

TITLE:

The Formation of the Concept of *Emerging Power* in International Relations

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The Formation of the Concept of *Emerging Power* in International Relations¹

Abstract: This work discusses the formation of the concept of *emerging power* in the field of International Relations. The adjective *emerging* has been “stretched” beyond the connotative range of the financial terminology *emerging market* and has “travelled” to denote those rising players in the international order. This category regards contemporary transformations of world economy and politics by framing semantically its particularity. At the same time, such lexical novelty comprises an established debate within the field of International Relations: the theorizations on the *rise of intermediate states*. Thus, the concept of *emerging power* frames a historical process in its own time and engenders a diachronic contention with conceptual alternatives within theory of International Relations. Such theoretical accumulation stands out as the *rules of usage* or the *pragmatics* within the field to which the category is appropriated. This constitutive relation of mutual denial is perceived as the dialectics of this concept: the historical transformations that have driven it to qualify International Relations phenomena are set in its framing as a *thesis about itself*; and the established understanding on the rise of intermediate states in the field is its *antithesis*. The study is composed of three parts. Firstly, it studies the semantically patterns of *family resemblance* in the appropriation of the term *emerging* to the discipline. Then, it analyses the conception of rise in three categories of intermediate states: Semi-Periphery, Middle Powers and Regional Power. Finally, it extracts the synthesis of the latter debate: the convention on an *emerging power* in International Relations.

Introduction

This essay aims to discuss the appropriation of the concept of *emerging power* to the field of International Relations and its consequential formation as theoretical category within the discipline. The adnoun *emerging* or *rising power* has been used to describe countries whose influence in international relations is expected to be growing. The term is not new in the field, but has gained special attention in recent years as a particular subject study, even receiving specific institutional initiatives in relevant universities². Despite manifold robust proposals of theoretical delimitation, the concept has still to deal with a lack of consensus concerning its connotative and denotative spectrum (HURRELL, 2006, 2013). This work intends to contribute to this debate by analysing the semantic transformations of the term in its appropriation to International Relations literature and its process of constituency as a concept within discipline.

The term *emerging power* derives from the “stretching” of the adjective *emerging*, beyond the connotative range of the operational terminology *emerging market*, which

¹ This work has been prepared to be presented in the VIII Latin-American Congress of Political Science, held by Latin-American Association of Political Science. Pontificia Universidad Católica de Peru, Lima, July 22th to 24th 2015.

² Are examples: the Centre for Rising Powers, at the University of Cambridge; the Rising Powers Initiative, at George Washington University; the BRICLab, at Columbia University; the BRICS Center, at the University of Toronto.

has “travelled” to denote those rising players in the international order³. This category regards transformations of world economy and politics in the course of this century by framing semantically its particularity. At the same time, such lexical novelty comprises an established debate within the field of International Relations: the theoretical dispute on the *rise of intermediate states*. In terms of Koselleck (2004), the concept of *emerging power* frames a historical process in its own time and engenders a diachronic contention with conceptual alternatives within theory of International Relations. Such theoretical accumulation stands out as the *rules of usage* or the *pragmatics* within the field into which the category is appropriated to. In this sense, the established understanding on the rise of intermediate states in the field, identified with the concepts of Semi-Periphery, Middle Powers and Regional Powers, are seen as useful to better understand the theoretical role of the term *emerging power*. These contrast categories allow to reason about the concept beyond a theory about itself by facing theoretical determination external to its usage, in order to constitute the pragmatics within discipline.

To comprehend the formation of the concept and its explanatory contribution as analytical device of International Relations, this essay is structured in three stages. The two initial sections study the constitution of the concept itself. Firstly, it will be described the appropriation of lexicon *emergent*, from adnoun *emerging power* in the financial literature until its fusion with the category of *rising/emerging power*, as reference of the historical transformation in its course in the academic vernacular of International Relations. The second section analyses the static of the latter dynamics, it will be studied the semantic patterns associated with a rising/emerging power in the literature of reference in its use. The third section contrasts the latter with established categories of International Relations theory, regarding phenomena from the same kind. Finally, the fourth section synthesise the latter two stating the pragmatics governing the concept in the discipline.

Conceptual “travelling” and “stretching” in the appropriation of the lexicon *emergent* for the field of International Relations

The post Cold War world has raised an ongoing discussion on the distribution of power in the international system. Much of the contemporary literature of International Relations has focused on understanding the challenges to the United States preponderance, hegemony or unipolarity (Brooks & Wohlforth, 2008; Khana, 2008; Layne, 2009, 2012; Wohlforth *et al*, 2011; Buzan, 2011). However, even though there is a high level of power concentration in restricted poles, the redesign of economic relations has particularly raised the discussion on the increased participation of peripheral spaces in world production and economic flows during this new phase. This shift gives relevance to interpretive efforts on the theoretical characterization of those states that have been playing a greater role in the international system, even of those most distant to the reality of hegemonic transition.

