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The post-1994 land reform prism to interrogate development planning in South Africa

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

October 2024

Abstract

The Republic of South Africa's post-1994 government has embarked on developing numerous policies, legislations, and in 2011, a National Development Plan to advance its economic development trajectory. Yet, despite the various policies, plans and legislations, unmanageable levels of poverty, inequality, and unemployment continue to persist and, in certain areas, increased. The post-1994 government, in line with developed policies and legislations, has sought to utilise re-industrialisation, manufacturing, small business development, mining, and other such economic drivers. While land reform has featured in various policies post-1994, it has not been elevated and used as a central means in advancing development planning and development to address socio-economic challenges. This study, therefore, took a unique approach, unlike previous studies examining land reform in the context of development planning and development. The study's unique approach was informed by the instrumentality of land reform in advancing development planning and catalysing industrialisation in selected Asian States. This study aimed to address the dearth of literature that prioritises and focuses on the instrumentality of land in development and the inability of the post-1994 South African land reform approach to view land as a development tool. An interpretive sequential mixed qualitative methods study was employed to theorise how development planning can be modelled to feature a re-shaped and re-planned land reform in a development plan. The result of this approach was to present a nuanced contribution to knowledge in the field of development planning, namely a framework that elevates land reform as a central means of development for South Africa's problematic re-industrialisation.

Keywords: development planning, planning practice, planning theory, development, land, land reform, Asian land reform.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in fulfilment of the degree Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.



Masibane John Molokwane

11 October 2024

Dedication

I dedicate this study to my late father, Molokwane Lucas Molokwane, and my mother, Mpolokeng Dinah Molokwane, who have been instrumental in my education journey. I further dedicate this study to my late brother, Gordon Tlhabanyane Molokwane. Losing you during the journey of my degree was not easy. Certainly, in you, my brother, I lost a pillar to lean on, a friend to share personal things with, a friend to have a drink with, and a brother to share a joke with. Rest well, my brother. Lastly, I dedicate this study to my daughter, Resego Tshiamo Molokwane. My baby girl, sometimes I would be so busy that it surely did not make any sense, but thanks for understanding and being supportive in the course of my journey. As you transition to your tertiary studies, I commit to be there for you and provide you with all the support.

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To you Mom, Mpolokeng Dinah Molokwane, thanks for your support through the process. Your words, *'itshoke o tlo fetsa ngwanaka'*, kept me going. Mma, thanks for everything you have done for me. *Ausi* Neo and Nthabiseng, you have always, in one way or another, supported me and believed in me, and many thanks for that. A*usi* Olga Moa you have been a great sister and thanks for the support and words of encouragement at all times when a need arose.

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Interestingly, I was in the first cohort of PhD students at WSG to begin the journey amid the COVID-19 restrictions in the 2020 academic year. It almost seemed it was not going to happen. The journey began after 2020 mid-year. Undertaking sessions online and not physically meeting academic staff and fellow students was tough. *Ke leboga ditsala mo leeto la thuto e eleng* Pogisho Kgosinyane le Ndabezitha Tenza as we kept each other company through the challenging lonely journey of a doctorate. Your support and encouragement cannot go unrecognised in my journey from beginning to completion. Lastly, many thanks to the WSG administration officers and the different defence panel members and academics for guiding me each time we interacted in the panel discussions and online sessions. *Ditebogo go ditsala le masika othle a nnetseng tshegetso ka mekgwa yothle e farologaneng mo leetong la ka la dithuto*.

Conference papers from the thesis

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1	A remodelled development plan to centrally feature land reform in a democratic South Africa	23rd South African Association of Public Administration and Management (SAAPAM) – Sun City, Rustenburg, 23rd- 27th September 2024
2	A replanned and reshaped land reform prism toward advancing post-1994 South African development planning	The Anthropology Southern Africa Conference – Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, 06th – 08th November 2024

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List of Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
ATA	Applied Thematic Analysis
CPT	Communicative Planning Theory
DALRRD	Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development
DPME	Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HREC	Human Research Ethics Committee
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MS Teams	Microsoft Teams
NDP	National Development Plan
NPC	National Planning Commission
PST	Political Systems Theory
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management

Chapter 1

South African Development Planning and Land Reform

1.1 Introduction

Democratic South Africa has sought to address its multi-dimensional developmental challenges as a foundation for development and prosperity through development planning since 1994. Like many other African States, South Africa post obtaining its political freedom after 1994, embarked on developing National Development Plans (NDPs) as a roadmap on how they will realise their developmental objectives (Killick, 1976, 1983; Gumede, 2017; Omotor *et al.*, 2019; Orukpe, 2020). However, in three decades post-independence, the marginalised majority of South Africans continue living in poverty and inequality, with unemployment unmanageably high because of the straddling urban and rural economies while striving for land access and development (Du Toit, 2018). This is despite South Africa embarking on development planning post-1994. Further, it is because the country is not elevating the instrumentality of land reform in development plans to being central in advancing development. Thus, the study sought to explore how development planning can be modelled to feature land reform as its instrumental means of development.

Using the interpretive sequential mixed qualitative methods, it was found that although land reform has been featured in different development plans post-1994 in South Africa, it, however, has been absent in development planning in advancing development. Further, the study revealed that development plan implementation has been absent in development planning post-1994 in South Africa. The study recommends, through the proposed framework, that land reform must be elevated and prioritised as a central means for development in modelling a new development plan. Further, a framework is, thus, proposed demonstrating different features of the re-shaped and re-planned land reform in a new development planning approach.

This chapter discusses the background of the research problem, followed by the problem statement, research gap, purpose statement, and research questions and objectives. Thereafter, the chapter clarifies the concepts used, sets the boundaries for the study, and discusses the study layout.

1.2 Background to the research problem

The South African history of the dual society marked by the developed urban and underdeveloped rural economies dates to the arrival of the Dutch settlers in 1652 in the Cape (Terreblanche, 2002). Their arrival led to White domination and exploitation of Blacks in South Africa. The era was characterised by one racial group, mainly the colonial masters, striving to enrich themselves by plundering the indigenous population groups. In the pre-1994 period, the colonial powers created political and economic systems that put them in privileged positions over the indigenous population group (Terreblanche, 2002; Denoon-Stevens *et al*., 2022). In the pre-1994 era, South Africa's developmental system was determined by the fact that the country was a settler society driven by a capitalist political economy (Magubane, 1986; Mhlauli *et al*., 2015). The system's objective was to disadvantage the indigenous population groups of land and reduce them to exploitable labour. Thus, South African development in the pre-1994 era was attained through the British capital, which turned the country into a source of raw materials for British industrial capitalism (Magubane, 1986).

Thus, based on the pre-1994 planning system, it cannot solely be argued that the developmental challenges of post-1994 South Africa squarely lie at the door of the democratic government. The argument by Terreblanche (2002) and Mhlauli *et al*. (2015) is relevant in that it should be acknowledged that the democratic government inherited major socio-economic problems of the colonial and apartheid periods. Unquestionably, the developmental inheritance endured in the country was manufactured since the arrival of the Dutch settlers through to the post-1948 era resulting in the pre-1994 and post-1994 versions of South Africa (Terreblanche, 2002). The challenges of post-1994 development planning was thus because of planning in the pre-1994 era following a segregation trajectory by ensuring a division between White and Black communities in South Africa (Denoon-Stevens *et al*., 2022).

The segregated development planning in pre-1994 followed a top-down or centralised approach by enforcing political-economic views upon communities, particularly the Black Africans (Shen, 1977; Geyer, 1994; Zack, 2001; Tandoh-Offin, 2013). A top-down or centralised approach opened more chances of development planning failure as individual planners could not carry out plans following the reality of the needs of the society in totality (Tandoh-Offin, 2013). The top-down type of planning was underpinned by a capitalist political economy (Nolutshungu, 1986; Magubane, 1986; Walker, 1998) and implemented through a market mechanism (Tandoh-Offin, 2013). The State directly acted through legislation to foster capitalist development planning, which resulted in dual economies of subsistence/traditional

and capitalism/modern economy and led to the paradoxes between the developed and underdeveloped geographical spaces in South Africa (Mafeje, 1978; Hall, 2004; Cousins, 2007). Thus, the State used different legislation that formed the basis for the regulation of society in line with the principles of apartheid.

Different legislative frameworks were used to ensure that the fundamental philosophy in terms of the capitalist political economy of development planning to segregate on the spatial and racial basis is not contravened. As argued by Mellet (2020), the Native Land Act, as demonstrated in Table 1.1, passed by the South African Union government in 1913, effectively consolidated and confirmed White colonists' ownership of land taken since 1652 in the two previous British colonies and former Boer republics.

Table 1.1 Legislation used based on the regulation of society pre-1994

Legislation name	Brief description
The Land Bank, Act No. 18 of 1912	Supported subsidies to White farmers only
The Native Land, Act No. 27 of 1913	A cornerstone of territorial segregation of the races in terms of land ownership
The Development Trust and Land, Act No. 18 of 1936	Supported controlling of squatting around urban areas and acquisition of land by Black Africans
The Blacks Consolidation, Act No. 25 of 1945	Provided for consolidating laws about the control of Black Africans in urban areas including the provision of residences to Black Africans in urban spaces of South Africa
The Promotion of Black Self-Government, Act No. 46 of 1959	Granted for the development of self-governing Bantustans
The Group Areas, Act No. 36 of 1966	Allowed for the habitation of some areas outside Bantustans by population groups
The Promotion of the Economic Development of National States, Act No. 46 of 1968	Catered for active economic development promotion in the Bantustans
The Physical Planning, Act No. 8 of 1968	Supported the reduction of Black African labour-intensive industries in metropolitan areas as a way of reducing opportunities for Black Africans in metropolitan areas

Source: Author's compilation

Thus, as illustrated in Table 1.1, the Native Land Act was a foundation for the political, economic, and spatial dualism landscape used for pre-1994 development planning that South Africa in the 20th century post-1994 continued to endure its legacy, creating extreme poverty and inequality in every dimension of well-being (Mafeje, 1981; Ntsebeza, 2007; Hall, 2014; Mellet, 2020). The Act, on the one hand, limited African land ownership to 13% of the land that had not been dispossessed. On the other hand, it led to segregated development planning, which culminated in Bantu policy and the development of homelands (Wolpe, 1972; Denoon-Stevens *et al*., 2022) by creating divisions between those who were poor in the underdeveloped exBantustans and the country's developed capitalist White farmers (Hall, 2014; Andres *et al*., 2019).

In transitioning into a democratic government in 1994, South Africa inherited an unequal, fragmented, and incoherent development planning system created under the apartheid era. Further, internationally recognised borders founded in 1910 by the Union of South Africa were carried through to democratic South Africa. Hence, numerous dimensions of the land question are not yet resolved. Further, three decades after apartheid ended in South Africa, the country's deeper spiritual ties to its land and sense of belonging are still unresolved. African social history has also been erased and replaced with a narrative that justifies colonisers taking land from Africans, which is one of the reasons why estrangement is still a problem in African culture (Mellet, 2020). The pre-1994 land question in all the aforementioned was a central pivot in crafting the development strategies and mechanics of how segregated development was carried out.

As a result, the historical legacy of apartheid still plays a key role in framing the structure and character of the postcolonial political-economic order (Carew, 1993), wherein the land question remains central but inefficient in addressing the challenges of poverty and inequality in post-1994 South Africa (Vink and Kirsten, 2019). This is because the segregated development deconstruction in post-1994 South Africa is taking place along the colonisation chain rooted in the pre-1994 dispossession of land (Mellet, 2020).

Hence, development planning post-1994 has largely been government-led, following more of a centralised pattern like that of pre-1994. Thus, the government has, post-1994, continuously imposed its neoliberal ideological approaches to development planning and land reform upon the South African people. Like in the pre-1994 development planning, the democratic rights of the people in the country have not been largely exercised in the various aspects of the government's agenda-setting and planning processes. Post-1994 South African development planning is argued to be in contradiction with Tandoh-Offin's (2013) contention. Tandoh-Offin (2013) argues that the involvement of large sectors of people in planning creates an opportunity for mobilising grassroots actions for development planning decision-making and for advancing the citizens' communal determinations in improving their well-being within their immediate environments. Conclusively, post-1994 development planning, while government-led, has disappointedly followed a non-inclusive pattern like pre-1994 development planning.

Regardless of its non-inclusivity, post-1994 development planning in South Africa has been adopted as a tool for diagnosing and remedying developmental challenges that culminated because of apartheid (Killick, 1976; Iheanacho, 2014). It is used as an instrument to set the

country's vision, goals, and developmental objectives, including targets, as a means of realising development (Marcellus, 2009; Abdul-Rahaman and Adusah-Karikari, 2019). Hence, post-1994 South Africa has embarked on development planning efforts as a roadmap for how it will realise its developmental objectives (Killick, 1976, 1983; Gumede, 2017; Omotor *et al.*, 2019; Orukpe, 2020). The country's development planning efforts shaped how planning has evolved towards closing the inequality gap, as well as addressing poverty and unemployment. These efforts in development planning changed over time due to the demand changes, the emergence of new developmental pressures, and because of the misalignment of the planning systems with reality as carried out through different development plans (Harrison *et al*., 2007).

However, the government's comprehensive planning efforts have not yielded a clear growth path (Bond, 2008; Kolawole and Ojapinwa, 2013; Ukwandu, 2019) the country desired to achieve post-1994 through development planning and land reform policy. Hence, any attempt to examine development planning considering South African history must be done from three perspectives: White monopoly and economic domination, land use, and unfree Black labour (Terreblanche, 2002). Premised on the land use perspective as supported by Terreblanche (2002), land reform policy is used in the current study as a prism through which South Africa's development planning post-1994 is interrogated. Further, using the land reform prism is relevant in this study because, unlike in pre-1994, wherein land use was key to segregated development and dual economy, the use of land in development planning post-1994 has not been significant and impactful compared to the Asian region.

1.3 Boundaries of the study

In this study, the interrogation of land reform from a global perspective is bound to the Asian region rather than the Latin American region, as expanded in chapter three. The Asian region's land reform was chosen because the region's land reform had a more distributive impact than the Latin American land reform, wherein accessibility to land improved economic growth, rural incomes, equality to land ownership, and agricultural productivity (von Bennewitz, 2017). Further, Latin America is among the highly unequal countries concerning land distribution with a Gini coefficient of 0.79 compared to the Asian region, which is among the lowest countries at 0.55 (von Bennewitz, 2017). Arguably, the unequal land distribution in the Latin American region limited economic growth and affected the quality of social cohesion and democracy (Kay, 2015; Caxton Magazines, 2017).

Further, land reform is used from a planning or attainment of development perspective and not from the economics perspective, as interrogated in chapter three. The current study is not concerned with, for example, production, capital formation/investment, follow-through processes, income redistribution, and effective demand as factors related to the economics of land reform. The study is concerned with how a development plan can be modelled to feature land reform as its instrumental means for development to address South Africa's socio-economic problems (i.e., poverty, inequality, and unemployment). Thus, the focus on land reform perspective in this study is on land use in advancing development planning.

The study is concerned about development planning and its use of land reform to advance development. However, the focus of the study is not on development. The study is concerned about the development planning or planning practice post-1994 and its use of land reform. Development planning and development are two ends of the same stick. One is the means (development planning) while the other is the end (development). From the planning perspective, focus is put on development planning. Hence, the use of the planning theory as a theoretical framework in the study in Chapter two and not the use of any of the development theories.

1.4 Problem statement

In the early years of development, development planning was supposed to enable developing countries to realise rapid socio-economic growth and usher in improvements to the entire citizen welfare (Ovadia and Wolf, 2018; Wangchuk and Turner, 2019). Although South Africa has attained numerous developmental ends post-1994, having embarked on redistributive processes, including land reform and development planning efforts, has not significantly and impactfully improved the socio-economic status of its citizens (Bond, 2008; Sikwela *et al*., 2018; Pooe, 2019; Denoon-Stevens *et al*., 2022) given the high poverty, inequality, and unemployment levels. These persistent socio-economic challenges of post-1994 South Africa are because of development planning's ineffectiveness. Arguably, the persistence of development planning deficit or ineffectiveness remains a challenge today in the realisation of developmental ends (Marcellus, 2009; Ibietan and Ekhosuehi, 2013; Iheanacho, 2014; Wangchuk and Turner, 2019).

Thus, the research problem this study sought to address is the ineffectiveness of development planning to advance development in post-1994 South Africa. As argued by Albrechts (2018), the ineffectiveness of development plans to an extent is because land use plans focus on

sustaining the existing social order instead of challenging and transforming the social order. It is because land reform has lost its pro-poor orientation and focus by being captured by those using it toward creating a class of Black capitalist farmers (Hall and Kepe, 2017), keeping land reform from advancing development planning and development (Du Toit, 2018; Sikwela *et al*., 2018). Hence, it cannot be concluded in definite terms that land reform in South Africa has benefited any economic advancement or development (Teffo and Rupiya, 2017; Dlamini and Ogunnubi, 2018; Sikwela *et al*., 2018; Vink and Kirsten, 2019; Cousins, 2019). It is, therefore, the goal of this study to explore the place the use of land reform occupies and must occupy in the post-1994 development planning in South Africa towards modelling a development plan that features land reform as a means to advance development.

1.5 Research gap

This study, through literature reviewed in chapters two and three, identified four research gaps. In the first research gap, I argue that while the body of knowledge appreciates the importance of land reform to development, the planning literature has not elucidated how land reform can be featured in a development plan toward the attainment of the developmental ends. I further contend through the second research gap that using land reform as an instrumental tool to advance developmental planning and development remains untapped despite land instrumentality in the attainment of development.

Through the third research gap, I advance the argument that although the development planning literature acknowledges changes and improvements in planning processes, it is silent on plan implementation, which is the only way a development plan's worth can be realised in developing countries. I lastly demonstrate in the fourth research gap that studies on development planning have relied primarily on literature reviewing to make their contributions, with a few on qualitative (primarily only using individual interviews) and a handsome number on quantitative methods. The identified research gaps are fundamental in arriving at the study's knowledge contributions, as detailed in chapter seven.

1.6 Purpose statement

The purpose of this interpretive study is to theorise or model a development plan with land reform being repositioned in addressing South Africa's socio-economic problems. In doing so, the study first reviews literature to derive a conceptual framework in proposing a theoretical intervention to the place land reform can occupy in a development plan. Second, the study proposes the research strategy, research design, research procedure, and methods appropriate

to examine development planning in post-1994 and the use of land reform to advance development planning and development. Third, this study collected and analysed data to determine if it is possible to model a development plan featuring land reform as its instrumental tool for development in addressing South Africa's socio-economic challenges of poverty, inequality, and unemployment. Last, based on the outcomes, a theoretical framework is proposed for a development plan that must be modelled to feature land reform as its instrumental means.

1.7 Research questions

This study asks the following primary question:

How could a development plan be modelled to reposition land reform in addressing the socio-economic problems of South Africa?

To answer the primary research question, the following secondary research questions were considered:

1. *How can development planning be used to facilitate the attainment of development in the post-1994 South Africa?*
2. *How have other post-colonial States envisioned and implemented land reform in advancing development planning and development?*
3. *In what ways should land reform in post-1994 South Africa be re-shaped and re-planned in a new development planning approach in addressing socio-economic failures?*

1.8 Research objectives

In realising the purpose of the study, the following objectives were met:

1. *To examine how development planning can be used to facilitate the attainment of development in post-1994 South Africa.*
2. *To explore how other post-colonial States envisioned and implemented land reform in advancing development planning and development.*

3. *To determine ways in which land reform in post-1994 South Africa should be reshaped and re-shaped and re-planned in a new development planning approach in addressing socio-economic failures.*

1.9 Clarification of concepts

The study applies different concepts in examining the notion of development planning. However, a few key concepts used more often in the study are clarified in this section.

1.9.1 Development

Arguably, development must be dealt with as a mirror for changing priorities and choices related to the economic and social well-being of society. Thus, development is a process of self-empowerment and national liberation from imperial domination and should be self-defined by the nation itself through a democratic, participatory process and not by outsiders (Tandon, 2015). Therefore, development must not be viewed as an externally imposed principle but as a response to the challenges faced by the country by placing accelerated development firmly on the policy agenda (Mkandawire, 1996, 2011, 2014). Development in this study is conceptualised as a transformative process for improving the social, economic, and political situation of the society in its entirety through progressive means in achieving the envisioned development ends.

1.9.2 Development planning

Development planning, as argued by Lee and Chew-Ging (2017) and Chimhowu *et al*. (2019), is an activity undertaken by the State to ascertain that resources in a country, including land, are mobilised and used to address the developmental challenges. In the South African case, development planning is an activity undertaken by the government post-1994 to ensure the redistribution of resources and address the inherited developmental challenges of pre-1994 toward attaining rapid development. However, the study adopts the definition that development planning is a conscious attempt by the government to coordinate economic decision-making in influencing, directing, and controlling the country's level of growth to realise the set of pre-determined development objectives (Lim 1982-1983; Chimhowu *et al*., 2019).

1.9.3 Land

Classical economics considers land, capital, and labour as three vital factors of production (Rees, 2018). As a critical element to development, different scholars differently view the land concept. Some view land as a natural resource or asset (Rugadya *et al*., 2004; Boyce *et al*., 2005; Musekiwa and Mandiyanike, 2019; Pepeka *et al*., 2022), a sense of identity (Vorster,

2019), common property (Wolpe, 1972), lineages right with consanguinity ties (Mafeje, 2003), a symbol of colonisation (Kepe and Hall, 2018), and an indispensable resource toward sustainable development (Kasim and Agbola, 2018), while neo-classical economists treat land as a factor for production (Stilwell and Jordan, 2004; Kimhi, 2023). However, in a Marxists view, land refers to the environment below the earth's surface (that is, minerals), what exists on the earth's surface (for instance, soil and vegetation), and the air above the surface (Obeng-Odoom, 2015). The current study thus leans on the definition by the World Bank (1975:9) that "land is a symbol of power and source of political power" as well as a source of sustenance and investment and generation of wealth.

1.9.4 Land reform

Land reform entails ways in which government sets out to address the historical injustices of land dispossession by redistributing land back to Black South Africans in transforming the structural basis of racial inequality (Hall, 2004). For Narh *et al*. (2016:1), land reform is the "process and associated actions of enactment, enforcement, and evaluation of land policies and pieces of legislation by which land right relations between people are structured or reorganised". Further, Lipton (2009) describes land reform as legislation aimed at redistributing ownership or rights to land, thus benefiting the poor by raising their absolute and relative status, power, and income. Thus, land reform in this study refers to a process aimed at redistributing ownership or rights to land, thus benefiting the poor by raising their absolute and relative status, power, and income (Lipton, 2009; Nkosi *et al*., 2020).

1.10 Study layout

The layout of the study is:

Chapter one, *South African Development Planning and Land Reform*, introduced and discussed the background of the study. In achieving the purpose of the study, the chapter discussed the research problem that must be addressed as well as the research questions and objectives that are fundamental in arriving at the conclusion of the study. An overview of the methods to be used in addressing the research problem and answering the research questions was presented. Lastly, the study's significance in relation to knowledge contribution was outlined.

Chapter two, *Development Planning as a Facilitation Mechanism to Development,* reviews the literature used to derive the conceptual framework for the thesis. The chapter uses planning theory as a theoretical framework to inform the discussions in the thesis. Planning theory is

central to comprehending how planning in terms of function and practice evolves in informing development planning. Further, planning theory is fundamental in conceptualising this study's framework. The chapter further makes subtle distinctions and contrasting arguments between European, Asian, and South African development planning practices.

Chapter three, *The Use of Land Reform in Advancing Development Planning and Development in Post-colonial States,* interrogates the literature about land reform, drawing from Asian and African experiences in advancing or not advancing developmental planning and development. A distinct argument is drawn between the Asian and African State's use of land reform as an instrumental means of development, including South Africa, in advancing development planning. The interrogation of the literature fostered a foundation for drawing a distinction between the use of land reform in the cited post-colonial States in Asia and the African region compared to how the post-1994 has used land reform to advance development. The foundation placed through literature interrogation is used to argue what could have been absent in advancing development planning and development in South Africa post-1994.

Chapter four, *Research Approach, Design, Procedure, and Methods,* deals with the methodological perspective of the thesis in addressing the purpose of the study and the research questions and objectives. The chapter discusses the research procedures and methods and the rationale for the choices made in arriving at the conclusions of the study. The chapter further shares my experiences during the data collection process.

Chapter five, *Results of Data Analysis,* presents the results of the study. The presentation of the results begins with an illustration of the individual interview participants' overview by providing the details of the interview in terms of each participant. The chapter presents the characterisation of the participants, demonstrating the calibre of the people from whom data was collected in improving the trustworthiness of the study. The derived themes are presented in the chapter under different sub-themes supported by direct quotes from the participants. The chapter also provides empirical answers to each research question.

Chapter six, *Discussion of the Findings,* discusses the findings of the study. Using the interpretive framework derived from the conceptual framework in chapter two, the study used the literature from chapters two and three to make meaning of the results. It is found that development planning post-1994 in South Africa considers the context prevailing in the country, as well as the interests and public interest of those affected by the plans, although the planning process and land reform are argued to be politicised and captured by the elites.

Development has not considered the instrumentality of land reform in different plans for development, although land reform has been featured in different plans. It is further revealed that land reform and plan implementation as a consideration of the centrality to the effectiveness of the plan are absent in development planning post-1994 in South Africa.

Chapter seven, *Conclusions, Contribution to Knowledge, and Recommendations*, concludes the study by proposing a theoretical framework to be used in modelling a development plan that features land reform as its instrumental means of development. In modelling a development plan that features land reform, the plan must focus on the integrated land administrative system, land use management system, integrated rural-urban land development, and multi-pronged post-settlement support system in advancing development planning and development. Knowledge contributions of the study and recommendations for advancing development planning and development are suggested.

1.11 Chapter summary

Chapter one contextualised the study in its introduction and background to the research problem. In this way, the historical foundations of development planning from the settler and colonial eras pre-1994 were outlined as the basis for understanding post-1994 development planning. The contextualisation motivated using the land reform prism with a focus on land reform as an instrumental means of development drawing from the Asian region's developmental path. This is with the intention of realising the purpose of the study, which is to explore the place land reform occupied or must occupy in development planning in post-1994 South Africa. In realising the study purpose, the chapter discussed the research problem, research gap, purpose statement, and research questions and objectives. Further, research methods outlined how the literature review was dealt with in two chapters and the approaches and procedures that were applied in the study, arriving at the study's conclusion.

Chapter two discusses the study's theoretical framework and the literature to derive the conceptual framework.

Chapter 2

Development Planning as a Facilitation Mechanism to Development

2.1 Introduction

Chapter two serves to theoretically answer the first secondary research question on how development planning can be used to facilitate the attainment of development in post-1994 South Africa. The chapter further provides a theoretical basis for interrogating literature to derive the conceptual framework for the study. Chapter two begins by interrogating the study's theoretical framework. The theoretical exposé draws from schools of thought dealing with planning theory and discusses planning practice from the aspect of the role of the State and markets in planning, the object of planning about methods applied in planning, the analysis of existing practices about theorisation in enhancing the existing planning practices, and the philosophical underpinning planning theory and planning practice. Thereafter, the chapter interrogates the literature based on planning theory to derive the study's conceptual framework. Four attributes related to the conceptual framework are then discussed. These attributes are the contextual analysis in planning practice, interests and the public interest as a function of planning legitimacy, identification and selection of means-ends and the criteria used, and practice of development plan implementation focusing on means-ends rationality and institutionalism in development plan implementation.

2.2 Theoretical framework

This section establishes a theoretical framework used to define all theories and concepts serving as the study's foundation, connecting them logically and connecting the ideas through the entire study. As argued, a theoretical framework is a set of concepts and premises logically constructed and related to one or more theories and created by a researcher to support a study (Varpio *et al*., 2020). In this section, in deriving a conceptual framework supporting the research question and guiding the analytical method, a theory is chosen and operationalised.

Planning theory is chosen here as a theoretical grounding on which to shape the interrogation of the literature to derive the conceptual framework on which it is anchored. In an ever-changing and globalising world, planning theory is central to comprehending how development planning and its practices function and evolve. As will be argued later in the chapter, planning theory has a different influence on developing countries compared to developed countries. However, in contributing to planning theory literature, Faludi (1973) distinguished the theory

of planning and the theory *in* planning, which both constitute the core subject of planning theory and its relevance to the planning debate. In this view, planning theory ended up being dealt with either from the procedural or substantive framework perspectives (Faludi, 1973; Abukhater, 2009; Olesen, 2018). Olesen (2018) argues that theory *in* planning refers to the substantive theories concerned with prescribing methodologies on how to do planning. Thus, theory *in* planning fosters planners to understand area(s) of concern that planning should deal with if development planning must facilitate development.

On the other hand, the theory *of* planning falls within the procedural theories in leveraging planners to understand planning and its role(s) in society to facilitate development. Therefore, planning theory, in many ways, is the application of different theories for collective problem-solving within social sciences (Olsen, 1990). Therefore, planning procedure is about methodological responses to issues prevailing within the society (substantive reality) and how these issues are transformed through planning interventions (procedurally structured) into new conditions that must influence subsequent procedural approaches (Muller, 1987). As such, in this study of examining development planning, planning theory is applied using a combination of the theory *of/in* planning in understanding how development planning facilitates development in the post-1994 South African context rather than separating the theories.

It is argued that the application of these theories in the current study is deemed relevant, although they have been critiqued for equating planning to science (Barry *et al*., 2018) and for not elucidating on the ethical justification of philosophical judgment as an aim of planning (Taylor, 1980; Olesen, 2018). However, the theory *of/in* planning is generally accepted from a viewpoint that planning remains in the social sciences rather than as a science discipline, only using knowledge from science for planning and policy-making to promote determining and effecting the sought ends (Galloway and Mahayni, 1977; Archibugi, 2004; Ferreira *et al*., 2009; Madanipour, 2015; Marotta and Cummings, 2019). In clarifying this, Alexander (2003, 2010) argues that planning theory should not be defined from a mistaken assumption that bridging the gap between effective planning processes and successful outcomes can be dealt with like in science or applied technology wherein knowledge is transferred to practice by using simple translation processes.

The contention arising here is that planning in social science practice must be enlightened by planning theory in inclusive and complex ways towards improving the judgment on options and processes to be employed in crafting a development plan. Planning theory's objective is,

therefore, to problematise planning to expose suspicious administrative, political, and social processes (Flyvbjerg, 2001a, 2004) impacting effective development planning in facilitating development. Hence, planning theory is viewed as independent from any form of thought as it pertains to dealing with the gap between the attainment of the planning processes and the development ends in a development plan (Abukhater, 2009; Pissourios, 2013; Olesen, 2018; Marotta and Cummings, 2019). Thus, planning theory fosters defining and understanding development planning in terms of the actions taken towards employing certain processes and determining the ends, as well as the forms and content of the plan toward the attainment of development.

Thus, the study leans on an argument by Faludi (1973) that it is important to understand the theory *of* planning from the basis of it being emphatic on improving the effectiveness of theory *in* planning. As contented here, theories *of* planning are imperative before deciding on appropriate substantive theories *in* planning. Thus, this implies that the theory *of* planning is the core subject of the planning theory. Therefore, the procedural theories underpinning the theory *of* planning must be understood in this study to form an envelope to substantive theories underpinning the theory *in* planning. In the same view, Friedmann (2003:8) contends that "there is no planning practice without a theory about how it ought to be practiced". In other words, planning theory must be understood as the basis for the theorisation and development of a theory. Hence its use in the current study toward attaining the purpose of theorisation or modelling a development plan featuring a repositioned land reform.

In contributing to planning theory literature and its application in planning practice with a focus on the gap between means and ends, scholars differ about planning theory content. These scholars are distinguished into three camps. The first camp argues on the fundamental questions concerning planning about the roles of the State and the market towards social and economic transformation (Dembele, 2012; Krishnan, 2016; Wangchuk and Turner, 2019). In this scholarship, planning theory is argued to overlap the theories in the economic, social, and political sciences, which makes it difficult to limit its scope.

By overlapping the social and political science theories, planning theory literature has become more about public planning, which is what development planning must be concerned with. In this school of thought, the planning process is State-led in terms of how the State foresees and facilitates desirable outcomes for society. Thus, planning is characterised by the circumstances of the State-society interface, including the way that power is employed (Madanipour, 2015;

Ricz, 2015; Ovadia and Wolf, 2018). Overlap of planning theory with economic sciences sees planning becoming more about a private sector-led development within a government's development planning framework. Planning here is viewed to be contradicting the social-economic transformation agenda in developing countries, including post-1994 South African development planning, by deepening societies further into inequality and poverty traps since planning follows a capitalist political economy.

In instances where the focus of planning contradicts the socio-economic transformation agenda, the object of planning must be to intervene to change the existing trajectory of events in development planning (Fainstein and DeFilippis, 2016). State-led development planning must prevent exploitation by the markets through the promotion of inclusive growth rather than deepening levels of wealth inequality and poverty in society (Krishnan, 2016). The timing and legitimacy of State-planned interventions is a question central to planning theory in terms of why, how, and in what circumstances State-led planning intervention should be at the forefront to satisfy the developmental needs (i.e., social, economic, and political) that both the State and markets must deliver to society.

Through a State-led system, planning seeks to replace an imperfectly operating market-oriented system with a system that allows for equity in the distribution of resources and control of the pricing system (Pankaj, 2007; Yeung, 2017). This means that planning must be about how the government, given the country's social and economic challenges, should allocate resources from the basis of 'how', 'when', 'to whom', 'for what purpose', and 'what combination'. Arguably, a State-led system of planning cannot offer the ultimate ends that development planning seeks to achieve alone. It is in this view that the purpose of planning should not be only about correcting and regulating the market, but it should also enable the market to become a delivery mechanism for pro-market strategies (Davoudi, 2018). As argued by Fainstein and DeFilippis (2016), in this view, the State operates within the market, and the capitalists' markets rely on the State to function. This is a highly contentious debate within the post-1994 South African development planning space in the political arena in light of the State and market roles in facilitating development toward addressing poverty, inequality, and unemployment in the country.

The State and market-orientated interface necessitate interconnections between the public-private partnerships in the attainment of development planning outcomes. In this interpretation, planning fills in when needed or helps the market when it fails. However, the interweaving

relations between the State and the private sector are critiqued for seeing the State as wholly captured by capitalist interests and incapable of driving development planning toward the benefit of all segments of society (Fainstein and DeFilippis, 2016). Despite this argument, Davoudi (2018) maintains that the role of planning has changed from being a regulator of the markets to facilitating the markets. In view of unrealised development ends in post-1994 South Africa against the contentions in the literature, the roles of the State and markets are blurred in how development planning must facilitate development.

In the second camp, planning is divided into those who define it in terms of its object (rationale for planning) (Faludi, 1973; Fainstein, 2000) and those who define it according to its method (processes taken in decision-making about development) (Watson, 2008; Krishnan, 2016). These approaches lead to no singular definition of planning due to the largely different sets of theoretical questions and priorities that are applied to planning. Although rationality in planning is generally accepted, it, however, should be identified with the reality of the context within which development planning takes place. Arguably, despite how realistic and feasible a development plan can be, it cannot exactly coincide with reality but must have an impact on the reality it intends to govern and change socially and economically. In this sense, plans are made to be instruments to guide decisions and actions in development planning. The more rational the development plan is (or the more the development plan takes into consideration the reality and its complexity), the better the chances that it will be effective in addressing the socio-economic conditions and achieving its intended ends. It should, however, in a contrasting view, be noted that rationality is not the end in development planning, but the process followed for planning to be legitimate. The end and the worth of rationality of processes and rationale adopted in development planning must be determined by the development plan implementation's effectiveness, as discussed later in the chapter.

The last camp is divided among those who understand planning by way of analysing the existing practices (Archibugi, 2004; Yiftachel, 2006) and those who theorise using communicative planning theories to transform existing planning practices or make planning practices better (Yiftachel and Huxley, 2000; Watson, 2008; Olesen, 2018). In this sense, planning theory is regarded as normative, wherein ends and the means are selected together, unlike functional, where ends are a given, and planners select the means to achieve the given ends. In using Friedmann's (1966) analogy of adaptive versus development planning with functional versus normative planning, Faludi (1973) argues that adaptive planning is weaker because goals are defined by outside agents, making development planning autonomous, while

normative planning is superior to both since it leverages for the planners to control both ends and means in planning. Having normative planning superior to other forms of planning has seen planning practice in the third scholarship being placed under a normative system to understand how planning is done (procedural) and for substantive reasons in understanding the object of planning in how it should be done.

By extension, it is argued that planning's different epistemologies of ethical actions rest on normative frames of reference (Winkler, 2018). This is because planning is oriented toward future courses of action, making it normative (Madanipour, 2015). The advanced argument against the literature is on the theorisation against the practicality of normative against functional values of planning in developing countries, specifically post-1994 South Africa. The argument arises because of processes applied in identifying and selecting means-ends, which will be discussed later in the chapter against heightening levels of the same ends of poverty, inequality, and unemployment that development planning seeks to address.

The three scholarly views leverage a foundation for interrogating development planning and its use of developmental plans to attain developmental ends. In this view, development planning as a requirement for development cannot be dealt with from a singular view. As discussed above, it is noted that the substance of planning theory is to advance a general methodology for planning processes by establishing an operational nexus (procedural and substantive, i.e., theory *of*/*in* planning) among diverse approaches applied in the planning field.

As the study's purpose is to model or theorise how development planning can feature land reform, theorisation is mainly grounded within the normative framework of planning. The normative framework in planning follows various pathways and asks varying questions rooted in politically and analytically contrasting concerns relevant to the examination of development planning. The study uses planning theory primarily to theorise and inform used research methods, described in chapter four, in an effort to influence the current development planning practice in post-1994 South Africa through knowledge contribution.

This will be through dealing with how development planning must be done to attain the sought ends by featuring a repositioned land reform as its instrumental tool for development. In this way, planning theory is used to inform the planning practice and, in turn, informed by the planning practice considering the contextual reality associated with the complexity within which development planning occurs. However, planning theory, like other theories, is also

better applied to practice if the ideological underpinning is clearly understood, as subsequently discussed.

2.2.1 Ideological underpinning of planning theory and planning practice

This subsection advances arguments on the theoretical constitution of planning theory by questioning its meaning and foundation from ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions. To understand the ideologies underpinning the planning theory, it is relevant to first know its theories of substance, knowledge, and action (Madanipour, 2015). By so doing, the values and beliefs that underpin knowledge generation in planning practice can be understood, leading to an understanding of the political economy driving development planning.

First, theories of substance, which mainly refer to ontological questions about planning, raise questions that indicate the tensions around time, space, society, and materiality (Marotta and Cummings, 2019). The time and space concepts in planning point to issues related to the plan's time horizon in terms of whether it is long-term and the extent of its spatial coverage or if the plan is about particular spaces and addressing certain developmental issues over medium- or short-term planning. Development plans have been developed over a time horizon of five years with an evolvement to long-term (i.e., over a ten-year time horizon) plans. The material perspective assists planners in establishing if planning is about the physical organisation or social arrangements. Using the procedural and substantive planning approaches discussed earlier, materiality is concerned with whether planning should be about the material outcomes or processes adopted or both in realising the desired ends of development planning.

Second, epistemology raises questions key to assisting in understanding planning theory's grounding. Here, the key question is which theories of knowledge theorists in planning uphold, for instance, rationalism, positivism, and interpretivism, in gaining the knowledge necessary for development planning. Rationalism, as discussed earlier, is concerned with understanding if knowledge used in planning comes from the hypotheses derived by planners or from empirical observations and analysis in informing the means and ends of the plan. Rationalism in planning can either be formal or substantive. Formal rational planning is about a series of purposeful actions in decision-making, including actions to be undertaken in the future to realise an end by linking causes to consequences or premises to outcomes (Marotta and Cummings, 2019). Herein, means are separated from ends by systematically identifying and choosing means in a technical and apolitical manner (Breheny and Hooper, 1985). The

apolitical manner in identifying means in development planning is argued to be impractical in the reality of planning because development planning is a highly politicised exercise, as dealt with in Sections 2.3.3.2 and 6.3.3.1 of this study. Substantive rational planning focuses primarily on ends and their evaluation rather than the means (Allmendinger, 2002). It is based on deductively setting a priori goals to be attained in the future.

Further, planning grounded on positivism leans more on scientific methods and technical expertise to obtain knowledge in determining development planning's goals and means. However, the critique on using positivist values and beliefs in planning has resulted in alternative theories for gaining knowledge in terms of using interpretivism, pragmatic, and constructivism. Knowledge through interpretivism in planning is obtained through critical engagement and discursive construction, which has opened planning to political interference. On the other hand, theories of action in planning focus on the methodologies of generating knowledge and the nature of planning action. Action-oriented planning is concerned with how knowledge in planning is generated towards developing the plan and how the plan is implemented (Barry *et al*., 2018) towards the attainment of its ends. In development planning, due to its complexity, knowledge is often gained through combining different typologies underpinning the planning theory.

While development planning emerged as a technical process (i.e., procedural-substantive approaches), it is, however, saturated within the political and ethical dimensions. It is driven either by neoliberal (capitalism) or communicative orientations. Neoliberalism is contended to be the reassertion of the classical liberal political economy argument (Gunder, 2010; Gezmiș, 2018). Neoliberal planning is centred around the relationship between the State and private capital owners by rationalising and promoting growth in urban development (Baeten, 2018; Westin, 2022). Here, planning functions more under the market-oriented than the State-led system, as discussed earlier. In this way, State-led planning does not play an active role in intervening in the activities of the markets as much as the State would have to. This is because neoliberalisation has become an incremental process that is mutating over time and spreading across the globe as political economics is underpinning planning practice (Baeten, 2018). The mutation of neoliberalism in development planning is because of the common application of communicative planning practices as a process of planning depoliticisation and maintaining neoliberal hegemony while including alternative voices through participation to smoothen conflicts and legitimise unfair planning processes (Westin, 2022).

Based on neoliberalism/capitalism, Habermas (1984a, 1984b) argued that planning needs to be dealt with through communicative reasoning. Communicative reasoning led to the emergence of the communicative planning practice, which holds a central position in planning theory (Calderon and Westin, 2021; Westin, 2022). The communicative planning approach has gained large support and acceptance among scholars in planning and development planning (Fishler, 2000; Yiftachel and Huxley, 2000; Sager, 2009, 2018; Das, 2020). This planning approach is an ideal process that strives for a consensual agreement among all actors before any agreed planning action can commence. The argument advanced through communicative planning practice is that planning can become democratic and just if the quality and quantity of communication among stakeholders, including planners, citizens, politicians, and the private sector, is intensified (Mattila, 2020; Westin, 2022).

Communicative planning is argued to be an inclusive planning process that is largely depoliticised and legitimises the values of both the government (at the level of State and social interface) and market (private sector) pro-development interests (Das, 2020; Westin, 2022). The contention, as evident in post-1994 democratic South African development planning, does not hold. Development planning in post-1994 South Africa is politicised and driven by the neoliberal/market's interests, rendering it ineffective in facilitating development. Contrary to the reality of post-1994 South Africa, the communicative ideology of planning theory argues that both public and private communities unite in resource regeneration and distribution through rational, communicative, and reasonable approaches to collaboration with the government having a development planning system that effectively delivers on its ends.

The communicative ideology is critiqued, among others, by Bengs (2005), Mattila (2020), and Westin (2022) for only being deployed by governments to empower key stakeholders or powerful groups who want to articulate their interests and hegemonically attain them by seeking justification for their actions through neoliberal planning processes. The contention by these scholars holds in evidence of the ineffectiveness of the development planning trajectory in post-1994 South Africa. Further, a communicative approach, like the neoliberal ideology underpinning planning theory and planning practice, is critiqued for seeking to assist in legitimising the neoliberal market system and competitive agendas (Purcell, 2009; Gunder, 2010; Westin, 2022), which makes development planning inadequate in facilitating development for the good of all sectors of society. In addition, some detractors have noted that the application of communicative planning does not ensure successful outcomes, contending that it diminishes the value of expertise (Purcell, 2009; Mattila, 2020) by being open to

politicisation and being captured by the elites, which is against its noble intentions of the depoliticisation of planning.

Despite its critiques, communicative planning, through social reforms and social mobilisation, seeks to attain change wherein social reform is driven by top-down change (change to realise an effective State) and social mobilisation based on bottom-up change led by civil society in attaining a better society (Dobrucká, 2016; Mattila, 2020). Although appreciated for its strengths, communicative planning is argued to be the vehicle for neoliberals in maintaining hegemony while ascertaining political stability (Baeten, 2018). Thus, there is a clear overlap between the neoliberal and communicative approaches to planning, which is further common in planning theory and planning practice (Sager, 2015). This resulted in development planning in developing democratic countries being torn between the politics of neoliberal and the deliberative ideologies of communicative planning. Due to this overlap, development planning, in its length of existence, has existed to help the market and support capitalism without superseding these political-economic ideologies that have underpinned it (Allmendinger, 2001). Thus, development planning has become a product of individual deals between private and public sector actors, making it increasingly privatised (Sager, 2015) with minimal impact on the socio-economic upliftment of society. The next section focuses on the conceptual framework relevant to the study.

2.3 Conceptual framework

The section serves to derive the study's conceptual framework founded on the theoretical framework. A conceptual framework serves as the rationale for why this research was carried out. This is done in the section through a literature review to understand the state of knowledge in identifying the gaps in terms of how one understands the posed research problem. The perused literature considering the problem statement and the purpose statement is silent on how development plan must feature land reform as a facilitation mechanism to development. Different discussions in various parts of this section affirm the positioning taken here about the literature's identified silence.

The derived conceptual framework is thus premised on four attributes related to planning practice and ultimately informing development planning. The first attribute is contextual analysis in planning practice. The second attribute relates to interests and the public interest as a function of planning legitimacy. The third attribute is the identification and selection of

means-ends and the criteria used. The last attribute is the practice of development plan implementation. All four attributes are interrogated individually in the following subsections.

2.3.1 Contextual analysis in planning practice

The concept of context as contended has increasingly become central to planning practice and planning theory (Van Assche, 2007), as contended in this section. In post-1994 South Africa, context consideration to development planning is central because of the historical legacy of persistent socio-economic challenges that must be addressed through development. Land reform, as a contentious matter in the context of development planning post-1994, is central to a development plan. However, development planning occurring in a dynamic and complex context is influenced by politics in the country and the socio-economic conditions societies live in. The centrality of context to development planning is more important because of the shift of planning toward the direction of communicative planning (Van Assche, 2007) to being pluralistic. As contended by Albrechts (2018), for development planning to be effective, it should capture the dynamics and tensions coexisting in the contextual space of a country.

Therefore, planning requires a critical discourse that questions the political and economic processes of which existing planning approaches are an essential part. Both politics and the socio-economic contexts impact the means (e.g., use of land reform) to the ends and alternative development tools that development planning identifies and selects in attaining improved socio-economic conditions for the citizenry. Due to the politically charged context in which development planning happens, the political dimension and power influence find their extension across the planning field through the communicative planning practice. Evidently, as suggested in the literature, post-1994 South African development planning is open to political interests and conflictual ideologies occupying the context within which development planning occurs. Thus, the bond between development planning and politics and that between planning and government operations is no longer a matter of debate (Barry *et al*., 2018) but a reality of planning.

In identifying and selecting means-ends and alternative development tools to apply in development planning, the pivotal linkage of politics with a procedural framework of planning cannot be ignored in structuring a development plan that features land reform. This is because the political system and power find expression in the government institutions and the society at large. These are fundamentally the instruments of power through which development planning, policy-making, and redistributive processes are exercised in post-1994 South Africa.

This implies that, although development planning largely operates within formal institutional arrangements, communicative planning fosters the influential power of less informal institutions, including community organisations, which must have a bearing upon planning activities (e.g., selection of means-ends in a democratic State). However, due to minimal State-led planning interventions, the markets, through communicative planning practice, maintain the capitalist ideologies to realise their interests in attaining common good for all in post-1994 South Africa.

On the other hand, the socio-economic conditions as a contextual element of development planning are indicative of the efficacy of the development plan. Thus, socio-economic conditions are a fundamental base for theorising in planning. For example, development planning in post-1994 South Africa is driven by the need to address the socio-economic challenges of poverty, inequality, and unemployment as a mechanism to facilitate development. Arguably, the socio-economic conditions of a country are the object or rationale for and what development planning intends to improve when featuring a repositioned land reform. Means-ends used in development planning must be derived based on the socio-economic conditions prevailing. Land reform is a central factor in the socio-economic state from the colonial to the post-colonial era. This amplifies that the planning process and the use of land reform in development planning cannot be separated from the socio-economic context if effectuated means-to-ends are to be impactful among all sectors of society.

Arguably, the planning process (i.e., the procedural framework of planning) is thus tied to the context, as well as the extent to which problems, including land reform issues, arise and reside within the space wherein development planning occurs. Simply put, development planning from a contextual analysis perspective is as much as the art of perceiving a problem to be solved. It is also a way of determining the methodology to be used in identifying and selecting the suitable means-ends in development planning to facilitate development. Understanding the context in which planning occurs from political and socio-economic perspectives is key towards a collaborative effort of determining specific and clear means considering land reform use and the ends development planning intends to achieve.

Considering context in planning theory and practice fosters awareness of fairness or unfairness given the democratic content of the development plan process. As a result, following a communicative planning approach can result in context-sensitive planning, which strives to undo the harms done by modernism in planning (Van Assche, 2007), which post-1994 South

African development planning must undo through a development plan that centrally features land reform. The contention, however, is that it is impossible to have a plan that embraces all aspects within the context or a median context that will appease all public interest, making them feel at home in the imagined space of the plan. Thus, the relationship between planning practice and the context in which a development plan is generated has moved beyond the thinking of planning as a vanguard of social change to an activity in which context and practice are co-generative and co-constitutive (Healey, 2007).

2.3.1.1 Political systems theory in considering context in development planning

Extending from the planning theory, the political systems theory (PST) offers a different angle through which the context or environment in which planning occurs influences and shapes the development plan. The PST is relevant to examining development planning because, as already argued earlier, development planning is a politicised process that must be understood through a theory that unpacks the political processes in arriving at politically influenced decisions. Although PST is not specifically developed for understanding or analysing the planning practice, its relevance to the planning practice is due to it leveraging explanations of political activities contributing to development planning. Applying the policy system approach, a development plan must be viewed as a response to the political systems' demands (e.g., equality in accessing land) arising from the context or environment within which a plan is developed. Drawing from communicative planning practice, PST, due to the feedback mechanism, permits pluralism in plan formulation rather than a top-down or centralised system (Raile *et al*., 2014) in attaining plan legitimacy.

As argued, the environment or context comprises the social and economic systems that are external to the boundaries of the PST (Raile *et al*., 2014; Anderson, 2015). While PST is commonly used in policy-making and herein used to examine the influence of context in development plan-making, other scholars critiqued it for its black box phenomenon known as the political system (Anderson, 2015) due to the missing variables affecting the planning processes' conceptualisation (Amoo *et al*., 2023). Scholars argue that the model's limitation arises because the political system (black box) does not demonstrate the procedures and processes through which decisions or plans are made (Anderson, 2015; Amoo *et al*., 2023), specifically on the instrumental use of land reform in development planning. Further, its critiques argue that the theory only demonstrates the government's response to the demands and outputs made. The view suggested by the literature through the black box concept is practically evident in the plan implementation phase wherein fragmentation and sector-based

approach emerge consequent to what the plan envisages against what has to happen to realise the ends of the plan.

Further, PST leverages examining the context through inputs made in the form of demands, including access to land and support leading to the crafted development plan. As argued by the proponents of PST, it facilitates an understanding of how inputs arising from the context impact the content of the plan and operations of the political system and how the development plan, in turn, impacts the context and further or additional demands from the context, as well as how well the political system converts demands into a development plan (Anderson, 2015; Akwu *et al*., 2020; Zeb-un-Nisa *et al*., 2021; Maihali, 2023), as demonstrated in Figure 2.1.

