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**Conduit of economic growth, development and South to South
cooperation? An assessment of South Africa and Brazil's BRICS
membership**

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Dissertation submitted for the degree *Magister Scientiae* in
International Relations at the North-West University

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Graduation: October 2019
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Study Leader/Supervisor (Principal Investigator)/Researcher: Prof. N Sempija

Student: N. Diko

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**CONDUIT OF ECONOMIC GROWTH, DEVELOPMENT AND SOUTH-
TO-SOUTH COOPERATION? AN ASSESSMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA AND
BRAZIL'S BRICS MEMBERSHIP**

Submitted by

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For the degree of **MAGISTER SCIENTIAE**

(INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

at the

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Declaration:

I, Nqophisa Diko, declare that this dissertation, **Conduit of economic growth, development and South to South cooperation? An assessment of South Africa and Brazil's BRICS membership**, hereby submitted for the award of Master of Social Science in International Relations to the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences at the North-West University, Mafikeng Campus is my own, independent work and has not previously been submitted at another university or faculty. All sources that I have used have been duly specified and acknowledged as complete references.

N Diko

April 2019

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Abstract:

The emerging economies known as Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa have joined together in order to form an economic group that challenges the status quo of the global north. Secondly it is a group that is determined to carve out for itself its own economic growth and developmental path by defining the two concepts in a manner that acknowledges the agency of the global south through South to South cooperation. This study examines whether or not BRICS is a conduit for economic growth and development and South to South cooperation by examining South Africa and Brazil. This is be done by examining eight measureable indicators over a ten-year period: - five years prior to entry into BRICS and five years after joining. This is supplemented with interviews conducted at four institutions that are directly involved with Brazil and South Africa and their membership in BRICS. As South Africa and Brazil are the smaller countries of the BRICS, are they able to maximise the benefits of being a member in terms of economic growth and development and is BRICS truly a conduit for South-to-South cooperation for the global south as they have argued. That is what the study is assessing; economic growth, development and SSC through a mixed method approach. Brazil and South Africa were able to achieve certain economic growth and development milestones prior to joining BRICS, so it is important to assess whether BRICS has continued to facilitate such growth, and how it impacts South to South Cooperation.

Abbreviations:

ANC _____ **African National Congress**

BRICs _____ **Brazil, Russia, India and China**

BRICS _____ **Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa**

DIRCO _____ **Department of International Relations and Cooperation**

DTI _____ **Department of Trade and Industry**

FDI _____ **Foreign Direct Investment**

GDP _____ **Gross Domestic Product**

GNP _____ **Gross National Product**

GEAR _____ **Growth, Employment and Redistribution**

IBSA _____ **India, Brazil and South Africa**

IIAG _____ **Ibrahim index of African Governance**

IMF _____ **International Monetary Fund**

ISI _____ **Import Substitution Industrialization**

MERCOSUR _____ **Southern Common Market**

OECD _____ **Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development**

RDP _____ **Redistribution, Development Programme**

SA _____ **South Africa**

SACU _____ **Southern Africa Customs Union**

SSC _____ South-South Cooperation

SADC _____ Southern African Development Community

Table of contents

Language editing certificate	iii
Declaration: iv	
Acknowledgments	v
Abstract: vi	
Abbreviations:	vii
List of Figures	xii
Chapter 1: 1	
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 The Rise of BRICS:	2
1.3 Significance of the study:	6
1.4 Problem Statement:.....	6
1.5 Research Aims:	7
1.6 Research Objectives:	7
1.7 Research Questions:.....	8
1.8 Outline of Chapters:	8
1.9 Conclusion:.....	9
Chapter 2: 10	
2.1 Introduction:	10
2.1.1 Regional Integration:	10
2.1.1.1 Regional Integration, Developing Countries and BRICS:	12

2.1.2 Economic Growth and Development:	14
2.1.2.1 Economic Growth, Development and BRICS:	15
2.1.3 South-South Cooperation:	19
2.1.3.1 BRICS and SSC:	22
2.2 Theoretical Framework	25
2.2.1 Structural Realism:	26
2.2.2 Neo-Liberalism:	29
2.2.3. Conclusion:.....	32
Chapter 3	34
3.1 Introduction:	34
3.2 Research Method:	34
3.2.1 Research Design Triangulation Method:.....	35
3.3 Sampling:	36
3.3.1 Quantitative Data:	37
3.3.1.1 Gross Domestic Product.....	37
3.3.1.2 Unemployment Rate:.....	38
3.3.1.3 Inflation:.....	39
3.3.1.4 Welfare, Health and Education:	41
3.3.1.5 Foreign Direct Investment and Trade Volume:.....	44
3.3.2 Qualitative Data:	45
3.3.2.1 Interviews:	45
3.4 Participant Selection:	46

3.4 Data Analysis:	47
3.5 Conclusion:	48
Chapter 4	49
4.1 Introduction	50
4.2 Impact of on Brazil:	51
4.3 Impact on South Africa:	55
4.4 Fostering South to South Cooperation:	58
4.5 View on BRICS contribution:	68
4.6 Conclusion:	74
5.1 Introduction:	76
5.2 Summary of findings:	77
5.3 Recommendations:	81
5.4 Conclusion:	85
Bibliography	86
Appendices	105

List of Figures

Figure 1	Formula to calculate GDP.	38
Figure 2	Formula to calculate Inflation Rate.	41
Figure 3	Formula to calculate Gini Coefficient.	42
Figure 4	Brazil's economic growth graph 2004-2014.	52
Figure 5	Brazil's development graph 2004-2014.	53
Figure 6	South Africa's economic growth graph 2005-2015.	55
Figure 7	South Africa's development graph 2005-2015.	56
Figure 8	Brazil's FDI 2004-2014.	60
Figure 9	Brazil's inward FDI by region.	60
Figure 10	Brazil's Trade Volume, Percentage of GDP.	61
Figure 11	South Africa's FDI 2005-2015.	63
Figure 12	Africa's inward FDI by country.	64
Figure 13	South Africa's Trade Volume, Percentage of GDP.	65.

Chapter 1:

Keywords:

South Africa, Brazil, BRICS, Economic Growth, Development, South to South Cooperation

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

What has been called the 'Great Economic Re-convergence' was predicted to reshape the world and the emerging economies are the ones which were slated to lead this change (Magnus, 2013:52). This economic re-convergence was supposed to take place in the global south, with - BRICs leading the change and effectively changing the way economic growth and development has been fostered by the global north. The term BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India and China) was first coined in a 2001 publication by Goldman Sachs that spoke about the fastest growing economies and their projected growth rate for the coming decade (O'Neill, 2001). The global economy has been for centuries and especially during the 20th, century dominated and controlled by the developed countries in the north. This includes the control of trade, finance, allocation of resources and the flow of capital, through the Bretton Woods Institutions including the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization. They were uncontested in their dominance of the global economy (Singh and Dube, 2013:6). The fastest growing economies at the turn of the century formed what is now known as BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). These five countries did not join BRICS at the same time. When the group is presented as BRICs, this is the period before South Africa, joined and the term BRICS highlights the period after South Africa gained membership.

These emerging countries were marked by certain characteristics that included the outstanding size of the economies, with China being the second largest economy in the world and India the fourth largest (O'Neill, 2001). The next characteristic was their strong growth rates that were leading to increasing significance in the world economy. Lastly was their demand for a stronger political voice in the international governance structures, corresponding with their economic status (EU Directorate-General for External Policies of the Union, 2012:7). With countries such as Brazil, whose economy was poised to outgrow many of the developed countries, entry into the

governing structures of international institutions should be extended to these emerging markets (O'Neill, 2001:10). The Goldman Sachs report predicted that the emerging markets, especially India and China, would have continuous growth rates of between 8 and 9%. Only Brazil was predicted to have what they called a 'G7 style' growth, which translates to having rapid growth such as its fellow BRIC members yet having a perceived slow down as other G7 countries have had (O'Neill, 2001:11). While Brazil was grouped into the BRICs because of its emerging market status and having rapid growth of over 5%, the same is not true of South Africa. South Africa joined BRICS at a much later stage. While South Africa was poised to experience economic growth, it was not geared to experience growth such as the other members yet the country successfully lobbied for entry as the 'gateway into Africa' (EDGE, 2012:2). This research study examines whether BRICS is a conduit for economic growth and development for both South Africa and Brazil and whether it fosters South-South Cooperation.

1.2 The Rise of BRICS:

The formation of the original BRICs was for the benefit of solving challenges that were unique to emerging markets of the south, and using methods that would be appropriate to those countries instead of the methods used by the developed countries (Gauteng Provincial Treasury, 2013). Some of these challenges included competing with the developed north in the international market while still having underdeveloped or developing economies and dealing with conditional based aid, loans and foreign direct investments that put further strain on their economies. While there are many shared challenges between developing countries, there are also many differences. What O'Neill (2001) noted was that the original BRICs countries had more differences than they did similarities, whether ideological, demographic, national interest and other factors. It has been noted that while BRICS do not share a homogenous structure, they also seem not to represent a 'unified actor' (Christensen and Bernal-Meza, 2014:35). The states also do not share the same national interests. An individual state has the instinct to protect itself and ensure its continuous survival whether it is part of an alliance or not. A prime example of this practice is China's rapid expansion into Africa for the purpose of entering new markets for their products and finding new sources for acquiring raw materials including iron ore, coal, gold and oil to fuel its economy (Large, 2007; Carmody, 2013). Europe had achieved successful integration and subsequent cooperation between the states which pointed to a transcendence of the 'anarchic state of nature' pushed forth by realists (Stein, 2008:203). This is due to the fact

that while there have been challenges in the process of integration, there has also been great success in fostering cooperation. One of the major challenges was the tension that the Cold War caused in Europe.

The first steps towards formulation of the original BRICs happened during the 61st UN General Assembly meeting in 2006, where BRICs foreign ministers held their own side meeting during the UN session (Singh and Dube, 2013:6). BRICs meetings involving finance ministers and other high level government officials of each of the BRICs countries continued to take place in the following years. It was at the third meeting where it was decided that there would be an increase in co-operation in various manners and various sectors between the four countries (Singh and Dube, 2013:7). The first official meeting where the formation of BRICs was concretized was held in 2009 in Russia as the first BRICs Summit (Singh and Dube, 2013:7). In 2010, at the second BRICs Summit, South Africa was officially given an invitation by Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi to become a member (Besada and Tok, 2014:79). Unlike its fellow BRICS partners, South Africa did not have the same rapid growth rate to be classified as an emerging market as classified by O'Neill (2001), in the same manner as the others. This growth rate is especially evident with China and India, who have growing economies that are theorized to overtake the United States (UNECA: 2013). What South Africa had to offer, which was highlighted during the period when President Jacob Zuma lobbied for a position in BRICS, was that South Africa is the gateway into Africa (Besada and Tok, 2014; Carmody, 2013; Besada, Tok and Winters, 2013).

Entry into BRICS was based on the notion that South Africa was one of the biggest economies on the African continent, has regional power and has a large market share of trade on the continent and access to raw materials (UNECA, 2013). It was in a position to facilitate the expansion of BRICS into the African market and grant its members access to Africa's raw materials (Besada, Tok and Winters, 2013:4). This was due to the fact that while South Africa's economy was smaller than its fellow members, it remained an important regional influence (Carmody, 2013:47). This argument was promoted by China in explanation of South Africa's inclusion. China also stated that the inclusion of South Africa would promote development

among members and also “further cooperation emerging market economies” (Besada, Tok and Winters, 2013:4).

As it has been stated above, for the purpose of the study, it is imperative that economic growth and development be clearly defined. This assists in understanding of what these concepts stand for when they are mentioned in the study. The concept of economic growth is a country’s ability to create wealth for itself (Haller, 2012; Dang and Sui Pheng, 2015; Jones, 2016). There are different methods of achieving this wealth, such as trade and foreign investments. All the material wealth aspects of a country define what economic growth means. There have been different methods of measuring a country’s economic growth. One of these methods is the annual increase in Gross Domestic Product, which is the market value of all goods and services produced within a country in a given time period (Dang and Sui Pheng, 2015:12). The next method that is alternatively used is Gross National Product GNP, which measures the total income earned by a nation’s permanent residents. In many instances GDP is more commonly used than GNP in calculating economic growth.

The same is true for this study; it is beneficial to use GDP as the economic measurement instead of GNP. The second economic indicator that is used to calculate economic growth is the unemployment rate. One of the mainstream broad definitions that is used for the unemployment rate is the number of people in a country who are not working but are actively searching for work (Card, 2011). With that definition in mind, the unemployment rate is the second economic indicator that is be used. The last economic indicator that is used is inflation. Inflation is defined as “the rate of increase in prices over time” (Oner, 2010:44). Using inflation, as one of the indicators is relevant because it helps in tracking the health of a country’s economy, as inflation which is out-of-control can lead to an economic crisis.

As mentioned above, economic growth is different from development as it deals with material wealth, unlike the factors that define development. Sustainable development has been extensively defined as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Elliott, 2013:8). Development takes

into account factors such as the improvements to the welfare, health care, education and housing of the poor population of a country (Dang and Sui Pheng, 2015; Szirmai, 2015). In essence, it is the quality and continuing improvement of life for the citizens of the country. It aims to achieve this through the economic prosperity of the country, which is directly linked to its growth in GDP, social equity using the means of quality education, health and housing and also environmental protection, especially for developing and underdeveloped countries (Dang and Sui Pheng, 2015:13, Elliott, 2013). A challenge that seems to plague the sustainable development discourse is the fact that understanding what the idea may mean, and what it actually entails in practice may mean different things to different states (Elliott, 2013:19). Economic growth is measured using three indicators; the same is true for development for the purpose of this study. The three indicators that are used to calculate development are welfare, health and education. The Gini Coefficient is used as the development indicator to measure welfare for this study. The Gini Coefficient measures the equality or lack thereof in a society (Haughton and Khandker, 2009). The second indicator – health- is measured using the under-five mortality rate. The eradication of under-five mortality is one of the Millennium Development Goals. One of the reason under-five mortality is so important is because the health of children is essential to the development of a country (Bhalotra, 2008). Lastly, education is be measured using literacy. Literacy is important because it impacts not just the individual, but families, communities and the prosperity of a nation (Rogers, 2011).

While economic growth and development are the main interests of BRICS members, there is also the aspect of South to South Cooperation that is a very high priority. As O'Neill (2001) argued the rise of emerging markets was inevitable when examining the changes in policy that had been enacted by these countries. Those developing countries have for decades and even centuries wanted their voices to be heard in the international system and have agency over the activities that occur within their own borders. BRICS describe themselves as the advocate for underdeveloped and developing countries of the South (Besada, Tok and Winters, 2013:4). South to South Cooperation (SSC) is the term given to countries which are located in the global south and the relationships and interactions that they have among themselves (Kakonge, 2014:1). The premise behind SSC is that this cooperation between these developing states is facilitated by these states themselves without the outside influence of the developed countries of the north. In turn this cooperation between these developing countries should lead to economic growth and

development that has been constructed by the south instead of imposed by the north (Mulakala, 2016). SSC is measured using two indicators. These are Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and trade volume. The study has a total of 8 indicators, and they are supplemented with interviews



1.3 Significance of the study:

The significance of this study is as follows. Unlike the other BRICS members, Brazil and South Africa have similar characteristics including having gone through a democratic evolution from being colonised to being under the rule of a dictatorship, then lastly to gaining democracy from military dictatorship for Brazil and from the apartheid regime for South Africa. Besides achieving democracy, they have also shown that economic growth and development is attainable following turbulent financial times. In the process, both states have implemented economic policies that have elevated their economies, thus gaining regional power and influence. Structural changes were enacted by Brazil and South Africa when they attained democracy. The side-effects of those changes were economic growth and development (White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, 1994; Lisboa and Latif, 2013). They were then able to leverage that regional power into global influence when, they joined BRICS. To curb their financial crisis, they introduced neoliberal economic reforms that took effect yielding a GDP growth rate of 17% from the years directly after achieving democracy and at the average rate of 4% per year by 1995 (Smith and Messari, 1998:64). However, ensuring their own states continuous growth under BRICS is important because their different economic structures and ideologies also mean different strategies (Carmody, 2013:9). Of the milestones that were achieved before joining BRICS, it is important to examine what joining such an organization has done to that economic growth and development. The two countries also belong to what has been identified as the developing south and are a part of the SSC. Examining the cooperation of SSC within BRICS adds depth to this research study.

1.4 Problem Statement:

The assumption by BRICS members is that as a united force, they can carve out a place for themselves on the global level politically and economically (Magnus, 2013:52). It is also clear that among the BRICS members, countries such as China, India and Russia have more of an

influence and impact in the decision making process that Brazil and South Africa do not have, firstly as a member of BRICS and secondly on the global level. With divergent national interests, goals and objectives, having equal outcome and benefits will not be possible for Brazil and South Africa since they are smaller economically and politically on a global level than the other BRICS members. BRICS does converge on the premise of challenging the western model of economic growth and development and of having power and global influence (Sanya Declaration, 2011 and Goa Declaration, 2016). However by being part of the BRICS arrangement the two countries also stand to benefit especially by gaining access to other markets and products. But because the other 3 members are larger economies, challenges persist for Brazil and SA on whether they can maximise the benefits of BRICS membership, leading to economic growth and development and whether it translates to effective South to South cooperation.

1.5 Research Aims:

It is against this background that the aim of this study is to investigate how Brazil and South Africa's membership in BRICS helps in advancing their economic growth and development and whether BRICS membership fosters South to South Cooperation.

1.6 Research Objectives:

The objectives of this study are the following:

- To examine how the membership of BRICS impacts Brazil and South Africa's economic growth and development.
- To explore whether participation in BRICS fosters South-to-South Cooperation between Brazil, South Africa and the global south.
- To assess how Brazil and South Africa view the contribution of BRICS to their economic growth, development and South-to-South Cooperation.

1.7 Research Questions:

This research study is answering the following questions:

- How does membership of the BRICS impact Brazil and South Africa's economic growth and development?
- To what extent does participation in BRICS foster South to South cooperation between Brazil, South Africa and the global south?
- How do Brazil and South Africa view the contribution of BRICS to economic growth, development and South to South Cooperation?

1.8 Outline of Chapters:

The layout of the chapters is as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction, background to the study, problem statement, research aim and objectives. This chapter provides an introduction to the research project, and introduces the research problem. The aim of the research is also clarified as well the research questions and objectives.

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework.

Chapter 2 provides an extensive review of the literature related to the economic growth and development of emerging markets. Also a review of literature on BRICS is provided and what its goals are on the topic of economic growth and development. Next this chapter contains the theoretical framework that is be used in this research. The theories that are used in this research study are structural realism and neoliberalism.

Chapter 3: Research methodology.

This chapter focuses on the research methodology that is be utilized for the research project. This includes discussion on the mixed method research design that is used in collecting the qualitative and quantitative data. Also interviews conducted with officials at specific institutions.

Chapter 4: Data analysis and discussion.

Chapter 4 contains an analysis of the data collected as well as the discussion of the findings.

Chapter 5: Conclusion.

Chapter 5 presents the summary of the data and analyse the data and lastly conclude the research project.

1.9 Conclusion:

This chapter has laid the foundation of the study through exploring the background to BRICS, the research problem, research questions and objectives. Other parts of the study have involved the aims and significance of the research to international relations. While chapter one introduces the study, chapter two delves in depth into the concepts, literature and theoretical framework used in the study.

Chapter 2:

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction:

In a research study, a literature review lays the foundation on which the study will be able to stand. Thus this chapter contains the literature review and theoretical framework for this research study. Publications by scholars that have contributed to the concepts pertaining to the study are discussed. In order to effectively do that, themes have been identified according to the concepts of this study. The literature that is discussed has been sectioned off according to the themes and concepts identified. The other objective of this chapter is to identify a gap in the literature and how this study fills it. The second half of this chapter focuses on the theoretical framework. The theoretical framework section discusses the theory that has been chosen for this study and why it is the best theory to use, and also details the characteristics of the theory.

