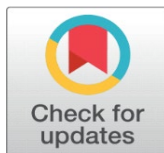
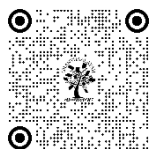


CHANGING WORLD ORDER AND THE EMERGING ECONOMIES

Khushbu Dahiya¹, Dr. Pardeep Kumar²

¹ Research Scholar, Department of Political Science Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak

² Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak



Corresponding Author

Khushbu Dahiya,
khushbu.rs.polsc@mdurohtak.ac.in

DOI

[10.29121/shodhkosh.v4.i2.2023.3829](https://doi.org/10.29121/shodhkosh.v4.i2.2023.3829)

Funding: This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

Copyright: © 2023 The Author(s). This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

With the license CC-BY, authors retain the copyright, allowing anyone to download, reuse, re-print, modify, distribute, and/or copy their contribution. The work must be properly attributed to its author.



ABSTRACT

The global order is undergoing a transformative shift as emerging economies such as China, India, Brazil, and South Africa redefine global power dynamics. These nations, once marginal in global decision-making, are now reshaping international relations through sustained economic growth, technological innovation, and demographic advantages. Their growing influence is evident in platforms like BRICS, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, which advocate for inclusive governance and challenge Western-dominated institutions. The rise of these economies reflects a broader transition from a unipolar to a multipolar world, driven by globalization and strategic initiatives like China's Belt and Road Initiative and India's Act East Policy. While their ascent offers opportunities to address global inequalities and enhance South-South cooperation, it also brings challenges such as internal disparities, environmental pressures, and external geopolitical rivalries. The evolving responses of established powers, including strategic partnerships and attempts at containment, underscore the contested nature of this transition. Emerging economies are central to shaping a more balanced and cooperative global order, offering both opportunities and complexities in navigating the realities of the 21st century.

1. INTRODUCTION

The world is witnessing a remarkable transformation in the global order, driven by the ascent of emerging economies that are challenging the traditional dominance of Western powers. This phenomenon has gained significant attention as countries like China, India, Brazil, South Africa, and others reshape the geopolitical and economic landscape. These nations, often categorized as emerging economies, have demonstrated rapid economic growth, technological advancements, and increasing political influence, making them pivotal players in global affairs. This ongoing shift from a unipolar or Western-centric world order to a multipolar one underlines the growing prominence of these economies in shaping the future trajectory of international relations and governance.¹ Emerging economies have historically been on the periphery of global power structures, with the United States and European countries dominating decision-making in international institutions. However, the post-Cold War period marked the beginning of a gradual redistribution of

¹ Mahbubani, K. (2013). *The Great Convergence: Asia, the West, and the Logic of One World*. Public Affairs Books.

power, due to globalization, industrialization, and a reconfiguration of economic priorities in the Global South.² The 2008 global financial crisis further accelerated this shift, exposing vulnerabilities in Western economies and highlighting the resilience of emerging markets. Countries like China and India continued to grow during this period, cementing their roles as critical engines of the global economy.³ At the core of this shift lies the changing economic dynamics of emerging economies. Their contributions to global GDP, trade, and investment have increased substantially over the past few decades. China, for instance, has risen to become the world's second-largest economy and a leading innovator in fields like artificial intelligence and green technology. India, with its vast pool of skilled labor and technological expertise, has emerged as a hub for digital innovation and a major advocate for climate change mitigation. Brazil, South Africa, and other nations have also leveraged their natural resources, strategic geographic locations, and regional influence to assert their presence on the global stage. Together, these economies are redefining the contours of globalization, shifting the epicenter of global trade and investment towards the East and the Global South.

The rise of emerging economies is not merely an economic phenomenon but also a geopolitical one. Institutions like BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) have gained prominence as platforms for these countries to coordinate their strategies and assert their collective influence. These forums challenge the dominance of Western-led organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank, advocating for more inclusive governance structures that reflect the realities of the 21st century. Moreover, initiatives like China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and India's Act East Policy illustrate how emerging economies are shaping global connectivity and regional partnerships to align with their strategic interests. Despite these achievements, the rise of emerging economies is not without challenges. Internally, these countries face issues such as income inequality, political instability, and environmental degradation, which could hinder their long-term growth. Externally, they must navigate a complex and often volatile international system marked by trade wars, shifting alliances, and the resurgence of great-power competition. The reactions of established powers, particularly the United States and the European Union, to the rise of these economies have been mixed, ranging from strategic partnerships to overt attempts at containment. For instance, growing tensions between the U.S. and China over trade, technology, and security highlight the contested nature of the evolving global order. As the global order evolves, the contributions of emerging economies will continue to shape the narrative of the 21st century.⁴ Their rise offers opportunities to address longstanding global inequalities and create a more inclusive system of international governance. However, it also brings challenges that require careful understanding.

