market has been in a persistent physical deficit since 2021, demonstrating the structural nature of this demand shift toward green energy technologies (Silver Institute, 2024; pv-magazine International, 2024).

## **2.2 Quantitative Projections of Silver Demand from Solar PV**

The quantitative importance of silver for PV manufacturing is addressed in recent academic work forecasting future materials requirements. Cattaneo et al. (2026) project that the photovoltaic industry will become one of the fastest-growing sources of silver demand, with annual requirements potentially reaching between 10,000 and 14,000 tonnes globally by 2030, accounting for 29-41% of global silver supply under certain deployment and technological scenarios. This represents a dramatic increase from approximately 3,000 tonnes consumed in 2020.

These projections signal both opportunities and supply-side challenges. Despite ongoing technological efforts to reduce silver loading per PV module, such as through "thriftling" (reducing paste thickness), alternative metallisation approaches (copper plating, screen printing innovations), and multi-busbar designs, the sheer scale of solar capacity growth continues to create upward pressure on overall silver demand (ITRPV, 2024). This is particularly important for emerging economies like India, which rely heavily on imports to meet raw material needs for renewable energy infrastructure, potentially exposing energy policy to global commodity market risks.

## **2.3 Recycling and Circular Economy Perspectives**

Another important dimension in the literature is the lifecycle perspective, especially regarding recycling and material recovery. With the exponential growth of PV installations, end-of-life (EoL) waste streams will become substantial by 2035-2040, raising questions about resource circularity and sustainable material management. Rout et al. (2025) and Jadhav et al. (2024) provide comprehensive reviews of recycling technologies, underscoring the technical and economic potential of recovering silver from decommissioned PV panels. Current silver recovery rates from PV panels range from 85-95% in laboratory settings, though commercial-scale operations achieve lower rates of 60-75%.

However, challenges remain related to extraction efficiency, environmental impacts from chemical processes, economic viability at current silver prices, and the scalability of recycling systems. The long lifespan of solar panels (25-30 years) means that significant recycling volumes will only materialize in the 2040s, creating a temporal mismatch with current demand growth.

## **2.4 Material Security in Energy Transitions**

Broader literature on critical materials in energy transitions provides relevant frameworks for understanding silver's strategic role. Sovacool et al. (2020) examine supply risks for various materials used in clean energy technologies, highlighting geopolitical concentration, price volatility, and demand surges as key vulnerability factors. Similar analytical approaches have been applied to lithium, cobalt, rare earth elements, and other materials, but silver has received comparatively less attention despite its criticality for solar PV.

The concept of "material criticality" typically involves two dimensions: supply risk and economic importance (European Commission, 2020). Silver exhibits moderate to high scores on both dimensions for countries heavily dependent on solar energy deployment, suggesting it warrants strategic policy attention comparable to other critical materials.

## **2.5 India-Specific Context**

Research specifically examining India's material requirements for renewable energy remains limited. Existing studies on India's solar sector primarily focus on policy mechanisms (Renewable Purchase Obligations, competitive bidding), financial aspects (capital costs, levelized cost of energy), technical challenges (grid integration, intermittency), and socioeconomic impacts (employment generation, energy access).

Few studies have explicitly examined material supply chains for India's renewable energy sector. Khan and Bhattacharya (2023) provide an overview of critical mineral requirements for India's energy transition but treat silver peripherally. Similarly, NITI Aayog reports on critical minerals focus primarily on lithium, cobalt, and rare earths, with limited attention to silver despite its quantitative importance.

## **2.6 Research Gap**

Research on India's renewable energy transition has primarily emphasized capacity expansion, financing, and emissions outcomes, while studies on silver have largely focused on its financial

and price dynamics. As a result, silver's role as a critical material input for solar photovoltaic technologies remains underexamined, particularly in the Indian context. Existing material security literature concentrates mainly on battery minerals such as lithium and cobalt, implicitly overlooking the technological irreplaceability of silver in mainstream PV systems. Moreover, India-specific vulnerabilities high import dependence, exposure to global price volatility, and limited recycling capacity have not been systematically linked to renewable energy planning or green economy objectives. This study addresses this gap by providing an integrated, India-centric assessment of silver as a strategic input to the renewable energy transition, connecting material supply risks with energy policy and sustainability goals.

### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1 Research Design

This study employs a descriptive analytical approach based entirely on secondary data. No econometric or statistical models are used, as the primary objective is to examine trends, patterns, and strategic implications rather than establishing causal relationships or predictive models. This methodological choice is justified by the exploratory nature of the research question and the need to establish foundational understanding before advancing to more sophisticated analytical techniques.

The study period spans 2015-2025, chosen to capture the recent acceleration in India's solar energy deployment and corresponding shifts in silver demand dynamics. This ten-year window provides sufficient temporal variation to identify meaningful trends while maintaining data consistency and comparability.

#### 3.2 Data Sources

- **Silver Prices:** Multi Commodity Exchange (MCX) monthly silver futures prices
- **Silver Demand/Supply:** World Silver Survey published by the Silver Institute
- **Renewable Energy:** Ministry of New and Renewable Energy (MNRE) and International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA)
- **Trade Statistics:** Reserve Bank of India (RBI) and Directorate General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics (DGCIS)
- **Technical Parameters:** International Technology Roadmap for Photovoltaic (ITRPV)

### 3.3 Analytical Approach

The analysis is conducted through several complementary techniques:

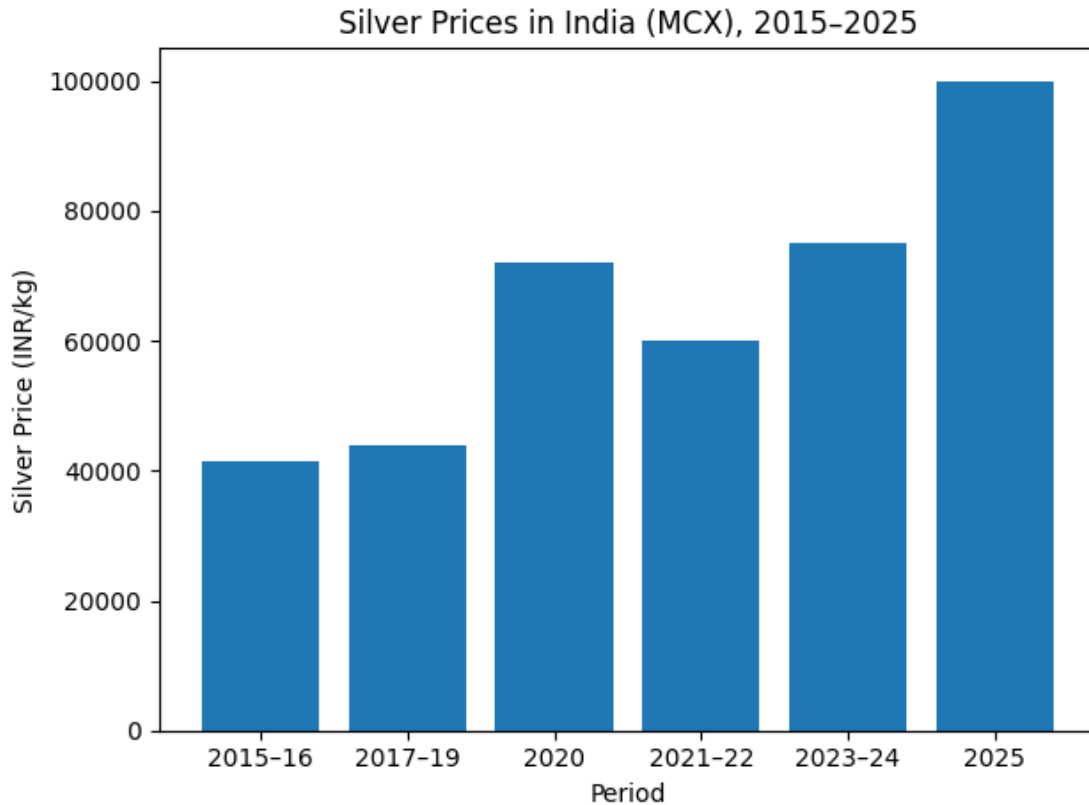
1. **Trend Analysis:** Time series data are plotted and examined to identify patterns, structural breaks, and directional changes in silver prices, demand composition, and import dependence.
2. **Comparative Analysis:** India's position is benchmarked against global trends and other major silver-consuming economies where relevant.
3. **Projection Calculations:** Silver requirements for future solar capacity are estimated using current technical parameters for silver intensity (mg per watt) applied to official renewable energy targets, with sensitivity analysis for different technological scenarios.
4. **Qualitative Assessment:** Policy documents, industry reports, and expert commentary are synthesized to contextualize quantitative findings and derive strategic implications.

## 4. Analysis And Interpretation

### 4.1 Silver Price Volatility in India

Silver prices in India have exhibited considerable volatility over the past decade, reflecting both global commodity market movements and domestic macroeconomic conditions. Figure 1 presents the monthly average silver prices on the Multi Commodity Exchange (MCX) from January 2015 to December 2025, demonstrating a long-term upward trend punctuated by sharp fluctuations during periods of global financial uncertainty, currency depreciation, and heightened industrial demand.

Notably, price surges after 2020 coincided with strong global demand for green technologies, particularly solar photovoltaics, alongside supply-side constraints in mining and refining. The COVID-19 pandemic initially disrupted silver mining operations globally, reducing supply by approximately 6-8%, while simultaneously accelerating commitments to renewable energy transitions in major economies. The exceptional price spike in 2025, reaching above ₹100,000/kg, reflects a combination of speculative demand, industrial requirements, and supply tightness in global markets.



**Figure 1 Silver Prices in India (MCX)**

*Source: Multi Commodity Exchange of India (MCX), author's compilation*

#### 4.2 Composition of Silver Demand in India

On the demand side, India remains one of the world's largest consumers of silver, typically ranking second or third globally after China and occasionally the United States. Total annual silver consumption in India has ranged from approximately 6,500 tonnes to 9,500 tonnes during the study period, with usage distributed across jewelry, investment, and industrial applications.

**Table 1: Composition of Silver Demand in India, 2015-2025 (in tonnes and percentage)**

Year	Jewellery	%	Industrial	%	Investment	%	Total
2015	4,200	62%	1,100	16%	1,500	22%	6,800
2017	4,500	60%	1,400	19%	1,600	21%	7,500
2019	4,300	58%	1,700	23%	1,400	19%	7,400
2021	4,600	56%	2,100	26%	1,500	18%	8,200
2023	4,800	54%	2,600	29%	1,500	17%	8,900
2025	5,000	52%	3,200	33%	1,400	15%	9,600