³ Referring to the terms of Sartori (1970, p. 38). The “conceptual travelling” is the qualification of new referents throughout space and time, the amplification of the concept’s extension. The “conceptual stretching” is the connotative distortion that derives the attempt to fit these new cases by widening its intension.

Within this context, the debate on conceptual alternatives for the denotation of these new actors arises (Hurrell *et al.*, 2000; Jordaan, 2003; Cooper, Antikiewicz & Shaw, 2007; Flesmes, 2007; Nolte, 2010; Santos, 2011; Schenoni, 2012; Hurrell, 2013; Cooper & Flesmes, 2013). Underlying the dispute among established categories of International Relations theory – i.e. middle powers, regional powers, semi-periphery –, an expansion of the lexicon *emergent* has been observed - in expressions such as *emerging countries*, *emerging powers*, *emerging markets* or simply "emergent" – as a qualifier of those beneficiaries of the political and economic transformations in process. However, the debate on the term's denotative and, particularly, connotative spectrum remains open in the literature, hindering their treatment as a conceptual category. Thus, in order to reason its formation, this section analyses semantic the transformations suffered by category in its appropriation to International Relations and outline the historical vectors of this process in world economy and international politics

Genealogically, the predicate *emerging*, although already present in vocabulary of International Relations, has been taken from a different field, that of the literature on financial markets, providing an equally different semantic context to the term. The connotative changes undergone by the lexicon *emergent* as a reference to International Relations phenomena describe a process of "conceptual travelling" and "conceptual stretching", in the sense originally proposed by Sartori (1970). The notion of "conceptual stretching" is used by the author to indicate the distortion a concept suffers in its over-extension⁴, namely its reference to cases that put in check their constitutive attributes. The denotation of cases confronting the term's original connotative borders is what Sartori calls "conceptual travelling". The present work assumes the theoretical hypothesis that the "travelling" and "stretching" of the lexical field *emergent*, from the operational category of *emerging market*, are constitutive elements of its appropriation for the study of International Relations. It is argued that the appropriated category does not suffer from an over-extension, but requires new delimitation efforts to be adapted to the new theoretical context in which it operates. Thus, this text reflects on the lexicon "stretching" and "travelling" to become a concept of International Relations studies, in order to map the connotative spectrum that this process offers to the discipline.

The adjective *emerging* was born describing the subject *emerging markets* in the financial literature, referring to countries that were integrated to the new conditions of financial globalization in the late 20th century. Its initial environment was the scheme of developing countries' elevated debt stocks refinancing since the mid-1980s. The authorship of the term *emerging markets* is attributed to Antoine Van Agtamael, former president of IFC (International Finance Corporation), the financial arm of the World Bank, in order to reframe those countries in the financial markets risk classifications and resume the flow of private capital to recycle their debt stocks. This classification replaced the former *third world funds* in order to give greater credibility to these

⁴ Sartori (1970, p. 1041) identifies the *extension* as the number of referents in a given category, while the *intension* is the set of attributes that determine the membership to this category. Both make up what the author calls the "ladder of generality" of a concept. An over-extension occurs when a concept is deformed to embrace new cases. To better understand the evolution of this discussion see Sartori (1970 and 1984, pp.52-53), Collier & Mahon (1993) and Goertz (IN: Collier and Gerring, 2009).

borrowers once they adopted the adjustment policies set by international financial institutions. In effect, what was developed was a new category of financial assets that would gain prominence since the release of *Brady Bonds* (Levi, 2009; Pilbeam, 2013).

In the 1990s, the *emerging market bonds* would become important fixed income components of various assets (Levi, 2009; Pilbeam, 2013). This process derives a large specific literature on the subject and, in consequence of its operational role, its first delimitative classifications. Solnik (1991) offers one of the pioneer boundaries to the term, acknowledging the original IFC classification, as a country that matches a positive evolution of *per capita* income with the adoption of adjustment measures. Pereira (2002) and Harvey (1995a, 1995b) offer a more comprehensive list of attributes that would add to the adjustments and economic growth, indicators of integration of these economies to international financial capitalism. In the IMF and World Bank's framework, over the 1990s, the category *emerging markets* is considered interchangeable with *developing countries*. This merger, however, has not received a delimiting systematization; it is the identification of these geographic areas with new economic expanding opportunities. *Emerging markets and developing countries* would be all those economies that are not the advanced ones, measured by the level of *per capita* income (World Bank, 2013; International Monetary Fund, 2013).

These new *emerging markets* found a new role in the international economy in the beginning of this century (Kose, 2008). On the financial side, the difference in interest rates offered by some of these markets' currencies in relation to the dollar and other convertible currencies directed a large inflow of capital to them, majorly related to *carry trade* operations⁵ (Cintra, 2005, p.19). At the same time, there was a reorganization of trade and production chains on the real side of the international economy. Since then, *emerging markets* have begun to register continued surpluses in their current accounts in this century, driven by the performance of other "emergent", the industrial production of East Asia (Spence, 2008).