2.1.1 Regional Integration:

The first theme that is identified within the literature reviewed is regional integration. De Lombaerde and Van Langenhove (2004:1) define regional integration as a “phenomenon of territorial systems that increases the interactions between their components and creates new forms of organisation, co-existing with traditional forms of state-led organization at the national level”. This co-existing integration is meant as a way to foster economic growth and development for states. Further gains that benefit economic growth and development include trade gains, investments, and increased returns as states gain entry into regional markets for their goods, security and relative stability from regional competition (De Lombaerde and Van Langenhove, 2004). Another important factor about regional integration is the territorial aspect of it. Most regional integration occurs within the same territorial boundaries that states share (Tanyanyiwa and Hakuna, 2014; Kayizzi-Mugerwa, Anyanwu and Conceicao, 2014). One of the reasons for integration within regional boundaries is due to the similarities that states may share, including, language, culture and historical backgrounds.

One of the reasons that regional integration has been on the rise is that states have realised that it would be beneficial to their national interest and goals if they strengthen their ties with countries who assist them in achieving those goals. This need to tie oneself to an ally has been important since the first and second world wars, but was brought into prominence with the Cold War (Mansfield and Milner, 1999:589). This is due to the fact that the Cold War divided the global system and forced states especially those part of the Soviet bloc, to integrate economically in order to achieve economic growth and continue their isolationist's policies. However, this model of integration was not sustainable in the long term, and states were forced to find multiple ways of integration that would best suit their goals.

Since the end of the Cold War, regional integration has become a global phenomenon with nearly all states being part of at least one trans-national regional organization (Schmitter, 2007; Mansfield and Solingen, 2010). Regionalism is achieved through integration however, scholars have argued whether integration is the process or the end result (Laursen, 2008:5). While this is true, there has been some debate on what is the definition of regional integration. Mansfield and Solingen (2010:146) point out that a region is usually defined as a group of countries that are located in the same geographical area. However they also point out that a region does not just define the physical area in which countries are located. Another definition of regional integration that scholars refer to is "the attainment within a territory, of a sense of community (Deutsch et al, 1957:5-6).

With that being said, regional integration has to encompass many characteristics, like those discussed above. Mansfield and Solingen (2010) go on to state that in some instances where one region ends another begins and because of this, two regions may share similar characteristics with each other that would allow for compatible regional integration between the two. One of the most prominent reason that regionalism was such an appealing concept in the international system is because regional economic institutions have been created to combat global economic problems (Mansfield and Milner, 1999:589). The reason for this is tied to the fact that regionalism covers a wide range of fields that are pertaining to a country's national interests, including economics, international relations and political economy (Kimbugwe et al, 2012:76). However, BRICS is the exception to this type of regional integration. While understanding that

there are multiple models of integration used by states, it is pertinent to examine regional integration from the perspective of developing countries and the BRICS' idea of regional integration.

2.1.1.1 Regional Integration, Developing Countries and BRICS:

Developing countries face many challenges that developed countries do not face. In order to combat those challenges, developing countries have increasingly turned to regional integration as a solution (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2010:7). Some of these challenges stem from the colonial history of developing countries. Regional integration has been embraced by many countries in order to achieve economic growth and development (Mansfield and Solingen 2010; Hartzenberg, 2011). Not all models of integration will be applicable to all regions, and because of this, each region has to find which model is suitable to meet their aims and goals.

Before the creation of BRICS as an organization, there was the grouping of India, Brazil and South Africa known as IBSA (Vieira and Alden, 2011). This trilateral partnership included three countries who are regional leaders on their respective continents. Also as emerging economies, the premise of partnering was to further their economic growth and development through cooperation (Vieira and Alden, 2011:507). IBSA recognized that as emerging economies, they share common interests, aspirations and challenges and that through this platform they can find solutions applicable to them as developing countries, especially in matter such as trade. This is one of the successes that they have achieved, lobbying the World Trade Organization and pushed for multilateral trade rules that are more responsive to the particular needs and circumstances that faces developing countries (Woolfrey, 2013:5). In the process, IBSA was also able to increase trade flows between the three countries.

The reason why achieving such goals was possible was the ability to cooperate together. As stated previously, regional cooperation can be achieved, especially when countries share similar characteristics. Besides being regional leaders, IBSA also share the characteristics of being

multi-ethnic democracies (Woolfrey, 2013:4). The last two characteristics that are shared by IBSA are not necessarily shared by all BRICS members. They are important because those characteristics play a role in the way countries cooperate and in how policies and agreements are drafted. However, Kayizzi-Mugerwa, Anyanwu and Conceicao (2014) state that while regional agreements may be entered into with good intentions, because of certain factors these regional agreements may either fail or they will be inefficient in carrying out their mandate. IBSA forms a less structured and less formal regional cooperation and trading bloc than BRICS.

BRICS brings in a completely different approach altogether. BRICS does not fall into the various approaches of regional integration like those mentioned above. Meena (2015) approaches regional integration using some of the characteristics used when approaching traditional regionalism. In the case of BRICS, the first similarity that they share is that they are regional powers in their respective regions (Meena, 2015:31). The second commonality that the BRICS countries share, especially the original BRICs, is the rapid economic growth due to globalization. That growth comes from the cooperation between members and because of this, they have increased foreign direct investments in their countries. FDI inflows have accounted for 10% of their annual fixed capital formation (Chen and De Lombaerde, 2013:113). Besides having an increase in FDI inflows, there was also an increase in FDI outflows, meaning that BRICS is actively investing in other countries. This makes BRICS countries extremely connected to the world through trade, capital flows and market interdependence (Chen and De Lombaerde, 2017:113). This interdependence directly affects BRICS countries and those developing countries that they are constantly engaging with through trade, FDI and capital flows.

Another factor with BRICS and regional integration is that because each of the BRICS are regional leaders, BRICS is viewed as being able to include other states from their regions because they are so interdependent (Meena, 2015:32). Furthermore because BRICS are also members of regional organizations with other states, that opens up more flexible and multiple modes of cooperation between states and BRICS (Lissovolk, 2017:4). Lissovolk (2017) moreover argues that instead of expanding the core BRICS, regional agreements and alliances can be forged using this platform with BRICS playing the leading role. In all, combining the BRICS and the countries in their regions that they are regional partners with, accounts for about 35 countries; Lissovolk (2017) calls this the BRICS cycle. This BRICS cycle makes the modes of cooperation easier in a way that was not possible before and enhances that power of BRICS

both economically and politically. Even though BRICS does not fit the traditional definition and characteristics of regional integration, it is redefinition the definitions to accommodate them and developing countries.

2.1.2 Economic Growth and Development:

Economic growth and development indicators are used by the World Bank in order to measure the economic growth and development of most countries in the world including all BRICS members. This is done through sixty World Development Indicators that the World Bank uses to measure economic growth and development of many countries and their economies in the world (Syamsundar and Sabariga, 2016). Of the sixty used and acknowledged by the World Bank, this study uses eight of them in order to measure economic growth and development of two BRICS members. This section examines the concepts of economic growth and development through the literature reviewed. According to Rodrik (2007), nothing has worked better than economic growth in enabling societies to improve the life chances of its members, including those at the very bottom.

Haller defines economic growth as an increase in the national wealth focusing on “production capacity, expressed in both absolute and relative size, per capita, encompassing also the structural modifications of economy” (2012:66). This definition is in line with the one used in chapter one when the terminologies used in this study were defined. These definitions are advantageous because they allow the researcher to have a tangible way of calculating and measuring the economic growth. Measuring development however is completely different from measuring for economic growth. Development as Rodrik (2007) states is for the betterment of the population. It is the ability for people to be able to pull themselves out of poverty through education and quality employment and ensure that they are able to live healthy lives through the economic policies that have been created to stimulate economic growth.

One of the world’s development indicators used to measure economic growth and development in this study includes foreign direct investment. Outward FDI by BRICS has grown at the same time as BRICS’ overall growth in the international economic system (Agrawal, 2015:421). This growth has become a significant factor that contributes to the economic growth and development of developing countries. FDI further contributes towards increasing integration of economies.

However, FDI is also sensitive to the economic and political variables of a country's economy especially in developing countries that may not have adequate economic and political stability (Agrawal, 2015:422).

2.1.2.1 Economic Growth, Development and BRICS:

As it stands, the literature on economic growth and development seems to explain these two phenomena differently for developing countries than the developed western countries. Bosupeng (2017) argues that export-led growth economies such as BRICS members India and China rely heavily on their exports to drive growth in sectors of their economies. However this is vastly different from South Africa, which has to find a balance in the prudent use of its resources and economic development (Bosupeng, 2017: 429). As an economic trading bloc, BRICS has grown its global growth. The evidence of such growth is the fact that BRICS share in global GDP has risen from 11% in the 1990s to 30% by 2014 and it is still on the rise (Mminele, 2016:4). As a collective, BRICS has made strides in economic growth and development. Examining this economic growth and development using Brazil and South Africa is important, as they are the focus of the study.

Brazil seems to be country that has gone through major cycles of growth and contraction especially during the 20th century. That growth and stagnation also coincides with the periods of military dictatorship that Brazil has experienced. There were two periods of dictatorship the first from 1930 till 1945 (Lisboa and Latif, 2013:1). The next period, which turned out to be the one that is most related to Brazil developing to the point of entry into BRICS is the one from 1964-1984 (de Almeida, Gutierrez and Marques, 2013:102). During the period in the 1960s with a military dictatorship in charge of the Brazilian government, the economy was able to achieve a growth rate of around 5.9%, which at the time, was one of the fastest growing economies in the world and one of the most prosperous times economically for Brazil (Barbosa, 1998:2).

Import Substitution Industrialization was an economic policy that was introduced during this period. This economic practice seemed to be one that was practised throughout much of Latin America as a strategy to develop the economy (Lisboa and Latif, 2013:4). The premise behind ISI was to strengthen the sectors that produce the goods and products that Brazil primarily

imports. So it weakens the reliance on other countries while promoting economic development domestically (Cardoso, 2009:3). The rollout for the programme was gradual and started in the non-durable consumer sector and eventually grew by the 1970s to feature durable goods and substitute imports for raw materials and capital goods. This feature included the direct state intervention through state owned enterprises in sectors such as steel, power, telecommunication, oil, petro chemicals (Barbosa, 1998:3). While the economy did grow, this growth was not conducive to promoting development. That was due to the fact that the Brazilian finance sector was unsuited for the long-term industrial development (Filho, 2010:9). The Brazilian banks were unable to provide long-term financing for the rapidly growing industrial development because previously, such investments in manufacturing and industrial development were financed by foreign direct investments, foreign loans, state-owned banks, state subsidies and private firms own resources (Filho, 2010:10). That combination, including the fact that Brazil's political climate made foreign investments uncertain about its credit worthiness made this economic growth unsustainable.

Before Brazil achieved the economic growth that catapulted it into BRICS, it had gone through periods of growth and economic stagnation which to some extent can be attributed to the policies enacted and to the political periods of military dictatorship (Filho 2010:13). Finally in 1985, thanks to the hyperinflation and massive economic stagnation that escalated political tensions, mass democratic mobilization by Brazilians led to the restoration of democratic rule. The next phase that Brazil faced was the stabilizing of their economy, which included curbing the hyperinflation (Lisboa and Latif, 2013:6). Massive structural change had to occur in order to stabilize the political climate and economy.

This included drafting a new constitution that would be inclusive of the multiple actors previously neglected by the military regime, also the inclusion of social policies that would alleviate some of the hardships that Brazilians faced because of the financial crisis. This included economic reforms by introducing the neoliberal approach to economic development (Lisboa and Latif, 2013:6). That coupled with the fact that Brazil is one of the largest countries population wise, it would be very prudent to track their development as a member of BRICS and where that growth and development ultimately takes them. Brazil was able to maintain consecutive growth

to their economy and their expected future growth because of the changes that they had made to their policies to be able to compete on the same level as China and India who were also experiencing incredible growth rates.

The transformation of Brazil however is different from that of its fellow BRICS member South Africa. Unlike Brazil, which has had bouts of democracy and dictatorship, South Africa only attained its first period of true democracy in 1994. Prior to that, South Africa was controlled by the apartheid regime and before that they were a British colony (Siko, 2014). Being part of the Southern African Customs Union, helped to not only push South Africa's economy, but it also ensured that it would be a dominant country in the region both economically and politically (Hanlon, 1986:37). Even though South Africa's economy had some growth during the apartheid period, this was short-lived because of the liberation movement that was mounted against the apartheid government. The apartheid government had largely depended on mining exports, which by 1994 made up a significant amount of exports (Bhorat, Hirsch, Kanbur and Ncube, 2014:3). While that helps in boosting economic growth during the boom times, external factors have the ability to destabilize a raw materials exporting country, as was the case in Brazil with the oil crisis during the 1970s.

Unlike Brazil, South Africa attained its democracy almost a decade later and so it was behind on formulating policies that would stimulate sustainable growth and development. The opportunity to formulate such an economy came for South Africa when it held the first democratic elections in 1994 with Nelson Mandela being the first democratically elected president. Because of the sanctions and multiple other factors, the new democratic government inherited a country with an economic crisis (Bhorat, et al, 2014:3). The year 1994 marked South Africa's re-entry into the global market. This was done by formulating policies that focused on trade liberalization and foreign investment into sectors that stimulated growth and development (Bhorat, Hirsch, Kanbur and Ncube, 2014:3).

The ruling ANC government had to take strategic measures in order to bring about economic stability to South Africa that would foster growth and development. To ensure growth and

stability, one of the measures that was taken by the newly democratically elected government was to court potential investors back into South African in order to assist the economy that had taken major hits when the country was under sanctions for its apartheid policy (Evans, 1991:717). In order to attract FDI, internal policies had to be enacted that would show foreign investors that South Africa was on the road to economic and political stability. One of the first policies that was created under the new government was the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).

The objectives of the RDP policy were to create a more equal society through reconstruction and development as well as strengthening democracy and growing the economy (White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, 1994:7). The RDP policy was meant to redress the social issues that discriminated against the blacks during apartheid, those being access to quality education, housing, economic equality and other societal needs previously denied under the apartheid system (White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, 1994:8). However, this policy was not aggressive enough toward the economic growth of South Africa as it was focused on the development factor. The economy has to have a balance between economic growth and development.

With that in mind, examining economic growth and development through the BRICS lens is pertinent. The financial crisis highlighted the fact that the Neo-liberal method to economic growth is deeply flawed and when it fails, it has massive and far-reaching consequences. At the same time BRICS countries showed that they were a major force for global economic recovery (Radulescu, Panait and Voica, 2014:606). In essence, the financial crisis gave BRICS the opportunity to gain both economic and political power as they fared better than the global north and countries deeply imbedded in the neo-liberal economic model. While the BRICS economic growth was quite good, there were some issues to contend with. First, Radulescu, Panait and Voica (2014) argue that BRICS have unbalanced economic structures. This is because the private sector in BRICS countries accounts for almost half of those in the global north. Secondly, another driver of fast economic growth is “massive entry of factors at very low prices” (Radulescu, Panait and Voica, 2014:609). This is especially true for China and India. Even with

factors such as these for economic growth, BRICS have demonstrated that they are able to exert economic global influence using their own methods when pertaining to economic growth.

By using their own methods, which diverge from those of the global north, to accelerate economic growth, BRICS were able to lift millions of people out of absolute poverty and improve quality of life. This upward move from poverty has given millions of people the opportunity to live better lives and the chance to continue developing their families, communities and country. While this is a tremendous achievement, BRICS economic growth rates are accompanied by high levels of consumption (Rebellato and Mariano, 2014:4). Furthermore, Rebellato and Mariano (2014) argue that the rapid growth and consumption by BRICS has the potential to create scarcity of resources. That is why the goals that are set out by the BRICS Development Bank are important. These goals are set up not just for BRICS but also other developing economies. These development goals include education, healthcare, food security and basic standard of living (Singh, 2014).

Secondly there is infrastructure development that focuses on services and facilities that are necessary for an economy to thrive and function smoothly. Developing countries are using massive amounts of resources to fuel their economies and the problem is that this method cannot be sustained in the long run. That is why BRICS bank also focuses on research and development for cleaner technologies, which include minimizing the reliance on non-reusable energy (Singh, 2014). BRICS have proved that their approach to economic growth and development is different from that of the global north, and showing developing countries that there are alternative methods to the status quo.

2.1.3 South-South Cooperation:

The second theme identified is SSC. A broad definition for South to South Cooperation is the exchange of resources, technology, skills and technical knowledge among countries in the South. There have been definitions that have been floated around yet they have been deemed too narrow as they do not capture the full specificity and extent of SSC activities (Besharati et al, 2015:9;

CSO Partnership for Development and Effectiveness, 2014:3). The idea of SSC has been a concept that has been around for quite some time. During the 1990's the GDP of developing countries, considered as the global south, amounted to about 30% of the total global GDP. By 2010 this number was up to 40% of the total global GDP (Bilal, 2012:2). These numbers show the impact that developing countries have on the global markets in terms of growth and the contribution they make.

The developing countries of the south have experienced economic growth rates recently and because of those growth rates, they have gained a certain level of power within the global economy that is usually dominated by the developed western countries (Kakonge, 2014). This newfound power has been able to help to move the economic centre away from the developed countries (Puri, 2010:7). This shift is also facilitated by the upsurge in cooperation between the countries of the developing south. While SSC was defined already in chapter one, where it was discussed that there is no one definition that is universally agreed upon, another definition that is added in order to give the views of how other scholars define this phenomena. That definition is

“a process whereby two or more developing countries pursue their individual and/or shared national capacity development objectives through exchanges of knowledge, skills, resources and technical know-how, and through regional and interregional collective actions, including partnerships involving governments, regional organizations, civil society, academia and the private sector, for their individual and/or mutual benefit within and across regions. South-South cooperation is not a substitute for, but rather a complement to, North-South cooperation” (UNDP, 2012).

While the definition above is sufficient, the last part where it states that it is meant to complement North-South Cooperation is subjective, especially since the report has been compiled by the UNDP an organization of the United Nations, which is an institution that is primarily funded by the global north. The financial crisis of 2008 is one of the factors that can be identified as a turning point in the relations between the north and south (Kakonge, 2014:3). Many developed countries were also financial donors to developing countries, and the financial crisis meant that much of the promised funding was unavailable as then it had to be redirected to the hard-hit developed countries. The issue of aid is one that constantly comes up in the debate

of North-South relations. The IBON Center (2010) argues that a complaint coming from the developing countries is that aid is used as a neo-classical tool by tying conditionalities to the aid that affect the political, economic and military of donors countries at the expense of the developing country. BRICS is meant to act as a counter balance to the power that the global north holds. With Brazil being the regional leader in South America and South Africa as the regional leader for Africa, they are meant to gain the support of their regional partners.

The intention of BRICS is to serve as a conduit or vehicle that drives sustainable economic growth and development among themselves and other countries in the developing south. This is due to the fact that BRICS members strongly believe in the contribution made by emerging markets in the international system. This belief was echoed by BRICS members at their annual summit with the *Sanya Declaration* (2011). However, the BRICS members still encounter “economic and political disputes, disagreements and rivalries between them” (Christensen and Bernal-Meza, 2014; Besada, Tok and Winters, 2013). While it may be true that cooperation between the emerging markets and developing countries may be instrumental to their economic growth and development as a whole, individual states have to ensure that it fosters its own economic growth and development.

BRICS cooperation within the emerging south is something that had been seen as a challenge to the developed status quo. Shultz (2010) even points out this fact when he discusses the economic and political structures from a neoliberal standpoint. He further implies that because of the financial crisis of 2008 caused by the developed north, China’s approach to its economic policies should be given a second thought instead of the dismissive criticism it has gained (2010:31). This approach is the same as that was proposed by BRICS, which they further emphasise in their GOA Declaration (2016). There is also criticism from other scholars about this notion of BRICS bringing a different perspective to that of the neoliberal developed countries. The argument has been made that it contributes to the maintenance of the global neoliberal regime instead of challenging the status quo (Bond, 2015:15).