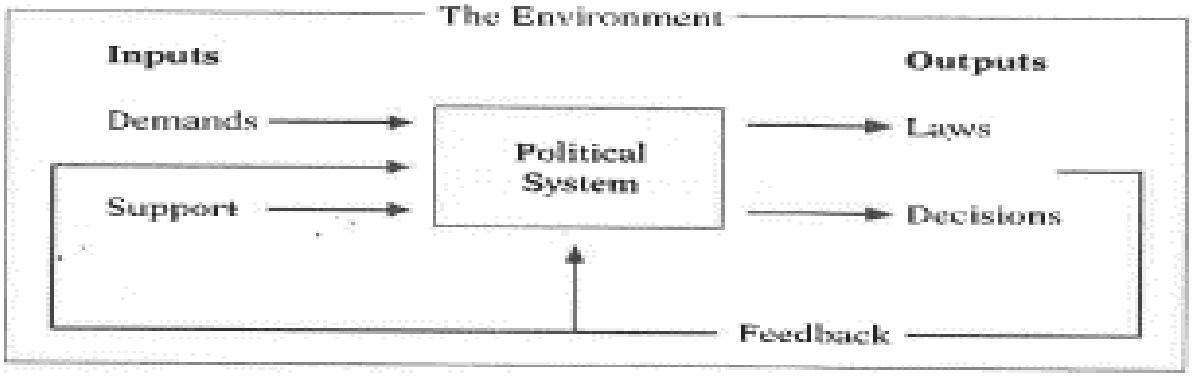


Figure 2.1 Model of the political system

Source: Anderson (2015:21)

Figure 2.1 illustrates that inputs from the context within which a development plan is crafted reach the political system as demands and support. The demand, specifically for land reform, and support inputting to the political system, derives from the economic and social facets in terms of interests and the public interest outside the political system by, for example, opposition political parties, experts and researchers, markets, non-governmental organisations and society. The political functions thus convert the inputs arising from the context into a development plan, hence, the politicisation of development planning. Thus, the noble intention of communicative planning practice to depoliticise planning when planning happens through a political system is unrealistic. In the post 1994 South Africa communicative planning practice has been more realistic because of the politicisation of development planning and land reform. Thus, communicative planning, while it is appreciated that it opens planning to the inclusivity of multiple participants and obtaining plan legitimacy, cannot, as suggested by the literature, depoliticise the planning practice.

Arguably, the black box concept in the processes and procedures applied in the political system to convert the inputs into the plan or simply means-ends adopted in the plan is the reality of how development planning occurs in developing countries. As argued in chapter three, relating to how African States used land reform to advance development planning and development, their political processes, i.e., what happened in the black box, rendered their use of land reform to attain development ineffective. The arrival of government at identification and selection of means-ends in the development plan is the political black box hampering development planning in facilitating development. The study will next interrogate the interests and the public interest impacting the development planning practice.

2.3.2 Interests and the public interest as a function of planning legitimacy

This section contends that interests and the public interest are fundamental aspects of planning practice shaping and structuring development planning. As observed by Moroni (2004, 2018), the key task of planning theory is to rethink public interest in shifting planning from an act of unitary to a practice of pluralism. On the one hand, planning theory, specifically communicative planning practice, positions development planning as a matter of public interest in how public institutions foresee and foster desirable future conditions (Purcell, 2009; Madanipour, 2015; Klink and Denaldi, 2016). Equally, land reform as an instrumental means of development is herein argued to be a matter of public interest in how development planning uses it to facilitate development. Undoubtedly, land reform cannot be ignored if development planning in post-1994 South Africa is considerate of public interest. As contended in this section, it is unfortunate that development planning literature has been silent on how development planning must feature land reform.

On the other hand, the group theory of politics views planning, specifically a plan, as a product of the group struggle (Anderson, 2015; Anyebe, 2018; Zeb-un-Nisa *et al*., 2021). As argued by group theory's proponents, a plan is an equilibrium achieved through a group struggle to have a balance between the contending factions that are striving to weigh their interests in the plan (Zeb-un-Nisa *et al*., 2021). The argument raised by group theory is that the interests and the public interest struggle among diverse groups are the central facts of the plan. However, land reform as a public interest struggle in post-colonial States has not been a central factor in development planning toward facilitating development. Thus, divergent interests from diverse groups are principal factors influencing a development plan, which is relevant in examining development planning and how it can facilitate development.

As a result of both group theory and communicative planning practice opening development planning to divergent interests from diverse groups, development planning has emerged as a fragmented process characterised by conflicts of interest rather than a facilitating mechanism of development. Communicative planning practice, as argued, appears to address the resultant fragmentation, complex problems, and conflicting interests in development planning (Calderon and Westin, 2021; Lin, 2023). Thus, opening development planning to divergent interests from diverse groups, development planning practice has taken a deliberative turn with the emergence of increased complexity, diversity, and pluralism.

Unlike in the modernism era of top-down planning, in considering the interests and the public interest, development planning in post-modernism embraces the bottom-up approaches to planning practice reflecting features of agonistic practices (Lin, 2023). An agonistic approach to planning practice is an alternative to communicative planning derived from a political concept of agonistic pluralism accentuating agonistic conflicts wherein those with opposing views to development planning processes are not viewed as enemies but opposers to the planning practice (Kűhn, 2021; Lin, 2023). Agonistic planning in democratic States embraces the divergent views held by the opposition toward improving development planning processes and the use of land reform instrumentality in development planning.

The view on agonistic planning in considering interests and the public interest is relevant to development planning because, in democratic States, ideologies of opposition political parties are influential in driving political discourses, specifically in post-1994 South Africa with multitudes of opposition parties. Opposing views in development planning and the use of land reform cannot be ignored as views from an enemy in appreciation of agonistic planning. Development planning in considering diverse interests is thus argued to have transitioned from communicative planning to agonistic planning by endorsing plural forms of expressions and communication even from those with opposing views (Kűhn, 2021; Lin, 2023). However, development planning in developing countries has not transitioned to being agonistic. Views of opposition in development planning and land reform toward facilitating development are not embraced by the political parties in government. The result is the ignorance of noble opposing ideas and interests that would have lifted the effectiveness of development planning.

Ideological pressures and interests from the opposition have, in other instances, seen development planning transition toward governance ideas in search of creativity and differentiated solutions in addressing societal challenges in achieving a desirable future. This

must be done by development planning being used to mobilise a plurality of actors with different and competing interests, strategies, and goals. The advanced contention is rooted in the view that interests and the public interest are a pivot around which debates on the nature of planning and its purpose turn (Campbell and Marshall, 2002; Maidment, 2016) and through which different interests in planning are reconciled (Tait, 2016).

This means that the collective interest of the public is the basic justification for development planning (Moroni, 2004; Klink and Denaldi, 2016; Maidment, 2016) to have a development plan featuring land reform as its central means of development. In this way, development planning could be argued to be concerned with the public and the problems of the public. Thus, the contention by Albrechts (2003) and Calderon and Westin (2021) that development planning has moved from the approach wherein the government is the mobiliser of the public sector and the provider of solutions to problems can only be fully embraced when development planning in developing countries has entirely opened to criticism and acceptance of criticism and opposing views considering its use of land reform.

2.3.2.1 Consideration approaches of interests and the public interest in development planning

The argument advanced by this section is on the theoretical underpinning of the subject of interests and the public interest in how development planning must consider public interest as a facilitation mechanism to development. Like other concepts in planning literature, the interests and the public interest concept came under scrutiny by different scholars. Scholars in planning literature are divided among those who have critiqued the public interest concept as outmoded and outdated (Sandercock and Dovey, 2002) and those who advocated for its relevance and legitimacy in the planning practice (Klink and Denaldi, 2016; Mattila, 2016; Purcell, 2016; Tait, 2016; Sheydayi and Dadashpoor, 2022). Those who critique public interest in planning do so from a modernist view, and those advocating for it do so from a postmodernist perspective (normative course of action).

In the modernists' view, planning practice is underpinned by the neoliberal advocacy of markets as a central function of societies, attacking an arrangement whereby the State organises the society in the public interest. Thus, the market in the modernist approach is the public interest arbiter by resolving pluralist and conflicting conceptions striving for the common good through pursuing profit and economic activity (Tait, 2016). In this view, planning without public consideration does not connect with the reality of acting in the context of different interests.

Hence, planning has inherently been unable to meet the public interest because of it being captured by sectoral interests, which inevitably cohere around the State (Tait, 2016; Zakhour, 2020). The view held by the literature is evident in developing countries wherein the mutation of neoliberal development planning and land reform conducted in developing countries under the umbrella of democracy and communicative planning has resulted in skewed development.

The arguments of scholars who contend that public interest in planning is relevant are post-enlightenment and centred on the Habermasian philosophy of communicative planning theory (CPT). Proponents of communicative planning processes argue that it fosters interests and the public interest through a broad spectrum of participation in identifying means and selecting ends of a plan toward common interest. In achieving common interests, the development planning process must be understood as a communicative action rather than a technical analysis (Purcell, 2016; Zakhour, 2020). The public interest debate among these scholars revolves around the concept of interests through which individual and collective interests are reconciled.

Postmodernists' argument is fundamental in that the State must have a sound relationship with the public while establishing alternative non-State modes of acting publicly (Mattila, 2016; Tait, 2016; Zakhour, 2020). Whether implicit or explicit, the public interest concept must be assessed with a focus on either the planning process or its ends (Campbell and Marshall, 2002; Mattila, 2016). This is because the concept of public interest is central to the legitimacy of planning and public administration (Moroni, 2004; Sager, 2009; Mattila, 2016). Legitimacy, while being central in planning, not only justifies the individual plan but also justifies the democratic nature of the political-administrative system from which planning derives its authority (Mäntysalo *et al*., 2015; Zakhour, 2020).

While the postmodernists advocate for the reconciliation of interests in development planning, it is evident that the postmodernist view on development planning has been overtaken and remains underpinned by neoliberal ideologies. Despite the bottom-up approach post-modernism embraces, development planning and land reform processes to facilitate development remain muted. Arguably, although the literature seems to argue that planning has transitioned from modernism to the post-modernism era, the elements of modernist planning are persistently driving development planning processes in post-1994 South Africa. Neoliberalism ideologies have mutated themselves across developing countries in how they pursue development, which is dominantly underpinned by capitalism advocacies in the protection of elitism and profits.

Further, scholars in planning caution that while planning is a matter of public interest, public interest should not only be conceptualised from the perspective of the majority since that can ignore the rights of the minority (Moroni, 2004; Sheydayi and Dadashpoor, 2022). In addition, public interest should also not only be conceptualised from a single geographical perspective wherein the public is characterised by space as discretely bounded because it is also not helpful in addressing how planning should deal with conflicting interests at varying scales (Maidment, 2016; Purcell, 2016). Development planning as a matter of public interest must be conceptualised from the perspective of all those who are indirectly impacted by the consequences or ends of planning beyond those who made the plan (Maidment, 2016; Tait, 2016). Arguably, this is specifically true in planning wherein undesirable planning ends are uncompromisingly severe (Tait, 2016), affecting those who are supposed to be the beneficiaries of development planning and land reform processes.

In view of the raised arguments, it is undeniable that the reconciliation of interests as even advocated by post-modernism, is an uncontested approach development planning must take despite how widely development planning stretches in featuring land reform to facilitate development. Notably, development planning, when considering interests and the public interest in facilitating development, is open to conundrums (Hibbard and Lurie, 2000). However, development planning must be rooted in the fundamental purpose of planning in terms of articulating and resolving the tensions between the economic, political, and civil functions of the society. Thus, planning practice must address the questions of why undertake development planning, how, for whom, and for whose interest development planning seeks to address.

2.3.2.2 Public interest as advocated through Habermasian's communicative planning theory

The section seeks to draw alternative options to having development planning considering public interest in facilitating development through Habermasian's CPT. The Habermas' CPT centred around deliberative democracy strives to address the question of reconciliation of different factions of the governed and the governing in democratic States, competing agendas, conflictual objectives, and contrasting interests (Davoudi, 2018; Calderon and Westin, 2021). The Habermas' approach establishes a system of governance that aims to attain consensus not through trade-offs or compromises but through a convergence of preferences in achieving socially optimal planning decisions. The desired shift CPT envisages achieving is from a planner-citizen information exchange to a solution-seeking, wider dialogue, and decision-

oriented deliberation (Sager, 2018; Lin, 2023). Drawing from these ideas, CPT promotes communicative rationality wherein reasoning is generated through intersubjective deliberation and argumentation rather than scientific in which reasoning is based on scientific empiricist knowledge (Davoudi, 2018). Therefore, development planning must bridge the gap between the Habermasian ideal of undistorted communication and the Foucauldian goal of leveraging less damaging and rigid power relations (Albrechts, 2003; Westin, 2022).

In following the historical view by Padilla (1975) as cited in Friedman (2011) a development plan must enshrine a populist vision that becomes the legal basis for plans and budgets, which, in a descending cascade of other documents, would implement the development plan vision. Thus, planning requires an intentional strategy for giving 'substance' to structural changes by making optimal use of means in addressing the realities of inequality, disagreement, and conflict (Albrechts, 2003; Mattila, 2020). However, interests expressed or influencing the kind of means instrumental in development planning expose it to conflicts and contradictions in attaining developmental ends. The challenge for development planning under CPT, therefore, becomes its ability to recognise heterogeneous debates and multiple conflicting interests in centrally featuring land reform to facilitate development in post-1994 South Africa.

Thus, the development planning process must ensure the discovery of public interest and that the public's voice or interests are allowed in a long-term future perspective of a country (Friedmann, 2011). Although planning is undeniably excessively underpinned by neoliberal economics (Rees, 2018), the State must not pursue private and sectional interests but rather the interests and needs of all segments of society (Moroni, 2018) in contrast to the modernist scholarship. This means that development efforts must be socially oriented in furthering the interests of a large sector of society (Sager, 2018). Drawing from CPT, the argument is that planners must not limit their actions to set ends and look for means with which to achieve the ends; rather, they must use their abilities to generate a platform, which encourages inter-communication (Moroni, 2018: Calderon and Westin, 2022).

Thus, public interest must be discovered discursively through communicative and participatory planning practices (Sager, 2018). It must, therefore, be evident that the means-to-ends that a development plan must attain are grounded in substantive principles and clear procedural values. In this view, development planning should follow logical argumentation in centrally featuring land reform, as well as identifying and selecting means-ends used in development planning as subsequently discussed.

2.3.3 Identification and selection of means-ends and the criteria used

The argument advanced in this section is that the contextual space within which a plan is crafted is characterised by social, economic, and political ramifications that are politically contentious in identifying and selecting the means-ends complex but critical to development planning in facilitating development. Planning, as argued earlier, has taken a turn toward a communicative rational process and democratic pragmatism to achieve social (human) and economic growth, which makes the subject of identification and selection of means-ends contentious and central to planning practice. In achieving both social and economic goals, development planning, through development plans, identifies the best way of realising the ends, which talks to growth as a product of ends selection. While development planning primarily intends to attain future growth, that does not make growth an end but a process toward an effective development plan featuring a repositioned land reform to facilitate development.

Attaining future growth through planning has resulted in debates around planning theories focusing on the means-ends relationship (Dobrucká, 2016). The practice of planning is thus justified based on the ends (results) or on the basis that planning was done considering established, valid, and reliable means (tools). The ends of the plan are what the plan intends to realise in a specific timeframe, while the means, including land reform, are the appropriate instruments or tools used in planning to attain the ends. Due to the political context within which planning is conducted, means to the plan are often subservient to the selected ends despite the emphasis by Habermasian communicative planning on the importance of collaborative rationality in planning practice to reach a consensus regarding the means-ends of the plan (Dobruká, 2016). The contention of means being subservient to ends is further questioned by Dewey in the Democratic Theory that means conditions the ends or rather means used determine the kind of results attained (Dewey, cited in Livingston, 2017). Thus, means and ends in planning are herein argued to be two names for the same reality or a future a plan is designed to attain.

Hence, the point by Campbell and Marshall (1999:466-67) on “whether the outcomes of action are in themselves good or bad” or “whether an action is in itself right or wrong” is a philosophical debate occupying the current situation in planning theory and practice given means identification and ends selection. Planning theories often lean toward processes wherein ends dictate means or correct means result in acceptable ends. Thus, the ends provide the basis of justification and moral ideas found on the means employed (Livingston, 2017) in the development plan.

However, a degree of care must be exercised to ascertain that prioritisation of ends does not overshadow the means to attaining the ends as evident in most context-sensitive statements of discursive democracy. Whether the outcomes of action are in themselves good or bad or whether an action is right or wrong are common elements in planning theories and practice. Despite this, the argument is that employing appropriate planning processes often leverages the identification of ends, which can be attained by implementing suitable means, including the central featuring and using land reform in development planning.

2.3.3.1 Pathways to means-ends identification and selection

The section serves to examine how development planning must identify and select means-ends in facilitating development. In his adage of *Doing Good and Being Right*, Hoch (1984) put together means and ends in a compact unit, conversely to the approach by Campbell and Marshall (1994), who viewed means-ends from different points, which weakens the process on the identification and selection of means-ends. Without overriding Campbell and Marshall's (1994) stance on means-ends, Hoch's (1984) analogy of "doing good" and "being right" enriches the process of identifying means and selecting ends and the criteria used in planning. In "doing good", planning refers to a process that is predominantly moral and politically occupied means-ends identification and selection. A determination of means-ends in planning is a politically charged process characterised by the play of power evident in development planning and land reform processes in post-1994 South Africa. Thus, planners alone, without the State power and its role as informed by the political discourse of the day cannot determine the means-ends of development planning (Marotta and Cummings, 2019).

Leaning only on the contention of the theory *of* planning and the theory *in* planning on the effectiveness of problem-solving as a means to an end is insufficient because both theories overlook the unevenness of the political power in selecting ends. Therefore, an emphasis is made herein that political power is a key criterion in repositioning land reform in a development plan, as well as identifying and selecting means-ends politically fit for the public good toward effective development planning. Development planning is politically justified by the good effect it will deliver by linking a development plan with the public good they intend to attain.

By "being right", planning focuses on the methodological/procedural system (i.e., theory of planning) and technical qualities employed in development planning. The planning process must technically achieve preciseness and accuracy (referring to the validity and reliability to justify the plan) in terms of the means-ends selected. The issue of predictability and probability

in the identification of the means-ends selection is a key criterion in having effective development planning that features land reform to facilitate development. However, the two phenomena in selecting the means-ends cannot be dealt with individually without bringing in the other or even in a single theory *in* planning. Theory *of/in* planning (i.e., procedural-substantive frameworks) underpins these concepts. "Being right" means "doing good" and vice versa since morality and political influence cannot be ignored when land reform must be justified to be valid and reliable in the face of delivering public good in development planning.

Further, by drawing from communicative planning, the key concern is not only on understanding the identification and selection of means-ends but primarily on questioning means-ends themselves (Mattila, 2016). Thus, questions asked on means-ends identification and selection are derived from two key standpoints. On one point, Flyvbjerg (2001b) poses such questions from the context-dependent practical wisdom of individuals (*phronesis*) by reflecting on the *who*, *what*, and *why* questions in the planning process when determining the means-ends of the development plan. On the other point, post-modernism, post-positivism, and post-structuralism theorists question the means-ends of the plan from the context of *where*, *when*, and, *whom* (Dobrucká, 2016).

Drawing from CPT rooted in the social reform and social mobilisation of communicative planning, communicative planning offers two perspectives to development planning processes contended herein to be key in determining how a development plan must feature land reform. The first perspective (social reform) is based on the process of developing visions, plans, and ends (identifying *what* needs to be done), and the second strand (social mobilisation) is premised on the evaluation of the viability of the developed concepts (which depends on robust *what-how* (*ends-means*) nexus). The first perspective on social reform change (change to realise an effective State) seeks to attain technical rationality in terms of *what*, *how*, and *who* questions through a rational communicative process to identify and select means and ends in obtaining plan legitimacy. The second perspective on communicative social mobilisation (bottom-up change) seeks to link the *what* question in means-ends identification and selection to the *how*, *why*, and *where/when* questions.

Combined with the two standpoints offered by Campbell and Marshall (1994) and Dobrucká (2016), as well as the two perspectives of communicative planning, these viewpoints herein elevate the concept of '*justice*' or '*being just*' as the subject of development planning rather than the object of development planning. Seemingly, Hoch's (1984) debate about *Doing Good*

and Being Right further lays a foundation for justice as a subject of planning, which is argued by Lake (2016) when identifying means and selecting ends. The key question raised by land reform being instrumental to development in Asia (see chapter three) is around how the State justifies a development plan in post-1994 South Africa that does not feature land reform as its instrumental means if that plan must facilitate development.

As Lake (2016:1208) contends, planning with justice as its subject understands the descriptive "*What are we doing*?" and the normative "*Is it just for us to do so*?" as simultaneous, mutually constitutive, and ontologically equivalent rather than a series of distinct questions in which each is dependent on the previous answer. There is no ontological or epistemological barrier separating the normative from the descriptive, or, more specifically, dividing the instrumental analysis that connects means-to-ends and an investigation into the moral implications of those means and ends. Thus, planning with justice as its subject is anti-foundational and contingent instead of universal, anticipatory, and generative instead of retrospectively evaluative, both local and global instead of projects constrained, and radically democratic instead of expert-driven (Lake, 2016). The contention of justice in development planning is a way of amplifying the rationale for repositioning land reform as a central means in development planning. Thus, repositioning land reform, as well as identifying and selecting means-ends in a development plan, has to be rational, as discussed in the next section.

2.3.3.2 Rationality in means-ends identification and selection

This section brings forward the contention on the use of rationality in means-ends identification and selection in development planning to facilitate development. Notably, the expressed ends in the plan are characterised by active and contextual dimensions. By having active dimensions, developmental ends demonstrate the future condition that development planning actively seeks to attain, while the contextual dimension, though not actively sought after, cannot be sacrificed without a loss. Hence, the contention by Faludi (1973), which remains relevant today, that the meaning of developmental ends expressed in the development plan must be clearly explained in full. Thus, development planning must seek consistency between the contextual and active dimensions of the development plan's means-ends. By using "doing good" and "being right" (Hoch, 1984), effective development planning becomes about searching in advance for unintended consequences that might follow post achieving the contextual or active developmental ends in ensuring that justice is central to the plan.

Selecting means involves identifying the development alternatives or instruments, including repositioning land reform, deemed enough for the achievement of the ends. Rationality for Faludi (1973) arises when means are identified by weighing alternatives. Faludi offers two types of weighing to identify means. First, means can be identified depending on the degree to which they satisfy the end sought in development planning. Second, means can be identified using a probability score. A probability score gives an estimate of the likelihood that the chosen end in a plan is associated with the means used. In this way, means in planning are identified and selected based on their impact on the ends. The identified means or tools for development must have features of measurability. That is, means must have measures of performance to assess their effectiveness towards attaining the ends for them to be rational. Without measures of performance, it becomes impossible to make a rational decision in measuring whether a development plan is attaining the ends it is meant to realise during its implementation phase when repositioning land reform.

By using a rational decision-making process, planning practice involves a scientific evaluation of development means and policy imperatives, including land reform, when making decisions. The process is driven by consideration of the public input/demand/interest to a goal or end-setting as informed by contextual factors followed by experts' use of statistical and economic analysis in deciding on the development means or tools and policy imperatives to be applied in the plan. In this way, the validity (i.e., reliability) of the method used to identify the development alternatives is objective rather than subjective. Objectivity in identifying the ends and selecting the means comes with an appreciation that conflicts between procedural and substantive rationality, or between modernism and post-modernism rationality, are important because of the type of reasoning followed to identify the means and, eventually, the ends affect the types of plans being crafted (Hoch, 2007). Rationality on means-ends is not only key to identifying and selecting means-ends in development planning, but it also impacts development plan implementation, as discussed later in the next section.

2.3.4 Practice of development plan implementation

The section contends that implementing a development plan is a complex process of turning a plan into reality and accomplishing its specified ends, which is fundamental to development planning facilitating development. Plan implementation entails coordinating a range of stakeholders and resources in addition to carrying out the strategies, programmes, and projects described in the development plan.

Thus, a plan's worth is only realised when its vision and ends are realised through effective implementation (Hillier and Cao, 2023). However, many plans, including policies, while they have sound means, struggle to realise their practical application and attain the intended ends even in post-1994 South Africa. In this view, a long-standing argument by Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) remains relevant today that a policy or plan's value must be measured in terms of its appeal and further considering its implementability. The contention by Conyers and Hills (1984) that despite the changes and improvements in planning processes, implementation of the plans remains a major problem is relevant as it has recently been echoed by Andrews *et al*. (2017) and El-Taliawi and van der Wal (2019) that many developing countries have the capability to produce policies, programmes, and projects, including plans routinely and repeatedly but do not have the capability to implement them.

As further argued, development plan implementation is part of the process of identifying and selecting means-ends in development plan formulation, although it is not plan-making itself (Albrechts, 2003). Simply put, bringing means to action in realising the ends of a development plan is affected by the decisions taken often through the black box in the political system (see Section 2.3.1.1) in identifying means and selecting ends. Thus, development planning effectiveness is hampered by the failure to carry out development plans (Berke *et al*., 2006) in attaining the intended ends often because of the back box in the political system. It is because plan implementation is neither linear nor monolithic (Ridde, 2009; De Coning *et al*., 2018a); it is a result of a complex techno-political process (Howlett *et al*., 2009) and hence their value of measurability is through their implementability (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973; De Coning *et al*., 2018a). It is a process hampered by different complexities, which often leads to the ineffectiveness of the plan toward attaining the intended ends.

While complexities occur in development plan implementation, the literature on planning theory and planning practice is silent on plan implementation. The body of knowledge focuses largely on how a plan is made (Healey, 1993, 2016; Fainstein and DeFilippis, 2016) and the quality of the plan (Fischer, 2016; Young, 2016). Thus, policy implementation theory is herein deemed fundamental in understanding development plan implementation in development planning. This view is supported by the sentiment of De Coning *et al*. (2018b) that the relationship between a plan and policy is very close and highly interactive. This is because plans are developed with an idea of how ends could be realised, while policies exist in a plan to explain their contribution to the desired ends of the plan. Thus, plan and policy cannot be separated if a risk of misalignment between programme objectives and ends of the plan must

be avoided. A discussion of development plan implementation is subsequently furthered in the next sections with a focus on the means-ends rationality and institutionalism in development plan implementation.

2.3.4.1 Means-ends rationality in development plan implementation

The arguments in the section are important in examining the role of rationality in identifying and selecting means-ends affecting development plan implementation in facilitating development. As contended by Blau (2019), means-ends rationality is a basic form of rationality that exists in every complete theory of rationality. For example, the contention on means-ends rationality is also clear in Habermas' communicative rationality/reasoning derived from the CPT, which overlaps with means-ends rationality. Further, means-ends rationality exists in Dewey's Democratic Theory, which argues that attaining democratic ends requires democratic means (Dewey, cited in Livingston, 2017). The common cause between Herbamasian CPT and Deweyan Democratic Theory in means-ends rationality is that both seek to attain moral justification (Das, 2020), deliberative legitimation with institutional arrangements (Peters, 2016), reasoned persuasion (Livingston, 2017), and normative agreement and shared definition of the situation (Mattila, 2020) to facilitate effective development plan implementation.

Means-ends rationality is the capacity to choose appropriate means to attain ends (Blau, 2019) in effectively implementing a development plan with a repositioned land reform. Further, means-ends rationality leverages justification for the content of the plan by providing a sense of belief in the plan (Hoch, 2007) based on the communicative rationality underpinning the plan. The capacity for rationality is thus the ability to select desirable ends for which desirable means must be identified (Blau, 2019). Thus, means-ends are instrumental in leveraging the attainment of the reality of the anticipated future and on the opposite, means-ends are also key to non-attainment of the envisioned reality that is anticipated in the future as expressed in a development plan.

Arguably, the future a country envisages to attain through the plan can be determined only when that future has happened through plan implementation. A development plan is about the means-ends, which have a relationship with each other in attaining the future a country envisages, as illustrated in Figure 2.2. In this study, means-ends rationality in development plan implementation refers to the gap between the means and ends continuum in implementing the development plan. The intention for rationality in means-ends, as contended in the study, is to

ensure that the development plan's ends and means are precise and well-defined in implementing a development plan that is anticipated to deliver a future a country envisages. The study argues that the effectiveness of public governance in addressing the future is hampered by a mismatch between the ends to be achieved and the means employed to achieve those ends.

Hence, the development plan's means ought to be quantifiable, time-limited, and in line with the ends of the development plan. However, developmental ends are often ambitious, vague, and unattainable, resulting in development planning's ineffectiveness in addressing the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the contextual space within which planning occurs. As argued, ambitious and vague developmental ends must be reduced to specific terms before being expressed as ends of development planning in concrete circumstances (Faludi, 1973).

The argument for ensuring that ends are specific in development planning is that the ends in planning reflect the image of the future conditions in which the means in the plan are oriented. Arguably, plan implementation, through any determined means, is fundamentally the testing of the hypotheses founded on the view that intended developmental ends will emerge from putting together certain inputs or conditions to produce outputs (De Coning *et al*., 2018b). A development plan, particularly its implementation, is thus an action that the government embarks on to acquire specific ends that empower it to realise the country's desired future.

The argument advanced herein is that the relationship between the selected means in attaining the desired ends is key to realising the kind of future the State has promised to its society, as illustrated in Figure 2.2.

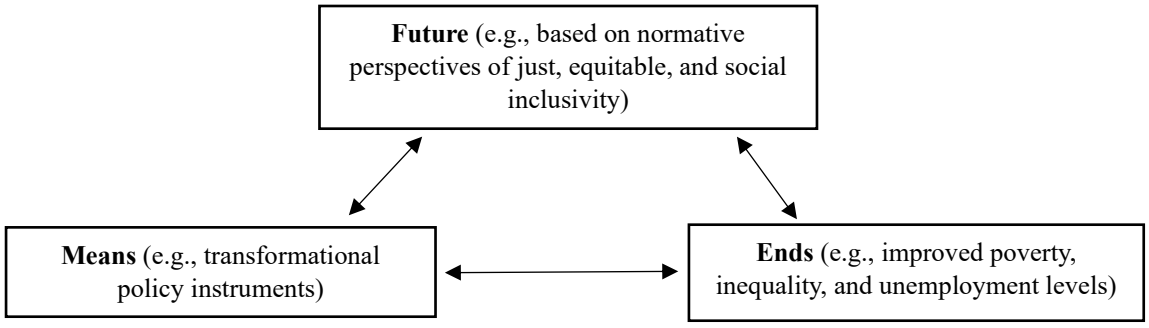


Figure 2.2 Means-ends rationality to plan implementation

Source: Author's compilation

Figure 2.2 demonstrates the interdependence of the plan's means-ends to the future a country anticipates realising through development planning. Drawing from the Sustainable

Development Goals 2030 as an example and as shown in Figure 2.2, the world intends to have just, equitable, and socially inclusive societies. Each member country of the United Nations is striving to realise such a future for their societies by 2030. However, means-ends rationality employed through a country's planning instruments are key to realising the future.

Further, the point argued in Figure 2.2 is that shortcomings in the provision of means to attain the ends hinder plan implementation. As illustrated, the infectiveness of development plan implementation also arises due to ambitious and non-specific targets set against the ends of the plan. Thus, development plan implementation is concerned with what happens between the means or development instruments, herein referred to as transformational policy instruments of the plan and the ultimate change or impact realised across society in a world of action. In actuality and often, planning the means (e.g., transformational policy instruments and institutional arrangements) is hazy, sparse in information, and incomplete. This often results in planning fallacy, which is characterised by major government projects being delivered late and substantially over budget. Notably, governments are aware that without the proper means, development planning ends are only idealistic (Joyce, 2020). Means are essential for attempts to properly implement and deliver the ends of the plan and long-term strategic visions desired by the country.

Further, clear means require evidence-based policy direction and decision-making in implementing a development plan to make an impact at the societal level, as demonstrated in Figure 2.3. Arguably, means or policies adopted to drive the implementation of a plan are presumed to bring about change in the prevailing state of affairs.

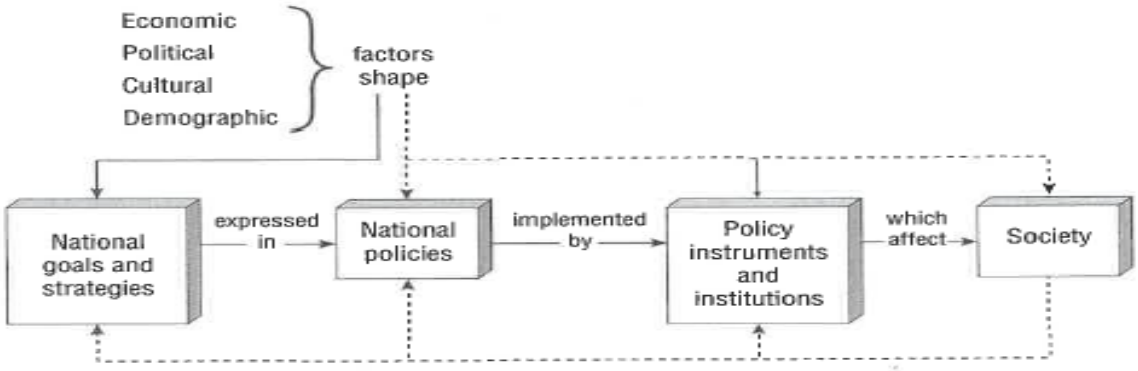


Figure 2.3 Public policy/plan impact chain

Source: Austin (1990) as cited in De Coning et al. (2018a:236)

As demonstrated in Figure 2.3, the changes that the implemented means or policy reforms make are derived from the economic, social, political contextual space, or institutional setup,

resulting in just, equitable, and social inclusivity, as shown in Figure 2.2. However, Figure 2.3 illustrates that ends or goals adopted in the development plan are driven by different means or transformational policies, whether economic or social, toward their attainment. The chosen means or transformational policies are a culmination of interests or public interest expressed through economic, political, and social groups or institutions going into the political system as inputs or demands. The means or transformational policies expressed in the plan in reaching development ends are implemented by different institutions in striving to make an impact or change in society through sequential feedback, as illustrated in Figure 2.3. Thus, the next section discusses the role of institutions in plan implementation.

2.3.4.2 Institutionalism in development plan implementation

Institutionalism, specifically the role of institutions in development plan implementation, is central to development planning attaining its development ends. It was observed when interrogating the literature that the scholarship of institutionalism is divided into three. However, interlinkages among concepts applied in understanding institutions among the three scholarships are key to the plan implementation discourse. The first scholarship on normative institutionalism views institutions through the lens of values and symbols guiding the behaviour of institutions and those belonging to the institutions (Peters, 2016, 2019). In alignment with the normative principles of the planning theory that are procedural and substantive, normative institutionalism values are primarily procedural and focus on how decisions are made but many are also substantive. Both substantive and procedural values guide the actions of the members of the institutions in terms of policy choices they make and which are acceptable to the institution and its members.

The second scholarship on historical institutionalism as a major contributor to the path dependence concept argues that once an institution makes a policy choice or embarks on a specific path, it persists on the path unless powerful pressures divert the institution from the path (Alexander, 2005; Sorensen, 2017, 2022). Critiques of the scholarship point to the government being non-reactive in effectively adapting to the changing conditions in its environment or context (Sorensen, 2022) in terms of the means used to attain the ends. In a contrasting view, the third scholarship on rational choice institutionalism assumes that people pursue their self-interest by employing rational calculations (Alexander, 2005; Peters, 2016; Sorensen, 2018). This implies that institutions and those in the institutions make decisions on plan implementation based on the assumed outcomes of the decisions rather than considering what is appropriate within the institution. Despite their basis of theoretical foundations and

assumptions, the three scholarships of institutionalism are relevant to the discussion concerning the implementation of a development plan.

The central argument is that institutionalism is the cornerstone of service delivery (Phago, 2017) since its success is crucial to realise the development ends envisaged to transform society (Alexander, 2005). Thus, the plan's means-ends without practical institutional arrangements will largely remain theory with no impact or change at the societal level. Plan implementation, like policy implementation, depends on institutional foundations despite the political economy (e.g., neoliberal/federal/centralised/decentralised) underpinning the planning process to gain legitimacy (Araral and Amri, 2016). In embracing pluralism in the planning process to gain plan legitimacy, institutionalism is concerned with many different actors, their roles, and their responsibilities in the planning and policy process, specifically at the implementation level (De Coning *et al*., 2018a). Thus, from an institutionalist perspective, plan implementation is a complex process with interwoven relations due to pluralism affecting plan implementation.

Institutionalism, based on the three scholarships discussed earlier, is fundamental in dealing with the non-linearity and establishing stability to plan implementation amid underlying conflicts in the context that would likely produce instability. The contention herein points to the institutions' capacity to produce equilibrium outcomes in the face of political differences (Peters, 2016). Further, due to the contested nature of plan implementation, how the plan has been formulated and implemented affects the implementing institutions' behaviour. Thus, a development plan's ineffectiveness to facilitate development is a significant source of institutional change.

Institutions, whether during plan formulation or implementation, as fundamental instruments to the planning practice, either facilitate or hinder the plan implementation processes. Due to their path dependence nature founded in historical institutionalism, institutions become difficult to change over time due to the generation of a self-reinforcing effect of positive feedback (Sorensen, 2018, 2022). This is evident when those benefiting from the behaviour of institutions in some process of planning resist change since they will reduce their power. Further, as a result, institutions are sometimes created in moments of crisis or critical juncture, often resulting in difficulties in determining the outcome a plan intends to realise. At a time of critical juncture or contingency, information might not be adequate to substantiate the choices made during the plan formulation and implementation process.

Further, Sorensen (2017, 2018) argues that sometimes institutions are unavoidably products of political conflicts and the legacy of historical struggles. Arguably, in plan implementation, institutions are contested platforms since they structure political power, choices of means and ends, and serve as mobilisation of action for their reform or in their defence (Sorensen, 2022). Thus, if planning is concerned with translating ideas into action, then institutional arrangement, capacity, and coordination are critical elements of planning from formulation to implementation.

Thus, States that have poor outcomes are not because they lack good policies or plans or best practices in budget rules but it is because they lack institutional implementation capacity/capability in their plans, including budgets (Pritchett *et al*., 2012; Andrews *et al*., 2017; El-Taliawi and van der Wal, 2019). Evidently, as argued in literature, post-1994 South Africa is suffering from the defect of having good policies without implementation. Thus, these countries, including post-1994 South Africa, are in what Pritchett *et al*. (2012:2) coined a "*capability trap*" wherein they are at a zero rate of improvement in State or institutional capacity, and if they persist at the same pace of progress, it will take them a long time to reach desired levels of institutional capacity to implement their plans, policies, programmes or projects.

Therefore, building institutional capacity to implement a plan is critical in realising the development ends of the plan. The same point is argued by Andrews *et al*. (2017) that the importance of building institutional capacity is because developing countries have overambitious agendas and great plans, as well as policies with bleak outcomes toward changing the social and economic status in which they find themselves.

Thus, weak institutional capacity for plan implementation implies that even policies that have been rigorously proven to work in other institutional settings may produce zero or perverse outcomes (Andrews *et al*., 2017). Therefore, the institutional capacity to effectively implement plans or policies is critical to the success of countries (El-Taliawi and van der Wal, 2019), particularly in developing States and post-1994 South Africa. Development planning would be or is inconsequential if governments do not have the capacity to implement development plans despite how representative or intricately formulated.

2.4 Chapter summary

As discussed in chapter two, the planning theory leverages tools and ways to deal with the difficulties that planners face while also providing a framework for comprehending the

complexity of the planning process. By providing an organised and methodical approach to decision-making, problem-solving, and community engagement, planning theory plays a crucial role in influencing planning practice. Thus, planning practice is governed by a body of knowledge, values, beliefs, and ideas referred to as planning theory. The theoretical framework laid the basis for deriving the study's conceptual framework. The conceptual framework provided a space for interrogating the use of development planning as a facilitation mechanism to development from the contextual, as well as the interests and the public interest consideration in obtaining development plan legitimacy. Further, the chapter detailed and contrasted the themes and concepts for identifying and selecting means-ends applied in development plans toward the attainment of development planning and development. Finally, as a fundamental aspect of the worth of a development plan, the chapter concluded by advancing arguments on the practice of development plan implementation in realising the developmental ends. The chapter consequently revealed that the literature on planning theory and planning practice is silent on plan implementation.

Chapter three discusses land reform instrumentality to development from a global to a local perspective.

Chapter 3

Land Reform Advancement of Development Planning and Development in Post-colonial States

3.1 Introduction

Chapter three aims to interrogate the literature on the use of land reform in development. The interrogation of the literature is conducted to theoretically answer the second secondary research question on how other post-colonial States have envisioned and implemented land reform in advancing development planning and development. The second secondary research question is mainly answered theoretically. Thus, it will not be dealt with empirically. Chapter three begins by discussing a perspective on land reform use to development in Asia. This paves the way for country-specific discussions from a historical perspective in terms of the events that unfolded, leading to the use of land reform to attain development ends. Chapter three first discusses the historical background of Asian development.

Thereafter, the chapter discusses different country-specific land reform pathways to development based on the contention that although these countries founded their development primarily using land reform, the processes and events that took place were unique to each country. The section is followed by the interrogation of Asian development using land reform based on the process the countries followed to attain development through land reform. In appreciation that Africa has its land reform issues, the next section discusses African country-specific cases followed by an interrogation of land reform in Africa. In concluding the chapter, the focus of the chapter is then turned to the interrogation of South African land reform in how it has evolved in reaching or not reaching development ends, followed by an interrogation of what could be absent in South African development planning.

3.2 Framing a boundary for focusing on Asian land reform to development

This section argues around the framing of boundaries on the use of Asian land reform to development. While a reference is often made to Asia and Latin America when considering land reform to development, the study focuses on the Asian land reform to development processes. Asian and not Latin American land reform processes are used because Asian land reform to development outperformed Latin American land reform to development performance. Asian land reform to development had a higher distributive impact than in the Latin American region. Latin America is among the highly unequal countries concerning land

distribution with a Gini coefficient of 0.79 compared to the Asian region, which is among the lowest countries at 0.55 (von Bennewitz, 2017). Arguably, unequal land distribution, like in the Latin American region, had limited economic growth, affecting the quality of social cohesion and democracy (Kay, 2015; Caxton Magazines, 2017). On the flip side, it is also known that a more even distribution of land in the Asian region resulted in agricultural productivity, economic growth, and increased rural incomes (von Bennewitz, 2017), making the Asian region a relevant benchmark in the study.

Further, the argument for not using the Latin American region is based on the use of neoliberal or market-led land reform, which has not benefited development in many developing countries, including South Africa. The process of development in the Asian region, although critiqued by the World Bank, which advocates for neoliberal economic policies, was State-led, with the State being heavily involved in development processes. The Asian region's land reform use for development was unlike any in other developing countries, including post-1994 South Africa, where the International Financial Institutions actively promoted a market-led or neoliberal land reform and development regime. The State's role was crucial in the Asian region in selecting the protectionist policies to pursue industrial exports, contrary to the Latin American region wherein the State played a minimalist role in the economic affairs with high reliance on imports. Importantly and worth noting, State-led land reform was fundamental in land reform's impact on development in the Asian region, resulting in the developmental State model that developing countries, including South Africa, are currently striving to imitate.

Debatably, the imitation of development in the Asian region is easier in the context of many developing countries, also evident in South Africa, which imitates the Asian development State model more than the Latin American region development. It is difficult to imitate the Latin American land reforms to development because although successfully enacted using the expropriation threats to induce modernisation in medium and large farms, it failed to significantly redistribute land toward family farms because land reform did not proceed outright with expropriation and redistribution (von Bennewitz, 2017). The current study thus contends that the Asian region offers lessons that developing countries, including South Africa, could imitate because of the significance of land reform to development due to outright expropriation and redistribution of land followed by modernisation of farms and rapid industrialisation.

3.3 Using country-specific cases on land reform use to attain development

The section contends that while the Asian use of land reform advanced development in the region, a mixed bag of processes played out differently in different Asian selected countries. Undoubtedly, the attained development outcomes in the Asian region ranged from successes, mixed performances or muddling through and failures in other countries. The Asian, and similarly to the African development outcomes using land reform, cases are indeed a mixed bag that cannot be generalised to the specific continent or begin its interrogation from a general perspective. Hence, a country-specific approach is used in this chapter as a basis for land reform interrogation in advancing development planning and development.

Thus, it is important to first examine the pathways each region undertook to use land reform for development. The argument advanced is that the pathways selected countries embarked on were not homogenous. As a result, land reform processes of selected countries leading to each country's development are critical for laying a foundation for the interrogation of Asian and African development using land reform.

Therefore, it is necessary to take the argued approach because of the great diversity among Asian and African countries. As argued, countries' diversity is embedded in history, resource endowments, initial conditions, geographical size, and income levels (Nayyar, 2019). The growth paths and development models applied across the countries to attain developmental ends were also diverse. A country-specific approach is not only essential to understanding Asian development and transformation, but it is also vital in drawing critical developmental issues key for other developing countries, including South Africa, to apply in using land reform to advance development planning and development.

3.4 Selected Asian countries' use of land reform to advance development planning and development

The section advances arguments among selected Asian countries regarding the use of land to advance development planning and development. The section thus examines different pathways employed by selected Asian countries in their use of land reform toward development. The selected country-specific cases for discussion like South Africa had unequal land ownership (Dorner and Thiesenhusen, 1990); they were colonised (e.g., South Korea was under a Japanese colony and later it was ruled by Korea); and the selected countries were marked by high levels of poverty (Kawagoe, 1999). Further, the selected country cases are selected based on the argument that their development trajectory leverages insights into the

pathway through which land reform can influence the development and economic performance they achieved. The next subsections will deal with land reform cases in different Asian countries, including South Korea, China, India, Indonesia, and Vietnam.

South Korea

Because of the industrial void left by Japan in 1945, as well as World War II and the Korean War between 1950 and 1953, South Korea's post-liberation governments struggled to execute effective economic strategies (Kwon and Yi, 2015; Neszmélyi, 2016) like in other formerly colonised States. In 1949, the Korean government promulgated laws on land reform and implemented them in the same year. The Korean land reform laws were based on three principles with an emphasis on equality rather than growth. First, farmland was owned by those who farmed the land; second, land size was limited to three hectares; and third, farmers were not allowed to contract out their land to other farmers for farming (Kwon and Yi, 2015; Neszmélyi, 2016). The primary political goal of South Korean land reform was to get rid of the Japanese colonial squatter system and eradicate the power of the Korean landlords (Neszmélyi, 2016).

Although South Korean development was experienced under an authoritarian regime (Keum and Campbell, 2018), land reform was successful because it created farmers who owned the land and significantly reduced inequalities in land ownership. Land reform in the country not only redistributed land to reduce inequalities in landownership, but it also served as an instrumental social policy in lessening poverty and increasing the educational level of the population, specifically in the rural areas and reform through primary dependency on agriculture activities, which fostered the redistribution of income (Koo, 1969; Lee *et al*., 2020). Notably, South Korea is one of the countries with the highest economic growth over the last half-century, whose rapid economic development has been made possible in large part by the country's effective accumulation of human capital (Hong and Kim, 2020) through land reform. Land reform advanced development in South Korea, which led to human capital accumulation by redistributing wealth across Korean society.

China

Despite the controversies in China’s development, the country underwent rapid and intense socio-economical transformations accompanied by rapid land use affecting all sectors of the economy (Liu, 2018). Thus, land use and agriculture were the foundation of China’s national economy, and its development relied on land resources, leading to industry-orientated

development (Boltho and Weber, 2009; Lin, 2015; Liu, 2018; Hart, 2020). Through its State-led economic system, China adopted its first five-year plan in 1953 to push for a heavy industry-oriented development strategy toward building a comprehensive system of capital-intensive industries (Lin, 2019; Hart, 2020). In the pursuit of the Chinese Stalinist planning model and the bureaucrats' mobilisation, as well as implementation capability, the country quickly transformed from a land reform and agrarian economy in 1952 to an industry-dominated economy (Sen, 2016; Lin, 2019).

China mainly followed State-led development planning, which has been preserved as a government approach to strategic policy coordination, resource mobilisation, and macroeconomic control (Heilmann and Melton, 2013). The "China Model" or "Beijing Consensus", commonly known as the "developmental State", provided an opportunity to learn how socio-economic transformation can be achieved using different means of development to attain the desired ends (Boltho and Weber, 2009:270; Hart, 2020:1099). Thus, the Chinese government did not follow the logical neo-liberal approach of privatisation, marketisation, and stabilisation enshrined in the Washington Consensus. The gradual, dual-track transition that was regarded as the worst transition strategy compared to the planning economy proved to be the best for China's development, which was founded on land reform processes.

India

India's development started sluggishly post-independence and post-colonisation by the British (Basu, 2019). However, like other Asian countries, India attempted to institute a five-year planning approach toward industrialisation. The country followed a socialist political economy because it centralised the ownership of means within the control of the State. The Indian socialist political economy was based on providing support to the poor in terms of basic food, healthcare, and education (Basu, 2019). However, India, as sluggish as it began its development, was nowhere close to a socialist political economy but more on a neo-liberalism political economy through its independence. Thus, the land reform process in India was not smooth.

Notably, land reform in India was a subnational matter more than a national project. Thus, with its numerous legal provisions and competing policy frameworks in various locations, India struggled to reform its agrarian sector amid locally varying priorities, paces, and effects, in contrast to the Chinese pattern of using a central authority and a uniform policy and revenue system, although with some local autonomy and variation (Lin, 2015). However, the country

eventually realised a successful green revolution and broke out of the trap of low agricultural productivity (Basu, 2019). Although agriculture's value-added to the gross domestic product (GDP) over the five decades has been very small, agriculture remains a vital sector that employs around half of India's labour force (Basu, 2019) in facilitating development planning and development.

Indonesia

Unlike its other Asian counterparts, who began their development journey under a socialist political economy and transitioned to a capitalist political economy, Indonesia began its development journey being highly autocratic (Widodo, 2017; Andreas *et al*., 2019). Technocrats in Indonesia had no political base of their own. In the era of Suharto as the president, technocrats depended entirely on him to implement plans and policies (Dharsana *et al*., 2023). Simply put, the president was active in every major macroeconomic decision. As contended by Dharsana *et al*. (2023), despite the autocratic rule, there was a great commitment to rural development and the drive for higher land use and agricultural productivity to improve the country's development. This was followed by high policy attention to land use and agriculture, as well as a budget to support rural infrastructure and development. The authoritarian Suharto government was instrumental in economic and development successes and, importantly, rapid poverty reduction with a central focus on pro-poor and land use.

However, like in other Asian countries, land reform and land use were vital to Indonesian development (Timmer, 2019). Transforming poor agrarian economies into rich industrial and service-based economies was the only sustainable way out of poverty in Indonesia. Productivity growth in the agricultural sector was a way of feeding the workers in the cities or industries while keeping labour productivity in agriculture from falling far behind labour productivity in cities or industries. Any surplus in the agricultural households would migrate to the more productive off-farm employment toward generating an economic growth process. Two variables were behind the structural transformation in Indonesia: the share of agriculture GDP and the equivalent share of the agricultural labour force in total employment (Timmer, 2019).

Vietnam

Vietnam followed a heavily centralised and socialist command-type of political economy and management of the whole of the country with highly ambitious developmental ends through five-year development plans (Tarp, 2019; To *et al*., 2019; Ho, 2021). Planning activities became

centralised as the country adopted a State-led approach. Notably, the Vietnam Constitution advocated for land to be the property of the people in totality, and the State was responsible for the administration of land on behalf of the people (Marsh and MacAulay, 2002; Hirsch *et al*., 2015). This meant land ownership was with people in totality, making it impossible for individuals or corporations to own land.

Like other Asian countries dealt with herein, Lan (2018) and Ho (2021) argue that Vietnam's reforms started with land reform and agriculture. Thus, land and agrarian reforms played an important role in reviving and bringing about economic growth in Vietnam (Nguyen, 2012, 2021; Ho, 2021). Through a gradual planning approach introduced over five years ranging from 1981 to 1985 (To *et al*., 2019; Ho, 2021), the government introduced a one-year development plan each year, resulting in the introduction of the agricultural policy encouraging a family economy in which families were responsible for farming. A fourth five-year plan introduced in 1986 placed land use and agriculture as its central objective (Menon *et al*., 2017). Thus, deliberately and intentionally centrally featuring land reform in Vietnam's development plans over time led to the country's development that impacted the country's citizenry through rapid economic growth and industrialisation.

3.5 Selected African countries' use of land reform to advance development planning and development

This section scrutinises selected African countries in using land to advance development planning and development. The section thus examines different pathways employed by selected African countries in their use of land reform to development. Africa's land reform to advancing development planning and development is a mixed bag of promising and failed land reform cases. Thus, the chosen African countries represent both the promising and failed land reform trajectory in Africa in advancing development planning and development. Hence, the adopted approach in the section was to first examine each country's land reform trajectory as a foundation for the interrogation of the literature. The next subsections examine land reform in Ethiopia, Zambia, Kenya, Ghana, and Zimbabwe.

Ethiopia

Unlike other African countries, Ethiopia is the only country that was never colonised. On the African continent, Ethiopian land tenure is unquestionably an extreme example. Except for not being colonised, it is worth examining the Ethiopia case because it is one of the few countries on the African continent that implemented revolutionary land reform underpinned by a socialist

political economy (Wubneh, 2018). Hence, the Ethiopian land reform process has been dealt with in the form of land tenure since 1975, making all land in the country State land (Alemu, 2015; Holden and Ghebru, 2016). Thus, land in Ethiopia is common property for both the State and the people, and thus, it is not for sale, mortgage or exchange (Alemu, 2015; Zerga, 2016).