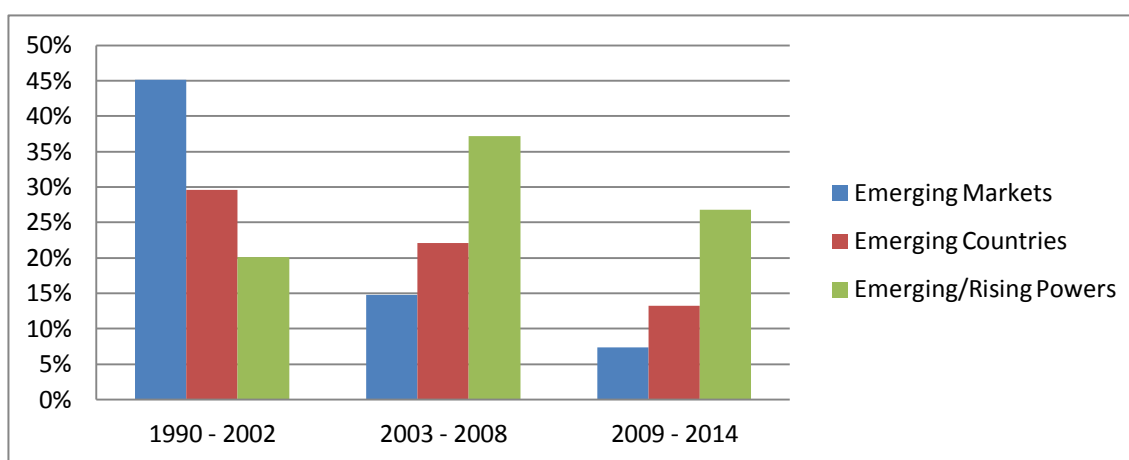
The exposed process was underway already when the first work of Goldman Sachs highlighted, among the many emerging economies, those that would play a central role in the future of the world economy: Brazil, Russia, India and China (O'Neill, 2001, 2003, 2005). Whereas the works of Goldman Sachs composes an empirical and operational literature, intended to help financial market agents, it exposes two important components in order to understand the appropriation of *emerging* lexicon by the International Relations literature. First, these works specify, among the "emergent", a group of countries whose growth path could constitute a long-term movement towards the centre of the international economy. Second, the work argues that such a promise should allow their proper inclusion in international financial governance spheres in particular by the G-7 expansion. Hence, this body of work casts a different view, within the financial literature, on these actors whose prominence was

⁵ Resources taken in the short term, with the low interest rate markets to be invested in higher risk and return operations (Cintra, 2005, p.19), in this case, securities denominated in non-convertible currencies of emerging countries.

confirmed over the decade and has outranged the scope of the financial market in the same way that the lexicon *emergent* has overflowed that literature.

The 21st century has witnessed the dissemination of the qualifier *emerging* or *rising* to political referees in both academy and diplomacy, which carried these historical transformations into a vernacular legacy to be explored in the discipline of International Relations. The adnoun *emerging power* becomes interchangeable with *rising powers*, both covalent to describe a new feature of the field, the new role of the former emerging markets in world economy and politics. Figure 1 shows the growth rate average of references⁶ to this terminology during the process described earlier. It allows illustrating the expansion of the term *emerging/rising power* in academic production during this century, despite a smaller absolute relevance in comparison with the category of *emerging markets*. Furthermore, narrowing the results to only journals in the section International Relations and Area Studies, at JSTOR, Figure 2 shows that the terms *emerging/rising power* gains absolute relevant, besides an increased trend of expansion. The same interpretations are stronger if the analysis is restricted to references in titles and abstracts, as in Figure 3. Altogether, the data corroborates the interpretation that the nominalizations *emerging/rising power* have being appropriated to International Relations, and its expansion is contemporary to transformation in structural position of previously called emerging markets.

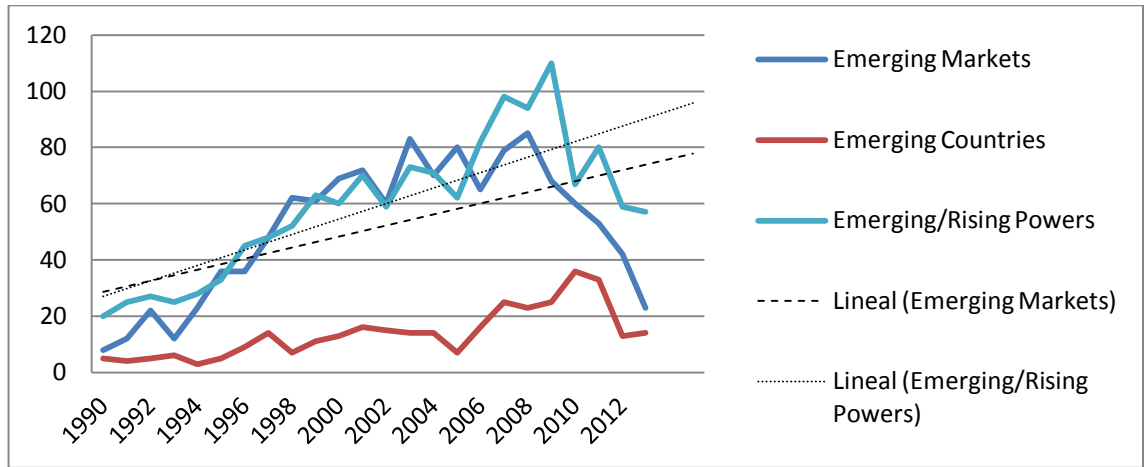
Figura 1 - Growth Tax Avarage of References in Academic Periodics