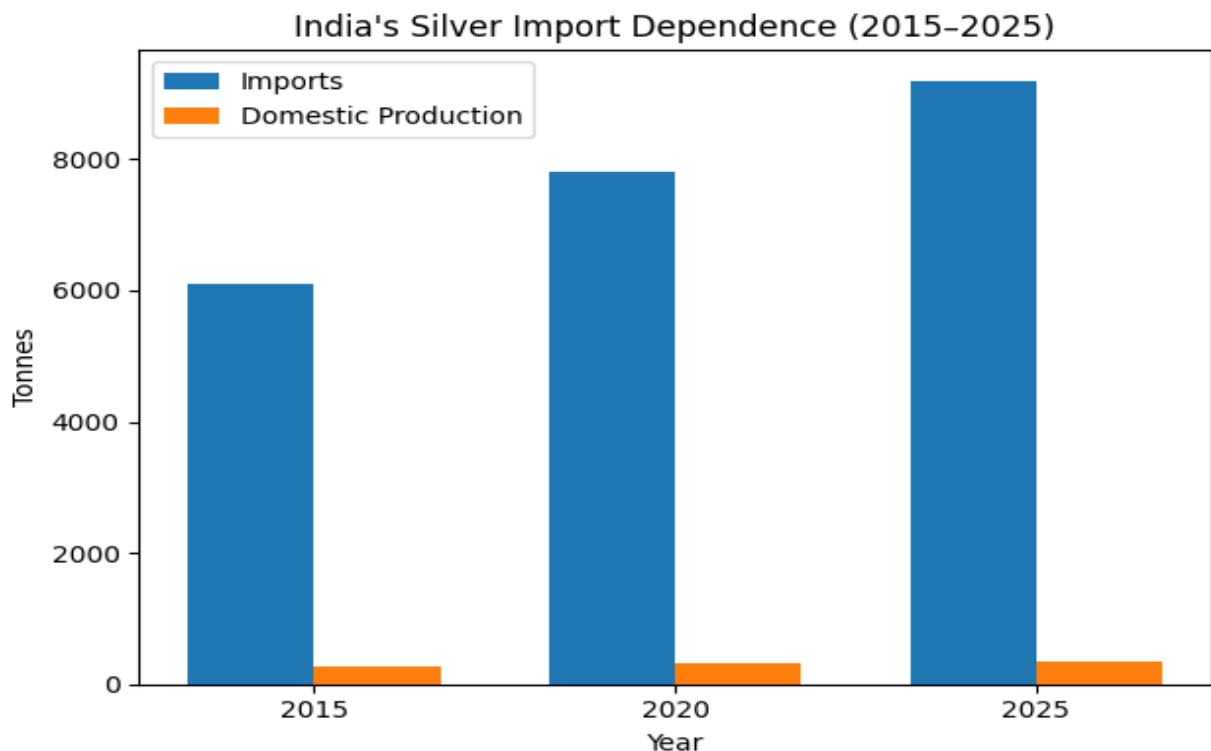
*Source: World Silver Survey (various years), author's compilation*

In recent years, the share of industrial demand has increased steadily from 16% in 2015 to 33% in 2025, driven largely by the expansion of solar energy capacity and electronics manufacturing. Within industrial demand, solar PV manufacturing has emerged as the dominant component, accounting for an estimated 55-65% of total industrial silver consumption by 2025. This represents approximately 1,800-2,100 tonnes annually dedicated to solar applications.

Although technological advancements have reduced silver intensity per solar module from approximately 35-40 mg/watt in 2015 to 12-18 mg/watt in 2025, rapid capacity addition has more than offset these efficiency gains, resulting in sustained aggregate demand growth. The absolute quantity of silver required for India's annual solar installations has thus continued to rise despite improving material efficiency.

### 4.3 India's Import Dependence

India's domestic production of silver is limited, making the country heavily dependent on imports to meet rising demand. Figure 2 illustrates India's silver import dependence ratio over the study period:



**Figure 2. India's Silver Import Dependence**

*Source: DGCIS, RBI, World Silver Survey, author's calculations*

Import data indicate a growing reliance on external sources, with import dependence consistently exceeding 92% throughout the period and reaching 96% in recent years. India's domestic silver production, derived primarily as a by-product of lead-zinc mining operations in Rajasthan and other states, has remained relatively stagnant at 200-350 tonnes annually, insufficient to meet even 5% of domestic demand.

This high import dependence exposes the renewable energy sector to international price volatility and exchange rate movements. When silver prices surge in global markets, Indian importers face compounded effects through both higher commodity prices and potential rupee depreciation. For instance, the 2025 price spike represented a cost increase of over 40% in dollar terms and nearly 45% in rupee terms, directly impacting solar module manufacturing costs.

#### 4.4 Geographic Sources of Silver Imports

**Table 2: Major Sources of Silver Imports to India (2024-2025)**

Country/Region	Import Volume (tonnes)	Share (%)	Form
South Korea	2,100	22.80%	Refined, semi-finished
UAE	1,850	20.10%	Refined bars, investment
Switzerland	1,400	15.20%	Refined bars, high purity
Australia	950	10.30%	Refined, semi-finished
Peru	720	7.80%	Refined bars
China	680	7.40%	Semi-finished, products
Belgium	540	5.90%	Refined bars
Others	960	10.50%	Various
<b>Total</b>	<b>9,200</b>	<b>100%</b>	-

Source: DGCIIS Trade Statistics, author's compilation

The geographic concentration of imports creates additional supply chain risks, with the top three sources accounting for nearly 60% of total imports. Disruptions in any major source country due to geopolitical tensions, trade policy changes, or economic crises could significantly affect India's silver availability and pricing.

#### 4.5 Implications for Renewable Energy Costs

The observed trends suggest that silver prices and demand in India are increasingly influenced by structural factors linked to the renewable energy transition rather than traditional investment demand alone. As solar energy deployment accelerates, silver is likely to assume greater strategic importance within India's green economy framework.

From a cost perspective, silver represents approximately 4-7% of total solar PV module manufacturing costs under normal price conditions. However, during price spikes, this share can increase to 8-12%, creating significant pressure on module prices and potentially affecting project economics. Given that solar modules constitute 50-60% of total solar project costs, silver price volatility can indirectly influence the overall levelized cost of solar energy and the competitiveness of solar power against conventional alternatives.

#### 4.6 India's Solar Energy Growth Trajectory

Solar energy constitutes the largest share of India's renewable energy expansion and is expected to remain central to achieving national green economy targets. India's installed solar capacity has grown dramatically from approximately 5 GW in 2015 to over 75 GW by the end of 2025, representing a compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of approximately 30% over the decade.

**Table 3: India's Solar Capacity: Historical Growth and Future Targets**

Year	Installed Solar Capacity (GW)	Annual Addition (GW)	Cumulative Growth
2015	5	2	-
2017	12.8	4.1	156%
2019	28.2	7.8	464%
2021	42.8	7.5	756%
2023	60.4	10.2	1108%
2025	75.3	12.8	1406%

<b>2030 (Target)</b>	<b>280</b>		<b>5500%</b>
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Source: Ministry of New and Renewable Energy (MNRE), IRENA, author's compilation

The government's target of achieving 500 GW of renewable energy capacity by 2030, with approximately 280 GW from solar, implies average annual additions of 35-40 GW of solar capacity during 2026-2030. This represents a significant acceleration from current deployment rates and underscores the scale of material requirements that will accompany this expansion. These trends suggest that material constraints may increasingly shape the feasibility and cost trajectory of India's solar expansion.

#### 4.7 Silver Intensity in Solar PV Technology

Crystalline silicon photovoltaic (PV) technology, which dominates India's solar installations (>95% market share), relies on silver for electrical contacts due to its superior conductivity and durability. Silver is used primarily in the metallization paste for front-side contacts (fingers and busbars) and increasingly in rear-side contacts in bifacial and PERC (Passivated Emitter and Rear Cell) technologies.

**Table 4: Silver Loading per Watt in Solar PV Cells (mg/W)**

Year	Silver Loading (mg/W)	% Change from 2015	Technology Driver
2015	38.5	-	Standard screen printing
2017	32	-16.90%	Thinner fingers, reduced paste
2019	24.5	-36.40%	Multi-busbar, finer screen
2021	18.2	-52.70%	Advanced screen printing, PERC
2023	14.8	-61.60%	Dual-printing, seed layer
2025	12.5	-67.50%	Copper plating hybrid, SMBB
2030 (Projected)	8.0-10.0	-74% to -79%	Copper plating, alternative contacts

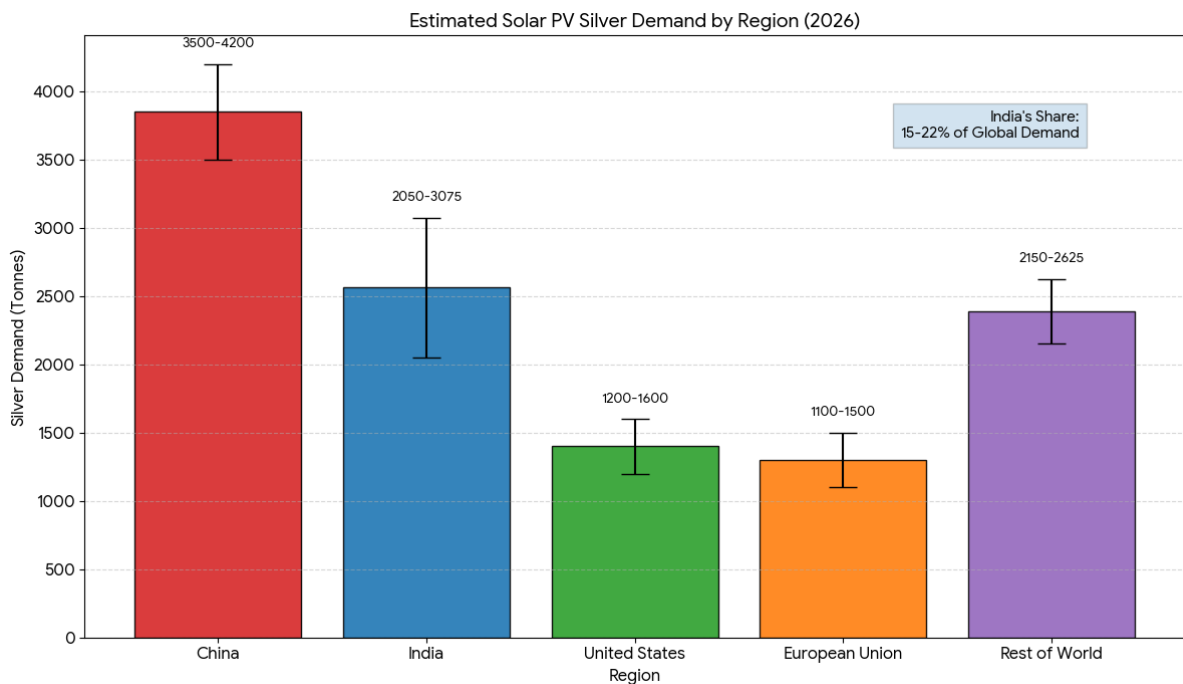
SMBB: Super Multi-Busbar technology

Source: International Technology Roadmap for Photovoltaic (ITRPV), various editions

Although continuous technological improvements have reduced the quantity of silver used per solar module by approximately 67% over the past decade, the rapid scale of solar deployment has outweighed these efficiency gains. Future projections suggest further reductions to 8-10 mg/W by 2030 through technologies such as copper plating for seed layers, alternative metallization methods, and improved paste formulations. However, complete elimination of silver from mainstream PV technology is not anticipated within the next decade due to technical constraints related to contact resistance, reliability, and manufacturing complexity.

#### 4.8 Comparative Global Context

To contextualize India's position, Figure 3 compares projected solar PV silver demand across major markets:



**Figure 3: Projected Annual Silver Demand from Solar PV by Country/Region (2030)**

*Source: Cattaneo et al. (2026), IEA renewable energy projections, author's compilation*

India is projected to account for 15-22% of global silver demand from solar PV by 2030, second only to China. This underscores both the scale of India's renewable energy ambitions and the material security challenges that accompany them.

#### **4.9 Material Intensity and Strategic Implications**

This growing material requirement poses strategic challenges for India, given its limited domestic silver production and 96% import dependence. Increased reliance on imported silver may elevate project costs and expose the renewable energy sector to global price volatility and supply disruptions. A 10% increase in silver prices, for instance, translates to approximately 0.5-0.8% increase in solar module costs, which can affect project economics at scale.

Consequently, the material intensity of solar energy expansion highlights the need to integrate critical mineral considerations into renewable energy planning. The linkage between solar expansion and silver demand underscores that India's renewable energy transition is not only an energy policy issue but also a resource security concern. Addressing this linkage is essential to ensure the long-term affordability and sustainability of solar-driven green growth.

#### **5. Conclusion**

India's renewable energy transition represents a central pillar of its green economy strategy, with solar photovoltaic (PV) deployment playing a dominant role in expanding clean energy capacity. This study demonstrates that silver has become a strategically important material underpinning this transition, reflecting a fundamental shift in its demand profile. Industrial consumption of silver in India has increased substantially over the past decade, driven primarily by solar PV manufacturing, indicating a transition from traditional investment and ornamental uses toward critical industrial applications.