This is the challenge that international institutions face, the issue that they are continuing to advocate for and maintain the neoliberal agenda of developed countries of the North (Simmons and Martin, 2001; Woods, 2003). The similarities in inequality and development have contributed to literature that focused mainly on the political economy of the two (Friedman and De Villiers, 1996; Seidman, 1999). However, their relationship within BRICS concerning their political economy is another story. Van der Westhuizen argues about their bilateral relations pertaining to foreign policy and in the Atlantic (2016). In his argument, he states that one of the major reasons that the two are able to cooperate is based on their own interests. That would include securing their influence in the South Atlantic and among developing states who share this body of water (Van der Westhuizen, 2016:246).

In order to combat relations of this nature, SSC brings with it a certain solidarity of the developing countries. SSC “endeavours to observe the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, equality among developing partners and respect for their independence, national sovereignty, cultural diversity and identity and local content” (IBON Center, 2010:2). This sort of interaction is what the developing south wants as it moves them away from the condition laden interactions with the north. Another plus in SSC that is beneficial to the development of developing countries is the power and authority that BRICS brings with it. Of the BRICS members, India and China have two of the fastest-growing economies of the global market (Singh, 2017:3).

2.1.3.1 BRICS and SSC:

With the formation of BRICS, there has been an increase in the cooperation between developing countries, and also between them and BRICS. This was achieved through the change in trade and financial flows and also emerging donors (Morazan et al, 2012:6). Singh (2017) further states that in terms of using cooperation among the developing countries, BRICS and SSC have similar objectives; however, they are not co-terminal as they are two separate development models. BRICS countries have been able to consolidate their standing through the outstanding size of their economies, strong growth rates that are leading to significance in the world economy and a demand for a stronger political voice in the international governance structures, as identified by

O'Neill (2001). The developing countries of the SSC have exhibited at least one of these three characteristics exhibited by BRICS, minus South Africa.

This is one of the reasons that the BRICS' manner of achieving sustainable development is appealing to developing countries. Also there is the element of bringing a different model than that was forced upon them by the developed countries of the north with the institutions of the Washington Consensus. As BRICS is becoming a stronger force as an economic donor to the developing countries, there is a focus on ensuring self-reliance and independence as tools for developing countries to achieve their own development success (Moilwa and Besharati, 2015). The change by which BRICS gives aid to developing countries can be attributed to the fact that firstly, BRICS members are part of the global south, and secondly they too have been recipients of aid that has been tied to conditions.

In order to effectively provide aid to developing countries, the New Development Bank was established by BRICS in 2014 (Fei, 2017:3). The premise of the NDB is for the BRICS members to pool their financial resources together and promote development within the group and also among the developing countries of the global south. Fei (2017) further argues that the establishment of the NDB signifies continues cooperation between BRICS and SSC and at the same time reiterates the idea of constructing a new path in the international economy. One of the problems that is inherent with the NDB is that not every member will be able to contribute an equal amount of financial resources as there are different levels of development among them. Where are members such as South Africa and Brazil left when they cannot providing equal buying power into the bank?

While BRICS is bringing a different model of economic growth and development that is being well received by the developing countries of the global south, there are also criticisms of BRICS. Muhr (2016) argues that Anglophone literature for the past 10-15 years on SSC tends to be biased against BRICS as a whole and also against individual members. He further argues that this literature may have been geopolitically motivated to align with the interests of western developed countries. There is another argument that brings with it valid critiques of BRICS that

has relevance when one examines publications such *BRICS: An Anti-Capitalist Critique*. While Bond et al (2015) acknowledge the influence that BRICS brings into the global market and a different model to economic growth and development, there is the argument that BRICS operates as a 'sub-imperialist' organization that reinforces the imperialist narrative of the developed north.

Another criticism that faces BRICS is that their form of economic growth and development is problematic and unsustainable. This was highlighted by the deepening of the global financial crisis. South Africa, Russia and Brazil faced economic contractions to their economies during this time (Fei, 2017:4). Not all the BRICS members were able to effectively weather the storm of the financial crisis; this however should not be contributed solely to their method of growth and development because the global financial crisis hit every market hard especially the developed countries of the north.

Through the literature reviewed, it becomes evident where the gaps lie and how this study fills those gaps. A large portion of the literature reviewed frequently focuses on the original BRICs in the research, with minimal mention of South Africa this includes Armijo and Roberts (2014); Chen and De Lombaerde (2013); Agrawal (2015); Cheng (2015); Bosupeng (2016); Tsheola (2016) and Vieira and Ouriques (2016). It is important to address the scanty research on South Africa as a member of BRICS on the topics of economic growth and development. While South Africa joined BRICS at a later stage and at an economic disadvantage compared to the other members, extensive research as has been done with the other members is required. The lack of adequate research into South Africa in conjunction with the other BRICS members opens up questions of the position that it holds within BRICS.

Secondly, the majority of research on BRICS pertaining to economic growth and development is approached from a quantitative economic method. This includes Magnus (2013); Cheng (2015); Bosupeng (2016); Syamsunder and Sabariga (2016) and Fei (2017). Therefore, this study is using a mixed method approach in order to incorporate a balance between the quantitative method of economics and the qualitative method of politics in order to achieve a better

understanding on the topic. BRICS literature concerning only Brazil and South Africa is lacking. Of the five members, Brazil and South Africa are the two members who share similar backgrounds and paths to achieve economic growth and development. While there are similarities, there are also vast differences; one of the reasons is because Brazil gained many of its achievements ten years before South Africa. It is important to fill this gap between the two countries. Lastly, BRICS has recently been active in SSC and it is important to ascertain whether that cooperation between BRICS and SSC is beneficial for the global south. Will there be the benefit of economic growth and development for the global south as the partnership between BRICS and SSC continues to grow?

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Now that the literature has been reviewed in the first half of the chapter, the second half discusses the theoretical framework. Establishing a theoretical framework assists the researcher in approaching the study through a particular lens. This lens helps in explaining and answering the research problem of a study; this is done by guiding the researcher where to look for the answer (Delport, Fouche and Schurink, 2011:298). The use of one theoretical approach in many research studies is adequate in assisting with explaining and answering the research problem. However, there are instances which, because of the nature of the study, one theory is not sufficient. That is when the researcher can employ more than one theoretical approach in the study, as is the case for this study.

The two theoretical approaches complement each other because where one approach is lacking in certain areas, the other fills in where necessary and vice versa. This part of the chapter discusses the two theoretical approaches that are used in the study, why two approaches were employed and why those specific two. For this research study, the theoretical approaches used are Structural Realism and Neoliberalism. The reason that this research study utilizes two different theoretical approaches is because it is investigating the political and economic aspects of states.

2.2.1 Structural Realism:

Structural Realism is a theory that has its roots in one of the more influential theories in the study of international relations, Classical Realism. Realism is a theory that contends that states are in constant pursuit of power whether, militarily, economically or politically, for the sake of their national interests (Donnelly, 2009:31). To further highlight this point, Keohane (1983) states that Realism is necessary when conducting a coherent analysis of world politics. This is due to the fact that Realism focuses on power, interests and rationality and these three characteristics are important when trying to understand state actions (Keohane, 1983:159).

The actions of a state are driven by its desire to not just survive but to thrive in the international system. This includes the pursuit of power, which includes ensuring the growth of the state's economy and its development in order to pursue a state's national interests. This is done to ensure that the state survives and thrives in an anarchic international system (Donnelly, 2000). In order for a state to protect itself politically, militarily and economically in the international system, a state may be compelled to form an alliance with another states. Keohane (1983) further states that some of the Realist premises can be used when dealing with matters such as international institutions. Such cooperation can be used for the matters that were discussed in the first half of the chapter. To ensure that a state is able to achieve economic growth and developing and also SSC for developing states. While a state may form an alliance to further its interests, that does not mean that a state has abandoned one of the realism characteristics, that states operate on a mistrustful and competitive level with other states.

As mentioned above, Structural Realism gets its roots from realism; however, this theory has been modified to adhere to the changing climate in global politics. This is due to the weaknesses in realism that were pointed out by Keohane. The first is its inability to account for change especially in the global political economy and secondly the change that occurs in the domestic structures of a state (Keohane, 1983:159). This is why the theory had to evolve so it can explain the phenomena that realism was unable to explain. This notion of needing a theory that explains the changes is further argued by Kenneth Waltz (2000). These changes, he argues, affect how a state operates and interacts with other states and this has to be beyond what realism can provide. This theory further assumes that states are constantly seeking opportunities to take advantage of

each other and because of this behaviour, they have little reason to trust each other (Mearsheimer, 1994:10). This behaviour is driven how states are in a frequent security competition among each other. Even as this is occurring however, Mearsheimer (1994) argues that frequent cooperation does occur among states even though that is counterintuitive to the constant competition.

Realism has a particular view of the world that is pessimistic and this can be derived from the five assumptions that it holds regarding states' behaviour and about the international system. There are five assumptions in structural realism, with the first being the great powers in world politics are the main actors and because of this they operate in an anarchic system. Secondly, all states have offensive military capabilities and thirdly, states cannot be sure of the intentions of others. Next, the main interest of a state is to ensure its survival. The last assumption is that states are rational actors who have the capacity to come up with strategies to maximise their survival (Mearsheimer, 1994; 2006).

Mearsheimer (1994) further states that these five assumptions alone do not mandate that a state will behave aggressively because at this point states are merely aiming for survival. However, taken together, these five assumptions create incentives that will make the state behave in an aggressive manner. The main competition that states face is either economic competition or political competition. Of those two types of competition structural realism contends that for states, political competition is the more dangerous because of the ultimate consequences that it can produce, and keeps states in a constant situation of mistrust and suspicion of each other (Mearsheimer, 1994:11).

While competition among states is one of the assumptions of structural realism, it is important that cooperation can occur in this environment. This cooperation is in the form of alliance building. According to structural realism, in the international system there are no permanent allies, a state pushed by its aim to survive is the only interest that is permanent. When a state is entering into an alliance, it is constantly worried about how it will share profits and gains with its allies (Mearsheimer, 1994:13). Gains can be distributed one of two ways, the first being absolute

gains. This is where a state maximises its own gains and cares little about the gains of other states. The second manner is through relative gains, where a state not only focuses on its own gains but also on those of allies and how it is performing compared to those allies (Mearsheimer, 1994:13). Another factor that states are concerned about when entering into an alliance is cheating. A state will be in a position of fear that alliance members are cheating on the agreement and because of that they will gain a relative advantage over it. The sharing of profits and gains, and also the fear of cheating will continue to plague states who have entered into a cooperative agreement (Mearsheimer, 1994:13).

The end of the Cold War found many states having to adapt to the new political climate of the international system. South Africa is one of the countries that was swept up in the change that Waltz (2000) refers to that came with the ending of the Cold War. One of the reasons that apartheid was able to last as long as it did as a policy was that the South African apartheid government claimed that it was fighting off the further advance of communism (Ellis, 1991:443). With the ending of the Cold War, a change came over many countries and an end to apartheid was one of those changes. Structural Realism argues that it is in fact the structure of the international system that pushes states to pursue power. In this structure, there is no authority that supersedes the state (Mearsheimer, 2006:72). Furthermore, Waltz (2000) argues that it is this anarchy that puts constraints' on states behaviours.

One characteristic of structural realism that Mearsheimer highlights is that states ignore cultural differences and regime types, and this is due to fact that the international system will create the same basic incentives for all (2006:72). Another characteristic that structural realism has is that there is the assumption that a state's ultimate goal is security. This is different from realism, where the ultimate goal is power (Donnelly, 2009:31). The need to maximise a state's security is directly linked to a state's survival. Beyond the need for security, which mainly is in the form of territorial integrity, a state's goal right after securing that is prosperity. Ensuring prosperity is one of the strategies that will be used by the state in order to maximise its survival (Mearsheimer, 2006:74). Furthermore states are perceived to be exactly alike, except for when some states are more or less powerful than others.

South Africa and Brazil are states that are considered powerful on their continents and sub-regional level, they operate in the manner described above. However, when the arena is on the international level that is not the same case. The two states can be categorized as mid-level states when examining whether they are more or less powerful. To ensure survival, pursuit of security may entail forming an alliance in the form of a trade and economic regime such as BRICS. Entering into an alliance needs cooperation from actors involved to ensure success. To ensure the sustainability of the cooperation, there has to be incentive for a state to fully participate, so that incentive can come in the form of gains. However, state cooperation is severely limited by the states' need to guarantee their own survival and security within an anarchic international system. So the interactions that occur among states is fraught with suspicion and mistrust of each other (Mowle, 2003:561).

2.2.2 Neo-Liberalism:

As it was previously stated, this research study uses two theoretical frameworks. The reasoning for this is because one theory is able to explain part of the problem, while the second theory supplements where the other is lacking. Structural realism does not adequately explain the economic cooperation of BRICS, despite the inherent mistrust among states. While it explains the need for an alliance on issues where BRICS converge, it lacks in adequately translating this cooperation into economic practices. For that a secondary theory is used and that second theory that is used in this research study is neo-liberalism. Liberalism derives its roots from the work of Adam Smith. Smith believed that the economic market should be left to the forces of the market, which would be either allow it to thrive or let it fail (Ver Eecke, 2013: 6). Neoliberalism has evolved from the liberal theory. This evolution into neoliberalism was pushed into prominence; this occurred because of the Washington Consensus and the push of underdeveloped and developing countries into using this developmental model by the north (Adino and Nebere, 2016:332).

While there is no one agreed upon definition of the theory of neoliberalism, one is that it is a theory of political economic practices (Harvey, 2005; Thorsen and Lie, 2007). These practises are for the advancement and the well-being of a state's population in order for them to achieve freedom through entrepreneurship, free market and trade. The state is seen as an entity to create

and preserve the institutional framework that allows the practises mentioned above but in order to achieve a comparative advantage and market freedom, then the state has to have minimal intervention (Harvey, 2005; Shultz, 2010). The creation and maintenance of this institutional framework is of utmost importance. Then the state has to ensure that internal institutional arrangements are constantly improved in order to compete on the global level.

The state and the market are connected in four ways. Firstly both sectors are dominant vehicles to distribute goods and services. This is done by either decentralizing both production and distribution when the market has power, or centralizing production as in planned economies (Shultz, 2010:8). Next, public power is essential in creating a 'free market' to enforce the rules of the market. Thirdly, the state has authority to regulate and address market failures that include monopolies, (Shultz, 2010:9). This is necessary because an unregulated market creates problems that the state then has to correct. Lastly, public infrastructure investment to ensure the profitability of the market falls under the state's domain (Shultz, 2010:9). The neoliberal belief is in comparative advantage, market freedom and a minimalist state (Shultz, 2010:11). The role of the state is to "create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practises" (Harvey, 2005:2). Harvey further argues that the state should achieve this by using its monopoly on what he calls the 'means of violence' in order to ensure that the freedoms mentioned above are protected at all costs (2005:64).

While one neoliberalism belief is in minimal state intervention, during the 2008 global financial crisis, the state was forced to intervene in an invasive manner to avert an even more disastrous crisis. Even though there is the notion that the market should be allowed to operate with minimal intervention, Weiss (2012) argues that in order for this to happen, there have to be government policies that give the market the ability to infiltrate every corner of society. One of the problems that is associated with the neoliberal theory is its position when it comes to developing countries. Developing countries find themselves trying to compete with the developed countries within the global economic system that clearly has a hierarchy of power among the states (Shultz, 2010:15).

Developed countries have set their own rules and regulations in the global system with the assistance of international institutions created by Bretton Woods. The developed states intervene in economic activities of other states, mainly of those in the south, the underdeveloped and developing states on a regular basis, usually in the form of Structural Adjustment Programmes (Easterly, 2003; Heidhues and Obare, 2011). Brazil and South Africa are two countries that enacted neoliberal policies to stimulate their economic growth immediately after attaining democracy, yet have moved closer to methods used by their fellow BRICS.

The position a developing country finds itself in is very different from that of a developed country when it comes to power. This is one of the problems of neoliberalism, the hierarchy within the global economic system (Shultz, 2010:15). Developing countries have to adhere to different rules in international institutions such as WTO and IMF, unlike developed states. While there is this perception of minimal state intervention in developed states, that is not the same in developing states. In challenging the neoliberal dominance of the market, by using different methods to achieve growth and development, BRICS is showing the muscle that it has.

Looking at Brazil's economic transformation it would seem that policies enacted during the presidency of FH Cardoso included abolishing the ISI policies and aligning with the Washington Consensus. Which meant a set of neoliberal economic policies advocated for by developed countries of the north and the Washington Consensus (meaning the International Financial Institutions), in order to bring about stability to induce growth (Feijo, Punzo and Lamonica, 2009:15; Williamson, 2004:1). This turn-around to maintaining economic stability and development began around 1995 with the new president. With the new policies being implemented, the Brazilian economy achieved accelerated growth, including a GDP growth rate of 17% from previous years and at the average rate of 4% per year (Smith and Messari, 1998:64). It was able to achieve six consecutive years of growth during the 1990's and it closed the 20th century going into the new millennium on a path of predicted continuous growth (Smith and Messari, 1998; Baumann, 2001). With such an incredible economic transformation, Brazil was able to place itself as one of the emerging markets to watch out for as stated by O'Neill.

In the case of South Africa, in order to attract FDI, internal policies had to be enacted that would show foreign investors that South Africa was on the road to economic and political stability.

That is when the Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy (GEAR) was formulated in order to address this problem. GEAR was a policy that was based on neo-liberal approaches (Department of Finance, 1996). Even though GEAR focused on the economic growth of South Africa, there was still the drive to attempt to bring about equality to all South Africans that was started with the implementation of RDP. As policies such as GEAR and RDP were implemented, South Africa was able to steadily grow its economy and become one of the biggest economies on the continent. During this period, South Africa was able to grow the economy at a steady pace of around 3% a year and was even able to achieve a 5% growth rate of GDP before 2008 global crisis (Bhorat, et al, 2014:2). These neoliberal economic policies were able to put South Africa and Brazil on the path to curbing their economic problems and getting on the path to sustainable economic growth. However, the 2008 global crisis that affected everyone proved once again that developing countries fall prey to the policies and consequences created by the developed western countries. Being able to only react to other countries' actions does not equate to security and definitely does not equate to prosperity

2.2.3. Conclusion:

Therefore it is evident examining the literature and the themes, is that BRICS is changing the discourse surrounding the relevant themes. The literature review explored how those approaches have now been adapted to BRICS and what gaps need to be filled using South Africa and Brazil as illustrations. One factor that these two converge on is that Brazil and South Africa both adopted neoliberal economic policies after gaining democracy in order to stem the financial crisis they were facing and to grow their economies (Department of Finance, 1996; Smith and Messari, 1998; Baumann, 2001). With such incredible growth, especially on the part of Brazil, they were able to place themselves on an advantageous level by joining certain institutions to further their own interests and advocate for SSC states.

Moreover from the theoretical perspectives, structural realism and neoliberalism show that developing countries are put at a disadvantage in the international system. Structural realism shows this on a political standpoint as they are less powerful than developed states so they are unable to have a voice that will carry the same weight. If they are unable to achieve this, that

means that they are unable to maximize their security goals, and in the worst case scenario they are unable to secure their security overall.

Neoliberalism on the other hand highlights that while developing states are able to grow their economies for a time, developmental economic models tied with this theory are not designed for them. Brazil and South Africa were able to achieve impressive growth rates however, the 2008 global financial crisis proved once again that developing countries are at the mercy of the global system created and maintained by the developed countries as the gatekeepers. That is why BRICS serves as an enticing alternative to the status quo. BRICS advertises itself to the developing south as a means that will provide them with the ability to fulfill their security means and their economic means at the same time.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction:

In order to effectively conduct a research study, it is important that the means of conducting that study are clearly stated for each and every phase of the study. This chapter is comprised of the methodology that was used in this research study. Choosing the correct method to use when conducting a research study depends on the subject matter of the study and what the researcher aims to achieve in embarking on the study. This chapter includes the research design that was chosen to conduct the study and why it was chosen, also the sampling of the participants that were chosen and how those particular participants were selected and their contribution to the study. Data analysis is also discussed in this chapter in addition to the particular type of data analysis tool used and why it was chosen and also what are the characteristics that made it ideal for this study. This study is comprised of both primary and secondary data. The primary data is comprised of the raw data that was collected by the researcher, while the secondary data is comprised of published material from secondary sources. The secondary sources of information include books, academic journal articles, publications, media reports, and other relevant literature published by scholars and researchers.