Source: Own elaboration from academic databases.

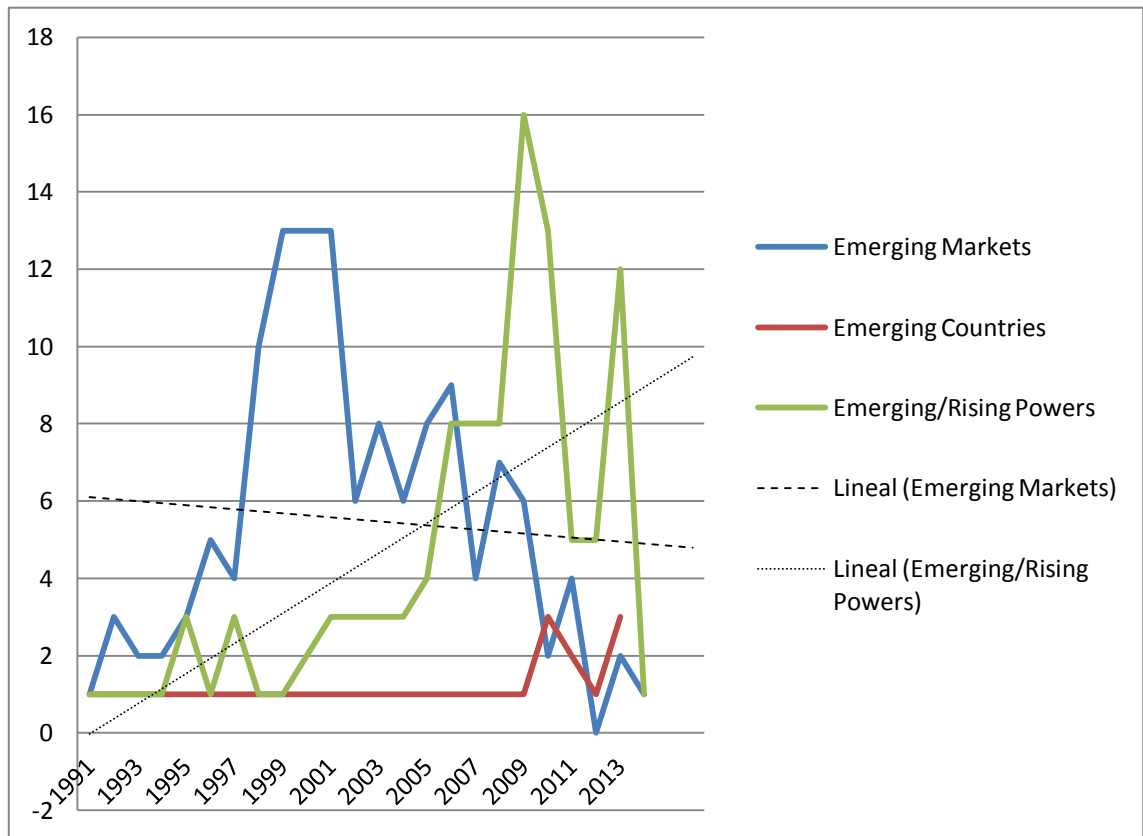
⁶ It has been observed the reference to these terms in fifteen academic databases 1) Political Science area of Qualis CAPES, 2) Academic Search Premier – EBSCO; 3) Gale – Academic One File; 4) CAPES database for doctoral dissertations; 5) Cambridge Journals Online; 6) Duke University; 7) JSTOR; 8) Project Muse; 9) Sage; 10) Oxford University Press for Social Sciences; 11) Google Academic; 12) SCOPUS for Social Sciences; 13) Scielo Brasil; 14) Web of Science; and 15) Wiley and Sons Online.

Figura 2 - Frequency of References in JSTOR International Relations and Area Studies (Index = 1990) - Full Text



Source: Own elaboration from academic databases.

Figura 3 - Frequency of References in JSTOR International Relations and Area Studies (Index = 1990) - Title and Abstract



Source: Own elaboration from academic databases.