The analysis highlights India's pronounced dependence on imported silver, with domestic production remaining minimal relative to total consumption. This structural reliance creates exposure to international price volatility and potential supply disruptions, posing risks for the cost stability and scalability of renewable energy projects. These risks are compounded by the observed volatility in silver prices, which has intensified in recent years as global demand increasingly reflects clean energy requirements rather than purely financial factors.

Future material requirements further reinforce silver's strategic relevance. Achieving India's solar capacity targets will require sustained silver inputs, adding pressure to already concentrated global supply chains. Despite technological efforts to reduce silver intensity in photovoltaic cells, the metal remains essential for maintaining efficiency and reliability in mainstream PV technologies in the near term. Consequently, material availability emerges as a non-trivial constraint in India's renewable energy planning.

The study also identifies an underdeveloped opportunity in silver recycling. The absence of robust systems for recovering silver from end-of-life solar panels and electronic waste represents a missed avenue for reducing import dependence and advancing circular economy objectives. Strengthening recycling infrastructure and technological capability could partially offset future demand while improving the environmental sustainability of renewable energy expansion.

From a policy perspective, these findings underscore the need to integrate material security considerations into India's renewable energy and green economy frameworks. Treating silver as a strategic input—rather than solely as a traded commodity—has implications for energy planning, mineral governance, industrial policy, and research and development priorities. Coordinated policy action across these domains can help mitigate supply risks and enhance the resilience of the energy transition.

More broadly, the case of silver illustrates a wider challenge facing India's clean energy ambitions: the material foundations of energy systems are as critical as technological and financial factors. Addressing these foundations proactively will be essential to ensuring that resource constraints do not impede the pace or sustainability of India's transition toward a green economy.

### **5.1 Future Scope of Study**

Future research may employ econometric or systems-based modelling to quantify the impact of silver price volatility on renewable energy costs and investment decisions. Cross-country comparative studies, lifecycle assessments of silver recycling in the Indian context, and scenario analyses incorporating emerging photovoltaic technologies would provide deeper insights into material security for energy transitions.

### **5.2 Limitations of the Study**

This study is based on secondary data and adopts a descriptive analytical approach, which limits the ability to establish causal relationships between silver availability, prices, and renewable energy outcomes. Demand estimates rely on current photovoltaic technology assumptions and may not fully capture rapid technological change or substitution possibilities. In addition, data constraints restrict detailed firm-level or project-level analysis.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE 

# Comparative Study of Green Bond Markets in Developed and Emerging Economies

Vinay Kumar<sup>1</sup>, Akriti Sachan<sup>2</sup>, Arpita Singh<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1,2,3</sup>*Research Scholar, Department of Commerce, University of Lucknow, Lucknow,*

*Emails: [vk886066@gmail.com](mailto:vk886066@gmail.com)<sup>1</sup>, [Sachan@lkounivrs20.commakriti.ac.in](mailto:Sachan@lkounivrs20.commakriti.ac.in)<sup>2</sup>,*

*[arpitadinesh.singh.895@gmail.com](mailto:arpitadinesh.singh.895@gmail.com)<sup>3</sup>*

## Abstract

This paper presents a comparative, data-driven analysis of green bond market development in developed and emerging economies from 2015 to 2024. Using published datasets from Climate Bonds Initiative (global green bond issuance) and IFC/World Bank (emerging market green bond issuance), we conduct a 10-year trend analysis covering growth dynamics, volatility, and the changing share of emerging markets in global issuance. Results indicate rapid market expansion with step-changes around 2021 and sustained high issuance in 2022-2024. Emerging market issuance grew strongly up to 2023, increasing its share of global issuance to above 20% in 2022-2023, before a notable contraction in 2024. The study examines drivers such as policy frameworks, taxonomies, and disclosure regimes, as well as investor demand, issuer diversification, and macro-financial conditions. It concludes with policy and market recommendations to deepen liquidity, reduce verification costs, and expand credible pipelines of bankable green projects, particularly in emerging economies.

**Keywords:** Green bonds, Sustainable finance, Developed markets, Emerging markets, Climate Bonds, IFC, Trend analysis, ESG, Taxonomy, Climate finance

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## 1. Introduction

The transition to sustainable development has become one of the defining economic challenges of the twenty-first century. Climate change, biodiversity loss, air and water pollution, and resource depletion are no longer viewed only as environmental issues; they are increasingly understood as systemic economic and financial risks. Climate-related disasters can damage infrastructure, disrupt supply chains, reduce agricultural productivity, and raise public health expenditures. In addition, policy measures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, such as carbon pricing, emissions regulations, and fossil fuel phase-downs, can reshape industrial competitiveness and the cost of capital across sectors. Consequently, the financial system is expected to play a central role in mobilising resources for both climate mitigation (reducing emissions) and climate adaptation (reducing vulnerability and improving resilience).

Green finance refers to financial products, policies, and investment practices that support environmentally sustainable outcomes. Within green finance, green bonds have gained exceptional prominence because they combine the scale and efficiency of debt capital markets with a clear environmental purpose. A green bond is a fixed-income instrument where the issuer commits to allocating the proceeds toward eligible green projects such as renewable energy, energy efficiency, clean transport, sustainable water and wastewater management, pollution prevention, and climate-resilient infrastructure. Green bonds often require additional disclosure, tracking of proceeds, and reporting on allocation and impact. Many issuances are supported by external reviews or verification processes, which can improve credibility and investor confidence.

Since the first labelled green bonds were issued in the late 2000s, the market has evolved rapidly. Over the last decade, issuance volumes have increased from tens of billions of dollars annually to hundreds of billions. This expansion has been accompanied by increasing diversity in issuers, sectors, and geographies. Sovereign green bonds have emerged as benchmark instruments that signal national climate commitments, while corporates and financial institutions have scaled issuance to finance energy transition investments and sustainable infrastructure. At the same time, investor demand has grown due to ESG integration, climate risk awareness, and net-zero portfolio strategies.

A key feature of this evolution is the uneven development of green bond markets between developed and emerging economies. Developed economies typically have deeper and more liquid capital markets, larger institutional investor bases, and stronger disclosure frameworks. These conditions enable frequent issuance, support secondary market trading, and reduce the costs of reporting and verification. Emerging economies, in contrast, often have higher sustainable infrastructure needs but face barriers such as limited domestic market depth, higher cost of capital, currency volatility, and constraints in bankable green project pipelines. Despite these constraints, emerging markets have demonstrated strong growth in green bond issuance in recent years, suggesting significant potential when enabling conditions are strengthened.

## **2. Literature Review**

Early works by Flammer (2021) and Ehlers & Packer (2017) trace the evolution of green bonds, highlighting how investor demand for climate-aligned assets and international policy commitments (e.g., the Paris Agreement) catalysed market expansion. Global issuance surged when institutional investors increasingly incorporated environmental, social, and governance (ESG) criteria into portfolio strategies (Karpf & Mandel, 2018). Research also underscores the importance of credible market standards such as the Green Bond Principles (ICMA, 2021) and voluntary national taxonomies in reducing information asymmetry and supporting investor confidence. (Zerbib (2019) and Baker et al. (2018) provide empirical analyses showing a modest yield discount for green bonds relative to conventional bonds with similar characteristics in developed markets, suggesting that investor preference for “green” can translate into pricing benefits. Tang & Zhang (2020) argue that the existence of greenium is contingent on liquidity and credit quality, and it may diminish in smaller or less liquid emerging markets. Their work suggests that pricing differences often reflect market microstructure and investor behaviour rather than intrinsic environmental value alone. Hachenberg & Schiereck (2018) and Schonborn & Kuhn (2020) emphasize that robust disclosure regimes and taxonomies such as the EU Taxonomy reduce uncertainty and enhance market integrity. The absence of harmonised standards in emerging markets contributes to fragmentation and greenwashing risk (Fatica, 2021; Flammer, 2022) Such literature underscores the interplay between regulatory clarity and investor confidence, highlighting why developed

economies with stronger frameworks exhibit more stable issuance (Delis et al., 2021; Yao et al., 2022) Scholars argue that robust external review processes and post-issuance impact reporting are essential to maintain credibility. Second-party opinions, certification standards (e.g., Climate Bonds Standard), and increasing digital transparency are identified as best practices to mitigate greenwashing and sustain investor confidence. Zerbib (2021) and Krueger et al. (2020) suggest that developed markets benefit from deeper capital pools and institutional frameworks that support large, diverse issuance bases and stable secondary markets.

### **2.1 Statement of the Problem**

Although green bonds have grown rapidly as a sustainable finance instrument, their development remains uneven across developed and emerging economies. Developed markets benefit from deep capital markets, strong regulatory frameworks, and diversified institutional investors, resulting in stable issuance and better disclosure practices. In contrast, emerging markets face constraints such as limited liquidity, higher borrowing costs, currency risk, verification expenses, and weaker reporting standards. The literature also highlights mixed evidence on green bond pricing advantages and rising concerns about greenwashing and inconsistent impact reporting. Hence, there is a need for comparative analysis to explain these structural differences and market volatility.

### **2.2 Objectives**

1. To map the 10-year (2015-2024) issuance trend for global green bonds and for emerging market green bonds.
2. To estimate the issuance trend attributable to developed markets plus supranational and compare growth patterns.
3. To assess the changing share of emerging markets in global green bond issuance and identify periods of acceleration/deceleration.
4. To discuss key market, policy, and institutional drivers of observed trends.

### **3. Research Methodology**

This study employs an analytical research methodology to examine the growth and progress of the green bond market as a key instrument of sustainable finance during the

period 2015–2024. The study is based on secondary data sources, data collected from such sources as journals, annual reports, books, research articles, and websites, etc. A combined dataset is constructed using these sources, and the collected data is analysed through trend analysis and statistical indicators such as year-on-year (YoY) growth rates, compound annual growth rate (CAGR), and the share of emerging markets in global green bond issuance.

### 3.1 Limitations

The developed-market issuance series is derived from Global minus Emerging based on two different published datasets. Differences in market coverage, classification, and alignment screening may introduce measurement error. Future work can improve precision by using a single harmonised database with consistent regional classifications.

## 4. Results

### 4.1 Data Analysis of 10-Year (2015-2024) Issuance Trend for Global Green Bonds and for Emerging Market Green Bonds.

This section analyses green bond issuance trends over 2015–2024, covering both the global market and emerging economies. This analysis highlights how green bonds evolved from a niche instrument into a mainstream channel for sustainable finance over the last decade.

