

The Architecture of Influence: India's Digital Public Infrastructure and Its Significance

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Abstract:

Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) stands as one of the most transformative innovations of the twenty-first century, fundamentally reshaping governance, service delivery, financial inclusion and digital identity systems. India has developed the world's largest DPI ecosystem, comprising key components such as Aadhaar, Unified Payments Interface (UPI), DigiLocker, CoWIN, FASTag and the Open Network for Digital Commerce (ONDC), collectively serving over one billion individuals. While initially designed as a domestic digital governance initiative, India's DPI has rapidly transcended national boundaries to assume a critical role as an instrument of the country's soft power on the global stage. This study employs theoretical frameworks of soft power, digital diplomacy and geoeconomics to analyze the evolution of India's DPI from a national innovation to a strategic international asset. The paper explores how India's open-source, interoperable digital model appeals to developing countries seeking affordable, scalable and sovereignty-preserving digital solutions. Furthermore, it assesses the Impact of DPI in enhancing India's global reputation, strengthening South-South cooperation, providing an alternative to dominant Western Big Tech and China's Digital Silk Road initiatives and influencing global digital governance norms. The findings underscore DPI as a central pillar of India's foreign policy, positioning it to play a significant role in the emerging multipolar digital order and shaping India's international engagements for decades to come.

Keywords: Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI), UPI, Soft Power, Digital Diplomacy, India's Foreign Policy, Global Digital Governance, South-South Cooperation, Digital Sovereignty, Geoeconomics, Multipolar Digital Order

1. Introduction:

In the contemporary global landscape, digital technologies have become critical instruments shaping governance architectures, economic trajectories, human development outcomes and geopolitical engagements. The integration of digital public infrastructure (DPI) within the state apparatuses epitomizes a paradigmatic shift in the modalities of governance, transforming traditional state-society relations, facilitating efficient public service delivery and reinforcing institutional legitimacy. Unlike earlier eras where transnational corporations dominated technological globalization processes, the current epoch is characterised by the strategic agency of sovereign states that design, operationalize and export digital governance frameworks attuned to their developmental and geopolitical imperatives. India's Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) exemplifies an ambitious and globally consequential project, orchestrating a billion-plus population's digital transformation through the construction of a multi-layered, interoperable digital ecosystem. This infrastructure is anchored by three critical pillars: Aadhaar, the world's largest biometric

digital identity system; the Unified Payments Interface (UPI), a real-time digital financial transaction platform; and a suite of digital document and data exchange mechanisms including DigiLocker, electronic Know Your Customer protocols and the Data Empowerment and Protection Architecture (DEPA). Complementary layers such as CoWIN (health management), the Open Network for Digital Commerce (ONDC) and the Digital Health Stack extend the operational and functional ambit of this digital ecosystem, enabling seamless authentication, financial inclusion, social welfare delivery and digital commerce at an unprecedented scale. The inception of these technologies was propelled by the need to address India's entrenched administrative challenges rampant corruption, exclusionary identity regimes, inefficiencies in welfare delivery and limited financial access. However, empirical evidence indicates that the impacts extend beyond domestic governance. International organizations including the World Bank, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and G20 have formally recognised India's DPI as a best practice model for affordable, scalable and sovereign digital public goods. Furthermore, an increasing number of developing countries spanning Asia, Africa and Oceania such as the Philippines, Mauritius, Ethiopia, Kenya, Sri Lanka, Bhutan and Singapore have either adopted or adapted components of India's digital infrastructure frameworks, underscoring its growing geopolitical resonance and South-South cooperation potential. This paper theorizes that India's DPI transcends its technocratic origins to function as a nuanced instrument of soft power and foreign policy strategy. Positioned as a democratic and ethical alternative to China's surveillance-centric Digital Silk Road and the commercially driven Western Big Tech dominance, India's DPI is emblematic of a 'third way' in global digital governance. Characterised by principles of open-source architecture, cost-effectiveness, interoperability, transparency and inclusivity, it resonates with the aspirations of developing nations seeking digital sovereignty while navigating geopolitical complexities.

2. Literature Review

The body of literature relevant to the nexus of India's Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI), soft power and technology-driven foreign policy is both interdisciplinary and emergent, spanning fields of international relations, digital governance, development studies and technology policy. This review synthesizes key theoretical contributions and empirical findings within three primary domains soft power theory, digital governance and state capacity and digital diplomacy and geopolitics while identifying critical knowledge gaps that this study addresses.

