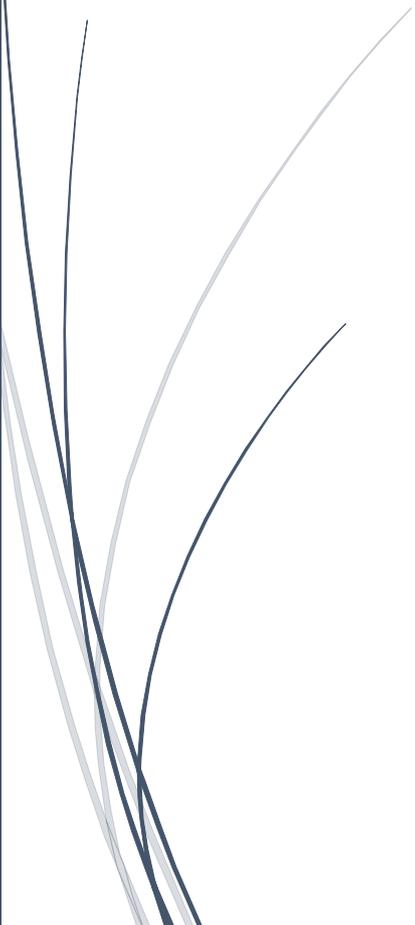




Land reform as a transformative social protection tool: the case of Zimbabwe

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1. Introduction

The Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) that happened in Zimbabwe caught a lot of attention from various quarters. The major reason for this was the manner in which was undertaken. Naturally, the issue also generated academic curiosity from scholars of different ideological persuasions. Various scholars have written on the subject from different perspectives which include inter alia, the political economy perspective, the neopatrimonial stand point and the conservative approach. In all the narratives, there seem to be a glaring narrative of how the FTLRP can be regarded as a social protection instrument. Also, there still is a gap on how the land reform impacted on the lives of the children that came into interface with it. This paper therefore locates the children using the transformative social protection conceptual framework. Using the Zimbabwean example, the paper argues that if Africa is to increase momentum in the implementation of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC), the continent has to come up with innovative and organic social protection tools like the mobile money transfer system and redistribution of assets like land.

2. Africa, a continent on the move...

The ACRWC was promulgated in 1990 but adopted in 1999. . Its adoption brought with it expectations both for children and child rights stakeholders in Africa. The reasons that necessitated the development of the ACRWC have been documented elsewhere.¹ In celebrating 25 years of its promulgation, it is imperative to reflect on the state of the continent before passing a judgement on the contribution that it has made. This reflection is happening at a time when at a global level, a new development agenda taking from the Millennium Development Goals has been launched. As a result, the article took opportunity to reflect on the progress has made since 1990.

Overall, statistics seem to show that Africa has made substantial progress since 1990 to 2015. This can be exemplified by the proportion of people living on less than US\$1.25 a day, in sub-Saharan Africa, where there has been a decreased from 56.5 percent in 1990 to 48.5 percent in 2010.² This positive trend can be attributed to the growth rates that Africa has been experiencing in the last decade and also improved implementation of social protection programmes.³ Africa's growth accelerated from 3.7 per cent in 2013 to 3.9 per cent in 2014.⁴ Africa's GDP growth rate is expected to increase to 4.5 percent and 4.8 per cent in 2015 and 2016, respectively.⁵ In East Africa, growth is expected to increase from 6.5 per cent in 2014 to 6.8 per cent in 2015, driven by Djibouti, Kenya and Uganda. Growth in the biggest economy

¹ Sloth-Nielsen, J., & Mezmur, B. D. (2008). A dutiful child: the implications of Article 31 of the African Children's Charter. *Journal of African Law*, 52(02), 159-189.

²MDG Report 2014: Assessing Progress in Africa toward the Millennium Development Goals, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, African Union, African Development Bank and United Nations Development Programme, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

³ MDG Report 2014: Assessing Progress in Africa toward the Millennium Development Goals, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, African Union, African Development Bank and United Nations Development Programme, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

⁴ Economic Development in Africa Report 2015, United Nations, ISBN 978-92-1-112888-8

⁵ Ibid

of the subregion, Kenya, will be expedited by rapid expansion of banking, telecommunications, urbanization, and investment in infrastructure, particularly rail.⁶ In Southern Africa, growth is expected to improve from 2.9 per cent in 2014 to 3.6 per cent in 2015. Angola, Mozambique and Zambia will lead the way as the fastest growing economies. In this sub-region, growth will be driven mainly by investment in the non-diamond sector in Botswana, recovery in private consumption in South Africa, increased investment in mining and natural gas exploration in Mozambique, and generally by private consumption.⁷ While the foregoing figures prove that Africa is a continent on the move, recognition should be made that growth alone does not necessarily translate to equitable distributed.⁸ Inequalities and marginalisation still exists in a significant way.