Although the Ethiopian government favours the implementation of a State ownership policy, scholars and opposition parties recommend private ownership of land because, in the current form, the policy does not leverage agricultural bolstering, as well as capital formation and enlarging of agriculture (Zerga, 2016). This is despite the implementation of land reform policies and economic programmes contributing toward Ethiopia deifying the economic odds by realising a degree of growth and strides in poverty reduction more than most of the countries on the African continent (Zerga, 2016; Goodfellow, 2017). However, even though there has been some notable progress in the use of land reform in Ethiopia, land reform has not made a significant advancement in development planning and development, leaving Ethiopians trapped in pockets of poverty and inequality.

Zambia

The change in political and economic governance in 1991 changed Zambia from a one-party State underpinned by socialist ideologies to a multi-party State underpinned by the neoliberal market economy (Mushinge and Mulenga, 2016). The change culminated in the change of the Land (Conversion of Titles) Act of 1975 to the Lands Act, Act No. 29 of 1995 (Mowoe, 2019). Consequently, land is categorised under customary land administered by traditional leaders and State land administered by the commissioner of lands on behalf of the State (Chitonge *et al*., 2017). The Land Act of 1995 resulted in Zambian land reform having mixed results. For example, limited institutional, human, financial, and technological capacity and conflicting local authority made it possible for elites and government representatives to skew the way land allocation was handled (Thouvenot, 2014). As a result of land reform underpinned by a neoliberal market economy, land reform in Zambia benefitted the elites and foreign investors rather than poor Zambians.

Notably, since the early 2000s, considerable improvements in agricultural productivity and output brought about by Zambia's 1995 land reform have raised GDP expectations and the possibility that this growth may be spread more evenly across the education and health sectors (Thouvenot, 2014). Consequent to land productivity being on the increase in Zambia, it is acknowledged that agrarian reforms have the greatest potential to increase employment among

other economic sectors in the country. However, this progress is obscured by the fact that the ambitions of the elites' land reform programme participants frequently conflict with those of underprivileged people (Ng'ombe and Keivani, 2013). Thus, Zambian land reform is failing to address the country's developmental challenges and stimulate economic growth.

Kenya

Despite going through different legal reforms regarding land governance and the efforts by the National Land Commission to improve land reform governance, land reform in Kenya largely supported individualism of land rights rather than communal customary following a market-based political economy. Hence, Kenya is one of the most highly unequal countries in Africa, with a high Gini coefficient for land inequality (Boone *et al*., 2019). However, progress in land reform and realisation of development through land reform in Kenya is arguably halted by a complex institutional playing field due to curtailing the implementation of the land prescripts (Boone *et al*., 2019).

As a result of institutional limitations, in over five decades post-independence, land reform has not brought significant development to Kenya. Many observers believe that between 2013 and 2016, the enactment and application of the 2012 land law reforms at the county level was a hindered process and, in many instances, subverted by poor planning, inadequate institutional capacity, and corruption (Klopp and Lumumba, 2017; Boone *et al*., 2019). Further, agrarian reforms that should drive productivity suffer because of the restrictions placed by the powerful elites on most of the Kenyans' access to land (Narh *et al*., 2016). Thus, agrarian productivity in Kenya is limited due to contestations between the struggle to access land and power. Hence, Kenya has thus far not realised socio-economic advances and development due to hindrances in addressing its land question. Arguably, land reform in Kenya has not advanced development planning and development.

Ghana

Ghana, post-independence, started a State-led industrialisation programme, large-scale State-owned farms, and several programmes that extensively subsidised smallholder production of priority food staples. Most of these projects were unsuccessful or unprofitable, which contributed to a turbulent period of political unrest and economic crises during which the country's GDP collapsed by over one-third (Diao *et al*., 2019). The land question in Ghana is a contentious resource despite several attempts to reform it throughout the colonial and post-colonial eras (Narh *et al*., 2016; Brobbey, 2019). The large sector of the land in Ghana is

administered under customary authorities with the remaining limited under State ownership (Narh *et al*., 2016). Like other African States' post-colonialism land management, land reform in Ghana primarily follows neoliberal market reforms.

In making land use more efficient in Ghana, secured land tenure and increased investment in agriculture, as well as numerous reforms, particularly land reforms, were implemented by successive Ghanaian governments. Despite these reforms having thus far failed to consider the practical realities of the land market, Ghana's agrarian reform through market reforms, unlike its other African counterparts, has realised significant strides in the agriculture sector, contributing to economic growth in terms of labour productivity, farm incomes, and the decline in rural poverty (Diao *et al*., 2019; Hazell *et al*., 2019). Despite the significant strides realised in Ghana through land reform, agrarian reforms have not been exploited fully in attaining greater access for the poorest, high export earnings, and development ends across all sectors of society.

Zimbabwe

Land reform in Zimbabwe was aimed at attaining different goals in advancing development planning and development. The land reform policy in Zimbabwe post-independence aimed to address the land allocation inequality wherein the White minority occupied most of the land. Further, it was thought that land reform would be the catalyst for the nation's socio-political and economic progress. From a political perspective, land reform was viewed as a means of bringing about peace and stability in the nation (Chilunka and Uweizeyimana, 2015). In terms of social justice, land reform aimed to address historical disparities and inequities in land ownership with the long-term goal of eradicating poverty among rural citizens (Mudau *et al*., 2018; Musekiwa and Mandiyanike, 2019). Economically, land reform was designed to increase agricultural productivity among the relocated families.

However, the implementation of the conflict-ridden Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) led to the collapse of the Zimbabwean economy and agricultural productivity (Mudau *et al*., 2018; Munyoro *et al*., 2018). The FTLRP caused economic instability, a staggering decline in agricultural productivity, unchecked inflation, a rise in foreign debt obligations, and a massive loss of resources as political unrest erupted into bloodshed (Thouvenot, 2014; Musekiwa and Mandiyanike, 2019). Thus, the Zimbabwean land reform question became a highly notable land reform failure in the African country due to the resultant negative effects,

including land unproductivity and stalled economic and development progress across all sectors of society in Zimbabwe.

3.6 Land reform as a factor in the advancement of development planning and development

This section is used to draw arguments from the selected countries in the Asian and African region on how land reform advanced or did not advance development planning and development. The interrogation begins with the State's role criticality to land reform, political economy importance, and effects on land reform, the African State's causes of failure in using neoliberal ideologies to land reform, land reform use in advancing development planning and development, and the instrumentality of land reform to development planning and development.

3.6.1 State's role criticality to land reform

In this section, the contention advanced is that land reform in advancing development planning and development requires the State to play a leading and interventionist role. Although development mostly followed an authoritarian and socialist political economy wherein development processes were mainly State-led, development later followed a market-related political economy with private investment included when drawing from the Asian region. However, in the African region, countries from the onset followed neoliberal political economy policies wherein development was mainly led by the markets, with the State playing an insignificant role.

Drawing from the Asian region, the government's role was central and major in the modernisation of land use, which started with research and development, infrastructure, and irrigation systems to improve productivity (Nguyen, 2021). The point contended is that farmers would be able to survive in the face of escalating competition and shifting climatic patterns with the aid of new production techniques and research on profitable farming products. The government's role in Asian States was to encourage private investment in addition to direct investment, which had its role in improving the profitable use of land. Public-private partnerships, as suggested by Lan (2018), might deliver significantly greater sums of investment than the government alone, which could assist in bringing desperately needed resources into realising profitable use of land and agriculture.

A contradicting contention against the State's role, as advanced here wherein the Asian region, is argued to have mainly employed a market-based model of land reform, which led to

prioritised, clear, and unhindered land titles occurring more frequently (Caxton Magazines, 2017). However, an opposing argument is that although a market-based system was encouraged in the region, there was consensus that governments played significant roles in land reform to attain development in the region (Wade 1990, 1992; Heo and Tan, 2003; Heo *et al*., 2008; Heo and Roehrig, 2010, 2014). Thus, government development plans were used to make and implement development-oriented land reform policies, unlike in Africa and South Africa specifically. This implies that markets followed government guidelines by reflecting on government development plans and land reform policies (Heo and Tan, 2003; Heo *et al*., 2008; Heo and Roehrig, 2014).

Hence, the use of State-led land reform in the Asian region, unlike in Africa, led to outstanding agricultural performance and enhancement of income earning and employment opportunities. The contention advanced in the current study is that efficient markets require effective governments because, in part, development is attributable to the effectiveness of the government's interventions, which vary across countries. This contention is based on the evidence that in pursuing industrialisation and development, the government's role was prominent in evolving policies, strengthening institutions' functionality, and providing strategic interventions that were at the centre of development among selected countries in the Asian region (Nayyar, 2019). This is unlike in the African region, as demonstrated, where governments' roles were not prominent. Where the State's role was prominent in land reform, like in Zimbabwe, it was for the benefit of the ruling party not for the good and well-being of all in the country.

While the approach in Asian countries did not necessarily follow a common strategy, the core principle of their approach represents an 'East Asian Model' of development. However, based on development planning experiences from Asia, economic and social growth realised in the region was made possible by the existence of an active State, which is often referred to as the developmental State (Dembele, 2012). Therefore, the role of government was key everywhere, even though it differed from country to country (Nayyar, 2019). It is worth noting that State-led and market-led development planning in Asia has been altered in different periods depending on the adopted political-economic model by the regime in government (Ricz, 2015).

For countries that relied on markets, it was about reducing market failure with a focus on getting prices right. On the other hand, in countries that relied on government interventions, it was about reducing government failure and getting institutions right. However, developmental

success was greater for countries that took advantage of the importance of the two propositions. As argued, the first important proposition is that the State and market approaches are complements and not substitutes. Second, how the State and market relate cannot be specified once but must adapt as circumstances change. The next section will interrogate the importance and effects of political economy adopted in post-colonised countries envisioning to use land reform to advance development planning and development.

3.6.2 Political economy importance and effects on land reform

The section poses an argument that the political economy underpinning land reform in advancing development planning and development is important to the attainment or non-attainment of development. Arguably, Asian countries did not follow the mutation of neoliberalism in development planning, which emerged because of communicative planning, as argued in chapter two. It was through the authoritarian political economy that aggressive policy interventions led to the commonly known concept of the developmental State, which is central to the characterisation of the successful industrialisation that happened in several Asian countries or economies (He, 2019; Nayyar, 2019). Thus, the type of political economy adopted in the Asian countries' post-colonial rule was key to their use of land reform to advance development planning and development.

In contrast, African countries' land and agrarian reform failures are argued to be because they adopted a neoliberal political economy to land reform (Akinola, 2019). As argued in chapter two, planning theory is underpinned by neoliberal ideologies inherited by African countries from their colonisers. Thus, African countries have not developed because African colonies are treated as an extension of European economies by incorporating them into the capitalist system (Mafeje, 1998). This resulted in African overreliance on European development models and tools for development while lagging in capacity (Mafeje, 1998; Matunhu, 2011). To this end, Africa is embracing neoliberal development models as advocated by both the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in their land reform and development planning processes.

Embracing neo-liberal development by African States is because the development ideas and practices in Africa are either State-led or market-led when some are based on the neoliberal and mainstream economists housed in the IMF and the World Bank (Walker, 1998; Mafeje, 1997b, 2002; Matthews, 2004). From mainstream economists, the financialisation of African and South African developmental persuasions has seen the IMF, the World Bank, and private

rating agencies maintain their Euro-American hegemony over developing States following the historic wave of neoliberalism (Oloruntoba, 2015). As Oloruntoba (2015:134) puts it, "financialisation of the global economy fuelled global inequality over the past four decades" among African States. Though politically independent, post-colonial African countries, including South Africa, continue to have Euro-American-dependent economies (Carew, 1993) because of their integration into the capitalist world order partially through financialisation.

The irony is that the Asian, unlike African economies, beat the odds to be the newly industrialised economies founded on land reform processes. Arguably, African countries, specifically South Africa, in following Western development approaches, for example, those based on the Washington Consensus and neoliberal ideologies, are performing poorly regarding the use of land reform to advance development planning and development. The Washington Consensus economic strategies and neoliberal political economy, including the import-substitution strategy adopted mainly in South Asia and Africa, resulted in economies performing poorly. The income gap, specifically inequality in African countries and South Africa compared to developed regions, widened instead of narrowing.

Thus, poverty, inequality, and unemployment because of the political economy applied in the African countries are stubbornly on the rise in the post-colonial era, deeming development planning ineffective in seeking to address the same socio-economic challenges these countries are arguing to address through development plans. Due to the political economy in Africa underpinning land reform, the distributive impact of land reform has not been significant in advancing development planning and development. Conclusively, the central question must be why African States are failing while imitating the Asian development model, in particular, the use of land reform to advance development planning and development, as dealt with in the next section.

3.6.3 African States' causes of failure when following neoliberal ideologies to land reform

This section's central argument is the rationale for developing countries' failure to advance development planning and development when following the land reform process' mainstream theories or ideologies. The argument is dealt with by first interrogating the cause of land reform failure from the perspectives of mainstream economics, institutional frameworks, and land ownership.

It is herein argued that economic professionals use high-income countries as a reference for what developing countries do not have and cannot do well. This is done without considering

that developing countries do not have advanced industries, and their market institutions are not performing well. Drawing from the observations, mainstream theorists' policy recommendations to developing countries are to do what developed countries are doing.

Key to the observation is that mainstream theorists fail to appreciate and guide developing countries to successful land reform use in advancing development planning and transition because they neglect the endogeneity of the backwardness and distortions evident in African countries. Inefficient industries and institutions are endogenous to the development of African States, including, for example, the agrarian and related agrarian institutions, inefficient State-owned Enterprises, government interventions, and the legacy of previous interventions, as well as the colonial-era legacies. Although the intentions for land reform are great in advancing development planning and development in African countries, the results are not significantly evident considering the high levels of poverty, inequality, and unemployment characterising African States.

From an institutional perspective, the argument advanced as an extension from chapter two is that due to institutional weaknesses and capacity crises, African countries are performing poorly in using land reform to advance development planning and development. In following the neoliberal or capitalist policies to development, unlike in the Asian region, selected African countries followed an institutional dependency path to development. As a result, the attained development has not been impactful across all sectors of society. Land reform due to weak institutions has not been effectively enacted in advancing development planning and development by different State institutions.

State institutions are central in how land was used in selected Asian countries to advance development and how it was used in Africa, resulting in land reform crises. Conceivably, the land crisis in Africa is underpinned by how land is used by different States with less focus on development. For example, in Zimbabwe, land reform is used by State institutions as a political instrument for regime consolidation, and South African government institutions use land reform as a tool to mobilise voters for elections or as a patronage system among Black people (Musekiwa and Mandiyanike, 2019). Land reform in Africa is not used to advance the interests of the populace, as demonstrated in the Asian region, and does not pander to populist hysteria.

The current study further argues that the cause of land reform failure is land ownership inequality. Thus, in advancing developmental planning and development, it is argued that equality in ownership of natural resources, including land, has notably impacted poverty

alleviation and improved income distribution and wealth generation among the citizens (Mudau *et al*., 2018; Mukarati *et al*., 2020). The stance is founded on the contention that development only starts when land is transformed and used for production and when the natural environment is converted into resources (Rist, 2007). The contrary is true, as cautioned by Grabowski (2002) and Mudau *et al*. (2018); unequal distribution of land is likely to result in increased inequality, which becomes a barrier to development, resulting in widened inequality, high poverty, and unemployment.

As contended by Kimhi (2023), distributing land among landless households is likely to reduce income inequality even in rural areas. On the contrary, establishing land markets is likely to leverage the expansion of production by established commercial farmers, thereby increasing inequality. In concluding his study, Kimhi (2023) argued that land reform cannot reduce inequality unless the land is distributed equally and smallholders are prioritised. However, inequality in ownership will increase if established commercial farmers continue to gain control of more (and even better) land resources. Thus, the next section advances arguments on land use in advancing development planning and development.

3.6.4 Land reform use in advancing development planning and development

The section contends that while land reform, arguably, is a recognised means to advance development planning and development, there are still inefficiencies and deficiencies in land reform use. Post-colonisation selected States had a common aim of reconfiguring their countries toward attaining development. Thus, land reform became a subject and object of advancing development planning and development. Using Liu's (2018) theory and innovation method of land science, as depicted in Figure 3.1, it is argued that there are inefficiencies and deficiencies in land and land reform use.

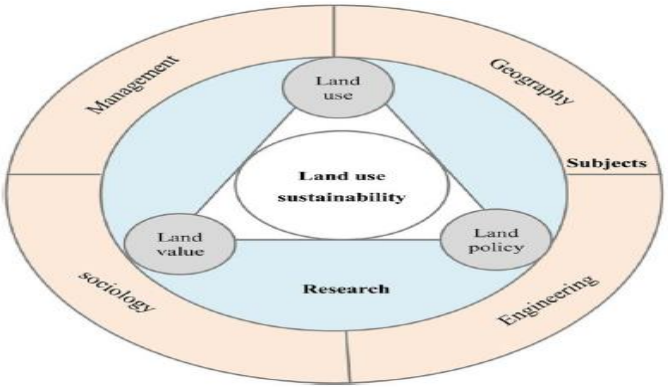


Figure 3.1 A framework of land use sustainability

Source: Adapted from Liu (2018)

As depicted in Figure 3.1, investing in land research is fundamental for a country to gain useful information on land capacity in terms of different pieces of land available, land value, and eventually developing land policies. Land use, land value, and land policy are three facets relevant to land capacity construction that strives to provide high-quality farmland, ensure sustainable land use, advance agricultural security, and foster sustainable development in a developing country (Liu, 2018). Approaches to land use, as suggested by Lan (2018), are that the government must consider introducing an efficient land market through which land can be priced according to market-related prices and local demand. When land markets are functioning effectively, land consolidation will be easier to accomplish, resulting in greater pieces of land under common ownership.

African, more specifically South African, land reform to advance development planning and development because of land ownership inequality and the resultant effects of poverty, inequality, and unemployment is arguably inefficient drawing from Figure 3.1. When referring to land use, the current study refers to land capacity. With reference to Figure 3.1, Liu (2018) argues that land capacity is a general term that refers to the potential and function of the land in a country. Thus, land capacity is a full embodiment of the natural potential, economic worth, ecological function, social security, and technical contribution of land in a country. Full use of land capacity can be achieved when land reform is effectively implemented.

As an extension from the literature on development plan implementation in chapter two, Timmer (2019) further argues that in the long run, a developing country's probable pathway that poor societies can escape poverty is only when development plans and policies, as demonstrated in Figure 3.1 and argued here, are followed and implemented. Timmer's (2019) contention is indisputable because land reform and how land is used is vital for any developing economy. After all, as proven, developing countries predominantly rely on the products produced from the land for exporting and satisfying domestic demand (Lee *et al*., 2020). Thus, advancing land and land reform use facilitates increased land productivity and an opportunity for exporting to developed countries that primarily produce industrial-based and technological equipment.

Arguably, increasing productivity through land use is key to improving livelihoods and achieving economic growth in developing economies, particularly in African countries (Nillson, 2019). However, despite implementing policies towards land reform, productivity through land use has dwindled in African countries. Thus, seizing most of the land from the

Whites and transferring it to the Blacks to address past injustices and combat poverty produced various outcomes and developmental paradoxes that undermined land productivity in Africa (Akinola and Wissink, 2019b). This resulted in land unproductivity across African countries, which led to stagnation in advancing development planning and development.

Arguably, the under-use of land, unproductivity, and lack of execution of efficient land reform policies in the land sector in most African countries are argued to have put the continent on the verge of socio-political instability and economic stagnation (Akinola and Wissink, 2019b). This is despite Africa having the land mass and arable land fundamental for increased food security, land-related productivity, and sustainable development. The current study argues that land in the African region, as noted among the selected African countries, is not used to advance social, economic, and political development, as well as productivity across society.

Hence, scholars agree that the use of land reform played a critical part in the rapid growth and industrialisation experienced in most Asian countries (Siddiqui, 2015; Sen, 2016; Nguyen, 2021). In contrast, Africa, specifically South Africa, is marred by land use or capacity inefficiencies and deficiencies in advancing development planning and development compared to its Asian counterparts. Thus, the importance of land as a factor of production is undeniable (Nguyen, 2021). As espoused by Lan (2018) and Nguyen (2021), land and land reform must be used by governments in developing countries as a key sector in growing their economy. The contention argued holds and is evident in the Asian region wherein, through land reform, the countries purposefully transferred land ownership from those with large landholdings to those with little or no ownership of land (Sen, 2016). Land reform and land use in Africa, including South Africa, have been inefficient and deficient despite land reform instrumentality to development planning and development, as examined in the next section.

3.6.5 Instrumentality of land reform to development planning and development

This section makes a compelling case that land reforms significantly contributed to rapid industrialisation and the pace of economic growth in Asian countries, which is not evident in the African region. For example, Asian countries, as argued, achieved development through land reform by, among others, releasing labour from agriculture, supplying low-cost food to people who joined the manufacturing workforce, and increasing the saving rate, leading to the rate of capital accumulation (Nederveen Pieterse, 2015; Iscan, 2018; Nguyen, 2021). Land reform in the Asian region, particularly East Asia, raised the return on capital and the gross saving rate. As drawn from the empirical model used by Iscan (2018) to assess the impact of

land reforms in Asian countries on subsequent structural change, it can be put forward that land reform was a persuasion force behind the growth of industry and export orientation, which today is associated with the Eastern Asian model or developmental State.

In using empirical evidence, Deininger *et al*. (2000) concluded that land redistribution has a long-term effect in improving the livelihoods of its beneficiaries. Further, empirical evidence shows that a 1% reduction in the Gini coefficient for land distribution results in a 0.6% increase in growth among 40% of the poorest people in society in developing countries (Lundberg and Squire, 2003). Therefore, when viewing development planning from a redistributive perspective, land reform is instrumental in alleviating poverty and reducing inequality and unemployment; however, it has not effectively been tried aggressively toward development (Lipton, 2009; Nkosi *et al*., 2020) in South Africa's development plans. Undoubtedly, land is a primary economic tool in agriculture resulting in land reform being used to remove the obstacle faced by the large sector of society as the land is concentrated among few people (Lee *et al*., 2020).

As argued by Deininger *et al*. (2000:2), there is little empirical evidence to support or quantify the "opportunity-enhancing effect of redistribution" in developing countries. Thus, it can be concluded that land reform is instrumental in investment and long-term asset accumulation. Inarguably, land reform impacts growth creation among the poor in developing countries. Therefore, redistribution of the country's assets, including land reform processes in development planning, leverages the aimed creation of a more inclusive and sustainable pattern of development (Deininger *et al*., 2007; Faguet *et al*., 2017; You, 2017). Therefore, any strategies designed to support any early stages of economic growth and development in Africa cannot ignore addressing the land question (Oyakhilomen and Zibah, 2014).

In Asia in general and Africa in particular, and for most kinds of societies, land reform is unquestionably the most crucial natural resource needed to produce wealth. Control over the land thus leads to economic growth, which is frequently the foundation of economic, social, and political power. However, unlike in Africa and South Africa specifically, as argued by Timmer (2019), developmental success in Asia was planned, nurtured, and greatly financed by the government with a clear intention of rapidly reducing poverty, inequality, and unemployment. The same disappointedly is not evident in Africa wherein land reform has not been instrumental to advancing development planning and development. However, the battle for African countries after they gained freedom from colonial authority was and continues to

be primarily motivated by the importance of land in human life, as observed from its instrumentality in advancing development in the selected Asian countries. In noting the disparities between the Asian and African regions' use of the instrumentality of land reform to advance development planning, the next section contrasts the issues between the Asian and African regions' land reform to development.

3.7 Contrasting issues between Asian and African land reforms to development

It is acknowledged that land reform and agricultural transformations contributed significantly to jump-starting broader economic development in the Asian region (Vos, 2019). It is evident that the Asian region land reform not only contributed to reducing poverty and unleashing development, but it also contributed to laying the social foundation for accelerated industrialisation (Dore, 1959; Dorner and Thiesenhusen, 1990; Boyce *et al*., 2005; Murtazashvili and Murtazashvili, 2016). Contrary, in Africa, land became a key factor in structural violence and a barrier to development planning and development (Akinola and Wissink, 2019a). Undoubtedly, the realities of land reforms across Africa have been wrought with public agitations and socio-political crises (Rukema and Khan, 2019). Hence, governmental developmental ends and expectations of addressing poverty, inequality, and unemployment have not been met using land reform policies.

Despite both regions using land reform to advance or not advance development planning, a point of similarity is that the question of land in both Asia and Africa is widely framed because of colonial control (Chitonge and Mfune, 2015; Mudau *et al*., 2018) toward uplifting their societies out of traps of poverty, inequality, and unemployment. Therefore, like Asian States post-colonialism, African States' post-colonial regimes were compelled to make concerted attempts to correct historically rooted land laws and fulfil the mounting land demands of the poor and formerly disadvantaged people who lost access to land during the colonial eras (Rukema and Khan, 2019). Disappointedly, African States failed and continue failing to enact significant land reforms that would successfully address colonial legacies related to land distribution and administration (Musekiwa and Mandiyanike, 2019; Rukema and Khan, 2019).

Notably, land reform to advance development planning and development is done differently in different geographic spaces. Although African States, like Asian States, are using land reform to advance development planning and development post-colonial regimes, the basis of African land reform is on one or a combination of political settlement, economic consideration, justice, equity, and regime populism. Arguably, the advancement of development planning in the Asian

region was undoubtedly achieved through the transformation of their economies largely using land reform and agrarian subsistence (Jatuporn *et al*., 2011; Caxton Magazines, 2017; Ovadia and Wolf, 2018). Thus, despite the efforts applied through reforms and claims made by African governments that they had redistributed land resources, there are strong indicators of land inequality, which has increased poverty and the inequality gap.

Development in Africa is contrary to many Asian countries, as well as most of today's wealthy countries, whose rise was not fuelled by employees entering the industrial sector but through using land reform to advance development planning. Conversely, a substantial portion of Africa's industrial sector, including manufacturing, has stalled because workers are migrating to areas with expanding economies. As economic theories contend, Africa's transition to becoming a major manufacturing and industrial centre comparable to Asia based on the insignificant use of land is challenging and gradual to attain (Obeng-Odoom, 2012; Hull *et al*., 2019). Thus, Africa must take advantage of chances to encourage the creation of productivity outside of manufacturing and industrialisation at its initial phase of development using land reform. This is because land reform and agrarian transformation are more promising developmental means Africa must explore to improve its productivity and chances of advancing development (Diao *et al*., 2019; Brobbey, 2019; Akinola and Wissink, 2019b).

Asian countries experiencing high-income economies have enjoyed sustained land use and agricultural productivity coupled with the transformation of the rural non-farm economy, leading to rapid industrialisation and an inclusive economy because of land reform policies (Barret *et al*., 2017). Exceptionally, many of the developed Asian countries, unlike the African States, after independence deliberately and conscientiously pursued a collective mindset change through land reform to set their countries up to attain developmental ends, economic growth, and industrialisation (Gumede, 2019). These lifted many Asian countries out of poverty traps, unlike that of African countries, to levels similar to or better than their colonisers. Even though Asia has cases of underutilised land, Africa is highly associated with the unproductivity of land (Akinola, 2019).

Noteworthy, and concerning unproductivity of land in Africa, the contention advanced is that land struggle in Africa is derived from political, economic, social, and cultural factors brought about by the paradox of continued development segregation, authoritarianism, imperialism, and systematic proletarianisation catechism imposed by colonialism politics (Legassick, 1974; Magubane, 1986; Mafeje, 1997a, 1997b, 1998; Amin, 2004; Mahlatsi, 2018). However, even

after decades of independence and attempts to implement different reforms, including land reform, African States remain in deep political and economic crisis (Legassick, 1974; Magubane, 1986; Carew, 1993; Davies *et al*., 2020). This has resulted in Africa, specifically South Africa, struggling to emerge out of traps of poverty, inequality, and unemployment despite the instrumentality of land reform to advance development planning and development. The next section interrogates the South African perspective of land reform in advancing development planning and development.

3.8 South African perspective of land reform in advancing development planning

The section turns the chapter's focus toward interrogating South African land reform and development planning. It serves to bring the study closer to a theoretical interrogation of what has been absent in post-1994 South Africa's development planning to advance development.

Drawing from the pre-1994 legislative frameworks in Table 1.1, as presented in chapter one, it is evident that land was central to colonial conquest (Kepe and Hall, 2020) and was used in development planning actions to gain control over resource distribution (Mafeje, 1973). Arguably, regulations and colonialist control culminated in the incongruity between wealth and poverty and developed urban and underdeveloped rural, as well as power and powerless being a subject and object of development planning in pre-1994 South Africa (Legassick, 1974; Mafeje, 1997a, 1981; Andres *et al*., 2019). Further, planning in the pre-1994, from as early as 1880, was mainly focused on physical planning and land use management (Denoon-Stevens *et al*., 2022). Land use management's approach to planning was key toward land dispossession and ownership through racial zoning.

Land dispossession and ownership were key in how development planning was shaped and structured in pursuing divisions between the Black majority and the White minority. The State directly acted through the law (for example, the Land Bank Act, which provided subsidies to White farmers) and State-owned Enterprises to foster capitalist development, which resulted in dual economies leading to developed and underdeveloped geographical spaces in South Africa. Hence, the contention that the apartheid development planning and land management approaches were anti-developmental (Rogerson, 2004). This means that the anti-development caused by pre-1994 development planning caused divisions between the wealthy and the poor, as well as racial divisions between the country's Black African and White communities.

Thus, like the selected African countries, the desire to push back and eventually eradicate the borders of the apartheid policies' legacy is one of the major social transformational policy

issues the post-apartheid government of South Africa has been preoccupied with since 1994. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 paves way for transformational policies wherein in Section 25(8) the State through legislative and other measures must achieve land reform to address the effects of the pre-1994 era. For example, the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (SPLUMA), Act 16 of 2013 provides a new approach to development planning by linking spatial planning wherein land usage is key to long-term planning. These social transformational policies among others are because of the indigenous population's expulsion by Dutch and British colonial immigrants, which led to unequal access to land and socio-economic prospects. Consequently, the post-1994 transformational agenda resulted in land reform discourses in South Africa, paving the way for sensitive, highly emotional, and contentious politics, leading to the land debate being highly contested and politically charged (Du Toit, 2018; Wissink, 2019).

As a result of conflictual ideologies, the land reform discourse is polarised between those who assume that markets have failed to deliver and those who assume that the bureaucracy has failed to deliver due to maret-led land reforms (Vink and Kirsten, 2019). Similar to Kenya, the acrimony in the land debate is centred on the view that those in government use land reform or the promise thereof to gain or retain power (Zarin and Bujang, 1994; Eniola and Akinola, 2019), as well as around restorative justice and the establishment of a legitimate post-colonial order (Du Toit, 2018) and on whom land reform is targeted with arguments being on the Black capitalists or the rural poor, as well as farm workers or small scale farmers (Hall and Kepe, 2017; Mudau *et al*., 2018). This resulted in the politics of land in South Africa being driven strongly by the rivalry between the elites and political parties (Gibson, 2010; Hull *et al*., 2019).

Like other cited African States, South African land reform and development is derived from a capitalist political economy (Magubane, 1986; Nolutshungu, 1986; Walker, 1998; Ndhlovu, 2019). Thus, capitalist development resulted in dual economies of subsistence (traditional) and capitalism (modern), which demonstrates the paradoxes between developed and underdeveloped countries (Wolpe, 1972; Mafeje, 1978; Hall, 2004; Cousins, 2007). Consequent to these paradoxes between developed and undeveloped, the subsistence economy has remained stagnant and inferior to the capitalist economy because the marginalised majority of South Africans continue to live in poverty traps, escalating unemployment, and deepening inequality because of the straddling urban and rural economies while scratching about on land (Du Toit, 2018; Sikwela *et al*., 2018).

As a result, the South African market-based and neoliberal land redistribution reform policy has neglected the growing demand for land in the urban and peri-urban required for housing and production (Moyo, 2007). This has left the landless and poor more on the periphery of development, clearly demonstrating the country's land reform failures. The next section examines what has been absent in post-1994 South Africa's development planning in advancing development.

3.9 The missing link or what has been absent in South Africa's post-1994 development planning trajectory in attaining developmental ends

The section provides a theoretical interrogation of what has been absent in South African development planning in attaining development ends post-1994. Despite the government's planning efforts, the country post-1994 remains marred by undesirable poverty levels, the widening inequality gap, and a heightened unemployment rate. Unlike the four Asian Tigers, namely Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan, where land reform and agrarian subsistence were central to achieving rapid economic growth, South African development planning remains reliant on infrastructure investment and industrialisation as tools to attain development. This paints a contrasting picture with selected countries in the Asian region that used land reform and agrarian subsistence to rapidly grow their economies by achieving technological market leadership, high-income status, and elevated levels of industrial development (Ovadia and Wolf, 2018).

Thus, land mobilisation in addressing the historical imbalances and development, as held by both the Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development (DALRRD) and the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME) to development, has not yet made a meaningful contribution to development in post-1994 South Africa. To this end, land as a resource endowment in South Africa has not been key, and it is thus argued to have been absent in advancing development planning and development during three decades of implementing development plans. The advanced contention for South Africa goes against an argument by Timmer (2005) that no country can allege it was able to experience a rapid transition out of poverty, inequality, and unemployment by not accelerating land reform implementation. In concurrence, recently Nguyen (2021) emphasised that land is a key resource and countries that want to develop must depend on land as a core means to the advancement of their development.

Governments are cognisant that overall development is the central vehicle for the alleviation of poverty and reduction of inequality and unemployment through equal distribution of the

country's resources, including land (Block and Timmer, 1994; Timmer, 2005; Boyce *et al*., 2005). Hence, most developing countries at the time of their independence were aware of the importance of land in building modern economies if they had to achieve their development aspirations (Dorward *et al*., 2005; Wissink, 2019; Kimhi, 2023). Land is the most basic resource since it is fundamental to shaping any economic development (Stilwell and Jordan, 2004; Wissink, 2019), meaning land ownership is critical to economic inequality and power (Legassick, 1974; Kimhi, 2023). Conclusively, catalysing structural change required to attain development should be done by substantially investing in land reform and the agrarian reform or agricultural sector despite its declining relative importance (Vos, 2019).

Arguably, land should not only be seen as a factor of production but also as a margin between destitution and subsistence (World Bank, 1975), particularly among the country's poor and marginalised. Hence, many early classical economists, including Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and Karl Max, their successor and rival, recognised land as one of the most important factors of production in addition to labour and capital (Munyoro *et al*., 2018) while drawing criticism from their rivals like Drucker (1974), who argued for the inclusion of management. This is because a nation's wealth in natural resources, including land reform, correlates with its economic prosperity (Nguyen, 2021). Thus, land reform's centrality to development planning is an indispensable factor of production to the attainment of development ends.

Given land reform's centrality to production, Cousins (2016:2) argues that the "State must take reasonable measures within available resources to foster conditions enabling equitable access to land" through land reform. Unquestionably, land reform is an instrumental means through which South Africa would redress the historical injustices and advance development (Hall, 2004; Wissink, 2019). This contention, further argued by Kleinbooi (2010) and Mowoe (2019), cannot be ignored because access to land is the most important asset to the poor in both urban and rural spaces since land contributes more than any other factor to the quality of their lives. Arguably, land reform in South Africa should be dealt with as an endogenous process determined by the country's internal factors or context (Grabowski, 2002; Adamopoulos and Restuccia, 2019; Wissink, 2019; Pepeka *et al*., 2022) to ensure that development planning is strongly rooted in the country, as argued in chapter two.

In addition to being an economic means for production, land reform is also a social transformational policy key to advancing development planning and development. Because of its transformative capacity as a social policy and, as further stated in the Maputo Declaration

by African Heads of States in 2003, land reform must become the economic engine driving development (New Partnership for African Development, 2003). Therefore, governments should consistently invest at least a significant percentage of their total budget in agrarian reform programmes toward achieving their goals (Munyoro *et al.*, 2018). Thus, agrarian reforms are high-priority sectors in generating overall growth, reducing poverty, ensuring food security, and meeting some of the Sustainable Development Goals. Thus, as a social transformational policy, land reform is central to the advancement of development planning and development, as illustrated in Figure 3.2.

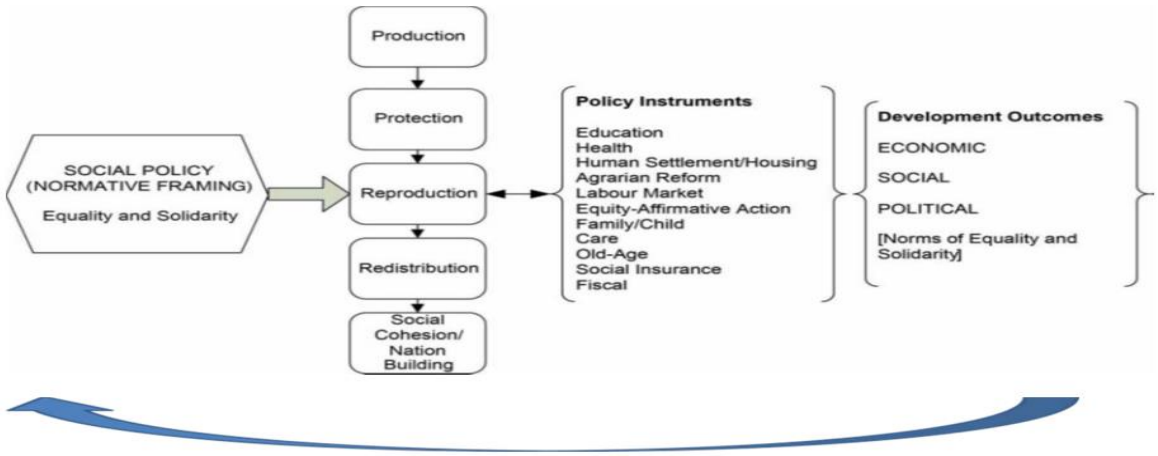


Figure 3.2 Transformative social policy: norms, function, instruments, and outcomes

Source: Adésínà (2011:12)

Figure 3.2 illustrates the relationship between social policy's ideational (normative) foundation, its variety of functions and policy instruments, and the development outcomes it accomplishes. Equality and social solidarity norms framing social policy serve various purposes, including social cohesion or nation-building, reproduction, protection, and production. As depicted in Figure 3.2, education, healthcare, *land reform or agrarian reform*, family and childcare, old age care, and fiscal instruments are central revolutionary social policy instruments toward the advancement of development (Adésínà, 2011). Figure 3.2 advances the contention that land and agrarian reform are the hallmark of the initial stages of development while the extent of industrialisation is the appropriate indicator of a country's developmental progress (Adésínà, 2011; Munyoro *et al*., 2018; Davies *et al*., 2020).

Uncontestably, it is advanced here that socio-economic transformation through development planning begins with appropriate land use toward intended industrialisation and manufacturing. The afore contention is more apparent in the work of Azadi and Vanhaute (2019), who argue that efficient land reform leverages society to transform from poverty to a human capital-based

developed economy. In a similar vein, land reform is contended to be a fundamental vehicle for economic development through the production of exportable commodities and a means of subsistence (Katcher, 2018). Conclusively, from a theoretical position, land reform is absent in advancing development planning and development. However, this contention will be dealt with at length later in this thesis.

3.10 Emulation of Asian region land reform use to development by post-colonised States, specifically South Africa

It should be acknowledged that no development model or theorisation may work in every country (Kim and Heo, 2017). Emulating the development successes in Asia must be done with the acknowledgement of the economic, social, and political pressures that might impede the use of such models in the context of a developing country elsewhere in the world, including post-1994 South Africa. Emulating growth requires developing countries to build a State that can achieve economic efficiency, social progress, and democracy in attaining effective development planning.

Further, it is argued that land reform must be dealt with as an endogenous process determined by the country's internal factors or context (Grabowski, 2002; Adamopoulos and Restuccia, 2019) in attaining development planning ends. Applying models like the developmental State and market-led or neoliberal reforms (as dealt with in chapter two) in development planning by developing countries may work against each other leading to non-attainment of the developmental ends. Despite the arguments raised, Asian development success fosters opportunities for developing countries to emulate their socio-economic transformation with a great sense of care.

3.11 Chapter summary

Chapter three focused on selected countries in the Asian region since the region's success fosters opportunities for developing countries to emulate their socio-economic transformation. The Asian land reform to advance development planning and development exemplifies a mixed-bag approach to land reform use. As observed in the chapter, the various performances cannot simply be generalised to a specific continent without considerable care due to diverse country-specific dynamics. The interrogation of the literature on Asian development using land reform revealed that the selected countries employed an authoritarian and socialist political economy wherein development processes were State-led, leading to rapid industrialisation. The chapter showed that while the perused literature on land reform illustrates how land was used

to attain development, the instrumentality of land reform to development in the development planning literature remained silent. Thereafter, the chapter discussed the African perspective of land reform using selected country cases in African. Selected African States, unlike the selected Asian States, including Ethiopia that was not colonised, failed to enact land reform. Thus, land reform could not advance development planning and development among African States. Similarly, South Africa has not realised any significant development using land reform, as this chapter revealed. As a key social transformational policy, land or agrarian reform policy has not been used to its full potential for the attainment of developmental ends. Land reform, as a hallmark of the initial stages of development, has not leveraged the transformation of society from poverty to a human capital-based developed economy in South Africa. Hence, it is theoretically argued to be absent in the development planning and development trajectory in post-1994 South Africa.

Chapter four discusses the research approach, design, procedure, and methods.

Chapter 4

Research Approach, Design, Procedure, and Methods

4.1 Introduction

Chapter four interrogates the research methods literature to detail the research strategy, design, procedures, and methods, including the data collection and analysis processes employed in the study. This chapter is not focused on research methodology, but as titled, it focuses on documenting the study's research strategy, design, procedures, and methods. Research methodology is the science or theory of studying how research should be undertaken (Henning *et al*., 2004; Saunders *et al*., 2009). In contrast, research methods allude to the techniques, approaches, and procedures used to obtain and analyse data in a research study (Saunders *et al*., 2009). The primary purpose of the chapter is thus not to provide a scientific study or theory on how research is conducted. However, the chapter provides actual documentation of the research strategy, design, procedures, and methods used alongside the empirical interrogation of research methods literature toward answering the posed primary research question on *how a development plan could be modelled to feature land reform in addressing the socio-economic problems of South Africa* and the secondary research questions.

The chapter begins by detailing the research strategy and design applied to the study. Thereafter, the section on research procedure and methods discusses the data collection methods. The two subsequent subsections discuss the individual interviews and FGD (focus group discussion) methods used to collect data. The following section discusses the target population and sampling methods used to obtain participants for the study. In the sections after, the chapter discusses the key ethical considerations observed by the study and the data collection process and storage of both individual interviews and the FGD. Thereafter, discussions focus on the processing and analysis of data gathered from individual interviews and the FGD. Lastly, chapter four discusses the steps undertaken to ensure the trustworthiness of the study, followed by the study's limitations.

4.2 Research strategy

Research is a systematic approach following a pattern of planned activities to establish knowledge and information about a specific phenomenon understudy. Thus, research is the science of obtaining knowledge toward contributing to the body of science following scientific methods, making it scientific research. For de Vos *et al*. (2005), science is concerned with

knowledge, proximate causes, and laws obtained and verified through observation and experimentation. Science can be classified into three broad divisions: natural sciences (physics and chemistry), formal sciences (mathematics), social sciences (sociology, political studies, anthropology, and psychology), and humanities (history and philosophy). Planning theory, as the study's theoretical framework, locates this research well into the field of social sciences within the public policy discipline in examining development planning through the prism of land reform in post-1994 South Africa. The study is theoretically located in social sciences because the planning process concerns methodological responses to issues prevailing within society and how these issues are transformed through planning interventions into new conditions that must influence subsequent procedural approaches. For purposes of this study, social sciences are those sciences that involve the study of people in terms of their beliefs, interactions, behaviours, and institutions. This is because a measure of human social life is difficult to measure with laboratory instruments, unlike in other divisions of sciences (i.e., natural and formal science, which are not the point of focus herein). Different measures or approaches are used by social scientists to study human phenomena as a scientific subject matter.

Located in social science, the research strategy, design, and methods that are used in this study are further informed by the secondary research questions posed in the study in particular the first and the third secondary research questions since the second was dealt with theoretically in chapter three:

1. *How can development planning be used to facilitate the attainment of development in the post-1994 South Africa?*
2. *How have other post-colonial States envisioned and implemented land reform in advancing development planning and development?*
3. *Can land reform in post-1994 South Africa be re-shaped and re-planned in a new development planning approach in addressing socio-economic failures?*

Further, individual researchers have their perceptions of what constitutes truth and knowledge in research. Social scientists commonly use positivism or interpretivism approaches in studying human phenomena (Rehman and Alharthi, 2016). For positivists, scientific methods are the only approach to obtaining the truth and establishing an objective reality (Chilisa and Kawulich, 2012). In positivism, methods and techniques applied in natural sciences are the acceptable frameworks for investigating the social world. From an ontological perspective, positivism orientation argues that it is necessary to research knowledge objectively because it is a given. Most of the time, research results are presented quantitatively in numbers that speak

for themselves. Epistemologically, positivists in social science aim to find and validate a set of probabilistic causal laws that can be applied to anticipate broad patterns of human behaviour. This is done by combining deductive reasoning with specific empirical observations of individual behaviour.

In contrast, Tubey *et al*. (2015) postulate that interpretivists maintain that the world should be understood as others experienced it. Based on the ontological view, the interpretive research paradigm maintains that people interpret social facts in their own ways and that reality and meaning are socially produced. From an epistemological point, the truth lies within the experiences of others, meaning that knowledge among interpretivists is subjective. Thus, interpretive researchers investigate, understand, and characterise social reality using qualitative research approaches, and the findings are typically described descriptively in words.

This research study, as located in social sciences within the public policy discipline, is viewed from an interpretivism paradigm. It is worth noting that development planning and land use in South Africa are contentious issues that seek to address the historical injustices of segregated development and land dispossession under the apartheid era to realise the country's sought developmental ends. The interpretivism paradigm in this research study leveraged an opportunity to maximally reflect on attributes discussed in chapter two: interests and the public interest as a function of planning legitimacy, contextual analysis in planning, identification and selection of means-ends and the criteria used, and practice of development plan implementation. The approach further fostered interactions between the researcher and the participants, which enabled behavioural observation of the participants that might depict their values and perceptions around the phenomenon under study.

Since research is either qualitative, quantitative or a combination thereof, using the interpretivism approach makes the study primarily rely on qualitative methods and procedures. As argued, qualitative studies foster an understanding of the processes and social contexts shaping various behavioural patterns (Nieuwenhuis and Smit, 2012). Qualitative research methods facilitate obtaining rich and in-depth knowledge about the phenomenon under study. Thus, qualitative research methods leveraged the researcher to obtain rich information from those who have and are still participating in the post-1994 development planning and land reform in the DPME and DALRRD. Based on the use of qualitative methods, participants were able to share their lived experiences in fields of interest with the researcher.

The research study employed a sequential mixed qualitative method (Figure 4.1) to ensure rigour and trustworthiness. Qualitative research methods used in the study were individual interviews and the FGD. Individual interviews were the core component of the study. The FGD was used as a supplementary component to the individual interviews. The core and secondary components, as argued by Morse (2010), are primarily characterised by an inductive theoretical drive. This implies that this research study is exploratory descriptive in obtaining richness in data towards theory development.

Notably, the use of sequential mixed qualitative methods fostered the generating of complementary views while realising data triangulation in obtaining in-depth and rich information in examining post-1994 development planning in South Africa. Reading research papers revealed three main justifications for pairing individual interviews and FGD. As done by other researchers and even in this study, pairing two methods was primarily for pragmatic considerations, the necessity to contrast and compare participant perspectives, and to pursue data completeness and confirmation (i.e., integrated use). For instance, in being pragmatic, data for individual interviews and the FGD was not sourced from the same group of participants.

In addition, combining both methods facilitated data obtained from the FGD to corroborate or contrast data obtained from the individual interviews. Lastly, the individual interviews were used to gain knowledge from the experiences and perceptions of participants who were involved in development planning and its use of land reform as an instrumental means of development in post-1994 South Africa, whereas the FGD was used to complete and corroborate the findings from the individual interviews in enhancing the developed theory.

The researcher was cognisant of the disadvantages that come with the use of focus group data to confirm and enhance the individual interview data. As argued, combining both data for confirmation reasons can inadvertently result in an erroneous hierarchy of evidence wherein one data collection technique is found to yield more accurate findings than another method (Lambert and Loiselle, 2008). Additionally, a combination for confirmation presupposes the existence of a reality on which both data sets can converge. Further, when integrating focus group and individual interview data, the credibility of the findings may be jeopardised if the unique methodological foundations of each approach are disregarded and the data sets are taken to be similar or equal (Carter *et al*., 2014).

In overcoming the critiques, the researcher ensured that both data sets were not treated equally or were of the same weight. Thus, the individual interview data carried more weight, and the

focus group data was used hierarchically to corroborate the first data set. The added value of the combination is that the expert views of the focus group members were important in enhancing the quality of the results from the individual interviews. Further, the researcher looked at each set of data separately (sequentially), as shown in Figure 4.1, and then combined both data sets. The similarities and differences of both datasets were noted before concluding how the various methods affected the findings.

The research followed sequential mixed qualitative methods, as illustrated in Figure 4.1. The FGD in a sequential mixed qualitative method was conducted after analysing the data from the individual interviews.

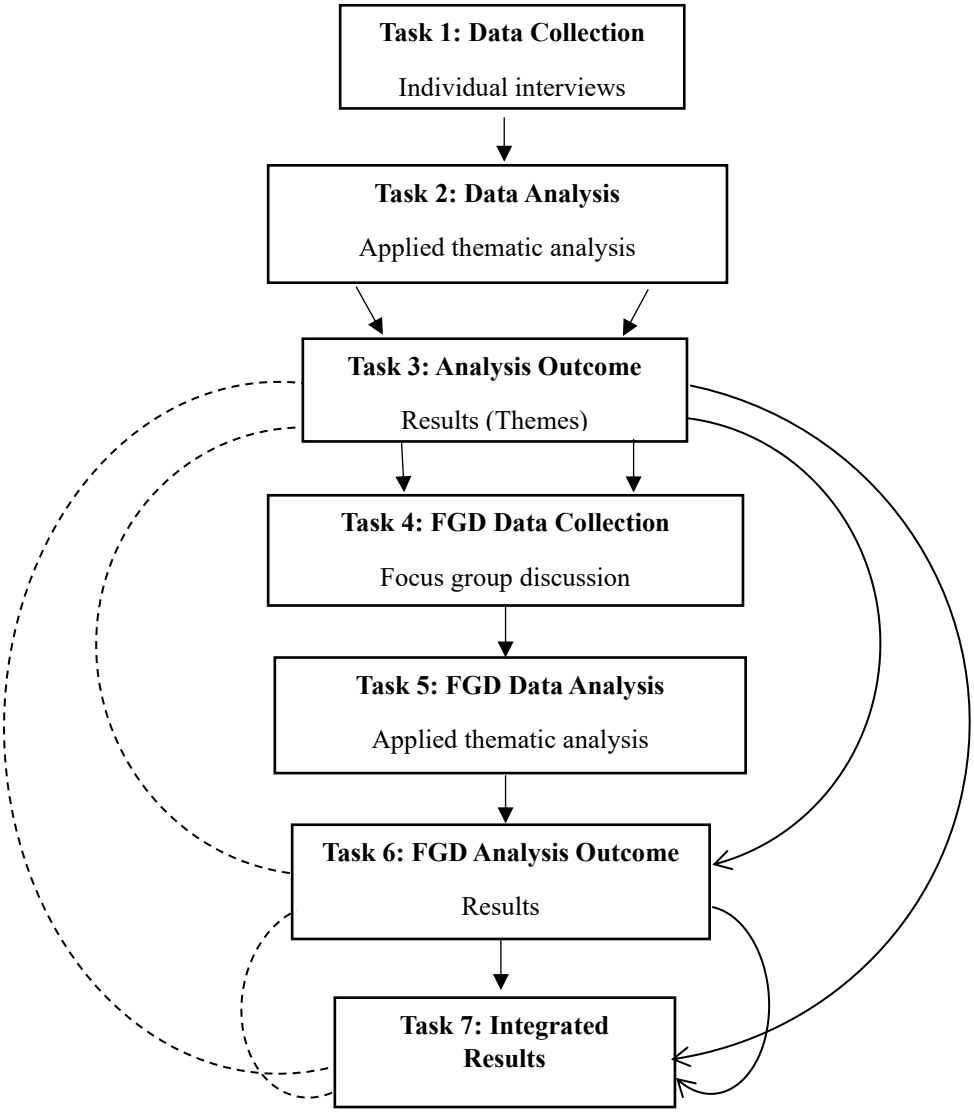


Figure 4.1 Sequential mixed qualitative data collection process

Source: Author's compilation. FGD: focus group discussion

As illustrated in Figure 4.1, in sequential mixed qualitative methods, the research processes were not all done simultaneously. Supplementary components were used to enrich the core component. Analysis from the core component and the supporting supplementary components, as shown in Figure 4.1, was used as a foundation to guide the discussion process in the FGD. Applying sequential mixed qualitative methods, as informed by the research design in the next section, leveraged the opportunity to obtain rich and in-depth information from those who have been involved and have lived experiences of the post-1994 South African development planning and land reform utility.