2.1 Soft Power Theory and Its Contemporary Evolution : The foundational concept of soft power was articulated by Joseph S. Nye (1990, 2004), who argued that state power extends beyond military and economic means to encompass the ability to shape the preferences and behaviours of others through attraction to culture, political ideals and normative foreign policy conduct. Early study on soft power largely centered on visible cultural exports films, language, democratic values and the normative legitimacy of institutions and political ideals. Yet, the digital revolution has transformed the terrain of soft power. Building on Nye's later work (2021), recent study highlights how digital technologies and platforms have become potent vectors of influence, shaping global communication norms, societal behaviours and institutional trust regimes. The dominance of U.S. tech giants like Apple, Google, Facebook and TikTok, alongside China's WeChat ecosystem, illustrates how technological systems cultivate national reputations and wield geopolitical influence. Despite this critical shift, scholarly attention remains uneven, with a pronounced focus on American and Chinese digital ecosystems. This paper seeks to advance soft power discourse by empirically and theoretically situating India's DPI as a transformative form of tech-enabled soft power.

2.2 Digital Diplomacy, Geoeconomics and the Global Digital Order : The academic field of digital diplomacy has evolved from an initial focus on state use of social media for public diplomacy and crisis communication (Bjola, 2015; Pamment, 2018; Manor, 2019) to comprehending infrastructural dimensions of power projection. Emerging research on digital geoeconomics (Segal, 2020; Klimburg, 2018) demonstrates that control over digital architecture data flows, platform standards, infrastructure connectivity constitutes a critical axis of geopolitical contestation. China's Digital Silk Road, part of the broader Belt and Road Initiative, represents the most scrutinised example of infrastructure-led digital geopolitics, blending technological diplomacy with strategic influence. In contrast, India's digital diplomacy initiatives although manifesting in targeted ICT capacity-building programs in Africa and the Pan-African e-Network are less studied in the context of DPI's strategic export and soft power projection. This study fills a scholarly void by analyzing DPI as an articulable strategy within India's foreign policy toolkit.

2.3 India Stack and Global Adoption: Impact Evidence and Analytical Perspectives : India's DPI ecosystem, often referred to as the "India Stack," is internationally recognised for its scale and impact. Major development actors including the World Bank (2021), IMF (2023) and UNDP (2022) have documented the transformative outcomes of Aadhaar-enabled social transfers, UPI's acceleration of digital payments and the deployment of CoWIN in pandemic management. These initiatives have materially expanded access to finance, healthcare and welfare services, delivering measurable socioeconomic benefits. Despite this official recognition, academic research on DPI remains fragmented and predominantly technical or sector-specific. Studies have explored system design, data privacy, or interoperability challenges but rarely integrate political science, international relations, or strategic studies perspectives which are essential for understanding DPI's broader implications.

2.4 Summary of Literature Gaps : Across this multidisciplinary landscape, three critical gaps emerge: Insufficient conceptualization of DPI as a strategic instrument of soft power, digital diplomacy and geopolitical leverage. Underexplored dimensions of India's role as a digital development partner within Global South cooperation frameworks and normative debates. Scarcity of comparative study examining India's DPI vis-à-vis China's Digital Silk Road, particularly in terms of governance models, digital sovereignty implications and soft power outcomes. By addressing these gaps, this paper makes a novel contribution to the academic discourse on digital infrastructure's geopolitical and normative potentials, advancing the understanding of DPI as a pivotal element of India's foreign policy and global influence.

3. Conceptual Framework

This study employs a tri-dimensional conceptual framework to elucidate the multi-faceted role of DPI as a tool of soft power, a medium of digital diplomacy and a lever of geoeconomic influence. The approach integrates theories from international relations, technology policy and digital governance, providing a comprehensive lens to analyze India's digital governance innovation within global strategic contexts.

3.1 Soft Power: Attraction Through Capabilities, Values and Performance : Soft power, as elucidated by Nye (1990, 2004), refers to the capacity of a state to shape preferences and gain influence through appeal rooted in culture, political ideals and credible foreign policy. Historically associated with cultural diplomacy and normative leadership, soft power today extends deeply into technological ecosystems. India's DPI exemplifies this extension, as it combines material performance and normative appeal.

Performance legitimacy: India's DPI demonstrates unparalleled operational efficiency at an unprecedented population scale. E.g., Unified Payments Interface (UPI) facilitated over 10.58 billion transactions in August 2023 alone, capturing 73% of India's retail digital payments market, far surpassing many developed economies in scale and reach (Times of India, 2025).

Normative legitimacy: India's commitment to open-source, privacy-respecting, interoperable digital infrastructure contrasts starkly with proprietary Western tech monopolies and China's surveillance-centric models. For instance, MOSIP India-inspired open-source digital identity software is actively adopted by countries such as the Philippines and Morocco, signaling normative export. **Developmental legitimacy:** By enabling nearly half a billion previously unbanked individuals to access formal financial services under the PM Jan Dhan Yojana, DPI tangibly supports inclusive development, a critical soft power asset in Global South cooperation.