On social indicators, the continent has witnessed a reduction in the prevalence of underweight children below the age of 5 by 14.3 percent between 1990 and 2012. On education, twenty-five countries managed to reach net enrolment ratios of 80 percent or above. By 2014, there were only 11 countries which had enrolment rates below 75 percent. Governments' political commitment to investing in educational infrastructure and the removal of barriers inhibiting children, especially the girl child's access to education have contributed to these milestones. . These efforts have translated into a rapid increase in primary school enrolment in recent years in a number of countries. For instance, primary school enrolment increased by about 40 percentage points (from 25.3 to 64.5 percent) in Burkina Faso and in Niger (from 24.3 to 65.7 percent) during the 1991-2012 period.⁹ Despite the high enrolment rates, completion rates are relatively low. 28 percent of countries for which data are available have a completion rate below 60 percent.¹⁰ Almost 22 percent of the region's primary school age children are out of school, and a third drop out without acquiring the minimum basic competencies in reading and mathematics.¹¹

Tremendous progress has also been made in health. Maternal mortality ratio has reduced from 870 deaths per 100,000 live births in 1990 to 460 in 2013, a 47 percent reduction between 1990 and 2013 and 2.7 percent average annual percentage change between 1990 and 2013. The rising incidence and prevalence of HIV/AIDS among adults has been reversed in Africa due to strong political will, focused interventions and increased access to antiretroviral therapy (ART). As shall be noticed later in this paper, these trends have shown that political leadership plays a key role in ensuring progress. Accountable governance is a centre-piece in ensuring progress. There is a direct relationship between progresses made in a country to the quality of the governance that the country is under. Throughout Africa, HIV/AIDS incidence rate declined from 0.85 to 0.32 over the 1995–2012 period, while the prevalence rate fell from 5.8 to 4.7 percent during the 2000–2012 period. However, the number of people living with HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa is 25 million, that is, four times larger than it was in 1990 at 5.7 million.

⁶ Economic Development in Africa Report 2015, United Nations, ISBN 978-92-1-112888-8

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Sen, A. (2001). *Development as freedom*. Oxford University Press.

⁹ n 3 above

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Ibid

Running while others are walking...

In the words of Hirschman, Africa has been characterised as a “late, late-comers”¹² to development. Some of the writings on African resonate with this view giving Africa the synonym of what Frantz Fanon termed the “Wretched of the Earth”.¹³ Previously, Africans have been the dominant denizens of the world populated by the “Bottom Billion” and are apparently the sole inhabitants of the Third World who have “missed the boat”¹⁴. It is against such a background that the African nationalists like Julius Nyerere wanted to address the lagging behind of the continent when he made the statement that “We must run while others walk”. This sentiment of catching up for African was also shared by Kwame Nkrumah in his autobiography which opens with the words from the poet Tennyson:

So many worlds, so much to do
So little done, such things to be

This means that if Africa is to play catch up, it has to take a linear process that would avoid the mistakes of history and skip the stages of development as suggested by Rostow.¹⁵ It is in this view that Africa is using some of the available technology to play catch up. As Mkandawire lamented, the progress in Africa has to be urgently done.¹⁶ The spectacular growth in mobile subscriptions in Africa by more than 2,500 percent between 2000 and 2012 can justify the catching up narrative. As of 2012, 74 out of every 100 inhabitants on the continent had a mobile phone. Gabon has been an exceptional performer, with a 187 percent penetration rate as of 2012. Innovations in the use of mobile telephones as can be exemplified by the M-Pesa in Kenya, EcoCash in Zimbabwe, and Tigo Pesa in the United Republic of Tanzania have facilitated financial inclusion by promoting savings and financial transactions among the unbanked.¹⁷ Mobile money transfers, mobile agricultural insurance and mobile agricultural extension services are a few examples of the economic benefits of mobile phones. It is worth noting that this African innovation is facilitating realisation of social protection through remittances and other initiatives. Internet access however still can improve since currently the average in Africa is 14 per 100 inhabitants. High internet costs remain the main barrier to improved use. It is estimated that Africa, particularly East, Central and West Africa, have the highest internet prices in the world.¹⁸

In view of the progress that Africa is making, it is important to interrogate the conceptual groundings of the ideas that are shaping it. The next session will appreciate the transformative

¹² Hirschman, A., 1968, “The Political Economy of Import Substitution in Latin America”, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 82:1, pp. 1-32.