4.3 Research design

A research design is a blueprint that creates a path on how the research was conducted in terms of the methods for data collection and techniques for data analysis (Wagner *et al*., 2012). In qualitative studies, research can follow either an experimental, cross-sectional, longitudinal case study or a comparative research design. This research study followed a cross-sectional research design. In cross-sectional research, the researcher examines the situation in the population at a single point in time (Zheng, 2015). The researcher records and uses the information that is present at the point in time in the population, meaning the study is not used for cause-and-effect determination purposes. Cross-sectional studies are contended to leverage for the researcher to use effective techniques to capture complex phenomena in a confined domain (Lillis and Mundy, 2005).

A cross-sectional research design fitted well with the purpose of the study in interrogating the planning theory and the planning practice to establish an understanding of the South African development planning trajectory about its use of land reform as an instrumental development tool. This study, using a cross-sectional research design, hoped to uncover how development planning about the identification and selection of means or alternatives to development ends has been conducted in the post-1994. Further, a cross-sectional design fostered uncovering the space that land use has occupied and can occupy in attaining the developmental ends in South African development planning.

The research design further leveraged elaborated responses from data collection methods employed in this qualitative study using interviews and the FGD to highlight previously unhypothesised relations about how development planning can use land reform as a developmental means to attain developmental ends. Using a cross-sectional design fostered the researcher to engage in the field with the participants to obtain rich contextual explanations on

how development planning has been conducted in post-1994 South Africa in terms of using land in development plans to attain development goals, identifying and selecting means and ends and the criteria used in development plans, using South African contextual analysis from political, social, and economic perspectives to inform means and ends of the development plan, and practising plan implementation.

4.4 Research procedure and methods

The next sections and sub-sections discuss the data collection instrument, target population and sampling, ethical considerations when collecting data, data collection process and storage, data processing and analysis, and research strengths – trustworthiness.

4.4.1 Data collection instruments

As Moser and Korstjens (2018) posit, in qualitative studies, data is primarily collected either through an FGD, document analysis, observations or interviews. This research study collected data through interrogation of the literature, open-ended semi-structured interviews, and the FGD to answer the research questions. A literature interrogation was conducted to establish an understanding of how other countries in Asia and Africa, and South Africa have used land reform in the attainment of their developmental ends. Lessons learnt from the Asian and African regions laid a foundation for establishing what has been absent in South Africa's post-1994 development planning and the space that land use has occupied in the development trajectory in attaining developmental ends.

4.4.1.1 Individual interviews

In qualitative research techniques, interviews are the cornerstone of primary data collection (Alsaawi, 2014; Adhabi and Anozie, 2017). As contended by Alsaawi (2014), despite how complicated the idea may seem, an interview may be simply stated as a sort of consultation in which the researcher aims to learn more about a subject from the perspective of the person being questioned. As a result, an interview can be thought of as a conversational process in which a person probes for specific information through questioning (Adhabi and Anozie, 2017). Interviews are frequently categorised according to their place in qualitative studies. The three most popular interview formats are structured, semi-structured, and unstructured.

Structured interviews give the interviewee less freedom to be flexible and casual because the interviewer is in complete control and wields a lot of authority (Alsaawi, 2014; Queirós *et al*., 2017). Structured qualitative interviews resemble work interviews. The subjects are expected to respond similarly, with brief and uncomplicated answers, given that the researcher's

questions are relatively brief. The principles of a structured interview make it clear that the interview setting is extremely uncomfortable and might lead to subjects feeling uneasy and providing irrational answers since it is firmly focused on the topic of interest (Alsaawi, 2014). Structured interviews are negatively evaluated in qualitative investigations because of their rigid nature.

Semi-structured interviews do not have strict rules like structured interviews. They are the most common interview style employed by qualitative researchers (DeJonckheere and Vuaghn, 2019). Despite having a set of leading questions, the researcher can pose questions that are more in-depth than those that were initially planned based on the participant's responses. Academics who support this idea contend that semi-structured, in-depth interviews are the only information source for qualitative researchers (Adhabi and Anozie, 2017). As a result, it is important to recognise semi-structured interviews as the best method for gathering data for qualitative studies.

Unstructured interviews have their origins in anthropology's ethnographic tradition (Adhabi and Anozie, 2017). Having their origins in anthropology's ethnographic tradition, researchers using unstructured interviews integrate themselves into the topics they are investigating to fully understand some critical social concerns. In this way, researchers can take notes while they observe, identify the lead subjects, and casually interview them. Therefore, it is crucial to recognise that unstructured interviews are still a vital instrument for gathering qualitative data despite having an irregular format.

After assessing the three types of interviews that can be used in qualitative studies, this study employed semi-structured interviews. The rationale for using semi-structured interviews was because of their flexibility in leveraging probing questions rather than those planned before to obtain in-depth information on how development planning has evolved in post-1994 South Africa in selecting means towards attaining development ends. While the data collection instruments had standard questions, the strength of semi-structured interviews in terms of probing questions fostered obtaining deeper knowledge and understanding of the use of land reform and land in attaining development ends in South Africa. Further, the study employed individual semi-structured interviews to obtain each participant's lived experiences and views about development planning and the use of land reform towards development in post-1994 South Africa.

Face-to-face and virtual semi-structured individual interviews were conducted. The advantage of face-to-face interviews is that they foster observation of participants' behavioural patterns, which enhances the rigour through triangulation and richness of qualitative studies. In face-to-face semi-structured individual interviews, issues of interest in the study are comfortably and clearly articulated with the participant, increasing the amount of information that can be collected. However, only four face-to-face interviews were conducted; the remaining 12 were virtual due to the participant's competing responsibilities and the office-home hybrid approach to work. Despite the length of time to complete the interviews and travelling costs attached to the face-to-face technique of semi-structured interviews, the quality, amount of data, in-depth knowledge, and probing to obtain further understanding of the phenomenon outweighed the face-to-face interviews disadvantages for the four interviews that were conducted.

The individual interviews were the study's primary source of data collection. Open-ended semi-structured individual interviews were used to establish an understanding of the participant's experiences and the meaning they make of those experiences. Two different individual interview research instruments were used: one to conduct interviews with participants from the DPME (Annexure 6) and the other with participants from DALRRD (Annexure 7). Two different individual interview research instruments were used because the participants from DALRRD are not largely involved in the country's development planning processes but mainly focus on the land reform policy processes. Further, participants from the DPME are not largely involved in matters related to land reform processes. The approach necessitated using suitable research instruments that fostered the gathering of valuable and rich information on development planning and land reform and their use in post-1994 South Africa to attain development ends.

The interview schedule generated for the individual interviews at the DPME was primarily used to understand how ends-to-means are determined and what is or has been absent in South Africa's post-1994 development planning towards a developmental trajectory wherein its socio-economic challenges can be addressed. Further, the interviews fostered an opportunity to understand the space that land use as an instrumental tool to development has occupied or can occupy in South Africa's post-1994 development planning to attain the development plan's desired ends. The interview schedule was divided into Sections A, B, and C. Section A sought to collect data on participants' involvement in development planning in post-1994 South Africa, the length of their involvement, and their role/s.

Information obtained from Section A was key to the characterisation of the participants toward improving the credibility of the study. Section B constituted the main questions of the interview. These questions aimed to obtain insights on how planning has evolved in addressing the socio-economic reality in society, what could have been absent in South Africa's post-1994 development planning as a means of pursuing the development plan's ends, if using land reform as an instrumental means of development has a space to occupy in South Africa's post-1994 development planning, and to understand how land reform should it be featured in the development plan if it is an instrumental means of development. Lastly, Section C sought to obtain any additional information from the participants about development planning and land reform.

Further, the interview schedule used to conduct the individual interviews at the DALRRD was primarily used to gather information to understand how land reform policy has been applied in post-1994 South Africa toward attaining any form of development. Importantly, the tool leveraged obtaining knowledge and insights on the instrumentality of land reform to attaining development and how it could be used in development planning by those responsible for it to drive the development plan's envisaged ends. The interview schedule had Sections A, B, and C. Section A was the same as for the DPME interviews.

Like the interview schedule used at the DPME, information obtained through Section A in the interview schedule employed at DALRRD was used to characterise the participants toward improving the study's credibility. Section B constituted the main questions of the study. These questions aimed to obtain the participants' views on land reform use toward development, how land reform is used in post-1994 South Africa towards addressing the country's socio-economic challenges as development means in a development plan if using land reform as a development means or tool has occupied any space in South Africa's post-1994 development planning if it is possible to have a development plan that features land reform as means for development, and how land reform should be featured in a development plan. Thereafter, Section C leveraged obtaining any additional information from the participants before closing the interviews. The process of individual interviews was sequential, followed by the FGD.

4.4.1.2 Focus group discussion

An FGD is primarily used for qualitative data collection using semi-structured group interviews. It is a frequently used qualitative technique for gaining an in-depth understanding of social issues (Nyumba *et al*., 2018). In an FGD, the moderator (researcher, in this case)

speaks to a group of six to 12 participants on issues related to the research question (Barret and Twycros, 2018). As a qualitative technique, the FGD fosters efficient gathering of different views from many participants at the same time. In an FGD, because many participants are discussing the same issue at the same time, it results in an enhanced level of debate, often with the moderator (researcher) allowing the focus group to have a free-flowing discussion (Barret and Twycros, 2018). The FGD technique leveraged an opportunity to obtain rich data from the focus group members about development planning and its use of land reform in attaining development ends in post-1994 South Africa.

An FGD was mainly used to obtain members' practical expert views on how development planning and land reform could realise development ends. As argued by Greef (2005), focus groups are carefully planned discussions conducted to gain perceptions around a defined area of interest. In this research, a single FGD (see Annexures 2 and 3) was used. The FGD was held after the interview and document analysis data had been analysed. This facilitated from both an academic and a practical perspective to have a balanced view on the theorisation this study intended to contribute to the development planning literature in addressing the developmental challenges of post-1994 South Africa.

The FGD was directed using the programme for focus group discussions (Annexure 12). The programme had five areas to deal with in conducting the discussion. The first area covered the introduction and purpose of the group discussion to allow all participants to settle into the virtual room. This section was followed by addressing matters related to ethical considerations, ground rules, and signing-off the consent forms in setting the scene for the discussion. Thereafter, the subsequent section outlined the approach to be used during the discussions to encourage full participation among the members. Afterwards, the programme for the FGD focused on the main issues that were discussed in the focus group, including consideration of public interest in development planning in pursuing developmental ends, the use of contextual analysis (political, social, and economic) to inform the means and ends of development plans, the identification and choice of means-ends in South African development planning, guidance of actions in a development plan to reach the developmental ends (implementation), and how development planning can use land reform as a developmental means (discussion of the proposed framework). The last section of the FGD programme dealt with the summary of discussions, a vote of thanks, and closure.

4.4.2 Target population and sampling

Planning is a division of government situated in the Presidency. In 2010, the then President of South Africa appointed the National Planning Commission (NPC). The NPC consists of a team of thinkers and experts in South Africa who are expected to provide insights into long-term planning, which seeks to advance growth and development in the country. This study targeted the NPC members, particularly those in workstream 2 and officials in the DPME responsible for Priority 5, which is concerned with rural development as its population, to gather information on development planning in post-1994 South Africa. In addition, the study included participants from DALRRD (Programme 3: Food Security, Land Reform and Restitution) since the department has land reform policy as part of its mandate. In terms of the NPC, the commission has 24 appointed commissioners responsible for different workstreams. In line with the purpose of the study, those within workstream 2 on the expanded inclusive fairer economy in the NPC were the targeted population for the study, including the NPC officials on full-time employment at the DPME.

Sampling in research can be done using either probability or non-probability sampling techniques. In probability sampling, a sample is drawn randomly, allowing everyone in the population an equal opportunity to participate in the study. In contrast, non-probability sampling is non-random, and participants are included in the study based on their availability and willingness to participate in the research. In this research, a non-probability sampling technique was used. Both purposive (judgmental) and snowballing sampling techniques were employed in the study.

While purposive sampling leverages the researcher to use his judgment to identify the most suitable participants among the study's target population for participation in the study, the approach was not possible because the department's lead officials identified the participants and shared their email addresses with the researcher to finalise the logistical arrangement for the interviews. Although using local contacts, as used in the study, is criticised for dependency on availability, accessibility, and willingness of the local contact and loss of control or what, in this study, the researcher calls lead officials, Nyumba *et al*. (2018) argue that the approach results in convenience sampling by selecting suitable participants depending on their accessibility.

Further, concerning the Protection of Personal Information, Act No. 4 of 2013, the researcher had to adhere to the arrangement made to only access and communicate with the participants

once their email addresses were shared. Importantly, the selected participants were people involved in the processes of both development planning and land reform in post-1994 South Africa (see Section 5.2).

The researcher further employed snowball sampling to a limited degree in accessing participants who are former NPC and DPME members or employees who participated in the planning processes post-1994. Those who participated in the study, as recruited by the lead officials, were asked to advertise the study to those who had left the departments. However, snowballing did not add much value since only one participant was accessed through the technique. For semi-structured interviews, the study intended to conduct 20 interviews, but due to the unavailability and limited accessibility of participants, 16 individual interviews were conducted. However, data saturation was realised before the last interview. While accepting that there is no-one-size fits all approach to data saturation (Fusch and Ness, 2015), the study did not depend on the number of interviews conducted but on the principles that no new data was emerging and that the obtained data proved to be rich (multi-layered and detailed) and thick (large) to make meaning out of it.

Non-probability purposive sampling methods were further used for selecting participants for the FGD. Purposive sampling is suitable for selecting FGD participants because the technique relies on the capacity and ability of selected participants to provide relevant information (Nyumba *et al*., 2018). Even though approaches to participant recruitment are contested, the important consideration is the impact the participant has on the discussion. Thus, researchers can use different ways to recruit potential participants, including door-to-door canvassing, recruitment questionnaires and telephone.

However, the argument that participant recruitment in an FGD is difficult and starts with participant identification (Nyumba *et al*., 2018) proved to be correct in the study. Due to the nature of the work of the potential participants and their unavailability initially, the lead official in the DPME was used to attract the commissioners in the NPC, who further recruited colleagues with planning expertise to participate in the study. Due to the difficulties experienced in obtaining further participants from the DALRRD, the researcher invited members with land reform expertise from the PLAAS (Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies) Institute at the University of the Western Cape. The Institute's members were contacted directly using the email addresses listed on the Institute's website.

Due to struggling to obtain a common date and competing activities, the FGD finally comprised three participants: two from planning and one with a land reform background. The mix of backgrounds leveraged different dimensions of views to the study in theorising how development planning can use land reform as an instrumental means of development in post-1994 South Africa. The two participants with a development planning background were recruited to the group by the lead official in the NPC/DPME. Throughout the process of recruiting and accessing participants, the researcher needed to observe all ethical-related issues to ensure that potential participants and those participating in the study were respected and that the process was free from any harm.

4.4.3 Ethical considerations when collecting data

Since research is varied in its subject areas, the methods and methodological approaches employed often raise ethical issues (Richardson and McMullan, 2007). Ethical issues are important to social sciences because humans are the objects of social science studies (Strydom, 2005). The use of humans in research brings to the fore unique ethical challenges (Richardson and McMullan, 2007). As argued by Strydom (2005), although it is generally accepted that research is often conducted with good intentions, it, however, may result in unanticipated consequences. A question a researcher needs to bear in mind is what should be done to achieve the greatest good while maintaining obligations as a researcher to themself and other humans, which speaks to the aspect of respect for persons. Hence, in its nature, research is done in a way that does good to the wider society and even those who may not be participants in the research.

Ethical considerations began with the process of completing a course on ethics offered by the University of the Witwatersrand. Post-completion of the study's long proposal, an application for ethical clearance was started and completed successfully. Further to obtaining ethical clearance permission and in concert with the University of the Witwatersrand's Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) (non-medical) rules, the study adhered to the ethical principles of informed consent, voluntary participation, doing no harm, and confidentiality. The considerations applied to both the individual interviews and focus group data collection methods.

4.4.3.1 Obtaining ethical clearance and letter of permission

Obtaining approval from the research ethics committee prior to collecting research data is key and fundamental (Lee, 2018). As a first step to adhering to ethical principles, the researcher

signed the Wits School of Governance Plagiarism (Annexure 1) to declare that all used information is correctly referenced as an ethical matter in academia. Further, as a critical part of ensuring the practical applicability of the ethical principles, the researcher ensured that an ethical clearance certificate (Annexure 2) with reference H22/11/62 was obtained from the University of the Witwatersrand's HREC (non-medical) before the collection of data. The study is categorised at a minimal risk level. Obtaining research ethics clearance approval leveraged assurance that the proposed research was peer-reviewed to ensure that it has the potential to contribute socially valuable knowledge, that the rights and well-being of participants are protected, and that risks inherent to the study are reasonably justified relative to the potential benefit gained from the study (Lee, 2018). Further, the researcher ensured that letters of permission were obtained from both the DPME (Annexure 3) and DALRRD (Annexure 4) before collecting data. The process of accessing participants in both departments was driven by lead officials within each department.

4.4.3.2 Informed consent

Informed consent is a necessary condition before collecting data (Strydom, 2005). In this study, informed consent (Annexure 5) was used to provide accurate information about the study so that participants in both the individual interviews and FGD could fully comprehend the research and make a reasoned decision about their possible participation in the study. Participants in both data collection processes were sent consent forms to complete before the interview and the group discussion. The researcher co-signed the consent before the interactions began.

4.4.3.3 Voluntary participation

In adhering to the principle of voluntary participation, the researcher ensured that participation was not coerced upon any participant. Participants were given the liberty to choose the day, time, and mode for the interviews convenient to them. This was except for the FGD wherein the researcher had to facilitate between the participants the day and time suitable for all of them to participate in the group discussion. Participants in both the individual interviews and FGD were informed that they could withdraw their participation at any time during the study and any information obtained from them at the time of withdrawal will not be used in any way in the research.

4.4.3.4 Do no harm

Although in social sciences, participants may not be harmed physically, harm may mainly be of an emotional nature (Strydom, 2005). Even though the study, in its nature, does not pose any potential harm to participants, care was taken that participants do not feel uncomfortable at any point of the study. Participants who may feel any sense of discomfort in getting involved in the study or even furthering their participation in the study were reassured that they are allowed at any point in time to withdraw their participation from the study.

4.4.3.5 Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality is underpinned by the principle of respect for autonomy (Wiles *et al*., 2008). Anonymity is a way in which confidentiality can be operationalised. In this study, information obtained from participants will not be disclosed deliberately or accidentally in ways that might name an individual. Further, the anonymisation presentation of findings was done in ways that ascertain individuals cannot be named. The study used pseudonyms like 'Participant 1' to point to different participants in the individual interviews and 'Member 1' to refer to those in the FGD. However, ensuring confidentiality might not be possible in FGDs. Thus, members of the FGD were asked that all discussions held in the virtual room should not be continued outside the virtual room after adjourning the session.

4.4.4 Data collection process and storage

Data collection processes, as discussed in Section 4.4.1, used in the study were individual interviews and a single FGD. Individual interviews were conducted with participants in both the DPME and DALRRD offices. An FGD comprised members with expertise in planning, including the commissioner of the NPC, as well as a member from the PLAAS Institute with expertise in land reform and a member from DPME. The process of data collection was done sequentially, with data collection beginning with individual interviews followed by the FGD.

4.4.4.1 Individual interviews data collection process

Data collection commenced with semi-structured individual interviews followed by the FGD. In applying for ethics clearance approval to the HREC (non-medical), the researcher submitted one interview schedule for individual interviews. Upon refining the individual interview schedule, it was observed that it was not going to leverage obtaining relevant information from the DALRRD since it was only suitable for data collection at the DPME. A second interview schedule was developed for the collection of data specifically at the DALRRD. A request and motivation to add an Addendum to the already obtained ethics clearance certificate was made

to the HREC. Approval was later granted by the HREC to add the Addendum. Thereafter the researcher began with the data collection process. Interview schedules in Annexures 6 and 7 were used to collect data through open-ended semi-structured interviews at the DPME and DALRRD, respectively.

At the DPME and DALRRD, delegated officials assisted the researcher in scheduling appointments for the individual interviews with participants in respect of the Protection of Personal Information, Act No. 4 of 2013. The researcher worked with two delegated officials at the DPME to secure appointments. The delegated officials were officials involved in the planning processes at the DPME. At the DALRRD, the email addresses of the personal assistants of key senior officials were shared with the researcher to secure appointments with potential candidates.

Before the interviews, a consent form was co-signed by each participant and the researcher. An information sheet was shared with the participants before the interview for them to familiarise themselves with the study's concepts (Annexure 8). However, some of the participants had not completed and signed the consent by the day of the interview. The researcher always carried a folder with the necessary interview documents. The researcher, wherein the participant had not completed the consent form, issued a new form and co-signed it with the participant. With the virtual interviews, the researcher ensured that the participants had signed and returned the consent form before the interview commenced.

Some challenges were encountered during the individual interview data collection period. Sometimes, participants changed the date and time that had been pre-set for the interviews even after the original set date and time had been confirmed due to other pressing commitments in participants' normal day-to-day activities as they hold positions of high responsibility with often changing office demands. However, the change of arrangements at times impacted the researcher's logistical arrangements. That is because the researcher would, at times, travel from his geographical location in Polokwane, Limpopo Province, to Pretoria, Gauteng Province (approximately 260 kilometres single trip), to conduct face-to-face interviews. Sometimes, the researcher drove in the early hours of the morning to honour early morning interview appointments, sometimes as early as 08h00. Where interviews would be scheduled on consecutive days, the researcher used a friend's house for overnight accommodation. As such, the researcher's schedule and work programme would be affected because of the short-notice postponements.

While the researcher desired to conduct only face-to-face interviews, other participants were only available for virtual meetings due to their work schedules and travel commitments. In such cases, the Microsoft Teams (MS Teams) platform was used to hold the interviews. The researcher did not only rely on the MS Teams recording, an audio recorder was also used as a backup. However, the use of MS Teams had challenges. The participant's voices would, at times, fade away. Through the conversation, the researcher had to ask participants to repeat what they were saying or speak audibly. Further, connectivity due to weather conditions at times and mostly due to load shedding was problematic. For example, the interview with Participant 7 was conducted over two days due to a storm affecting network connectivity. With other participants, connectivity was affected by load shedding. Four interviews were conducted face-to-face, and the rest were conducted using the MS Teams virtual platform. Even for the virtual interview, participants would make short-notice changes due to sudden changes in their day's work schedule. As a result, individual interviews were conducted from February 2023 to September 2023 due to the difficulties encountered in securing appointments with participants because of the nature of their work and some being reluctant to participate in the study.

In instances where participants agreed to a face-to-face interview, they were interviewed in the comfort of their places of work or offices. On the day of the interview, some participants would still be in other commitments and the researcher had to wait for them to conclude the tasks they were doing. Some participants, due to the hybrid approach to work, would come into their offices later than the scheduled time of the interview as they were working remotely. Even in the case of face-to-face interviews, the researcher had to sit and wait for participants in the waiting area in the reception. In the case of MS Teams meetings, participants would often join the meeting minutes later than the scheduled time. The researcher would sometimes have to remind or ask participants to join the MS Teams call after waiting for a while. The process of interacting with the participants and getting to interview them was challenging. However, the researcher managed to hold interviews with those who willingly cooperated to participate in the study.

At the beginning of each interview, the introduction to the interview was done wherein the purpose of the study was reconfirmed, the approximate time required (less than 45 minutes for the interview guide used for DALRRD interviews and 50 minutes for interview guide used for DPME interviews), and that all information would be treated confidentially. Although it was intended for interviews to take up to the maximum times as specified for both the DALRRD and DPME, due to the nature of semi-structured interviews, some of the interviews went

beyond the anticipated time because of probing and participants sharing at length with the researcher.

Interviews began at the DPME. After conducting the first two interviews, the researcher realised that there were two questions in the DPME interview guide that had to be refined to clarify what the questions intended to achieve with what was asked. For example, using means and tools for development had to be changed to just means. In another question, the researcher added a sentence, 'Development plans have not yet fully addressed the socio-economic challenges facing the country since 1994', to preface the question for better clarity to the participants.

As part of the consent form, permission was sought from participants to audio record the interview and they were assured that the audio recording would be stored in the Cloud and the researcher would be the only one with the access password. The data will be stored for five years after completing the analysis; thereafter, the researcher will discard it.

Signing-off of the consent form, where necessary, if not completed before the interview, was finalised, and participants were informed that they could at any point withdraw their participation from the research. Once the interview commenced, the researcher established rapport by attentively listening and showing interest in and respect for what the participant said. The researcher recorded his observations of the participants' reactions as part of the data collection process. Using probing questions to obtain in-depth information where necessary was done while respecting the views of the participants. At the end of the interview, the researcher thanked the participants for the time they took to participate in the research.

A total of 16 individual interviews were conducted with nine from the DPME and seven from DALRRD. Of a total of nine participants from the DPME who were interviewed, four are responsible for Priority 5 and five are involved in the NPC. From a total of seven participants who were interviewed at the DALRRD, three are involved in spatial planning and four are responsible for land reform programme. As explained in Section 4.4.2, data saturation was reached before the last interview was conducted. The participants who participated in the individual interviews demonstrates a fair diverse of knowledge in the subject of interest to the researcher which when saturation was reached was satisfactory.

4.4.4.2 Focus group discussion data collection process

The focus group discussion data collection process followed the individual interviews data collection and analysis processes. Thus, discussions in the focus group were premised and

guided by the analysed outcome of the individual interviews. Members who agreed to participate in the FGD were from different geographical areas. Due to members of the group being in different locations and the researcher not having funding for the study to arrange for travelling and accommodation logistics, a real-time virtual focus group was the only option the researcher could explore.

Although real-time virtual focus groups have been used for a long period, their use has become common since the emergence of COVID-19 and social-distancing protocols in 2020, which pushed the methodology into overdrive. A virtual focus group method leveraged remote conduction of the group discussion with cost and time savings while hosting all participants in a single room from different geographical locations. The group discussion was held using the MS Teams video call platform. A video call option (face-to-face) was chosen to create a conducive interactive atmosphere. A face-to-face approach to a real-time virtual focus group is encouraged since it fosters a closer approximation to the traditional focus group method (Tran *et al*., 2021).

The FGD was advertised to potential members through lead officials in the DPME to obtain potential members who are experts in planning. The researcher further invited potential members at the PLAAS Institute at the University of Western Cape to obtain a land reform expertise perspective in the group discussion. Communication was established with 16 potential members. The researcher anticipated to recruit at least six or more members. However, potential members commonly gave the reason that their schedules were hectic, and some did not even reply to emails. Some who agreed pulled out because of other commitments that they had to prioritise. Communication was later limited to members who agreed to participate in the focus group. Communication with those who agreed to participate in the group was on establishing the date and time convenient to all members. Although only three members eventually agreed to participate in the FGD, the FGD was used to support and contrast data from the individual interviews. The FGD even though it was small was not the only data collected for the study. The individual interviews data served as primary data. The size of the FGD did not compromise the trustworthiness of the findings.

Although it was not easy to find a common date and time, members went on to sacrifice in agreeing to a date and time convenient to them all. The FGD was held on the evening of the 10th of October 2023 at 18h00 to accommodate all members who agreed to participate in the discussion. The three members included one commissioner from NPC, one official from the

DMPE who also sits in the NPC, and member for the PLAAS Institute in the Western Cape University. Members of the group were sent the consent form (Annexure 9), the participation information sheet, and the consent form for the FGD (Annexure 10). The researcher ensured that each member sent back the signed consent before the discussion could take place. The approach allowed the researcher to co-sign the consent forms before the focus group discussion in compliance with ethical considerations. On the day and time of holding the virtual focus group discussion, the researcher attempted to connect earlier to accept members into the room; however, due to technological challenges with the MS Teams, the connection failed. A second link was sent, which also failed. However, Member 3, after requesting her, created another MS Teams link, which was used to hold the group discussion. In the process, all members were kept up to date about the challenge and the solution to address it.

At the commencement of the discussion, the facilitator did the introduction of the research, its purpose, and the purpose of the discussion and thanked all participants for agreeing to participate in the study as outlined in Annexure 11. The ground rules, discussion processes or approach, expectations, and anticipated length of the discussion were discussed early in the session to set the tone. Further, members of the group were encouraged to rejoin the group if they accidentally got kicked out of the room or experienced any technical cliches. Members were encouraged to be candid about their opinions while respecting each other's views. To make the discussion more engaging, members of the group discussion were further urged to feel free to agree, disagree, or pose questions to one another about the topics under discussion.

As mentioned in Section 1.5, confidentiality in FGDs cannot be guaranteed. However, the researcher requested all participants not to engage in similar discussions after the adjournment of the discussion in the room (Annexures 9 and 11). Each discussion item in the focus group discussion guide (Annexure 11) was posed conversationally to create an informal but accommodative environment in which all participants freely contributed to the discussions. While recording was done on MS Teams, the researcher in ensuring that nothing went wrong, further used the portable audio recorder to record the discussion. The researcher was the facilitator or moderator during the discussion. The discussion was guided by the programme for focus group discussions (Annexure 11). The focus group discussion lasted for 01hour and 08 minutes.

All obtained forms of information, including documented official records that were used for document analysis, were stored safely in a cloud-based storage only accessible to the researcher

through a password. All stored information will be kept for five years after concluding the analysis of the results in cloud-based storage. Thereafter, all data will be safely disposed of.

4.4.5 Data processing and analysis

As part of grounded theory, applied thematic analysis (ATA) is concerned with identifying themes or patterns in data to generate theories or models (Guest *et al*., 2012). The ATA technique is a stringent yet inductive collection of steps created to extract and analyse themes from textual material transparently and credibly. ATA was found suitable for the study because it can be used in a variety of qualitative data types i.e., individual interviews, focus group discussion, and document analysis as used in the study. These are by far the most typical kinds of textual data that researchers conducting qualitative research encounter and are analysed from a textual basis. Analysing texts from the used qualitative methods followed the ATA method to generate a theory on how development planning through the prism of land reform policy can address the socio-economic challenges of South Africa post-1994. The study employed a thematic analysis approach because this form of analysis facilitated obtaining rich and detailed information (Braun and Clarke, 2006) necessary to inform the generation of a theory in qualitative studies.

In this research study, all interviews and focus group discussions were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Transcription of data commenced immediately after conducting the first interview. After each interview, the researcher transcribed the audio records while the memory was fresh from the interview. It took over seven days to transcribe each audio record verbatim. In a sequential mixed method study, like in the data collection process, analysis followed a sequential method. Data analysis for individual interviews was conducted first. The inductive process of data analysis commenced immediately after conducting the tenth interview. The researcher could have started analysing data from the first interview but decided to wait until concluding the transcription of the tenth interview so there is thick data to make sense of.

The data analysis process followed a step-by-step process, as depicted in Figure 4.2. In the first step, the researcher began by familiarising himself with the content of each transcript. The approach was to read each transcript slowly and over again to make general sense of what the participants were saying around key issues for example, how development planning has evolved and been done in post-1994 South Africa, the context in which planning was and is done, and how the contexts inform planning, consideration of issues of public good and public interest in development planning, how means-ends were determined and selected in

development planning if planning, have development plans met their developmental ends if land reform based on Asian development has occupied space the post-1994 South African development planning, how land reform if it has to occupy space should be featured in the plan, and how plan implementation should happen. By immersing himself in the entire reading and re-reading of the transcripts, the process leveraged knowing each detail of the data for easier sense-making and becoming familiar with the collected data.

The second step the researcher took was to begin with the coding, as illustrated in Figure 4.2. The process of data coding began with the researcher generating an Excel workbook. Each participant was allocated a worksheet in the Excel workbook. Brief questions were populated on the first column of each worksheet depending on whether the participant was from the DMPE or DALRRD following the relevant interview schedule. The second column was generated for populating the codes and the third column was for populating the notes relevant to the extracted codes for each question. The analysis began with the coding process to enable the association of data with derived thematic ideas following an inductive coding process. Each transcript was carefully read while extracting codes at each level of reading or through every piece of text.

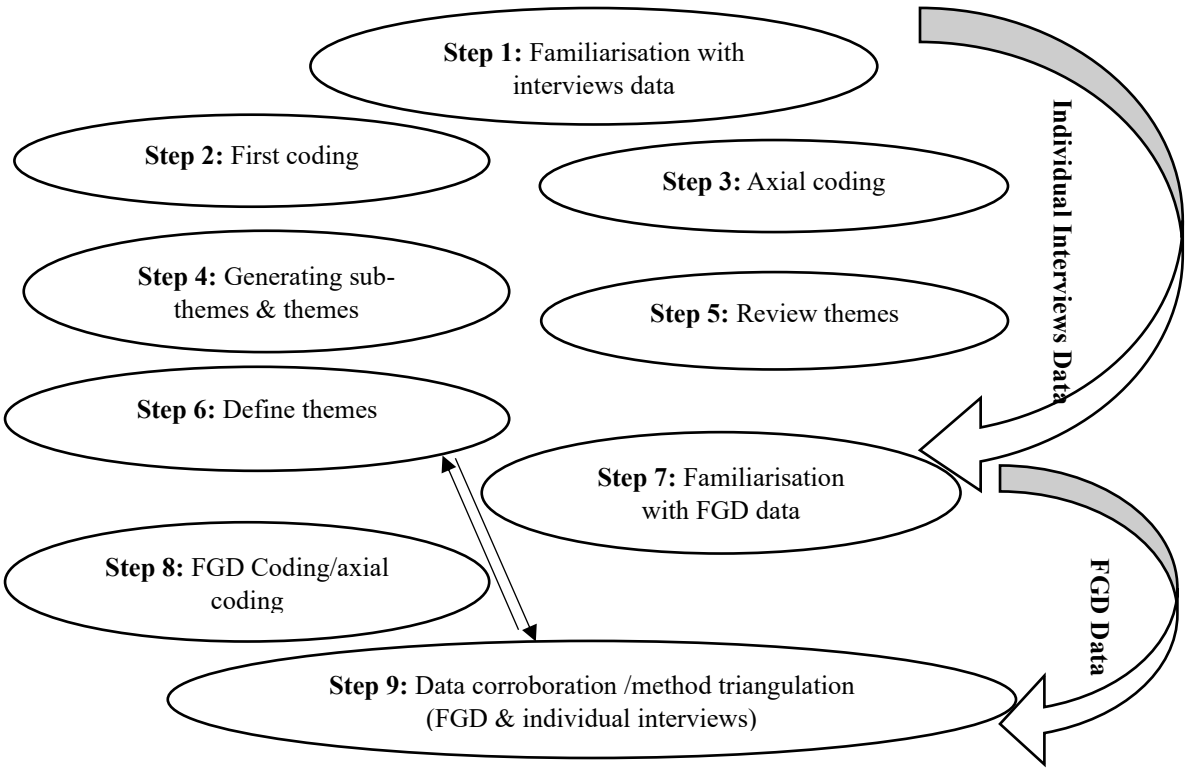


Figure 4.2 Schematic representation of the data analysis process

Source: Author's compilation

An inductive approach to coding although monotonous, fostered line-by-line coding in ensuring that information shared is used fully to attain rich data. However, this was done without losing track of the questions asked to the participants as populated in column one of each participant's worksheet, as well as the posed research questions in the study. The inductive process of coding was tedious as the researcher had to go back and forth on a single transcript to ensure that he followed and made full sense of the views of participants in capturing a code that represented what each participant said on a line-by-line basis.

In the third step, as illustrated in Figure 4.2, the researcher proceeded to axial coding, wherein explicit connections between data categories and sub-categories were made. The researcher, in conducting axial coding, categorised or clustered the codes extracted in step two into categories and sub-categories. This was done by examining all the codes wherein some fitted together into different categories and sub-categories. Those in sub-categories were further examined, resulting in the minimisation of the sub-categories into categories. Axial coding was done to understand and clearly explain the relationship between categories concerning the phenomenon to which they relate. For example, there were several codes related to challenges as a result of coordination in sectoral planning. The codes were collated together into a category called the sectoral problematic approach to planning.

In step four, as demonstrated in Figure 4.2, the researcher focused on generating sub-themes and themes by collating some sub-themes into a bigger family of themes to enable a comprehensive analysis to be conducted. Thereafter, the researcher built a logical explanation from the analysis by developing coherence both conceptually and theoretically. This was categorised based on the research questions, which were framed according to the main dimensions of the interpretive framework of the study. Further, the organisation of sub-themes into a broader family of themes seemed to start giving a specific expression about the different posed research questions. For example, the generated theme '*successes and failures in the attainment of development ends post-1994*' had to say something particular about the research question '*How were the means-ends selected and determined in the post-1994 South African development plans to attain development goals*?' Thus, the generated themes were mainly exploratory descriptive; that is, the themes described the patterns found in the data as illustrated in Table 4.1, which are relevant to the specific research questions.

Table 4.1 Preliminary themes and examples of codes informing the themes

Theme: *Evolvement of development planning post-1994* **Codes** Pro-capitalist than pro-socialist; context informed by triple challenges; public interest considered in planning; phased approach to planning; use scientific data	**Theme**: *Successes and failures in the attainment of developmental ends post-1994* **Codes** Lack of realising ends; ineffective land reform; compliance planning; lack of prioritisation	**Theme**: *Planner's views in relation to development post-1994* **Codes** Land reform role is huge to development; agreed theory of change	**Theme**: *Land reforms' place in development planning post-1994 to achieve developmental ends* **Codes** Land reform is a missing link; land reform has been featured in plans; post-settlements	**Theme**: *Recommendations for development planning and land reform* **Codes** Land use; land at the centre of development; land audit; institutional capacity

Source: Author's compilation

Once sub-theme and theme generation were completed, the developed sub-themes and themes were reviewed in step five. The main action at this step was for the researcher to ascertain if the developed sub-themes and themes make sense. In doing that, the researcher gathered data deemed relevant from the notes column of the worksheets to support the themes and sub-themes. The researcher copied information from the notes and transcripts to support the formulated themes and sub-themes. A back-and-forth process was applied to ensure from the notes in worksheets and the transcripts that the data that the researcher deemed relevant to support the themes and sub-themes indeed supported them. Thereafter, the researcher had to think about whether the formulated themes and sub-themes work in the context of the whole data set or how the themes and sub-themes work within a single interview as well as across all the interviews. The researcher had to bear in mind that themes and sub-themes must be coherent and distinct from each other, make sense, and be supported by data.

The last step the researcher took was step six, wherein he finalised the themes by refining them. It was important to revisit each theme and sub-theme in checking what exactly the theme and its related sub-themes are saying, as well as how themes and sub-themes are related to the overarching or main themes and how themes relate to each other. Figure 3.3 depicts a final thematic map of the relationships of themes in concluding analysis of data from individual interviews toward formulating the theory or framework on how development planning can feature land reform as an instrumental tool of development toward the attainment of development ends.

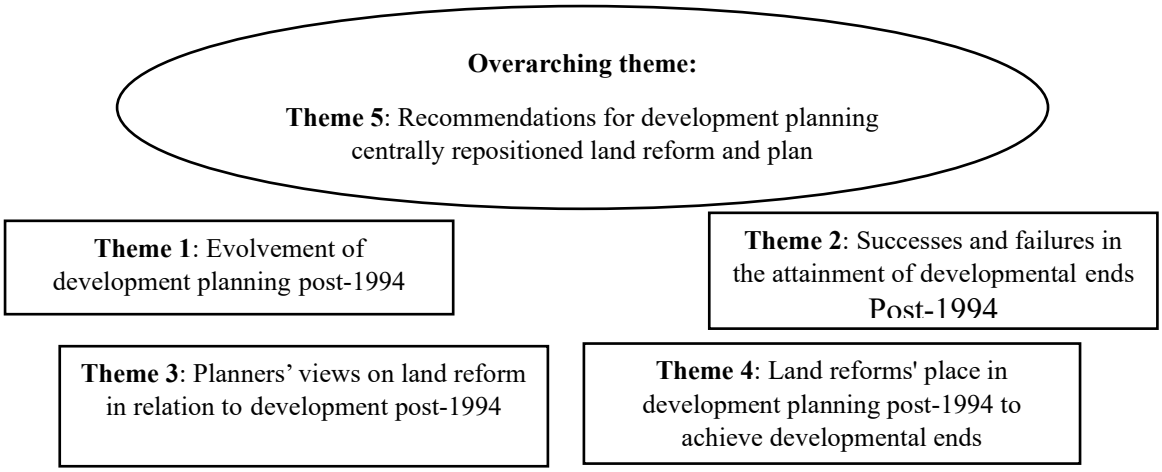


Figure 4.3 Thematic map as deduced from the individual interview data

Source: Author's compilation

Figure 4.3 depicts the overarching theme, which is fundamental to informing the theoretical contribution of the study, as well as the four themes supporting the overarching theme, which the presentation thereof will be further dealt with in the next chapter. After concluding the data analysis for individual interviews and conducting a single focus group discussion, an ATA for the FGD followed. The process followed the same steps as individual interview data analysis. The process began with transcribing the audio record for the FGD. That was followed by step seven, wherein the researcher familiarised himself with the data from FGD by reading through the FGD transcript, as illustrated in Figure 4.2. In step eight, the researcher generated the codes followed by axial coding. The researcher, in conducting axial coding, categorised or clustered the codes extracted into categories and sub-categories to find supporting and contrasting views in line with data from individual interviews. Step nine of data analysis served the purpose of integrating as well as corroborating or contrasting views from the FGD to those raised under themes from individual interviews while realising methodological triangulation.

4.5 Researcher's experience in the data collection field

The data collection process, particularly conducting individual interviews, was a daunting task the researcher had to face. Challenges began with the process of obtaining permissions from government departments wherein the process was long. The process involved the researcher undergoing security clearance and criminal record checks before the application was considered. Thereafter, the application was brought before the department's internal review process for final consideration and approval or disapproval. The process of seeking permission

to collect data in the government sectors took close to three months. However, experiences in data collection were different in the two departments in which the researcher collected data.

In the DPME, the lead officials were key in assisting to access the participants. Some of the participants were cooperative and replied to emails to set appointments for interviews, whilst some participants were slow to reply to emails. Follow-up emails were sent wherein some would reply, and others never replied. In the DALRRD, the lead official linked the researcher to different personal assistants of potential participants. It was a struggle to get a breakthrough for the first interview because people would decline to participate, citing their busy schedules. Further, potential participants would not participate, citing that their work is not relevant to the purpose of the study. In addition, officials, even when requested by the lead officials in their department to assist a researcher, did not reply to emails. After a second attempt at sending a request email, I did not send additional emails because of the reluctance of officials to reply or participate in academic research.

Government officials are not supportive of students seeking to collect data from their branches or units for academic work despite the country producing low doctoral graduates and the need for doctoral graduates as envisaged by the NDP 2030. Hence, the country continually misses the set targets because of the rigidity of the government institutions. It is herein acknowledged that data collection was a challenging and lengthy process without the necessary support and cooperation from government officials and the virtual platform, which had technological problems, including connectivity issues.

4.6 Research strengths – trustworthy measures

In qualitative research, trustworthiness is defined as the systematic rigour of the research design, the researcher's standing, the plausibility of the findings, and the application of the research methodologies (Rose and Johnson, 2020). It is the perception of a research project's overall quality. The qualitative data collected, as discussed in Section 4.4.4, and analysed, as discussed in Section 4.4.5, mainly ended in the form of text. The analysis of data in a text form, discussed in Section 4.4.5, was conducted by the researcher, which exposed it to the likelihood of subjectivity and bias. Hence, qualitative studies are criticised for lack of transparency and rigour, resulting in questionable findings' integrity (Hadi and Closs, 2016). Unlike quantitative studies, wherein the research uses reliability and validity to assess the rigour of the research, qualitative research studies use alternative ways of assessing rigour, including credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Sinkovics *et al*., 2008; Kroll, 2017).

Credibility

In realising credibility, research must demonstrate congruency of the findings to the reality. In ensuring the credibility of the findings, the researcher provided a thick and rich description of the details of what happened in the field or context of data collection, inclusion/exclusion criteria, sampling process followed and sample characteristics, data collection processes, and the analysis methods used. Further, different qualitative methods were used, including individual interviews and FGD, which are primary data collection methods for qualitative research.

Using different methods in a single research study, as argued by Shenton (2004), compensates for individual limitations and fosters the exploitation of respective benefits in other methods. In this study, the researcher used individual interviews and an FGD to compensate for the weaknesses that come with either method while obtaining rich and in-depth knowledge about development planning in post-1994 South Africa and its use of land reform as instrumental to development. As a result of using different methods, triangulation was achieved to enhance the research study's credibility. Methodological triangulation was further achieved by using different sites for data collection. Data collection was done at the DPME and DALRRD to obtain differing perspectives from participants in different organisations.

Transferability

In the positivist view, the primary concern is the application of the research results to the wider population (Shenton, 2004). Unlike in quantitative studies, qualitative researchers, by transferring research results from one context to another, seek to expand or deepen the understanding of the results (Stahl and King, 2020). The researcher, in achieving transferability, described at length what happened in the field when collecting data in Section 4.4.4 and how the data was analysed in Section 4.4.5. Further, the researcher created an audit trail of all the events that unfolded in the field of work. The audit of the decision trail includes a detailed description of techniques or methods that were used (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2), as well as sources of data collection and analysis (i.e., interviews and FGD), interpretations that were made, and the kinds of decisions were taken to show the truthfulness in the findings.

Dependability

Dependability has to do with consistency in the reached results. In achieving dependability, the researcher used overlapping methods. In a sequential mixed qualitative method technique, the

researcher conducted individual interviews followed by FGD. In this way, the information collected in the earlier method of data collection (individual interviews) overlapped with the next method of data collection (FGD). Further, the researcher provided a detailed discussion of processes that unfolded in conducting the research, thereby enabling future researchers an opportunity, where necessary, to repeat the study to gain the same results. An in-depth coverage of the processes followed fostered the reader/s to assess the extent to which research practices were followed. A detailed provision of the processes is key in enabling the reader/s of the research study to gather an understanding of the methods used and their effectiveness.

Confirmability

Confirmability has to do with objectivity in ensuring that data confirm the general findings. As argued by Shenton (2004), while confirmability is a qualitative researcher's comparable concern to objectivity, the researcher must take steps to ensure that the findings reached are a result of the participant's views and experiences, not the researcher's preferences. In ensuring study confirmability, it was ensured that the study conforms to an acceptable degree of neutrality by reducing the researcher's biases by reviewing the results several times during coding and thematic derivation. Further, by forward and backward working during the presentation of the results and discussing the findings, the study enhanced the conformability by ascertaining that interpretations of the findings are sound and confirmed what is contained in the data. Further, confirmability was achieved using methodological triangulation in reducing the researcher's bias. An audit trail also fostered confirmability by facilitating the reader/s to follow through with step-by-step processes and decisions taken by the researcher in data collection and analysis.

4.7 Chapter summary

Chapter four discussed the research approaches, design, procedures, and methods used in the study to address the research problem and answer the posed research questions. The chapter discussed the study's research strategy. Based on the study's theoretical framework, the study located itself in the social sciences underpinned by interpretivist values and beliefs. The chapter further discussed the processes followed to obtain letters of permission for data collection at the DPME and DALRRD, as well as a process for obtaining the University's ethical clearance. The chapter discussed the data collection process wherein using a sequential mixed qualitative approach, individual interviews and the FGD were used to sequentially collect data. Subsequently, data analysis was discussed. The study, using the grounded ATA, sequentially

analysed data, beginning with data from individual interviews and followed by the FGD. Chapter four further discussed the researcher's experience in the data collection field. Finally, the chapter discussed the research strengths or trustworthy measures that were applied.

Chapter five will present the research results.

Chapter 5

Results of Data Analysis

5.1 Introduction

Chapter five presents the results of pursuing the research procedures and methods applied in the study. The chapter serves the purpose of presenting the empirical results representing the insights gained from those with lived experience in development planning and the use of land reform to advance development. The results presented in this chapter are key in building the necessary empirical information to arrive at the findings and answering the first and the third secondary research questions. The first secondary research question is: *How can development planning be used to facilitate the attainment of development in post-1994 South Africa*? The third secondary research question is: *Can land reform in post-1994 South Africa be re-shaped and re-planned in a new development planning approach in addressing socio-economic failures*? Thus, it is noteworthy to mention that the second secondary research question was theoretically dealt with by interrogating the literature on how post-colonial States have envisioned and implemented land reform to advance development planning and development in chapter three. The chapter hereafter discusses the characterisation of participants and the presentation of results under different themes and sub-themes as derived from the data analysis.

5.2 Characterisation of participants in individual interviews and focus group discussion

The degree of richness and thickness in the collected data depended on the sources from which data was obtained. The presentation of the characterisation of the participants in the individual interviews and focus group discussion (Table 5.1) is a key aspect in demonstrating the rigour and trustworthiness of the study.

Individual interviews were conducted with 16 participants, and an FGD comprised three group members. Further, Table 5.1 shows that individual interviews were conducted between February 2023 and September 2023. The participants, as outlined in chapter four, were sourced from the DPME and DALRRD. Nine participants were from the DPME; one is a former African National Congress (ANC) member deployed in policy coordination, and five participants were from the DALRRD.

Table 5.1 Individual interview participants' overview

Participant's pseudonym	Category	Date of interview	Venue	Appointment time	Length of the interview
Participant 1	DPME: Priority 5	27/02/2023	DPME	09h00	39min 11sec
Participant 2	DPME: Priority 5	28/02/2023	DPME	08h00	1hr 23min 49sec
Participant 3	DPME: NPC	07/03/2023	DPME	10h30	37min 09sec
Participant 4	DPME: Priority 5	08/03/2023	DPME	09h00	41min 13sec
Participant 5	DPME: Priority 5	28/03/2023	MS Teams	10h00	47min 04sec
Participant 6	DPME: NPC	28/03/2023	MS Teams	12h00	45min 45sec
Participant 7	DPME: NPC	30/03/2023	MS Teams	15h00	41min 41sec
Participant 7 (continuation)	DPME: NPC	31/03/2023	MS Teams	16h30	22min 42sec
Participant 8	DALRRD: SPLUMA	11/04/2023	DALRRD	10h00	1hr 05min 59sec
Participant 9	DALRRD: SPLUMA	03/05/2023	MS Teams	10h00	47min 06sec
Participant 10	DALRRD: SPLUMA	04/05/2023	MS Teams	12h00	55min 14sec
Participant 11	DPME: NPC	16/07/2023	MS Teams	14h30	1hr 24min 49sec
Participant 12	DPME: NPC	25/07/2023	MS Teams	10h30	35min 08sec
Participant 13	DALRRD: Land Reform	25/08/2023	MS Teams	16h00	30min 19sec
Participant 14	DALRRD: Land reform	01/09/2023	MS Teams	08h00	08min 19sec
Participant 15	DALRRD: Land reform	06/09/2023	MS Teams	08h30	41min 34sec
Participant 16	DALRRD: Land reform	13/09/2023	MS Teams	19h30	30min 46sec

Source: Author's compilation; DALRRD: Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development; DPME: Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation; NPC: National Planning Commission; SPLUMA: Spatial Planning and Land Use Management

The participants, as illustrated in Table 5.1, were key in providing the study's core data. The FGD members were key in providing corroborating and contrasting data to the core data. Table 5.2 provides an overview of the members who participated in the FGD.

Table 5.2 Focus group discussion members' overview

Member's name	Category	Date of FGD	Venue	Appointment time	Length of the discussion
Member 1	PLAAS Institute (University of Western Cape)	10 October 2023	MS Teams	18h00	1hr 08min 31sec
Member 2	DPME: NPC				
Member 3	DPME: Priority 5				

Source: Author's compilation; DPME: Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation; NPC: National Planning Commission; PLAAS: Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies

As illustrated in Table 5.2, the FGD was conducted on the 10th of October 2023. Three members participated in the FGD, which lasted for 1hr 08 minutes.

Empirical results from the individual interviews, as illustrated in Table 5.1, show that participants in the study have been involved in the post-1994 development planning and land reform policy processes. For example, Participant 2 said:

"*I was involved with the crafting of the medium-term strategic framework for the current term, that is 2019 to 2024. Further, I was also involved with the drafting of the 2009 to 2013 MTSF [Medium-Term Strategic Framework]and I was part of the National Planning Commission secretariat at the time when the National Development Plan was crafted. In terms of national development planning, I have been involved since 2008*."