Ethical legitimacy: Rejecting state surveillance and debt-trap diplomacy, India's DPI respects digital sovereignty and citizen consent, reinforcing India's reputation as a responsible digital power. In essence, DPI transcends symbolic influence by offering practical digital public goods that enhance governance, promote inclusion and foster trust, effectively reconfiguring India's soft power architecture.

3.2 Digital Diplomacy: Technology as Foreign Policy Medium, Digital diplomacy involves leveraging digital technologies to shape diplomatic engagements, export governance models and participate in global norm-setting. India's DPI facilitates proactive digital diplomacy via: Exporting core India Stack components such as Aadhaar-inspired identity platforms, UPI-based payment systems (extended to Nepal, Bhutan, UAE, Singapore) and DigiLocker's document management model. For example, interoperability agreements connect UPI with Singapore's PayNow system, demonstrating cross-border utility (Times of India, 2025). Capacity building through training officials from partner countries in using and adapting India's digital tools. Integrating DPI into bilateral agreements and highlighting India's digital public goods in multilateral forums such as the G20, BRICS and SCO. Initiating digital partnerships framed as alternatives to dominant U.S. and Chinese digital regimes, thus broadening India's diplomatic reach and narrative influence. Digitally enabled partnerships extend India's influence through another vector, where technology serves as both the medium and message of foreign policy, redefining traditional diplomacy.

3.3 Geoeconomics: Geoeconomics, as a field of study, emphasizes the use of economic means such as trade policies, investments, supply chains and infrastructure to achieve geopolitical objectives and influence the behaviour of other states. In the contemporary era, as technology increasingly underpins economic and political power, digital infrastructure has become a critical element of geoeconomic strategy. India's Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) functions as a potent geoeconomic instrument for several reasons:

Strategic Embedding through Adoption and Interoperability : When countries adopt India Stack's digital infrastructure components such as Aadhaar-inspired digital identity frameworks, Unified Payments Interface (UPI) for instant payments and DigiLocker for document verification they do more than import technology. They integrate into an interoperable ecosystem with design principles and governance norms set or influenced by India. This digital embedding fosters long-term dependencies that shape technological ecosystems, regulatory frameworks and governance standards in these countries. Such integration builds a technological architecture that aligns partners to Indian digital norms around openness, privacy, transparency and sovereignty. For instance, UPI's interoperability and low-cost model, adopted or piloted in countries like Singapore, United Arab Emirates and Nepal, not only facilitates trade and remittances but also increases reliance on India's payment infrastructure and standards. This

creates durable linkages that translate into geopolitical leverage in areas extending beyond economics into policy influence and strategic partnerships.

Alternative to Existing Digital Power Architectures : India's DPI offers an alternative to two dominant digital infrastructure paradigms:

- **The Chinese Digital Silk Road :** Characterised by state-centric control and surveillance capabilities, infrastructure-heavy investments and geopolitical assertiveness
- **The Western Big Tech ecosystem :** Dominated by proprietary closed platforms, commercial monopolies and data-centric corporate power wielded by American firms.

India's approach represents a "third way" rooted in the developmental state model but adapted for digital sovereignty. Its open-source, modular and inclusive philosophy, coupled with an emphasis on democratic governance and data privacy, appeals to many Global South countries seeking to avoid the political dependencies and commercial traps associated with the Chinese and Western ecosystems. This appeal is reinforced by India's non-aligned foreign policy posture and developmental partnership narrative, which positions DPI diffusion not as a tool of domination but of cooperation and mutual advancement. The global diffusion of India Stack-backed platforms underlines this geoeconomic diplomacy, altering digital alliances and creating new nodes of influence.

Shaping Digital Norms and Global Governance : Beyond basic infrastructure, India's DPI plays a role in the normative contest over global digital governance. Control over data governance standards, privacy norms, cybersecurity protocols and digital rights frameworks increasingly shapes political and economic decision-making worldwide. India's active participation in international digital governance for a promotion of commons-based Internet governance and projection of DPI as a global digital public good provide normative influence. India advocates for sovereign control over digital ecosystems, ethical AI guidelines and open-source sharing principles reflected in its DPI architecture itself.

Embedding these normative frameworks globally through DPI adoption contributes to India's geoeconomic influence by:

- Facilitating adoption of Indian digital governance standards.
- Reducing unilateral dependence on Western or Chinese technological standards.
- Elevating India's voice in setting the agenda for the emerging multipolar digital order.

Economic Multipliers and Market Creation : The DPI also drives geoeconomics by generating digital economic growth domestically and internationally. UPI-backed fintech ecosystems resulted in billions in transactions with estimates attributing digital payments to significant boosts in GDP, financial inclusion and entrepreneurship. As partner countries' economies digitize using India Stack components, an expanding market ecosystem forms that Indian firms and startups can penetrate. This network effect reinforces India's economic clout, deepens bilateral trade ties and creates new corridors for investment and innovation linking India and its partners.