¹³ Fanon, F. (1965). *The wretched of the earth* (Vol. 390). Grove Press.

¹⁴ Collier, P., 2007, “The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can Be Done About It”, *Bull World Health Organ*, 85:11.

¹⁵ Rostow, W. W. (1990). *The stages of economic growth: A non-communist manifesto*. Cambridge University Press.

¹⁶ Mkandawire, T. (2010). *Running while others walk: knowledge and the challenge of Africa’s development*.

¹⁷ MDG Report 2014: *Assessing Progress in Africa toward the Millennium Development Goals*, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, African Union, African Development Bank and United Nations Development Programme, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

¹⁸ *Ibid*

social protection conceptual framework in reviewing progress that Africa has been making in social protection. The analysis however will focus on Zimbabwe in the aftermath of the fast track land reform program that it conducted.

3. Conceptual issues

The general framing of social protection mechanisms have been inspired by Amartya Sen’s notion of entitlements, coupled with the notions of risk and vulnerability, the lack of ability to deal with a shock.¹⁹ Using this perspective postures social protection to offer potential means for addressing the multiple factors causing persistent poverty and vulnerability.²⁰ In broad sense, social protection covers the following:

1. Prevention by reducing the occurrence and severity of shocks,
2. Mitigation by reducing the impact of shocks when they occur,
3. Coping, by helping people deal with shocks, and revival, by helping people rebuild their lives to their pre-shock level of well-being.²¹

Table 1: Definitions of social protection

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. World Bank- Informal, market-based and public interventions that assist poor individuals, households, and communities to reduce their vulnerability by managing risks better. 2. Department for International Development (DFID)- Interventions that strengthen the capacity of the poor to protect their consumption and to support household investment in the assets required to manage and overcome their situation. 3. ILO- mechanisms that provide access to health care and protect citizens against the stoppage or reduction of earnings resulting from sickness, maternity, employment injury, occupational diseases, unemployment, invalidity, old age and death. 4. Malawi National Social Protection Strategy -“policies and actions that protect and promote the livelihood and welfare of poor and vulnerable people.” 5. UNDP Poverty Center- Interventions from public, private, voluntary organizations and informal networks to support communities, households and individuals in their efforts to prevent, manage, and overcome a defined set of risks and vulnerabilities. 6. UNICEF- “set of transfers and services that help individuals and households confront risk and adversity (including emergencies), and ensure a minimum standard of dignity and well-being throughout the lifecycle”. 7. Rachel Sabates-Wheeler and Stephen Devereux- All initiatives that transfer income or assets to the poor, protect the vulnerable against livelihood
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¹⁹ [http://www.ascleiden.nl/content/webdossiers/social-protection-africa#Social Protection in Africa – General](http://www.ascleiden.nl/content/webdossiers/social-protection-africa#Social%20Protection%20in%20Africa%20-%20General); Accessed 30/09/2015

²⁰ Ellis, F., Devereux, S., & White, P. (2009). *Social protection in Africa*. Edward Elgar Publishing, page 7

²¹ Chitonge, H. (2012). Social protection challenges in sub-Saharan Africa: ‘Rethinking regimes and commitments’. *African Studies*, 71(3), 323-345.

risks, and enhance the social status and rights of the marginalized; with the overall objectives of extending the benefits of economic growth and reducing the economic or social vulnerability of poor, vulnerable and marginalized groups.