In order to address the qualitative transformations in the lexicon *emergent* towards the discipline, it has been studied the guiding narratives in the use of the terms emerging market, emerging countries, emerging powers and rising power. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses suggest the existence of a clear segmentation in the employment of the adjective *emerging*. The narratives attributed to *emerging markets* have dialogue

with the operational classification of financial literature. The nominalizations *emerging country*, *emerging power* and *rising power*, in turn, seem to depict the structural changes perceived in International Relations in the course of recent decades. In general, the authors associate the “emergent” to the phenomena of influence, material capacities, political activism, hegemony, dominance, all of which related to might. Thus, power is the substantive that surges in this literature, which makes the terms *rising* or *emerging power* more reliable to qualify it and the last the most prototypical of this lexicon *emergent* appropriated to International Relations. Therefore, adjective *emerging* has “stretched” its connotative range according to changes within the reality of its referees.

The study of the contents underlying the "stretching" of the concept, derived from its "travelling", is perceived as a necessary first step to its framing as an analytical device in the field. Concepts as theoretical tools are logical constructs with the purpose of defining the constitution of a phenomenon, the particularity amidst generality (Sartori 1970: 1033-36; Goertz, 2006, p. 5). Thus, its boundaries have to be defined in the framework of a theoretical comprehension of the reality within the discipline (Sartori, 1970; Goertz, p.235-237). However, a relevant part of the literature on concepts stresses the importance of strong connections between the technical language and the established use in the field in which the term operates (Rosch & Mervis, 1975; Lakoff, 1990; Collier & Mahon, 1993, p 853; Gerring, 2001, p. 40). Koselleck (2004) adverts for the dual character of concepts: both as a positive semantic fact and as a container of a historical process. This section sought to address this constitutive dynamic, in the next, it will be scrutinized the static that it derives: the semantic patterns of the usage of the term *emerging power* to be later contrasted with contrast categories outside it.

Semantic patterns in the use of adnoun *Emerging Power*

This section analyses the range of meanings accumulated from the usage of the concept of *emerging power* to describe phenomena of international relations. In order to accomplish this task it was studied all references to “*emerging power(s)*” or “*rising power(s)*” in titles, abstracts or keywords, in all journals classified as Qualis A1 or A2 by CAPES⁷. This selection led to a set of referential⁸ works that framed the meanings the concept has in the literature. These distinct semantic patterns were studied through qualitative analyses of *family resemblances* deriving the qualifiers correlated to adnoun *Emerging Power* in those articles.

⁷ Portuguese abbreviation to “Comissão de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal do Ensino Superior”, the Brazilian agency in charge of evaluating academic performance in higher education.

⁸ The complete study that led to these semantic patterns will be released in forthcoming work at *Revista de Sociologia e Política*. It has been reviewed following works: Jordaan (2003), Kang (2007), Ikenberry & Wright (2008), Zacharia (2008), Harte & Jones (2010), Silva (2012), Benachenchou (2013), Visentini (2013), Waltz (1993), Blázquez & Santiso (2004), Weber & Bussell (2005), Detomasi (2006), Hurrell (2006), Macfarlane (2006), Tammen (2006), Cooper *et al.* (2007), Burity (2008), Callahan (2008), Giaccagila (2010), Ikenberry (2008; 2011), Kumar (2008), Palat (2008), Shwengel (2008), Beeson & Bell (2009), Bell & Feng (2009), Barros-Platiau (2010), Chin (2010), Flesmes (2010), Lessa (2010), Naibin (2010), Nel (2010), Schirm (2010), Stuenkel (2010), Claudin (2011), Desai & Vreeland (2011), Santos (2011), Andreasson (2012), Golub (2013), Gray & Murphy (2013), Gratius (2012), Hurrell & Segupta (2012), Schenoni (2012), Cooper & Flesmes (2013), Hurrell (2013), Mittelman (2013) & Vanaik (2013).

The most ubiquitous aspect of emerging powers is the forecast of their continuous economic growth and long-term greater economic relevance, along with its conversion into influence on international order. Besides, the literature identifies them by its claim for space in global governance, discussing the character of their claim whether reformist or revisionist (Hurrell, 2006; Tammem, 2006; Cooper, Antikiewicz & Shaw, 2007; Ikenberry, 2008, 2011; Chin, 2010; Flandes, 2010; Schirm, 2010; Grey & Murphy, 2013). This quest for recognition has often been associated by the historical identity of non belonging to the *status quo* order, regarding the ties of these countries to the Third World movement and the idea of Global South (Buriarty, 2008; Palat, 2008; Callahan, 2008; Nel, 2010; Santos, 2011; Hurrell & Segupta, 2012; Narlikar, 2013; Hurrell, 2013). Thus, the observation of gains in the redistribution of world economic flows in recent years seems to be the material fundamentals in the literature that uphold the institutional activism of the so-called *emerging powers* in international order. At the same time, regional dynamics are much present in the analyses of their rise, either busting or boosting it (Waltz 1993, Hurrell, 2006, Burges, 2013, Whitaker, 2010). The ideological foundation or identity most present in the literature for this behaviour, in turn, is trajectory of not belonging to the hegemonic order of these countries.