Further, most of the interviewed participants have been involved in the development planning and land reform processes over the years and played significant roles, including that of secretariat to the NPC, senior management spatial planning, and specialist experts in land reform. The roles they played positioned them better to share their lived experiences and insights significant to obtaining knowledge and understanding of development planning post-1994 and its use of land reform toward attaining developmental ends. Participant 8 mentioned:

"*I consider myself a land reform development practitioner in a way. Although I am a registered planner, I have been involved in land reform programs or related programs for almost 20 years. I have participated in several land reform policy development processes and frameworks for a very long time*."

Participant 1 added:

"*In my role in planning we identify what are the burning issues and what has been left behind in the NDP [National Development Plan] from the previous cycles. We plan those issues, and we talk to the departments about the issues. We look at the budget as well because a plan must be budgeted for otherwise it is not a plan*."

Two members of the FGD are experts in development planning, and one is an expert in land reform. The members with expertise in development planning play key roles in post-1994 South African development planning. One serves in the NPC, and the other is a planning practitioner specialising in spatial planning. The expert in land reform was sourced from the PLAAS Institute at the University of the Western Cape. The data presented in the next section was obtained from those who with significant roles and have lived experiences in either development planning or land reform in post-1994 South Africa. The next section presents the empirical results of the study.

5.3 Presentation of empirical research results

The section serves to present the empirical results, which are key to the discussion of the findings. The presentation of the results begins with the individual interview themes and sub-

themes corroborated or contrasted by views from those who participated in the FGD in realising data integration or triangulation of data.

5.3.1 Presentation of key themes and sub-themes generated from individual interviews

Table 5.3 provides the themes and subthemes that emanated from the individual interview data. The study arrived at five key themes: evolvement of development planning post-1994, successes and failures in the attainment of development ends post-1994, planners' views on land reform regarding development post-1994, land reform's place in development planning post-1994 toward achieving development ends, and recommendations for development planning featuring a repositioned land reform and plan implementation. In presenting the generated themes, sub-themes are presented under each theme supported by relevant quotes from the participants. Focus group data is used to either corroborate or contrast the views of those who participated in the individual interviews. The presentation of the results under both individual interviews and FGD is supported by direct quotes from participants in the individual interviews or members of the FGD, respectively.

Table 5.3 Individual interview themes and sub-themes

Themes	***Subthemes***
Theme 1: Evolvement of development planning post-1994	*1.1. Context and public interest consideration in development planning*
	1.2. Developmental means used post-1994 to attain developmental ends
	1.3. Determination of developmental means and ends in development planning post-1994
	1.4. Sufficiency of used means in attaining development ends
Theme 2: Successes and failures in the advancement of development post-1994	*2.1. Development means are to a certain extent instrumental in contributing to the realisation of the developmental ends depending on the sector*
	2.2. Failure of development plans post-1994 to attain development ends
	2.3. Systematic issues of limited State's capacity and resources for the implementation of development plans post-1994
Theme 3: Planners' views on land reform regarding development post-1994	*3.1. Context of land reform planning post-1994*
	3.2. Land reform impact on development
	3.3. Slowness in land reform implementation
Theme 4: Land reform's place in development planning post-1994 toward achieving developmental ends	*4.1. Land reform's significance in development planning*
	4.2. Instrumentality of land reform to development
Theme 5: Recommendations for development planning featuring a repositioned land reform and plan implementation	*5.1. Recommendations for a development plan that features land as an instrumental tool for development*
	5.2. Recommendation to improve development planning
	5.3. Recommendation to improve overall implementation in development

Source: Author's compilation

The first two themes (Table 5.3) are related to the first secondary research question: *How can development planning be used to facilitate the attainment of development in post-1994 South Africa*? The third, fourth, and fifth themes (Table 5.3) are related to the third secondary research question: *Can land reform in post-1994 South Africa be re-shaped and re-planned in a new development planning approach in addressing socio-economic failures*?

5.3.2 Presentation of themes related to the first secondary research question

This section presents empirical results related to the first secondary research question: *How can development planning be used to facilitate the attainment of development in post-1994*

South Africa? The presented themes are the evolvement of development planning post-1994 and successes and failures in the advancement of development post-1994.

5.3.2.1 Theme 1: Evolvement of development planning post-1994

Theme 1 presents views on the evolvement of development planning post-1994 from planners involved in development planning and land reform. The results are presented under four sub-themes, which are supported by relevant quotations from the interviewees: context and public consideration in development planning, development means used post-1994 to attain development ends, determination of developmental means and ends in development planning in post-1994, and sufficiency of used means in attaining development ends.

Sub-theme 1.1: Context and public interest consideration in development planning

The inheritance of a segregated pre-1994 planning system impacted the development planning system adopted in post-1994 South Africa. However, development planning in post-1994 has evolved and considers the context of the country in an attempt to address the inheritance of the pre-1994 development planning. The inheritance of the pre-1994 development planning, which informed the post-1994 development planning, was described by Participant 5 as follows:

"*...so, the first point to make is the inheritance in 1994. So, what the democratic government inherited in 1994 was a very short-mended planning system, which was racially disaggregated and which was aimed at the development of only one sector of the population to the disadvantage of the rest. So, since 1994, the government has made strides towards achieving integrated planning, starting with the RDP [Reconstruction and Development Programme] document of 1994.*"

In extension, the empirical results show that despite the inheritance of segregated pre-1994, post-1994 development planning has considered the context of the country in terms of the challenges of poverty, inequality, and unemployment. In the view of Participant 12:

"*...I think it [development planning] has always been very much rooted in the social and economic context of the country. The National Planning Commission had a diagnostic report that attempted to gauge social and economic trends before developing the National Development Plan. So, development planning has always attempted to take account of the social and economic context [of the country].*"

While post-1994 development planning has considered the context of the country in addressing the inheritance of the pre-1994 development planning, the planning approach and instruments have not changed over time, making planning ineffective. In their view, Participant 6 argued:

"*I think that over the years, planning did not, if you say, consider the context. Planning did not review its approach and instruments over time, taking into consideration realities on the ground.*"

The sentiment of Participant 6 was echoed by Participant 11, who further elaborated:

"*…on the planning side, there was never a full exploitation of the improvement of planning and administration, and even today, government systems across government are weak. So, if you think of our financial systems in government, there are still old transversal systems that are not integrated.*"

Public interest in planning are key to how development planning strives to consider the interests of those who are supposed to benefit from the envisaged development ends of a plan. The empirical results showed that planning should consider the greater good of society by applying the social justice principle or approach. For example,

"*So whatever planning [we] do, we consider that what we are doing is for the benefit of the greater good of the society. [The question] is what we are planning to do take into consideration the views of the people?*" (Participant 1)

In considering public interest, development planning strives to address the needs of the people. According to Participant 3, the interests of society are incorporated in the State of the Nation Address. He alluded:

"*For example, we do advise the president every year when you listen to the SONA [*State of the Nation Address*], there is a list of initiatives that the government is planning to do. They are coming from us, from the views of the same people that we engage when we do the stakeholder engagement. Like for an example about the youth employment services and all of that.*"

Further, Participant 5 alluded that there are measures put in place considering public interest in development planning:

"*…our development plans in South Africa have been predicated on addressing public interest and well-being. The first is poverty, the second is unemployment, and the third is inequality to give people equal access to opportunities.*"

However, development planning post-1994, in considering the context and interests of all, is critiqued by others for being pro-poor by overlooking economic development and not accommodating the interests of all society. Participant 7 argues that,

"*…the pro-poor planning processes often fail in economic development. You find that we [the government] are focusing more on the basic services. We [government] are focusing more on the backlog in terms of human settlement or housing but then no efforts are being made to address issues of economic development.*"

Additionally, often public interest in development planning post-1994 is overshadowed by individual or elite's interest. In their observation, Participant 2 is of the view that,

"*…in as much as we want to pursue the common good and public interest, public interest is often defined by those who are better capable of putting forward their interest.*"

Sub-theme 1.2: Developmental means used post-1994 to attain developmental ends

A development plan without means to attain the plan's ends renders it ineffective. Participant 7 demonstrated that various social and economic means have been used in post-1994 development planning toward achieving the developmental ends in different development plans that the country embarked on post-1994. He was of the view that,

"*There have been various programmes that government have tried through various departments to improve the lives of the poor and fast track the issue of service delivery but then most of them have not done very well [to attain the development ends] as envisaged.*" (Participant 7)

Concurring with Participant 7, other participants said that different means have been used to attain development ends in different development plans post-1994. For example, Participant 5 pointed to the Black Industrialist Programme as an economic means:

"*We had things like the Black Industrialist Programme, which was championed by Minister Rob Davies. He wanted Black people to become owners of manufacturing companies and run industries.*"

In the view of Participant 4:

"Government used a variety of tools as they wanted to. One, they used the industrial sector. Two, they used the network industry as a means to drive development."

Further, Participant 2 had the following to say:

"*I think there are different ways in which government works. So, industrialisation, mining activities, and the SMME [small, micro and medium enterprises] sector are used in development plans.*"

On the other hand, other participants pointed to using social wages, land use, and the Relative Rights of People Working the Land as a means of development. Participant 5 argued:

"*Then you have what is called the social wage. The social wage refers to a package of services that the government provides to alleviate the plight of those who are at the lower social-economic end.*"

For Participant 10, the land use scheme was used as a development means. The participant alluded:

"*…firstly, spatial development frameworks and secondly, land use scheme [were used] because those are the two key instruments that drive planning at a local level.*"

In addition, Participant 15 pointed to Strengthening the Relative Rights of People Working the Land as a development means. She shared her view:

"*The former Department of Rural Development, as we used to know it, embarked on a programme called Strengthening the Relative Rights of People Working the Land. We have created various programmes, which were intended to protect the food security of the country and the people whose livelihood depended on working the land through that programme*."

Sub-theme 1.3: Determination of developmental means and ends in development planning post-1994

Empirically, different pathways of selection means were used in South Africa's post-1994 development planning. Pre-1994 ready-to-govern documents, as per the view of Participant 4, enforced through legislation were fundamental to informing the means used to attain development in post-1994 South Africa. She said the following:

"*I think if we go back to some of the documents, the ready-to-govern document that was produced by the ANC pre-1994 it spelt out some of the broad objectives. Then shortly after 1994, green and white papers led to legislation that spelt out the pathway that the government would like to pursue.*"

The view of Participant 4 was further echoed by Participant 5 that means used in development planning post-1994 in South Africa are selected in the ruling party's successive conferences. Participant 5 stated:

"*They [means] were developed by the ruling party in its successive conferences, and then those who were sent to the government to work for the ruling party were then tasked with making sure that those policies of the ruling party are translated into government programmes.*"

Further, means in post-1994 South African development planning were selected based on strong economists and treasury perspectives. The view of Participant 6 was that,

"*Compared to the social sector and the social policy advocates, the economists are always stronger, and you have a very strong minister of treasury, all with a strong economic interest in the country.*"

More emphatically, Participant 2 argued:

"*There is no consistent logic that frames and describes exactly what should happen in selecting means to development.*"

However, Participant 1 was of a contrasting view to other participants. He pointed to the use of statistical information and research to inform the selection of means in the post-1994 South African development planning. Participant 1 mentioned:

"We use the official statistics to identify where the problems are. Thereafter, we discuss how [we are] going to address the problem or what is the best possible way within the budget that we can use to attain the ends. So that is one thing. We further use the information from the universities and other research institutions. In short, we use credible data to say where the problems are. We use credible data to premise our planning in terms of existing situations and how the desired goal could be reached."

Development planning strives to attain certain development ends using different means of development. A selection of ends and criteria used are key to focusing on the direction to be taken in development planning. Empirical results showed that the ends of a plan are selected in a manner that is ambiguous based on assumptions or projections. For example, Participant 3 said:

"*When those targets were made, for example, we are going to create X number of jobs. It was based on a certain number of assumptions that the economy should grow by 5% or at an*

average of 5.4%. We are growing at, what, 0.2% or 0.3% now, which is already not getting us there. These are the assumptions that were made; for example, that employment will increase from 13 million in 2010 to 24 million in 2030 and small and medium-sized enterprises will play a role in creating 90% of the jobs with an average GDP growth of 5% or 5.4%."

Elaborating on the same view, Participant 2 added:

"*Quite often, assumptions and projections are used. I want to use the NDP as an example. Now the NDP had certain assumptions put in place. For instance, to deal with certain things, for example, the triple challenges of poverty, inequality, and unemployment, you should have a specific level of economic growth that you need to maintain. You can project okay; we have been able to grow at 5% over three years; will we be able to maintain that for the next 20 years.*"

In addition to the views of Participants 3 and 2, Participant 5 said:

"*Developmental ends or the developmental goals since 1994, the process of developing them was what I described, from the ruling party to government.*"

Elaborating on the view of Participant 5, Participant 12 clarified:

"*I suppose the overarching ends have been quite consistent in terms of we want to overcome poverty, inequality, and unemployment. Those have been, and I think from the RDP [Reconstruction and Development Programme] up to the National Development Plan, those have been the overarching policy goals."*

Sub-theme 1.4: Sufficiency of used means in attaining development ends

Means used to attain development ends in development planning post-1994 are argued to be instrumental, according to the empirical data. It is because selected means strive to address the circumstances wherein the majority were disadvantaged pre-1994.

"*The reason they [means to development] are instrumental is because they were appropriate. They were appropriate for a country like ours that had just emerged from many years of oppression and seeing the number of economically disadvantaged people and the fact that the government was not going to skill all of them at the same time. At the same time, while the government is producing nurses, doctors, and lawyers, it needs to strengthen those who are involved in small business development, agriculture, and other means of economic*

development. It is a parallel track. My short answer is that they are instrumental under circumstances that the government is facing."

Participant 10, while agreeing that the means used could be instrumental in attaining ends, argued, by departing from the point, that there are many plans but lack a unified implementation. He outlined his view:

"*I think we have too many plans; maybe we need to rationalise the number of plans we have. Let us take the current scenario; we have a National Development Plan, a National Spatial Development Framework, several transport plans, water sector plans, etc. Then provincial spatial development framework, provincial growth, and development strategies. We have a district spatial development framework, a municipal spatial development framework, and a municipal integrated development plan. We now have the DDM [District Development Model] and One plan. So, I think we are just creating this complex environment where we are driven into the cycle of trying to develop all these plans, and once we have developed them, we then do not have the correct instruments [or means] and institutional structures to implement them.*"

The view of Participant 10 was further echoed by Participant 4:

"*We do not need any other plan. We have so many plans. One of the problems that we are having is developing many plans. We end up not accomplishing anything. We need to focus on what we have and make it work for us rather than looking for any other new things that might derail our thinking going forward.*"

In supporting the views of the individual interview participants about the post-1994 development planning inheritance of pre-1994 development planning, FGD Member 2 said, "D*evelopment planning has had to contend with inherited development conditions, inherited planning framework, and in many ways inherited models of planning. And it has been a gradualist approach to change in that way.*" The view was also shared by FGD Member 3: "*…we have inherited the apartheid spatial planning legacy wherein spatial transformation has always been a challenge, not just to society, but to the development agenda*". However, the general view from both the individual interviews and FGD is that while planning has inherited the pre-1994 legacy, it has evolved. Member 2 said "*development planning has been going through a gradualist approach to change*". In considering the context and public interest, Member 1 added to the views of participants in the individual interviews that "*development by its nature is not quite straightforward.*" She argued that "*development planning involves the social, economic, and political aspects*" interplaying in the context of planning. The view of

the members of the FGD is that planning considers the interests of those affected by the plan but is also more driven by the interest of those developing the plan. This is evident in the view of Member 1, who added that "*development planning has become more of a political agenda*".

Member 2 added that,

"…*the idea that government can plan and plans alone and that all other actors then join in to endorse the government plan, it is a problem. At the local government level, the IDPs [Integrated Development Plans] are developed by some group of elites or by the government and then there is something called IDP consultations, where you feel the plan is already written and it is complete, and consultation is a tick-box exercise. The idea of government compliance leads to the ticking of the tick-box.*"

Development planning is driven by the political agenda. This resulted in what Member 2 coined as "…*having piecemeal planning all over; three-year planning, one-year planning, myopic planning, silo planning, and all of that. So, it is still a huge battle to get our society to get used to planning in the manner developmental States out there are used to it.*" The contention from the FGD as to why, in post-1994 South Africa, development has evolved in this direction is that the country does not have the same structure and discipline that other countries, such as South Korea, Singapore, China, Norway, and Sweden, have in development planning.

Whilst the FGD members agree with the used means to development in post-1994 South African development planning, a contrasting view was raised in terms of how the country has used different means toward attaining development. Member 2 was of the view that whatever means used or any planning that has happened or is happening is compliance and process-driven rather than outcome-focused:

"…everything we plan, including on land, agricultural development, rural development, and urban development, are all compliance-driven and process-driven and not outcome-focused. That is why a lot of the planning that is undertaken is more of quantifying means and ends rather than the quality of change that should happen."

The view from the FGD is that whilst different means have been used in development planning in post-1994 South Africa, it has been more government compliance led by the elite group with those affected brought in to endorse government plans, leading to a tick-box process. The focus should be on driving change by considering inputs from those affected by the plan, which can be used to attain the change or ends envisaged.

Views obtained from the focus group discussion members corroborate the views of those who participated in the individual interviews. However, while in support of using scientific data in post-1994 South African development planning, Member 2 was critical in his view that "*development planning, short-sighted, haphazard, and incoherent as it is, still relies on scientific data*". The point the member was making is on the extent to which scientific data is used in driving development plans to attain development ends. Member 2 elaborated that "*whether we fully understood what scientific data required so that it can lead to a change in society is another question. It seems to me we got mechanical about it. We are not processing data sufficiently to change behaviour [that] is what is needed for us to change society.*" In more of an interventionist view, a sentiment was raised in the FGD that in a country that needs change in its development trajectory like the one South Africa seeks through development planning, a theory of change is required and not a complicated academic theory. Member 2 expatiated:

"*We need a theory of change instead of assumptions about what is called change in the country. I do not know what is that theory of change right now or what is government theory of change right now and it is a concern. Plans change from minister to minister, from government to government, government to department, from meeting to meeting, issue to issue, public policy to public policy. Planning in reference to means and ends gets to be all over the place. It is a challenge that we need to overcome.*"

Means and ends in development planning from the perspective shared herein from the FGD lack consistency depending on the political shifts that affect the planning trajectory toward a change required in society.

When asked about the means used in post-1994 development plans and alternative means to be used to attain the ends of the plans, members of the FGD support the view held by participants in the individual interviews that means used to attain development ends are sufficient. Member 3 in the FGD was emphatic that "*developing another framework or another policy is not going to fix things*". This implies the means used since post-1994 in South African development plans are adequate. This view was shared by Member 1, who added that "*we do not need alternative means until we are certain that the current means are not working. We need to make the things that we have developed work.*" The current means used in development, as demonstrated, are adequate and should be made to work to deliver the envisaged ends.

5.3.2.2 Theme 2: Successes and failures in the advancement of developmental post-1994

Theme 2 presents the successes and failures in the attainment of development ends post-1994. The theme is presented under three sub-themes: development means are to a certain extent instrumental in contributing to the realisation of the development ends depending on the sector, failure of development plans post-1994 to attain development ends, and systematic issues of limited State's capacity and resources for implementation of development plans post-1994.

Sub-theme 2.1: Development means are, to a certain extent, instrumental in contributing to the realisation of the developmental ends depending on the sector

Empirical results demonstrated that development means used post-1994 were, to a certain extent, instrumental in contributing to the realisation of the development ends. Their instrumentality has been highly evident from the social rather than industrial policy perspective. Participant 5 stated:

"*They [development means] have been very instrumental in contributing to the realisation of the developmental ends. As far as developed and implemented social policies [are concerned], the selected means have been very instrumental in moving us further towards elevating most of the people in this country above the poverty line. So, if you look at what I call the social wage, this government has done very well. Development means were instrumental in some areas and not helpful in others.*"

The view of Participant 5 was also shared by Participant 12, who further showed that industrial policy has not been effective. Participant 12 alluded:

"*I think the answer would be that it varies across different means. So, for instance, social grants have been effective at reducing hunger and poverty and achieving a variety of other developmental goals. On the other hand, industrial policy has not been effective in creating more employment as far as I am concerned. So, I could not say all the means were not instrumental or failed in achieving their goals.*"

In clarifying that the industrial/economic policies have not been instrumental, Participant 4 said:

"*They [government] expect that if our population is growing at 2% per annum, they expect the employment to grow proportionally to that. Most of the time, this is not the case because there are factors that determine whether the country will be able to absorb the growing number of people that need to join the active employment sector, which is determined by how the country*

is growing its economy. Then you cannot expect an economy that is growing at 0.6% to accommodate a population growth that is at about 3%; surely, you are having a big gap there."

Sub-theme 2.2: Failure of development plans post-1994 to attain development ends

The participant's view under this sub-theme is that development plans post-1994 have not attained the envisaged development ends. Participants indicated that there has been limited progress in alleviating poverty and reducing employment, development plans post-1994 are too broad and fail to prioritise, and economic ends have not been achieved. Participant 7 was clear:

"*No, they [development plans] have not achieved ends. Plans that came post-1994 from the RDP [Reconstruction and Development Programme] plan, including the NDP [National Development Plan], have not achieved what is intended to be achieved.*"

Participant 12 mentioned:

"No, they [development plans] have not achieved ends because the unemployment rate is much higher than it was before, and inequality is also high. I mean, I would not say it is necessarily higher; inequality is certainly no lower than it was before. While there has been, I suppose, some progress in alleviating poverty, it has not been very decisive, and so poverty is still very much with us."

Participant 11 added:

"*Look how high unemployment is; our inequality is still very high, you know. Poverty is still too high. South Africans are not happy, so you know the plans have failed.*"

Participant 5 was of the view that,

"*Developmental goals have not been [achieved]; if you compare against both the RDP [Reconstruction and Development Programme] and the NDP [National Development Plan], particularly on the issue of economic emancipation or economic empowerment. And the two fundamental issues I raised earlier are the reasons why we have not moved. This way, one, I spoke about the issue of land. I spoke about the issue of skills and thirdly, the issue of transformation. The economy is still in the hands of a few in South Africa. We have not made sufficient strides towards economic transformation as a country.*"

Participant 11 added:

"*Plans have failed. My sense is why did the plans fail? I think in one sense we were naive about a lot of things. The other view could be that the NDP [National Development Plan] was just not right from the beginning; it was too broad, too many things, and too much wishful thinking. A sense of prioritisation was never there; it was always about trying to do too much with limited capacity.*"

Sub-theme 2.3: Systematic issues of limited State's capacity and resources for the implementation of development plans post-1994

The views of participants were that the State is characterised by a limited capacity to implement plans, the disjuncture between plan and implementation, a fragmented sectoral approach, and misalignment between planning and budgeting. Participant 8 said:

"*But it is a systematic issue. It is not an individual thing; it is not about me. It is a systematic issue. So, if we all as a collective are not able to put in place and give effect to the policy or legislation that the country adopted, it is a big problem, and that is where we are.*"

Participant 15, in speaking about fragmentation, said:

"*I think what is sabotaging us at this point is the fragmented approach to doing things. I mean, our Constitution contains an important democratic doctrine that is called Separation of Powers. But I do not think the intention was for us to work in three different directions. Otherwise, there is no way we would be able to fully achieve the goals of the NDP [National Development Plan]. I think what is required is collaboration on matters toward working as if we are one arm and succeed. And I think it can be done without undermining the doctrine of Separation of Powers. It just requires a unified approach, as far as I am concerned. A unified approach is needed, and it will help fast-track development as far as I am concerned.*"

Participant 7 believed that,

"*Sometimes it becomes biased because we plan, but then what is inside the plan does not talk to the budget, so the planning and budgeting are not aligned. Therefore, the plans remain stagnant because you cannot implement any plan if there is no money or if there is no budget for the implementation. The plan fails because the budget for implementing the plan is not looked into.*"

Participant 14, echoing the view of Participant 7, added:

"*The one thing that makes the development slow is the lack of funding. So, if we have resources, for example, a lot of money, we can buy land. And you remember, even when we are expropriating, we expropriate with compensation. So, that compensation is money.*"

Participant 12 was of the following viewpoint:

"*Well, I would just say so we have had policies, but they have been diffused and ineffective and failed to properly prioritise what is the aim of reforms and failed to allocate resources and create the right institutions to give effect to those reforms. In the case of land reform, the result has been almost exclusive. I mean, there has been tenure reform, as well as a large focus on restitution, which has been very poorly administered and has largely led to the distribution of cash gratuities to redeem or compensate people from previous injustices.*"

Development means, according to the participants, have been more instrumental from the social policy perspective, wherein most South Africans are on social grants to alleviate poverty. However, the individual interview results show that industrial/economic policy has not been instrumental since most people are unemployed, and the slow economic growth does not assist in creating and absorbing people into employment. The view is corroborated in the FGD that what the country is trying to achieve if being measured, will show that there is no real impact realised across different means used to realise the developmental ends. Member 3 in the FGD said, "*...the outcomes that we measure do not show that we are making an impact. It is because we are not focused on development. We are still dealing with issues of service delivery backlogs et cetera. We also still have issues of the urban-rural divide.*" The challenge that emanated from the FGD about the instrumentality of means to realise ends is that the timeframes against which ends are set and means selected are too far-fetched.

The view that development planning has not yet achieved its intended ends was echoed in the focus group discussion wherein Member 2 alluded:

"*Development planning has also been confronted with challenges related to the structure of society that has made it very difficult to achieve the goals that have been set. We are not making headway because of coordination issues, incoherence, and because we focus on output rather than outcomes. Poverty continues to rise. Unemployment continues to rise. Inequality continues to rise. The outcomes are unfortunately not reached.*"

In a contrasting view that developments have been met, Member 3 said, "…*if you look at the trajectory of planning in the last 30 years or so, you will see that many of the development ends*

have been met, but there are disparities that exist". Member 1 relates the problem of not attaining the developmental ends and the disparities that are raised by Member 2 to the "*disjuncture in terms of the reality and planning processes*". A view of FGD members is that while development planning has attained some ends, it struggles to make a significant change in society based on the high levels of inequality, poverty, and unemployment. The same view emanated from the individual interviews.

Corroborating the views of the participants in the individual interviews, the FGD members agree that there are systematic issues of limited State capacity for the implementation of development plans in post-1994 South Africa. About this, Member 3 said, "*…implementation is very slow"*. The view of Member 3 was expanded on by Member 2:

"*What we need is not to tweak out any related elements of the plan, but to tweak every element related to the person called the planner and the person called implementer. They need to behave better, they need to perform better, and the institutions around them need to perform better about the plans, means and ends that are there.*"

Member 2 strongly argued that "*implementation is very bad, and it is a problem*". The view of Member 2 was expanded on by Member 3, who highlighted the challenge behind development plan implementation to *"…policies being very far-fetched and timeframes being too way in*". Member 3 further associated the development plan implementation challenge to the impact due to political shift when she said the following:

"*…when a new political party comes in or new government administration, plans keep on changing, and we are never able to see actual implementation. We are very good at developing policies, frameworks, and strategies, but we lose momentum when we are impacted by these negative issues that we must deal with.*"

The development plan implementation, as expressed in the individual interviews and FGD, is problematic in hindering the attainment of development ends. The next section presents the themes related to the third secondary research question.

5.3.3 Presentation of themes related to the third secondary research question

This section presents empirical results related to the third secondary research question: *Can land reform in post-1994 South Africa be re-shaped and re-planned in a new development planning approach in addressing socio-economic failures*? The themes presented here are planners' views on land reform regarding development post-1994, land reform's place in

development planning post-1994 in advancing development, and recommendations for development planning featuring a repositioned land reform and plan implementation toward answering the third research secondary research question.

5.3.1.3 Theme 3: Planners' views on land reform regarding development post-1994

Theme 3 presents empirical results on planners' views of land reform regarding development post-1994. The theme is presented under sub-themes: the context of land reform planning and implementation post-1994, land reform's impact on development, and slowness of land reform implementation.

Sub-theme 3.1: Context of land reform planning and implementation post-1994

Participants' expressed that land reform planning is politicised, more reactive than proactive and informed by the neoliberal political economy. Further, the South African land reform project is more pro-capitalist than pro-socialist. South African land reform is seen as a different agenda from the development agenda. Participants showed that land reform is slowly fading away from the centre of the South African discourse. Participant 8 said:

"*It [land reform] has been politicised. Land reform adopted a neoliberal approach to development, so they did not want it to be done in a socialist way. In reality, land reform was supposed to be a day-to-day development programme of the government that aimed to address the inequalities in the country. The question becomes why land reform is not demonstrating the same effect and impact we see with social grants. I think for me, that becomes the problem, and the problem is politicisation. There is some form of capture of land reform by the elites. As a result, the messaging has been twisted, it has come out as completely different to what the programme is all about. Because of that, I think that is why people have been saying land reform has not worked. Land reform has been unsuccessful because when you take something that is meant to serve a certain purpose and want to use it for a different objective altogether, it is not going to work. People started to see land reform as a way of becoming very rich quickly*."

Participant 9 added:

"*Land reform has been done in a way that is more reactive than proactive.*"

In her view that land reform is slowly fading, Participant 9 said:

"*And it is not like we were not talking about land reform. I was surprised that if you look at the recent SONA [State of the Nation Address 2023], we never talked about land reform. The recent SONA never had even a sentence about land reform. I think land reform has been depleting because it lost its relevance. The only thing is, it was always there, but I think the implementation was always a challenge and land reform lost its relevance as we went by because we talk about so many billions that have been spent. People have accepted that land reform has failed.*"

In clarifying that land reform is seen as a different agenda from the development agenda, Participant 8 further added:

"*I always like to say that when people talk about development in general in South Africa, they seem to be dealing with it without land reform. They like to see it as a different agenda to the broader development agenda, but the reality is that land reform was formulated post-1994 as one of the main reconstruction and development programmes of the post-1994 development agenda. So, in essence, land reform is supposed to be cross-cutting in the broader agenda of government to drive development in the country.*"

Sub-theme 3.2: Land reform's impact on development

The view of participants is that land use in post-1994 South Africa is limited and characterised by insufficient implementation. Participant 9 was of the view that,

"*We do not normally take cognisance of land use, which is very critical. I think if we, as a country, if we looked at the land use analysis for the country, we would not have been in the mess we are in. A typical example is an area where you find that land was acquired for a proactive land acquisition strategy [PLAS]. When you look at that land, it is located on a flat plain, which, for agricultural purposes, people would say is good. But then there are cases where when you look at these PLAS areas, you find that they get flooded. They get flooded and some of the people cannot even make a living out of them. So, the purpose of using it [land] becomes a waste. So, I think a thorough land use analysis needs to be done.*"

Participant 15 added:

"*When we are supposed to make land available for various land needs, we have just been focusing on agriculture. But as I indicated, there is just one element under land redistribution, which we have always neglected to give attention to, and that is the element of ensuring that land is accessible for many other land uses, for example, for the development of malls,*

residential purposes, and development of commercial properties. We have just been focusing on the agricultural side."

Participant 10 expatiated that land use should be focused on other types of land uses:

"*I think our focus for [the] land reform programme has been very limited to agriculture. We need to move away, we need to move more into looking at land for industrial or human settlement purposes. So maybe our trajectory and the way we look at land reform needs to change. So that we do not only look at land for land reform for agricultural purposes but move into other types of land uses.*"

Participated 7, on the same note, added:

"*Land use is not all about agriculture. There are various aspects of land use, which we need to realise, explore, and ensure that we involve the youth in the use of land as a tool for developmental purposes. How do we then open up that field and allow innovative ideas to come on board?*"

The participants, in talking about the impact of land reform on development, were divided among those who said land reform was positive and those who said it hurt development. For example, Participant 14, concerning the positive impact of land reform on development, said:

"*Land reform has been used effectively. Laws have been passed to do land reform. Policies have been passed. The land has been bought and has been developed. So, land reform has been effective.*"

This view was supported by Participant 15, who said:

"*A lot of livelihoods have been improved through agriculture. I do acknowledge that we may [not have] focused on other developmental areas, such as your commercial, but I am saying a lot of livelihoods have been improved through agriculture. Jobs have been created.*"

On the contrary, Participant 9 had an opposing view that land reform hurts development:

"*Land reform is a hindrance, especially for land under restitution. It is a hindrance because immediately[after] the land is under claim, the land would not be touched for development.*"

Participated 10 shared the same view on the negative impact of land reform on development:

"*I do not think land reform has contributed to addressing our country's socio-economic challenges. And why I am saying that is that we have not been doing land reform in a structured way.*"

Sub-theme 3.3: Slowness of land reform implementation

Empirically, the slowness associated with land reform implementation is linked to a lack of focus on urban land reform, a lack of land reform expression down to local government, and a land reform narrative vs. the country's contextual reality of inequality and poverty. In addition, the State's reluctance to grant freehold titles to beneficiaries resulted in less productivity. The participants further indicated that land reform in post-1994 South Africa has been limited to agriculture with delayed follow-up post-settlement. About the lack of focus on urban land reform, Participant 10 said:

"*We have not dealt with urban land reform. Why are we not using land reform instruments to buy pieces of land or to, I do not want to use the word expropriate, but why are we not expropriating land for land reform purposes but using that land for human settlement purposes?*"

Participant 8 amplified the view of Participant 10 by saying:

"*Land reform was also supposed to be for both rural and urban areas. But in South Africa, surprisingly, although we are always talking about urban land reform, to date, I do not believe that the government has [any] programme that it can put on the table for urban land reform.*"

Alluding to the State's reluctance to grant freehold titles to beneficiaries, which resulted in less productivity, Participant 15 said:

"*In my opinion, the State's reluctance to grant freehold titles to land reform beneficiaries has restricted their abilities to use their land productively because, in the past, they have faced the inability to obtain private funding. Okay, now we are addressing this issue, now we are attending to it, but had we from the onset dealt with it in this manner that we are now proposing or that we are now embarking on, it would have taken the country far ahead than what it is now.*"

Participant 9 clarified the post-settlement support to beneficiaries:

"*Looking at our country's situation, and that is my honest opinion, I do not think we are ready to take the land. Because after the land, if you look at the post-settlement support, and hence I*

am saying we are more reactive than just being proactive. It is then that we start thinking about that beneficiaries do not have water and what to do?"

Participant 10 expanded:

"*I think another failure from our side is the post-settlement support. Post-settlement support in development is very important. Because if you are, for example, handing out farms to communities, using a farm as an example, I mean, you know there are different types of land reform, there is restitution and redistribution. But in both cases, where [we] are doing restitution of land, we are giving a community a piece of land and without giving them the proper support to ensure that land is being used in a way that it was being used previously. So, we are giving them a productive farm and we are not giving them the capacity to manage that farm or the training to manage that farm. That leads to the decline in the farm and eventually the closing of that farm. So, that is just an example of why post-settlement support becomes important. I do not think we have been doing it effectively as the State. I think we are still struggling to give that level of support.*"

The FGD corroborates the views of participants in individual interviews in terms of how land reform has been handled and its importance. Member 1 argues its importance in the context of economic perspective, geopolitics, and addressing inequalities. Member 1 said that "*land reform has become an important part of a global discourse. And this is in the context of the changes it can make to the economic atmosphere that we are witnessing, geopolitics, and the inequalities as already being highlighted.*" She added:

"*Land reform has become a political agenda [more] than a social and economic matter. When we talk about issues of land reform, we must think about who is supposed to benefit, and then we need to decide on the parameters. Perhaps we need to look at how it can narrow down the gap between the advantaged and the disadvantaged individuals.*"

However, the FGD's view is that the challenge with land reform to advance development is in the way different politicians, even within the same political party, interpret land reform. This varied interpretation impacts the planning process regarding how it should be used to drive development.

5.3.1.4 Theme 4: Land reform's place in development planning post-1994 toward achieving developmental ends

Theme 4 presents empirical results concerning land reform's place in development planning post-1994 to achieve development ends. The theme is presented under two sub-themes: land reform's significance in development planning and the instrumentality of land reform to development.

Sub-theme 4.1: Land reform's significance to development planning

Empirically, the participants in the individual interviews showed that land reform has occupied space in post-1994 South African development planning. However, the results show that this space is limited, possibly due to it occupying space only at the policy level. However, its impact has not been significant due to its slow progress. But land reform, as shown empirically, despite its slowness and the limited role it plays toward development, has a potential contribution to the development of the country's economy. Regarding occupying space in development planning, Participant 13 said:

"*I think it [land reform] has occupied space. It has, in a way, [now] we have Black people and young people owning farms. In the past, it was never even thought of.*"

Participant 10 added:

"*Okay, this is a difficult one because land reform has always been on the planning agenda. If you look at the NDP [National Development Plan], if you look at the RDP [Reconstruction and Development Programme] from those early days, there was a recognition that we need to do it. The question is, have we done it?*"

Concurring with Participants 10 and 13, Participant 12 said:

"*Well, land reform has occupied space in development planning. It has certainly been part of the policy conversation. All development plans have identified this [land reform] as one issue that needs to be addressed.*"

However, the space it occupied in post-1994 South African development planning has been limited. Participant 9 argued:

"*Look, land reform has occupied space in development planning but very little. I do not think if we look at it, it is the model we have wanted. It is because it is not addressing all the issues it is supposed to address. A typical example is land tenure at zero. Up to today, our Black*

community do not have security of tenancy. Secondly, we took a proactive land acquisition strategy, which, for many, did not work. Because it was not sustainable. Land reform has not worked."

The argument raised by the participants is that land reform, although it occupied space in development planning in post-1994 South Africa, is not at a policy level. Participant 5 reminds us:

"*At a policy level, yes, land reform has occupied space in development planning, but progress has been very slow. First, very low targets were set for land reform and even at low targets, it has been a challenge to achieve them. The biggest problem is the willing buyer and willing seller. Because those who own the land have pitched their prices at an unaffordable level for the government; that is why the pace of reform has been so slow and has taken so many years.*"

However, land reform, despite targets not being reached, is argued to could hugely contribute to the development of the country's economy. Participant 15 explained:

"*So, as far as I see it, land has a huge contribution to the development of our country's economy because our beneficiaries have been able to utilise land to source funding, especially where they have been given freehold title. They have been able to utilise land to source funding to fund their businesses.*"

Participant 5, in the same vein, said:

"*Land is an entry to economic advancement. I earlier gave an example of emerging smallholder producers who were supported to become commercial farmers. Land can be used for food security. Land can be used for economic development. Land can be rented out; land can be sold, and land can be used to establish industries. Land can be used to improve manufacturing.*"

Sub-theme 4.2: Instrumentality of land reform to development

Empirically, land reform is instrumental to development in post-1994 South Africa. The results show that land is a basic resource for development and that no development and transformation discourse can happen without land. However, the results demonstrate that the country should be clearer on how land is central to development planning because land can assist in realising development ends. Participant 15 mentioned:

"*Land is a very basic resource for any kind of development.*"

Similarly, Participant 8 added:

"*Land is central to development planning.*"

Participant 16, in agreement with other participants, expressed it clearly:

"*I do not see the country planning any other thing, especially when talking about development without thinking about land. Where are they going to do that development? It will be on land. Land is key for everything. There is no way that land can be ignored.*"

Participant 14 argued that no development discourse could happen without land being an instrumental tool of development. She was clear that,

"*Land is the basis of development. We cannot be talking about development and transformation without [land].*"

The instrumentality of land reform to development was further emphasised by Participant 8:

"*I think this interview has made my mind even more clear about how central land is to development planning and not just for economic development. Whatever definition we might have of what development planning is, land remains a basic need. And development planning, I believe will be erroring unless it focuses on ensuring that basic needs are met first because we are not going to have secondary needs met, tertiary needs met if most basic needs are not met.*"

Participant 1 briefly added:

"*The first phase of development is agriculture, and then we will have more production and then start to industrialise.*"

The FGD views support the views from the individual interviews that land reform has been featured in development plans post-1994 and that land reform is instrumental to development planning. In his view, Member 2 said,

"*…there is no plan since 1994 that is not aware of the central point of land. I have not seen evidence that says that there is a shortage or inadequate land, which can lead to us being able to deliver jobs and employment, get people out of poverty, and deliver food everywhere because we should deliver food too.*"

He added, *"What I do know is that it has been an implementation problem. We look for answers in other places in other countries, but it is a human problem.*" The view from the FGD is that

land reform has been featured in plans and can still be featured in development plans going forward.

5.3.1.5 Theme 5: Recommendations for development planning featuring a repositioned land reform and plan implementation

Theme 5 presents empirical results about the recommendations for development planning and implementation. The theme is presented under three sub-themes: recommendations for a development plan that features land reform as an instrumental tool for development, recommendations to improve development planning, and recommendations to improve development plan implementation.

Sub-theme 5.1: Recommendations for a development plan that features a repositioned land reform as an instrumental tool for development

Participants had differing views on how a development plan can feature land reform as an instrumental tool for development. Participants showed that in assisting with the featuring of a repositioned land reform in a development plan, there is a need to have an integrated land system that focuses on, among others, a comprehensive land audit and regulation for land use and land reform in the country. Participant 9, concerning an integrated land system, said:

"*Our country should be at a point where it should have an integrated land administration system. With the land administration system, we, for example, look at land value, land use, land productivity, land tenure, land development, land acquisition, and how we are going to distribute land. I think, as a country, we have not done a thorough analysis of pieces of land that we are busy trying to acquire or do restitution on in terms of do we know which land is active or which land is fallow. If planning is done correctly, we can then say these are the areas with the amount of land that is active or land that can be acquired. Here, we have underutilised land that we could use. Here, we have fallow land that we could use. We will then plan around these areas. Thereafter we should ask ourselves what the supporting mechanisms are to ensure that this land thrives to pursue the use which it is designated for looking at the suitability, biophysical issues, social, economic, and other issues."*

Participant 8, on the same note, added:

"*We are in a situation where if we wanted to have land being very instrumental in the development agenda, then we should have a good comprehensive land audit in South Africa*

and make it publicly available. We do not have a comprehensive land audit system in South Africa."

In a concurring voice with the views of Participants 8 and 9, Participant 2, talking about reforms in land ownership patterns as a key feature of land reform in development planning, said:

"*...we need reforms in the Deeds Office because they are not currently capturing things in a consistent database that will be able to tell us what percentage of land or size is owned by listed companies, private individuals, corporations, et cetera. We do not know exactly what our land ownership patterns look like in a solid scientific way. I think there are important reforms in the way in which we record our property ownership, and we should seek answers to that.*"

Participant 11 phrased the argument on land audit and land ownership patterns as raised by Participants 8 and 2, respectively, from the angle of reform in asset inequality, which the development plan must centre more strongly on. Participant 11 said:

"*...we must be fixated on assets. That is, how unequal assets are distributed, including land. We must sort of look in more detail at asset inequality, and I think it also goes beyond physical assets including land, buildings, education, those kinds of things. It also goes to social capital. So, I think the development plan must centre much more strongly on assets or capitals of people and how do we get to have people to access capital and assets including land so that they can build their lives.*"

However, Participant 1 was of the view that in featuring land reform as an instrumental means of development in the development plan, the country should have clear objectives for the productive/economic use of land:

"*The way land reform should be featured in development planning should be in the way that we know we want land and what we want land for. Land use is very important in development planning but then we must know what we want to do, and we must know what we want to achieve with land reform*."

The view of Participant 1 was further echoed by Participant 10 who pointed to the elevation of land reform as an instrumental tool in development planning with a focus on land use:

"*I think it is about elevating the importance of land reform in development planning. [We should] do land reform in a much more planned way by ensuring that, for example, we are buying the right land and strategically located land. Land reform should also look at other*

types of land uses like land use for industrial purposes and human settlements. We should be moving in that direction."

In the same vein, Participant 2 argued that development planning featuring land reform, in terms of land use, should shift focus toward land use for economic means rather than settlement alone. She shared her views:

"*The other important thing is to use the space that you are doing the land reform [for what it is suited]. Some areas are not suitable for agriculture, and some areas are highly suitable for high-end residential development where you may want to want to encourage the community to not settle there but rather do a nice development and use what the beneficiaries get out of that to invest elsewhere. I think there are differing views on what land is, what it means to us as a community, and how that is changing over time*."

Sub-theme 5.2: Recommendations to improve development planning

Empirically, to improve development planning in post-1994 South Africa, there is a need for a clear political agenda to overcome vested interests and use short-term adaptive plans with gradual improvement rather than setting ambitious targets. For example, Participant 12 said:

"*All that will be needed is a clear political agenda to be prepared to overcome vested interests. We need to adopt policies that allow for the breaking down of barriers. Because of those barriers, we can have all the beautiful targets and objectives, but we will never achieve them.*"

Participant 3, in talking about short-term adaptive plans, firstly emphasised the need for a diversified economy in improving development planning post-1994. He shared the following views:

"*I would say our economy as well is not well diversified. The manufacturing and mining sectors were doing well. Both sectors are no longer doing well and contributing a significant amount to the economy. We need to look at the areas that can grow the economy apart from what we have. Because if anything happens to these industries, the economy will be doomed. We have to diversify and see which areas we can look into. Further, the issue that I would say from my point of view is that this thing of developing long-term plans does not work. For me, we must have short-term plans. So, we need short-term plans with clear milestones and deliverables. Five years for me is enough. If you remember, they said, OK, these long-term plans, we will break them into five-year medium-term strategic plans, and then you can have the five-year*

plan and then your medium-term plan, three years, and two-year plans resulting in many plans."

Hence the view of Participant 9 that development planning in South Africa should be done in a way that plans are reduced and are more integrated. She had the following to say:

"*We must reduce the plans we [have] because there are just too many. That is why every sector would want to concentrate in its corner. We are more sectoral than territorial*."

In addition to the views of Participants 3 and 9, Participant 15 said development planning could be improved by, among others, having all spheres of government pursuing common goals or short-term goals towards similar imperatives in achieving development planning ends rather than the current fragmented approach. She opined:

"*I believe if the three spheres of government could operate as one [toward] a common goal and maybe set short-term goals towards similar imperatives. In that way, we could be far, very far ahead in achieving the goals that have been set in the NDP [National Development Plan]. I think what is sabotaging us at this point is the fragmented approach through which we are doing things*."

Further, development planning could be improved if the government embarked on gradual improvement rather than setting ambitious targets. Participant 2 explained:

"*The bar was set too high. I think there has been a desire to pursue more than what is in the norms and standards. I mean, we should rather begin by giving everyone the basics first and then moving up from there and improving gradually*."

Sub-theme 5.3: Recommendations to improve development plan implementation

The results demonstrate that improving the implementation of a development plan requires effective institutions and political leadership that confront the difficult issues of implementation using an implementation plan for the development plan.

Participant 5 pointed out that there is a need to confront the difficult issues of implementation with an acknowledgement that implementation is complex:

"*We must confront the difficult issues because now our plans are based on consensus. Implementation is complex but we have relied a lot on consensus. We must confront the difficult issues that we have been avoiding in the implementation of our plans*."

Participant 8 elaborated:

"*I think the challenges of implementation are multifaceted. One of the key issues is that people or government is not being held accountable, that is, properly held accountable for [the] implementation of plans*."

Participant 12 suggested the following for the successful implementation of plans:

"*I think for implementation to work, you need a combination of resources, effective institutions, and political leadership. And so, to carry out these plans, we would need to rethink all those things*."

Participant 15 expanded on the view of Participant 12 with her focus being on building capacity and allocation of resources across all levels of government. She said:

"*What you find in the national government as failures is similar to what you will find in the local government as failures. The thing of not having resources and capacity is there. I think if we bring together the little resources that we have we will be able to at least push a mile and a half on what we envisage to achieve*."

Participant 16, on institutional capacity building, shared the same view as Participant 15:

"*I think maybe for plan implementation to be successful to attain the envisaged ends we need to ensure that there is institutional capacity building*."

Empathetically, Participant 3 added:

"*What needs to be done is just to make sure that the government is well-capacitated to do what it is supposed to do. I am just being honest with you*."

Participant 7 suggested an integrated approach to the implementation plan:

"*I think the short answer is that I think we need to have the NDP [National Development Plan] implementation plan to ensure that all sectors are participating and that they are monitored. An integrated approach is required to achieve goals in all spheres of government from national to local government*."

The view on an implementation plan was further shared by Participant 4:

"The fact that we [have] a development plan, we need to have an implementation plan for that. So maybe the short answer is, do we have an implementation plan for these developmental

plans? Because if we have plans without having any of their implementation plans, we may end up having just a typed paper without going anywhere."

While the FGD corroborates the views of the individual interviews, members viewed improvement in the implementation of the development plan from a political to administrative perspective. Member 2 pointed out that,

"…*our real problem begins at the political level. We need to tackle political governance; we need responsible leadership and service-oriented leadership because it is a failure at a political level that diminishes administrative capacity. We have a very good administrative capacity, but we have a problematic political level. We need to get that right. We need to get the right leaders in the right places.*"

Member 3 said, "*…as I mentioned earlier in the beginning, we need to build institutional capacity and how institutions should be facilitated in terms of the IGR components*". In responding to the view of Member 3, Member 2 posed a question: *"How do we get [an] incompetent set of functionaries for the State at the political and administrative level to do exactly what they are paid for? Because that is our biggest challenge.*" The FGD's view is that the government needs to have effective institutions and leadership and all parts of the system performing optimally.

Regarding featuring land reform in development plans, the first recommendation from the FGD in corroborating the individual interviews was land use and that a land use management scheme should be used to identify potential pieces of land that can be used for land reform as an instrumental means of development. Member 2 said,

"*…we also see that through the Spatial Planning Land Use Management Act, all these policies were supposed to develop a land use management scheme. If they had developed a land use management scheme, we would have been able to identify the potential pieces or parcels or designated land that could be used for land reform.*"

Still on the land use, Member 2 added:

"*… for land reform to be used as an instrumental tool, we need to know the potential of that land and what it holds whether it is natural resources: Is it developable, can it be developed, can it be further enhanced, what is the environmental impact on that piece of land, and what is the potential and limitations of the land?*"

Further, the FGD, supports the individual interviews on the issue of development plans considering land ownership and affordability in the country in strides to address development. Member 3 raised a view that,

"*Right now, there are issues and contestations around who owns the land. The issue surrounding the full potential of reaching land reform as an instrumental means in development planning is the ownership of the land. We have State-owned land, private-owned land, and business-owned land, etc. We need to do a review on all pockets of land ownership in South Africa.*"

In talking about land ownership affordability, Member 3 said:

"*…there is a concern around the ownership of land and the affordability of land. Remember the income groups, and this is linked to the spatial disparity that still exists in society. These issues need to be factored in and dealt with simultaneously. Affordability, employment, accessibility, ownership – all of these are linked to the process of elevating land reform.*"

In addition, it also emanated from the FGD, like in the individual interviews, that development planning going forward should feature the divide between rural and urban spaces. Member 1 emphasised that developing planning should "*also consider the nexus between the urban and the rural land*". The view is supported by Member 3, who said:

"*…going back to bridging the gap between means to an end, we cannot plan in isolation by dividing rural and urban spaces. Both need to be integrated. They need to complement each other because of the inward and outward migration. There is also cross-cutting border development potential through integrating rural and urban spaces. Integrated rural and urban spaces are something that we need to fully explore its potential.*"

Member 3 cited the following example in supporting her view: "*Creating a settlement on the periphery of a piece of land and not having accessibility to the urban centres or the core centres for economic opportunities is already a disadvantage to society. We must factor in all these things.*"

Advice from Member 3 offered advice for creating the rural and urban nexus:

"When looking at land reform from [the] point of having a linkage between the urban and the rural, it is important to discuss land reform, which is not disassociated from the global context

of what is happening relating to population growth, youth unemployment, gender issues, and many societal and economic confrontations that we are facing on a day-to-day basis."

A common view among the FGD members, like in individual interviews, is that land reform is an important means of development toward attaining development ends, and it needs to be elevated in development planning processes.

5.4 Response to the research questions

This section is important as it provides direct empirical answers to the first and third secondary research questions. Noteworthy, the study posed three secondary research questions in chapter one. However, the second secondary research question was dealt with through literature interrogation in chapter three: *How have other post-colonial States envisioned and implemented land reform in advancing development planning and development*? The next sections serve to provide the empirical answers to the first secondary research question: *How can development planning be used to facilitate the attainment of development in post-1994 South Africa*? and the third secondary research question: *Can land reform in post-1994 South Africa be re-shaped and re-planned in a new development planning approach in addressing socio-economic failures*? The first and third secondary research questions are thus changed into statements in leading the empirical answers to the questions.