There are mainly two conceptual frameworks that are used in understanding social protection. There is the Social Risk Management Framework, which is primarily used by the World Bank. The challenge with this framework is that this approach does not question the class issues and power relations. Instead, it takes a survivalist approach without interrogating the root causes of vulnerabilities. In view of these shortcomings, Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux came up with the transformative social protection framework. The transformative approach is long term oriented while the former is for short term emergency and humanitarian support. Transformation in this conceptual framework is defined as:

...The need to pursue policies that integrate individuals equally into society, allowing everyone to take advantage of the benefits of growth and enabling excluded or marginalized groups to claim their rights.²²

Transformative measures seek to address concerns of social justice and exclusion, such as the exploitation of workers, or discrimination against ethnic minorities. Transformative interventions include collective action for workers' rights, changes to the regulatory framework to protect 'socially vulnerable groups' (e.g. people with disabilities, or victims of domestic violence) against abuse, as well as sensitization campaigns (such as the 'HIV/AIDS Anti-Stigma Campaign' discussed later in this chapter) and advocacy to enhance social equity.²³ This framework covers four elements which are the following:²⁴

1. Protective programs that offer relief from economic and social deprivation, including alleviation of chronic and extreme poverty. These interventions include humanitarian relief in emergencies, and targeted cash transfer schemes;
2. Preventive programs are put in place before a shock (ex-ante) and are designed to avert deprivation or to mitigate the impact of an adverse shock, and include mechanisms such as health and unemployment insurance and non-contributory pension schemes;
3. Promotive programs enhance assets, human capital and income earning capacity among the poor and marginalized, such as skills training and active labor market programs;
4. Transformative interventions are those aimed at addressing power imbalances that create or sustain economic inequality and social exclusion, and include legal and judicial reform, budgetary analysis and reform, the legislative process, policy review and monitoring, and social and behavioral/attitudinal change.

²² Devereux, S., & Sabates-Wheeler, R. (2004). Transformative social protection.

²³ Ibid

²⁴ UNICEF, 2008 Social Protection in Eastern and Southern Africa: A framework and strategy for UNICEF, ESARO, Kenya

This paper's focus is on the transformative interventions as encapsulated in point 4 above. The paper's working definition of social protection is the seventh in Table 1 above. While the transformative social protection conceptual framework cited above is progressive in addressing other pertinent issues that had been neglected by the SRM framework, this paper still uses it with a pinch of salt. It must be noted that Africa is a unique context and is not a homogenous continent. The given frameworks on social protection are not organic to Africa. They are imported concepts which may miss some of the uniqueness in Africa. The conceptual frameworks have been shaped by OECD countries 'experiences and scholars'.²⁵ These scholars also have tried to interpret the African experience using their lenses. Ben Fine echoes this observation when he notes that social policy has been flawed by 'over-generalising across ideal types which are insufficiently sensitive both in method and empirically to the differences in context and content of different social policies within and between both countries and programmes'.²⁶ It is this 'thinness'²⁷ of the literature on social protection from an African perspective that has neglected some of the tools that seek to address social protection objectives like land reform. In reflecting on the implementation of the ACRWC after 25 years, it is therefore imperative to recognise those conceptual gaps so that progress can be measured using organic tools from Africa meant to address social protection goals. As the proceeding section will show, the land reform program that happened in Zimbabwe is poised to achieve social protection goals.

4. Land reform as a transformative social protection tool: the Zimbabwean case

Birdsall and Londono observed that poverty reduction is a function of distribution of assets, both physical and human capital.²⁸ They made this conclusion after evaluating World Bank programs in the Latin America. This notion is corroborated by Dagdeviran et al when they note that 'redistribution, either of current income or the growth increment of income, is more effective in reducing poverty for a majority of countries than growth alone'.²⁹ It is against this background that this paper argues that the FTLRP that happened in Zimbabwe was redistributive with the aim of reducing poverty and ensuring growth and equality in the society.

The colonial regime established a skewed and exploitative agrarian system in the country. This settler-colonial regime was configured to plunder the country through accumulation by dispossession thereby creating a labour reserve economy. The country was characterised by a

²⁵ Mkandawire T. (2007) Transformative Social Policy and Innovation in Developing countries, *The European Journal of Development Research*, 19:1, 13-29

²⁶ Fine, B. (2009). Social policy and the crisis of neo-liberalism. *Prepared for a Conference on "The Crisis of Neo-Liberalism in India: Challenges and Alternatives"*, Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) Mumbai and International Development Economics Associates (IDEAs), 13-15 March 2009

²⁷ Mackintosh M and Tibandebage P (2004) Inequality and Redistribution in Health Care: Analytical Issues for Developmental Social Policy. In Mkandawire, T. (ed) (2004), *Social Policy in a Development Context*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, page 44

²⁸ Birdsall, Nancy and Londono, Juan Luis, 'Asset Inequality Matters: An Assessment of the World Bank's Approach to Poverty Reduction.' *American Economic Review*, 1997, Review, Papers and Proceedings 87(2): 32-37; Birdsall, Nancy, Ross, D. and Sabot, R., 'Inequality and Growth Reconsidered: Lessons from East Asia', *World Bank Economic Review* 9(3): 477-508, 1995.