2. KEY DRIVERS OF THE RISE OF EMERGING ECONOMIES

The ascent of emerging economies as significant actors in the global order is the result of various interlinked drivers that span economic, demographic, technological, and geopolitical domains. These factors have enabled nations such as China, India, Brazil, and South Africa to transform their domestic landscapes while reshaping global power dynamics. Their rise is not only a product of internal reforms but also a response to shifts in the broader international environment, which have created opportunities for these nations to assert themselves on the global stage. One of the most defining drivers of the rise of emerging economies is their sustained economic growth and industrialization. Over the last few decades, these countries have transitioned from being largely agrarian or resource-dependent economies to industrial and service-oriented powerhouses. China's rapid industrialization, underpinned by export-led growth and massive infrastructure investments, has catapulted it to the position of the world's second-largest economy.⁵ Similarly, India's robust growth, driven by its thriving services sector, has positioned it as a major global player in information technology and pharmaceuticals. Brazil has capitalized on its vast natural resources, becoming a major exporter of agricultural and energy commodities, while South Africa remains a key player in mining and energy. These economic transformations

² Baylis, J., Smith, S., & Owens, P. (Eds.). (2020). *The globalization of world politics: An introduction to international relations*. Oxford university press, USA.

³ Ibid

⁴ Stuenkel, O. (2017). *Post-Western world: How emerging powers are remaking global order*. John Wiley & Sons.

⁵ Singh, Abhya Raj., Katiyar, Raj., & Kumar, Rohit., (November 2024). *The New Global Order: How China's Rise is Redefining American Influence*. World Focus.

have significantly increased the contributions of emerging economies to global GDP, enhancing their clout in international trade and investment. Globalization has acted as a critical enabler of this economic growth. The liberalization of trade and investment policies, particularly in the 1990s and early 2000s, allowed emerging economies to integrate deeply into the global economy. They became integral to global value chains, providing manufacturing bases, raw materials, and services to the rest of the world. For instance, China emerged as the “factory of the world,” while India became a global leader in software development and outsourcing. The influx of foreign direct investment (FDI) into these economies further fueled their growth, as multinational corporations sought to capitalize on their low production costs, skilled labor, and expanding consumer markets. Moreover, their strategic geographic locations amplified their importance in global trade networks. For example, India’s position along major maritime routes in the Indian Ocean and Brazil’s access to both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans make them crucial hubs for regional and global commerce.

Technological innovation and digital transformation have also been game-changers for emerging economies. Recognizing the importance of technology in driving economic growth, these nations have heavily invested in research and development (R&D). China has made significant strides in cutting-edge fields such as artificial intelligence, green energy, and advanced manufacturing, while India has emerged as a global IT and digital services leader, fostering innovation in fintech, e-commerce, and renewable energy. Technological advancements have also allowed these economies to leapfrog traditional stages of development, particularly in areas such as mobile connectivity, digital banking, and e-governance. For example, India’s Aadhaar system, a biometric identification platform, has revolutionized access to social services for millions of citizens. The embrace of technology has not only driven productivity but also created new industries and employment opportunities, further strengthening their economic foundations.

Demographic advantages have played an equally crucial role in the rise of emerging economies. Many of these nations have large, youthful populations that serve as a dynamic and cost-effective workforce. This demographic dividend has spurred economic growth by increasing labor productivity and driving domestic consumption. For instance, India’s young and rapidly growing population has fueled the expansion of its consumer market, making it one of the largest and fastest-growing economies in the world. Additionally, the expansion of the middle class in countries like China, Brazil, and Indonesia has created a surge in demand for goods and services, further stimulating domestic economies and attracting foreign investment. Urbanization has also been a key driver, as the migration of populations to cities has boosted infrastructure development and economic activity, while creating hubs of innovation and entrepreneurship.