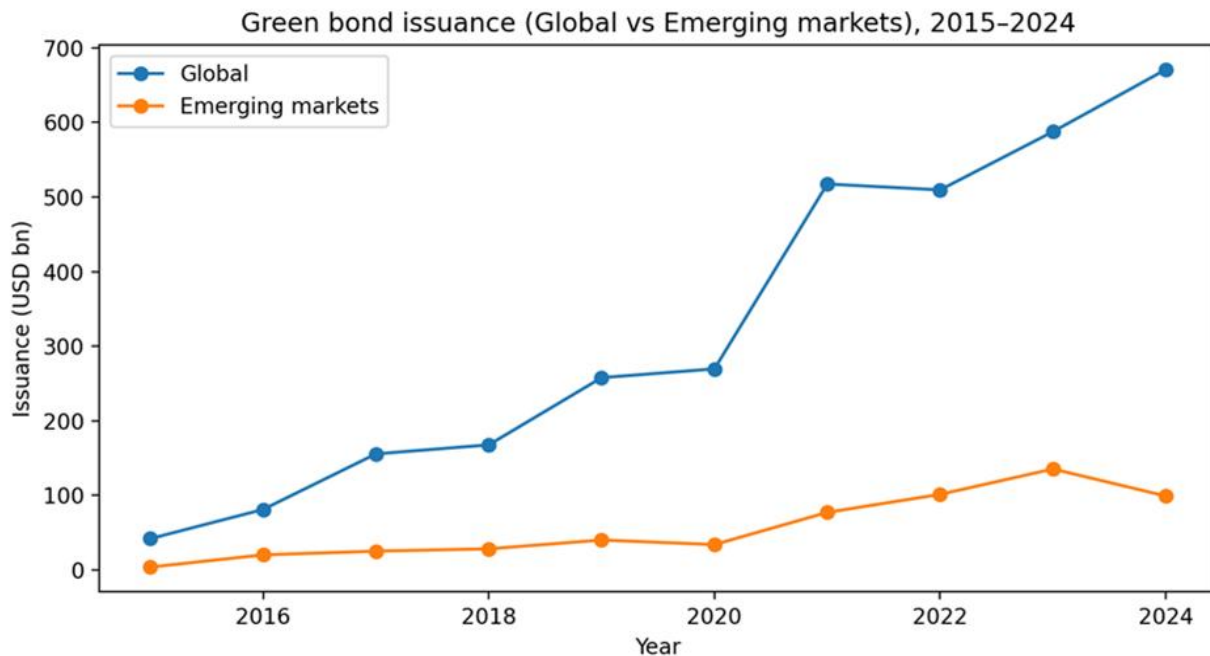
**Table 1 Issuance trends and derived indicators (USD bn; %)**

Year	Global (USD bn)	Emerging (USD bn)	Developed + Supranational (derived)	EM share (%)	Global YoY (%)
2015	41.8	3.7	38.1	8.9	
2016	81.0	20.1	60.9	24.8	93.8
2017	155.5	25.1	130.4	16.1	92.0
2018	167.6	28.2	139.4	16.8	7.8
2019	257.7	40.0	217.7	15.5	53.8
2020	269.5	33.9	235.6	12.6	4.6
2021	517.4	77.1	440.3	14.9	92.0
2022	509.5	101.2	408.3	19.9	-1.5
2023	587.6	135.3	452.3	23.0	15.3

2024	670.9	99.0	571.9	14.8	14.2
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Source: Climate Bonds Initiative (CBI) and IFC/World Bank

Figure 1 shows The 2015-2024 period can be interpreted through three broad phases of market development, each shaped by different drivers and constraints.



**Figure 1: Global vs Emerging market issuance (2015–2024)**

### **Phase 1: Rapid early expansion (2015-2017)**

During 2015-2017, global green bond issuance expanded rapidly from USD 41.8 billion to USD 155.5 billion. This period reflects early adoption by supranational institutions, European agencies, and pioneering corporates. The rapid growth suggests strong demonstration effects: early successful issuances helped build investor confidence, improved market awareness, and encouraged replication by new issuers. Emerging markets also began to participate more actively during this phase, though issuance remained concentrated among a small number of countries and issuers.

### **Phase 2: Consolidation and resilience (2018-2020)**

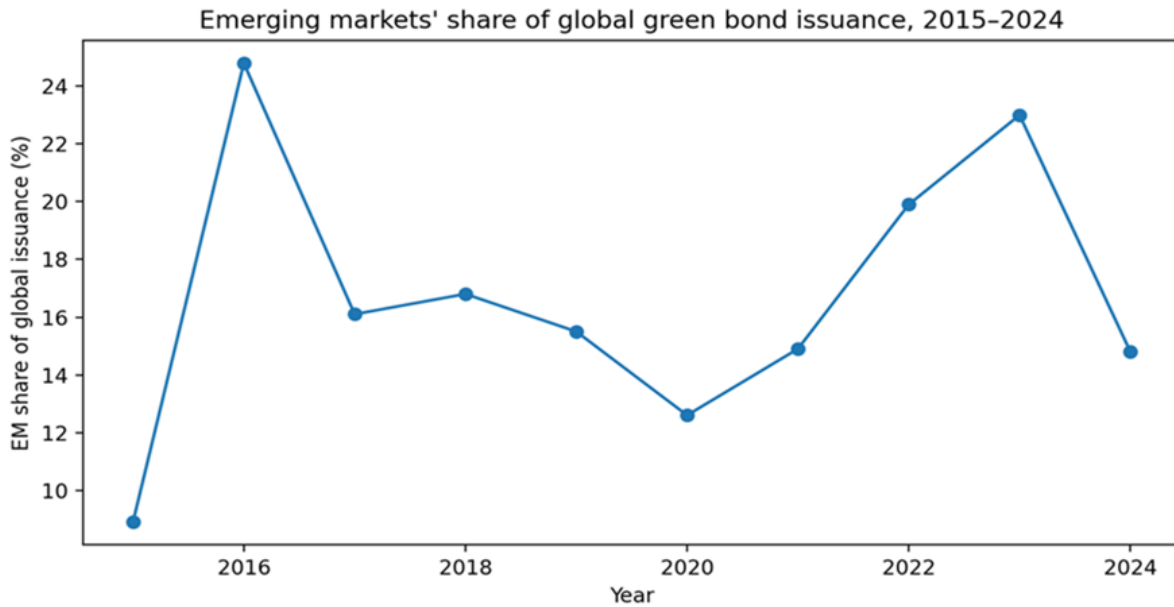
Between 2018 and 2020, issuance growth continued but at a more moderate pace, reaching USD 269.5 billion in 2020. The market began to consolidate with greater issuer

diversity and broader sectoral participation. Green bond frameworks became more standardised, and external review practices strengthened. Importantly, the 2020 issuance level indicates resilience even under pandemic-related disruptions. While global economic uncertainty increased, the continued issuance suggests that green bonds had become sufficiently institutionalised within sustainable finance strategies to remain viable.

### **Phase 3: Acceleration and maturity (2021-2024)**

The step-change in 2021, with issuance rising to USD 517.4 billion, marks a shift to a higher issuance regime. This phase reflects increasing alignment with net-zero commitments, stronger national and regional policy frameworks, and increased investor allocation to sustainable assets. In 2022-2024, global issuance remained above USD 500 billion annually, indicating market maturity. Emerging markets played a stronger role during 2022-2023, but the decline in 2024 highlights continued structural vulnerabilities. Higher global interest rates, tighter liquidity conditions, and changing relative costs between labelled and conventional issuance can influence issuer decisions, especially in markets where investor demand is less deep.

Figure 2 highlights the green bond issuance fluctuating trend from 2015 to 2024. In the year 2015, market participation was lowest at around 9%, indicating the dominance of developed economies. A sharp rise occurred in 2016, reaching nearly 25%, reflecting strong growth in EM green bond activity. However, the share declined during 2017-2020, falling to about 12-13% in 2020 due to economic slowdown and pandemic uncertainty. From 2021 onwards, EMs recovered steadily, rising to about 20% in 2022 and peaking again near 23% in 2023. In 2024, the share dropped to around 15%, showing volatility.



**Figure 2: Emerging market share of global issuance (2015-2024)**

#### 4.2 Comparative Trends Analysis Reveal the following Insights

First, both developed and emerging markets exhibit strong long-term growth in green bond issuance, indicating that green bonds have become an established mechanism for sustainable finance. However, the scale of issuance remains heavily concentrated in developed markets and supranationals, reflecting differences in market maturity and institutional capacity.

Second, emerging market issuance growth has been more volatile. While emerging markets achieved strong expansion in 2021-2023, the decline in 2024 suggests that market participation is sensitive to borrowing cost differentials, liquidity conditions, and issuer incentives. Developed markets, with deeper investor bases and more diversified issuers, have maintained more stable issuance even during changing macro-financial conditions.

Third, the emerging market share of global issuance is not steadily increasing but fluctuates. The rise above 20% in 2022-2023 indicates meaningful progress in emerging market participation, but the decline to around 14.8% in 2024 suggests that structural

resilience is not yet fully established. This has implications for global climate finance distribution, as emerging economies often face the greatest climate investment needs.

Fourth, the step-change in global issuance around 2021 suggests that policy and investor alignment can shift markets into higher issuance regimes. Net-zero commitments, ESG integration, and improved market infrastructure can generate rapid scaling. For emerging markets, similar step-changes may be possible if enabling conditions such as taxonomy clarity, disclosure quality, credit enhancement, and project pipelines are strengthened.

Finally, the trends highlight the importance of credibility. As markets scale, concerns about greenwashing increase. Investors increasingly demand robust reporting, credible external reviews, and evidence of environmental impact. Markets with stronger credibility frameworks are likely to attract more stable demand and sustain issuance growth over time.

#### **4.3 Developed Economies: Strengths and Market Drivers**

Developed economies have generally led the growth of green bond markets due to several structural advantages that support both issuance scale and market resilience.

First, developed economies have deeper and more liquid capital markets. Large sovereign bond markets, well-established corporate bond segments, and sophisticated market infrastructure enable frequent issuance and facilitate secondary market trading. Liquidity is a crucial determinant of investor participation because it reduces transaction costs and enables portfolio rebalancing. Liquid markets also support better price discovery, which can attract more issuers and investors over time.

Second, developed economies have large institutional investor bases. Pension funds, insurance companies, sovereign wealth funds, and asset managers in developed markets often have explicit ESG mandates and long-term investment horizons. This investor demand supports stable issuance volumes and may contribute to tighter pricing for credible green bonds. In addition, many investors in developed markets have stronger

internal capacity for ESG analysis, enabling them to evaluate the credibility of green bond frameworks and impact reporting.

Third, developed economies have stronger regulatory and disclosure ecosystems. Many developed jurisdictions have implemented sustainability reporting frameworks, green bond guidelines, and taxonomy systems that improve transparency and reduce information asymmetry. Such frameworks reduce greenwashing risk and support investor confidence. The existence of clear disclosure expectations also encourages issuers to develop robust internal systems for tracking and reporting on the use of proceeds.

Fourth, issuer diversity is greater in developed markets. Sovereigns, municipalities, development banks, utilities, banks, and corporates all participate. This diversity enables market scaling across sectors and reduces reliance on a small set of issuers. Developed markets also often have stronger credit profiles, enabling lower borrowing costs and greater issuance capacity. Municipal green bonds, for example, can finance public transport, energy efficiency retrofits, and water infrastructure, while corporate green bonds can finance renewable energy, green buildings, and sustainable industrial processes.

Finally, developed economies benefit from policy support and climate commitments. Net-zero targets, renewable energy incentives, and green infrastructure programmes generate demand for financing and encourage issuers to use green bonds as a funding mechanism. Policy initiatives can also reduce uncertainty, enabling issuers to plan long-term capital investment programmes. These strengths help explain why developed markets and supranational remain the dominant contributors to global green bond issuance over the 2015-2024 period.

#### **4.4 Emerging Economies: Opportunities and Constraints**

Emerging economies face both significant opportunities and substantial constraints in green bond market development. Understanding this dual nature is essential for interpreting issuance patterns and designing policies that strengthen market resilience.

#### **4.4.1 Opportunities in Emerging Markets**

Emerging economies have large green investment needs. Rapid urbanisation, growing energy demand, and infrastructure expansion create opportunities to finance renewable energy, sustainable transport, water systems, and resilient urban development through green bonds. Emerging markets are also often more climate-vulnerable, making adaptation investments critical. Financing climate resilience, such as flood protection, drought-resistant water systems, and resilient transport networks, requires long-term capital that green bonds can help mobilise.

Emerging markets can benefit from sovereign green bond issuance, which provides benchmark pricing and signals government commitment. Sovereign issuance can catalyse private issuance by improving market visibility and developing investor confidence. In addition, sovereign green bonds can support the development of local currency green bond markets by establishing reference yields and promoting domestic investor participation.

Multilateral development banks (MDBs) and development finance institutions (DFIs) play an important role in emerging market green bond markets. They can provide credit enhancement, guarantees, and technical assistance to support emerging market issuers. They can also invest as anchor investors, improving deal execution and lowering perceived risk. Over time, such participation can strengthen market confidence and encourage greater private investor involvement.