3.2 Research Method:

There are two main research methods that are commonly used in research studies. The first is the qualitative method. This method is appreciated by researchers because it adds richness, depth, nuance, context, multi-dimensionality and complexity to a research study (Mason, 2002; Fouche and Schurink, 2011). In the use of qualitative method, the researcher is more concerned with understanding a phenomena. Since the objective is an understanding, there is no right or wrong answer but what is the understanding by the researcher based on the data. The other most prominent research method that is used is quantitative method. In a quantitative study, the researcher is seeking an explanation and prediction that can be replicated (Williams, 2007; Fouche and Schurink, 2011). When one research method is not sufficient to adequately answer the research questions, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods can be utilized. A

mixed method is a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches that assists in understanding the research problems (Delpont and Fouche, 2011:435). The same is true for this research study; the methodology that was used is a mixed method.

3.2.1 Research Design Triangulation Method:

The research design used in this study is the triangulation design. The triangulation method is defined as the mixing of viewpoints in order to highlight a topic. Qualitative and quantitative data are used in the same time frame giving them equal weight (Olsen, 2004; Delpont and Fouche, 2011). The reason that triangulation was a good mixed method to use is because this research study incorporated both qualitative and quantitative data. Those are the two different viewpoints that have highlighted the topics of economic growth, development and South-to-South Cooperation. One of the characteristics of triangulation that is used in this research study is that both the qualitative and quantitative data are collected concurrently. The data is collected, analysed, compared and contrasted in order to examine whether the quantitative and qualitative findings agree or disagree with each other. The collection of data using qualitative and quantitative methods is so that the two different kinds of data complement each other. Triangulation also assists the researcher in assessing the validity and reliability of research methods and data collected (Owens, 2014: 1).

Even though this is the method used in this study, there are some advantages and disadvantages to using it, as there are with any other method. For the quantitative aspect, some of the advantages include the ability to make comparisons, ease of analysis, objectivity and reliability. For qualitative, the advantages include providing a picture close to reality, in-depth feelings and meanings and it is also rich in detail (Owens, 2014:1). While those are the advantages, the disadvantages for the quantitative method include lack of depth and meaning, inability to get a clear picture of reality, and the use of numbers masks reality. The disadvantages for qualitative include that it carries some subjectivity, with certain aspects researchers are unable to measure and are also unable to generalise (Owens, 2014:1). That is why the combination of both methods is preferable; where one method falls short, the other is able to make up for those shortcomings. While quantitative provides an objective measure, qualitative explores the complexity of a phenomenon.

3.3 Sampling:

Sampling refers to “taking a portion or smaller number of units of a population as representative or having particular characteristics of that total population” (Strydom, 2011:223). From the smaller portions taken by researchers, certain characteristics about the population can be drawn from the samples. There are differences to the sampling method between quantitative and qualitative methods. Strydom and Delpont (2011) state that sampling in the qualitative paradigm is less structured and less strictly applied, unlike in the quantitative paradigm. In either case, sampling is important because of feasibility. This is because attempting to cover the entire population to attain data is impossible due to many factors including time constraints and costs (Strydom, 2011:224). That is why choosing a sampling method for a research study is very important. The sampling method has to be able to assist the researcher in achieving the aim of their research study, and the sampling has to be in sync with the research design.

Choosing a sampling method depends on the context of the research study and the objectives of the researcher. This research study used purposive sampling in order to accommodate both the quantitative and qualitative data. Purposive sampling illustrates a feature or process that is of interest in a study (Strydom, 2011:232; Strydom and Delpont, 2011:393). This type of sampling is based on the judgment of the researcher because the sample contains attributes that serve the purpose of the study best. Purposive sampling implies that the samples chosen for the study are tied in with the objectives of the researcher (Palys, 2008:697). Respondents are chosen because they are the best samples that meet the purpose of the study.

That is the case for this research study; the participants were specifically chosen because they fit the criteria that serves the aim of this study well. Purposive sampling method falls under the category of nonprobability sampling. Non-probability sampling is a category that groups certain samplings methods into one. Those methods are the ones that do not select a random sample from the population of interest. Non-probability sampling mainly falls into three categories which include quota sampling, convenience sampling and the one used in this study, purposive sampling (Battaglia, 2008:523). The samples that were used in a research study were chosen subjectively. This is the complete opposite of probability sampling, which uses random selection.

This research study is examining South Africa and Brazil’s BRICS membership and whether it’s a conduit of economic growth, development and South-to-South Cooperation. For this study, it

was important to set up parameters to guide the study. One of the parameters is the establishment of a timeline. Since the study is investigating activities as members of BRICS, it was necessary to have a timeline to judge both before and during BRICS membership. As noted in chapter 1, Brazil and South Africa entered the BRICS partnership at different times. This was due to the fact that these two countries achieved economic growth at different times. However, that does not put constraints on the timeline set for the study. The study has examined the economic growth and development of Brazil and South Africa within a timeline of five years before entry into BRICS and five years since entry into BRICS.

The quantitative data of this study measured the economic growth of Brazil and South Africa within the set timeframe of five years prior to their entry into BRICS and five years after their entry. Economic growth is tied to the macroeconomic conditions and functions of market forces; because of this, it is a good characteristic of measuring a country's aggregate output and is easily quantifiable and measurable (Feldman et al, 2015:6). As mentioned in chapter 1, three economic indicators have been used to measure the economic growth of the two countries. Economic indicators are defined as "an aggregate time series displaying a reasonably consistent leading relationship with the reference series for the business cycle in a country" (Kalra, 2012:3).

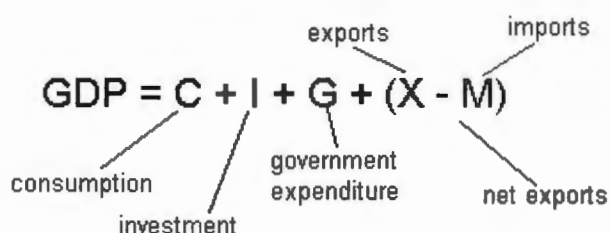
3.3.1 Quantitative Data:

3.3.1.1 Gross Domestic Product

One of the more common economic indicators used is Gross Domestic Product or GDP. Gross domestic product is defined as "the market value of goods and services produced within a selected geographic area (usually a country) in a selected interval in time (often a year)" (Leamer, 2009:19; Dang and Sui Pheng, 2015). GDP is used as an economic indicator that measures the size and the health of a country, which makes this a commonly used way of measuring growth. Since it is an indicator of the health and size of a country, usually big and/or growing are seen as favourable and good, while small and/or shrinking are signs of an unhealthy economy (Leamer, 2009:19). While GDP is a popular tool of measuring an economy, it is not always an accurate representation of that economy.

The reason it is not an accurate representation of an economy is because GDP mainly measures material goods that are produced and sold. If materials do not fall under the category of both produced and sold then they are not measured by GDP. There are two types of GDP that are calculated and used to measure. The first is called nominal GDP and this is the market value in current value in current prices of all the goods and services that are produced within the borders of a country (Leamer, 2009:25). The second type of GDP is called real GDP. This is the value in base year prices of the goods and services produced within the borders of a country (Leamer, 2009; Feldstein, 2017). The below figure is an example of the formula that is commonly used when calculating the GDP of a country.

Figure 1



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Since GDP measures on a year-to-year basis, the benefit of using this economic indicator is that a researcher is able to examine the changes that are occurring to the economy year-by-year. As stated in chapter 1, Brazil and South Africa are classified as emerging economies who have had rapid growth to their economies that lead to their inclusion in BRICS. Examining the GDP for the five years prior to entry into BRICS and five years after joining allows the researcher to investigate whether or not there has been continuous economic growth to their economies or not and if those results can be attributed to the BRICS partnership.

3.3.1.2 Unemployment Rate:

While GDP is a good indicator for the health of a country's economy, there are disadvantages to using this indicator since it is limited to materials that are produced and sold. It omits a lot of information pertaining to the overall economic growth of a country. That is why for this study a total of three indicators have been chosen to ascertain the needed data. The second economic indicator that is used in this study is the unemployment rate. Examining the unemployment rate contributes to measuring economic growth because, as Kingdon and Knight (2001) explain it,

unemployment is a serious matter because it affects economic welfare, production, erosion of human capital and social instability. The factors outline by Kingdon and Knight have a direct impact on not just the economic growth of a country but also its economic stability.

“The excess supply of labour over the demand for labour caused by adjustment in real wage”, has been the classical definition that has been used to define unemployment (Enejoh and Tsauni, 2017). The unemployment rate is one of the economic indicators used to measure not just a country’s economic growth, but also its economic stability. The reason there is a relationship between economic growth and unemployment is because paid jobs are a large source of income not just for the employee, but for the country (Kitov and Kitov, 2011:1). Kitov and Kitov (2011) further argue that there is a direct correlation between the changes in employment and unemployment. In essence the more people in the labour market that are employed, not only contribute to the growth of the economic by spending their disposable income, but also by being an economic resource themselves. Labour is counted as a resource because when it is fully utilized, the output that is produced contributes to the economic growth (Levine, 2013). Levine further explains that “output growth will be determined by the combined rates of growth in the labour supply and labour productivity” (2013:2). Enejoh and Tsauni, (2017) adequately put it that unemployment leads to low income, low savings, low investment and low national income.

While independently these two economic indicators are able to shed light onto certain sectors that make the economy of a country, together they are able to provide a clearer picture of the standard of living of that country, coupled with the goods and services produced and sold within a year. This can be attested to what is called Okun’s law, which states that “real GDP growth about equal to the rate of potential output growth usually is required to maintain a stable unemployment rate” (Knotek, 2007). This goes a long way to provide a more complete view of the economic growth of a country. However, there is another economic indicator that is important when investigating economic growth. The last indicator is also pertinent to this research study because Brazil and South Africa have both suffered greatly from it and had to enact policies that would provide their economies with relief.

3.3.1.3 Inflation:

The last economic indicator that is used to measure the economic growth of Brazil and South Africa is inflation. While the definitions of GDP and the unemployment rate are more agreed

upon, the definition for inflation is not, therefore a generic term is usually used. The generic definition of inflation is a measure of continuous and rapid price level increases in an economy over time (Hellerstein, 1997; Oner, 2010). As the definition of inflation is so broad, it can either measure the rise of prices for goods and services or the increase in cost of living in that country. High inflation has the ability to harm the economy of a country because consumers are unable to contribute to the economy and spend on goods and services because of the increase in prices. If the inflation of a country continues to increase unchecked there is risk of that country experiencing hyperinflation. This is one of the signals that the economy is experiencing an imbalance and is unstable. When a country's inflation is continuing unchecked, it has the ability to plunge the country into a period of instability. Hyperinflation is defined very high inflation that sees the price increase of all goods and quickly erodes the real value of the currency (Dem et al., 2001:4).

In 1985, Brazil experienced economic instability that led to political instability thanks to the hyperinflation and massive economic stagnation that escalated political tensions, however, mass democratic mobilization by Brazilians led to the restoration of democratic rule. The next phase that Brazil faced was the stabilizing of its economy, which included curbing the hyperinflation (Lisboa and Latif, 2013:6). During South Africa's transition to a democratic country, it also experienced economic instability, but did not face inflation on the same level as Brazil (Bhorat, et al, 2014:3). One of the causes of inflation is the implementation of failing economic policies. That is why it is necessary to use inflation as the last economic indicator to measure growth, because these two countries have experienced cycles where their economies struggle with high inflation.

As with the other two economic indicators, inflation also has a method that is used to calculate and measure it. Inflation is typically used as a broad measure of the prices of many goods and services, however it can also be calculated narrowly for specific goods and services (Oner, 2017). In order to measure this rise, the price index level is used. Within the price index level, there are a number of measuring tools used to calculate the inflation for specific objectives. One of those is the consumer price index (CPI). CPI is measured by the government using a survey on household goods and services that are bought within a one-year period. Commonly purchased goods and services are grouped together and their prices are tracked over a period of time (Oner, 2017). This economic indicator is useful in this study because another concept that this study is investigating is not just economic growth but also development, and tracking the prices of

common goods helps in examining that. The figure below is an example of how the inflation rate is calculated by comparing the CPI of one-year to the previous year. Used in combination these three economic indicators give a clearer understanding of the economic growth of Brazil and South Africa. This has allowed the researcher to examine whether or not the BRICS partnership has been a conduit for their economic growth and development.

Figure 2

$$\text{Inflation Rate} = \frac{\text{CPI}_2 - \text{CPI}_1}{\text{CPI}_1} * 100$$

where:

CPI_2 – is the CPI in the second period
 CPI_1 – is the CPI in the previous period

3.3.1.4 Welfare, Health and Education:

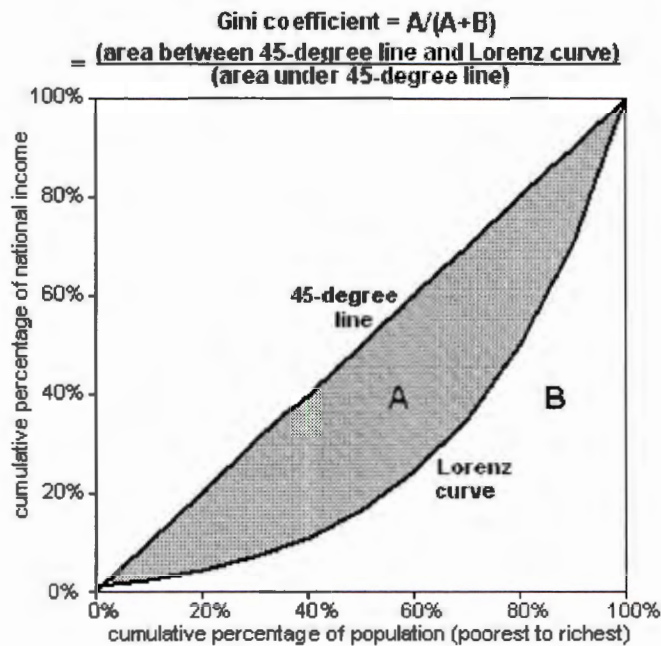
As previously stated, there are a total of eight indicators that are used in this study. The first three that have been discussed in this section pertain to the measuring of economic growth and it has been explained why those specific indicators are being used. Now the next set of indicators that are discussed are those that have been used in measuring development. The definition for development was discussed in chapter one, but it is important to elaborate on this concept especially as it pertains to the indicators that are used to measure it. Rapley (2007) gives a brief breakdown on how the concept of development has changed over the years. He begins by explaining that previously, development was synonymous with industrialization. Industrialization was seen as a means to enrich people financially; development and prosperity were measured mainly in the financial aspect (Rapley, 2007:2). It has taken time to move from definitions such as this one to using definitions that are more holistic. The same is true about measuring development; there are indicators that are used now that also give a holistic view.

One of the indicators that is used to measure development is welfare. The concept of welfare can be defined and used mainly in two different ways. Firstly welfare can be defined as financial support from the government. The second definition, which is used for this study, defines welfare as the wellbeing, happiness and prosperity of either an individual or community (Greve, 2008:51). With that definition in mind, the next step is figuring out which of the development

indicators used are the most suited for measuring the welfare of both Brazil and South Africa. The most appropriate indicator to measure welfare for this study is the Gini Coefficient.

The Gini Coefficient, or as it is sometimes called the Gini Index, is an inequality measure. Over time, the Gini Index has been linked with social welfare functions and because of this, it has been moved into welfare analysis (Bellu, 2006:3). The Gini Index measures welfare inequality of an entire population which, for this study, is the populations of both South Africa and Brazil. The Gini Coefficient ranges from 0, which represented perfect equality, and goes up to 1, which represents perfect inequality. The Gini Coefficient is calculated using the Lorenz Curve, which is a cumulative frequency curve that compares the distribution of a specific variable (World Bank, 2005). Figure three below is an example of how the Gini Coefficient is measured using the Lorenz curve as an illustration. As previously discussed above, the figure that one receives when calculated the Gini Coefficient is between 0 and 1. Many institutions, including the World Bank from, where the data for this study was collected, take the Gini number and multiple it by 100 and that is how the data is represented. For example, countries typically have a Gini index of between 0.3-0.5; this would be represented as 30-50 by institutions such as the World Bank when reporting on the data (World Bank, 2005).

Figure 3



Besides using the Gini Coefficient which is measuring welfare, health and education are the other indicators that are used to measure development in this study. The World Health Organization defines health as “a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and

not merely the absence of disease or infirmity” (Chan, 2002). There are multiple reasons why it is necessary for the development of a country to have a healthy population. Strittmatter and Sunde (2011) argue that health affects a country’s development through human capital investments, physical capital accumulation, population growth, productivity and female labour force participation. The contribution to the well-being and betterment of the society by a healthy population is instrumental to its development. Finlay (2007) argues that a healthier population has the ability to have a positive influence on the social structure of a country, leading to economic development. That is why for this study, the measurement of health was done using under-five mortality of South Africa and Brazil.

The definition of the under-five mortality rate (U5MR) is the probability of a child dying before it reaches the age of five (WHO, 2013). Under-five mortality presents a serious challenges for countries, especially developing and underdeveloped. The reason for this is because the contributing factors to U5MR expose the development deficiencies that countries face in their health sector. Secondly U5MR factors are the same throughout the all the countries, especially in developing or underdeveloped areas (WHO, 2013). Having commonalities in this area makes it easier for countries to firstly understand how this problem has an impact on developing themselves, and secondly on what development policies should be implemented in order to combat the problem. Another reason why U5MR is so important when calculating the development of a country is because children are at a higher mortality risk between birth and age five; that number is reduced by one fifth from age five to adolescent years (WHO, 2013). That is why using U5MR is helpful when measuring development.

The third and last indicator that was used in measuring development was education. As indicated when discussing the unemployment rate, human capital is one of the most important resources for the economic growth and development of a country. McGrath (2010) states that is some correspondence between education and development. This correspondence is not just seen on an individual level, but translates to the societal level and contributes to income and productivity. Moreover, education of a society has the ability to combat challenges that include environmental degradation and poverty reduction. Another crucial importance that education has on development is the education of women and girls, because it has powerful instrumental effects and is a crucial investment (McGrath, 2010:13). That is why the literacy rates of both South Africa and Brazil were used to measure development. Using the literacy rate, coupled with the

Gini Coefficient and U5MR has enabled the measurement of development during the set timeframe.

3.3.1.5 Foreign Direct Investment and Trade Volume:

The last quantitative data indicators that are used in this study were FDI and trade volume. These two indicators, coupled with interviews, were used to measure South-South Cooperation. According to Duce (2003), FDI is defined by the IMF and OECD as obtaining lasting interest by a resident or a direct investor of one country or economy in an enterprise that is resident in another country. The OECD (2002) argues that developing countries and emerging economies have come to view FDI as a mean for economic development, income growth and employment. It further argues that FDI in developing countries has the ability to trigger technology spill-overs, assists human capital formation, contributes to international trade integration, helps create a more competitive business environment and enhances enterprise development. FDI forces countries to cooperate with each other because of the cross-border flow of capital. In recent decades, there has been a change in FDI and trade patterns.

Firstly, there has been an increase in the amount of FDI in the international system and secondly there has been a change in the direction of that FDI. The majority of this change was due to the emerging economies in the 2000s, including the BRICS members (Hufbauer and Draper, 2013). Developing countries and emerging economies were able to increase their share in the inflow and outward flow of FDI during this period. Some developing countries have been able to use the investments coming into their countries in order to facilitate economic growth and development within their borders. The main reason that many countries seem to be using FDI and trade as a means to not only grow their economies but also a tool to facilitate cooperation is, as Hufbauer and Draper (2013) maintain, that FDI and international trade serve as the main engines of world prosperity. This is also one of the reason that FDI and trade volume have been used in this study as indicators that measure South-South Cooperation. The quantitative data was all collected from the following institutions; the OECD, the World Bank and the IMF. The data is presented as percentages and in graph form because, when O'Neill (2001) first wrote about the emerging economies, it was done by examining the percentage of the GDP growth rate from year to year, and illustrating the data in graph form allows for accurate interpretation.