Geopolitical shifts have further bolstered the rise of emerging economies. The decline of Western dominance, particularly following the 2008 global financial crisis, created an opportunity for these nations to step into leadership roles on the global stage. Emerging economies have increasingly asserted themselves in multilateral forums, challenging the traditional dominance of Western-led institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Platforms like BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) reflect the efforts of these nations to create alternative frameworks for global governance. Initiatives like China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which aims to enhance global connectivity through massive infrastructure investments, and India’s Act East Policy, which seeks to strengthen ties with Southeast Asia, exemplify how emerging economies are reshaping regional and global dynamics to align with their strategic priorities.

Despite their achievements, the rise of emerging economies has not been without challenges. Internally, these nations face significant issues such as income inequality, governance deficits, and environmental degradation, which could hinder their long-term growth. Externally, they must navigate a complex global environment marked by trade wars, geopolitical rivalries, and resistance from established powers seeking to maintain their dominance. However, their resilience in the face of these challenges underscores the strength of the underlying drivers propelling their rise.

3. GEOPOLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE RISE OF EMERGING ECONOMIES

The rise of emerging economies has profound geopolitical implications, as these nations challenge the traditional balance of power and introduce new dynamics into global politics. As emerging economies grow in economic strength, they are increasingly asserting their influence in regional and global affairs, reshaping alliances, creating new institutions, and competing with established powers. This transformation marks a shift from a Western-dominated unipolar system to a more multipolar world order, where power is distributed across diverse actors. The geopolitical implications of this shift are vast and multifaceted, spanning regional dynamics, global governance, and contested spaces in trade, technology, and security.

4. REGIONAL DYNAMICS AND STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIPS

The rise of emerging economies has redefined regional geopolitics, as these nations seek to assert themselves as regional leaders while expanding their influence globally. For instance, China has strategically positioned itself as a dominant power in Asia through initiatives such as the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which aims to connect Asia, Africa, and Europe through infrastructure investments. The BRI is not merely an economic endeavor but a geopolitical strategy that enhances China's influence in participating countries, creating economic dependencies and solidifying its role as a central player in global trade and development. India, on the other hand, has pursued its *Act East Policy* to strengthen ties with Southeast Asian nations and counterbalance China's growing influence in the Indo-Pacific region. This policy involves deepening economic, strategic, and cultural ties with ASEAN nations, as well as fostering closer cooperation with key partners such as Japan, Australia, and the United States through platforms like the Quad (Quadrilateral Security Dialogue).⁶ Similarly, Brazil has asserted its leadership in Latin America, leveraging its economic strength and resources to influence regional integration through organizations like MERCOSUR (Southern Common Market).

Emerging economies are also actively engaging in South-South cooperation to enhance their collective influence. Initiatives such as IBSA (India-Brazil-South Africa Dialogue Forum) and BRICS highlight their efforts to create alternative platforms for collaboration that are independent of Western-led frameworks. These partnerships are not only enhancing regional cooperation but also creating new avenues for addressing global challenges like climate change, poverty, and sustainable development.

EMERGING ECONOMIES AND THE GLOBAL SOUTH

The rise of emerging economies has revitalized the Global South's voice in international relations. Historically marginalized in global decision-making, countries in the Global South are now finding allies in emerging economies, which share their developmental challenges and aspirations. Emerging economies advocate for a more equitable global governance system, emphasizing the need for reforms in institutions such as the United Nations Security Council, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank. For example, India and Brazil have consistently pushed for permanent seats on the UN Security Council, arguing that the current structure does not reflect contemporary geopolitical realities.

Emerging economies have also prioritized development-oriented diplomacy, focusing on issues such as poverty alleviation, infrastructure development, and technology transfer. China's investments in Africa, for instance, have significantly increased, with infrastructure projects, trade agreements, and concessional loans aimed at fostering economic growth. While these initiatives have been criticized as fostering dependency, they have also provided much-needed resources and development opportunities for Global South nations. Similarly, India's development partnerships with African and Asian nations, including its efforts in healthcare and education, exemplify the proactive role of emerging economies in addressing global inequality.