Another opportunity arises from increasing global ESG demand. International investors increasingly seek exposure to emerging market green assets to diversify portfolios and support global climate objectives. If emerging market issuers can meet disclosure and credibility expectations, they may attract international capital and potentially reduce financing constraints.

#### **4.4.2 Constraints and Challenges in Emerging Markets**

Despite these opportunities, emerging markets face constraints that can limit issuance scale and stability. Domestic capital markets may be less liquid, and institutional investor bases may be smaller. Limited liquidity increases investor risk perception and can raise yields demanded by investors. In addition, emerging market bond markets may have

shorter maturities, limiting the ability to finance long-duration infrastructure projects. Currency risk is a major concern, particularly for issuers relying on foreign currency financing. When revenues are in local currency, but debt is denominated in foreign currency, exchange rate depreciation can increase debt servicing burdens. This risk may discourage foreign currency green bond issuance or raise financing costs. Developing local currency green bond markets can mitigate this risk, but requires domestic investor depth and supportive market infrastructure.

Higher borrowing costs and refinancing risks can reduce incentives to issue labelled green bonds if conventional funding is cheaper. In some cases, issuers may choose conventional bonds rather than green bonds if the additional costs of verification and reporting are not compensated by pricing benefits or investor access advantages. This issue becomes more pronounced when interest rates rise and liquidity tightens, as seen in periods of global monetary tightening.

Verification and reporting costs are another barrier. Green bonds often require external reviews, impact reporting, and internal monitoring systems. These costs can be significant for first-time issuers and smaller entities. In addition, inconsistent disclosure practices and weak enforcement mechanisms may raise greenwashing concerns, reducing investor confidence and limiting demand.

Project pipeline constraints also matter. To issue green bonds, issuers need a pipeline of eligible projects that meet taxonomy requirements and are financially viable. In some contexts, limited project preparation capacity and regulatory uncertainty restrict the availability of bankable green projects. Without a strong pipeline, issuers may struggle to sustain repeat issuance.

These constraints contribute to volatility in emerging market issuance, as observed in the 2024 decline after strong growth in 2022-2023. Strengthening market infrastructure and reducing structural barriers are therefore essential for stabilizing and scaling emerging market green bond markets.

#### 4.5 Policy and Market Implications for Strengthening Green Bond Markets

The comparative analysis highlights several policy and market implications for strengthening green bond markets and ensuring more inclusive climate finance mobilisation.

##### 1. Strengthen taxonomy and disclosure regimes

Clear and credible taxonomies help define what qualifies as “green” and reduce greenwashing risk. Harmonising taxonomy principles and improving disclosure comparability across jurisdictions can attract international investors and improve market confidence. Regulators can also encourage standardised impact reporting metrics to improve transparency.

##### 2. Reduce transaction and verification costs

Standardised issuance frameworks, templates, and technical assistance can reduce costs for issuers, especially first-time issuers and sub-sovereign entities. Subsidising external review costs or creating public verification support mechanisms may also help. In emerging markets, capacity-building programmes for issuers and regulators can improve the quality of frameworks and reporting.

##### 3. Deepen domestic investor bases and improve liquidity

Developing domestic institutional investor participation and supporting market-making capacity can improve secondary market liquidity. Greater liquidity reduces investor risk perception and can lower borrowing costs. Policies that encourage pension funds and insurance companies to invest in green bonds can strengthen demand.

##### 4. Expand credit enhancement and blended finance

Guarantees, first-loss structures, and blended finance mechanisms can crowd in private capital, especially for emerging market issuers facing higher risk premiums. MDBs and DFIs have a key role in supporting such mechanisms. Credit enhancement can also support longer maturities and local currency issuance.

##### 5. Build robust pipelines of bankable green projects

Strong issuance growth requires continuous pipelines of eligible projects. Improving project preparation capacity, regulatory clarity, and revenue models for green infrastructure is essential. Governments can support project pipelines through clear policy signals, procurement frameworks, and investment planning.

## 6. Improve impact reporting and transparency

Investors increasingly demand evidence of environmental impact. Strengthening impact reporting frameworks can enhance credibility and expand investor demand for green bonds. Digital reporting platforms and independent audits can improve trust and reduce reporting burdens over time.

## 5. Conclusion

The 2015-2024 period reflects the rapid growth of green bond markets, with global issuance expanding from USD 41.8 billion in 2015 to USD 670.9 billion in 2024. Emerging markets increased their participation markedly through 2023, raising their share of global issuance above 20% in 2022-2023, before a notable contraction in 2024 reduced their share to approximately 14.8%. The comparative evidence indicates that developed markets remain the primary drivers of global green bond issuance due to deeper capital markets, stronger regulatory ecosystems, diversified issuers, and large institutional investor bases. Emerging markets, despite large opportunities and climate investment needs, face structural constraints such as limited liquidity, higher borrowing costs, currency risks, verification costs, disclosure gaps, and project pipeline challenges. Strengthening green bond market credibility and inclusiveness requires coordinated policy and market interventions. Improving taxonomy and disclosure frameworks, reducing transaction costs, deepening investor bases, expanding credit enhancement mechanisms, and building pipelines of bankable green projects are essential for sustaining market growth. A more resilient and inclusive green bond market will play a vital role in financing the global transition to sustainable development and achieving climate goals, especially by mobilising capital toward emerging economies where climate investment needs are most pressing.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE **GST 2.0: A New Gear for Accelerating the Indian Automobile Sector****Abhishek Srivastava\***

\*Research Scholar, Department of Commerce, University of Lucknow, Lucknow, India.

**Abstract:**

This paper analyses the transformative impact of India's GST 2.0 framework, effective September 22, 2025, which marked a historic departure from the complex, high-tax structure of the 2017 regime. Previously, the Indian automobile sector was burdened by a multi-tiered tax system where cumulative levies, including compensation cess, reached as high as 50%, often stifling demand and distorting market dynamics. The 2025 policy intervention sought to dismantle these barriers by rationalizing rates into a simplified dual-slab structure: a reduced 18% rate for mass-market vehicles and a flat 40% for luxury models, while retaining critical fiscal concessions for Electric Vehicles (EVs). Drawing on a synthesis of industry commentary and quantitative sales data from the immediate post-implementation window (September to December 2025), this study examines the immediate economic fallout of the policy shift. The analysis highlights three primary outcomes: significant consumer-facing price corrections, a rapid surge in booking volumes, and a structural shift in consumer sentiment. Most notably, the data reveals a distinct revival of the small-car segment, which had previously stagnated under the high-tax burden. This paper argues that the GST 2.0 framework has not only simplified compliance but has successfully reinvigorated the automotive market by restoring affordability to the entry-level segment.

**Keywords:** GST 2.0, Indian Automobile Sector, Goods and Services Tax Reform, Vehicle Taxation Policy and Automotive Industry India

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## 1. Introduction

For nearly a decade, the Indian automobile industry—a critical sector contributing roughly 7% to the national GDP—operated under a GST 1.0 regime. This structure was widely criticized for stifling demand, particularly in the price-sensitive entry-level segment, due to a prohibitive effective tax burden ranging from 29% to 50% (28% GST + a fluctuating Compensation Cess of 1–22%). The implementation of GST 2.0 on September 22, 2025, marked a decisive pivot aimed at rationalizing this complex framework. By simplifying tax slabs to primarily 5%, 18%, and 40% and removing the separate cess structure for many goods, the reform seeks to democratize mobility. The key impacts include a reduced effective tax burden for small cars and two-wheelers to spur demand in the mass market, while in the luxury segment, the application of a transparent, consolidated 40% flat rate will maintain revenue neutrality. To appreciate the scale of the September 2025 reforms, it is essential to contrast the new fiscal architecture with the complexities of the 2017 regime. The pre-2025 structure was characterized by a high base rate (28%) compounded by a multi-tiered 'Compensation Cess' that varied arbitrarily by engine capacity and vehicle length 'GST 2.0' dismantles this cascading structure, replacing variable cesses with a rationalized dual-slab system. Table 1 provides a comparative snapshot of this tax incidence, highlighting the direct fiscal relief extended to specific vehicle categories.

**Table 1: OLD VS NEW GST STRUCTURE FOR DIFFERENT CATEGORIES**

Vehicle Category	GST 1.0 (Old Regime)	GST 2.0 (New Regime)	Net Impact
Small Cars (<1200cc, <4m)	28% GST + 1% Cess = 29%	18% Flat	-11% (Major Relief)
Diesel Compacts (<1500cc, <4m)	28% GST + 3% Cess = 31%	18% Flat	-13% (Major Relief)
Mid-sized / Hybrids (>4m)	28% GST + 15% Cess = 43%	40% Flat	-3% (Moderate Relief)
SUVs / Luxury (>1500cc)	28% GST + 22% Cess = 50%	40% Flat	-10% (Significant)
Two-Wheelers (<350cc)	28% GST	18% Flat	-10% (Demand Booster)
Electric Vehicles (EVs)	5% GST	5% GST	No Change (Policy Continuity)

Commercial Vehicles	28% GST	18% Flat	-10% (Logistics Boost)
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**Source: Compiled by Author**

As illustrated in Table 1, the transition to GST 2.0 offers three distinct structural corrections to the automotive market:

### **1. Democratization of Mobility (Mass Market Relief):**

The most profound impact is observed in the small car and two-wheeler segments, where the tax burden has been slashed by 10% to 13%. By reclassifying these vehicles from the 28% 'luxury' bracket to the 18% 'standard' bracket, the policy acknowledges them as essential utilities rather than luxury assets.

### **2. Rationalization of the Ceiling (SUV & Luxury):**

While luxury vehicles continue to attract a higher tax, the shift from a cumulative 50% (GST + Cess) to a flat 40% represents a significant relief. More importantly, it removes the volatility of the 'Compensation Cess,' providing long-term pricing stability for manufacturers.

### **3. Logistics & Green Continuity:**

The policy maintains the concessional 5% rate for EVs, ensuring that the green transition is not derailed, while simultaneously reducing the tax on Commercial Vehicles (CVs) to 18%, a move aimed at lowering logistics costs for the broader economy.

## **2. Research Methodology**

### **i. Data sources:**

Public company monthly sales bulletins, major media reports and research summaries.

### **ii. Time window:**

Sept–Dec 2025 (immediate post-GST 2.0 period). The study compiles observed sales, booking figures, and reported price cuts to infer market impact.

## 2.1 Data Analysis and Interpretation

### 2.1.1 Sector-Specific Economic Impact

The implementation of GST 2.0 has not applied a uniform stimulus across the board; rather, it has recalibrated the market structure by addressing specific pain points in different vehicle categories. The following analysis details the immediate fallout across four critical sub-sectors.

### 2.1.2 The Renaissance of the Entry-Level Segment (A & B)

The A (mini/micro) and B (compact) segments have historically been the volume drivers of the Indian auto industry. However, between 2020 and 2024, these segments faced a sharp contraction due to rising input costs and regulatory compliance prices. GST 2.0 has effectively triggered a renaissance in this space.

- **Taxation & Pricing Mechanics:**

The shift from a prohibitive multi-tiered tax structure (28% GST + Cess, totaling ~29-31% for small cars) to a flat 18% slab is the most significant fiscal intervention in this segment's history. This 11-percentage-point reduction has translated directly into ex-showroom price cuts ranging from ₹40,000 to ₹85,000. For a price-sensitive consumer base where the average transaction price is often below ₹7-8 lakhs, this reduction represents a massive improvement in affordability.

- **Consumer Behavior & Elasticity:**

The entry-level segment exhibits high **price elasticity of demand**—meaning even small changes in price lead to disproportionately large changes in demand.

Data from the fourth quarter of 2025 validates this economic theory, showing a 15–20% surge in bookings for marquee models like the Maruti Alto and Tata Tiago. This surge signals a decisive reversal of the 5-year declining trend (2020–2024), bringing first-time buyers back into the market.