3.3.2 Qualitative Data:

As stated previously, this study is a mixed method study and since the collection of quantitative data has been discussed, this section discusses the collection of the qualitative data. The qualitative data serves three purposes. It serves to examine whether or not BRICS has been a conduit for South-South Cooperation. Also it assists in accompanying the quantitative data collected. The qualitative data has been collected by conducting interviews.

3.3.2.1 Interviews:

Kvale has defined an interview as “a conversation, whose purpose is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee” (1996:174). For qualitative researchers, interviews have sometimes been seen as critical to the research design process (Alshenqeeti, 2014:39). Interviews allow researchers to gather information through direct interchange with an individual who is knowledgeable on the topic that the researcher is investigating (Greef, 2011; Edwards and Holland, 2013). The added advantage in using interviews as a mean of collecting data is that it allows interviewees to speak in their own words and express their views in offering a more holistic understanding of the subject matter (Alshenqeeti, 2014:39).

One-on-one interviews have been conducted for this study. These interviews were in the form of semi-structured interviews. When choosing which type of interview a researcher should use for their study, it is important to choose based on what type of data one is attempting to collect by conducting the interview. For example, semi-structured interviews are used by researchers in order to obtain a detailed picture of the participants’ perceptions and/or account of the particular subject (Greef, 2011:350).

For this study, there were questions in the form of open-ended questions. It is beneficial to use open-ended questions in research because firstly they discover responses that the respondent gives spontaneously. The second reason this type of questioning is beneficial is because it assists the interviewer not to suggest responses to the respondent (Reja et al, 2003:160). The more in-depth the wording in an open-ended question is, the more data can be filled in, unlike closed-ended questions. That is crucial for this research study because the honest responses from the respondents about their areas of expertise assist in providing a holistic examination for answering the research question and in achieving the research aim.

This is another reason that the participant selection is crucial to this study. A research instrument was created in order to guide the researcher during the collection of data. That research tool is in the form of an interview guide. An interview guide is used because it gives the researcher parameters about the questions that are to be asked (Geef, 2011:352). These parameters assist the researcher in having continued engagement with the interviewee and also in designating the narrative. The questions that are asked have to address the issues of the topic that the interviewer wishes to cover.

3.4 Participant Selection:

The selection of participants is crucial because they add the crucial qualitative data that is needed in answering the research question. In order to make the selection of participants balanced and obtain balanced data, an equal number of participants that represent Brazil and South Africa must be chosen. With that directive in mind, the participants for this study come from institutions that are directly connected with both the political and economic matters of both Brazil and South Africa. The chosen institutions include the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO), which is responsible for South Africa's interactions with other countries and international organizations; the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), which is responsible for South Africa's economic growth and development through trade; and the Brazilian Embassy, which is responsible for enriching and facilitating the economic and political interaction between the two countries.

Having chosen the institutions, the next step was to choose officials from these institutions that were the interviewees. Interviewees were chosen because of their expertise in their field and also because of the level of responsibility that they hold at their institution. The reasoning behind choosing from each institution is because an interviewee gives insight into the creation of policies that drive economic growth, development and SSC. This includes what were the policy needs of the institution in creating such policies and what were the aims they had in mind. The interviewees able to fit this criteria were mid-level to higher-level officials, of the institution. These interviews were conducted using recording devices, note-taking and in agreement with all the university regulations and guidelines. This also pertained to all the secondary data that was used in the study. This was achieved by ensuring that all secondary material resources that was

used for the study were properly reviewed and all the contributing authors were cited according to the faculty guidelines.

3.4 Data Analysis:

The next step was to analyse all the data that was collected. Choosing which data analysis method to use in analysing the collected data also depends on what the researcher intends to achieve with the data (Lacy and Luff, 2009:7). The data analysis used in this study is one that is appropriate to the triangulation mixed method by being complementary to both the quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative methods of analysis are categorised into four main categories (Fouche and Bartley, 2011:251). One of these methods is causation and it is used in this study to analyse the quantitative data. Causation uses factor analysis, path analysis or regression. This is an attempt to “determine the network of relationships between variables” (Fouche and Bartley, 2011:251).

Qualitative analysis includes inductive reasoning, thinking and theorising to make inferences from the empirical data (Schurink, Fouche and De Vos, 2011:399). The data analysis method that was used is framework analysis. This means that during the analysis phase the gathered data was sifted, charted and sorted in accordance with key issues and themes (Srivastava and Thomson, 2009:75). Framework analysis includes a five-step process including familiarization, identifying a thematic framework, indexing, charting, mapping and interpretation.

Then now each of the five steps of framework analysis that were applied to the data collected for this study are further discussed. The first step in framework analysis is familiarization. This step refers to the researcher becoming familiar with the data collected whether that be interview tapes, observation notes or any other data pertaining to the study. The researcher needs to immerse themselves in all the data and be able to pick up recurring themes from the data (Srivastava and Thomson, 2009:75). The second step in this process is that emerging themes from the collected data must be identified; however, the researcher must allow the data to direct the themes. This is done through the note-taking process that was done when the researcher was on step 1. After that, the next step is step three. The research identifies portions of the data that align with certain themes and this process is called indexing (Srivastava and Thomson, 2009:76).

Ritchie and Spencer (1994) suggest that this step be applied to all textual data including transcripts from interviews and any documents including policy documents that have been collected, and a numerical system should be applied to the data.

The next step in framework analysis is charting. This fourth step includes taking the data that was indexed and arranging into charts of the themes. The “data is lifted from its original textual context and placed in charts that consist of the headings and subheadings that were drawn during the thematic framework, or from a priori research inquiries or in the manner that is perceived to be the best way to report the research” (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). The fifth and final step in framework analysis is the mapping and interpretation step. The researcher maps out key characteristics that were laid out in the charts. From this step, a schematic diagram should take form and this is what guides the researcher when he/she interprets the data (Srivastava and Thomson, 2009:76).

3.5 Conclusion:

By using a mixed method approach called triangulation, the data, both quantitative and qualitative, should come together in providing the researcher with an understanding of the topic. The means by which both sets of data were collected is outlined and guided the researcher into chapter 4, where the discussion of the findings is done. That is why this chapter is vital to a research study. The means by which data is collected, examined and analysed is important because it affects not only what the findings are but also in achieving the aim that was set out by the researcher. Another crucial element in this chapter is the ethical consideration. The data that was collected has to be collected in accordance with the ethical considerations of the university. This is to ensure that the researcher has followed proper research protocol to gather the data. It is also to ensure that the findings of the study are accurate and not altered in any manner. Permission to use recording devices or notes taken was obtained in accordance with the wishes of interviewee and the agreement with the North –West University Ethics Committee. All secondary data that has been used in this study has been properly reviewed and all the contributing authors are cited according to university guidelines. The results and the data that was gathered was presented truthfully and in an unbiased manner.

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to carefully present the data that has been collected. This chapter describes the analysis of data followed by a discussion of the research findings. The findings relate to the research questions that guided the study. The data collected is examined using the framework analysis method that was discussed in chapter 3. After that, an interpretation of the analyzed findings from the collected data is discussed. As a reminder, the collected data of this study is comprised of both quantitative and qualitative data.

The quantitative data is comprised of eight out of the sixty World Development Indicators that have been used to measure economic growth, development and south to south cooperation. The data that has been collected using those eight indicators has been taken from a set timeline of ten years. This ten years indicates five years before and five years after joining BRICS for Brazil and South Africa. This ten year timeline enables the researchers to be able to track the economic growth, development and south to south cooperation pre-BRICS and post-BRICS. The data that was collected using the eight indicators to measure economic growth, development and south to south cooperation have been illustrated in graphs that are presented in the next section. This enables the researcher to have a visual representation of the quantitative data. Furthermore, the visual representation of the quantitative data assists in tracking either the growth or decline and assist in interpreting the numerical data. The quantitative data is presented in graphs and the data within was collected from the World Bank and the Organization for Economic Development. The data collected is as accurate as possible and in years on the graph that are empty, that means that data for that year was not reported.

The qualitative data was collected by conducting semi-structured interviews. These interviews were conducted with the assistance of an interview guide that has questions that the interviewer asked to the interviewees. As mentioned in chapter 3, the interviewees come from two organisations that are specifically related to Brazil and South Africa. The Brazilian Embassy located in Hatfield in Pretoria and the Department of International Relations and Cooperation also located in Pretoria. The interviews were conducted on separate days but in the same week, where the researcher travelled to each location to interview the participants. These interviews

serve as qualitative data in relation to south to south cooperation and Brazil and South Africa as BRICS members. The participants interviewed are connected with their respective countries as BRICS members as well as members of the global south in relation to south to south cooperation. As previously mentioned in chapter 3, the method of data analysis that was used in this study is framework analysis.

4.2 Impact of on Brazil:

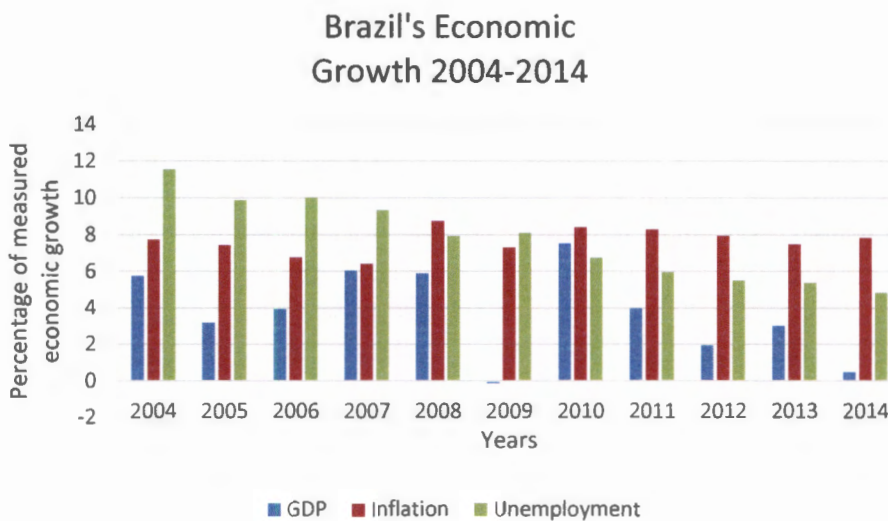
This first section presents the economic growth and development data on Brazil that was collected using three indicators to measure it. The objective for this is to examine how the membership to the BRICS impacts Brazil's economic growth and development. In order to effectively analyse the findings from the data there are some important factors to keep in mind. Firstly it needs to be kept in mind what BRICS had in mind concerning economic growth and development and the role they would play in having an impact. Secondly, how BRICS views their role and goal in the cooperation of the developing countries of the global south. After their first official summit in Yekaterinburg Russia in 2009, BRICs outline certain issues on which they had a consensus on and what their common vision. They acknowledge the role that G20 Summits dealing with the financial crisis and how they fostered cooperation, policy coordination and political dialogue regarding the economic and financial crisis (Yekaterinburg Declaration, 2009). The following year at the Brasilia Summit a vision going forward and the role BRICs would play was outlined.

At the second BRICs Summit, BRICs called for strengthening in macroeconomic cooperation in order to secure a string, sustainable and balanced economic growth (Brasilia Declaration, 2010). Furthermore, BRICs pushed their goal of maintaining domestic economic recovery and development not just for member countries, but for all countries. In 2011, the year South Africa joined BRICS at the Sanya Summit, they stated in their declaration the continued need for political dialogue and cooperation in order to strengthen cooperation in regards to economic growth and development (Sanya Declaration, 2011). The vision from the Sanya Declaration was strengthening BRICS as a major platform for dialogue and cooperation not just for member countries, but for non-BRICS countries including the developed global south. The data presented

is analysed to answer the research question and ascertaining whether their stated goal on economic growth and development has been achieved.

The table below is an illustration of Brazil’s economic growth from 2004-2014. Figure 4 shows Brazil’s economic growth as measured by GDP, inflation and unemployment rates. Figure 5 illustrates Brazil’s development as measured by the Gini Coefficient, literacy rate and under 5 mortality rate. This objective is achieved by answering the question how does membership into the BRICS impacts Brazil’s economic growth and development.

Figure 4.



In examining the data for Brazil’s economic growth and development, prior to 2009, there had been unsteady increase in economic growth as well as development. This increase as Lisboa and Latif (2013) stated in the literature review, is attributed to the liberal economic policy changes that Brazil enacted in order to curb the financial problems stemming from transitioning into a democracy. Brazil was experiencing economic instability including hyperinflation, this had a negative impact on its economic growth and development. Stabilizing the economy was essential in order to redress the issues that were created by policies enacted by the military dictatorship (Filho 2010). The new economic policies that were introduced started having a positive impact on Brazil and it began to have economic growth and development. However, that growth has not been stable especially during the latter part of the 2000s. Brazil was experiencing GDP growth that was fluctuating prior to 2009. There is a slight decline in 2008 and then once 2009 occurred

though, Brazil economy was hit hard regardless of its policies. It went from experiencing 5.91% growth in its GDP to experiencing negative growth at -0.12%. This difference in GDP from 2008-2009 shows how the financial crisis heavily affected the Brazilian economy.

However, in the year 2010, Brazil’s economy experienced a growth rate of 7.54% in its GDP. This is the same year that BRICs was officially concretized and Brazil became a member. However, the growth rate of 2010 was not sustainable because from 2011-2014 Brazil’s GDP fluctuates till its economy is experiencing less that 1% growth in 2014. Brazil’s inflation rate sat at 7.75% in 2004 and it holds steady with slight fluctuations for a decade ending in 2014 with the inflation rate sitting at 7.84%. Brazil’s economy has been experiencing steady decline in unemployment from the period of 2004-2008. During 2009 there was a slight spike that occurred however, in the following years Brazil continued to have a decline in its unemployment rate where it went down to 4.85% by the year 2014. As Kitov and Kitov explained (2011), in order to achieve stable economic growth, the inflation rate must reflect GDP growth and decrease in unemployment. Together these three indicators provide an illustration of Brazil’s economic growth after joining BRICS.

Figure 5.



Figure 5 above, illustrates Brazil’s development from 2004-2014. Elliott (2013) stated that development is the improvement to welfare, health and education. The Gini Coefficient of Brazil starts off at around 56.5% in 2004 and steadily declines over the years. Even during the financial

crisis, there was still a fluctuation. This steady fluctuation continues on right through to 2014 where the Gini Coefficient has settled at 51.5. Brazil experienced a steady decline its under-five mortality rate starting in 2004 where it was at 27.8 children for every 1000 live births. This steady decline continued throughout the decade and by 2014 it was at 16.4 children for every 1000 live births. Starting from 2004, where it was 88.61%, Brazil's literacy from 15 years onward has steadily increased. This steady increase continued throughout the decade as it grew by less than 1% and by 2014 the literacy rate was 91.72%. Dang and Sui Peng stated that development entailed the quality of life and the continuation in the improvement of that life.

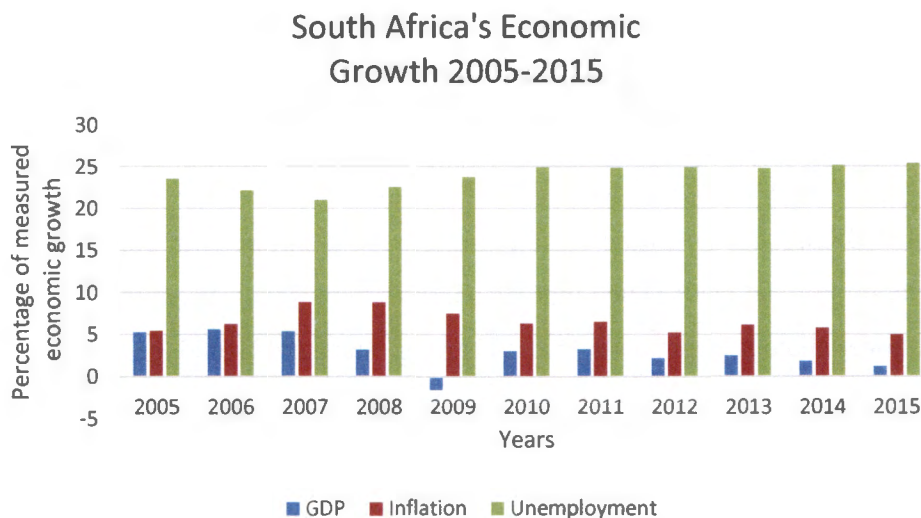
The data on economic growth and development collected on Brazil show that while there had been an increase in both the economic growth and development prior to 2009, there were fluctuations after Brazil joined BRICS. In examining the fluctuations, what is evident is that during the 5 years after joining BRICS, the impact of joining did not have a significant impact on the economic growth and development of Brazil. If there is no significant economic impact, then the impact of joining BRICS is a political one. BRICS has positioned themselves as an alternative to the traditional developed north developmental model. This is one of the important issues that all members converge on (Sanya Declaration, 2011 and Goa Declaration, 2016). The political impact that BRICS has on Brazil's economic growth is in line with the goals set out in their summit declarations. The goals stated that BRICS was working on strengthening its impact as a path for political dialogue that will lead to strong, sustainable and balanced economic growth and development (Brasilia, 2010; Sanya, 2011). The data supports the goal of having political impact on BRICS members however that has yet to translate to sustainable and balanced economic growth and development for Brazil.

In this instance, Brazil has taken the realist stance by focusing on its political power to further its national interests and goals on the international level. This structural realism characteristic further states that a state's actions are driven by the need to thrive in the international system (Donnelly, 2000). While Brazil is a fairly large country with a sizeable economy and being a regional leader, realism states that a state is always ensuring that it finds ways that will foster its survival in the international system (Mearsheimer, 1994; 2006). By joining BRICS, Brazil is ensuring that not only does it survive, but it is able to thrive. This is done in many ways

including forming alliances as Brazil has done by joining BRICS. According to structural realism, the reasoning behind joining an alliance is so a state can protect itself politically and economically in the international system Keohane (1983). This is the case when examining Brazil's economic growth and development and the impact of a BRICS membership. The evidence shows that in the case of Brazil, the impact that the BRICS have on its membership is political and has yet to translate economically. The strengthening of political dialogue that leads to balanced and sustainable economic growth and development is one of the goals that was set out in the BRICS declarations (Brasilia, 2010; Sanya, 2011). It is evident from the data what the impact BRICS has had on Brazil's economic growth and development, the following section answers the question of the impact on South Africa.

4.3 Impact on South Africa:

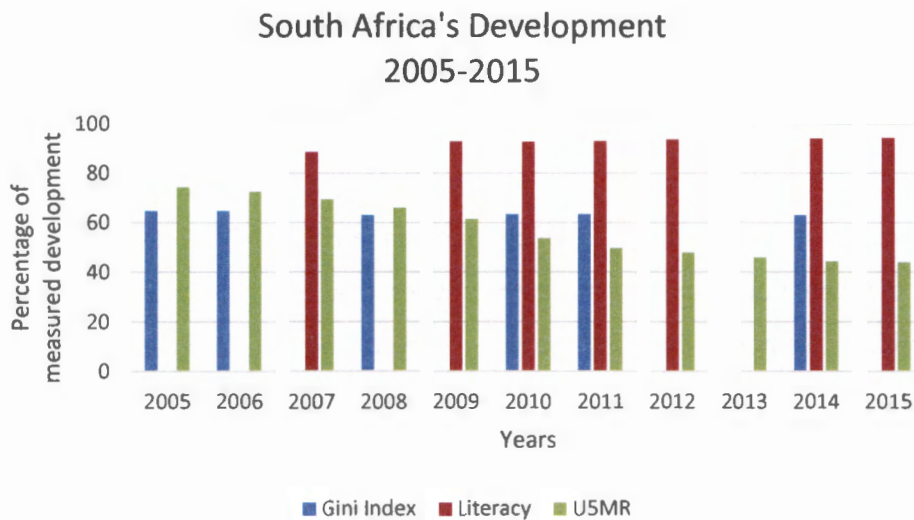
Figure 6



South Africa experienced a steady growth rate in GDP from 2005 until 2009. The South African economy was growing consecutively at pace of around 5% right until 2008. The year the financial crisis happened GDP growth slowed to just over 3% and by 2009, South Africa was also experiencing negative growth at -1.53%. The following year, there is a pickup in GDP growth at 3.04%, which continues into 2011, the year South Africa joins BRICS. After that, GDP slightly decreases but holds steady till 2015 where it is sitting at 1.24%. The unemployment rate of South Africa has had a different pattern. Firstly, examining the data of South Africa's unemployment rate starting from 2005, the percentage rate is quite high at 23.5%. The rates

keep fluctuating up and down until 2009, where there is a steady increase in South Africa's unemployment. That increase continues until 2015 where the unemployment rate is sitting at 25.35% unemployment of the population. Starting in 2005 South Africa's inflation rate saw a rise that culminated with it sitting at 7.51% in 2009. However, there was a steady decline from 2010-2015, where inflation was at 4.99%.