5. CONTESTED SPACES: TRADE WARS, TECHNOLOGY RIVALRIES, AND SECURITY

The growing influence of emerging economies has led to increased geopolitical tensions, particularly with established powers such as the United States and the European Union. One prominent area of contestation is international trade. Trade wars, such as the ongoing economic competition between the United States and China, illustrate the challenges posed by the rise of emerging economies. The U.S.-China rivalry extends beyond trade, encompassing technology, military power, and ideological influence. For instance, disputes over intellectual property rights, tariffs, and market access have strained relations between the two countries, with significant implications for global trade stability. Technology has become another critical battleground. Emerging economies like China and India are at the forefront of technological innovation, challenging Western dominance in fields such as artificial intelligence, telecommunications, and space exploration. China's global expansion of its 5G technology through Huawei has sparked security concerns in Western nations, leading to efforts to curtail its influence. Similarly, India's rise as a tech powerhouse has positioned it as a key player in the digital economy, prompting increased competition with Western firms and governments. This technological competition is reshaping global alliances and creating new fault lines in international relations. Security is

⁶ Tran, C. T. L., Chirathivat, S., & De, P. (2024). Indo-Pacific and ASEAN: New Balances and New Challenges for Asian Integration and Stability. In *Indo-Pacific and ASEAN* (pp. 1-16). Routledge India.

another domain where the rise of emerging economies is having significant implications. The Indo-Pacific region, for example, has become a focal point of geopolitical competition, with China's assertiveness in the South China Sea raising concerns among neighboring countries and global powers.⁷ In response, alliances such as the Quad (comprising the United States, India, Japan, and Australia) and AUKUS (Australia-United Kingdom-United States) have emerged to counterbalance China's growing influence. Similarly, Russia's involvement in BRICS and its closer ties with China signal an effort to create an alternative bloc that challenges Western security architectures like NATO.

6. THE CHALLENGE TO WESTERN DOMINANCE

The rise of emerging economies represents a direct challenge to the dominance of Western powers in global governance. Institutions that were once considered the bedrock of the global order, such as the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO, are now facing calls for reform to reflect the growing influence of emerging economies. For example, BRICS nations have established the New Development Bank (NDB) as an alternative to the IMF and World Bank, aiming to provide financing for infrastructure projects in developing countries without the conditionalities often imposed by Western-led institutions. This parallel institutional framework challenges the monopoly of Western powers over global financial governance and reflects the broader contestation of norms and rules established during the post-World War II era. The geopolitical implications of the rise of emerging economies are profound and multifaceted, encompassing shifts in regional dynamics, the strengthening of South-South cooperation, and increasing tensions in trade, technology, and security. These nations are not only asserting their influence within existing global structures but are also creating new frameworks to address their interests and priorities. As the global order transitions to a multipolar system, the role of emerging economies in shaping the geopolitical landscape will continue to grow, bringing both opportunities and challenges for global governance and stability. The rise of these economies marks a critical juncture in international relations, as they redefine power dynamics and reshape the future of global politics.

Responses of Established Powers to Emerging Economies and the Transition to a Multipolar World Order

The rise of emerging economies and the transition toward a multipolar world order have elicited varied and strategic responses from established powers. Traditionally dominant nations, particularly the United States and key European powers, have found themselves at a crossroads, grappling with the need to adapt to shifting global dynamics while safeguarding their strategic interests. These responses range from engagement and accommodation to outright competition and containment, reflecting the complexities of managing power transitions in an increasingly interconnected world.

Adaptation and Engagement: Accommodating Emerging Powers: One of the primary responses of established powers has been a strategy of engagement with emerging economies. Recognizing the economic and geopolitical significance of these nations, established powers have sought to integrate them into the existing global governance framework to maintain stability and avoid disruptive confrontations. For example, institutions like the G7 have expanded into the G20, providing emerging economies such as China, India, and Brazil with a seat at the table in discussions on global financial and economic issues. This inclusion reflects an acknowledgment of their growing importance in addressing global challenges, such as climate change, pandemics, and economic inequality. Similarly, initiatives such as trade agreements and strategic partnerships have been pursued by Western powers to deepen economic ties with emerging economies. For instance, the European Union has entered into free trade agreements with countries like Vietnam and Mexico, while the United States has strengthened bilateral ties with India through defense agreements, such as the U.S.-India Strategic Partnership. These measures not only foster economic interdependence but also aim to align emerging economies with the rules-based international order established by the West.