3.4 Interrelationship of the Three Frameworks : The interplay between soft power, digital diplomacy and geoeconomics forms a dynamic and mutually reinforcing triad that elucidates how India's Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) operates on multiple levels of influence, governance and strategic positioning. Mutual Reinforcement and Amplification :

- **Soft Power as the Foundation:** The credibility of India's technological innovation and governance model the hallmark of its soft power creates a robust base upon which digital diplomacy and geoeconomic strategies are built. The widespread adoption and admiration of India's DPI components (such as Aadhaar for digital identity, UPI for payments and DigiLocker for digital documentation)

symbolize India's rise as not only a technological innovator but also as a normative leader advocating open, inclusive and privacy-respecting digital governance. This attraction and legitimacy facilitate diplomatic engagements by offering a tangible and successful model that other nations seek to emulate.

- **Digital Diplomacy as the Operational Mechanism:** Leveraging its DPI soft power, India actively exports its digital public goods through cooperative frameworks, technical assistance and bilateral and multilateral platforms (e.g., G20, BRICS, SCO, UN). India's DPI becomes a strategic communication tool and a practical partnership enabler, transforming the narrative from India as a recipient of development assistance to a provider of digital solutions. Such diplomacy is evidenced in exportation of UPI payment systems to Singapore and UAE, adoption of Aadhaar-inspired identity systems in African and Southeast Asian countries and provision of CoWIN's vaccination platform for global health crises. This active digital diplomacy not only extends India's reach but also solidifies its positioning as a leader in global digital governance conversations.
- **Geoeconomics as the Strategic Context:** Beyond normative influence and diplomatic engagement, DPI adoption entails long-term technological, economic and political interdependencies. Countries integrating India Stack components into their infrastructure effectively embed themselves within an India-led digital ecosystem characterised by open-source architecture and sovereignty-conscious standards. This creates durable influence points that shape these countries' digital market architectures, regulatory choices and governance norms. Such interlinkage offers India a multifaceted strategic leverage distinct from China's state-centric Digital Silk Road and the Western Big Tech's proprietary networks, enabling it to champion a "third way" that balances openness, development and sovereignty.

This interrelationship underscores DPI's transformative potential, marking a strategic evolution in how technology, governance and international relations coalesce to redefine state power in the digital era. Understanding DPI through this multi-layered framework highlights its role not simply as a domestic innovation but as an evolving geopolitical asset with profound implications for India's position in the emergent multipolar digital world.

4. Evolution of India's Digital Public Infrastructure

India's Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) has developed over more than two decades through a carefully phased evolution, characterised by key technological milestones, institutional reforms and strategic policy interventions. This evolution represents a nuanced process of layering digital capabilities addressing both India's domestic governance challenges and its emerging global digital ambitions.

The timeline of DPI's development can be divided into four comprehensive phases:

4.1 Phase I (2009–2014): Foundations of Digital Identity and Inclusion : The genesis of India's DPI journey was marked by the launch of Aadhaar in 2009 under the Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI). Aadhaar set up a biometric digital identity system that gave over one billion Indians unique, verifiable identities using fingerprints and iris scans, enabling a reliable and universal digital identity (UIDAI, 2016; RIS, 2025). This phase aimed at: Eradicating identity fraud, Simplifying welfare direct benefit transfers (DBT), Enabling seamless digital authentication across services. By 2016, Aadhaar enrollment crossed the billion mark, laying the critical foundation for later DPI layers (RIS, 2025). Early innovations such as electronic Know Your Customer (eKYC) expedited verification processes, reducing turnaround times from weeks to minutes in sectors like banking and telecommunications (Wheeler Blog, 2024). Furthermore, this period saw the conceptual sowing of the JAM Trinity: Jan Dhan bank

accounts, Aadhaar identity and mobile connectivity, setting India on a digital inclusion trajectory (PIB, 2024).

4.2 Phase II (2014–2019): Digital Payments and Financial Inclusion : This phase was defined by the launch and meteoric rise of the Unified Payments Interface (UPI) in 2016 by the National Payments Corporation of India (NPCI). UPI revolutionised digital finance with its real-time, interoperable and cost-free payment system accessible through mobile phones (RIS, 2025; IIMB, 2025). Features included: Instant settlements using simple identifiers such as phone numbers Seamless integration with major fintech apps like Google Pay, PhonePe and Paytm Processing more than 8 billion transactions monthly by 2023, surpassing digital payment volumes of several developed global economies combined (Times of India, 2025) Additional components included: DigiLocker, offering secure digital document storage, FASTag, enabling RFID-based automatic electronic toll collection, Bharat BillPay, integrating utility bill payments under a single digital umbrella Aadhaar Enabled Payment System (AePS) for biometric-based banking access in rural areas (WEF, 2025) This phase positioned India as a global leader in inclusive digital finance, with millions gaining access to formal financial services for the first time (RIS, 2025).