Therefore, the literature outlines these three dimensions of the narratives driving the lexicon *emergent* to International Relations:

- Perspective of relevant economic growth in the near future and a greater share of world economic flows.
- Claim for greater recognition in global governance, whether through reformist or revisionist strategies.
- Historical identity of non belonging to *status quo* order.
- Regional military or economic primacy.

In this sense, an *emerging power* would be the one whose diplomatic behaviour aims to reform or to review the international order, having material support to its claims. This pattern of behaviour is prototypically associated with a non-identity belonging to the *status quo* of the international order. Nevertheless, this semantic content carried by a concept must be *ratified* by the *pragmatics* of its new field (Wittgenstein, 2009).

Hitherto, the analyses of the semantic transformations within the lexicon *emergent* in its appropriation to International Relations sought to contribute towards its analytical framing, systematizing general aspects of its current use. However, as Gerring (2001, p.53-54) ponders, the *rules of usage* in general language, by itself, do not provide the conceptual validity, but a terminological spectrum that can be embedded in a specific technical language. Incorporation of the concept to International Relations demands expanding the "state of the art" expressed in its use and greater specification of the *pragmatics* governing it within the discipline. In other words, recognizing Wittgenstein's allegory (2009, p. 38), once concatenated the "nodes of the network of similarities" in the concepts use, the task of defining its theoretical terms arises. Thus, it

is argued that each exposed dimension deserves its own study, incorporating a literature review and an intellectual reflection about its *rules of usage* in this new theoretical context.

Rules of usage: conceptions of rise of Intermediate States in International Relations Theory

The field of International Relations was envisaged to comprehend interactions among system-determining states, the centre or great powers (Keohane, 1969). Nevertheless, the globalization of industrial and financial capitalism since the late 20th century has given room to other players, who do not determine systemic order, but whose integration in world dynamics would not allow this taxonomical gap anymore (Lima, 1990, p.7). It has been recognized a specific object of study, a group of countries which “are different from World Great Powers, but could not be confused with the mass of small countries”⁹ (Sennes, 2003, p. 17). This theoretical approach towards intermediate states has been developed into three categories: Semi-Periphery, Middle Powers and Regional Power. All these three depict distinct dimensions of the particularity associated to this position. To address these categories as the *pragmatics* underlying the theory on the rise of intermediate states, this essay investigates how each position is conceived and how the rupture with this is perceived in the literature.

Firstly, the concept of Semi-Periphery has its inception in the reinterpretation of the dualistic stratification “centre and periphery”, from ECLAC¹⁰, by Braudel (1985) and Wallerstein (1974). A common ground for these authors is the interpretation that capitalism has a “texture” of the same kind in the microcosm of social domination and in the macrocosm of relations among states, areas and populations (Braudel, 1985, p.67-69). The international system is perceived as a World-System¹¹, functionally and geographically stratified by the concentration of capital. Beyond this conception, it was Arrighi (1998, p. 137-253) who ascertained the theoretical determinants of the Semi-Periphery. For him, this group of states is stuck to the illusion of its development, to the extent that their provision of revenue advantages to capital ultimately reduces their costs advantages. In other words, it is possible to understand the Semi-Periphery as a class of highly integrated players in the system, but whose interactions are subject to a structural constraint of resources.

Semi-Periphery is, therefore, a rigid position understood as part of the process of systemic reproduction instead of its transformation. Still, Arrighi (1994, 1998) and Wallerstein (1976) discuss an exceptionally disruptive condition that allows a state to rise from within this position. This situation is the building up of sustained surpluses with the whole system; that is, by maintaining advantages of cost to capital in relation to centre and of revenue in relation to the periphery and semi-periphery, a state encloses a

⁹ From the original in Portuguese: “ao se diferenciar das Grandes Potências mundiais, mas confundia com a massa de países pequenos ou pouco expressivos”.

¹⁰ Economic Commission of Latin America and the Caribbean of United Nations, created in 1948.

¹¹ Here it is adopted the concept of World-System in terms of Wallerstein (1974), in lieu of Braudel’s (1985) concept of World-Economy. The option relies on the reasoning exposed by Braudel himself (1985), about the necessarily universal character of the first and spatially delimited of the second.

virtuous combination that, maintained in the long run, would symptomatically perform a trajectory towards the centre. However, the sustainability of such path is dependent upon its ability to retain capital and therefore retain the innovation within its jurisdiction. Therefore, the cases of emergency given by Arrighi¹² have their determinants mostly deriving from a change in the economic activities within the country, and consequently, in its insertion in the systemic accumulation process.