### 2.1.3 Rationalization of the Luxury Segment

While the mass market benefited from rate cuts, the luxury segment benefited from

**structural simplification.** The removal of the fluctuating Compensation Cess in favor of a consolidated tax rate has fundamentally altered the business environment for premium manufacturers.

- **The No-Cess Regime:**

Previously, luxury vehicles attracted the highest GST slab (28%) plus a complex Compensation Cess that could elevate the total burden to 50%. GST 2.0 caps this at a **flat 40%**. While the effective tax relief for many SUVs is roughly **10%**, the primary benefit is the elimination of regulatory volatility.

- **Investor Sentiment:**

This transparency has improved long-term planning and investor sentiment for global OEMs such as Mercedes-Benz and Audi. The predictability of a no-cess regime encourages the localization of assembly lines, as manufacturers no longer fear sudden cess hikes.

- **Policy Philosophy:**

The cap at 40% (down from the previous 50% peak) marks a tacit admission by the government that larger vehicles are not exclusively equivalent to sin goods in terms of tax structure. This shift acknowledges the functional necessity of SUVs for larger families and usage in rugged terrains, moving away from purely punitive taxation.

**Table 2: PERCENTAGE GROWTH OF TOP 5 CARS SOLD IN SEPTEMBER 2025**

Rank	Models	Sep-25	Aug-25	Sep-24	MoM (%)	YoY (%)
1	Tata Nexon	22,573	14,004	11,470	61	97
2	Maruti Dzire	20,038	16,509	10,853	21	85
3	Hyundai Creta (including Creta N Line)	18,861	15,924	15,902	18	19
4	Mahindra Scorpio (Scorpio Classic + Scorpio)	18,372	9,840	14,438	87	27

5	Tata Punch (including Punch EV)	15,891	10,704	13,711	48	16
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**Source: Compiled by Author**

The sales performance of the top five models in September 2025 provides irrefutable quantitative evidence of the market's sensitivity to the new tax regime. As detailed in Table 2, the immediate implementation of the lower tax rates on September 22 triggered a disproportionate surge in volume, decoupling current performance from historical trends. The most aggressive growth was observed in vehicles falling under the new 18% 'Mass Market' slab. Tata Nexon and Tata Punch recorded Month-on-Month (MoM) growth of 61% and 48% respectively. Maruti Dzire, a proxy for the price-sensitive entry-level sedan segment, registered a staggering 85% Year-on-Year (YoY) growth. These figures validate the hypothesis that the sub 4m segment was artificially suppressed by the previous 29-30% tax burden. The immediate price correction effect is visible in the MoM jump, where buyers likely postponed August purchases to capitalize on the September notification, releasing pent-up demand in a single window.

#### **2.1.4 The Cess Removal Effect on Large SUVs (Mahindra Scorpio)**

Despite falling into the higher 40% slab, the model posted the highest MoM growth at **87%**. This confirms that the removal of the variable Compensation Cess—which previously pushed effective taxes on such SUVs to nearly 50%—was viewed by consumers as a significant discount. The reduction from ~50% (Old Regime) to a flat 40% (GST 2.0) triggered a massive unlocking of hold-out orders, proving that even the Luxury segment benefited from the rationalization of the tax structure.

#### **2.1.5 Deviation from Seasonality**

Typically, the August-to-September transition reflects modest growth (5-10%) as dealers stock up for the festive season. However, growth rates of 20% to 87% (MoM) are statistical outliers that cannot be attributed to festive stocking alone. The uniformity of this surge across diverse manufacturers (Tata, Maruti, Hyundai, Mahindra) isolates GST 2.0 as the single common variable driving this systemic recovery.

**TABLE 3: PERCENTAGE GROWTH OF TOP 3 COMPANIES FOR OCTOBER 2025**

<b>Manufacturer</b>	<b>October Sales</b>	<b>YoY Growth (%)</b>
Maruti Suzuki	2,38,991	17.4
Tata	73,879	12.7
Mahindra	67,442	9.58

**Source: Compiled by Author**

### **2.1.6 Two-Wheelers: A Critical Correction**

Perhaps the most socially impactful reform is the correction in the two-wheeler segment, which sustains the mobility needs of India's vast middle and lower-middle class.

- **Addressing the Anomaly:**

Under the previous regime, a 100cc commuter motorcycle was taxed at 28%—the same base rate as a luxury sedan. GST 2.0 has rectified this inequity by reducing the rate for motorcycles under 350cc to **18%**.

- **Rural Relief:**

Two-wheelers are a utility, not a luxury, especially in rural India where public transport is often sparse. This tax reduction acts as a direct stimulus to the rural economy, freeing up disposable income and making personal mobility accessible to millions who were previously priced out.

### **2.1.7 Commercial Vehicles & Logistics**

The impact of GST 2.0 extends beyond personal transport into the backbone of the economy: logistics.

- **Supply-Side Stimulus:**

Trucks and buses have been moved to the 18% slab. This reduction serves as a supply-side stimulus by lowering the Capital Expenditure (CapEx) required for logistics companies to upgrade or expand their fleets.

- **Macroeconomic Ripple Effects:**

Theoretically, lower CapEx for fleet operators reduces the cost of operations. In a competitive market, these savings are eventually passed down, leading to reduced freight costs. Since freight is a component of almost every good sold in the country, this reduction acts as a deflationary force, potentially easing broader inflation metrics.

### 3. Findings

#### 3.1 Company & Segment Evidence

The immediate aftermath of the GST 2.0 implementation on September 22, 2025, triggered a definitive V-shaped recovery in consumer sentiment. The market reaction was characterized not just by a gradual uptick, but by an aggressive release of pent-up demand, particularly in the entry-level hatchback and commuter two-wheeler segments. The price corrections were instant and visible. With the tax burden on small cars (<4m length, <1200cc petrol) dropping from ~29% (28% GST + Cess) to a flat 18%, on-road prices for popular mass-market models fell by ₹45,000 to ₹70,000 overnight. This reduction bridged the affordability gap for first-time buyers who had been priced out of the market since the regulatory price hikes of 2020–2023. Conversely, while the luxury segment saw a nominal headline rate increase to 40%, the removal of the variable compensation cess (which previously pushed effective tax up to 50%) stabilized pricing, preventing the feared demand collapse in the premium SUV category. The most striking data point, however, was the booking velocity. Dealership footfall in the last week of September 2025 surged by over 60% compared to the previous month. This momentum carried heavily into October, resulting in record-breaking festive season dispatches.

**TABLE 4: SELECTED COMPANY METRICS**

Company	Observed metric	Effects
<b>Maruti Suzuki</b>	4 lakh bookings in 4 weeks (small-car surge); small cars share ↑ to 22.2% from 16.7%	Large booking spike for entry models; price cuts reported up to ₹1.3 lakh on some models.
<b>Tata Motors</b>	Reported record monthly PV sales 60,907 (Sept 2025) and	Strong month influenced by rate cut for small cars.
<b>Hyundai Motor India</b>	Sep 2025: total 70,347 units; Creta monthly sales 18,861 (all-time high)	SUV sales strong; export growth also noted.
<b>Mercedes-Benz India</b>	Best ever Sep sales; +36% YoY	Luxury segment also recorded strong demand after reforms.
<b>Industry (aggregate)</b>	Passenger vehicle sales surged in Dec 2025 to record highs (year data)	Analysts attribute part of the surge to GST 2.0 driven affordability.

**Source: Compiled by Author**

#### **4. Conclusion**

The implementation of GST 2.0 represents a pivotal maturation in India's fiscal approach to the automobile sector, moving from a revenue-extractive model to a growth-enabling framework. By formally decoupling mass mobility from luxury taxation, the government has addressed a long-standing structural flaw of the 2017 regime. For nearly a decade, the indiscriminate 28% bracket (plus cess) on sub-4-meter vehicles artificially inflated the cost of ownership, depressing the price elasticity of demand for India's price-sensitive middle class. The correction to a 18% standard rate for mass-market models effectively acknowledges that a personal vehicle in post-pandemic India is a utility, not a luxury. This philosophical shift has had an immediate multiplier effect; by surrendering a portion of the tax margin per unit, the exchequer has catalyzed a volume expansion that is projected to offset the rate cut within three fiscal quarters.

##### **4.1 Outlook and Industry Projections**

The market response to GST 2.0 has extended beyond immediate price corrections into sustained volume expansion. Continuing with this upsurge, key players such as Maruti Suzuki, Mahindra & Mahindra, and Toyota Kirloskar Motor have reported robust growth figures exceeding 20% Year-on-Year (YoY). Industry consensus suggests this momentum is structural; Partho Banerjee, Head of Sales & Marketing at Maruti Suzuki, projects that the tailwind of these reforms will continue to play out in 2026. Supported by this policy stability, the sector is anticipated to clock a growth of 6% to 7%, marking a return to healthy, long-term expansion.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE 

# Petrodollars, Power, and Geopolitics: Why the U.S. Strategically Targets Oil-Rich States and Strategic Territories- A Case Study of Venezuela and the Global Oil-Dollar Nexus

Pratichi Gopal\*

\*Department of Political Science, Vasanta College for Women, Banaras Hindu University. Email: [pratichi.gopal2002@gmail.com](mailto:pratichi.gopal2002@gmail.com)

## Abstract

Since the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system, the petrodollar arrangement has remained an important feature of the global political economy, positioning the U.S. dollar as the primary currency for international oil trade. Rather than treating the petrodollar as a neutral outcome of market forces, this paper considers it as a structural mechanism that supports U.S. geo-economic power. Using an International Political Economy framework and drawing on case evidence from Venezuela, Iran, and Russia, the study examines how dollar dominance contributes to the United States' financial capacity and military reach, while also enabling the use of sanctions and financial restrictions as policy tools. The findings indicate that efforts to shift away from dollar-denominated oil transactions are frequently followed by heightened economic and diplomatic pressure. Despite growing initiatives aimed at reducing dependence on the dollar, the scale and institutional strength of the U.S. financial system continue to sustain the stability of the petrodollar arrangement. In the Indian context, this structure constrains energy security and strategic autonomy, increasing exposure to external financial shocks and sanction-related risks.

**Keywords:** Petrodollar system, US dollar hegemony, Geo-economics, Oil and energy politics, Sanctions and financial power, De-dollarization, Venezuela, India.

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© 2026 The Author(s). Prabandhan Vimarsh, MBA (Finance & Accounting), Department of Commerce, University of Lucknow.

## 1. Introduction

The petrodollar system is more than just a payment method; it is actually a central pillar of the modern global political economy. To understand it, we have to look at the structural crisis of the early 1970s and the end of the Bretton Woods gold standard. When the United States cut the tie between the dollar and gold in 1971, the dollar became a fiat currency. Suddenly, Washington faced a serious problem: without a metallic anchor, how could they ensure global demand for the dollar? The solution was to tether the dollar to energy instead. In the mid-1970s, the U.S. made a series of strategic agreements, mostly with Saudi Arabia and OPEC. The deal was simple: the U.S. guaranteed military protection and regime stability, and in return, oil could only be priced in dollars. As Basosi (2020) notes, this effectively forced any nation importing energy to keep a steady supply of U.S. currency, regardless of their own trade situation. This setup triggered a cycle known as 'petrodollar recycling.' Oil exporters ended up with massive surpluses of dollars, which they then pumped back into the U.S. economy—specifically into Treasuries, real estate, and financial markets. This capital loop gave the United States what is often called an 'exorbitant privilege.' It allowed the U.S. to fund ongoing deficits, maintain a global military, and borrow money cheaply without facing the strict balance-of-payments limits that restrict other countries (Clark, 2005; Eichengreen, 2011).