4.3 Phase III (2019–2022): Platforms for Public Service Delivery : The DPI architecture expanded to encompass a broad array of public service platforms aimed at social welfare and governance: CoWIN (COVID-19 Vaccine Intelligence Network) emerged as the flagship digital health platform during the pandemic, coordinating over 2 billion vaccination records and scheduling vaccine administration at a national scale (WEF, 2025; RIS, 2025). The Digital Health Stack introduced electronic health records and digital health IDs, significantly improving accessibility and continuity of healthcare services. The Open Network for Digital Commerce (ONDC) aimed to democratize e-commerce by enabling smaller sellers to access digital markets on an equal footing with large platforms. Parallel stacks in education and agriculture supported digital classrooms, certification systems, crop insurance and market access improvements, increasing digital penetration in rural and underserved areas (PIB, 2024). This phase cemented India's position as a pioneer in population-scale digital public service innovation.

4.4 Phase IV (2022–Present): Globalization of DPI and Digital Diplomacy: Entering the global arena, India began proactively exporting its DPI ecosystem as a global public good: The India Stack Global initiative (launched 2022) has seen DPI adoption in countries such as the Philippines, Mauritius, Sri Lanka, Kenya, Morocco, Vietnam, Bhutan, UAE and Singapore. The interoperability of UPI with Singapore's PayNow and its pilot use in UAE and Bhutan underscore its international reach (Times of India, 2025). Modular Open Source Identity Platform (MOSIP), developed in India, is deployed across nations including the Philippines (covering more than 76 million IDs), Morocco, Ethiopia, Sri Lanka, Uganda and Guinea, aiding sovereign digital identity issuance in diverse contexts (PIB, 2024). UPI's international presence extends to Bhutan, Nepal, Mauritius, France (notably enabling contactless payments at the Eiffel Tower) and UAE, marking India's entry into global fintech geopolitics (Times of India, 2025). CoWIN pandemic management software was offered to over 90 countries, enhancing India's humanitarian and diplomatic standing. India used its G20 Presidency in 2023 to spearhead the Global Digital Public Infrastructure Repository (GDPIR), establish DPI interoperability principles and position itself as a global digital governance norm-shaper (G20, 2023; PIB, 2024). This expansion highlights India's DPI as a phased, strategic evolution from domestic digital inclusion efforts to an internationally significant digital diplomacy and geoeconomic instrument.

The Distinctiveness of India's DPI Model

India's Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) model is recognised globally for its distinctive characteristics, which differentiate it from other digital governance architectures such as proprietary Western technology platforms or China's hardware-centric Digital Silk Road. Below is an elaborated description of its distinctiveness aligned with academic and practical understandings, supported by recent authoritative sources: India's DPI stands apart primarily because of its unique design philosophy and strategic principles, which prioritize inclusivity, sovereignty, affordability, privacy, interoperability and open access.

- 1. Open Source and Interoperable :** India's DPI is fundamentally open-source and modular, enabling broad-based innovation and adoption. Unlike Western proprietary software ecosystems that centralize control or Chinese models that embed hardware dependencies and surveillance architectures, India's DPI's core components—such as Aadhaar for identity and MOSIP (Modular Open Source Identity Platform)—are built on open-source technology (RIS, 2025; CDPI, 2024). These components are:
 - **Modular:** Designed as independent yet interoperable layers facilitating scalable integration.
 - **Open-Source:** Freely accessible codebases encourage transparency, community contributions and rapid customization for diverse governance contexts.
 - **Interoperable:** Open APIs ensure seamless data exchange across systems and actors, allowing diverse service providers and startups to build on a common digital infrastructure (NASSCOM, 2024; IIMB, 2025).

This architecture democratizes innovation and breaks vendor lock-ins, fostering a resilient, adaptable digital ecosystem that differs markedly from closed systems (RIS, 2025; Primus Partners, 2025).

- 2. Low Cost and Scalability :** India's DPI prioritizes cost-effectiveness and population-scale deployment. Design and operational efficiencies have enabled serve billions of users at a fraction of the cost associated with Western or Chinese digital platforms (RIS, 2025). For example, the UPI payment system processes billions of transactions monthly with negligible user cost, driving mass adoption and thriving fintech innovation (WEF, 2025). The DPI's scalable design blends cloud-based services with distributed data storage and edge integration to optimize performance and affordability in low-resource settings (RIS, 2025).