Figure 7



South Africa's Gini Coefficient experienced a steady decline in that continued till 2014 where it was at 63%. Unfortunately there is data missing on some of the years, so there is an incomplete data for the decade beginning 2005-2015 for South Africa's Gini Coefficient. South Africa experienced a sharp decline in its Under 5 Mortality Rates starting in 2005 where it was 74.3 children for every 1000 live births. By the end of the decade in 2015 the U5MR had declined to 44.1 children for every 1000 live births. South Africa's literacy rate however, increased at a faster rate than annually and by 2015 it was 94.36 of people 15 years and above. However, when examining the data available using development indicators, there seems to be missing years. This become more evident with development indicators, while the economic growth indicators were almost always complete.

South Africa's economic growth and development has lagged since it joined BRICS. From the data collected, there is minimal economic impact by BRICS to South Africa's economic growth

and development. The impact of BRICS on South Africa's economic growth and development seems from the data collected to be in the political interests of South Africa. South Africa is acting in a structural realist perspective by engaging in frequent cooperation by being a member of BRICS even though economically there does not seem to be an impact as a result of this cooperation. This is what Mearsheimer (1994) argued, that states will engage in frequent cooperation even if it is counterintuitive to constant competition. In this instance, membership for South Africa into BRICS will result in relative gains and of ensuring a state's survival.

The relative gains come in the form of the politically protection that South Africa gains as a BRICS member in relation to the international system. Evidence to back this claim come from multiple sources not just the data collected, which include the BRICS Declarations. In an article published by the African Portal online, the author states that South Africa's membership in BRICS has consolidated its position among the rising powers and in turn boosted its standing in the international system (Brosig, 2018). Furthermore, South Africa begins its two year tenure on the Security Council in 2019 and this allows it to be able to have a major platform on global issues. This has allowed South Africa to raise its voice in demanding reform in global institutions such as the UN Security Council in order to accommodate the legitimate interests of developing and countries (Brosig, 2018).

The alliance that South Africa has entered into with BRICS has a political impact on its economic growth and development. The data shows that there is minimal impact on an economic and development standpoint. With that being the case, then it is evident that if the impact is not an economic one, then it is political. South Africa is also operating on a structural realist perspective concerning the impact BRICS has on its economic growth and development. Joining a group such as BRICS when there is minimal impact economically for South Africa can be attributed to one of the five assumptions of structural realism. This assumption is that a state has the capacity to come up with strategies that will maximise its survival in the international system (Mearsheimer, 1994; 2006).

That's the impact that a BRICS membership for South Africa in the international system. It is adding another strategy to the multiple bilateral, multilateral and member of certain institutions and organisations that South Africa is a part of, in order to maximise its survival as a state. This is also stated as one of the BRICS goals in their declarations. BRICS stated that the strengthening of political dialogue between members and other G20 and developing countries was a goal they were pursuing (Brasilia, 2010; Sanya, 2011). In these declarations, BRICS wanted to use the strengthening of political dialogue to spill-over into the strengthening and sustainable economic growth and development of their members and G20 and developing countries.

In a 2011 speech made by then President Jacob Zuma in Sanya, he stated that there was a need to have reform especially in the Security Council and it was critical for strengthening cooperation for BRICS members to serve on the Security Council either as permanent members like China and Russia or non-permanent members (South African Government News Agency, April 2011). He further stated that on a political level, South Africa's BRICS partners had an appreciation for its unique value system and the independent outlook that South Africa has concerning international issues. Furthermore, President Zuma stated that there was a need to reform the Security Council and other intuitions in order to promote a 'just economic world order' (South African Government News Agency, April 2011). In the view of the articles author, the view of South Africa's BRICS membership is that it is probably one of the most important foreign policy legacies of the Zuma presidency (Brosig, June 2018). This further assists in illustrating the political impact that South Africa's membership in BRICS provides.

4.4 Fostering South to South Cooperation:

This next section focuses on the collected data that concerns South to South Cooperation. The objective of this section is to explore whether participation in BRICS fosters south to south cooperation between Brazil, South Africa and the global south. This objective is achieved by answering the research question to what extent does participation in BRICS foster south to south cooperation between Brazil, South Africa and the global south. This question is answered by examining both the quantitative and qualitative data collected. Figure 8 consists of Brazil's

inward and outward FDI from 2004-2014. The numbers that are represented in figure 8 are an accumulation of all of Brazil's FDI including inward and outward from 2004-2014. Figure 9 gives the data of the percentage of the FDI by region into Brazil. This is Brazil's inward FDI according to the regions that contribute the most.

Unfortunately the data for Brazil's inward FDI by region is from 2010-2016. While it does not include data pre-BRICS it does have data post joining BRICS. What the data is showing is that continuously from 2010-2016 the number one contributor to Brazil's FDI by region is Europe. That coupled with statements made by source A (An official from the Brazilian Embassy, Interviewed on Wednesday, 17th October 2018) further illustrate that Brazil uses multiple avenues that further its national interests and that includes economic growth and development through FDI and trade. The economic cooperation illustrated in figure 9 further shows that even though Brazil is a member of BRICS that does not automatically translate to increasing economic cooperation. The number one and two contributors of Brazil's inward FDI are both regions of the developed north.

As the literature had argued, south to south cooperation is meant to foster cooperation between developing countries of the south through partnerships involving government and private sector for mutual benefit within and across regions (UNDP, 2012). One of the means that states use to foster cooperation for mutual benefit is through FDI. Another avenue of fostering south to south cooperation is through trade and measuring this by measuring the trade volume of trading partners.

Figure 8.

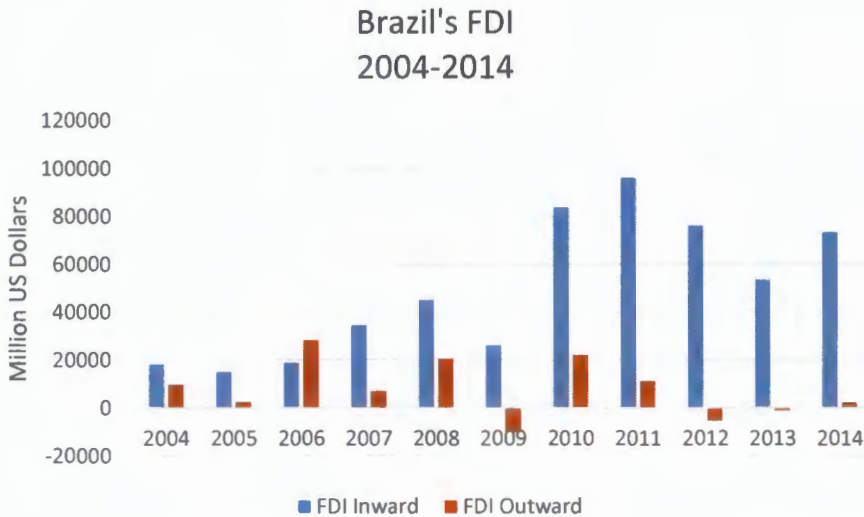
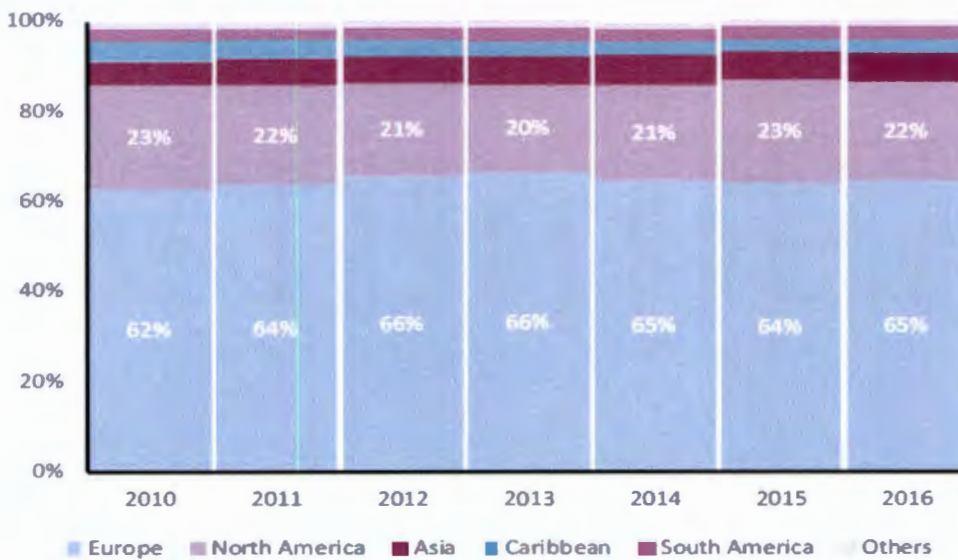


Figure 9.



States that cooperate through FDI are doing so for the purpose of economic growth and cooperation. Examining the extent that BRICS fosters south to south cooperation is analyzed through a neoliberal approach. This is a neoliberal approach to cooperation where the state and the market are connected in fostering economic growth, development and cooperation (Ver Eecke, 2013). Furthermore, neoliberalism contends that the state is seen as an entity that will create and preserve institutional frameworks that allow for entrepreneurship, free market and

trade to prosper. In examining the FDI and trade volume of Brazil, those characteristics listed above have been created in order for FDI and trade to adequate flow inward and outward. It is one of the economic practises that is agreed upon by neoliberal theory (Harvey, 2005; Thorsen and Lie, 2007).

Examining the data of Brazils' FDI, there was an increase in Brazil's FDI from 2010, the year it joined BRICS, onward. However, when examining figure 9, a large percentage of Brazil's inward FDI came from the developed north. With 62% coming from, Europe in 2010. That number only increased during that five years because in 2014 it made up 64% of Brazil's inward FDI. While Figure 10 shows the data of Brazil's trade volume as it accounts to the percentage amount of its GDP.

Figure 10



Since joining BRICS, the data shows that Brazil's trade volume of exports have declined, while its imports have increased. Ideally speaking, a state should be achieving higher exports than imports that shows that it is having a healthy economy. Besides being an indicator for healthy economies, trade is also a means of facilitating cooperation. There is a steady decline in exports from 2004-2014. In 2004, Brazil's exports accounted for 16.5 % of GDP however, in the following years, there was a steady decline and it ends at 11% of Brazilian exports accounted for GDP by 2014. As it has been pointed out above concerning Brazil's FDI, being a member of BRICS does not ensure that there is an automatic increase in economic cooperation between

BRICS members and the rest of the developing south. Brazil still has its own economic interests that it pursues whether with the developed north or the developing south. What the data is illustrating is that being a member of BRICS does not translate to increased cooperation for the developing south.

In the literature, Hufbauer and Draper (2013) stated that FDI and international trade together serve as means to drive world prosperity. In essence, FDI and international trade is meant to facilitate cooperation between states, while driving world prosperity Hufbauer and Draper (2013). These two specific concepts are supported by neoliberal theory. The data in figure 9 represents an example of these two concepts because it is economic prosperity and cooperation through Brazil's inflow FDI from different regions. However, as the data further shows, that cooperation is not fostered by BRICS. This is due to the fact that each member of BRICS operates independently with its own national interests concerning their own economic prosperity.

Also, cooperation is important to Brazil, and this was reinforced by source A (Brazilian official 1 interviewed at Brazilian Embassy, Wednesday 17th October 2018). Source A, when asked about BRICS and it fostering SSC in South America, stated that as Brazil, there are multiple avenues that it uses in order to foster economic growth and development in South America. One of those methods of cooperation happens to be BRICS, but it is not the main method used by South America. Source A further stated that MERCOSUR, the Southern Customs Union of South American states, is one of the main methods that Brazil uses in order to foster cooperation that leads to economic growth and development for South America. This ties into regional cooperation, a theme that was discussed in the literature review.

Lissovok, (2017) put forth the argument that because BRICS members are also members of regional organizations such as MERCOSUR, that ensures that there are multiple avenues of cooperation between states and BRICS. However, it is important to note that source A further elaborated that while Brazil is a part of both BRICS and MERCOSUR, it has not been given a mandate by its regional partners to act on their behalf in regards to BRICS. So because of that, Brazil is advocating purely for its own interests and south to south cooperation in this context is

a by-product of the FDI and trade volume. Also Brazil prefers using avenues such as MERCOSUR when it is working on South to South Cooperation issues. This is also based on the fact that source A emphasized that Brazil has a different outlook on to approach SSC issues compared to its fellow BRICS members. These issues included immediate needs toward developing countries that they thought would be advanced by SSC and promote less exploitative economic relations, such as those they had endured with the global north. The formation of the Bandung Conference in 1955 is seen as a global political movement that was intended to challenge the global north dominated political and economic system (Gray and Gills, 2016:558). However, there have been multiple starts and stops, surges and retreats since the formation of SSC in 1955.

Figure 11

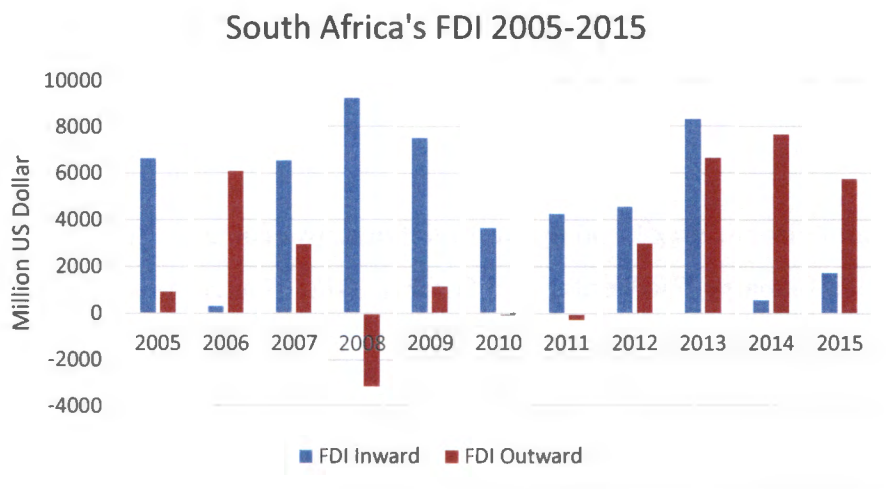
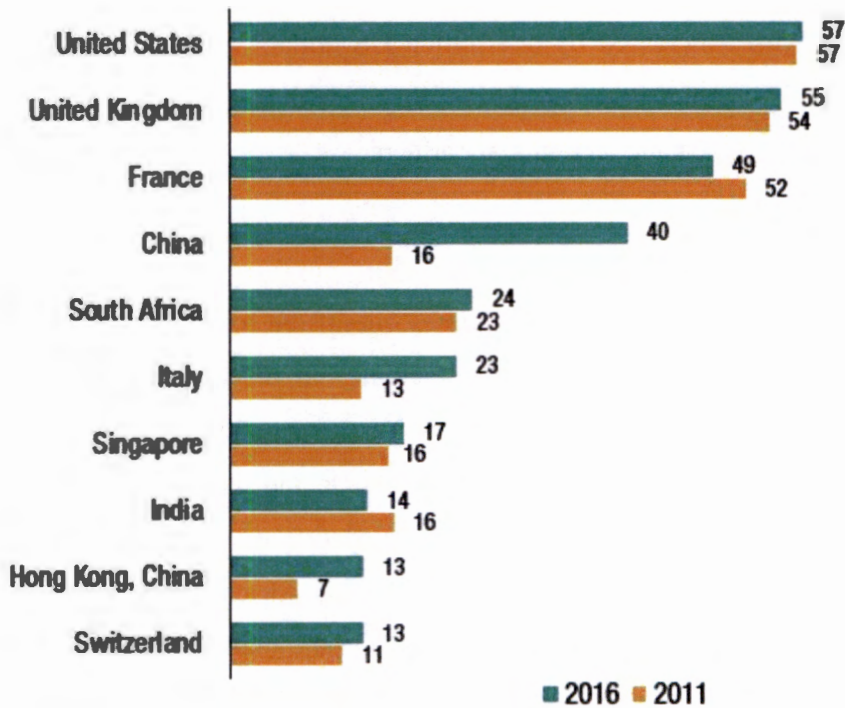


Figure 12



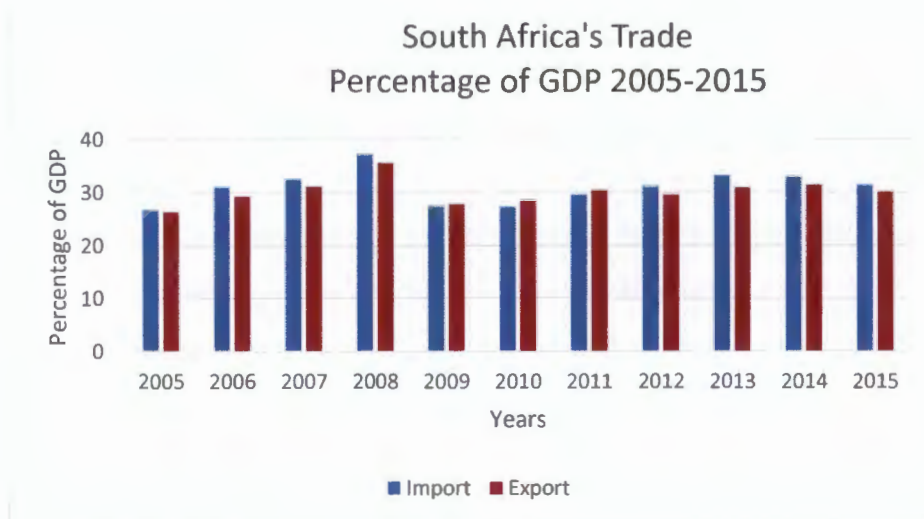
Figures 11 through 13 show the data concerning South Africa’s FDI and trade volume. From the data, it is evident that South Africa experienced increases and declines in both its inward and outward FDI. In 2008 there was a decline in FDI that did not pick until 2012 when it was. The next two following years SA FDI steadily increased however, its inward FDI sharply fell in 2014 and shows a slow recovery for 2015. Figure 13 illustrates South Africa’s imports and exports in relation to the percentage of GDP. In 2005 SA imports accounted for 26.7% of GDP and by 2008 it was 37.24 but the following year it had dropped to 27.51%. However, it steadily increased in the following years and settled at 31.44 % in 2015. In 2005, exports accounted for 26.4% of GDP and that increased until 2008 when it was 35.6%. However, it declined in 2009 to 27.9%. After that, there was an increase and by 2015, 30.2% of South African exports contributed to its GDP.

Figure 12, obtained from UNCTAD, World Investment Report 2018, illustrates the top investing economies in Africa measured in billion US dollars and the data is taken in 2011, the year South Africa joined BRICS and also again 2016. The purposes of graphs 11-13 is to illustrate whether

the participation of South Africa in BRICS fosters South to South Cooperation. Of the ten countries listed as investors in figure 12, three of them are BRICS members. The amount of FDI that both China and South Africa have invested in Africa has increased from 2011, to 2016. South Africa's FDI in Africa increased by one billion US dollars since it joined BRICS. The increase in South Africa's outward FDI into Africa illustrates that there is continued economic cooperation between South Africa and its regional partners.

This rise in FDI on South Africa's end also illustrates one of the four ways that neoliberalism connects the state and the market by both being vehicles in driving economic cooperation (Shultz, 2010). The economic cooperation between South Africa and its regional partners is a theme that was reiterated by source D (a Department of Trade and Industry official interviewed in Pretoria Thursday, 24th January 2019). Source D stated that it was one of South Africa's continued goals to ensure further economic cooperation within Africa through FDI and through trade regardless of what happens with BRICS members. On the matter of South Africa and its economic cooperation with African countries, it is acting as a rational state that is pursuing its own national interests. A similar statement was made by source A when answering the same question when it pertained to Brazil. Figure 12 illustrates the deepening economic cooperation through trade and FDI of South Africa and its African neighbours.