**Table 1: Series of Events in Chronological order**

Year	Event	Geopolitical Significance
1971	Nixon Shock	End of Gold Standard; Dollar becomes fiat.
1973	Oil Crisis	Price of oil quadruples; demand for currency spikes.
1974	U.S.-Saudi Agreement	Saudi Arabia agrees to price oil in USD in exchange for security.
1979	US-Iran Freeze	First major use of dollar system to freeze assets (Iranian Revolution).
2019	Venezuela Sanctions	Total blockade of PDVSA, cutting Venezuela off from SWIFT/Dollar markets.
2023	Rise of Petro-Yuan	China and Saudi Arabia discuss settling oil trade in RMB.

**Source: Compiled by Author**

Over time, the U.S. dollar has transformed into more than just a currency; it has become a genuine tool of statecraft. Because the global energy trade relies so heavily on dollar-clearing networks and infrastructure like SWIFT, the United States

holds significant sway over international finance. This position allows Washington to project power through sanctions—essentially freezing assets and blocking market access—which isolates adversaries effectively without the need for military force (Farrell & Newman, 2019).

But this dominance is not going unchallenged. We are seeing major oil producers shifting away from the dollar, turning instead to the Euro, the Yuan, or bilateral currencies. This trend threatens to weaken the demand that keeps U.S. fiscal solvency afloat. Venezuela is a prime example of this conflict. Despite having massive oil reserves, Caracas faced severe U.S. sanctions and had to pivot to non-dollar payments just to keep its economy running and maintain some political independence. From Washington's view, this wasn't just an economic adjustment; it was a systemic threat setting a risky precedent. The harsh U.S. response, including asset seizures and export embargoes, highlights exactly how costly it is to try and leave the dollar's orbit. In the end, the 'petrodollar nexus' ties together energy, finance, and military power, meaning any attempt to break away is seen as a direct challenge to the global order led by the U.S.

### **1.1 Theoretical Framework: Oil, Currency, and Power in International Relations**

When viewed through the lens of classical and neorealism, the petrodollar is less a currency mechanism and more a strategic asset of statecraft, comparable to military hardware. Because the international system lacks a central authority, the U.S. utilizes dollar-denominated oil trade to maximize its security and constrain rivals. In this context, Venezuela's push for de-dollarization is not merely an economic policy shift but a direct challenge to American power distribution. Accordingly, sanctions are rationalized as 'balancing' measures designed to neutralize a threat to U.S. hegemony. Structural realism deepens this analysis by emphasizing that these outcomes are dictated by the system itself. Post-WWII American primacy created a structure where deviations—like Venezuela's—are automatically punished by systemic constraints such as capital flight and financial exclusion, regardless of domestic political intentions.

Liberal institutionalism offers a nuanced counterpoint, suggesting that this dominance is maintained through interdependence and global banking rules rather than brute force. However, Venezuela's isolation reveals the 'weaponized' side of

interdependence: international institutions are not neutral arbiters but gatekeepers that enforce conformity to U.S. interests. Similarly, Neo-Gramscian IPE views the petrodollar as a hegemonic order sustained by both material power and the ideological normalization of the dollar. By framing the dollar as the only ‘stable’ option, the U.S. delegitimizes alternatives. Therefore, Venezuela’s counter-hegemonic challenge invites a harsh response because it threatens the ideological consensus that underpins U.S. authority.

**Table 2: View of Petrodollar**

Theory	View of Petrodollar	Interpretation of U.S. Sanctions
Neorealism	Strategic Asset (Power)	A ‘balancing’ act to constrain a rival state.
Liberalism	Institutional Rule	‘Weaponized Interdependence’ via gatekeeping.
Neo-Gramscian	Hegemonic Consensus	Policing the ideological norm; punishing dissent.
Dependency	Extraction Mechanism	Enforcing the Core-Periphery resource trap.
Constructivism	Social Reality	Delegitimizing the political identity of the challenger.
Realism	Security Imperative	Maintaining sphere of influence; ensuring access.

**Source: Compiled by Author**

Finally, dependency theory and constructivism highlight the structural and social rigidity of the system. The petrodollar reinforces the core-periphery divide, ensuring that resource wealth from the ‘South’ (Venezuela) is funneled back into the financial ‘North’ (U.S.). Breaking this cycle triggers economic instability, reproducing underdevelopment. Constructivism adds that the dollar’s power is also social; because the world *believes* in the dollar’s necessity, Venezuela’s rejection of it is framed as irrational, limiting its political legitimacy. Synthesizing these views, the petrodollar system is revealed as a multi-dimensional lock on global power. It ties energy to finance and finance to national security. The severity of the U.S. response to Venezuela confirms that in the modern geopolitical landscape, control over the currency of energy is treated with the same gravity as territorial defence.

## 1.2 The Petrodollar System and U.S. Geoeconomic Power

### 1.2.1 The Origins of the Petrodollar

The breakdown of the Bretton Woods order gave rise to the current petrodollar system. By 1971, the U.S. was in a bind. The Vietnam War was bleeding money, domestic

spending kept climbing, and the whole system was cracking under pressure. So, the government did something radical: it cut the dollar loose from gold. Suddenly, the dollar was not backed by anything tangible anymore it was just paper, a promise. And that freaked people out. Global trade needed something stable to run on, but now there was no gold guarantee. How could anyone trust the dollar would keep its value as the world's main currency?

To prevent a collapse in confidence, Washington pivoted from gold to ‘black gold.’ In the mid-1970s, the U.S. leveraged its military and financial power to strike a series of deals, starting with Saudi Arabia and expanding to other OPEC nations. It was a brilliant geopolitical move. Oil-producing countries agreed to a simple deal: price and sell all their oil in U.S. dollars. In exchange, America would give them access to its financial markets, sell them weapons, and protect them militarily. Here is why it mattered: oil runs the modern world. You need it for trucks, planes, tractors, factories basically everything. So, if you want oil, you need dollars. Suddenly, every country on earth had to keep piles of American currency on hand, just to keep their economies running. The genius part was that it locked in permanent global demand for the dollar, no matter how well or poorly the U.S. economy was actually doing.

### **1.2.2 Economic Consequences: The Recycling Mechanism**

This setup created something called ‘petrodollar recycling,’ and it became incredibly powerful. Oil-exporting countries were raking in way more dollars than they could possibly spend at home. So, what did they do with all that cash? They put it back into U.S. investments—mostly government bonds—to earn returns. Think about what this meant in practice. Before, the U.S. government needed Americans to save their paychecks so it could borrow that money for spending. But now? Oil-rich countries had billions sitting around with nowhere to go, and they needed somewhere safe to put it. The U.S. Treasury became the world's piggy bank. Suddenly Washington had a blank check. Military bases overseas? Fund them. Medicare expansion? Done. Crumbling bridges? Fix them. Other countries would've seen their currencies tank and prices skyrocket if they tried spending like this. But America? Business as usual.

The ripple effect was even bigger. Central banks from Tokyo to Frankfurt started stuffing their vaults with dollars—not because they had to buy oil tomorrow, but because when your economy hits a rough patch, you want dollars on hand. It

became almost instinctive. Crisis hits? Grab dollars. Currency wobbles? Dollars. The dollar wasn't just a currency anymore—it was financial insurance.

### **1.2.3 The 'Exorbitant Privilege' and Fiscal Freedom**

The advantage this gave America was massive—almost unfair, really. Economists even gave it a name: 'exorbitant privilege.' Because everyone needed dollars to buy oil, not just to trade with the U.S., demand for the currency stayed sky-high no matter what. Foreign governments and investors saw American debt as the safest bet on the planet, which meant the U.S. could borrow money dirt cheap. Here is how it played out: all this foreign money flooding into U.S. Treasury bonds pushed interest rates down. Way down. That made mortgages cheaper, credit cards more accessible, stock markets boomed. Americans were spending and investing like never before.

But the real magic trick? The U.S. could afford to do two wildly expensive things at once—things that should've been financially impossible. On one hand, maintain hundreds of military bases across the globe, aircraft carriers cruising every ocean, troops stationed on multiple continents. On the other hand, fund Social Security, Medicare, highway systems, you name it. Without all that foreign cash propping things up, something would've had to give. Either taxes would have shot through the roof, or the government would've had to slash spending dramatically. Pick your poison: angry taxpayers or collapsing public services. But thanks to the petrodollar system, America didn't have to choose.

### **1.2.4 Weaponization of Finance**

The petrodollar evolved into more than just an economic standard; it became a potent lever of statecraft. Because most of the international energy trade relies on dollar-clearing systems controlled by the U.S., Washington found it could effectively weaponize access to global banking. With no other currency offering comparable liquidity or scale, American sanctions such as SWIFT expulsions or asset freezes landed with devastating precision. We see the results clearly in cases like Venezuela and Iran: once cut off from the dollar, these nations were essentially exiled from the global marketplace. This turned the dollar into a weapon. The U.S. could now pressure other countries—even punish them—without ever sending in troops. So, when an oil-producing country decided to sell its oil in euros, yuan, or anything other

than dollars? That wasn't just seen as a business move anymore. To Washington, it was a direct challenge to American power.

### **1.2.5 Grand Strategy and Military Synergy**

In the end, the petrodollar is a cornerstone of American grand strategy since it establishes a direct connection between military might and economic stability. The system produces a self-reinforcing loop in which the oil trade sustains the dollar, which funds the military, while U.S. military might secure international oil trade routes and safeguards important producers.

Oil states' demand for U.S. Treasury bonds keeps interest rates low, which makes borrowing money affordable. The U.S. armed forces are thus indirectly supported by the global energy market. This explains why financial competition, like attempts to trade oil in yuan or other currencies, is viewed as a threat to national security by the United States. Not only would a move away from the dollar harm the US economy, but it would also jeopardize the way the US finances its extensive military presence around the world. In sum, the petrodollar is not just a currency arrangement—it is the operating system of American hegemony. It binds global finance, energy security, and military power into a single structure where U.S. leadership is reinforced by the very mechanics of global trade.

### **1.2.6 De-Dollarization and the Challenge to the Petrodollar System**

The global political economy is witnessing a gradual but distinct shift toward de-dollarization, a trend defined by state-level efforts to decouple trade settlements, reserves, and transactions from the U.S. dollar. This movement is not driven merely by anti-American ideology; fundamentally, it is a pragmatic reaction to the vulnerabilities inherent in dollar centrality. Here's the problem countries face: because the dollar runs global trade—especially oil—everyone's economy gets jerked around whenever the U.S. makes a move. The Federal Reserve hikes interest rates? Countries halfway around the world feel it. Washington has a political spat with someone? Sanctions fly, and suddenly entire economies are scrambling. It has gotten worse as America's turned the dollar into a weapon. Financial sanctions used to be rare; now they're routine. So, countries aren't trying to burn down the system overnight—they're just looking for ways to protect themselves from getting whipsawed by decisions made in Washington (IMF, 2022; BIS, 2023). And, that brings us back to oil. The

petrodollar system is the linchpin of the whole setup. Oil is still the most important commodity on earth, and as long as it's priced in dollars, everyone needs dollars. Period. So if you want to actually weaken dollar dominance, you can't just tinker around the edges—you need to change how energy gets bought and sold.

That's why China, Russia, Iran, and Venezuela are experimenting with alternatives—selling oil in yuan, settling trades in rubles, that sort of thing. But here's the catch: even when they make these deals, the practical machinery of global trade still runs on dollars. The shipping companies financing those tankers? Dollar loans. The insurance covering those cargoes? Dollar-denominated. The banks clearing those transactions? Dollar systems. You can't just flip a switch and change all that overnight. Within the BRICS bloc, skepticism toward the status quo has fueled dialogue on local currencies and alternative institutions. But here is the weird thing: despite all their talk, BRICS countries have barely made a dent in dollar dominance. They have got massive populations and tons of resources, but they are moving at a snail's pace. Why? The dollar is just too convenient. It is stable, everyone accepts it, and you can move huge amounts of it around instantly. No alternative comes close to matching that yet. So, there is this huge gap between the bold political speeches and what is happening in the real world (UNCTAD, 2021; RBI, 2022).