Competition and Containment: Managing the Rise of Rivals: While engagement has been a key strategy, competition and containment have also characterized the response of established powers, particularly in the context of emerging economies like China. The United States, for example, has adopted a more confrontational approach toward China,

⁷ Tran, C. T. L., Chirathivat, S., & De, P. (2024). Indo-Pacific and ASEAN: New Balances and New Challenges for Asian Integration and Stability. In *Indo-Pacific and ASEAN* (pp. 1-16). Routledge India.

viewing its rise as a direct challenge to American dominance in the Asia-Pacific and beyond.⁸ The ongoing U.S.-China trade war, which has seen the imposition of tariffs, restrictions on technology transfers, and efforts to decouple supply chains, exemplifies this competitive dynamic. Additionally, the U.S. has bolstered its military presence in the Indo-Pacific region and strengthened alliances such as the Quad and AUKUS to counterbalance China's growing influence. Europe, too, has taken a cautious stance, particularly with regard to China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and its increasing investments in critical European infrastructure. While some European nations, like Italy, initially embraced the BRI, others have raised concerns about the geopolitical implications of Chinese economic influence. The European Union has also implemented mechanisms to screen foreign investments, particularly in sensitive sectors like technology and energy, as a means of safeguarding its strategic autonomy. In addition to China, other emerging powers have also elicited competitive responses. Russia, for instance, has faced extensive sanctions from Western nations due to its assertive actions in Ukraine and its efforts to challenge NATO's influence in Eastern Europe. Similarly, India's rise as a regional power has led to nuanced strategies by Western nations, balancing cooperation in areas like defense and technology with concerns over its independent foreign policy, particularly its continued engagement with Russia.

Institutional Resistance and Reform Proposals: Established powers have also responded to the rise of emerging economies by resisting or slowing efforts to reform global institutions. For instance, despite repeated calls for reforming the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to include permanent representation for countries like India, Brazil, and South Africa, little progress has been made. Similarly, efforts to revise the voting structures of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank to reflect the economic contributions of emerging economies have faced resistance from Western nations, which remain reluctant to cede their influence. At the same time, some established powers have proposed selective reforms to co-opt emerging economies into existing frameworks. For example, the Paris Agreement on climate change reflects a multilateral effort to include emerging economies in global environmental governance, with differentiated responsibilities based on their developmental contexts. Such efforts aim to ensure that emerging economies contribute to global solutions while operating within the existing rules-based system.

The Shift Toward a Multipolar World Order

The responses of established powers to emerging economies are reflective of the broader transition to a multipolar world order. In this evolving global system, power is distributed across multiple centers rather than being concentrated in a single hegemon or a bipolar bloc as Amitav Acharya describes it as a multiplex order which will be diverse, decentred, complex and pluralistic. While this transition has created opportunities for greater inclusivity and diversity in global governance, it has also heightened tensions and rivalries. Established powers have sought to navigate this transition by fostering alliances and coalitions to maintain their relevance. The United States and Europe, for instance, have strengthened transatlantic ties and sought to deepen partnerships with like-minded nations in the Indo-Pacific to counterbalance the influence of China and Russia. At the same time, the rise of regional groupings such as the European Union, ASEAN, and the African Union demonstrates how regionalism is becoming a cornerstone of the multipolar order, with emerging economies playing central roles in these blocs. It is also imperative to understand that American World Order is coming to an end whether or not America itself is declining and the reconstituted hegemony has to adapt to a new multilateralism.⁹ However, the shift to multipolarity is not without its challenges. Competing visions of global governance, divergent national interests, and the absence of a single overarching authority have made consensus-building increasingly difficult. The erosion of multilateralism, exemplified by the weakening of institutions like the World Trade Organization (WTO), reflects the complexities of managing a multipolar world.

7. CONCLUSION

The rise of emerging economies marks one of the most significant transformations in the global order in recent history. These nations, driven by rapid economic growth, demographic advantages, technological advancements, and strategic geopolitical initiatives, have redefined their roles on the global stage. Their increasing prominence has not only shifted

⁸ Zhao, S. (Ed.). (2020). *China's New Global Strategy: The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB)*, Volume I. Routledge.