Figure 13



The fact that from 2011-2016, South Africa became the fifth largest investor in Africa right behind China is in line with one of the themes that were discussed in the literature review.

Mansfield and Solingen (2010); Hartzenberg, (2011) both discussed how many countries especially developing countries have embraced regional integration as a means to achieve not just economic growth and development, but also cooperation. This argument was reiterated by source B (DIRCO official 1 interviewed in Pretoria on Tuesday 16th October 2018). Source B further stated that “we cannot be an island of prosperity in a sea of poverty”. This specifically refers to the fact that South Africa is a more developed state than its regional partners. Therefore, it is imperative that South Africa take an active role in fostering the economic growth and development through economic cooperation with its regional partner’s through measures such as FDI and trade.

Source C (DIRCO official 2 interviewed in Pretoria on Tuesday 16th October 2018) further added that regional cooperation and development is a priority to South Africa as it forms an integral part of its foreign policy especially in regards to the African continent. Since it is part of South Africa’s foreign policy to have economic cooperation within Africa, whatever actions that are taken by BRICS concerning cooperation within Africa become moot. This is because whether there is an increase or decrease in cooperation with other BRICS members, South Africa continues to have cooperation with the developing African countries as it is a foreign policy goal. That is why South Africa is one of the major investors after China on the continent. Furthermore, as source C pointed out, South Africa has been instrumental in initiating the BRICS plus initiative. BRICS plus is an initiative that assists African developing countries to gain more access to BRICS members in order to form their own economic cooperation alliances that will hopefully lead to economic growth and development for the global south.

The BRICS plus initiative first introduced at the Durban Summit in 2013 was done so by South Africa to add inclusivity and cooperation between African countries and BRICS (Sidiropoulos et al, 2018:3). The Durban Summit’s theme was unlocking Africa’s potential, this would be done through a partnership for development, integration and industrialization. Furthermore, this would be strengthened through the establishment and solidifying of political dialogue between invited African leaders and BRICS (Sidiropoulos et al, 2018:3). This was South Africa’s efforts of bridging cooperation between developing countries in Africa and BRICS. South Africa again reaffirmed its commitment to cooperation between developing countries in Africa and BRICS

when it hosted the BRICS summit in 2018. African leaders were again invited to participate on the last day of the summit under the theme of BRICS-Africa dialogue. This BRICS-Africa political dialogue was in hopes that there would be cooperation and collaboration for the inclusive growth and shared prosperity in the 4th industrial revolution (Sidiropoulos et al, 2018:4).

This continued initiative to foster cooperation between BRICS and developing African countries is a means to economic growth and development. However, at the moment, the data illustrates that beyond political dialogue and political impact, there has yet to be significant economic impact on to the developing countries. Secondly, the data illustrates that there are two different way in which Brazil and South Africa approach cooperation of its regional partners. South Africa through the BRICS plus initiative is really pushing for further cooperation and collaboration between its regional partners and BRICS. This initiative also has immediate political gains for South Africa. BRICS plus is based on the premise that African leaders are invited to participate in the political dialogue. This puts South Africa in a position of being a political power broker, as it is the one that is inviting these African leaders to collaborate with BRICS.

For South Africa, there is a political impact and power gain in being in a position such as the one it has found itself in through the BRICS plus initiative. Now the initiative has been expanded to create dialogue with other emerging economies of the developing south that would focus on economic development and SSC. The expansion has focused on including many countries that sat as the 2018 chairs and co-chairs of organizations such as the G20 and MERCOSUR with the inclusion of Argentina and co-chair with South Africa of the New Asia-Africa Strategic Partnership, Indonesia (Sidiropoulos et al, 2018:4). The expansion and inclusion of these countries was done so in order to include the economic growth and development and South to South Cooperation. While there is an increase in political dialogue between BRICS and the global south, that has yet to translate into significant economic impact for the global south.

4.5 View on BRICS contribution:

This last section focuses on the interviews that were conducted for this study, which form the qualitative data portion. The interviews were conducted in order to achieve the objective of assessing how Brazil and South Africa view BRICS contribution to their economic growth, development and SSC. This is done by answering the question how Brazil and South Africa view BRICS contribution to economic growth, development and south to south cooperation. The interviews were conducted at the Brazilian Embassy, the Department of International Relations and Cooperation and the Department of Trade and Industry, all located in Pretoria. The data was then reviewed and analyzed according to the five steps of framework analysis. Following the steps of framework analysis, certain patterns emerged when the data was analysed.

In order to adequately answer the research question, it is important to first present the data collected from the interviews and then analyse how that data answers the research question. From the responses given by the interviewees, there are themes that have been identified. The first theme that was identified from the responses is that BRICS members work on issues that they converge on. The number one response from all institutions and was reiterated a number of times is by the respondents is that BRICS only focuses on the issues that they can reach a consensus on. One of the reasons for this as it was explained by both sources B and C is that it takes a lot of time and man power in order for all five members to come together and draft and agreement that satisfies all their interests and overcomes their conflicts.

One of the reasons for this is that all five members are different in their demographics, political makeups, economic and development makeup. Secondly BRICS members have differing ideologies and goals in mind so it makes it easier to focus only on the issues which there is a consensus on. A second theme that is recurring in the data is global south cooperation. However, Brazil and South Africa approach this concept from different angles. The third theme that was identified in the data is that Brazil and South Africa respect the autonomy of their regional partners. Another theme that was identified is the promotion and maintenance of multilateralism.

The idea of having converging issues is a recurring theme throughout the interviews conducted especially from the Brazilian responses. Source A (A Brazilian Embassy Official, interviewed on Wednesday 17th October 2018), further elaborated on this topic by explaining that when concerning issues where BRICS is unable to reach a consensus, Brazil can and does use alternative methods to achieve its goals. One of the main methods that Brazil uses is MERCOSUR, which is the Southern Market that many countries in South America are members. Another one of those methods besides MERCOSUR is the continued relationships and cooperation that it engages in with countries in the global north. This fact is further reiterated by the data collected concerning inward Brazilian FDI and how the two biggest investors in Brazil are Europe and North America. Furthermore, subject A stated that Brazil values all the partnerships and alliances that it has engaged in and works hard to maintain cooperative relationships with all its partners both from the global north and south.

This fact is important because it highlights Brazil's view on not just BRICS's contribution to economic growth and development but also to SSC. Subject A further elaborated that Brazil's view on BRICS and SSC is that it is two different concepts. While BRICS endeavours to challenge the global north's approach to economic growth, development and cooperation in the developing south as stated in the Sanya Declaration (2011) and GOA Declaration (2016), source A stated that the researcher should not confuse that with Brazil's concept of SSC and how it approaches SSC and the methods that it uses when dealing with SSC. As previously stated in the literature, SSC is defined by UNDP (2012) as

“a process whereby two or more developing countries pursue their individual and/or shared national capacity development objectives through exchanges of knowledge, skills, resources and technical know-how, and through regional and interregional collective actions, including partnerships involving governments, regional organizations, civil society, academia and the private sector, for their individual and/or mutual benefit within and across regions. South-South cooperation is not a substitute for, but rather a complement to, North-South cooperation”.

From that definition, it is clear why Brazil would have the view that it does concerning BRICS contribution to SSC. In this aspect, based on the data, Brazil does not view BRICS as having

significant contribution to South to South Cooperation, especially when compared to some of the initiatives that Brazil has been a part of with its regional partners.

As this is the view that Brazil has on BRICS contribution to economic growth, development and SSC, what approach drives this view? This question utilizes both neoliberal and structural realist characteristics on the side of Brazil. It encompasses neoliberal characteristics because Brazil has the power to ensure that it has strong internal institutional arrangements that are able to compete on a global level (Harvey, 2005; Shultz, 2010). This is to ensure that as a state, Brazil has a profitable market and a financially stable economy. Brazil does this through multiple measures including its BRICS membership and other economic partnerships with both the developed north and developing south.

Secondly, on its view of BRICS contribution to SSC, Brazil approaches this question in a structural realist approach. This is done by subject A putting an emphasis on the fact that while Brazil does not have a memorandum from its regional partners to advocate on their behalf, each regional country has its own autonomy that is to be respected. The premise of a state being a rational actor is one of the fundamental characteristics of structural realism (Mearsheimer, 1994; 2006). Also ensuring that Brazil has strong partnerships with varied countries and regions assists in ensuring that it will survive in the international system. As Brazil holds this view, SSC holds a similar view where it “endeavours to observe the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, equality among developing partners and respect for their independence” (IBON Center, 2010), which translates to a structural realism approach. This is further substantiated when examining the gains that Brazil has achieved since its BRICS membership.

As previously stated, the data analysed illustrated that those gains have been a majority political gains. Brazil has shown that it is able to take a neutral stand on issues that involve its fellow BRICS members when these issues are discussed on international platforms such as the United Nations. This was the case involving Russia and the Crimean Crisis (Stuenkel, 2014). In taking a neutral position, Brazil is able to keep a friendly relationship with fellow BRICS member Russia, while not alienating its other international partners. Furthermore, countries in the global north

that have economic and political ties with Brazil will more than likely take into serious consideration the views held by Brazil on issues connected to BRICS members. That gives Brazil more political power than it previously held. This does not mean that Brazil has now suddenly changed its views and national interests to align with fellow members. The BRICS platform for Brazil will still be a means to diversifying its partnerships in the international system (Stuenkel, 2014). Stuenkel's view is also supported by the data collected from source A from the Brazilian Embassy. These views are also supported by the data illustrating Brazil's FDI and trade volume. It is in Brazil's national interest to ensure that it has diversified partnerships including partners from both the global north and south. Brazil's BRICS membership does not only help Brazil gain political power in South America, but it has helped Brazil gain more power in the international system.

South Africa's view on BRICS contribution is different than that of Brazil. This is based on the data collected from sources B and C. What was ascertained from the data, is that South Africa's foreign policy in Africa is geared towards cooperation which will lead to economic growth and development. This was brought about by the assistance that was given by African countries to the liberation struggle (Bhorat, et al, 2014). Achieving democracy in 1994 also meant that South Africa was able to re-enter the global market. South Africa established economic policies that were geared towards growing the economy, which it achieved, then South Africa set about trying to pay back the assistance it received during the liberation struggle from its neighbours.

The BRICS plus initiative that was spearheaded by South Africa is one of the ways that South Africa was trying to pay back the assistance it received during the struggle for democracy. The third theme that was identified in the data is that Brazil and South Africa respect the autonomy of their regional partners. This is evident because officials from both countries reiterated that their regional partners are free to enter into any agreement with other BRICS members without their interference. This theme came about because of the question posed to both country officials of what actions do they take as Brazil and South Africa when their regional partners enter into an unfavourable agreement with fellow BRICS members. Regional partners who enter into agreements with BRICS do so with the caveat that as independent countries, they have the agency to decide the course of their countries without interference. This is a structural realist

approach taken by both countries. They both advocate for the agency of countries in their endeavours to pursue their own national interests and goals when entering into any agreements with BRICS members (Donnelly, 2009). This includes accepting all responsibilities and liabilities should the agreement turn out less than favourable for the non-BRICS developing country.

These initiatives for developing countries include the BRICS New Development Bank. The bank's goals include promoting economic growth and development within BRICS and furthermore, within the developing south through lending of funds established by BRICS Fei (2017). From the data collected from DIRCO, it is apparent that South Africa views BRICS contribution to economic growth, development and SSC as a way for developing countries to get an opportunity, different from the neoliberal global north, to grow their economies. However, the officials at DIRCO made it clear that while South Africa may assist in fostering a path for developing countries to gain access to BRICS and its resources, countries are responsible for themselves as rational states. This pertains to countries entering into agreements with BRICS members and South Africa recognises that there will be "economic and political disputes, disagreements and rivalries" but as rational states, all countries must be responsible for the agreements that they sign (Christensen and Bernal-Meza (2014).

South Africa recognizes that countries have their own national interests that they must satisfy when entering into agreements Donnelly (2009). That is why source C stated that because countries are autonomous, they have to take responsibility of fulfilling their parts in any and all agreements that they enter into with BRICS members. Whether it is on a multilateral agreement or on a bilateral basis. Furthermore, Sources A and B stated that multilateralism is an approach that both Brazil and South Africa support pertaining to the developing countries of the global south pursuing economic growth and development. This was a recurring theme in the data collected from the interviews. Supporting multilateralism is also a theme that reoccurs in the BRICS declarations, this highlights how much of an important topic it is with all BRICS members (Brasilia, 2010; Sanya, 2011; Goa, 2016). The promotion of multilateralism by BRICS is so that underdeveloped and developing countries have the ability to pursue their countries national interests' especially economic growth and development. Both the Brazilian and South

African officials spoke of the steps that they both take in order to achieve this goal. Besides advocating for multilateralism through BRICS, they also use avenues such as IBSA and the regional organizations that they are a part of on their continents. The data collected assists in understanding the position that Brazil and South Africa view themselves firstly as developing countries from their continents and secondly as members of BRICS.

On this last research question, Brazil and South Africa take divergent theoretical approaches when answering this question. Brazil takes a structural realist approach to how it views BRICS contribution to its economic growth development and South to South Cooperation. This is evident because source A emphasized that while Brazil is member of BRICS, it also holds many partnerships in the international system with varying other countries. This is true to the realist characteristics that while countries may enter into alliances to ensure their survival, there is still a degree of suspicion and competition among states even those that are allies (Mearsheimer, 1994; 2006).

The fact that source A notes that while Brazil is a member of BRICS, it does not rely on BRICS for its sustainable economic growth and development. Also it does not rely on BRICS to foster SSC especially in South America. This view is supported by the fact that source A stated that MERCOSUR works together as regional partners in order to foster its members economic growth and development through economic cooperation between the South American members. In regards to the question of how Brazil views BRICS contribution to economic growth, development and SSC, it is clear that it views it as having no significant contribution to either concepts especially the economic growth and development of either Brazil or its regional partners.

South Africa on the other hand approaches this question with both structural realist and neoliberal views. South Africa pushes for economic cooperation between itself and many of its regional partners. Secondly, it also pushes for economic cooperation between its regional partners and BRICS through the BRICS plus initiative that it has spearheaded. As previously stated above, this initiative was created in order to provide African countries with more access to

BRICS members, giving them more options outside of the global north and its financial institutions. This was done so in order to provide more means for developing countries to be able to form partnerships with BRICS members that lead to economic cooperation. This is in line with the neoliberal view that a state is seen as an entity that creates and preserves institutional frameworks in order to achieve freedom and prosperity through the market and trade (Harvey, 2005; Shultz, 2010).

While South Africa holds that view, it also holds the view that each state is independent and rational and because of that, each state has agency over itself in regards to what economic or political agreements that it may enter into. Also, source D further explained that it's important to note that BRICS is not a free trade union and that South Africa still has to enter into trading agreements with each individual member as it did pre-BRICS. Hence there are instances where competition occurs between members. However, source D emphasized that at this moment, South Africa does not feel threatened that it would lose its market share with its regional trading partners to BRICS members.

4.6 Conclusion:

This chapter presented the data that was collected in this research study. The quantitative data collected was presented using graphs. The graphs are helpful as they better illustrate the patterns and trends that emerge from the data. The quantitative data assisted answering the research questions because to clearly illustrated either increases or decreases in the economic growth and development data for pre and post-BRICS. From this, ascertaining what the data means to the research question was made simple.

Furthermore the qualitative data, which was collected through interviews was also presented. Secondly the data was presented according to the three objectives that were stated for the study. These objectives were stated in order to answer the three research questions that were presented. This was done with the theoretical approaches used in the study in mind and the data was analyzed and presented accordingly. The data that was collected was presented in accordance

with answering the three research questions. This was done by connecting the research questions to the literature that was reviewed and also to theoretical approaches that were used in the research. Chapter five, which is the final chapter to the study contains the conclusion and recommendations.

When Jim O'Neill first coined the phrase BRICs, it was to highlight the economic achievements from Brazil, Russia, India and China. Furthermore, O'Neill projected the continued economic achievements that those countries would continue to have during that decade and how their growth would outpace those of the global north (2001). While South Africa experienced economic growth, it was not on the same level as its fellow BRICs members and because of this, it was omitted from O'Neill's assessment of fast growing economies. This fact further corroborates the political impact that BRICS has on South Africa. The financial crisis in 2008 affected the global financial system in a way that O'Neill could not have predicted when he first coined the phrase BRICs and the impact of those countries. On the other hand, Brazil was unable to live up to the expectations that O'Neill had for it in 2001. During the latter part of the decade, Brazil's economy experienced fluctuations that were not directly tied to the financial crisis. Also the years after Brazil joined BRICS also continued to show fluctuations in its economic growth and development. This leads to the findings that the impact that BRICS has on the economic growth and development of Brazil and South Africa, is more of a political impact, rather than economic. The data shows that there has been minimal impact economically for both countries.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

5.1 Introduction:

In this conclusion there is a summary of the study including the findings that are recapped and what were the important factors that stood out. This study set out to examine the membership of Brazil and South Africa in BRICS and whether it is a conduit for economic growth, development and south to south cooperation. This was done through a mixed method study. The study also set out to fill in the literature gaps that were identified in chapter two. Furthermore, the study was approached using structural realism and neoliberalism as its theoretical framework. The reasoning for using two theories instead of one is because the study had both political and economic aspects to it, as discussed in chapter two. There were a number of things that were ascertained during this study that assisted to answer the research problem. While examining economic growth, development and south to south cooperation, there were different factors that stood out and assisted in answering the research questions and forming a response that contributed to answering the problem. The objectives of this study have to be recapped in order to know whether or not they were achieved.

This study set out to ascertain whether BRICS is a conduit for economic growth, development and south to south cooperation. The study set out to answer this problem by using a mixed method in order to collect data. In order to attain accurate data, the study set parameters for the data that was collected. One of those parameters include a timeline of a ten year period. The study also set out to fill the gaps that were mentioned in the literature review in chapter two. In order to accurately achieve this, the study used triangulation method to measure the three concepts. The quantitative data was collected using eight indicators that would measure economic growth, development and south to south cooperation. The data that was collected to measure the three concepts was then made into graphs that would properly give an illustration of the quantitative data. The qualitative data that was collected was in the form of one on one interviews that assisted in answering the problem.

5.2 Summary of findings:

In order to give an adequate summary of the findings, each of the research questions are revisited including the findings that were ascertained. The first research question asked how does membership of the BRICS impact Brazil and South Africa's economic growth and development? In order to answer this question, three economic indicators were used to measure economic growth and another three to measure development. When the data was examined and analyzed, it showed that during the five year period Brazil and South Africa were BRICS members, the impact on their economic growth and development was a political impact. The economic growth and development indicators used to collect data illustrated that BRICS impact on Brazil and South Africa's economic growth and development was not an economic impact.

The goals set out by BRICS in its summit declarations were discussed in chapter 4 and whether they had been achieved. One of the goals set out starting from the Brasilia Declaration 2010 was the effort by BRICS to strengthen political dialogue among members that would translate to economic growth and development. Furthermore, the findings discussed in chapter 4 illustrated that there had been an increase in political dialogue between BRICS members. However, this increase in political dialogue had not yet translated into economic growth and development for Brazil and South Africa that is at this moment.

Furthermore, the findings showed that Brazil and South Africa used structural realism when examining their BRICS membership concerning economic growth and development. Structural realism further illustrated the political gains that were achieved by Brazil and South Africa. The political gains, include an increase in political prestige in the international system that both countries have benefited from since joining BRICS was also discussed. For the first research question, the findings illustrate that the impact on Brazil and South Africa's economic growth and development is political.