- 3. Privacy by Design :** A salient feature of India's DPI is its privacy-centric approach, embedding principles such as:

- **Data Minimalism:** Collecting only the necessary data for specific public services.
- **Consent-based Data Sharing:** The Data Empowerment and Protection Architecture (DEPA) offers individuals granular control over data sharing, empowering sovereign digital agency (CDPI, 2024; RIS, 2025).
- **Decentralised Data Storage:** Mitigating risks linked to centralised databases and reducing surveillance vulnerabilities (RIS, 2025).

This privacy-first paradigm differentiates India's DPI from the surveillance-heavy Digital Silk Road and proprietary data ecosystems, championing democratic values in digital governance (Primus Partners, 2025).

- 4. Sovereignty-Friendly :** A defining hallmark of India's Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) is its explicit respect for and reinforcement of digital sovereignty, a principle that asserts a nation's authority and control over its digital infrastructure, data and technological governance frameworks. Unlike models that compromise sovereignty through hardware dependencies, political conditionality, or surveillance mandates—features often associated with China's Digital Silk Road—India's DPI pursues a

sovereignty-centric, India-first strategy grounded in democratic governance and technological safeguards. Several facets illustrate this distinctiveness, such as :

India-First Infrastructure and Local Data Jurisdiction : India prioritizes hosting and processing sensitive digital information within national borders, thereby ensuring jurisdictional control over data and algorithms. For example, the government has invested in expansive national cloud infrastructure, including the NIC “GI Cloud” and National Government Community Cloud (NGCC), which serve hundreds of state and central departments, securing critical government and citizen data domestically (Imran, 2025; RIS, 2025). This promotes compliance with emerging data localisation regulations under the Digital Personal Data Protection (DPDP) Act 2023, which mandates local storage and management of sensitive data, effectively “ring-fencing” Indian data from extraterritorial foreign control (Imran, 2025; Grant Thornton, 2025).

Sovereignty Embedded in Policy and Procurement: India’s sovereignty posture permeates hardware-neutral software policies and procurement frameworks. The government’s approach favors indigenous cloud providers, domestic innovation in chipsets and AI and principled transparency for data centers and cloud vendors (Imran, 2025). Contracts explicitly mandate data residency under Indian jurisdiction and procurement processes weigh sovereignty and compliance on par with cost and performance (Imran, 2025).

Decentralised Yet Accountable Governance : India combines sovereign control with decentralization by enabling private-sector innovation within a regulated and transparent framework. The techno-legal governance model, notably exemplified by the Data Empowerment and Protection Architecture (DEPA), empowers citizens to exercise data agency and consent, balancing sovereignty with individual rights (UNESCO, 2024; RIS, 2025). Such mechanisms prevent centralised state overreach while embedding accountability and democratic oversight.

Contrast with Other Models :

- **China: The Digital Silk Road** entails bundled hardware contracts, state surveillance capabilities and political leverage through “digital authoritarianism.” These elements, though ensuring tight state control, limit personal freedoms and engender geopolitical dependencies (Grant Thornton, 2025).
- **Western Big Tech:** Dominated by proprietary, profit-driven platforms headquartered abroad, this model compromises sovereignty through opaque data flow practices and exploitative economic power concentrations (Grant Thornton, 2025).

India’s approach envisions a third way: Open, Inclusive, Democratic and Sovereignty-aligned infrastructure that advances national autonomy without sacrificing technological innovation or openness (MEA, 2024; RIS, 2025).

Strategic Importance in Geopolitics : This sovereignty-friendly DPI model enhances India’s stature as a technology-exporting democracy that partners with Global South nations seeking digital autonomy. Countries wary of politically laden Chinese or commercially attached Western digital goods find in India’s DPI a preserving their political independence and developmental agency (Primus Partners, 2025; RIS, 2025). In Summary, India’s sovereignty-friendly DPI manifests in: In-country data jurisdiction and secure national cloud infrastructure, Principles-based policy frameworks safeguarding autonomy, Citizen-centric techno-legal governance enabling democratic data agency, Non-surveillance, non-conditional export models empowering partner nations. By infusing sovereignty into all levels of its digital public goods architecture and diplomatic outreach, India offers a distinct, strategic alternative in the geopolitical contest for digital influence and governance.

5. DPI as an Instrument of Soft Power

India's Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) exemplifies a novel dimension of soft power grounded in performance, credibility and normative leadership rather than traditional cultural or ideological tools, aligning well with Joseph Nye's soft power conceptualization emphasizing attraction and voluntary cooperation over coercion. India's Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) significantly enhances its soft power through performance-based legitimacy, normative leadership and global influence.