5.4.1 Using development planning to facilitate the attainment of development in post-1994 South Africa

The section, in presenting the empirical answers to the first secondary research question, focuses on means-ends identification and selection as a key process of development planning in facilitating development. Means-ends are the backbone of a development plan since they are what could make the plan effective or ineffective in facilitating development. The selection and determination of means-ends in development planning is key to making an impactful change in society. The processes or approaches used in South African development planning regarding the use of land reform as an alternative to development was the one characterised by the results as being determined using science, meaning statistics from repositories such as Statistics South Africa, Human Science Research Council, and institutions of higher learning in terms of research. Participant 4 said the following regarding using credible information:

"*It is informed by, one, what is coming out of our indicator for poverty, and information from Stats SA [Statistics South Africa]saying we're at this poverty level now. Then you go back and say this is where we are based on the data repository of the country statistics. Whether that*

data is coming from your HSRC [Human Science Research Council], via your Stats SA, whatever, then you are going to say, you look at them, all of them, they [have] a particular number, and that number you can see it is varied, but it's not drastically changing, to operate within a particular band. Then based on that, you are going to say how are we going to now breach the gap that exists or go beyond the gap."

However, in a differing opinion, Participant 12 said that plans post-1994 have not focused on a key means to development; they used all the means at the same time. He shared the following views:

"*I would say probably there has not been much selection of means. As I was saying, plans have tended to want to use all the means at the same time. So, we want to transform healthcare, agrarian relations, education, and industrial policy. Plans have tended to want to do all of it and, therefore, have not carefully selected which are the key catalytic interventions that need to take place to change the dynamic of development that we find ourselves in. I think that has been a problem with development planning. It's the absence of clear selection.*"

For Participant 11, the selection and determination of means-ends in development was never systematic in a way there was no prioritisation on what means or ends should be pursued to change the socio-economic situation in society. He explained his view in this way:

"*I think one of the big problems is that there was never a systematic way of doing that [selecting means and ends and criteria used to select them]. You know, and I think this is very difficult. I do not think many societies can solve that problem, and it is a prioritisation problem. How do you select the priorities? How do you say we are going to go harder on social protection and, but we are going to ignore health or education for the moment? Those are very hard choices and I think that comes back to my previous remark about discipline and the coherence and cabinet, that planning, for example, if you look at the medium-term sector plans and so on, they are wish lists.*"

In concurrence with the views obtained from the individual interviews, the FGD members added that development planning challenges toward means and ends selection is challenged by a lack of institutionalisation of planning. Member 2 elaborated that "*...development planning has suffered from the fact that we still have not been successful 30 years later [in institutionalising] planning as a practice, as a culture, as a model, as a governance tool, and as a societal mechanism for causing change*". This points to how development planning in post-1994 South Africa has continued to select and determine means and ends. Development

planning, as a government tool, still suffers from facilitating development three decades into democracy due to a lack of institutionalisation of development planning as a practice in terms of how it uses means to attain ends.

5.4.2 Land reform re-shaping and re-planning in a new development planning approach post-1994 South Africa in addressing socio-economic failures

The section is key in providing the empirical answers to the third secondary research question relating to how land reform can be re-shaped and re-planned in a new development planning approach. In answering the question, key two fundamental questions were dealt with. The first question focused on empirically establishing if land reform has been absent or the space land reform occupied in development planning regarding its ineffectiveness in facilitating development in post-1994 South Africa.

The second question focused on empirically establishing how land reform could be featured or re-shaped and re-planned as an alternative means to achieve development ends to advance development in post-1994 South Africa. In empirically answering the question on land reform re-shaping and re-planning in a new development planning approach, the study had to first establish what has been absent in post-1994 South African development plans preventing them from addressing the socio-economic failures. Second, the study had to empirically establish if development planning must feature land reform in its new approach to address the socio-economic failures of post-1994 South Africa.

5.4.2.1 The missing link or what is absent in post-1994 South African development plans which have made them not deliver on their developmental ends

Empirical results show land reform and land use are absent (a missing link) in development planning in post-1994 South Africa. As stated by Participant 7:

"*For me, what we miss in all these development planning instruments or means is land reform and land use in development planning. Especially the land used by the youth. Maybe youth and women, right? But in every meeting that I attend, people will tell you no youth are not interested in land issues. And then when you probe further, you are being told no youth cannot be able to do agriculture. Land use is not all about agriculture. There are various aspects of land use which we need to be explored in ensuring that we involve youth in the use of land as a tool for development.*"

Participant 12 said:

"*As I was saying at the beginning, in a sense, we failed to focus on a limited set of interventions that would be catalytic in transforming the dynamics of development, and instead, we have attempted to achieve everything. If I could say some elements that have failed, that are important in my view in changing the dynamics of development is land reform, in terms of agrarian land reform and urban space reform, which has been a key failure of the post-apartheid State. We have not transformed that. If anything, those dynamics have become worse. And so, a stronger focus there [agrarian land reform and urban space reform] would, in my view, help us achieve our objectives more effectively.*"

Echoing the same view expressed by Participants 7 and 12, Participant 10 added:

"*Now, this is a very sensitive subject. And I am sure you are picking up a lot of what some of the problems are. So, I do not want to get into that. However, based on my involvement in the development of spatial planning and land use management legislation, we have not focused on the role that land reform can play and should be playing in development. I think the angle that we are coming from is more in creating an enabling system for spatial planning and land use management.*"

Among the three programmes of land reform (tenure, redistribution, and restitution), land redistribution has been the missing link. Participant 15 said the following:

"*I can safely say that the land redistribution part of land reform has been the missing link. And I will tell you why. First of all, as you would know, restitution from the very onset has been used fully towards ensuring that claims of restitution of land that was arbitrarily taken from our people are being restored on a right-based approach. Land tenure has also been ensuring that we are protecting our farm occupiers and farm dwellers by at least buying those portions that are for their settlement and security of tenure. However, when you come to the other leg of land redistribution, where I am saying there was a missing link, the focus post-1994 has been on agriculture. That was the missing point in terms of Section 25 of the Constitution, which is talking about making land accessible and available to the people on an equitable basis. So, this has nothing to do with whether you are using land for agriculture or need it for purposes of settlement and security of tenure. That is why I am saying the development of this country has been delayed especially about land redistribution.*"

In addition, Participant 11, in terms of the missing link in development planning, said that the implementation of the plans has been a problem:

"*I think what is missing is the credible translation of development plans into implementation through short-term implementation plans.*"

Participant 1 echoed Participant 11's views:

"*I will give you what I think is the situation and honestly so. There is a talk that we have very good plans, but they lack implementation. But then the other question is are those plans implementable or are they just good on paper? Those are the two kinds of scenarios that we should look at because everyone will tell you that we have plans, but they are not implemented. But then are they implementable or are they realistic.*"

In contrast to the individual interview results, the FGD results show that land reform has been featured in development plans since 1994. Member 2 said, "*…there is no plan since 1994 that is not aware of the central point of land*". However, members of the FGD unanimously pointed to implementation as challenging for development plans to attain their development ends. Member 2 shared his view: "*I have not seen any convincing study that shows that land was never part of our plans. But what I do know is that it has been an implementation problem.*" Member 3 also added that "*we are good at developing policies, but we are never able to see actual implementation*". While the view that land reform is absent (a missing link) for development was not corroborated by the FGD members, they support that the implementation of development plans is a challenge in post-1994 South Africa.

5.4.2.2 Repositioning of land reform in a development plan as an alternative means to achieve developmental ends in post-1994 South Africa

In empirically answering the posed research question, it was key to first establish if land reform has a space to occupy in future South African development plans. The empirical results demonstrate that as an instrumental means to development, land reform has space to occupy in South African development planning going forward to attain development ends. Participant 5 shared their view as follows:

"*Land reform as an instrumental means of development has a space to occupy in the post-1994 South African development planning. Land reform has played a key developmental role in Latin American and Asian countries. Land reform has been shown to play an important role as a means of development.*"

In agreement with Participant 5, Participant 12 added:

"*Land reform has to be part of the solutions to the development problem and the development challenge in South Africa. I think, particularly in Asia, there are good examples of how land reform created a new dynamic of development in terms of both agrarian land reform and urban reform. I think both reforms are critical elements of creating new dynamics of development and so certainly land reform will continue to be part of the policy instruments that need to be exercised to achieve development.*"

Participant 10 concurred:

"*But I think, as an instrumental means to development, land reform can, if correctly managed, play a positive role in promoting development. I think we need to also [be] cognisance of the fact that land reform was something new post-1994.*"

Sharing their view, Participant 1 said:

"*Land reform has the space to occupy in development planning but must be done properly by the people who understand the issues of land use. That is, what are you going to use that land [for]? For people in a position of authority like myself, all we want to see is that the land has been settled; for example, 500 people have been put there, which is probably 1% of the Black people or something. We crunch those numbers but in a very simplistic and opportunistic way. But to answer your question, yes, land reform has the space in development planning, but it must be done properly and by the people who understand what needs to be happening on the ground.*"

Participant 10, in further agreeing that land reform has space to occupy in development planning, explained:

"*I think what is important and what we need to start thinking about is that in our current system of planning and planning system that we have. How do we then ensure that we positively drive land reform so that it can help us address some of the challenges that we have? Those are the challenges that we all keep talking about. Let us take the former homeland spaces, for example, there is a lot of land within those spaces that are either identified for restitution or redistribution and from an agricultural perspective, they have huge potential to contribute. But I do not think that from a development planning perspective, we are recognising those spaces and the potential that they can play in helping us deal with some of the challenges. So, for me, land reform has a space, and again, I think it is more about ensuring that we use those pieces of land more effectively and not just leave them.*"

Participant 9 summarised it in the following manner:

"*Land reform still has a huge space to occupy in development planning. Because without land, we cannot do anything.*"

If the land has a space to occupy in terms of the empirical results and has occupied space in post-1994 South African development, it became important from an empirical perspective to answer the research question of how land reform should be featured in future development plans to realise land reform's instrumentality to development. In repositioning land reform in a development plan, Participant 11 said:

"*I think greater access to assets is an important issue, but we are too fixated on land reform, you know, especially rural land reform. Land reform, as agrarian land reform, must be about giving people assets that can back them up. An important thing that happened after 1994 was, of course, the focus on housing. And that was realised; we have got to give people access to an asset that can appreciate for them but also the implementation of the policy was not optimal partly because the houses that were built for people were not built in good locations. They did not become assets that appreciate. I think there is room for asset reform, but I will go broader than land reform and especially broader than just agricultural land reform. It must also be urban land reform in the sense of giving people access to assets that appreciate.*"

Participant 10 was of the view that land reform should be incorporated into the municipal spatial development framework. He explained:

"*I am saying land reform and land use is an issue and it is a matter of public interest. How land reform could have been a means of development in post-1994, I mean, there are probably a few angles that one could respond to this question. For example, we cannot isolate pieces of land that have been identified for land reform purposes and plan them outside of a municipal spatial development framework. We cannot isolate them but rather incorporate them.*"

Participant 12 argued for land reform reformulation in future development plans:

"*Land needs to be reformulated, at least in terms of agrarian land reform, because the main focus has been on restitution, which has not achieved any kind of significant redistribution of land ownership patterns. Similarly, in the urban space, policy has focused on the building of houses but in a manner that has not transformed housing markets or transformed spatial patterns in urban areas but, in many ways, has reinforced and worsened the kind of patterns that existed under apartheid.*"

Participant 4 believes there is a need to refine post-settlement mechanisms or modalities:

"*We need to relook at how we are fine-tuning the post-settlement mechanisms or modalities to ensure that they are going to eliminate resource and capacity challenges experienced by beneficiaries.*"

Participant 15 pointed to shifting to multi-use of land in future development planning:

"*The Department has also shifted its focus from land for agricultural purposes toward land for residential purposes.*"

Participant 12, in answering how land reform should be featured in future development plans, further alluded to the reforming of institutional structures and greater resourcing concerning political capital. He mentioned that it is possible to have a development plan that features land reform as an instrumental means and further said:

"*Maybe some new institutional structures or at least reforms and correction of those institutional structures that exist and also the plan would need probably talk to the greater resourcing. But probably the most important resource land reform needs is the deployment of political capital, the preparedness of the kind of political leadership to foreground these issues.*"

In repositioning land reform in a development plan, the FGD member's views support the views raised in the individual interviews about elevating and making land reform central to driving development in a development plan. Member 2 indicated that "*we need to elevate the importance of land reform. I do not think it is absent from any development plan, whether it is long, medium, or short-term plans. But I think it is not elevated at the level of importance that it should be.*" In consensus on how land could be featured in a development plan, but in a cautionary tone, Member 1 warned about the use of radicalism of land reform to drive development in a development plan by citing both Latin America and Zimbabwean examples.

"*Latin America and Southern America are two different contexts which relate. In Latin America, there is a lot of radicalism when you speak about issues of land reform. Land reform in the context of Southern Africa, especially in the background of the Zimbabwean land reform, which was radicalised itself, has led several countries that are planning on land reform to be cautious in how they can go about land reform programmes given the results or the outcomes that have appeared in Zimbabwe. It is not only in terms of the political atmosphere but also economically and socially in how things transpired over the years in Zimbabwe.*"

Drawing from earlier recommendations in Section 5.3.1.5 made during the FGD, the view in terms of what Member 1 raised is that in appreciation that land reform is instrumental to development and that it should be featured centrally and elevated in a development plan, this should be done cautiously so it does not cause further regression in attaining development ends. In appreciation of contributions from similar studies, although with different objectives, the next compares the results to those of similar studies.

5.5 Comparison of results to other similar studies

This section is crucial in testing the credibility of the study results against the results of similar studies. Further, the section is important because it shows how this study differs from similar previous studies and supports the overall significance of the current study's results by contrasting and comparing them with results from other studies. Very few empirical studies about development planning were found. Nonetheless, in making sense of and determining the consistency of the obtained results, it was imperative to compare the results of the study with those obtained from similar studies. In a qualitative study conducted in Ireland, Murphy and Fox-Rogers (2015) interviewed 20 local authority urban planners. In determining what the common good is in planning, Murphy and Fox-Rogers arrived at three key dimensions of the common good in planning, which the current study focused on from a perspective of interest and public interest as a function of planning legitimacy. The first dimension was seeing planning from a pluralist lens based on communicative planning. Their second dimension was from a bureaucratic perspective wherein common good is associated with the planners' ability to minimise the negative impacts of development. The third dimension is wherein planning should put the interests of the public at large ahead of private interests.

The results that Murphy and Fox-Rogers arrived at have a degree of similarity to what the current study revealed, wherein participants indicated that development planning in post-1994 South Africa had been predicated on addressing public interest and the well-being of society. This view was expanded by Participant 3, who indicated that each year, the views that are shared in the State of the Nation Address are from the stakeholders' engagements, citing the youth employment services. The results of this study have shown that in considering the common good for all, South African development planning is considerate of the context in which the country finds itself in terms of socio-economic challenges of poverty, unemployment, and inequality. Given the third dimension in Murphy and Fox-Rogers' study, which revealed that the interests of the public should be put ahead of private interests in planning, the current study's results show in contrary that public interest in post-1994 South

African development planning are often defined by elites put forward their interests ahead of public interest.

Further, the key from Murphy and Fox-Rogers' study was the determination of whether planning has attained the common good. This perspective is associated with whether development planning in post-1994 South Africa using different means has attained the envisaged ends. The results of Murphy and Fox-Rogers's study showed that it is impossible to obtain the common good in practice. However, a paradoxical view was raised in the results showing that the common good was achievable if formal processes existed, such as established reporting and procedural mechanisms that would prevent poor decision-making in planning concerning the development plan process. The results further revealed divergent views wherein the State does not operate for the greater good, as well as the view that the State operates in favour of private interests in the country.

In line with the above views, the empirical results of this study revealed in light of attaining development ends for the common good, development planning in post-1994 South Africa has not achieved its envisaged ends. It is a point revealed by Murphy and Fox-Rogers' study that it is impossible to obtain the common good in practice. As shown by Participant 11 in the current study, the problem with development planning or plans not achieving the development ends is that they are too broad and lack a sense of prioritisation because they are trying to do everything with limited capacity. In line with the view that the State does not operate for the greater good, as revealed in Murphy and Fox-Rogers' results, the results of this study revealed that South African development planning post-1994, as mentioned by Participant 8, is not systematic because it fails to give effect to the country's adopted policy or plans in realising the envisaged ends or a greater good for all.

In another qualitative study, Christensen (2015) interviewed exemplary planners who were graduate students with some planning experience in the San Francisco Bay area. The results revealed that when asked about their role as planners, the interviewees, instead of talking about opportunities, talked about constraints that underscore the critical role of institutions in shaping planning. The results demonstrated that planning is shaped by politics, wherein politics is alleged to slow the process and the bureaucracy, which is blamed for communication lines, slowness, and hierarchy. A common view was found in the empirical results of this study wherein participants showed that the successive conferences of the ruling party determine the means and ends for development planning in post-1994 South Africa.

Further, a study by Ahmad *et al*. (2013) used quantitative methods to analyse empirical evidence of factors affecting outcomes of the inter-relationships between planning systems, planning controls, and land development from 50 questionnaires sent to planners in the public sector. Four key aspects were studied: legal, administration and financial capacity, human resource/planning personnel's capacity, and technical support of interest with close similarity to the current study's empirical results on the implementation of a development plan measured about the four aspects. Issues related to administration and financial aspects scored higher percentages, suggesting that administration and financial aspects are the main constraints in ascertaining the successful implementation of plans. Also, human resources were noted as important, which indicates a relative lack of semi-skilled and skilled employees in the implementation of development plans at both the highest and lowest levels of implementation.

While on development plan implementation, a study by Orukpe (2020), focusing on Esanland in Nigeria using qualitative methods with primary data sources from unstructured interviews, found national development planning is national in nomenclature but not in implementation. Empirical results revealed that there was partial implementation of development plans. Further, the results revealed that development plans adopted in Nigeria post its independence have nothing wrong except that they have been marred by the politicisation of the economy and plan implementation processes.

Comparatively, the current study's empirical results related to development implementation revealed the politicisation of planning and policies. Participants revealed that planning is mostly informed by resolutions from successive conferences of the ruling party, which are filtrated into government processes. In light of development plan implementation, the results of this study are similar to those revealed in the studies by Ahmad *et al*. (2013) and Orukpe (2020), revealing that implementation is among the missing links in post-1994 South African development planning. While Ahmad *et al*. (2013) pointed to a relative lack of semi-skilled and skilled employees in the implementation of development plans at both the higher and lower levels, the current study revealed that fragmented sector approach and misalignment between planning and budgeting, as well as lack of effective institutions and political leadership, are key hindrances to post-1994 South African development planning implementation. The results revealed in the current study are consistent with those demonstrated in similar studies, even though their purposes were not the same with this study.

5.6 Chapter summary

The empirical results presented in chapter five are key components of this thesis in arriving at the answers for both the first and third secondary research questions. In ensuring that data was obtained from participants who have lived experience with post-1994 South African development planning and land reform, chapter five began with the characterisation of the participants. Characterising participants was key to improving the credibility and attaining the trustworthiness of the results and even the study's findings. The chapter thereafter presented the themes using different sub-themes. The sub-themes were supported with various direct quotes from participants to make meaning to each sub-theme and, ultimately, the theme itself. The chapter further presented the results under each research question, which were converted to statements. Further, direct quotes from participants were used to respond to the research questions. The focus group results were used to support or contrast the views that emanated from the individual interviews. In determining the consistency of the primary data generated from the field, the chapter further compared the results obtained from the field with results from similar studies regarding planning and land reform subjects.

Chapter six discusses the study's findings.

Chapter 6

Discussion of the Findings

6.1 Introduction

Chapter six discusses the study's findings. The findings are discussed primarily toward answering the first secondary research question, *How can development planning be used to facilitate the attainment of development in post-1994 South Africa*? and the third secondary research question, *Can land reform in post-1994 South Africa be re-shaped and re-planned in a new development planning approach in addressing socio-economic failures*? The discussions are not limited to answering these two secondary research questions, but they are conducted alongside the theoretical revelations on the second secondary research question, as dealt with in chapter three. Further, the discussions of the findings are conducted to realise the purpose of this interpretive study, which is to theorise or model a development plan with a repositioned land reform in addressing the socio-economic problems of post-1994 South Africa. The chapter is further fundamental in building up to the conclusion of the study and answering the posed primary research question, *How a development plan could be modelled to reposition land reform in addressing the socio-economic problems of South Africa?*

The findings concerning the first and third secondary research questions are discussed using an integrated approach, unlike in chapter five, where themes were categorised under each of the questions. This is because both development planning and land reform phenomena are fundamental and interrelated concepts, as noted in the presentation of the results in advancing or facilitating development. The chapter begins the discussions with a summary of the key findings followed by the interpretive framework used for the analysis, explores the meaning, and identifies the importance of the results. In making meaning from the research results, this chapter discusses the study's findings, drawing from the theory used in the literature in chapters two and three. The interpretive framework discusses the findings of the study under four attributes used in the conceptual framework: contextual analysis in planning, interests and the public interest as a function of planning legitimacy, identification, and selection of means-ends and the criteria used, and practice of development plan implementation.

6.2 Summary of key findings

The study identified five themes in the preceding chapter. Under the first theme, the evolvement of development planning post-1994, it was noted that development planning inherited the pre-

1994 legacy of planning, which became the foundation of the post-1994 planning that is characterised by high levels of poverty, inequality, and unemployment. In addressing the social and economic contextual challenges in post-1994 South Africa, development planning used developmental means, including SMMEs, industrialisation, mining, and social wages, to alleviate the plight of those who are at the lower socio-economic end. The means and ends used were selected based on successive ANC conference resolutions, ANC ready-to-govern documents produced pre-1994, assumptions and projections, and scientific data.

The second theme, which is on the success and failures in the attainment of developmental ends post-1994, revealed that development means used were, to some extent, instrumental in contributing to the realisation of the developmental ends depending on the sector. Although some strides were made through development planning, development plans post-1994 have failed to attain development ends, considering the high levels of poverty, inequality, and unemployment that planning is striving to address. This failure is a result of the systematic issues of limited State capacity and resources for the implementation of development plans post-1994.

The third theme on planners' views on land reform advancing development post-1994 showed that land reform has been politicised thus becoming a reactive rather than proactive process toward advancing development. Importantly, the study found that land reform, despite being featured in each development plan in post-1994 South Africa, remains absent or missing in the development trajectory due to it not being elevated higher and centrally in South Africa's development agenda. Theme four on land reform's place in development planning post-1994 toward achieving development ends found that land reform remains significant to development planning in post-1994 South Africa. It is because land is a basic resource for any kind of development, thus, central to development planning.

Under the fifth theme on recommendations for development planning and implementation, it was found that development planning must adopt a new approach wherein land reform is elevated as a central means of advancing development. Thus, in re-shaping and re-planning land reform, the features that development planning must consider are an integrated land administration system, land use management system, integrated rural-urban land development, and a multipronged post-settlement system as key features or drivers of land reform. Considering development plan implementation, institutional arrangement and capacity were

found to be fundamental. The discussion of these key findings will be expanded on using an interpretive framework in the next section.

6.3 Discussions of the findings

This section is important in constructing arguments fundamental toward answering the primary research question and drawing the study's conclusions. Derived from the conceptual framework, the interpretive framework is used to interpret the results from a theoretically informed perspective to draw the study's findings. The interpretive framework is further used to create a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of development planning and land reform as an instrumental means for development in post-1994 South Africa. An inductive approach is used to create a relationship between theory and research toward generating the theory or framework in the study. The interpretive framework attributes used in the study, as adopted from the conceptual framework, are the contextual analysis in planning, interests and the public interest as a function of planning legitimacy, identification and selection of means-ends and the criteria used, and the practice of development plan implementation. Using an interpretive framework in making meaning of the results and explaining what the researcher found is key to addressing the research problem and realising the purpose of the study.

6.3.1 Contextual analysis in planning

This section argues that the extent to which development planning considers the context within which it occurs is fundamental in facilitating development. The results showed that development planning in post-1994 South Africa has evolved from National Treasury to residing in the Presidency. South Africa's planning practice, by residing in the Presidency, demonstrates a State-led kind of development planning. The rationale for State-planned interventions, according to similar studies, is a question central to planning theory in terms of why, how, and in what circumstances should State-led planning interventions be at the forefront to satisfy the developmental needs (i.e., social, economic, and political) that both the State and markets must deliver to society (Krishnan, 2016). Through a State-led system, planning seeks to replace an imperfectly operating market-oriented system with a system that allows for equity in the distribution of resources and control of the pricing system (Pankaj, 2007; Yeung, 2017).

However, it is noted empirically that State-led planning practice in post-1994 South Africa has not reached a point of fostering equity in the distribution of resources, including land, because it has not exploited the improvements in planning and administration processes because of weak systems across all levels of government. The South African State-led approach to

development planning is being hampered primarily by neoliberal policies imposed by colonisers. Hence, a State-led development planning approach in post-1994 has not been effective in facilitating development. This is in contrast to the State-led development planning that was demonstrated in the Asian region, which facilitated development attained in the region.

Although it is appreciated that State-led planning alone cannot offer the ultimate ends that development planning seeks to achieve and that there needs to be a State and market-oriented interface, Fainstein and DeFilippis (2016) contend that interweaving relations between the State and the private sector often result in the State being wholly captured by capitalist or neoliberal interests. Capturing State-led planning by capitalist or neoliberal interests leads to the State being incapable of driving development planning toward the benefit of all segments of society. The view is confirmed by results showing that land reform and planning have been politicised and are blamed for following a neoliberal political economy. The view was expressed by Participant 8 who said, "Land reform has been politicised. Land reform adopted a neoliberal approach to development, so they did not want it to be done in a socialist way." In the same view, the literature demonstrates that while development planning emerged as a technical process (i.e., procedural-substantive approach), it is, however, saturated within the political dimensions.

Although planning is neoliberally driven, the State must not pursue private and sectional interests, as evident in the results. The State must pursue the interests and needs of all segments of society (Moroni, 2018) in achieving the common good. Based on a neoliberal planning approach, State-led planning does not play an active role in intervening in the activities of the markets as much as the State would have to for post-1994 South African development planning to facilitate development. Thus, development planning functions taking place under the market-oriented or neoliberal system than the State-led system in post-1994 South Africa has resulted in the problem of development planning's ineffectiveness in facilitating development.

Unarguably, the concept of context has increasingly become central to planning theory and practice (Van Assche, 2007). In agreement with the literature, the results demonstrate that development planning in post-1994 South Africa considers context. Post-1994 development planning practice inherited a segregated pre-1994 planning system, which was characterised by socio-economic challenges of poverty, inequality, and unemployment. Thus, since 1994, South African development plans have been striving to address the high levels of poverty, inequality, and unemployment and even wanting to realise change in society by achieving set

targets against these socio-economic challenges. Participant 12, in the individual interview, mentioned that "development planning has always been very much rooted in the social and economic context of the country". The same view in terms of development planning being rooted in the context of the country is shared by Albrechts (2018) – development planning, to be effective, should capture the dynamics and tensions coexisting in the country's contextual space.

Although development planning in post-1994 South Africa, from one point of view of the empirical results, is said to be rooted in the context of the country, it is, from another point of view, argued that planning has not reviewed its approach and instruments over time to consider the realities on the ground. The views expressed in the individual interviews corroborated with the FGD that development planning has been ineffective because it has not been able to address the rising levels of poverty, inequality, and unemployment in post-1994 South Africa. In contrast with the empirical results, the theoretical stance is that the socio-economic conditions as a contextual element of development planning are indicative of the efficacy of the development plan. Controversially, while development planning in post-1994 has considered the country's context, realising the object of what development planning intends to improve has failed. It is, however, appreciated that despite how realistic and feasible a development plan can be, it cannot exactly coincide with the contextual reality but must have an impact on the reality it intends to govern and change both socially and economically.

Further, as shown by Member 1 in the FGD, development planning in its nature is not straightforward because it involves the country's social, economic, and political aspects. The literature upholds the view that planning practice is a process that goes through critical discourse, which questions the political and economic processes of which planning approaches are an essential part. The bond between development planning and politics and between planning and government operations is not a matter of debate but a reality of planning (Barry *et al*., 2018). Hence, the empirical view is that planning has become more of a political agenda. The same notion is raised by the empirical results that land reform's ineffectiveness and slowness in South Africa are due to development planning and land reform being politicised. Thus, development planning and land reform are not serving the purpose and objective of what they exist to realise in post-1994 South Africa.

As demonstrated in chapter two in relation to the model of the political system, the context-informed demand (e.g., reduction of poverty, inequality, and unemployment) gets converted

into the plan or policy through a political system (Anderson, 2015; Akwu *et al*., 2020; Zeb-un-Nisa *et al*., 2021; Maihali, 2023). Arguably, actions in the political system result in the conversion of demands into a plan or policy through unaccounted political processes through what the literature coined as the black box (Anderson 2015; Amoo *et al*., 2023). Hence, the political system's model is critiqued for its lack of demonstration and procedure through which decisions or plans are politically made. Similar to the actions undertaken through the political system and the black box concept, the South African development planning process happens through a political system wherein some plan decisions are questionable, e.g., targets set and time frames for the attainment of the development outcomes. Hence, it is empirically argued that development planning in post-1994 South Africa is incoherent, haphazard, and short-sighted because of the process that happens within the black box. The empirical contention is herein associated with the lack of clarity or transparency on how decisions are arrived at within the political system because of the hidden processes in the black box of the South African political system of development planning.

Contextually, a development plan is a product of the conversion of demands or needs by those in political leadership toward addressing the prevailing socio-economic challenges of post-1994 South Africa. Post-1994 South African society demands access to land through land reform to elevate themselves from poverty, inequality, and unemployment. Thus, the responsibility of post-1994 South African political leadership is to ascertain that the demands or desires of its society are realised through development planning in a developmental manner to advance the livelihoods of the citizenry. However, due to politicisation and elitism in development planning and land reform processes because of neoliberalism, political leadership has been ineffective in executing its responsibility.

Post-1994 South African development planning practice is in contradiction with the literature on how political leadership governs planning. The literature argues that the relationship between planning practice and the context in which a development plan is generated has moved beyond the thinking of planning as a vanguard of social change to an activity in which context and practice are co-generative and co-constitutive (Healey, 2007). Although development planning is a product of a political system's black box, a plan cannot solely be shaped by political positioning but should consider the interest of those affected by the plan and be of benefit to the greater good of society in it being co-generative and co-constitutive in the post-1994 South Africa.

Only when a development plan is co-generative and co-constitutive could it arguably be said that it is on the path to being for the greater good of all in society. A development plan benefits all of society when it effectively lifts society out of the context of the triple burden of poverty, inequality, and unemployment. The more rational the development plan (or, the more the development plan considers the reality and its complexity), the better the chances that it will be effective in addressing the socio-economic conditions affecting society and achieving its intended ends.

The empirical evidence undisputedly found that while development planning considers the context prevailing in the country since post-1994, the larger sector of society remains trapped in poverty, inequality, and unemployment. The contention from the early years post-1994 remains relevant today – South Africa, like other African countries, did not develop even upon attempting to implement land reform policies and embarking on development planning because they are treated as an extension of the European economies through the incorporation of the capitalist system (Mafeje, 1998). As such, South Africa has over-relied on European development models and tools for development while lagging in capacity (Mafeje, 1998; Matunhu, 2011). Unquestionably, the literature and the empirical evidence agree that South African land reform and development planning, like in other African States, are mainly derived from a capitalist political economy (Nolutshungu, 1986; Magubane, 1986; Walker, 1998; Ndhlovu, 2019).

Hence to this end, South Africa is still embracing the neoliberal development models as advocated by the World Bank and the IMF. As a result of incorporating African colonies into the capitalist system, as well as adopting the neoliberal development imposed by the World Bank and the IMF, development planning and land reform have thus not been steered in the direction of development across society. It is because the post-1994 South African development planning and land reform processes are empirically found to be more pro-capitalist than pro-socialist.

The neoliberal political economy used in South Africa, as empirically revealed, is contrary to the cited Asian countries' development, which were mostly authoritarian and socialist. In the Asian region, development processes were mainly State-led and later followed a market-related political economy to include private investment. A similar study revealed that it was through the authoritarian political economy that aggressive State-led policy interventions resulted in the commonly known concept of the developmental State, which is central to the

characterisation of the successful industrialisation that happened in several Asian countries or economies (He, 2019). The literature further revealed that State-led development planning prevented market exploitation by promoting inclusive growth rather than deepening levels of wealth inequality and poverty in society (Krishnan, 2016).

Through a State-led system, planning literature demonstrates that development planning must arguably exist to replace an imperfectly operating market-oriented system with a system that allows for equity in the distribution of resources and control of the pricing system (Pankaj, 2007; Yeung, 2017). The empirical findings and the literature are in contradiction to this view. The empirical findings showed that development planning and land reform in post-1994 South Africa does not exist to correct the imperfectly operating market-oriented system that has not impacted the upliftment of society out of poverty, inequality, and unemployment. The post-1994 South African development planning and land reform approach is controversial. South Africa is seeking to attain development by benchmarking from the developmental State practice, which was heavily State-led, underpinned either by socialism or authoritative ideologies. On the contrary, South Africa relies on the Western neoliberal ideologies of development. The two approaches in post-1994 South Africa are herein argued to be the primary source of the ineffectiveness of development and land reform in advancing or facilitating development.

Noteworthy, there is of commonality between South Africa and the cited Asian States in terms of being formerly colonised and seeking to attain development for all sectors of society post-colonisation. However, the distinction between South Africa and the Asian region in seeking development is the contrasting political economy ideologies that underpin the planning practice. Undoubtedly, the neoliberal development planning and land reform trajectory that South Africa followed under the dominance of liberal economies failed to address the socio-economic challenges of post-1994 South Africa. Similar studies confirm that development planning and land reform failures are due to the neoliberal political economy's approach to land reform (Akinola, 2019). Thus, using an authoritarian State-led approach followed by market-related politics is what sets the South African development trajectory apart from those of the cited Asian countries.

Further, similar studies revealed that neoliberal political economics underpinning development planning have eliminated land as a production function for development (Rees, 2018). The contention raised in the literature holds for the South African development planning and land

reform in advancing development post-1994. Arguably, land reform in post-1994 South Africa has been relegated to lower levels in the development agenda. Other means of development have been applied in post-1994 South African development meaning. The means used have not been impactful on development in addressing the socio-economic challenges of post-1994 South Africa. Disappointingly, the country has persistently left the development planning approach unchanged for three decades in terms of the means used to advance development. This has led to development planning failing to address the interest and public interest concerning land use by elevating land reform to being instrumental in advancing development. Interests and public interest are thus discussed in the next section.

6.3.2 Interests and the public interest as a function of planning legitimacy

The contention advanced in this section is that interests and public interest in development planning are fundamental for a legitimate development plan. Interests and public interest, as argued in this section, are key in shaping a development plan in how it is going to facilitate development. Drawing from planning theory, Moroni (2004, 2018) contends that planning theory's key task is to rethink public interest from an act of unitary to a practice of pluralism. Planning theory, specifically communicative planning, positions development planning as a matter of public interest about how public institutions foresee and foster desirable future conditions (Purcell, 2009; Madanipour, 2015; Klink and Denaldi, 2016). The empirical results support the theory that South African development plans are predicated on addressing the public interest and well-being of society. But, as acknowledged in the planning specifically, a plan is a product of the group struggle (Anderson, 2015; Anyebe, 2018; Zeb-un-Nisa *et al*., 2021). Hence, as evidenced in the empirical results, although development planning considers public interest, South African development planning post-1994 follows pro-poor processes that often fail toward economic development in attempting to address the divergent views resulting from communicative planning practices.

In confirming pro-poor planning processes, Participant 7 mentioned that government focuses more on basic services and backlogs in terms of human settlement with minimal efforts being made to address issues of economic development. Unquestionably, post-1994 development planning in South Africa struggles to obtain a balance between social and economic developmental demands. This points to the group struggle dynamics posed by the communicative planning practice even though encouraged in any form of development. Exacerbating the challenge is the political and elite capturing of development planning and land reform, which are used to pursue narrowed interests of the few and the markets. However,

well-grounded, State-led development planning must have the capacity to embrace the struggle between divergent interests in planning. This is because any development planning endeavour that has to facilitate development must be tightened to the interests and demands of those affected by the development plan in advancing development.

However, as argued by Van Assche (2007), it is impossible to have a plan that embraces all aspects within the context or a median context that will appease all public interest, making them feel at home in the plan's imagined space. Undeniably, development planning in post-1994 South Africa in considering interests and public interest straddles between balancing social and economic development due to the socio-economic challenges planning inherited from pre-1994 development planning. In appreciation that government planning cannot appease everyone and that a plan is a product of the group struggle, that does not mean development planning must not address basic services and backlogs but, more importantly, development planning must make significant strides in advancing economic development in creating societies that are economically independent. Thus, development planning must be cognisant that the divergent groupings and conflicting views in development are the function of communicative planning practice, which strives to address the resultant fragmentation, complex problems, and conflicting interests in development planning (Calderon and Westin, 2021; Lin, 2023).

Further, the empirical results revealed that development planning is a politically contested space among the elites and those with opposing views on government planning processes. This implies that, by considering the interests and public interest, development planning embraces the bottom-up approaches to planning practice, reflecting features of agonistic practices (Lin, 2023). Undoubtedly, development planning in post-1994 South Africa, as opposed to the literature, does not embrace opposing views from either opposition political parties or scholars and experts in planning.

Thus, this demonstrates a contradiction to the contention in the literature that an agonistic approach to planning practice is an alternative to communicative planning wherein those with opposing views to development planning processes are not viewed as enemies but adversaries to the planning practice (Kűhn, 2021; Lin, 2023). Embedded in its ineffectiveness is the inability of South African development planning post-1994 to embrace agonistic planning practices. Clearly, while claiming to be consultative and communicative, development planning in post-1994 South Africa, as shown in the results, is more compliant than practical in

embracing and endorsing divergent and conflicting views, including those from opposition political parties. Thus, this is contradictory to the position of the literature that development planning, in considering the diverse interests, has transitioned from being communicative planning to agonistic planning by endorsing plural forms of expressions and communication even from those with opposing views (Kűhn, 2021; Lin, 2023). Evidently, South African development planning has not transitioned in its process and approaches despite the new theoretical approaches to planning in advancing development.

Further, contrary to the view held by the communicative planning process advocates, the FGD results showed that the process is a compliance exercise toward ticking the box in government planning wherein consultation is conducted (e.g., Integrated Development Plan consultations). Member 2 of the FGD indicated that "the idea that government can plan and plans alone and that all other actors then join in to endorse the government plan, it is a problem". The communicative planning process or post-modernism remains a theory without practice in post-1994 South African development planning. Development planning in post-1994 South Africa aligns much with the modernist kind of approach wherein the markets or neoliberal approach determines the interests expressed in the development plan, which are that of the elites in pursuance of profits. Hibbard and Lurie (2000) historically cautioned that while a communicative or participatory planning approach is well advocated for and relevant to the public interest, a conundrum of planning and the common interest always emerges, resulting in a development plan failing to advance development.

Thus, planners must not limit their actions to set ends and search for means to achieve the ends; rather, they must use their abilities to generate a platform that encourages inter-communication (Moroni, 2018). However, the post-1994 South African development planning processes, as deduced from the results, contradict Moroni's (2018) claims that plans are developed by a group of elites or by the government and then taken for consultations to obtain plan endorsements. The contention raised in the results is that the plan will already be written and complete, making the consultation process with those affected by the plan a tick-box compliance exercise. The intercommunication platform that development planning should be encouraged toward considering the interests of those affected by the plan are predicated on the public interest, as shown in the results. Thus, public interest cannot merely be equated to the plan's intention to reduce poverty, inequality, and unemployment, as shown in the empirical results.

The results further show that, in as much as development planning wants to pursue the common good and public interest, the public interest is often defined by those in elite positions because they put their interests first. By pursuing the interests of those in elite positions, South African development planning post-1994 lacks legitimacy due to limited consideration of public interest. Contrary to the results, the literature argues that public interest fosters planning practice legitimacy (Klink and Denaldi, 2016; Mattila, 2016; Purcell, 2016; Tait, 2016; Sheydayi and Dadashpoor, 2022). Planning without considering public interest and only consulting when a development plan is concluded removes the legitimacy of the development plan.

Hence, the market in the modernist approach is contended to be the public interest arbiter by resolving pluralist and conflicting conceptions, striving for common good through pursuing profit and economic activity (Tait, 2016) for the elites. Arguably, development planning without public consideration does not connect with the reality of acting in the context of different interests but toward the interests of the few who pursue it for profit and economic activity. Thus, development planning would inherently be unable to meet public interest because of it being captured by sectoral interests, which inevitably cohere around the State (Tait, 2016; Zakhour, 2020). Hence, proponents of communicative planning processes postulate that the development planning process must be understood from communicative to agonistic action rather than a technical analysis (Purcell, 2016; Zakhour, 2020; Lin, 2023), focusing on the interests of the few. The State must have a sound relationship with the public while establishing alternative non-State modes of acting publicly (Mattila, 2016; Tait, 2016; Zakhour, 2020) in advancing development through land reform and development planning.

Reducing poverty, inequality, and unemployment is what development planning post-1994 inherited as a legacy of pre-1994 development planning, which is a primary reason for the legitimacy and existence of the development plan. The virtue of a development plan in addressing these socio-economic challenges does not necessarily equate to development plans considering public interest through an intercommunicative approach. Development planning seeks to address poverty, inequality, and unemployment, not the product of intercommunicating processes in considering public interest. The point contended is that these outcomes are a desirable future condition for society, which is already concluded in the plan even before any consultation on planning is conducted. This contention is in alignment with the point made in the FGD that consultation on plans is a compliance tick-box exercise that the government has concluded.

Thus, interests and the public interest must be a pivot around which debates on the nature of planning and its purpose turn (Campbell and Marshall, 2002; Maidment, 2016) and through which different interests in planning are reconciled (Tait, 2016). The collective interest of the public is the basic justification for development planning means and ends (Moroni, 2004; Maidment, 2016; Klink and Denaldi, 2016). Development planning in post-1994 South Africa cannot be ensured outside public interest. Development planning, as revealed by the empirical results, cannot be a compliance tick-box exercise for consultation when the plan is already concluded. Development planning in addressing socio-economic challenges and uplifting society out of poverty, inequality, and unemployment must, therefore, involve those affected by the plans from the onset while identifying and selecting the means-ends to be used in the plan. The next section discusses findings under the identification and selection of means-ends in development planning.

6.3.3 Identification and selection of means-ends and the criteria used

The contention advanced in this section is on the identification and selection of means-ends in development planning. The contentions in the section on means-ends are important in establishing processes used in post-1994 development planning to arrive at means-ends used in the past three decades, considering the ineffectiveness of development planning in facilitating development. The discussions in this section are dealt with under three sub-sections in relation to development planning's facilitation of development, as well as land reform advancement to development planning. The topics include the identification and selection of means-ends and means used in development planning in post-1994 South Africa, the missing link or what has been absent in development planning in post-1994 South Africa, and the instrumentality of land reform to development.

6.3.3.1 The identification and selection of means-ends and means used in development planning in post-1994 South Africa

The results demonstrate that different pathways of selection of means were used in development planning post-1994 in South Africa. Pre-1994 ready-to-govern documents, as per the view of Participant 4, enforced through legislation were fundamental to informing the means used to attain development in post-1994 South Africa. Further, means used in development planning in post-1994 South Africa were selected during the ruling party's successive conferences. The identification and selection of the means-ends process in post-1994 South African development planning, as shown in the results, has been politically driven. The process confirms the literature position that planning occurs in a contextual space

characterised by the social, economic, and political ramifications that are politically contentious in making the identification and selection of means-ends complex but critical to advancing the country's envisaged development for all sectors of society.

Identification and selection of means-ends in development planning in post-1994 South Africa is a contested terrain between expert views by NPC members and the politicians in the ruling party. However, a similar study reveals that planners alone, without the State power and its role as informed by the political discourse of the day, cannot determine the means-ends of development planning (Marotta and Cummings, 2019). It is because planning has taken a turn toward democratic pragmatism to achieve social and economic growth, which makes the subject of identification and selection of means-ends political, contentious, and central to the planning practice. The view from how means-ends are selected in terms of the results and literature aligns with the earlier contextual analysis in planning discussion that planning practice is a politically driven activity.

However, planning, according to the literature, is politically justified by the effect it will deliver by linking development plans with the public good they intend to deliver. In the same breath, but opposing the literature, it is herein argued that planning, while it is politically driven, cannot be left alone to the politicians to drive it and determine the means-ends used to advance development. Planning must also be driven from an expert view to attain the effect required when linking development plans with the public good. The reason will be to minimise the risk that Member 2 in the FGD pointed out: government plans change with every change in political leadership, making planning practice haphazard, incoherent, and difficult to follow after every change in political leadership. The incoherence and haphazardness in planning due to planning being more in the politician's space and affected by changes in political leadership lead to development planning's ineffectiveness in advancing development.

In a contrasting view, the results further show that the used means and identified ends in post-1994 South African development planning were selected based on strong economists and treasury perspectives. Also, statistical information, scientific information, and research were used to inform means selection in post-1994 South African development planning. However, the identification and selection of means-ends often do not follow a consistent logic, as argued by Participant 2. Thus, means-ends in post-1994 South African development planning are ambiguous, ambitious, and based on assumptions or projections inhibiting the facilitation of development.

In how means-ends in post-1994 South African development planning is dealt with in contrast with the "doing good" and "being right" approach, in which, the literature argues, means-ends must be rooted (Hoch, 1984). The positioning of Hoch (1984) is argued herein to be more plausible because, first, while appreciating that the selection and identification of means-ends are politically occupied, by "doing good", politicians and planning experts in post-1994 South Africa must be predominantly occupied by morality in driving the planning process toward the greater good for all.

Second, by "being right", development planning in post-1994 South Africa must focus on the methodological (procedural) system and technical qualities employed in developing development plans. The planning process must technically achieve preciseness and accuracy (referring to the validity and reliability to justify the plan) in terms of the ends and means selected. The issue of predictability and probability in the identification of the means and selection of ends is argued here to be a key criterion in having effective development planning.

The latter is supported by the view of Member 2 in the FGD, who appreciated the use of scientific information in development planning in post-1994 South Africa but questioned the in-depth use of scientific information. Member 2 argued that "whether we fully understood what scientific data required so that it can lead to a change in society is another question. It seems to me we got mechanical about it. We are not processing data sufficiently to change behaviour which is what is needed for us to change society." Faludi (1973), in more of a response to the results obtained, identified approaches that must be applied in planning in selecting and identifying means-ends of a development plan. According to Faludi (1973), means are identified by weighing alternatives. Faludi (1973) offered two types of weighing that must be used to identify means, which remain relevant in post-1994 South African development planning.

First, means must be identified based on the degree to which they satisfy the end sought in development planning. Second, means must be identified using a probability score. A probability score gives an estimate of the likelihood that the chosen end in a plan is associated with the means used. Arguably, development planning post-1994 in South Africa ineffectively identified and selected means based on their impact on the ends. This questions the probability score of the means used considering the ineffectiveness of development plans to facilitate development. Unquestionably, the identification of means or tools for development in post-1994 South Africa lacks the features of probability and, mostly, measurability. The contention

is that without measures of performance against the means used, it becomes impossible to make a rational decision in measuring whether a plan is advancing development.

It must be clear that one is not saying that plans in their entirety could not be measured. It is argued that, in three decades, it has been evident that the used means were not advancing development. However, post-1994 South African development planning has not generated a probability score on the means against the ends as a measure of the impact that means will have in advancing development at the onset of plan development. Thus, a measure of plans is not at the early stage of planning considering means-ends. Means-ends are only performance indicators in the development plan reporting on determined intervals, which are commonly pronounced as a five-year report of the development plan. These reports are commonly crafted to suit or do to seem to discredit the relevance of the political dynamics of the day.

Taking a step back, using a rational decision-making process, planning practice involves a scientific evaluation of development means and policy imperatives when making decisions. This process must be driven by considering public input to a goal or end-setting as informed by contextual factors, followed by experts' use of statistical and economic analysis in deciding on the development means or tools and policy imperatives to be applied in the plan. In this way, the validity (i.e., reliability) of the method used to identify the development alternatives must be objective rather than subjective or predominantly politically driven, as in the case of post-1994 South African development planning. Similar studies point out that the development plan's means-ends ought to be quantifiable, time-limited, and in line with the development plan's ends (Blau, 2019; Mattila, 2020). The argument is that developmental ends in post-1994 South African development planning are ambitious, vague, and unattainable, resulting in development planning's ineffectiveness in addressing socio-economic conditions.

Faludi's (1973) long-standing argument, which is relevant today, is that ambitious and vague developmental ends must be reduced to specific terms before being expressed as ends of development planning in concrete circumstances. This argument gives rise to objectivity in identifying the ends and selecting the means with an appreciation that conflicts between procedural and substantive rationality or between modernist and postmodern rationality are important (Hoch, 2007). This is because the type of reasoning followed to identify the means and, eventually, the ends affect the types of plans being crafted. If the means-ends of the development plan are not objectively selected and identified, the type of the development plan crafted stands a possibility of not effectively advancing development.

The literature, in addition to Faludi's (1973) views, suggests additional approaches to selecting and identifying the means-ends of a development plan to minimise reliance on a politically driven process. First, Flyvbjerg (2001b), from a context-dependent practical wisdom of individuals (*phronesis*), suggested that there must be a reflection on the *who*, *what* and *why* questions in the planning process when determining the plan's means-ends. The contention is that development planning in post-1994 South Africa must be centred on the greater society's benefit and must concern itself with *what* must be done and *why* it must be done in the chosen way. But, further post-1994 South African development planning must question *what* means and ends should be used, *why* a set of means-ends was chosen, and *who* should be held accountable for non-attainment of the ends. Unquestionably, development planning in post-1994 South Africa struggles to address these questions toward being effective in advancing development.

Dobrucká (2016), from the post-modernism, post-positivism, and post-structuralism theorists, suggests that the plan's means-ends must be questioned further from the context of *where*, *when*, and *whom.* From this positioning, development planning in post-1994 South Africa must be concerned about the geographical space *where* what must be done is done, *when* that must happen or has happened, and *whom* the plan is meant to benefit. Using these approaches to identify and select means-ends elevates the importance of communicative and consultative processes at the early stages of developing a plan rather than at the closing stages when the process is done for compliance.

Based on the social reform and social mobilisation of communicative planning, Dobrucká (2016) and Mattila (2020) offer two strands: social reform, which is driven by top-down change (change to realise an effective State), and social mobilisation based on bottom-up change led by civil society in attaining a better society. Social reform is based on the process of developing visions, plans, and ends (identifying *what* needs to be done), and the second strand (social mobilisation) is premised on evaluating the viability of the developed concepts, which depends on robust *what-how* (ends-means) nexus. The literature offers the planning practice, particularly the process of development planning when selecting and identifying means-ends, grounds for determining in clear terms *what* must be done or *what* the development plan has to achieve and *how* it must be achieved.

However, the concepts discussed are silent when analysing the results of how means-ends in post-1994 South African development planning are selected and identified. Theory shows more

of a contradiction of what is reflected to be happening in the development planning process in post-1994 South Africa. Drawing from the results against the literature, the development planning process in post-1994 South Africa lacks in asking hard questions in selecting and identifying of plan's means-ends. The notion of using scientific information to arrive at assumptions or projections with limited in-depth analysis of the information or reliance on political party resolutions renders development planning ineffective in improving the socio-economic situation in three decades.

The results confirm the above-raised dissention that the means-ends selection and identification process in post-1994 South African development planning has gaps. The confirmation is empirically shown by the failure of development plans post-1994 to attain development ends. The results show limited progress in alleviating poverty and reducing employment, that development plans post-1994 are too broad and fail to prioritise, and that economic ends have not been achieved. Participant 7 was clear that "development plans have not achieved ends. Plans that came post-1994 from the Reconstruction and Development Programme plan, including the NDP, have not achieved what is intended to be achieved." This view was further upheld in the FGD wherein Member 2 added "We are not making headway because of coordination issues, incoherence, and because we focus on output rather than outcomes. Poverty continues to rise. Unemployment continues to rise. Inequality continues to rise. The outcomes are unfortunately not reached."

The results of the non-attainment of ends in development planning in post-1994 are confirmed in the literature. Bond (2008) and Pooe (2019) argue that South Africa, post-1994, having embarked on redistributive processes, including land reform and development planning efforts, has not significantly improved the socio-economic status of its citizens. The non-advancement of development is firmly blamed on the means-ends used in development planning in post-1994 and the depth at which the process to select and identify means-ends went into to probe the probability of means used to attain the identified ends. The contention is clear from the empirical evidence, as Participant 11 pointed out that "Plans have failed…I think, in one sense, we were naive about a lot of things. The other view could be that the NDP was just not right from the beginning, it was too broad, too many things, and too much wishful thinking. A sense of prioritisation was never there; it was always about trying to do too much with limited capacity."