The literature on Middle Power focuses on the behavioural repercussions of the intermediate position. Keohane (1969) has been one of the subject's pioneer analysers, organizing states as to the degree of influence played in the international system. The Middle Powers are those states who have influence in international affairs through alliances and multilateral coalitions: the *system-affecting states* (Keohane, 1969, p. 295). Lima (1990, p. 10-11) dilutes this segmentation in a continuum between autonomy and vulnerability, where Middle Powers are players that possess the two at similar doses, depending on context of interaction. In this sense, given its positional limitations, the authors associate rise with greater influence in the system. Coalition building and leadership strategies in international regimes are seen as the prime way to effectively impact international order and the constitutive attitudes of *middlepowermanship* (Holmes, 1965; Cox, 1989). Hurrell (2000, p. 5-7) emphasizes multilateral organizations as an arena that catalyzes the power of intermediate states, being *loci* for cooperation among players with similar interests and for bargaining with Great Powers.

The category of regional power, in its turn, addresses the interaction of this structural limitation with geography. Regional powers are seen as actors who, although do not determine the systemic polarity and project power globally, do this regionally and, in doing so, they become necessary to understand the system (Nolte, 2010, p.883). Buzan and Weaver (2003, p. 50-56) consider that the end of bipolarity removed the overlay of systemic securitization, and it has been increasingly difficult to project the use of force worldwide, making regional spaces the environment where the security dilemma is most pungently manifested to the majority of states. Mearsheimer (2001, 234-238) generalizes this restriction as a consequence of the "stopping power of water" (p.114-128) that makes the dispute for regional hegemony determine the polarity and polarization of the system. Whereas the rise in this literature, mainly connected with security studies, is related to amplifying scope of force projection or the conditions to determine systemic polarity, part of the literature stresses the relevance of regional dynamics on this path.

Buzan and Weaver (2003) conceive regional polarization, its patterns of amity and enmity, as a societal phenomenon. Leadership and authority are perceived as central components in this sense (Flemes, 2007, 2010b; Nolte, 2010; Destradi, 2010; Frazier & Stewart-Ingersoll, 2013). Hence, a diplomatic claim for regional leadership shall be grounded in the possession of will and resources to provide public goods and act as the stabilizer of the subsystem, but also in being recognized for this role (Mattli, 1999; Flemes, 2007, 2010b; Shirm, 2010; Whener, 2014). Pedersen (2002) conceives

¹² Nominally, the case of Japan and China (Arrighi, 1994; 2007).

this social element of the path to leadership as a cooperative hegemony, in which the benefits from cooperation, i.e. material gains and stability, exceed the costs related to the acceptance of the authority. Nolte (2010, p. 16) stresses the asymmetry of such cooperation, once the magnitude of the gains made by the cooperative leader is greater than those obtained by the other members. Gilpin (2000; 2001, p. 361) highlights the relevance of economic regionalization as a necessary strategy for states and economic groups within it to be able to thrive globally in the oligopoly environment of globalization.

In this sense, the convention on *rise of intermediate states* is manifested in three dimensions. Semi-Periphery discusses the *longue durée* determinants of this position and how particular the momentum that allows the rupture with it is. The other two categories discuss the strategic options possible for those countries given their structural constraints. Middle Power literature focuses on the search for greater influence in the system by engaging in international institutions through coalition building. Recent work on Regional Powers stresses the geographical range that the influence of a state can reach and the role of threats, leadership, historical identities, interstate cooperation and economic integration within a region as determinants of the role a country plays in world affairs. In order to fill the theoretical gaps of their time, the literature on intermediate states stresses the position itself, its static manifestation rather than its disruptive dynamic. The course of systemic change in recent years has responded to this with the spread of the term *emerging power* in the discipline.

Final remarks: the pragmatics of an *emerging power* in international relations

As stated before, the concept of *emerging power* arises as *thesis* about its referent amidst the economic and political transformations International Relations has observed in this Century. The gain of space the “emergent” observed in world economy transformed their meaning inside the financial vocabulary, conducting the term to qualify International Relations phenomena. Such a greater economic growth in the developing world has empowered its major players to make a claim for space in global governance, by either reforming or revising *status quo* order (Hurrell, 2006; Tammem, 2006; Cooper, Antikiewicz & Shaw, 2007; Ikenberry, 2008, 2011; Chin, 2010; Flesmes, 2010a; Schirm, 2010; Grey & Murphy, 2013). Their behaviour is linked with an ideological foundation or identity connected with a common historical trajectory from Global South or Third World (Burity, 2008; Palat, 2008; Callahan, 2008; Nel, 2010; Santos, 2011; Hurrell & Segupta, 2012; Hurrell, 2013). These attributes deny the theoretical static stated for the intermediate position categories, shedding lights onto narratives of change. Nevertheless, the concept has to break its synchrony by opening dialogue with the *pragmatic* knowledge about the object it connotes: the conception of rise in the literature of intermediate states.