China's the one that could pull this off. They are the world's biggest oil importer, so they are desperate to break free from dollar dependence. Their yuan-based oil futures market was a serious move, but the yuan still has major handicaps—China controls how money flows in and out of the country, and their bond markets aren't mature enough yet. Here is the thing: you cannot just replace the petrodollar with a few trade deals. You need a whole financial ecosystem that can handle trillions of dollars flowing around seamlessly. Right now, only the U.S. has that. For Washington, this is not just an economic issue, it is existential. The petrodollar system lets America borrow cheaply and fund its military empire. If that system cracks, borrowing gets more expensive and sanctions lose their bite. That is why the U.S. guards this advantage so fiercely, using every tool it has—diplomatic pressure, financial muscle, you name it.

The bottom line? The petrodollar is not going away anytime soon, but it is not the only game in town anymore. We are heading toward a world where the dollar is still king, but other currencies and regional payment systems are gaining ground. It will not be a smooth transition; there will be plenty of tension along the way. After all, the

fight over which currencies dominate global trade is really a fight over who holds power in the world.

## **2. Research Problem Statement**

The dominance of the United States in the modern global order is inextricably linked to the convergence of finance and energy, most clearly manifested in the petrodollar system. While the dollar's role as the supreme reserve currency is well-documented, scholarship has often overlooked how dollar-denominated energy markets function as instruments of political containment and geo-economic leverage. History shows that oil-exporting nations attempting to bypass the dollar often face severe punitive measures, ranging from diplomatic isolation to economic sanctions. Venezuela serves as a critical case study of this dynamic, illustrating the friction between sovereign currency choices and external intervention. Furthermore, the downstream effects of this system on emerging importers like India remain under-analyzed. This research aims to fill that void by examining how the petrodollar system intertwines with U.S. geopolitical strategy to shape the current distribution of global power.

### **2.1 Research Questions**

#### **Primary Research Question:**

1. How does the petrodollar system function as a source of U.S. geoeconomic and geopolitical power in the contemporary international system?

#### **Secondary Research Question:**

1. What historical and structural mechanisms sustain dollar dominance in global oil trade?
2. Why do oil-producing states that challenge dollar-denominated energy transactions face heightened U.S. pressure?
3. How does the case of Venezuela illustrate the link between oil, currency politics, and sanctions?
4. To what extent do de-dollarization efforts challenge the stability of the petrodollar system?

5. What are the implications of petrodollar dominance and its potential erosion for India's energy security and strategic autonomy?

## **2.2 Significance of the Study**

The significance of this research lies in its synthesis of energy geopolitics and monetary theory, bridging a critical gap in the fields of International Relations and International Political Economy. By challenging the traditional separation of oil markets and currency hierarchies, this study demonstrates that these sectors are functionally inseparable. Through the lens of the Venezuelan crisis, the analysis re-conceptualizes financial sanctions not merely as punitive diplomatic tools, but as instruments of structural power that enforce hegemonic order. Furthermore, the research privileges a Global South perspective, highlighting the systemic constraints placed on emerging economies. This is particularly relevant for nations like India, which must navigate the friction between rising energy needs and the vulnerabilities of a dollar-denominated trading system. Ultimately, these findings offer essential policy insights into the nature of strategic autonomy, revealing how states attempt to maneuver within a global order that is increasingly multipolar in politics yet remains unipolar in finance.

## **2.3 Thesis Statement**

This study suggests that the petrodollar system goes beyond being just a financial mechanism for oil trade; it serves as a key foundation for U.S. geoeconomic and geopolitical influence. By maintaining global demand for the U.S. dollar and allowing effective financial pressure through sanctions, the petrodollar system strengthens American strategic leadership. The case of Venezuela shows how challenges to oil trade conducted in U.S. dollars lead to increased external pressure, while current efforts to move away from the dollar highlight both the weaknesses and strength of the current system. For countries like India that import a lot of energy, these trends limit their strategic independence and influence their foreign policy decisions, emphasizing the lasting importance of oil and currency politics in today's international system.

## **Literature Review:**

### **3.1 The Origins and Maintenance of Dollar Hegemony**

Post-Bretton Woods scholarship, especially the work of Spiro (1999) and Wight (2021), questions the idea that U.S. dollar dominance was just a random outcome after the Nixon Shock. Instead, these authors present the petrodollar system as a deliberate choice. By securing exclusive dollar-denomination for oil trade, particularly with Saudi Arabia, the U.S. ensured constant demand for its currency and helped funnel petrodollar surpluses into American debt markets. While this literature clearly describes the historical development of this system, it provides little insight into how it is enforced today, especially how the U.S. protects this situation from modern challenges.

### **3.2 The Intersection of Energy and Geopolitical Strategy**

The link between hydrocarbon wealth and external intervention is well-known. Yergin (2011) and Klare (2008) argue that the need for energy security turns oil-producing areas into battlegrounds for great power competition. Political economists build on this idea, seeing oil not just as a product but as a tool for geopolitical power. However, there is a major gap in this discussion: while the physical control of oil gets a lot of attention, the currency used in oil trade is often seen as a minor detail. As a result, current theories of intervention frequently miss how challenges to dollar-based trade can trigger conflict.

### **3.3 Weaponized Interdependence and Financial Statecraft**

Farrell and Newman (2019) describe ‘weaponized interdependence’ to show how being central in financial networks lets states pressure their rivals without using military force. McDowell (2023) expands on this idea, proving that U.S. sanctions are powerful mainly because the dollar is everywhere in global clearing systems. Case studies of Iran, Russia, and Venezuela show that being shut out from this system weakens state capacity. However, the current literature mostly views these sanctions as aggressive tools of foreign policy, overlooking their role as defensive measures meant to protect the petrodollar system from major changes.

### **3.4 The Limits of De-Dollarization**

Recent discussions about de-dollarization have focused on BRICS-led efforts and the global use of the renminbi. Scholars agree that the financial order is changing; however, there is still no agreement on whether a multipolar monetary system can work. One major issue in this debate is the underestimation of the energy sector's rigidity. While research often points to energy trade as a way to diversify currencies, it often overlooks the significant institutional resistance and geopolitical risks that keep the dollar dominant in oil markets. This makes the transition much more complicated than it may seem from simple bilateral agreements.

### **3.5 Reframing the Venezuelan Crisis**

The academic view on Venezuela mainly highlights three issues: authoritarian governance, humanitarian collapse, and the effects of sanctions. While these factors are important for understanding Venezuela's situation, most studies miss a crucial piece: the politics of currency. Traditional international relations research has focused heavily on local mismanagement, but it's overlooked how Venezuela actively tries to avoid using the dollar for transactions. This gap has left out a key reason why U.S. pressure on the country has been intensifying.

### **3.6 India and the Global South: From Rule-Takers to Strategic Actors**

Scholars from the Global South highlights the structural weaknesses in a dollar-based energy market. In India, the emphasis has mainly been on the downstream effects, such as exchange rate fluctuations, imported inflation, and energy insecurity. However, the common narrative often portrays India and other emerging economies as passive 'rule-takers' responding to outside shocks. There is a lack of research that views India as a strategic player trying to navigate and possibly change the geopolitical limitations of the petrodollar system.

### **3.7 Identified Research Gap**

While substantial research exists regarding oil geopolitics, dollar hegemony, and sanctions regimes, the current body of literature exhibits three critical lacunae:

- 1. Everything is studied in silos:**

Most research treats oil markets, monetary policy, and sanctions as separate

topics. Nobody is really connecting the dots to show how the petrodollar system actually functions as a strategic tool for U.S. economic power.

**2. Missing the currency angle:**

We know a lot about how sanctions hurt people and destabilize governments in oil-rich countries. But there's surprisingly little focus on what might actually trigger these interventions in the first place: when countries try to move away from using the dollar for oil trade.

- 3. It is always just a two-player game:** The conversation usually revolves around the U.S. (the enforcer) and the target country (like Venezuela or Iran). But what about everyone else? Major developing countries like India get caught in the middle—they desperately need energy, but they are also locked into the dollar system and pressured to follow sanctions. This squeeze on emerging economies barely gets talked about.

**4. Methodology:**

This study uses a mixed-method research design that mainly focuses on qualitative aspects to examine the petrodollar system, U.S. geo-economic power, and their effects on oil-exporting states and major oil importers like India. Because of the structural and historical aspects of the petrodollar system, the research takes a descriptive and analytical approach to explore the cause-and-effect relationships between oil trade, currency dominance, sanctions, and geopolitical behavior. The analysis utilizes relevant theoretical frameworks and selected case studies, backed by secondary quantitative data to build a complete understanding of the global oil-dollar relationship.

**4.1 Theoretical Framework**

The study is grounded in International Political Economy (IPE) and draws upon:

- a. Hegemonic Stability Theory (to explain dollar dominance),
- b. Realist and Neo-realist approaches (power and coercion),
- c. Marxist political economy (capital, surplus recycling, and imperial structures),
- d. Geoeconomics (use of economic instruments for strategic ends).

## 4.2 Method of Analysis

### 4.2.1 Qualitative Content and Discourse Analysis

Official policy documents, sanction statements, energy agreements, and financial regulations issued by the United States, OPEC, IMF, World Bank, and national governments are analyzed to identify:

- a. Narratives surrounding dollar dominance,
- b. Justifications for sanctions and interventions,
- c. Policy shifts related to currency use in oil trade.

### 4.2.2 Comparative Case Study Method

- a. Venezuela as a primary case of currency defiance and coercive response,
- b. Iran and Russia as supporting comparative cases,
- c. India as a major oil importer affected by petrodollar dynamics.

## 4.3 Data Sources

The research relies exclusively on credible and authoritative secondary sources, including:

- a. Academic journals (e.g., *Review of International Political Economy*, *World Economy*, *International Security*),
- b. Books by established scholars in IPE and IR,
- c. Official reports from the IMF, World Bank, BIS, EIA, OPEC, and UNCTAD,
- d. Government publications from the U.S. Treasury and Federal Reserve,
- e. Policy briefs from recognized think tanks (e.g., Brookings, Chatham House).
- f. Only verifiable and peer-reviewed sources are used to ensure academic rigor.

## 4.4 Scope and Limitations

The study is limited to:

- a. The post-1970s period following the collapse of the Bretton Woods system,
- b. State-level analysis rather than firm-level behavior,

- c. Secondary data due to restricted access to classified financial agreements.

## 5. Conclusion

The petrodollar system is a purposeful geopolitical framework that supports American economic dominance rather than a neutral byproduct of international markets. Following the collapse of Bretton Woods, the United States guaranteed a sustained demand for its currency and debt by tying the world's oil trade to the dollar. The 'exorbitant privilege' of financing enormous budget deficits and international military operations without the balance-of-payments restrictions that limit other countries was secured by this arrangement. This dominance serves as a control mechanism that goes beyond basic economics. The United States can turn its pivotal role in banking into coercive power because it controls the infrastructure and clearing systems of international finance. As demonstrated by the sanction's campaigns against Russia, Iran, and Venezuela, financial channels have changed from being a means of trade to becoming tools of statecraft that punish countries that try to upset the status quo.

The extreme costs of attempting to break this pattern are exemplified by Venezuela. The nation's exclusion from dollar-based markets acted as a force multiplier, effectively isolating it from the global capital needed for recovery, even though internal mismanagement unquestionably contributed to its crisis. This draws attention to a harsh reality for states with abundant natural resources: maintaining sovereignty is frequently dependent on staying in the financial sphere of the United States. Lastly, although efforts such as contracts denominated in yuan indicate a desire for change, the dollar's dominance has not yet been challenged. The greenback remains dominant largely because there is no alternative currency with enough liquidity to handle the sheer volume of global energy trade. For importers like India, this results in a persistent vulnerability to U.S. monetary policy and sanction regimes, proving that true strategic autonomy is difficult to achieve within such an asymmetric financial order.

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