⁹ Acharya, A. (2014). *The End of American World Order*. Polity.
ShodhKosh: Journal of Visual and Performing Arts

the balance of power but has also created new opportunities and challenges in global governance, trade, security, and diplomacy. The world is witnessing a transition from a unipolar system dominated by the West to a multipolar order, where power is distributed across a diverse set of actors, each influencing the global system in unique ways. Emerging economies have brought a new dynamism to global politics, advocating for a more inclusive and equitable international system. Their push for reforms in institutions such as the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank reflects their desire for greater representation and influence in global decision-making. At the same time, these nations are establishing alternative frameworks, such as the BRICS-led New Development Bank and China's Belt and Road Initiative, which challenge the dominance of Western-led institutions and create pathways for South-South cooperation. The geopolitical implications of this transformation are profound. The growing influence of emerging economies has reshaped regional dynamics, with countries like China, India, Brazil, and South Africa asserting themselves as regional leaders and engaging in global partnerships. However, this rise has also led to increased tensions with established powers, particularly in areas such as trade, technology, and security. Established powers have responded with a mix of engagement, competition, and containment strategies, reflecting both their recognition of the shifting realities and their efforts to maintain influence in an evolving world order. As the global order becomes increasingly multipolar, the need for effective multilateralism becomes more urgent. While emerging economies and established powers have divergent interests and priorities, cooperation on transnational issues such as climate change, poverty alleviation, and global health is essential for ensuring sustainable development and stability. The ability of both rising and established powers to navigate these transitions and foster collaboration will determine the nature of the 21st-century global order. In conclusion, the rise of emerging economies and the shift toward a multipolar world order represent a critical juncture in international relations. While this transformation brings the promise of greater inclusivity and diversity, it also poses challenges in managing competing interests and divergent visions of global governance. As the world moves forward, the collaboration between emerging and established powers will be crucial in shaping a future defined by balance, cooperation, and shared prosperity. This evolving landscape presents an opportunity for reimagining global governance in ways that reflect the realities of a rapidly changing world while addressing the pressing challenges of our time.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

None.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

None.

REFERENCES

- Acharya, A. (2014). *The End of American World Order*. Polity.
- Acharya, A. (2018). *Constructing global order: Agency and change in world politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Baylis, J., Smith, S., & Owens, P. (Eds.). (2020). *The globalization of world politics: An introduction to international relations*. Oxford university press, USA.
- Cox, M. (2012). Power shifts, economic change and the decline of the West?. *International Relations*, 26(4), 369-388.
- Falk, R. (1992). Challenges of a Changing Global Order. *Peace Research*, 17-24.
- Foot, R., & Walter, A. (2010). *China, the United States, and global order*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hurrell, A. (2007). *On global order*. oxford.
- Jaishankar, S. (2024). *Why Bharat Matters*. Rupa Publications.
- Kissinger, H. (2015). *World order*. Penguin Books.
- Mahbubani, K. (2013). *The Great Convergence: Asia, the West, and the Logic of One World*. Public Affairs Books.
- Nölke, A., Ten Brink, T., Claar, S., & May, C. (2015). Domestic structures, foreign economic policies and global economic order: Implications from the rise of large emerging economies. *European journal of international relations*, 21(3), 538-567.
- Nye, J. S. (2011). *The future of power*. Public affairs.
- Rudd, K. (2015). The Great Guessing Game. *Horizons: Journal of International Relations and Sustainable Development*, (5), 32-49.
- Singh, Abhya Raj., Katiyar, Raj., & Kumar, Rohit., (November 2024). *The New Global Order: How China's Rise is Redefining American Influence*. World Focus.
- Stares, P. B., Jia, Q., Tocci, N., Jaishankar, D., & Kortunov, A. (2020). *Perspectives on a changing world order*. Council on Foreign Relations.
- Stuenkel, O. (2017). *Post-Western world: How emerging powers are remaking global order*. John Wiley & Sons.

- Tran, C. T. L., Chirathivat, S., & De, P. (2024). Indo-Pacific and ASEAN: New Balances and New Challenges for Asian Integration and Stability. In *Indo-Pacific and ASEAN* (pp. 1-16). Routledge India.
- Wade, R. H. (2011). Emerging world order? From multipolarity to multilateralism in the G20, the World Bank, and the IMF. *Politics & society*, 39(3), 347-378.
- Zakaria, F. (2008). The Post-American World. *W Norton & Co.*
- Zhao, S. (Ed.). (2020). *China's New Global Strategy: The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), Volume I*. Routledge.