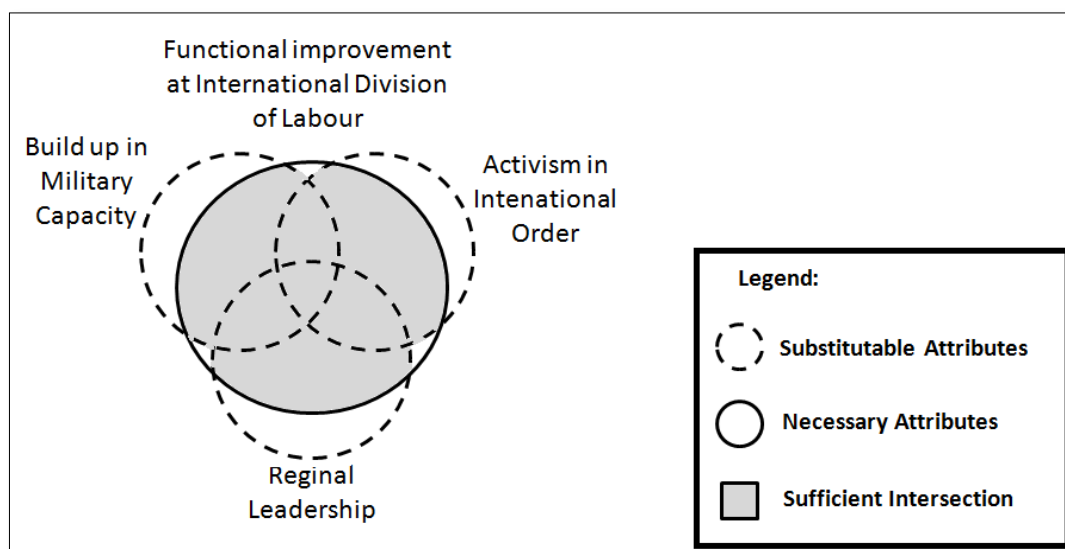
The confrontation of *thesis* deriving its semantic patterns and the conception of rise already present theory of international relations aims to outline a route to understand the transformation the rising power inflicts on international affairs by

contextualizing its episodic manifestation with the endowed conceptions on the phenomena that history is now describing. The opposition within the concept of *emerging power* synthesizes three dimensions. Firstly, the rise of intermediate states has a structural component, a disruptive change of a country's position in world economy that enables political influence. This aspect raises the question on the effective structural character of the empowerment acquired for some states denoted as *emerging powers*. Secondly, the strategy of leadership of these countries in international institutions has to be followed up regarding whether they achieve an increasing rule making role in each international regime and in international order. In this sense, this dimension permits theory to face praxis, addressing the potentialities of a "meta-power"¹³ from multilateral activism as an effective strategy for non established actors. Thirdly, the connections between regional and global dynamics seems inherent to the comprehension of the conditions of rise for *emerging powers*. Thus, the search for global influence has to deal with a greater concentration of both threats and potential cooperation within regional interactions. In conclusion, the dialectics comprising concepts formation reveal three aspects that seem to deserve further debate regarding the structural character and the historical particularity of the phenomenon of *emerging power* in International Relations.

In sum, the analysis of literature throughout this work subsidizes the conclusion that an *emerging power* would be a country that observes a positional improvement in the distribution of global wealth and converts it into political power. This conversion may be perceived *ex post*, by the acquisition of military capacities, or *ex ante*, according to strategies identified as leading to greater political influence, such as a regional leadership formation or the creation of a more favourable normative order. These powers' emergence of was perceived as the manifestation of the upward trajectory of an intermediate country towards a more central structural position than its previous one, reducing differential of influence between its agency and the one of those that determine the system. The inherent potentiality in the qualifier, as a category regarding a transitional process, makes economic rise a necessary attribute for its connotation. Therefore, an emerging power is a country that observes a positional improvement in the distribution and accumulation of global wealth and converts it into political power, as illustrated in Figure 4. Figure 4 presents a diagram that organises the connotative range deriving concept's formation in a radial form. The literature identifies an *emerging power* with a relative growth in any combination of attributes shown in Figure 9 grey areas. Each of the accepted combinations is a specific dimension of concept as a subtype of the phenomenon, and their joint manifestation expresses its complete case.

¹³ In reference to Krasner's (1985, p. 13-15) conception of "meta-power" as the influence a country acquires by changing of the rules of the game according to its preferences.

Figura 4 - Dimensions comprising the concept of emerging power in International Relations



Source: Own elaboration.

The definition presented here is seen as the synthesis of a convention on the internal logic of the concept of an emerging power, comprising the narratives that have described reality through this term and the established knowledge on phenomenon of rises from intermediate position. Notwithstanding, each logical nexus presented deserves its own particular analytical development, coupled to a delimited theoretical body that confronts the general rationalization produced here. Nevertheless, it is expected that this effort of understanding the emergence of intermediate countries as an analytical category of International Relations theoretical vernacular would be conducted by the creative destruction of logical determinants here delimited by new theoretically hierarchical threads. The theoretical depuration of the concept of an emerging power as well as its operationalization to analyse historical reality are understood as the inherent deployments in order to realize the convention that this paper has sought to systematize.

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