The second research question was, to what extent does participation in BRICS foster south to south cooperation between Brazil, South Africa and the global south? This research question was

answered using foreign direct investment and trade volume as the indicators to measure South-South Cooperation in conjunction with the interviews conducted. The data pertaining to Brazil's inward foreign direct investment illustrated that the number 1 and 2 investing regions in Brazil are Europe and North America. The data further shows that there had been an increase in FDI from these two regions since Brazil joined BRICS. These two regions do not fall in the category of countries in global south. However, Brazil's outward FDI shows that there is Brazilian economic cooperation especially with its regional partners. South Africa's outward FDI illustrate that it is a major investor in Africa right behind China. Its trade volume also illustrates the economic cooperation with its regional partners.

A neoliberal approach was the appropriate theory to use in answering this question. FDI and trade volume utilizes the relationship between the government of a country and the business industry working together in ensuring economic cooperation in the international system. The data further illustrated that there wasn't a significant impact to increasing cooperation within the global south. The Brazilian and South African officials interviewed both acknowledged the goals set out by BRICS, including increased economic cooperation within the developing countries of the global south. However, the officials acknowledged that part of their foreign policies included furthering economic cooperation with their regional partners.

Whether they were members of BRICS or not increased economic cooperation with regional partners was always part of their national interests. Furthermore, there are many avenues that Brazil and South Africa use to achieve economic cooperation through political dialogue. The data revealed that South Africa utilizes the avenue of BRICS as a means of fostering cooperation more than Brazil. The BRICS plus initiative allows South Africa to push for African countries to have access to BRICS members. This is done in hopes that there is a strengthening of economic cooperation that will lead to the economic growth and development of African countries. It gives Africa countries an alternative path to economic growth and development than the traditional path of turning to the global north and its financial institutions.

Brazil uses all available methods in cooperation with its regional partners in order to promote economic growth and development through cooperation for the region. However, because Brazil has not been given a memorandum by its regional partners, it is not actively lobbying for its regional partners within BRICS. This is different than South Africa, who actively lobbies for not just its regional partners, but other developing African countries. As South Africa had branded itself the 'gateway into Africa', it is understandable why it would create platform such as the BRICS plus initiative that cooperate with other developing countries. While it lobbies for the inclusion of other developing countries, it does so with the full caveat that developing countries have agency in the agreements it enters into and must take the responsibilities that will come with such agreements. In the case of SSC BRICS has an impact that will continue to grow over time.

The last research question answered used data that was based on the interviews conducted with Brazilian and South African officials. This was done in order to answer the question how Brazil and South Africa view BRICS contribution to economic growth, development and south to south cooperation? The findings ascertained that Brazil and South Africa had slightly different views on how they saw BRICS contribution to their economic growth, development and South-South Cooperation. From the interviews that were conducted, several themes emerged concerning how Brazil and South Africa view BRICS contribution to their economic growth, development and SSC. The data that was ascertained from the interviews with the officials was similar to the data ascertained for the first two questions. The Brazilian official interviewed explained how Brazil used its membership in BRICS as an avenue to advance Brazilian interests.

While those interests have yet to translate into economic gains, it has translated into political gains. Source A further explained that Brazil does not view BRICS as an avenue to foster South-South Cooperation. The reasoning behind this fact is that Brazil and its regional partners use their own avenues to foster political dialogue that translate into economic cooperation through MERCOSUR. Furthermore, Brazil's MERCOSUR partners have not given Brazil a mandate to conduct any negotiations or to advocate for them within BRICS. This is slightly different the conclusions that were ascertained from the South African officials interviewed. South Africa's foreign policy is geared towards cooperation with its African partners as a means of economic

growth and development because of the support given during the liberation struggle. The data analyzed from the officials interviewed ascertained that South Africa, through initiatives such as the BRICS plus initiative, is working to achieve its goal of advocating for economic cooperation between BRICS and its regional partners. In this aspect, South Africa views BRICS as an alternative means of economic growth and development for African countries than the previous means dictated by the global north. While South Africa acknowledges that as a regional leader, creating avenues of economic growth and development for its African partners is a part of its foreign policy, the officials also emphasised that each country is a rational actor that has agency and must make decisions that serve its national interests and take responsibility for those decisions.

The literature gaps identified in chapter have been filled. One of those gaps identified stated that it is important to include South Africa as a main subject of research concerning BRICS, economic growth and development. South Africa and Brazil are just as important members of BRICS as China and India, especially concerning the influence and power they hold in Africa and South America as regional leaders. Certain factors were identified from the literature and data analysed including the reasons why South Africa and Brazil would join a group such as BRICS and what benefits they gain as members. Understanding factors such as those assists researchers in the future to understand what drives developing countries such as South Africa and Brazil to join international groups that do not contribute significant impact to their economic growth and development. Beyond just understanding, it can further assist researchers in predicting the actions of developing countries such as Brazil and South Africa when it pertains to joining groups such as BRICS. Secondly the relationship between BRICS and the global south is another literature gap that was identified. This gap was filled from two different perspectives. The first was from the Brazilian perspective and the second was from the South African perspective.

In summary, the main conclusions that were discovered during the data analysis is that BRICS has a more significant political impact on Brazil and South Africa, than economic. This was ascertained through the data collected that revealed trends that continued from five years prior to joining BRICS and five years post-BRICS. While there were certain fluctuations prior to joining

BRICS, there was still a continuous pattern of economic growth and development increasing for Brazil and South Africa. The data shows that the financial crisis was a large outlier that affected the economic growth and development of Brazil and South Africa. However, the data showed that the following year both countries were on the path to recovery economically and showed slight recovery in their development.

The following years after that, which would be the years that both countries were member of BRICS, both Brazil and South Africa seemed to experience a slowdown in their economic growth and development that was not seen in the data five years prior to joining BRICS. There had been no drastic policy changes that were enacted to align with fellow BRICS members. Also from the interviews conducted, it is known that BRICS only approaches issues that they know they will unanimously agree on. While BRICS does converge on certain economic issues, those issues are not large enough that have significant impact on the economic growth and development of Brazil and South Africa.

5.3 Recommendations:

While there is no significant data that supports BRICS impact on the economic growth and development of Brazil and South Africa five years after joining BRICS, there are indications of the growth of the other members. As BRICS continues to operate in the global system, it should allow for more initiatives to be brought forth that facilitate fair political dialogue and cooperation with the global south. BRICS members have to ensure that the goals that are set out in at their summits are top priority in order to achieve them. In the Brasilia Declaration (2010), Sanya Declaration (2011), and Goa Declaration (2016) the goal of increasing and strengthening political dialogue that will translate to sustainable economic growth and development for BRICS members is listed as a priority goal. However, from the data collected it is evident that this goal has yet to be achieved by all BRICS members. While there is political dialogue, the economic benefits of that dialogue are not significant. The only way that BRICS will continue to have significant impact in the international system they have to find a way that the immense gap from political dialogue to economic growth is filled appropriately. If this problem is not addressed

appropriately, members will continue to have multiple agreements with the global north. These agreements will ensure the economic and financial dominance of the global north.

Another recommendation pertains to the power discrepancies between certain BRICS members. One of the gaps that were stated in the literature review is the fact that Brazil and especially South Africa are included in the BRICS research as a by-product to Russia, India and China. More research is needed focusing on Brazil and South Africa because as regional powers in South America and Africa, they hold significant power among their regional partners. This power is both political and economic. Furthermore, there has to be increase on what benefits Brazil and South Africa are gaining from the BRICS membership. Especially when the data shows that there is not a significant impact by BRICS to the economic growth and development of Brazil and South Africa.

In order to achieve fair cooperation that leads to equitable gains within BRICS, there needs to be measures put in place that will facilitate this cooperation. Brazil and South Africa need better access to China and India's markets for their goods and services. BRICS has to work together to ensure that they help each other achieve this recommendation. While it is understandable why BRICS is not and will probably never be a free trade zone, they have to create trade policies that enable the smaller members to compete fairly so they can achieve economic growth and development facilitated by BRICS.

The next section envisions where BRICS can go from here in order to help in predicting whether or not BRICS will be a conduit to foster economic growth, development and South-South Cooperation in the future. This is done with the problem statement of the study in mind. As discussed in chapter four, the impact of BRICS so far has been a political impact. According to the BRICS declarations that were also cited in chapter four, the political dialogue that BRICS engages in is meant to lead to an economic impact achieved through economic cooperation. The study has already identified BRICS as an independent variable leaving the economic growth and development of Brazil and South Africa, as well as South-South Cooperation as dependent variables. In accordance with the literature that was reviewed in chapter two and the data

analysed, there are two possible outcomes that could arise depending on the actions that the independent variable takes. BRICS is the independent variable, any actions taken by BRICS will have a direct impact on the dependent variables identified above. However the actions of the dependent variables will have no major impact on BRICS.

The manner in which the BRICS operates in has a direct effect on the dependent variables. As established earlier in the study, BRICS is not a trading bloc and it is also not a customs union, or even a regional organisation. The classification of BRICS gives an interesting perspective when attempting to predict what actions it will take and the reasons behind such actions. However, there are the BRICS declarations that have each of the goals that BRICS has set out to accomplish as a guideline to assist.

Firstly, BRICS has the option of continuing with the current way of operating. As the data has shown, if there is zero change from the independent variable, there will be no direct impact to the dependent variable. The data will continue to show that the impact BRICS is a political impact only and it does not translate to economic cooperation, which is one of its goals (Brasilia Declaration, 2010; Sanya, 2011; Goa, 2016). Continuing in this manner, BRICS will be unable to achieve its goals. When that happens, BRICS will be forced to either change the goals that it sets out at future BRICS summits or it will be forced to change the manner in which it had previously operated in order to achieve the current goals.

An organisation that is unable to achieve its goals would be seen as failing and would eventually become ineffective and irrelevant. That would be a major blow for the countries in BRICS because it would put into question their alternative means of economic growth and development from the model used by the developed north. Either way, the independent variable will be forced to change and it would be faced with the two options stated above. These two options will have a direct impact on the dependent variables and the impact on them would either continue being a political impact or there would also be an economic impact that can be seen through empirical data.

Secondly, BRICS has the ability to change the manner in which it operates. This would include creating policies that would force members into some form of economic cooperation. It would require to conform to being a trading bloc or even a quasi-regional organisation. However, BRICS members are vastly different in demographics, economic size and political ideologies among many factors that make them different from each other. BRICS would have to reach a consensus on how they move towards integration. From the interviews collected, the officials from Brazil and South Africa repeatedly emphasized how BRICS works on a consensus basis and how even reaching a consensus on certain issues is a trying process. Going on the hypothetical that BRICS was able to reach a consensus and integrate more of their economies by being a trading bloc, this would have a great effect on the dependent variables. These effects could be either beneficial or detrimental to the dependent variables.

As a trading bloc, Brazil and South African goods would have greater access to Chinese and Indian markets. Chinese and Indian markets would be beneficial because there would be a rise in the trade volume of both Brazil and South Africa. The data that was collected and analysed illustrated the fluctuations in the trade volume numbers for Brazil and South Africa since they joined BRICS. There would also be an increase in GDP of both countries because as previously stated earlier in the study GDP also accounts for the trade activities of a country. Since GDP was one of the economic growth indicators, then whenever there is an increase in trade volume, there would also be an increase in GDP and this would be facilitated by BRICS being the conduit for economic growth. It was also stated in the study that when a state is experiencing economic growth, there will be an increase in its development. There would be more resources for the government to use towards the development of its state and people and raise the standards of living.

The rise in development would also be a direct result of the actions taken by BRICS. Both Brazil and South Africa stated how their relationships with their regional partners are important to them. Their foreign policies ensure that it factors these relationships. Having an economically prosperous Brazil and South Africa would create a spill-over into their regional partners. Brazil and South Africa would be able to work effectively with their regional partners to foster

sustainable economic growth and development. This would help underdeveloped and developing countries of the global south to achieve economic growth and development through political dialogue. This would lead to South-South Cooperation being effective as many of the regional partners of the BRICS members make up the countries of the global south. This cooperation would be a direct result of the changes made by BRICS. The two outcomes that have been laid out above, are both dependent on the actions that BRICS takes. What the data has illustrated is that the current actions being taken by BRICS only have a political impact on economic growth, development and South-South Cooperation.

5.4 Conclusion:

Of the three concepts that were measured, south to south cooperation seems to be the only concept that the data shows that BRICS has an impact in fostering. When it comes to the other two concepts, the data shows that Brazil and South Africa's economic growth and development have declined since the two countries joined BRICS, so it is not a conduit for economic growth and development.

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Appendices

Appendix A:

Interview Schedule: Brazilian Embassy

Background Information:

- 1.1 Date of interview
- 1.2 Name of interviewer:
- 1.3 Position of Interviewee:
- 1.4 What qualifications and experience are needed to hold this position?

Brazil's role in SSC

- 2.1 Before Brazil joined BRICS in 2009, what role did Brazil play in facilitating South to South Cooperation in South America?
- 2.2 Besides in South America, what role did Brazil play in facilitating SSC in other developing countries?
- 2.3 How has joining BRICS helped Brazil in facilitating SSC in South America?
- 2.4 By being the only South American country to join BRICS, what aim did Brazil have for SSC in South America?
- 2.5 Why did Brazil believe that in order to achieve not just its own goals but to advocate for the continent, joining BRICS was the way to achieve them?
- 2.6 What steps has Brazil taken in order to provide other South American countries a voice on a platform such as BRICS?
- 2.7 Brazil is also a member of MENCOSUR, how does Brazil handle conflicting policies between MENCOSUR and BRICS?
- 2.8 How does Brazil handle the fact that while Russia is a member of BRICS, it is also considered to be part of the developed North?

2.9 How does Brazil handle any conflict of interest that may arise from Russia being labelled as being part of the developed north?

2.10 Are there steps that Brazil takes to ensure that its influence within BRICS is as powerful as Russia, India and China?

2.11 How does Brazil the regional leader and the BRICS member differ when dealing with issues specific to the continent?

2.12 Being a regional leader on the continent, does Brazil have any concerns that its membership in BRICS could undermine its regional leader status?

2.13 How has BRICS achieved fostering cooperation among developing countries?

2.14 How does Brazil navigate the issue of not sharing major commonalities with fellow BRICS members?

2.15 How does Brazil handle BRICS challenges that are in conflict with its own democratic ideology?

2.16 With such varying views on issues such as democracy, how does Brazil ensure that developing countries are able to cooperate with other emerging markets using the BRICS model for economic growth and development without losing the ideals of democracy, which Brazil advocates for?

2.17 What specific steps have BRICS taken to push for cooperation among developing countries?

2.18 One of the BRICS objectives is advocating for change in the way institutions such as the IMF, World Bank and WTO operate especially when dealing with developing countries, what further measures will BRICS take in order to ensure that the changes occur in a timely manner?

2.19 What actions will be taken by BRICS if the changes do not occur?

2.20 Does the Brazilian government truly believe that through BRICS it can help bring about change in the way that the Bretton Woods institutions operate?

2.21 Will change help developing countries in achieving their own economic growth and development or will south to south cooperation achieve those goals?

2.22 What role does Brazil play in South to South Cooperation and are they fulfilling this role?

Appendix B:

Interview Schedule: Department of International Relations and Cooperation

Background Information:

- 1.5 Date of interview
- 1.6 Name of interviewer:
- 1.7 Position of Interviewee:
- 1.8 What qualifications and experience do you hold?

South Africa's role in SSC:

- 2.1 Before South Africa joined BRICS in 2010 what role did South Africa play in facilitating SSC in Africa?
- 2.2 Pre 2010 what role did South Africa play in facilitating SSC in other developing countries not on the African continent?
- 2.3 How has joining BRICS helped South Africa's role in facilitating SSC in Africa?
- 2.4 Lobbying for entrance into BRICS as 'The Gateway into Africa' what aim did South Africa have for developing African countries?
- 2.5 The African Union is supposed to provide a platform to facilitate economic growth, development and cooperation among Africa countries. Why did South Africa believe that it needed to join BRICS in order to achieve these goals?
- 2.5 What are the steps that South Africa has taken in order to provide a voice for African countries?
- 2.6 How does South Africa handle conflicting policies between the African Union and BRICS?
- 2.7 Why did South Africa believe that in order to further its own economic growth and development, joining BRICS would be the best option to achieve that?
- 2.8 How does South Africa handle the fact that while Russia is a member of BRICS, it is also considered to be part of the developed North?

2.9 How does South Africa handle any conflict of interest that may arise from Russia being labelled as being part of the developed north?

2.10 Are there steps that South Africa takes to ensure that its influence within BRICS is as powerful as Russia, India and China?

2.11 How does South Africa the regional leader and the BRICS member differ when dealing with issues specific to the continent?

2.12 Being a regional leader on the continent, does South Africa have any concerns that its membership in BRICS could undermine its regional leader status?

2.13 How has BRICS achieved fostering cooperation among developing countries?

2.14 How does South Africa navigate the issue of not sharing major commonalities with fellow BRICS members?

2.15 How does South Africa handle BRICS challenges that are in conflict with its own democratic ideology?

2.16 With such varying views on issues such as democracy, how does South Africa ensure that developing countries are able to cooperate with other emerging markets using the BRICS model for economic growth and development without losing the ideals of democracy, which South Africa advocates for?

2.17 What specific steps have BRICS taken to push for cooperation among developing countries?

2.18 One of the BRICS objectives is advocating for change in the way institutions such as the IMF, World Bank and WTO operate especially when dealing with developing countries, what further measures will BRICS take in order to ensure that the changes occur in a timely manner?

2.19 What actions will be taken by BRICS if the changes do not occur?

2.20 Does the South African government truly believe that through BRICS it can help bring about change in the way that the Eretton Woods institutions operate?

2.21 Will change help developing countries in achieving their own economic growth and development or will south to south cooperation achieve those goals?

2.22 What role does South Africa play in facilitating South to South Cooperation and are they achieving in this role?

Appendix C:

Background Information:

1.9 Date of interview

1.10 Name of interviewer:

1.11 Position of Interviewee:

1.12 What qualifications and experience do you hold?

South Africa's role in BRICS and SSC

2.1 One of the goals set out by BRICS is driving economic growth and development in developing countries, how does South Africa contribute to this goal?

2.2 How has this goal changed now that SA has joined BRICS from previous cooperation with developing countries?

2.3 Lobbying for entrance into BRICS as 'The Gateway into Africa' what aim did South Africa have for developing African countries?

2.4 The African Union is supposed to provide a platform to facilitate economic growth, development and cooperation among Africa countries. Why did South Africa believe that it needed to join BRICS in order to achieve these goals?

2.5 Having a relatively smaller economy than its fellow BRICS members, how does South Africa ensure that it's able to introduce its own economic policies?

2.6 Before joining BRICS, South Africa's economy was growing at a smaller pace than fellow BRICS members, what were the driving economic growth and development factors that pushed South Africa to join BRICS?

2.7 South Africa has been a regional leader both economically and politically on the continent, how does it handle BRICS economic policies that are in conflict with those implemented by either the AU or SADC?

2.8 South Africa has enjoyed market domination on the African continent, is there a fear that fellow BRICS members are

2.9 How has BRICS achieved fostering cooperation among developing countries?

2.10 Are there measures in place that will protect South Africa from losing economic gains on the continent due to its membership with BRICS?

2.11 While China and India are entering the African market at rapid speed, how can South Africa ensure that it enjoys reciprocal gains in Asian markets?

2.12 Does South Africa foresee itself encountering challenges that will interfere with its economic policies as both shareholder and borrower of the BRICS Bank?

2.13 How will South Africa navigate the challenge of being both shareholder and borrower of the BRICS Bank?

2.14 What measures has South Africa taken in order to protect its domestic sectors from imports coming from fellow BRICS members?

2.15 Have South African products gained adequate market share in fellow BRICS countries now that there is a partnership in place?

2.16 Does South Africa foresee more economic integration between BRICS members and the countries of the developing south that will lead to continued economic growth and development?

2.17 As a regional leader, what measures has South Africa taken in order to protect the domestic markets of regional partners from imports coming from fellow BRICS members?

2.18 With BRICS heavily investing on the continent, how will other African countries be able to invest in the economic growth and development of their regional partners?

2.19 Does South Africa see more south to south cooperation now that SA is a part of BRICS that is leading to further economic growth for its regional partners?

2.20 If membership into BRICS is expanded to other developing countries, is there a fear that it could impact the economic benefits that South Africa is gaining with just the five members?