5.1 Demonstrating State Capacity at Scale : India's DPI—anchored by platforms like Aadhaar, UPI, DigiLocker and CoWIN—demonstrates the capability to deliver complex services to over a billion citizens efficiently and transparently (Times of India, 2025; RIS, 2025). This large-scale governance capacity projects India as: A technologically competent nation, An innovator of inclusive governance models, A successful executor of mega-scale digital infrastructure, A credible partner capable of transferring knowledge and technology to similar developing countries. This credibility, particularly resonant with Global South nations facing comparable demographic and institutional challenges, fosters attraction based on competence and shared developmental goals (Sandeep Mahajan, 2025).

5.2 Appeal of Low-Cost, Open-Source Digital Governance : India's DPI model, grounded in open standards, modularity and low-cost deployment, addresses common barriers in developing countries such as high proprietary software fees, vendor lock-in and expensive hardware demands (IIMB, 2025). The open-source code and minimal infrastructure requirements enable affordable, rapidly scalable digital ecosystems, nurturing equity and autonomy (Primus Partners, 2025). This positions India as a benevolent digital partner focused on shared progress rather than market exploitation.

5.3 Projecting Democratic and Ethical Digital Norms : India's DPI is explicitly designed as a democracy-driven digital ecosystem stressing: Privacy and data minimalism, Individual consent and empowerment, Data decentralization, Transparency and accountability (RIS, 2025; UNESCO, 2024). This normative framework sharply contrasts with China's centralised surveillance apparatus and Western commercial data monopolies, casting India as an ethical leader appealing to nations seeking to modernize responsibly (Primus Partners, 2025).

5.4 Successful COVID-19 Digital Response as Soft Power : The CoWIN platform represented a successful exercise in population-scale digital governance during the pandemic: Registering millions of citizens daily, Coordinating vaccination appointments, Issuing instantaneous digital vaccine certificates, Providing policymakers with real-time monitoring dashboards. India's sharing of CoWIN technology as a global public good reinforced its humanitarian image and expanded digital diplomatic goodwill akin to traditional vaccine diplomacy (Times of India, 2025; WEF, 2025).

5.5 Shaping Global Narratives: “India as the Digital Vishwaguru” India's rich civilizational soft power narrative now integrates a modern techno-cultural identity that: Frames India as an innovator and knowledge producer, Presents India as a model for equitable digital transformation, Establishes India as a provider of global digital public goods underpinned by democratic values. This techno-civilizational framing bolsters India's global moral leadership aspirations (Sandeep Mahajan, 2025).

5.6 Soft Power Through Adoption: Countries Emulating India The growing adoption of India Stack components by developing countries embodies tangible admiration: Philippines using MOSIP-based digital ID, Mauritius and Sri Lanka integrating UPI, Ethiopia and Morocco adopting India-inspired digital systems, Singapore enabling UPI for tourists, France piloting UPI payments at the Eiffel Tower. Such peer adoption signals replicability, affordability and appropriateness of India's digital model, deepening its soft power influence (Times of India, 2025; Primus Partners, 2025).

5.7 Institutional Soft Power Through G20 : India's 2023 G20 Presidency foregrounded DPI by: Launching the Global Digital Public Infrastructure Repository (GDPIR), Advancing consensus on DPI principles, Elevating DPI as a global development and governance priority. This institutional diplomacy reflects India's growing capacity to shape multilateral digital policy agendas and exert normative influence, exemplifying institutional soft power leveraged through technological credibility (G20, 2023; PIB, 2024).

India's DPI soft power is rooted in practical utility, normative credibility and strategic narrative shaping. By demonstrating large-scale technological competence, advancing ethical governance, responding effectively to crises and facilitating broad international adoption, DPI redefines India's global soft power from symbolic cultural influence to transformative digital leadership.

6. Challenges and Limitations of India's DPI Strategy

India's Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) strategy, while highly influential and widely lauded, faces a spectrum of significant challenges that could impact its sustainability, global credibility and equity. These challenges span governance, technology, geopolitics and capacity constraints, underscoring the complexity of scaling digital sovereignty in a rapidly evolving global landscape.

6.1 Data Privacy and Regulatory Concerns : A primary critique pertains to the absence of a fully established, independent national data protection authority and ongoing debates over governance frameworks. Despite the enactment of the Digital Personal Data Protection Act (DPDP) 2023, criticisms persist, particularly about: Extensive government exemptions potentially enabling unchecked surveillance, Risks of state overreach manifesting in Aadhaar-linked service requirements, The vulnerability introduced by centralised databases attracting privacy and security concerns (Drishti IAS, 2024; PMF IAS, 2025). These issues pose risks to the normative appeal of India's DPI externally, as data privacy and citizen rights remain core components of digital public goods legitimacy (RIS, 2025).