It is a view that was corroborated by Member 3 in the FGD: “The outcomes that we measure do not show that we are making an impact. It is because we are not focused on development. We are still dealing with issues of service delivery backlogs, *et cetera*.” In the same vein, similar studies found that South African development planning challenges are a result of several factors, including the lack of informed or evidence-based policies as tools for development, overreliance on empirical evidence from developed countries resulting in little room for local applications and adaption, quick-fix developmental approaches, relevance and accuracy of the goals and how they will be achieved, and the extent to which institutionalisation of a development plan happens (Rennkamp, 2012; Van Huyssteen, 2018).

Development planning in post-1994 South Africa does not prioritise means to be used in attaining development ends. The process of development planning is limited in the accuracy of identified ends or the realism of the ends. The burden of development planning in post-1994 South Africa is the confusion over the thin line between issues of service delivery backlog and attaining development that is sustainable in uplifting society out of poverty, inequality, and unemployment. This is put squarely on the lack of a narrowed lens focused on what should be done gradually to drive developmental ends through a coherent process of development planning wherein means and ends are not broad statements that lack measurability and predictability toward impacting or changing society.

Thus, development planning processes in post-1994 South Africa, from theory and empirical evidence, seem to have completely, but the results show areas of silver lining. Empirical evidence showed, as mentioned by Member 3 in the FGD, that “if you look at the trajectory of planning in the last 30 years or so, you will see that many of the development ends have been met, but there are disparities that exist”. However, it is noted from the individual interviews that the instrumentality of the means selected and used leaned more toward social policies. Participant 5 mentioned that “as far as developed and implemented social policies, the selected means have been very instrumental in moving us further towards elevating most of the people in this country above the poverty line…development means were instrumental in some areas and not helpful in others”. Post-1994 South African development planning, despite being ineffective, remains promising in delivering the desired ends depending on the correct choice of means and prioritisation, as empirically argued.

6.3.3.2 The missing link or what has been absent in development planning in post-1994 South Africa

The empirical results showed that land reform has been absent or is a missing link in development planning in post-1994 South Africa. Participant 7 mentioned that "what we miss in all these development planning instruments or means is land reform and land use in development planning". The view was echoed by Participant 12: "Elements that have failed, that are important in my view in changing the dynamics of development is land reform, in terms of agrarian land reform and urban space reform, which has been a key failure of the post-apartheid State." The same position was held by Participant 10: "We have not focused on the role that land reform can play and should be playing in development." Studies that have focused on land reform toward development have shown that most developing countries at the time of their independence were aware of the importance of land in building modern economies to achieve their development aspirations (Dorward *et al*., 2005; Wissink, 2019; Kimhi, 2023).

Thus, land reform is argued to be an instrumental means through which South Africa would redress historical injustices and promote development (Hall, 2004; Wissink, 2019). Considering Asian development, the argument on the instrumentality of land reform to advance development is not new. However, development planning in post-1994 South Africa has, instead of uplifting the centrality of land reform in development plans, slid land reform further down in the development agenda. Demoting land reform in the development agenda is in contrast with the theoretical contention that land reform is the hallmark of the initial stages of development, with the extent of industrialisation being the indicator of a country's developmental progress (Adésínà, 2011; Munyoro *et al*., 2018; Davies *et al*., 2020). However, South Africa's development planning process operates conversely, wherein industrialisation is the means to advancing development with land reform being at the periphery of development.

Thus, as Kleinbooi (2010) and Mowoe (2019) argue, the importance of land to the government's development agenda cannot be ignored because access to land is the most important asset to the poor in both rural and urban areas since land contributes more than any other factor to the quality of their lives. Further, in a similar study, Oyakhilomen and Zibah (2014) contend that any strategies designed to support any early stages of economic growth and development cannot ignore addressing the land question. Unquestionably, land reform in South African development planning, based on empirical evidence, has failed to address and centralise the land question in advancing development. As a result, the politicisation of land reform with little effort to drive it along the trajectory of land use and productivity leaves land

reform in the political discourse space rather than being an instrumental means of development in advancing development planning.

Notably, the participants, in their individual interviews, identified that land reform has occupied space in the post-1994 South African development planning. The same view is corroborated by the FGD results – there has been no plan since 1994 that is not aware of the central point of land reform. However, the results show that the extent to which land reform has occupied space in development plans post-1994 is limited, which might be due to it having occupied space only at the policy level. Land reform's impact has not been significant in advancing development planning and development. However, as shown in the empirical results, despite its slowness and the limited role land reform played toward development, participants are of the view that land could contribute to the development of the country's economy.

Similar studies argue that despite the prominent role of land reform towards development, it cannot be concluded in definite terms that land reform in South Africa has benefited any economic advancement or development (Teffo and Rupiya, 2017; Dlamini and Ogunnubi, 2018; Vink and Kirsten, 2019; Cousins, 2019, 2023). The South African land reform stagnation to development is like in other African countries cited in chapter three. For example, in Kenya, progress in land reform and realisation of development through land reform is halted by a complex institutional playing field due to curtailing of the implementation of the land prescripts (Boone *et al*., 2019). The view is, in essence, what the empirical results identified – while land reform has been present in different development plans post-1994, it has been absent (the missing link) when considering its potential and actual contribution to development. This is because land as a resource endowment in South Africa has not been instrumental in fostering development in the country.

The afore contentions are more apparent in the work of Azadi and Vanhaute (2019), who argue that efficient land reform leverages society to transform from poverty to a human capital-based developed economy. In contrast, a large sector of society in South Africa remains trapped in poverty, inequality, and unemployment with limited access to land in either rural or urban areas. According to empirical evidence where land has been redistributed, some beneficiaries are left with land that has become unproductive as a result of no or limited post-settlement support from the State.

As shown in the results, while land reform has been featured in development plans, a further reason why it is deemed a missing link or absent in development plans is that it is politicised and captured by the elites rather than being used to drive development. Participant 8 pointed out that "the question becomes why land reform is not demonstrating the same effect and impact we see with social grants. I think for me, that becomes the problem, and the problem is politicisation. There is some form of capture of land reform by the elites." The phenomenon of land reform capture by the elites is not unique to South Africa, according to the literature.

For instance, in Zambia, land reform progress is obscured by the fact that the ambitions of the elites' land reform programme participants frequently conflict with those of underprivileged people (Ng'ombe and Keivani, 2013). In Kenya, agrarian reforms that should drive productivity suffer because of the restrictions placed by the powerful elites on most of the Kenyans' access to land (Narh *et al*., 2016). In South Africa, it is theoretically demonstrated that the politics of land has been driven primarily by the rivalry between the elites and political parties (Gibson, 2010; Hull *et al*., 2019). This leads to the contestation that land reform is ineffective or absent as an instrumental means in development planning in post-1994 due to politicisation and being captured by the elites despite the literature showing how land reform has been instrumental to development in the Asian region.

It further cannot be ignored that since the early years of the post-1994 period, land reform was an instrumental tool for addressing the historical injustices resulting from the dispossession of land in pre-1994 South Africa. The objective was to make land accessible to the poor who lost their land during colonialism. The contention is not that people did not gain access to land in post-1994. Central to the argument is that land reform, while it has been practised in different forms and featured in different plans in post-1994, has not made an impactful change in all sectors of society. This is particularly evident in poor communities, where people's poverty issues are not being addressed, as well as where inequality and unemployment have not been improved. The postulation is theoretically supported by the argument that land reform lost its pro-poor orientation and focus by being captured by those using it toward creating a class of Black capitalist farmers (Hall and Kepe, 2017), preventing land reform from significantly contributing to development (Du Toit, 2023).

The theoretical position and postulation raised by the study are further corroborated by empirical results wherein Participant 8 mentioned that "land reform has been unsuccessful because when you take something that is meant to serve a certain purpose and want to use it

for a different objective altogether, it is not going to work. People started to see land reform as a way of becoming very rich quickly." Land reform, while featured in several development plans post-1994 in South Africa, remains absent (a missing link) in attaining development. This is not contestable because land reform has not been used to serve its supposed purpose because of the politicisation and capturing of land reform to benefit a few rather than the development of the entire society despite land reform being instrumental in advancing development, as dealt with in the next section.

6.3.3.3 Land reform instrumentality to development

The literature revealed that when land reform began, there was no evidence of the trajectory of Asian countries, particularly those cited in the literature, that suggested land reform was motivated by any significant economic payoffs at first (Iscan, 2018). It was because of the impact that land reform had on surging agricultural output and productivity after a sustained escalation of the agricultural output in the post-reform that sparked interest and attention. Hence, the ANC acknowledged post-1994 that land reform is a tool to address historical injustices of forced removals and denied access to land, as well as the potential means to culminate in building the economy by generating employment and increasing rural incomes (Aliber and Cousins, 2013; Hull *et al*., 2019). However, the ANC's view lacks practicality since land ownership remains skewed while large sectors of society are still fighting for access to land after three decades of independence.

Land reform, as shown in the empirical results, despite its slowness and the limited role it has played toward development, has a potential to contribute to the advancement of development in a country's economy. Participant 15 made it clear that "land has a huge contribution to the development of our country's economy". The view was echoed by Participant 5 that "land is an entry to economic advancement". The empirical position on the instrumentality of land reform to development is confirmed in similar studies by different scholars that land reform played a critical part in the rapid growth and industrialisation experienced in most Asian countries (Siddiqui, 2015; Sen, 2016; Nguyen, 2021). As theoretically argued, the importance of land as a factor of production and development is undeniable (Nguyen, 2021).

The literature's positioning is reiterated by Participant 16 when mentioning that she does not "…see the country planning any other thing, especially when talking about development without thinking about land". The viewpoints held by the empirical evidence and literature position land reform as instrumental to advancing development in South African development

planning post-1994 toward lifting society out of poverty, inequality, and unemployment. However, in the current trend wherein development planning has slid land reform down the development agenda, development planning in post-1994 South Africa would remain ineffective for a longer time if the development planning approach is not reviewed to centralise land reform as a means to advance development.

Unquestionably, land reform, as shown by the empirical results, is a basic resource for development, and no development and transformation discourse can happen without land reform being at the centre of the discourse. Sharing her view, Participant 14 said, "…whatever definition we might have of what development planning is, land remains a basic need". In concurrence with the empirical results, studies on Vietnam's development concluded that land reform and agrarian reforms must be used by governments in developing countries as a key sector in growing their economy (Lan, 2018; Nguyen, 2021). Conversely, development planning in post-1994 South Africa fails to use land reform as a persuasion force behind the growth of industry and export orientation, which today is associated with the Eastern Asian or developmental State models that South Africa envisages to realise. The contention advanced here is *how* South Africa emulates a model that it fails to follow to the latter from a land reform perspective in *how* it can attain development. The emulation of the development State model if land reform is not used would be another piecemeal served to society in the name of pursuing development that will not be realised.

On another note, in reducing inequality in land ownership and thus improving income inequality, Kimhi (2023) contends that distributing land among landless households could reduce income inequality, even in rural areas. While South Africa has been reported to have redistributed land, that has barely changed the shape of land ownership in post-1994 South Africa. Evidently, the empirical findings show that South African land ownership remains highly unequal, which is contrary to the view held by the literature on the impact of land ownership inequality on unequal income inequality. The more skewed land ownership in post-1994 South Africa remains, the more persistent inequality remains in society. Hence, the argument by Kimhi (2023) that land reform reduces inequality only when land is distributed equally, and smallholders are prioritised. However, inequality in ownership, as shown empirically, consistently remains because established commercial farmers continue to gain control of more (and even better) land resources, thus deepening a large sector of society in poverty, inequality, and unemployment.

Hence, South African land reform should not be seen as a different agenda from the development agenda. Despite land reform being noted both empirically and theoretically to be instrumental to development, results further show a contrary picture that land reform is slowly fading from the centre of the South African developmental discourse. The view was mentioned by Participant 10 when he said he does not "think land reform has contributed to addressing our country's socio-economic challenges. Why I am saying that is because we have not been doing land reform in a structured way." The empirical positioning raises an argument around why, in developing countries, in particular South Africa, land reform is fading in the development discourse and has not contributed to addressing socio-economic challenges.

In following the mainstream theories or ideologies of development planning or land reform processes in understanding the empirical viewpoint, it is hereby theoretically noted that economic professionals use high-income countries as the basis for reference to determine *what* developing countries should do in their development trajectory and the use of land reform. The reality is that developing countries, including South Africa, do not have advanced industries, and their market institutions are not performing well. Thus, benchmarking and following models employed in high-income countries as a reference without the necessary capacity is not serving South Africa well in advancing its developmental aspirations.

Drawing from the observations, mainstream theorists' policy recommendations to developing countries are to do what developed countries are doing, which is evident in the post-1994 South African development planning trajectory. Indisputably, mainstream theorists fail to appreciate and guide South Africa to successfully develop and transition because they neglect the endogeneity of the backwardness and distortions evident in South Africa, some due to its colonial era. The inefficient institutions are endogenous to development in South Africa, including, for example, inefficient State-owned Enterprises, government interventions, and the legacy of previous interventions. Thus, due to capacity, South Africa cannot match and emulate development paths imposed on it by Western mainstream theorists who compel it to follow a development path that the country cannot provide resources towards in advancing development and in implementing development plans, as discussed in the next section.

6.3.4 The practice of development plan implementation

The section argues that development plan implementation is a key facet of development planning if a plan is worth its existence. Thus, development plan implementation, as advanced in this section, cannot be ignored for development planning to facilitate development.

Implementing a development plan is the process of turning a plan into reality and accomplishing the specified ends of the plan. The results, in addition to land reform being absent (a missing link) in development planning in post-1994 South Africa, further suggest that development plan implementation is also absent (a missing link) in development planning. The emergence of the attribute, even in chapter two, was a result of data emerging from the early stages of conducting interviews wherein plan implementation was pointed to by participants. Thus, the study argues that the scholarship on planning practice, specifically development planning, has spent much of its space being theoretical and teaching-oriented, with limited to no penetration on the practicality of planning considering development plan implementation. This is in spite the many challenges in development plan implementation, specifically in developing countries.

The implementation of development plans is a challenge in post-1994 South Africa. Participant 11 indicated: "What is missing is the credible translation of development plans into implementation through short-term implementation plans." Participant 1 added, "We have very good plans, but they lack implementation. But then the other question is, are those plans implementable or are they just good on paper? Those are the two kinds of scenarios that we should look at because everyone will tell you that we have plans, but they are not implemented. But then are they implementable or are they realistic." A more plausible long-standing explanation in the history of implementation in alignment with the results is that a policy or plan's value must be measured in terms of its appeal and further considering its implementability (Pressman and Wildavasky, 1973). A similar study on plan implementation by Conyers and Hills (1984) contends that despite the changes and improvements in planning processes, implementation of the plans remains a major problem. Conyers and Hills's views are still relevant in recent times, as echoed in similar current studies by Andrews *et al*. (2017) and El-Taliawi and van der Wal (2019) that many developing countries can produce policies, programmes, and projects, including plans routinely and repeatedly, but cannot implement them.

Drawing from the Indonesian case concerning the empirical results, a study by Timmer (2019) shows that, in a long-run perspective, the country's experience with pro-poor growth fosters a pathway that poor societies can escape poverty provided development plans and policies are followed and implemented. In contrast, focusing on South Africa, it is undeniable that government as a collective, including its agencies, is not able to give effect to plans and policies or legislation that it adopted toward the realisation of change or impact that development plans

or policies envisaged in their ends. Hence, South African development planning through development plans has remained ineffective in advancing development for three decades because of development plan implementation challenges.

Failure to implement plans is empirically associated with development plans being broad and failing to prioritise in terms of the means used in advancing development. Further, bringing means to action in realising the ends of a development plan during implementation is affected by the decisions taken in identifying means and selecting ends. The selection and identification of means-ends of the plan, as demonstrated in the results, is often a process that is politically driven rather than expert-driven. Hence, the evident sectoral fragmentation at implementation is because of means-ends that are ambiguous due to the politicisation of development planning. Thus, plan implementation in post-1994 South Africa has become a process hampered by different complexities, which often leads to the ineffectiveness of the plan toward attaining its intended ends.

The process of how means-ends are selected and determined, as well as their specificity, are key elements that cannot be disputed during a development plan implementation. Means-ends impact the development plan's implementability and measurability. Although the results have shown that scientific information is used to select and determine the means-ends of a development plan, the results have further shown that means-ends are driven by resolutions taken at the ruling party's conferences and must be implemented by the bureaucracy. The results show a contradiction to the literature on means-ends rationality, which Blau (2019) describes as the capacity to choose appropriate means to attain ends.

The contention when comparing the results and means-rationality is fundamentally on the capacity of the post-1994 South African State, through development planning processes, to choose development plans' means-ends, as evidenced in the results. As theoretically demonstrated in similar studies, the capacity for rationality is thus the ability to select desirable ends for which desirable means must be identified (Blau, 2019). It is through appropriate processes of choosing means-ends that a development plan can have legitimacy in terms of measurability and implementability to effectively address the socio-economic challenges of poverty, inequality, and unemployment.

Arguably, means-ends rationality leverages justification for the content of the plan by providing a sense of belief in the plan (Hoch, 2007). Through the justified content of a development plan, those tasked with the responsibility of implementing the plan in different sectors of the

government can follow and execute the selected and determined means-ends. Means-ends are instrumental in leveraging the attainment of the anticipated future's reality. On the other hand, means-ends are also key to non-attainment of the reality that is anticipated by the future. The ends in planning reflect the image of the future conditions in which the means in the plan are oriented.

Undisputably, plan implementation through any determined means is fundamentally the testing of the hypotheses founded on the view that intended developmental ends will emerge from putting together certain inputs or conditions to produce outputs (de Coning *et al*., 2018b). A foundation for implementation efforts is rooted in clearly specified means-ends, which also make it possible to monitor development plan implementation progress. Thus, the relationship between the selected means in attaining the desired ends is key to realising the kind of future post-1994 South African development planning has promised to its society through advancing development.

The point raised in the results that means-ends used in development plans are ambiguous, ambitious, and based on assumptions or projections, as captured by Participant 3, is a view that the government in post-1994 development is not unaware of. Similar studies show that governments are aware that without the proper means, development planning ends are only idealistic (Joyce, 2020). The argument is evident through the country's persistently rising levels of poverty, inequality, and unemployment.

Several policy initiatives and programmes have been used toward attaining development ends in post-1994 South African development. The point raised in consideration of the view from the results is that development plans fail to advance development because of the lack of clarity in the means used. Similar studies contend that clear and legitimate means require evidence-based policy direction and decision-making to implement a development plan toward making an impact at the societal level (de Coning *et al*., 2018). Means are essential for attempts to properly implement and deliver the plan's ends and the country's desired long-term strategic visions or future.

Further, the lack or failure of development plan implementation, as deduced from the empirical results, is associated with systematic issues of the State or institutional capacity and resources for the implementation of development plans post-1994. The post-1994 State is characterised by a limited capacity to implement plans, the disjuncture between plan and implementation, a fragmented sectoral approach, and misalignment between planning and budgeting. Thus, the

results, therefore, firmly point to institutional arrangement challenges in development plan implementation. In concurrence with the results, the literature shows that institutionalism is the cornerstone of service delivery (Phago, 2017) since its success is crucial to realising the development ends envisaged to transform society (Alexander, 2005).

As a result, plan implementation, like policy implementation, depends on institutional foundations despite the political economy (e.g., neoliberal/federal/centralised/decentralised/socialist) underpinning the planning process in gaining legitimacy (Araral and Amri, 2016). Thus, the plan's means-ends without practical institutional arrangements and capacity will largely remain theory with no impact or change at the societal level. Capacity at the institutional level in post-1994 South Africa is a challenge that hinders development planning to advance development.

The contention on lack of institutional capacity is poignantly raised by Participant 10: "…we are just creating this complex environment where we are driven into the cycle of trying to develop all these plans, and once we have developed them, we then do not have the correct instruments [or means] and institutional structures to implement them." A similar view is upheld in the literature that experiencing poor development outcomes is not because States lack good policies or plans or best practices in budget rules but because of a lack of institutional implementation capacity (capability)y in their plans, including budgets (Pritchett *et al*., 2012; Andrews *et al*., 2017; El-Taliawi and van der Wal, 2019).

Similar studies show that these countries are in what Pritchett *et al*. (2012:2) coined a "*capability trap*" wherein they are at a zero rate of improvement in State or institutional capacity, and if they persist at the same pace of progress, it will take them a long time to reach desired levels of institutional capacity to implement their plans, policies, programmes, or projects. Building institutional capacity to implement a plan is critical in realising the development ends of the plan. As shown by Andrews *et al*. (2017), the importance of building institutional capacity is because developing countries have overambitious agendas and great plans, as well as policies with bleak outcomes toward changing the social and economic status they find themselves in.

In concert with both the literature and empirical findings, the contention is that given development planning progress toward addressing poverty, inequality, and unemployment in post-1994 South Africa to date, it is demonstrated that South African institutions have a capacity deficit in development plan implementation. A deficit in institutional capacity for plan

implementation implies that even policies (e.g., land reform) that have been rigorously proven to work in other institutional settings (e.g., in the Asian region) may produce zero or perverse outcomes when used in development planning in post-1994 South Africa. Institutional capacity to effectively implement plans or policies is critical to the success of a country (El-Taliawi and van der Wal, 2019), particularly post-1994 South Africa. Development planning would be or remains inconsequential if post-1994 South Africa cannot implement development plans despite how representative or intricately formulated they are.

Undeniably, it is evident, even from the empirical results, that institutional arrangements, including deficits in institutional capacity, point to a multitude of actors in development plan implementation. The point echoed in similar studies: institutionalism is concerned with many different actors with different roles and responsibilities in the planning processes and, specifically, the implementation processes (de Coning *et al*., 2018a). Literature shows that in alignment with institutionalism, planning theory based on communicative planning puts public participation at the core of the planning process. Institutionalism encourages the participation of various stakeholders in forming planning decisions toward minimising bottlenecks during plan implementation. Using participatory planning techniques, planners must include local knowledge, values, and goals, as well as promote a deeper sense of ownership and validity in the results. The importance of institutionalism is anchored on the contention that the implementation of a plan is influenced by multiple actors who operate at different levels of government. Thus, the implementation of a sensible development plan and land reform that considers the interests of all stakeholders must serve as a firm basis upon which South African development plan implementation must be anchored in advancing development.

6.4 Chapter summary

Chapter six opened with a summary of the findings, which was followed by a discussion of the findings using an interpretive framework focusing on the first and third secondary research questions. The interpretive framework is derived from the conceptual framework also based on four attributes under which discussions were made. As discussed in the chapter, different findings were made. Among them, the study found that South African development planning is State-led and follows the neoliberal political economy. However, the contextual situation in terms of poverty, inequality, and unemployment is what development planning has been striving to address in post-1994 South Africa. Further, the study found that South African development plans are predicated on addressing the public interest and well-being of society. However, as discussed in the chapter, it is impossible to have a plan that appeases all public

interest and caters for all in an imagined space of planning. The chapter showed that means-ends in post-1994 South African development planning are determined and selected based on scientific information. However, the means-ends are informed by the ANC's consecutive conference resolutions and the decisions on means-ends are arrived at based on assumptions and projections. Lastly, chapter six suggests that development plan implementation is a challenge in post-1994 South Africa.

Chapter seven will discuss the conclusion, contribution to knowledge, and recommendations.

Chapter 7

Conclusion, Contribution to Knowledge, and Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the study's conclusions, contribution to knowledge, and recommendations of the study. The chapter is fundamental in answering the primary research question, which is key in realising the study's aim. The posed primary research question was: *How could a development plan be modelled to reposition land reform in addressing the socio-economic problems of South Africa?* By answering the primary research question, the study realises the purpose of theorising or modelling a development plan featuring a repositioned land reform in addressing South Africa's socio-economic problems. The primary research question is answered through the contribution to knowledge, as discussed later in this chapter. The chapter begins by giving an overview of the thesis. After that, summary answers and conclusions for the research questions are discussed, followed by the contribution to knowledge. Subsequently, chapter seven discusses the study's implications and research weaknesses. Thereafter, recommendations are made based on the study, followed by recommendations for further research.

7.2 Overview summation of chapters

In chapter one, the study was introduced, and a background to the research problem – *the ineffectiveness of development planning in post-1994 South Africa* related to land reform instrumentality to advance development – was discussed from pre-1994 to post-1994 development planning. The chapter laid the foundation for the study by demonstrating from pre-1994 to post-1994 how development planning has shaped up considering the socio-economic challenges of poverty, inequality, and unemployment. In addressing the research problem and filling the lacuna in planning literature, the primary research question was asked: *How can a development plan be modelled to feature land reform as its instrumental tool for development in addressing the socio-economic problems of South Africa?* The chapter facilitated the understanding of why development planning has taken the current shape and evolved in the manner it has post-1994.

Subsequently, chapter two interrogated planning practice literature and how it informs development planning. The chapter was fundamental to identifying the theoretical framework and deriving the conceptual framework used as the interpretive framework in the discussion

and interpretation of the findings, as well as for laying a basis for making the study's theoretical contributions. Key attributes identified in the conceptual framework included the contextual analysis in planning, interests, and public interest as a function of planning legitimacy, identification and selection of means-ends and the criteria used, and the practice of development plan implementation. In interrogating the literature and from the empirical findings, it was determined that the literature is silent on how development planning can feature land reform as an instrument of development. Further, the literature is silent on the instrumentality of land reform in development planning despite land reform being instrumental to development in the Asian region. In addition, the literature on development planning is further silent on plan implementation to the extent that the literature on policy implementation was used in Chapter Two. However, the areas of silence in the literature on development planning leveraged the study's knowledge contribution.

Chapter three interrogated the literature on land reform advancement of development planning and development in the Asian and African regions. Interrogated literature on land reform advancements of development planning in post-colonial countries from the Asian and African perspectives was key, drawing distinctions in development trajectories in both regions. The chapter was fundamentally used in the study to corroborate and contrast the discussion and interpretation of the findings and to leverage the study's knowledge contribution. The literature interrogation laid a solid foundation for the contention around the instrumentality of land reform to development and, importantly, using land reform in advancing development planning.

Chapter four discussed the research approach, design, procedure, and methods. The chapter fostered choice-making on the research methods relevant to answering the research questions, thus addressing the research problem. The choice of sequential mixed qualitative methods was fundamental in facilitating methodological knowledge contribution. Using sequential mixed methods in the development planning literature is found to be unique to similar studies in development planning literature. The chapter, using individual interviews and a single FGD, discussed the methods and motivated the decisions on methods used in conducting a multi-level analysis of both development planning and land reform in a single study. Data collection and analysis were done sequentially, beginning with the individual interviews and thematic analysis of individual interview data. Thereafter, the FGD was conducted followed by data analysis thereof. The FGD results were used to corroborate or contrast the individual interview's results.

Chapter five presented the research results. The chapter began with the characterisation of participants in depicting a picture of the participants from whom insights and experiences on development planning and land reform post-1994 in South Africa were sourced. The presentation of results was a step toward empirically understanding development planning and the use of land reform to development in post-1994 South Africa. The chapter was key in generating empirical knowledge critical to the discussion of the findings. Further, the chapter was key in laying the foundation for the study's knowledge contribution in terms of the empirical findings on the instrumentality of land reform, what has been absent in the development planning in post-1994 South Africa, determining the place land reform can occupy in development planning, and how development planning must feature land reform. The research results were presented under five themes and sub-themes generated during the data analysis in chapter four. Themes were presented using different sub-themes that were supported by direct quotes from the participants. Eventually, direct quotes from the FGD members were used to support or contrast the views of participants in individual interviews.

Following the presentation of the results, chapter six discussed the research findings. In discussing the research findings, the conceptual framework developed in chapter two was used as the interpretative framework to make sense of the data collected toward arriving at the findings. The chapter made meaning of the results presented in chapter five by using the interpretive framework attributes being the contextual analysis in planning, interests, and the public interest as a function of planning legitimacy, identification and selection of means-ends and the criteria used, and the practice of development plan implementation. In making meaning of the empirical results, the chapter used the theoretical information gathered in chapters two and three to support or contrast the results. The chapter, through discussions of the findings under the four attributes, leveraged drawing the conclusions that were fundamental for the study's knowledge contribution.

7.3 Summary answers and conclusions for the research questions

In guiding the conclusions about the research questions, the research questions have been converted into statements, which are used as headings under which brief answers and conclusions are made. The primary research question posed in the study is:

How could a development plan be modelled to feature land reform in addressing the socio-economic problems of South Africa?

The primary research question was answered through the secondary research questions. The following secondary research questions were considered:

1. *How can development planning be used to facilitate the attainment of development in the post-1994 South Africa?*
2. *How have other post-colonial States envisioned and implemented land reform in advancing development planning and development?*
3. *Can land reform in post-1994 South Africa be re-shaped and re-planned in a new development planning approach in addressing socio-economic failures?*

7.3.1 Using development planning to facilitate the attainment of development in post-1994 South Africa

This secondary research question was both theoretically and empirically answered. In using development planning to facilitate development, three aspects of development were found to be fundamental pillars: contextual consideration, interests and public interest consideration, and identification and selection of means-ends in development planning in post-1994 South Africa.

Under the pillar of context, the study found that development planning in post-1994 was predicated on the context prevailing in the country. The context prevailing in post-1994 South Africa, as inherited from the pre-1994, era is characterised by stubbornly high poverty, inequality, and unemployment. In envisioning the desired development, development planning thus considers socio-economic challenges to address in post-1994 South Africa. However, the study's findings suggest that development planning ineffectively addresses the socio-economic challenges of post-1994 South Africa in facilitating development.

Further, the study under the interests and public interest found that development planning considers the interests and public interest of those affected by development plans in post-1994 South Africa. Arguably, although development planning is considered public interest, it is done as a compliance exercise since consultations in planning are done after concluding the development plan. In concurrence with the mutation of neoliberal ideologies of planning theory worldwide, development planning is also underpinned by neoliberal ideologies in post-1994 South Africa. As a result, development planning is captured by the elites and politically-driving interests of the few rather than public interest. Hence, development plans do not serve the

interests of all sectors of society because the levels of poverty, inequality, and unemployment in the post-colonial era remain persistently high in post-1994 South Africa.

The pillar of identification and selection of means-ends in post-1994 South African development plans is dealt with in two ways. First, the selection and determination of means-ends is a process that is politically informed. Means-ends are often determined through resolutions taken at consecutive ANC conferences. The process of selection and determination of means-ends is more politically driven than expert-driven, resulting in ambitious and ambiguous means-ends applied in development plans. Second, means-ends are selected and determined using scientific information. The process of using scientific information is questioned from the perspective of the extent to which the information is used. Scientific information and research outcomes are used to draw assumptions and projections in selecting and determining means-ends in post-1994 South African development plans. However, it cannot be overlooked that the ends of the development plans that post-1994 South African development planning is striving to achieve are predicated on the contextual socio-economic challenges of poverty, inequality, and unemployment. Thus, these ends consider public interest in terms of putting efforts in place toward realising social, economic, and political development of society in post-1994 South Africa.

The following conclusions are arrived at as discussed. Although post-1994 South African development planning shows good intentions in terms of reducing poverty, inequality, and unemployment, the struggle faced by development planning in facilitating development in post-1994 South Africa lies fundamentally in the means (tools) or programmes (policies) used. Even though the ends are of good intentions from the perspective of the greater benefit of all, the determined targets to the ends are ambitious given the tools used and the context of the country wherein development planning is politically influenced and land reform is being captured by the elites. This has resulted in development planning and land reform being highly contentious subjects, given the ongoing discourse in the political sphere.

Development planning post-1994 in South Africa is predicated on contextual considerations in determining the means-ends of the development plan. Different development plans post-1994 have focused on addressing poverty, inequality, and unemployment to improve the country's social and economic status for the good of all. However, development is a process that has been captured by the elites, attempting to be inclusive and following communicative planning practices. As a result, the selection and determination of means-ends while informed by

scientific information, the State bases the identification and selection of assumptions and projections with limited consideration for the plans' measurability and implementability. Arguably, much of the process of means-ends selection and determination following the policy system approach happens in the black box with little transparency of the path followed, resulting in ambiguous, ambitious, and unattainable means-ends. Further, the opposing views to plans while development planning is claimed to be communicative and consultative are not embraced in practising a shift toward agonistic planning from communicative planning practices wherein opposing views are taken as adversaries.

Conclusively, development planning has considered the context and public interest. Controversially, it is concluded that development planning in post-1994, while it has done well from the social perspective in terms of poverty and inequality through social wages, has failed to generally attain development and, thus, developmental ends. Hence, the contention is that South Africa is planning on a first-world level focusing on social goals rather than a third-world level where the focus must be on rapid economic growth to sustainably address the socio-economic challenges of a developing country (Drewes and van Aswegen, 2013). This is evident in the country's increasing levels of poverty, widening inequality gap, and rising unemployment rate. Thus, the selected means used toward addressing the socio-economic challenges, which are the broad determined ends in development plans, have proved to be ineffective, resulting in development planning ineffectiveness in post-1994 South Africa. Therefore, means-ends identification and selection are key processes towards improving the effectiveness of development planning.

The first secondary research question has been answered using empirical evidence. Thus, development planning has not facilitated development in post-1994 South Africa. The means used in post-1994 development plans have not advanced development planning and development. Land reform was identified as absent in advancing development planning and development. The study further concludes that the research objective of examining how development planning can be used to facilitate the attainment of development in post-1994 South Africa has been met. The study disclosed the approaches development planning in post-1994 South Africa must employ to select and determine the means-ends used in development plans.

The employed approaches demonstrate limitations in development planning post-1994 to select and determine means-ends due to over-ambition and ambiguity in the means-ends, leading to

unrealistic and unattainable development plans. The process being used goes against the selection and determination of means-ends theory, which suggests, among others, evaluating different options based on how well they align with the desired outcomes and the probability of success. This approach ensures that the chosen end is linked to the means used in attaining the outcomes of a development plan.

7.3.2 Envisioning and implementation of land reform in other post-colonial States in advancing development planning and development

This secondary research question was theoretically answered by interrogating the literature on land reform instrumentality to development from the Asian and African regions. Based on the theoretical interrogation, both the Asian and African regions are distinct in how land reform advances development planning and development. Cited countries in the Asian region have similar demographics to those in the African region, including South Africa. Using the example of Vietnam, which went through conflict and war before attaining any development, it is indisputable that land reform played a critical part in the rapid growth and industrialisation experienced in Asian countries (Siddiqui, 2015; Sen, 2016; Nguyen, 2021). Therefore, the importance of land as a factor of production is undeniable (Nguyen, 2021).

Thus, land reform and how land is used is vital for any developing economy because, as proven, developing countries in the development trajectory, including the Asian region, predominantly rely on the products produced from the land for exporting and satisfying domestic demand (Lee *et al*., 2020). Aggressive policy interventions, including land reform, led to the commonly known concept of the developmental State, which is central to the characterisation of successful industrialisation, as happened in several Asian economies (He, 2019), which South Africa is striving to emulate. Asian economies beat the odds to be the newly industrialised economies founded on land reform processes.

Unlike their Asian counterparts, post-colonial African States failed to enact significant land reforms that would successfully address colonial legacies related to land distribution and administration (Rukema and Khan, 2019). Thus, it cannot be disputed that African countries failed to facilitate sustainable development planning and development using land and agrarian reforms after their colonial regimes. The under-use of land and lack of execution of efficient policies in the land sector in most African countries, however, have put the continent on the verge of socio-political instability and economic stagnation (Akinola and Wissink, 2019b). After independence, Asian countries, unlike the African States, deliberately and

conscientiously pursued a collective mindset change through land reform to attain developmental ends, economic growth, and industrialisation (Gumede, 2019). This lifted many Asian countries and their societies out of poverty traps to levels similar to or better than their colonisers.

In conclusion, the study's cited Asian countries have, post their independence, intentionally and consciously embarked on a development trajectory focused on land reform as a central instrument for advancing development planning and development. Development planning underpinned by either the authoritarian or socialist political economy was fundamental in land reform, advancing development planning and development. Unquestionably, using authoritarian and socialist political economy in the Asian region was contradictory to the capitalist or market-led political economy commonly used by their colonisers. Post-1994, South Africa followed the capitalist or democratic political economy imposed by its colonisers. Like in cited African countries, the capitalist political economy to development planning and land reform has not achieved South Africa's envisaged development through the different development plans. Following the IMF and World Bank capitalism development approach, South Africa has not effectively used land reform to advance development planning and development as its Asian counterparts realised. Instead, poverty, inequality, and unemployment have worsened from where they were pre-1994. Emulating Asian development using the development State model mixed with the contradictory political economy used in South Africa, the country finds itself straddling between Asian development and Western approaches to development.

Further, land reform in Africa, specifically South Africa, failed to advance the interests of the populace compared to the Asian region, which did not pander to populist hysteria. Land in the African region and South Africa is used as a tool to mobilise voters for elections or as a patronage system rather than as a development means to advance social, economic, and political development, as well as productivity across society. Despite implementing policies towards land reform, productivity through land use has dwindled in South Africa and African countries because once productive farms have become non-productive fields. This has resulted in land unproductivity across African countries, leading to stagnation in attaining developmental ends in their development plans. The African continent, specifically South Africa, must explore land reform and agrarian transformation as more promising developmental instruments to improve their productivity and chances of attaining developmental ends.

The study theoretically interrogated literature from Asian (global perspective) and African to arrive at an answer for the second secondary research question. Land reform, despite challenges faced by the cited Asian countries, was instrumental in advancing development planning and development in the Asian region. Although African countries, including South Africa, have, from the beginning of their democracies, known that land reform is instrumental and have failed to emulate the use of land reform in advancing development planning and development, as is evident in Asian countries. It is, therefore, concluded that the research question has been answered, and thus, the objective of the study to explore how other post-colonial States envisioned and implemented land reform in advancing development planning and development has been attained. Thus, the interrogation of the literature has revealed that South Africa's land reform processes do not align with how land reform must be used to advance development planning and development. Thus, the study examined how land reform must be re-shaped and re-planned in a new development planning approach.

7.3.3 Land reform re-shaping and re-planning a new development planning approach in post-1994 South Africa to address socio-economic failures

This secondary research question was answered in a two-approach manner. It was important to first establish the answer to what has been absent in post-1994 South Africa. The study established the answer by employing empirical methods corroborated by the literature. Second, the study sought to ascertain how development must feature land reform in its new approach to address the socio-economic challenges of post-1994 South Africa. The next two sections provide answers and conclusions to the third secondary research question.

7.3.3.1 The missing link – what is absent in post-1994 South African development plans, which have made them not deliver on their developmental ends

Before re-shaping and re-planning land reform in a new development planning approach, it was imperative to establish what has been absent in development planning in post-1994 South Africa. It was found that land reform and planning implementation are the missing links in post-1994 South African development plans, which has made them ineffective in advancing development planning and development. However, it is unquestionable that land reform in development planning in post-1994 South Africa has occupied space in all development plans. But, based on its instrumentality to advance development planning, land reform has been absent in the trajectory to attain development ends in post-1994 South African development planning. Development planning in post-1994 South Africa has not focused on the role that land reform can play and should be playing in development.

Thus, land reform instrumentality to advance development planning cannot be absent from a new development planning approach in post-1994 South Africa. As a caution, the Sukarno government, after taking control post-colonial era and declaring Indonesian independence in 1945, neglected land use and agriculture in favour of an inward-looking development policy (Widodo, 2017; Andreas *et al*., 2019). This resulted in economic and political chaos in the mid-1960s, causing the country to be showcased as an example of development pessimism.

On the other hand, plan implementation has been absent in development planning in post-1994 South Africa in ascertaining a credible translation of development plans into implementation. It is evident from both theory and empirical evidence that South African development planning, particularly in attaining development toward addressing poverty, inequality, and unemployment, is far from what is expected compared to other developing countries, e.g., South Korea, China, India, Indonesia, and Vietnam, as cited in chapter three. The challenge emanates from the post-1994 South African government, which is 'talking left and going right' in implementation due to incoherent development planning practice and a lack of prioritisation in the means used to advance development planning and development.

In conclusion, the non-instrumentality and absence of land reform in development planning is due to its absence in the development agenda. This is because land had been captured by the elites for their interests rather than the greater good for all in society. South Africa, despite the ruling party's acknowledgement of the importance of land reform to development from the onset, has not intentionally and deliberately centralised land reform as a means to drive development in development plans. Land reform is used to sustain political power and is reduced to a political campaigning tool during elections. Further, despite the evolution, changes, and improvements South Africa has made in the development planning trajectory, the implementation of the plans remains a major problem.

Partially, the means-ends capacity/rationality identified and selected in the development plans poses challenges of measurability and implementability for those in institutions tasked with implementing the plans. In addition, development planning in post-1994 South Africa suffers in implementation because of poor institutional arrangement and capacity, leading to development plans' ineffectiveness, given the failure to address the very existence of the plans in terms of reducing poverty, inequality, and unemployment. Thus, development planning's worth to development without implementation is non-existent. Development plan

implementation is key in ascertaining that the development plan transitions from theory to practical by having a distributive and economic impact on all in society.

Based on the literature and the empirical evidence, it is apparent that land reform has been absent in development planning in post-1994 South Africa thus, the country's rising inequality is partially because of land ownership inequality patterns. Unequal land ownership adds to income inequality in society, specifically in the country's rural spaces. Thus, repositioning land reform in development planning without addressing the key component of land ownership inequality does not improve income inequality among the poorest in post-1994 South Africa. The lack of an integrated land administration system fundamentally points to the different patterns of information in a development plan that need to be addressed to improve land ownership, thus, income inequality toward lifting society out of poverty and unemployment in advancing development.

The study concludes that the third secondary research question has been answered. Land reform has been absent in the advancement of development planning and development despite being expressed in different development plans in post-1994 South Africa. This is because land reform has not benefited any economic advancement or development in post-1994 South African development planning. Further, it is concluded that development planning in post-1994 South Africa has suffered implementation challenges because plans are unrealistic and unmeasurable, resulting in them being unimplementable. This view is based on the revelation that development planning in post-1994 South Africa, due to challenges in measurability and implementability, has not attained the desired development in reducing poverty, inequality, and unemployment. Land reform's absence in development planning in post-1994 South Africa cannot be ignored when exploring and executing strategies designed to support the early stages of development and economic growth.

7.3.3.2 Repositioning of land reform in a development plan as an alternative means to achieve developmental ends in post-1994 South Africa

An empirical approach was undertaken to answer the question. Regarding land reform repositioning in a development plan, it is found that land reform must be elevated or prioritised as a central means for development, wherein other means must be secondary. Four key features or drivers that development planning must feature in a development plan are an integrated land administration system, a land use management system, integrated rural-urban land development, and a multipronged post-settlement support system. These land reform features

or drivers are the essential pillars for reconnecting the development chain in a development plan and improving the effectiveness of development planning.

Thus, the study concludes that post-1994 South African development planning, if it must attain any form of development, must consider the central use of land reform as a means to attain development ends. Land reform cannot remain a politicised subject in the country's political discourse. In post-1994 South Africa, the developmental and economic aims of land reform have not been advanced ahead of the politicisation of land reform. Three decades post-colonisation, land reform has remained a politicised subject with minimal to no impact on development and the economic aspects of development planning. Thus, unlike in the Asian region, land reform in South Africa, while it has been featured in development plans post-1994, has not made any distributive impact that has elevated the society out of poverty, inequality, and unemployment.

Primarily, land reform has not been elevated to a place in development planning wherein it is central to development. Unfortunately, the imitation of development that South Africa post-1994 has claimed to be embarking on from the Asian region, China specifically, is questionable, as the country has not made any effort to prioritise and elevate land reform in its development planning. The Asian region's developmental State model, which post-1994 South Africa is striving to emulate, was attained because of land reform distributive impact that resulted in exportation and eventually industrialisation. Development planning in post-1994 South Africa cannot ignore the centralisation of land reform in a development plan and pursue industrialisation and manufacturing as means of development while relying heavily on importation more than exportation.

It is consequently concluded that the third secondary research question has been answered as per the development framework on the positioning of land reform in development and the framework of the key features or drivers of land reform in a development plan, as discussed in the next section. As a result, the study concludes that the third research objective to determine if land reform in post-1994 South Africa can be re-shaped and re-planned in a new development planning approach in addressing socio-economic failures has been met. In conclusion, the purpose of this interpretive study, which was to theorise or model a development plan with a repositioned land reform as its instrumental tool to address the socio-economic challenges of post-1994 South Africa, has been met through the frameworks presented in Figures 7.1 and 7.2. As a result, the primary research question was, (*How can a development plan be modelled to*

reposition land reform in addressing the socio-economic problems of South Africa?) through the secondary research questions and meeting the study's purpose and objectives has been answered. The next section further serves the purpose of answering the primary research question by discussing the models developed in the study.

7.4 Contribution to knowledge in filling the research gaps

Given the identified research gaps in chapter one, this section discusses the contribution to knowledge, which is key in answering the primary research question and realising the study aim in terms of theorising or modelling a development plan with a repositioned land reform as its instrumental means to address the socio-economic challenges facing post-1994 South Africa. The study contributes fourfold to knowledge in constructing a new development planning approach wherein land reform can be re-shaped and re-planned to advance development.

The first contribution of the study to development planning literature is regarding the prioritisation and repositioning of land reform in a development plan. Second, the study's contribution to the development planning literature is about the instrumentality of land reform as a means for development in a development plan. Third, the study contributes to plan implementation in the development planning literature. Last, the contribution of the study is methodological regarding the uniqueness of the research approach, design, procedures, and methods applied in the study.

As demonstrated in Table 7.1, the four contributions are based on the research gaps identified during the literature interrogated in chapters two and three, as well as the data collected using the individual interviews and focus group discussion. For instance, both gaps related to planning literature have not elucidated how land reform can be featured in development and how land reform can be an instrumental tool in developmental planning. Development planning is silent on development plan implementation, and development planning relies on literature. A few qualitative (individual interviews) and far less quantitative methods were identified during data collection. Noteworthy, the last was further identified during the literature review.

Table 7.1 Summary table of areas of contribution to knowledge

Item	Literature review	Research gap	Research contribution
7.3.1 Contributions to the development planning literature regarding the prioritisation of land reform in a development plan	Scholars have not offered developmental alternatives or means that developing countries can employ to realise developmental growth through development planning (Onder and Nyadera, 2019; Amoo *et al*., 2023).	While the body of knowledge appreciates the importance of land reform to development, the planning literature has not elucidated on how land reform can be featured in a development plan toward the advancement of the development and developmental ends.	In repositioning land reform, a development plan must consider an integrated land administration system, land use management, integrated rural and urban land development, and a multipronged post-settlement system.
7.3.2 Contribution concerning the instrumentality of land reform to development in the development planning literature	Land reform as a mainstay of development has been neglected and relegated from the development planning agenda and State programmes (Obeng-Odoom, 2016; Kepe and Hall, 2018; Mukarati *et al*., 2020).	The use of land reform as an instrumental tool to development in developmental planning remains untapped despite its instrumentality in the attainment of development.	The study contributes to the body of knowledge on development planning the instrumentality of land reform as a means of development that development plans must centralise.
7.3.3 Contribution to the development planning literature regarding plan implementation	Despite the changes and improvements in planning processes, implementation of the plans remains a major problem (Andrews *et al*., 2017; Hillier and Cao, 2023).	The literature in development planning acknowledging changes and improvements in planning processes bit is silent on plan implementation.	The study adds to the development planning literature knowledge on plan implementation toward the realisation of development ends.
7.3.4 Methodological contribution	Murphy and Fox-Rogers (2015) and Christensen (2015) used individual interviews while a study by Ahmad *et al*. (2013) used quantitative methods.	Studies on development planning have relied primarily on literature review with a few on qualitative (individual interviews) and less on quantitative methods.	This study's methodology differs from other studies in development planning in that it uses sequential mixed qualitative methods.

Source: Authors compilation

7.4.1 Theorisation or modelling of development planning to feature land reform

As demonstrated in the summation of areas of contribution to knowledge in Table 7.1, it is indisputable that development planning has featured land reform since 1994. However, the use of land reform in attaining development ends has been relegated further down the development agenda. The literature on development planning has not clearly and deliberately uplifted land reform as an instrumental means of development. For example, the literature on development planning has devotedly focused on examining the evolution of development plans in different countries (Lim, 1982-1983; Marcellus, 2009; Ibietan and Ekhosuehi, 2013; Lee and Chew-Ging, 2017). These scholars in planning practice have not offered developmental alternatives or means that developing countries can employ to realise developmental growth through development planning.

Drawing from Table 7.1, the literature on development planning further argues on the problematic issues related to development planning in terms of it not attaining its intended ends (Lawal and Oluwatoyin, 2011; Ejumudo, 2013; Mustanir and Lubis, 2017; Ramasubramanian and Albrecht, 2018; Onder and Nyadera, 2019). However, these arguments have been closely tied to the contextual issues applicable to a country and impede development, including the role of the bureaucracy, political leadership, and the impact of developed countries' policies on a developing country. Further studies herein have focused on other drivers of development, including industrialisation, small business development, manufacturing, and technological innovation, with less focus on land reform despite its instrumentality to development in the Asian region.

The argument that the study is advancing with careful consideration is that while the study acknowledges that development planning practice has considered land reform in different development plans, land reform was not used like other means to development were in advancing development planning. Hence, land reform, as a means of development in development plans, is absent (a missing link) in the attainment of development ends. It is thus undeniable, based on the South African perspective of land reform and African land reform perspectives, that land reform has been ineffective and has not made any significant contribution to development. Thus, development planning has failed to elucidate the instrumentality of land reform to development. This study's contribution is that development planning through development plans must elevate or prioritise land reform as a central means of development to attain development ends, as demonstrated in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1 demonstrates that elevating land reform as a central means of development does not necessarily imply that other means of development should be ignored. The fourth five-year plan that was introduced in Vietnam in 1986 placed land use and agriculture as its central means of development, resulting in the country's development that impacted the citizenry through rapid economic growth and industrialisation (Nidhiya *et al*., 2017). However, the study argues that while elevating and centralising land reform as an instrumental means of development is critical to development, this does not necessarily mean that land reform alone will allow the country to realise the kind of development it seeks to attain.

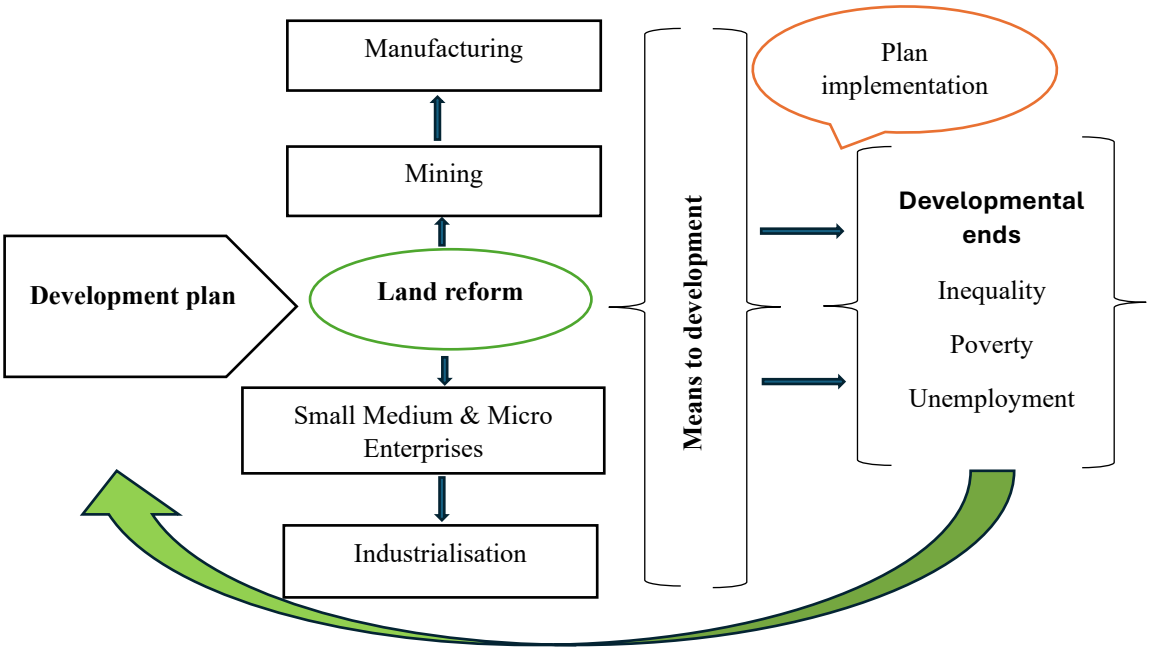


Figure 7.1 Repositioned land reform in a development plan as a central means of development

Source: Author's compilation

However, as demonstrated in Figure 7.1, the centralisation of land reform in a development plan makes it a driver of development wherein industrialisation, manufacturing, SMMEs, and mining are measures of the progress development planning is making in advancing development. Thus, the model argues that industrialisation, manufacturing, SMMEs, and mining in the new development planning approach (Figure 7.1) must not be used as means to development but as measures of development.