6.2 Cybersecurity Vulnerabilities : India's DPI infrastructure is a prime target for: Cybercriminals, ransomware attackers and state-sponsored cyber warfare, given its scale and interconnectedness. Recent reports highlight spikes in Aadhaar-related phishing scams and UPI fraud cases, exacerbating user trust issues (PMF IAS, 2025; WEF, 2025). Zudem sind kritische staatliche Datenbanken und Plattformen gelegentlich Angriffen ausgesetzt, was die Notwendigkeit verbesserter, systematischer Cybersicherheitsmaßnahmen unterstreicht (Sahamati, 2023). Robust cybersecurity frameworks, continuous monitoring and public digital literacy campaigns are critical to secure DPI expansion domestically and internationally (WEF, 2025).

6.3 Digital Divide and Inclusion Challenges : Despite DPI's inclusive design, digital access and literacy gaps remain stark, especially: Uneven deployment of smartphones and internet access between urban and rural areas, Persistent gender disparities in digital literacy, Low connectivity and infrastructure penetration in tribal and remote regions (Drishti IAS, 2024; PMF IAS, 2025). Such divides impair equitable DPI uptake and question its foundational claim to developmental legitimacy for the most marginalised (RIS, 2025).

6.4 Competition from China's Digital Silk Road : China's Digital Silk Road benefits from: Vast state-financed resources, Dominance in telecommunications hardware globally, Extensive 5G and broadband infrastructure deployment capabilities, Rapid bilateral government-to-government arrangements bundled with financial loans (Grant Thornton India, 2025; IMPRI, 2025). In contrast, India's DPI faces the challenge of competing against cheaper infrastructure contracts and bundled financing structures that politically bind partner countries, though it continues to leverage normative and ethical advantages (Primus Partners, 2025).

6.5 Western Big Tech Dominance : Global digital infrastructure remains heavily influenced by U.S.-based Big Tech companies controlling: Cloud computing services (AWS, Azure, Google Cloud), Mobile operating systems (dominance of Google's Android), Social media, search engines and app ecosystems (Grant Thornton India, 2025). India's DPI sovereignty is constrained by dependencies on these platforms, limited domestic semiconductor capacity and external cybersecurity service reliance, curtailing full self-reliance in projecting its model globally (RIS, 2025).

6.6 Institutional Capacity Constraints : Exporting DPI involves complexities requiring: Highly trained software engineers and diplomats conversant in nuanced tech and governance issues, Capacity for bilateral negotiations, technical implementation and ongoing oversight, Institutional support to customize India Stack for diverse partner countries. Many partner nations face gaps in human resources and institutional expertise, complicating technology transfer and sustainable deployment (Sahamati, 2023; RIS, 2025). India must scale diplomatic and technical capacities correspondingly to sustain momentum.

7. Conclusion

India's Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) stands as a transformative governance innovation with profound domestic and global implications. Originating as a response to domestic challenges of identity exclusion, welfare leakage and financial barriers, India's DPI has evolved into a strategic instrument of foreign policy and global development leadership. Its distinctive open-source, scalable and cost-effective model positions India as a pioneering provider of digital public goods, particularly for the Global South. DPI strengthens India's soft power by showcasing:

- **Technological capability:** Execution of world-class digital platforms like Aadhaar, UPI, DigiLocker and CoWIN demonstrates India's governance and innovation at unprecedented scales [Times of India, 2025; RIS, 2025].
- **Ethical governance:** Emphasis on privacy by design, user consent and decentralised data empowerment frames India as a normative leader in democratic digital governance [Primus Partners, 2025].
- **Democratic digital values:** DPI's citizen-centric design contrasts with authoritarian surveillance or proprietary commercial models, appealing to nations seeking autonomy and ethical frameworks [RIS, 2025].
- **Genuine development partnership:** India's non-hegemonic approach to digital diplomacy fosters trust and solidarity with developing countries, distinguished by capacity building and respect for sovereignty [Sahamati, 2023]. Initiatives such as India Stack Global, MOSIP exports, UPI internationalization, ONDC development and CoWIN diplomacy illustrate India's transition from domestic innovator to global digital governance leader [CDPI, 2024; IMPRI, 2025]. In the geopolitical arena, India's DPI offers a compelling alternative to China's Digital Silk Road and Western corporate platforms. Its emphasis on sovereignty, openness and citizen-centric design resonates strongly with developing nations aiming to balance digital modernization with independence [Grant Thornton, 2025; Primus Partners, 2025].

Ultimately, India's DPI transcends technology; it symbolizes India's ambition and capacity to shape a more inclusive, democratic and multipolar global digital order. As digital sovereignty and global public goods become paramount, India's model of democratic digital governance is poised to influence global norms, partnerships and developmental trajectories profoundly.

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