Evidently, products from land were exported to jumpstart development and industrialisation in different countries in the Asian region. Arguably, the attainment of development that South Africa is today striving to emulate in the form of a 'developmental State' from the Asian region must consider the centralisation of land reform in a new approach to development planning.

The emulation of the developmental State in South Africa is thus far ignorant of the fact that development in the Asian region began with land reform and land use. The argument raised herein is rooted in the ineffectiveness of land reform to development in the country and that the development agenda has dropped land reform further down the list as an instrumental means of advancing development planning and development.

For example, in China, land use and agriculture were the foundation of China's national economy, wherein its development relied on land resources leading to industry-orientated development (Boltho and Weber, 2009; Lin, 2015; Liu, 2018; Hart, 2020). Further, land reform in Korea did not only redistribute land to reduce inequalities in land ownership but also served as an instrumental social policy in lessening poverty and increasing the educational level of the population, specifically in the rural areas, and reforming through primary dependency on agriculture activities, which fostered the redistribution of income (Koo, 1969; Lee *et al*., 2020). The development realised in the Asian region is the opposite of how land reform has been dealt with in the cited African States and South Africa specifically.

In Zimbabwe, for instance, land reform radicalism through the FTLRP caused economic instability, a staggering decline in agricultural productivity, unchecked inflation, a rise in foreign debt obligations, and a massive loss of resources as political unrest erupted into bloodshed (Thouvenot, 2014). Land reform, as demonstrated in Figure 7.1, cannot be left to drift down the development agenda in developing countries. There is evidence from the African continent that handling land reform and politicising it has resulted in land reform not significantly contributing to development, which is contrary to the Asian region. The elevation or prioritisation of land reform as a central means to development in development planning is key to embarking on a trajectory to development in attaining development ends.

However, the context within which development planning is taking place plays a role in elevating and prioritising land reform to be central to development. Depoliticised development planning and land reform processes that leverage the use of in-depth scientific information for the greater benefit of all are essential for determining the centrality of land reform in a development plan. Thus, land reform centrality to development planning facilitates a basis from which poverty, inequality, and unemployment must be addressed through income generation at the household grassroots. The spillover of sustained household income will contribute to SMMEs' development, industrialisation, land use for mining, and manufacturing.

The model depicted in Figure 7.1 repositions the hierarchal order of developmental policies or programmes that development planning in post-1994 South Africa has adopted, wherein mining, industrialisation, SMMEs' development, and manufacturing have been prioritised to drive development while land reform has been featured to address historical injustices of land dispossession in pre-1994 South Africa. Thus, land reform, as evident in Asian region development, must be repositioned to be central to a development plan in post-1994 South African development planning. A new development planning approach is the one, as argued here, that elevates and features land reform as a central means of advancing development planning and development in post-1994 South Africa.

7.4.1.1 Key features of land reform to be considered in the development plan

Repositioning or elevating land reform to be central in a development plan would be achieved using key features or drivers in the development plan, including an integrated land administration system, land use management system, integrated rural-urban land development, and multipronged post-settlement support system, as demonstrated in Figure 7.2. How land can be featured in a development plan in post-1994 South African development planning is dealt with under the key features or drivers illustrated in Figure 7.2, which shows how land reform must be re-shaped and re-planned in a newly proposed development planning approach.

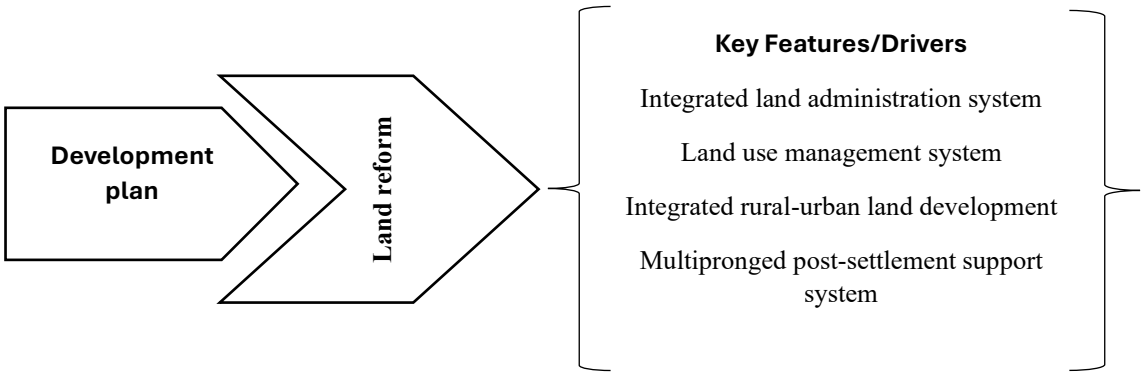


Figure 7.2 Key features/drivers of land reform in a development plan

Source: Author's compilation

Integrated land administration system

As illustrated in Figure 7.2, an integrated land administration system is the first key feature of land reform in post-1994 South African development planning. An integrated land administration system is a phenomenon post-1994 South African development planning has not explored, although it has been empirically found to be fundamental to land reform and development. It represents a comprehensive system that incorporates facets related to land

ownership, land value, land audit, land acquisition, land development, and land distribution. The contention brought forward is that no development can happen without having consolidated information around these facets of land reform repositioning in development planning if planning has to be carried out intentionally and deliberately to advance development.

Using an integrated land administration system approach does not call for additional plans but rather argues for a comprehensive system in development planning that provides an all-in-one information hub around land matters in post-1994 South Africa. An all-in-one information hub is in pursuance of addressing the fragmentation and politicisation of land governance, which undermines land administration. Thus, an integrated land administration system is fundamental to conducting an in-depth analysis of land that the government is acquiring and redistributing to understand how active or fallow the land is. Thus, the integrated land administration system in development planning through a development plan provides an infrastructure through which all the elements of land can be integrated toward moving the land reform vehicle to the realisation of advancing development planning and development.

Development planning in post-1994 with land reform centrally positioned in a development plan must begin with an appreciation of the inequalities in land ownership to address poverty. As argued, in pursuing developmental planning objectives (ends), equality in ownership of natural resources, including land, notably impacts poverty alleviation, improved income distribution, and wealth generation among the citizens (Mukarati *et al*. 2020). The stance is founded on the contention that development only starts when land is transformed and used for production and when the natural environment is converted into resources (Rist, 2007). The contrary is true, as cautioned by Grabowski (2002) –unequal distribution of land is likely to result in increased inequality, which becomes a barrier to development, resulting in widened inequality, high poverty, and unemployment. In enhancing the effectiveness of development planning, an integrated land administration system is a feature to facilitate a solid scientific way of knowing the country's land ownership patterns.

Land value and acquisition are key aspects that must be lodged within land reform. It is undeniable in post-1994 South Africa that millions of rands have been spent on land acquisition towards land reallocation to those who were dispossessed. The contention is that the monetary value against which land was acquired in South Africa was not regulated. Land value incorporated in land reform refers to an assessment of the value of land before the finalisation

of the acquisition. Using the Vietnam case, Lan (2018) states that the government introduced an efficient land market through which land was priced according to market-related prices and local demand. Land consolidation was easier to accomplish through effectively functioning land markets, resulting in greater pieces of land under common ownership. Combined with longer and more reliable land leases, that gave farmers long-term security, which encouraged them to invest in their land.

However, South Africa, post-1994, has recently embarked on the land assessment and value process through the newly established Office of the Valuer General. The information gathered through the Valuer General office integrates a piece of fundamental information into the land administration system wherein all the information about a piece of land can be retrieved with a single access to the system. Primarily, the land value and acquisition aspect in development planning is fundamental in managing disputes around land valuation, which often delay the process of land acquisition, delaying land development.

The primary purpose of repositioning land reform to a central position in a development plan is to attain development ends. As a pillar of the integrated land administration system, land development is concerned with, among others, erecting new physical infrastructure and utilities, executing construction planning, and alternating land use through planning and building permissions. It is argued that land reform not only must focus on agrarian projects as is the case in Chapter Six of the NDP. Land reform must also focus on, for example, integrated human settlements and the use of land for industrialisation. Therefore, a repositioned land reform with land development incorporated within it in development planning paves the way for industrialisation, mining, manufacturing, and SMME development as build-on means of development, as illustrated in Figure 7.1.

Further, land distribution as a fundamental pillar for the integrated land administration system must be embedded in land reform in striving toward an equitable distribution of land as an asset to which everyone has the right to access. Thus, land reform must be fixated on assets. Centralising land reform in development planning leverages a more detailed focus on asset inequality and lack of access to capital and assets, including land that most South Africans in post-1994 remain deprived of. Thus, redistribution of the country's assets, including land reform processes in development planning, leverages the aimed creation of a more inclusive and sustainable pattern of development (Deininger *et al*., 2007; Faguet *et al*., 2017; You, 2017). Land reform, which is herein equated to assets reform, must be made accessible to people

despite their level in society so they can have a legacy that appreciates in value and is used productively from one generation to the next.

Land use management system

Land use must be embedded within land reform as a key feature in development planning. Land use management systems in development planning facilitate the enforcement of land use regulation, as well as managing disputes concerning land use in managing land distribution. Land use management is more about the prohibitive use of land in a manner that land can be used in productive ways or in ways that are developmentally oriented. Although land use management is contended to work against a facilitative approach to land reform, it, however, restricts the access and occupation of land, resulting in land not being used for the intended purpose.

Thus, accessed or occupied land that is not used for the deemed purpose does not contribute to the desired development planning ends. In Vietnam, for example, Lan (2018) argues that to improve land use and productivity, more land was made accessible to farmers who had the potential to use the land and inefficient farmer owners sold their land for a reasonable price and derived other means of income. Drawing from the Vietnam case, land use management is key in monitoring the use of land productively and developmentally, and where land is not used productively and developmentally, necessary regulations must be enforced. Enforcement of regulations in land use management is a pathway toward ascertaining that development planning, like in Asian countries, attains developmental ends.

Further, land use management systems in South African development planning have been absent post-1994. The argument is based on the point that most productive land distributed through land reform programmes has become unproductive and does not contribute to development. As argued, most of the land that was seized from the Whites and transferred to the Blacks to address past injustices and combat poverty is found to have produced a variety of outcomes and developmental paradoxes that undermined land productivity in Africa (Akinola and Wissink, 2019b).

The unfavourable outcomes of the land reform programme because of the absence of land use management systems in development planning have led to land unproductivity in South Africa, stagnating the advancement of development in different development plans. Thus, Africa, specifically South Africa, must take advantage of chances to encourage the creation of productivity outside of manufacturing and industrialisation at its initial phase of development.

Arguably, land reform and agrarian transformation are more promising developmental instruments the continent must explore to improve its productivity and land use in attaining developmental ends (Akinola and Wissink, 2019b; Brobbey, 2019; Diao *et al*., 2019).

Increasing productivity through land use is argued to be key to improving livelihoods and achieving economic growth in developing economies, particularly in African countries (Nillson, 2019). However, despite implementing policies towards land reform, productivity through land use has dwindled in South Africa. Unlike the selected African countries, arguably Botswana, land laws were not primarily created to redistribute land but rather to boost agricultural output, protect range resources, and enhance social fairness in the nation's rural areas to improve land use and productivity (Muzvidziwa, 2019). The Botswana example is relevant in conclusively arguing that land use management systems as a feature or driver of land reform in development planning are fundamental to ensuring sustained productive use of land, which, over time, contributes to reducing poverty, inequality, and unemployment.

Integrated rural-urban land development

Recent studies that have focused on rural-urban relationships or linkages have been done from the perspective of economic zones and urban agglomerations (Chen *et al*., 2019; Chen *et al*., 2023; Zeng and Chen, 2023), as well as measurements, influencing factors and counter-measurements (He *et al*., 2019; Zhao and Wan, 2021; Son and Tao, 2022) with little attention to rural-urban land development. South African land development is faced with rural and urban land development disparities, which goes against the fulfilment of the central global promise of the United Nations's (2015:3) Sustainable Development Goals, that is, to "leave no one behind". Disparities between rural and urban land development often increase during a particular stage of economic growth and contribute significantly to social inequality among those living in the two spatial areas, resulting in migrations from rural to urban spaces. These disparities resulting in migrations from rural to urban spaces in post-1994 South Africa defeat the central global promise of leaving no one behind as one geographical area gets more developed than the other.

Rural-urban inequality persisting in post-1994 South Africa is in the distribution of income, the demographic makeup of the population, infrastructure, public services, and other areas, which certainly development planning must feature as long-term solutions to address these disparities. Thus, integrated rural-urban land development is a fundamental feature of land

reform in development planning to realise balanced development between the rural and urban spaces in addressing inequality.

The efforts of development planning in post-1994 South Africa to reduce the poverty and inequality gap are severely hampered by the growing urban-rural divide. Thus, development planning in post-1994 South Africa must take cognisance that it is counterproductive to divide land-related discussions into urban and rural areas, as demonstrated in the developmental plans post-1994. This is because both are connected in various intricate and frequently poorly understood ways, most notably concerning infrastructure, food systems, economic ties, migration of labour, communication networks, and family relationships, among many other areas. Integrated rural-urban land development must be anchored on land use, including increased land or agrarian productivity and infrastructure development. For example, in Indonesia, there was a great commitment to rural development and the drive for higher land use and agricultural productivity to overall country development (Dharsana *et al*., 2023). Based on the Indonesian example, thus, the goal of integrated urban-rural land development must be to facilitate the rationalisation of physical land use in peri-urban areas, which are South African city regions that are growing and changing the fastest.

From a policy perspective, integrated rural-urban land development must focus on improving the movement of people, products, capital, and services and closing the inequalities between urban and rural income, public services, infrastructure, and productivity to promote fairer and more efficient urbanisation that benefits both urban and rural regions. Thus, integrated rural-urban land development must not just be restricted to peri-urban regions, it must encompass much more than just a policy of physical design. The policy focus must further be on rural revitalisation through the farming and non-farming industries, equitable economic growth pursuits, and shifting industries from the centre (urban) to the periphery (rural) through the integration of industries and value chains across different sectors.

Thus, the goal of integrated rural-urban land development in development planning in post-1994 South Africa must be to primarily alter the social and economic ties that exist between the rural and urban in creating a society that is harmonious and equitable, thus, integrating a dual rural-urban economy into a mixed or unitary economy. Conclusively, rural-urban land development in development planning issues must be dealt with in a unified or integrated approach to establish a foundation for attaining a single economic and social development

approach in addressing the rural-urban disparities of post-1994 South Africa in development planning.

Multipronged post-settlement support system

A multipronged post-settlement support system is a required feature of land reform in a development plan. It assists land reform beneficiaries toward making a meaningful contribution to development through agrarian land reform. Multipronged support includes access to finance and markets, rights to water usage, and farming technical support. It is argued in the current study that a lack of a coordinated and coherent multipronged post-settlement support system has led to many land reform projects failing to contribute significantly to advancing development planning and development.

Although the government's attempts to buy claimed land on behalf of claimants were admirable, communities were frequently left on their own and did not receive the necessary assistance to enable them to maintain the farms. Thus, it is argued that the claimant communities' lives will not be significantly improved by land ownership alone. Thus, the current study suggests a two-pronged approach to land reform post-settlement that development planning must consider: access to finance and markets and farming technical and expertise support.

Access to finance and markets includes private investment through public-private partnerships without exonerating the government's role in financial support. Unfortunately, farm financing is skewed towards wealthy farmers with collateral. It is because the land that the government has granted to disadvantaged Black farmers is often subject to a lease agreement or is under the control of community property associations and cannot be used as collateral. Thus, most individual emerging farmers who are beneficiaries of land reform processes are not able to provide collateral. Thus, many beneficiary communities cannot obtain cash from commercial financial institutions because of their lack of collateral and inexperience in agrarian projects.

On the other hand, White commercial farmers control the markets, and new farmers are unable to penetrate their barriers because they lack money and marketing expertise for both domestic and foreign markets. The government's role in Asian States was to encourage private investment in addition to direct investment, which had its role in improving the profitable use of land. Public-private partnerships, as suggested by Lan (2018), might deliver significantly greater sums of investment than the government alone and can assist in bringing desperately needed resources into realising the profitable use of land and agriculture. As contended in the

study, post-1994 South Africa must use, in addition to government support, public-private partnerships to enhance investments among emerging Black farmers.

Farming technical and expertise support includes the right to water usage, soft skills, and hard skills. For example, in the Asian region, particularly the Vietnam case, it is apparent that the government's role was central and major in modernising land use, which started with research and development, infrastructure, and irrigation systems that improved productivity (Nguyen, 2021). The point contended is that farmers would be able to survive in the face of escalating competition and shifting climatic patterns with the aid of new production techniques and research on profitable farming products as innovative developmental approaches from government.

In addition to farming technical expertise, farming soft skills are key to effective and productive land use. Molokwane and Meyer (2013) revealed that beneficiaries of the land reform process lack skills related to farm management principles, record keeping, and financial management and are partially knowledgeable on decision-making science in farming. Owing to historical circumstances, White farmers who have accumulated a wealth of technological know-how over the years make up the bulk of South Africa's commercial farmers. Thus, the next generation of farmers, as part of post-settlement, must be capacitated on farming skills necessary for the productive use of land through skills transfer from the experienced commercial White farmers. Through incubators, learnerships, mentorships, apprenticeships, and accelerated training in agricultural sciences, practical programmes should be implemented to embody the NDP's Vision 2030, ensuring that human capacities come before land transfer.

7.4.2 Knowledge contribution to the instrumentality of land reform to development

The literature on development planning is silent on the instrumentality of land reform to development. The literature is silent despite both empirical and theoretical confirmation that land reform is an instrumental development means that has highly supported the socio-economic development of society (Liu, 2018; Azadi and Vanhaute, 2019; Mukarati *et al*., 2020). Development planning literature's silence on land reform instrumentality persists despite the role land reform has played in the attainment of development in the Asian region.

Arguably, in Asia in general and Africa in particular and for most kinds of societies, including South Africa, land is the most crucial natural resource needed to produce wealth and reduce poverty, inequality, and unemployment. Thus, land reform contributes to economic growth and development, which is the foundation of economic, social, and political power. Hence, African

countries, including South Africa, after gaining freedom from colonial authority, continue to be primarily motivated by the importance of land in human life despite the noted failures in addressing their land reform question.

Land reform is a sustainable means of development planning to advance development. For example, the instrumentality of land reform in advancing development was demonstrated by the agrarian projects in the face of the destruction caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Through land use and land productivity, food security was ensured, and employment was sustained amid economic destruction. It cannot be ignored that land reform and agrarian land reform specifically are pillars of the nation's economic recovery, reconstruction, and development.

The current study thus argues that development planning cannot remain rooted in theoretical discourse without being practical in contributing pragmatic approaches that countries can employ to realise development. The argument raised is that planning literature has spent its space and time in the discourse around the evolvement of planning practices and theories underpinning planning practice. Thus, the planning practice discourse remains a scholarly exercise rather than being pragmatic in addressing the real societal developmental challenges that it should be focusing on, including the instrumentality of land reform to development.

Noteworthy, land reform's occupation of space in development plans does not elevate land reform's instrumentality to advancing development. The instrumentality of land reform to development through development planning becomes evident when land reform contributes significantly to the advancement of development. Land reform instrumentality to development is, for example, based on the evidence in the Asian region wherein land not only contributed to reducing poverty and unleashing development but also contributed to laying the social foundation for accelerated industrialisation (Dore, 1959; Dorner and Thiesenhusen, 1990; Boyce *et al*., 2005; Murtazashvili and Murtazashvili, 2016).

Although Nayyar (2019) argues that development in the Asian region was achieved through different paths, other scholars, in contrast, maintain that the region transformed its economies largely using land reform and agrarian subsistence (Jatuporn *et al*., 2011; Caxton Magazines, 2017; Ovadia and Wolf, 2018). Thus, the instrumentality of land reform is a subject that planning literature cannot ignore if the scholarship is to be pragmatic in its discourse toward contributing to addressing the developmental challenges in society. Further, land instrumentality advancing development is a subject of development planning in post-1994 South Africa must consciously and intentionally centralise in a development plan.

7.4.3 Knowledge contribution to development plan implementation

The planning practice, particularly development planning literature, is further silent on development plan implementation. The literature review on implementation was mostly drawn from the scholarship on policy implementation. The study's contribution to development planning literature regarding plan implementation is twofold.

First, the study contributes that effective development plan implementation is a result of means-ends rationality determined and selected in the development plan. Means-ends impact the implementability and measurability of the development plan. The process begins with determining realistic ends for which appropriate means can be selected to attain the ends. Means-ends must be justifiable and rational to the extent that those in implementing institutions tasked with implementing the development plan can follow and execute the identified and selected means-ends.

Second, the study contributes that effective development plan implementation is a result of institutional arrangement and capacity (institutionalism). Challenges in development plan implementation are because of systematic issues of the State or a lack of institutional capacity and resources to implement a development plan.

Developing States are characterised by a limited capacity to implement development plans due to a disjuncture between plan and implementation, fragmented sectoral or institutional approaches, and institutional misalignment between planning and budgeting. Development plan implementation depends on institutional foundations wherein different actors in different institutions, through participatory planning processes, are included in forming planning decisions toward minimising bottlenecks during implementation. As a key approach to embracing inclusivity in development planning, the participatory planning process encourages harvesting rich local knowledge, values, and goals, and promoting a deeper sense of ownership and validity in the produced development plan while enhancing its implementation.

Further, development plan implementation requires the rationalisation of many plans into a single short-term implementation plan. A short-term implementation plan breaks the long-term development plan into a gradual implementation approach. A gradual transitional approach is noted in China's development. Irrefutably, the gradual transition into development proved to be the best for China's development, which was founded in the land reform processes (Sen, 2016; Liu, 2018). Further, a gradual planning approach in terms of a single-year plan was applied in the realisation of the Vietnam development.

The gradual planning approach was introduced in Vietnam in the five-year plan ranging from 1981 to 1985 (To *et al*., 2019; Ho, 2021). As a result of the gradual planning system, the Vietnamese government introduced a one-year development plan every year, each resulting in the introduction of the agricultural policy, which encouraged a family economy in which families instead of collectives were responsible for farming.

Like in the Vietnam case wherein a one-year development plan was introduced, a long-term development plan must be implemented through a rationalised year-to-year plan to improve development plan implementation in post-1994 South Africa. Through a gradual process, plan implementation monitoring must be enforced to assess and intervene immediately where there is a diversion from the original path or advocate for a diversion when the original path is not effective.

7.4.4 Methodological knowledge contribution

The study makes two methodological knowledge contributions. The first is through the application of sequential mixed qualitative methods in development planning studies. The second contribution is through a multi-level analysis wherein an examination of development planning was conducted using land reform, both contentious issues in post-1994 South Africa.

7.4.4.1 Application of sequential mixed qualitative methods in development planning studies

The application of sequential mixed qualitative methods in development planning studies is unique to this study. Similar studies primarily used qualitative methods wherein only individual interviews were conducted with a few studies using quantitative methods. For example, in the qualitative study conducted in Ireland by Murphy and Fox-Rogers (2015), interviews were used to collect data from 20 local authority urban planners.

Further, a qualitative study by Christensen (2015) used interviews to interview exemplary planners who were graduate students with some planning experience in the San Francisco Bay area. On the other hand, Ahmad *et al*. (2013) used quantitative methods to analyse empirical evidence of factors affecting outcomes of the inter-relationships between planning systems, planning controls, and land development from 50 questionnaires sent to planners in the public sector.

An application of sequential mixed qualitative methods set this study apart from similar prior studies. The adopted methods leveraged obtaining and analysing data from individual interviews, which were the study's core data source. Sequentially, FGD data was obtained and

analysed after completing the analysis of individual interview data. The FGD results were used to corroborate and contrast the results from individual interviews in integrating both data sets to attain triangulation in the study. Other similar studies have not used these methods, thus allowing the current study to make a methodological knowledge contribution.

7.4.4.2 Multi-level analysis

Although the study's primary focus is on development planning, using the prism of land reform exposed the study to multi-level analysis. Studies that focused on development planning mainly did so from a single dimension of planning with an interest in planning practice processes. For example, studies by Yiftachel and Huxley (2000), Watson (2008), and Olesen (2018) focused on theorising using communicative planning theories to transform existing planning practices or make planning practices better.

On the other hand, studies that focused on land reform did so with an interest in the ineffectiveness of land reform in different African States or with an interest in land reform effectiveness in countries in the Asian region. For example, Murtazashvili and Murtazashvili (2016), Iscan (2018), and Vos (2019) focused on the attainment of development in the Asian region using land reform to attain their development ends.

In Africa, Akinola and Wissink (2019a) and Rukema and Khan (2019) focused on the ineffectiveness of land reform in African countries because of public agitations and socio-political crises. Existing studies, despite the instrumentality of both development planning and land reform to development notwithstanding their contentiousness, have not analysed the two dimensions in a single study.

Thus, the peculiarity of this study is the multi-level approach of analysing the attainment of development through examining development planning using the lens of land reform as an instrumental means of development. Through a multi-level analysis approach, a contribution is made to the body of knowledge on how a development plan can feature land reform as an instrumental means of development in the development planning practice.

This exposes development planning literature to the importance and instrumentality of land reform whilst exposing land reform literature to the instrumentality of land reform to development planning literature in advancing development. Attaining development outcomes is the primary objective both development planning and land reform seek to achieve. A multi-level analysis of both in a single study paves a path toward a theoretical and empirical discourse toward advancing development.

7.5 Implications of the study

The findings should be taken into account when considering how land reform should be featured and positioned in a development plan. Land reform as an instrumental means of development should be elevated and positioned centrally in a development plan to inform development from different perspectives, including industrialisation, mining, manufacturing, and small, medium and micro enterprises development. Further, the findings should be considered in selecting and determining means-ends to be applied in a development plan. Means-ends are the content of the development plan that justifies the legitimacy of the plan, from measurability and implementability to the plan's effectiveness. Thus, a lack of rationality in means-ends renders the plan ineffective and fails to attain the desired development.

The findings contribute to an understanding of what has been absent in development planning in post-1994 South Africa. Based on the research problem, which reflects on the ineffectiveness of development planning, the study has made it clear that land reform and development plan implementation are absent in development planning in post-1994 South Africa. Drawing from the cited Asian countries' trajectory of development in the interrogation of the literature, it is evident that land reform was instrumental to the attainment of the development the Asian region has experienced. The processes followed in the region in handling development through land reform were deliberately and conscientiously pursued, unlike in South African development, wherein implementation of development plans remains absent or missing in a trajectory to attain development and emulate the Asian developmental State model.

While previous research has focused on development planning processes and evolution from a scholarly perspective without being pragmatic in the reality of attaining development, findings demonstrate that in being practical to attaining development, specifically in developing countries, development planning through development plans must reconsider the means and ends used. This study, using the prism of land reform, demonstrated the instrumentality of land reform to advancing development and the space land reform must occupy in development plans. Thus, land reform cannot be ignored in the early stages of any form of development pursued in post-1994 South Africa.

The findings build on existing evidence that land reform is instrumental to development. Existing evidence shows that countries that attained industrialisation and economic growth in the Asian region have realised their development by deliberately and conscientiously pursuing a collective mindset change through land reform. Building on the existing evidence, this study

adds to development planning and specifically to the planning practice literature on the centrality of land reform and the rationale for it to be considered as an instrumental means of development in developing countries to advance development.

The findings on the selection and determination of means-ends do not fit the theory in the literature. The findings show the identification and selection of means-ends in development planning in post-1994 South Africa is a politically-driven process based on the ruling party's successive conferences. Further, although scientific information is used, the means-ends are projected on assumptions gathered through scientific data. Theory contradicts the process in that the selection and determination of means-ends must be based on weighing the degree to which identified means satisfy the sought ends and determining the probability score, which estimates the likelihood that the chosen end in a development plan is linked with the means used.

Further theory suggests that thereafter, there must be a reflection on the who, what, and why questions in the development plan's means-ends identification and selection. In addition, the theory suggests that means-ends must be questioned from the context of where, when, and whom. From this positioning, development planning is concerned about the geographical space where what must be done is done, when that must happen or has happened, and for whom the plan is meant to benefit.

7.6 Research limitation – inherent technical and administrative limitations

The current study's outcomes are non-generalisable because of the small sample size. However, using mixed sequential qualitative methods, which include individual interviews and FGD, enhanced the finding's trustworthiness. The subjective nature of interpretivism underpinning qualitative studies, further exacerbated by my professional position in government planning, posed a degree of biases and, ultimately, a limitation to the study. However, as the primary researcher, I controlled any degree of bias by obtaining support from two researchers with expertise in qualitative research to confirm the process applied to data analysis and the development of themes.

Further, the study intended to conduct 20 or more individual interviews. However, due to the nature of work and competing activities in the daily schedules of the potential participants, the study settled for 16 interviews, which took over seven months to complete, although a point of data saturation was reached by the time the last interview was conducted. In addition, the study intended to collect data using observation techniques. However, this could not be done because

many of the individual interviews, as well as the focus group discussion, had to be conducted using the MS Teams virtual platform to accommodate participants' requests due to their commitments. However, the ability to conduct the 16 interviews and a single FGD in the study leveraged obtaining rich and in-depth information, which makes the study trustworthy.

Administratively, obtaining ethical clearance took longer than anticipated. However, the stringent measures put in place to obtain the ethical clearance, although cumbersome, were important to ensure the study's ethics standards with no ethical issues. The ethical clearance provided comfort that the study's ethical risks were peer-reviewed and categorised.

7.7 Recommendations based on the study

The study makes the following recommendations:

- Development planning in post-1994 South Africa must not ignore the use of land reform. This is based on the finding that land was instrumental in advancing development in the Asian region. Considering the instrumentality of land reform in the Asian region, land reform must be elevated and prioritised as a central means of development in the early phases of any development (e.g., industrialisation, manufacturing, mining, and small, medium and micro enterprises development) considered in post-1994 South Africa.

- While appreciating that land reform is primarily a political question because of the redistribution conflict between the haves and have-nots, land reform processes must be freed from elite capturing and high politicisation in realising effective development planning and feasible land reform processes. Therefore, the developmental and economic aims of land reform must supersede the political aims of land reform in development planning in post-1994 South Africa.

- South Africa, in post-1994 development planning, must be clear on where it stands in terms of the political economy and its approach to advancing development. A highly democratic and capitalist approach needs to be reviewed toward adopting a more State-led approach to development since democratic/capitalism has persistently resulted in ineffective development planning and land reform in post-1994 South Africa. The post-1994 South African government must heavily lead and take full accountability for development planning with control over what the markets do toward society benefiting equally from any form of development.

- Development planning must be transitioned from communicative planning to agonistic planning practices in embracing the opposing views in the identification and selection of means-ends of the development plan. Thus, in development planning in post-1994 South Africa, it is important to identify and select means-ends following a rational process. This involves identifying the extent that means will satisfy the ends and the probability of the means attaining ends, as well as asking questions that reflect on who, what, and why and context-specific questions that include where, when, and whom.

- In improving development planning implementation, development planning in post-1994 must enhance the means-ends rationality in development, and the State must build institutional capacity, erasing the fragmented sectoral approach to planning and implementation through strengthened institutional arrangements from national, provincial, to local government. The approach must focus on reducing the number of plans used in post-1994 South Africa to improve coherence and coordination in development planning processes.

- While South Africa's socio-economic status has worsened since 1994, a radical process of development and land reform might swing the development process toward an undesirable situation in the country. Thus, development planning post-1994 in South Africa must follow a gradual process of development, prioritising driving development founded in the land reform processes.

7.8 Recommendations based on further research

The study makes the following recommendations based on further research:

- Avenues for future research include using quantitative methods with a large sample size to establish the correlation between the suggested features or drivers of land reform considered in repositioning land reform in a development plan and the degree to which the attainment of the development ends would be realised.

- Future studies should further focus on making development planning more practical in the context of developing countries rather than the current theoretical conceptualisation discourse evident in the literature. Toward having a development planning discourse that talks to the real developmental issues in developing countries, developing planning literature moving forward should focus its discourse on subjects including but not limited

to means-ends selected and determined in attaining the development ends and plan implementation in developing countries.

- In enriching the development planning literature wherein a development plan has elevated and prioritised land reform as its central means of development, further research could use the economics of land reform to measure the distributive impact land reform is making or would have made toward attaining development ends.

7.9 Epilogue

Development planning in post-1994 South Africa is predicated in the context of the country toward addressing the rise in poverty, widening inequality gap, and high unemployment rate. Thus, development planning considers interests and public interest in its endeavour to the greater benefit of all. However, development planning in post-1994 South Africa has not attained its developmental ends. The socio-economic challenges of poverty, inequality, and unemployment that development planning is predicated on continue to rise despite the development plans that post-1994 South Africa has embarked on.

The study, in fulfilling the research purpose, concluded that land reform, although having been featured in development plans in post-1994 South Africa, has been absent in the development trajectory toward the attainment of development ends. Further, the study concluded that plan implementation has been absent in development planning in post-1994 South Africa. Overall, the study concluded that land reform should be elevated and prioritised as a central means for development in development plans. Land reform as an instrumental means of development cannot be ignored even at the early stages of any form of development a developing country pursues.

Repositioning land reform in a development plan is the beginning of effective development planning. Implementing the development plan will have the impact that development planning seeks to attain for the greater benefit of all. The development planning process must ensure that a developed plan fits within the constructs of plan measurability and implementability. Thus, the process of means-ends selection and determination must be rational and intentional to improve the chances of effective plan implementation. However, effective development plan implementation is dependent on State institutional capacity and arrangements. The State, in repositioning itself at the forefront of development planning, must make efforts to build institutional capacity and enhance institutional arrangements toward addressing the fragmented sectoral approach to development plan implementation.

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Annexure 1: WSG plagiarism declaration

WSG Plagiarism Declaration

I, Masibane John Molokwane

Student number: 1439085

Am a student registered for: Doctor of Philosophy

In the year: 2024

I hereby declare the following:

I confirm that the work I submit for all assessments for the above course is my own unaided work. I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others. I am aware that the correct method for referencing material and a discussion on what plagiarism is have been discussed in class during the Orientation and Social Theory sessions are explained in the PhD and MM by Dissertation Degree Guide and that there is extensive information available on the internet to assist students.

I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original) is wrong. I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this is not my own unaided work or that I have failed to correctly acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in my writing.

Signature: _____ Date: 11/10/2024

Annexure 2: Ethics clearance certificate

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND JOHANNESBURG

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Molokwane

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H22/11/62**
PROJECT TITLE	The post-1994 land reform prism to interrogate development planning in South Africa
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Mr M Molokwane
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Wits School of Governance/
DATE CONSIDERED	25 November 2022
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Risk Level: Minimal
EXPIRY DATE	24 January 2026

DATE 07 February 2023 **CHAIRPERSON** (Professor J Watermeyer)

cc: Supervisor : Dr TK Pooe

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **A SIGNED COPY** returned to the Secretary electronically. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to submit an amendment of the protocol to the Committee. **I/we agree to completion of a regular progress report. For Minimal and Low Risk studies, this is due annually on 31 December. For Medium and High Risk studies, this is due twice annually on 30 June and 31 December.**

Signature

18 / 07 / 2024
Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Annexure 3: Letter of permission from the DPME

planning, monitoring & evaluation

Department:
Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Head Office: Private Bag X944, Pretoria, 0001. Union Buildings East Wing, Government Avenue, Pretoria
Hatfield Office: 330 Grosvenor Street, Hatfield, Pretoria. Tel: 012 312 0000. www.dpme.gov.za

Mr. MJ Molokwane
16 Bendor Gables
Polokwane
0699

Dear Mr MJ Molokwane

APPROVAL TO CONDUCT RESEARCH STUDY IN DPME

1. It is our pleasure to inform you that your application to conduct research study in the department is successful. However, you must comply with the following terms and conditions:

- Submit proof of registration and a letter signed by the academic supervisor to the department annually;
- Submit the final copy of your research report to DPME before it is submitted to the Higher Education and Training Institution (HETI);
- Do not remove files and records from the archives of DPME;
- Do not publish the records and the names of employees which appear in the official records;
- Obtain permission of Chief Directorate: HR and Corporate Services or the host manager to conduct research (conduct interviews, administer the questionnaire, etc.);
- The Department reserves the right to restrict access to the files which have sensitive information; and
- Access to classified information will not be granted if you are not in possession of an appropriate security clearance certificate.

2. During this period, the Department will not be responsible for your travelling and accommodation expenses. Your co-operation to meticulously adhere to the aforementioned will be highly appreciated.

Kind regards

Mr TR Nkosi
Acting: DDG: Corporate Services
Date: 27/01/2023

Enquiries: Mr Motseki Ntho, (012) 312 0463, Motseki@dpme.gov.za

Annexure 4: Letter of permission from the DALRRD

CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL

agriculture, land reform & rural development

Department:
Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

2030 NDP

Directorate: Knowledge, Information and Records Management, Agriculture Place, 20 Steve Biko Street, Pretoria, 0001. Tel. 012 3197337. E-mail: GodfreyMd@dalrrd.gov.za, Web Address: www.dalrrd.gov.za

Mr Molokwane MJ
University of the Witwatersrand
2 St Davids, Parktown
JOHANNESBURG
2050

ANNEXURE A

Ref. Number: 2/16/3/5

Dear Mr Molokwane

RE: APPROVAL TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, LAND REFORM AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

I have received your request seeking permission to conduct research at our Department to pursue your studies for a Doctor of Philosophy in Public Policy. I have also noted your research title "*Using the Prism of Land Reform Policy to Examine Development Planning Post 1994 in South Africa*" with keen interest.

This is a notification that serves as a confirmation that your application has been approved.

On behalf of the Department, I would like to welcome you onto our premises and to inter-act with the relevant Branches in accordance with your study requirements. Similarly, I wish you the best of time during your research assignment.

Kind Regards

MR MJ KGOBOKOE
DEPUTY DIRECTOR – GENERAL: CORPORATE SUPPORT SERVICES
DATE: 11/01/2023

Annexure 5: Individual interviews consent form

Title of the thesis: *Using the prism of land reform policy to examine development planning post-1994 in South Africa*

The purpose of this study is to interrogate the planning theory and the planning practice to establish an understanding of the South African development planning trajectory about its use of land reform as an instrumental development tool.

Name of researcher: Molokwane Masibane John

I, ……., agree to take part in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below).

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous	YES	NO
I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in his / her research report	YES	NO
I agree that the interview may be audio recorded	YES	NO
I agree that the information I supply may be used anonymously after this project has ended, for academic purposes by other researchers, subject to their own ethics clearance being obtained.	YES	NO

…… (signature)
…… (name of participant)
…… (date)

…… (signature)
…… (name of the person seeking consent)
…… (date)

Annexure 6: DPME individual interviews schedule

Interview schedule - DPME
The maximum time allocated is 45 minutes. **Section A** 1. *Have you been involved in the post-1994 South African development planning or planning process?* 2. *If yes, for how long were you involved?* 3. *What role did you occupy during your involvement?*
Section B

4. *Post-1994 South African developmental planning about developmental ends*

    4.1 *Based on your involvement in the post-1994 South African development planning, can you share with me how planning has been done in view of addressing the socio-economic reality in society?*

    4.2 *In your thinking, would you say the post-1994 South African development planning has realised its developmental ends given public interest? Why do you say that?*

    4.3 *Do you think there is anything that could have been lacking in the post-1994 South African development planning in addressing the country's developmental challenges (poverty and inequality)? Why do you think so?*

    4.4 *Based on 4.2, do you think what has been missing in the post-1994 South African development planning is key in having the country's development in a trajectory that developmental challenges can be addressed? What makes you think so?*

5. *Means to ends determination in the post-1994 South African development plans*

    5.1 *Which were/are the means or developmental tools/instruments that you can remember being used in the post-1994 South African development planning to realise the desired developmental ends? Why were such means considered instrumental in developmental planning?*

    5.2 *Based on 5.1, would you share with me how the post-1994 South African development planning decided on the means that were to be used in the development plans? Can you further elaborate for me?*

    5.3 *With these means in mind, how were the developmental ends determined against the means that you mentioned?*

    5.4 *In your thinking, do you think that the determined means were indeed instrumental in contributing towards the sought developmental ends in the developmental plans? Why do you think so?*

6. *Development plan usage of land reform to achieve developmental ends*

    6.1 *Has land use as development means occupied any space in the post-1994 South African development planning? Why do you think so?*

    6.2 *Based on 6.1, do you think land use as instrumental means of development has a space to occupy in the post-1994 South African development planning? Why do say that?*

    6.3 *If land use was to occupy any space as an instrumental means of development, how should it be featured in the development plan? Kindly elaborate further.*

    6.4 *Would you think based on 6.3 that it is possible in the post-1994 South African development planning to have a development plan that features land reform as an instrumental tool for development? Why do you think so?*

Section C

7. *As we draw towards concluding this interview, are there any points of interest about development planning in post-1994 South Africa in light of using land as an instrumental means of development that you would like to share with me?*

Your insights in this interview are truly appreciated. Thanks once more for making time to take part in this research study.

Annexure 7: DALRRD individual interview schedule

Interview Questionnaire - DALRRD

The maximum time allocated is 40 minutes.

Section A

1. *Have you been involved in the land-reform policy in post-1994 South Africa?*
2. *If yes, for how long were you involved?*
3. *What role did you occupy during your involvement?*

Section B

4. *Land reform use for development in the post-1994 South Africa*

    4.1 Based on your involvement in the post-1994 South African land reform policy, what is your view of land reform regarding development?

    4.2 In your view, land reform and land use as a matter of public interest and also considering the political and socio-economic context of the country how instrumental can it be as means of development in post-1994 South Africa?

    4.3 As far as you remember, how has land reform been used post-1994 in South Africa towards addressing the country's socioeconomic challenges as means of a development plan? Can you elaborate further?

5. *Development plan usage of land reform to achieve developmental ends.*

    5.1 From a global perspective regarding how land reform was instrumental to development in the Asian and Latin American region and based on your previous response, has the use of land reform as a development means or tool occupied any space in the post-1994 South African development planning? Why do you think so?

    5.2 Based on 6.1, do you think land reform as instrumental means of development has a space to occupy in the post-1994 South African development planning? Why do you say that?

    5.3 If land use was to occupy any space as an instrumental means of development, how should it be featured in the development plan? Kindly elaborate further.

    5.4 Would you think based on 6.3 that it is possible in the post-1994 South African development planning to have a development plan that features land reform as an instrumental tool for development? Why do you think so?

Section C

6. *As we draw towards concluding this interview, are there any points of interest about development planning in post-1994 South Africa in light of using land as an instrumental means of development that you would like to share with me?*

Your insights in this interview are truly appreciated. Thanks once more for making time to take part in this research study.

Annexure 8: Individual interviews participation sheet

WITS SCHOOL OF GOVERNANCE
UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Dear Sir / Madam

My name is Molokwane Masibane John. I am a PhD student in the Wits School of Governance at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. My supervisor is Dr Pooe, T.K. I am conducting a research study about development planning. The study title is ***Using the prism of land reform to examine development planning post-1994 in South Africa***.

I am inviting you to take part in an interview for this academic research. If you decide to take part, your participation in this research study will last about 45 minutes. The interview will take place preferably physically, but a virtual meeting will be considered depending on your convenience. The venue of the interview if physical, will be at a place and at a time convenient to you.

With your permission, I would like to audio record the interview. All audio records will be immediately stored in the cloud-based storage which can be accessed through a password. The researcher will be the only one having the password and access to all collected data. Further, participants' behavioural reactions will be observed and noted during the discussion.

During the research activity, I will need to ask for some personal information about you, including the length you have participated in the post-1994 South African planning, the length of time you have participated, and the role you played.

The interview will be confidential and anonymous. When I share the results of the research study, I will not include your name or anything else that could identify you.

If you decide to take part in the research study, it should be because you want to volunteer. If you do not want to take any further part, you can withdraw your participation in the study at any time. Any information obtained from you will not be used in the study. You do not have to answer any questions if you do not want to. You will not get any direct benefits if you choose to join the research study. You will not lose any services, benefits or rights you would normally have if you decide not to join. Taking part in the research study will not cost you anything. You will not be paid for being in this research study.

The risks for this research study are no more than what happens in everyday life.

This research study will be written up as a research report and publication. The report will be available on the university library website. If you would like to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research study, feel free to contact me or my supervisor at the details listed below. If you have any concerns or complaints about the ethical procedures of this research study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), by telephone at +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za.

Yours sincerely,

Researcher:
Molokwane Masibane John; Email: 1439085@students.wits.ac.za; C: 073 331 0333

Supervisor:
Dr Pooe TK; tk.pooe@wits.ac.za

Annexure 9: Focus group consent form

Title of the thesis: *Using the prism of land reform policy to examine development planning post-1994 in South Africa*

The purpose of this study is to interrogate the planning theory and the planning practice to establish an understanding of the South African development planning trajectory about its use of land reform as an instrumental development tool.

Name of researcher: Molokwane Masibane John

I, ……., agree to take part in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below).

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous. Details of other group participants will not be shared with anyone outside this discussion	YES	NO
I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in his / her research report	YES	NO
I agree that the group discussion may be audio recorded	YES	NO
I agree that the information I supply may be used anonymously after this project has ended, for academic purposes by other researchers, subject to their own ethics clearance being obtained.	YES	NO

…… (signature)
…… (name of participant)
…… (date)

…… (signature)
…… (name of the person seeking consent)
…… (date)

Annexure 10: Focus group participation sheet

WITS SCHOOL OF GOVERNANCE
UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Dear Sir / Madam

My name is Molokwane Masibane John. I am a PhD student in the Wits School of Governance at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. My supervisor is Dr Pooe, T.K. I am conducting a research study about development planning. The study title is ***Using the prism of land reform to examine development planning post-1994 in South Africa***.

I am inviting you to take part in a focus group discussion for this academic research. If you decide to take part, your participation in this research study will last about 120 minutes. The focus group discussion will take place physically at a place and time convenient to all participants.

With your permission, I would like to audio record the focus group discussion using the audio recording device. All audio records will be immediately stored in the cloud-based storage which can be accessed through a password. The researcher will be the only one having the password and access to all collected data. Data for this research is also collected through document analysis. All analysed documents will be kept safe in the researcher's lockable safe in the house. Further, participants' behavioural reactions will be observed and noted during the discussion.

It will be strived that the information obtained from focus group discussions be dealt with as confidential and anonymity of participants be upheld. However, due to the nature of focus groups confidentiality and anonymity will not be guaranteed. But all participants will be encouraged not to take any discussions happening in the group out of the group discussion and as well not to share the names of other participants with those who were not in the group discussion. When I share the results of the research study, I will not include your name or anything else that could identify you or others in the group.

If you decide to take part in the research study, it should be because you want to volunteer. If you feel you do not want to take part any further, you can withdraw your participation in the study at any time. Any information obtained from you will not be used in the study. You do not have to answer any questions if you do not want to. You will not get any direct benefits if you choose to join the research study. You will not lose any services, benefits or rights you would normally have if you decide not to join. Taking part in the research study will not cost you anything. You will not be paid for being in this research study.

The risks for this research study are no more than what happens in everyday life.

This research study will be written up as a research report and publication. The report will be available on the university library website. If you would like to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research study, feel free to contact me or my supervisor at the details listed below. If you have any concerns or complaints about the ethical procedures of this research study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), by telephone at +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za.

Yours sincerely,

Researcher: Molokwane Masibane John; Email: 1439085@students.wits.ac.za; C: 073 331 0333

Supervisor: Dr Pooe TK; tk.pooe@wits.ac.za

Annexure 11: Focus group discussion programme

Programme for focus group discussions

Maximum time allocated 90 minutes

The discussion was conducted virtually.

1. *Introduction and purpose of the group discussion (5 minutes)*

Many thanks for making time to participate in the focus group discussion. The purpose of the discussion is to discuss the development planning in post-1994 South Africa through the lens of land reform. The conversation primarily seeks to establish how development planning has evolved in post-1994 South Africa and how a development plan can feature land reform as its instrumental means/tool of development toward attaining the developmental ends in the face of the country's socioeconomic challenges.

2. *Ethical considerations, ground rules, and signing-off of the consent forms (5 minutes minutes)*

Members' names will kept anonymous outside this discussion. While confidentiality cannot be guaranteed in the focus group discussions, the researcher will ensure that all information obtained during the discussion is kept confidential. All members are also encouraged to keep all the discussions in the room confidential and not extend the conversation beyond the adjournment. Members of the group are encouraged to rejoin the group if they are accidentally kicked out of the room or experience any technical cliches or load shedding. Members are encouraged to be candid about their opinions while respecting each other's views. To make the discussion more engaging, members of the group discussion are further urged to feel free to agree, disagree, or pose questions to one another about the topics under discussion. We have four topics to discuss in this session. Under each topic, I will give a preview of what emanated from the individual interview results in corroborating the individual interview results and building theory on how development planning can feature land reform as an instrumental means to realising the developmental ends.

3. *Facilitation or moderation of discussions covering the following topics:*

    3.1 *Development evolvement post-1994 and the use of the contextual analysis (political, social, and economic) to inform the means and ends in development plans (15-minute discussions)*

The individual interview results demonstrated that the post-1994 inherited a short-mended planning system which was racially segregated. Planning has not fully exploited the improvement in planning and administration and even today government systems across all levels are weak. However, development planning has been predicated on addressing public interest by considering unemployment, inequality, and poverty to inform the context of this country. It is the view of participants in the individual interviews that whatever the government consider in planning is for the benefit of the greater society.

With the above in mind, what are views on (1) how in post-1994 development planning has evolved in South Africa, (2) development planning and its consideration of the context South Africa finds itself in, (3) development planning as a contentious issue toward addressing the socioeconomic challenges facing the country to what extend does it consider issues of public interest over vested interests as shown in the individual interview results.

    3.2 *Identification and choice of means and ends in South African development planning (15-minute discussions)*

The individual interview results showed that the government post-1994 used a variety of tools or means to attain developmental ends. Means used include among industrial sector, SMMEs, mining, social wages, spatial development frameworks, and land use schemes. The results further showed development despite the use of these means development planning has not realised the desired ends. In selecting means and developmental ends, results demonstrated that the government has relied on documents such as ready-to-govern that were produced by the ANC pre-1994, successive ANC conference resolutions, and reliance on stronger economists'

views rather than social views from the social policy advocates. While scientific information is used government often use assumptions and projections to select means and ends to the development plans.

I would like to hear members in here on what are your views on how (1) the government selected the means and ends to development plans, (2) your views on whether development ends have been met in South Africa; (3) views on alternative ways to select means and ends, and (4) which alternative means that can be used to realise the desired developmental ends.

3.3 Guidance of actions toward implementation of a development plan to reach the developmental ends (15-minute discussions)

The results from individual interviews have demonstrated that there are systematic issues of limited state capacity and resources for the implementation of development plans post-1994 in South Africa with development plan implementation being missing in development planning processes. This is driven by the fragmented sectoral approach to doing things in South Africa. Further, the disjuncture between planning and budget hinders development plan implementation as well as the lack of an implementation plan. This is further exacerbated by the seeking to do everything all at once with little to no prioritisation on key issues in realising the desired ends.

In the members' views, (1) do find development plan implementation as a hindrance toward development plans realising the envisaged developmental ends, (2) how could institutional capacity and structuring be improved in facilitating development plan implementation, (3) how means and ends are selected or determined in enabling effective development plan implementation.

3.4 The missing link in post-1994 South African development planning and if development planning can use land reform as a developmental means/tool (15-minute discussions)

Lastly, the individual interviews have empirically shown that land reform is a missing link in development planning in post-1994 South Africa toward realising the development ends. However, participants seem to agree that while land reform is a missing link, it has occupied space in post-1994 South African development plans and still has space to occupy in development plans. Participants have shown that land is a basic resource for any kind of development and central to development planning. Another participant argued that we cannot talk about development and transformation without land. In repositioning land reform in a development plan, results showed that land reform (or land) should be viewed as an asset that people can use for investment, land reform should be reformulated into land use in terms of agrarian land reform and urban land reform should feature clearly, land-reform post-settlement mechanisms and modalities should prominently feature in a development plan, and land reform should be elevated higher as developmental means/tool.

In consideration of the above-mentioned, may hear your views on (1) land as a missing link to development planning in post-1994 South African development planning, (2) land having space to occupy in future South African development plans, and (3) how a development plan can feature land reform as an instrumental means/tool to development in post-1994 South Africa.

4. Summary of discussions, vote of thanks and closure (5 minutes)

Once again, many thanks for making time to participate in this discussion. Your insights are greatly appreciated. The recording will end here.