²⁹ Dagdeviran, H., Van der Hoeven, R., & Weeks, J. (2001). *Redistribution and growth for poverty reduction*. Working paper series No. 118 July 2001, ISBN No: 07286 0336 5, ILO and SOAS.

bimodal agrarian structure where 6000 white farmers and a few capitalist agro-industrial estates owned the lion's share of the land in the country with 700,000 peasant families and 8000 small-scale black commercial farmers on the least fertile land.³⁰ By 1999 prior to the commencement of the FTLRP, approximately 3.4 million hectares had been redistributed under the willing seller/willing buyer arrangement. This reduced the land under white farmers to 11 million hectares, which translated to approximately 35 per cent of the total agricultural land, most of which was 'prime' land.³¹ While there is a lot of literature which has covered the process of land reform³², this paper is focusing on the redistributive outcome of the FTLRP and how these relate to social protection. After the land reform, the land tenure system of the country changed significantly, warding off private ownership of land to a system where the land belonged to the state. A total of 150 000 households were settled in A1 scheme with 30 000 households allocated A2 farms. 180 000 households benefited in both the A1 and the A2 in the FTLRP replacing 6000 farmers who owned all the land where the beneficiaries were resettled.³³ About 30 percent of the A1 beneficiaries are made up of urban workers and a few former farm workers. 90% of the farmers are small holders working on 80% of the land.

The new agrarian structure means that a lot of poor people who could not afford to buy land got it for free. This land is the one which the white farmers owned in the ecological regions that receive a lot of rainfall. Table 1 below are the results of a research that was conducted by Zimbabwe Independent Institute covering 375 A1 farmers located in Mashonaland West, Mashonaland East, Manicaland, Masvingo and Matebeleland South Province. The research observed that 53.1% of the beneficiaries were unemployed.

³⁰ Moyo, S. (2011). Three decades of agrarian reform in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38(3), 493-531.

³¹ Ibid

³² See Chaumba, J. *et al* (2003) 'From Jambanja to Planning: The Reassertion of Technocracy in Land Reform in South-Eastern Zimbabwe?' in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Dec., 2003), pp. 533-554, Cambridge University Press; Cliffe, L (1988) The prospects for agricultural transformation in Zimbabwe, in Stoneman, C. (ed), *Zimbabwe's Prospects: Issues of Land, Class, State and Capital in Southern Africa*, pp 309–325 (London: Macmillan); Kinsey B. (2004), Zimbabwe's Land Reform Program: Underinvestment in Post Conflict Transformation in *World Development Journal Volume 32, No.10, pp.1669-1696*; Mamdani, M., 2009, 'Lessons of Zimbabwe: Mugabe in Context', London Book Review, London; Marongwe, N., 2011, 'Who was allocated Fast Track land, and what did they do with it? Selection of A2 farmers in Goromonzi District, Zimbabwe and its impacts on agricultural production', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 5, pp. 1069-1092; Manjengwa, J., Hanlon, J., and Smart, T., (2014), Who will make the 'best' use of Africa's land? Lessons from Zimbabwe. *Third World Quarterly*, 35(6) (In press); Moyo, S., (2004) 'The overall impact of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme', AIAS monograph, Harare: African Institute for Agrarian Studies; Moyo, S., W. Chambati T. Murisa D. Siziba C. Dangwa K. Mujeyi and Nyoni N. (2009) *Fast Track Land Reform baseline survey in Zimbabwe: trends and tendencies, 2005/06*, Harare: African Institute for Agrarian Studies (AIAS); Sachikonye, L. M. (2003b). From 'growth with equity' to 'fast-track' reform: Zimbabwe's land question. *Review of African Political Economy*, 30(96), 227-240; Scoones, I., N. Marongwe, B. Mavedzenge, J. Mahenene, F. Murimbarimba and Sukume, C. (2010) *Zimbabwe's Land Reform: Myths and Realities*. London: James Currey.

³³ Scoones, Ian (2015) Zimbabwe's land reform: new political dynamics in the countryside, *Review of African Political Economy*, 42:144, 190-205, DOI:

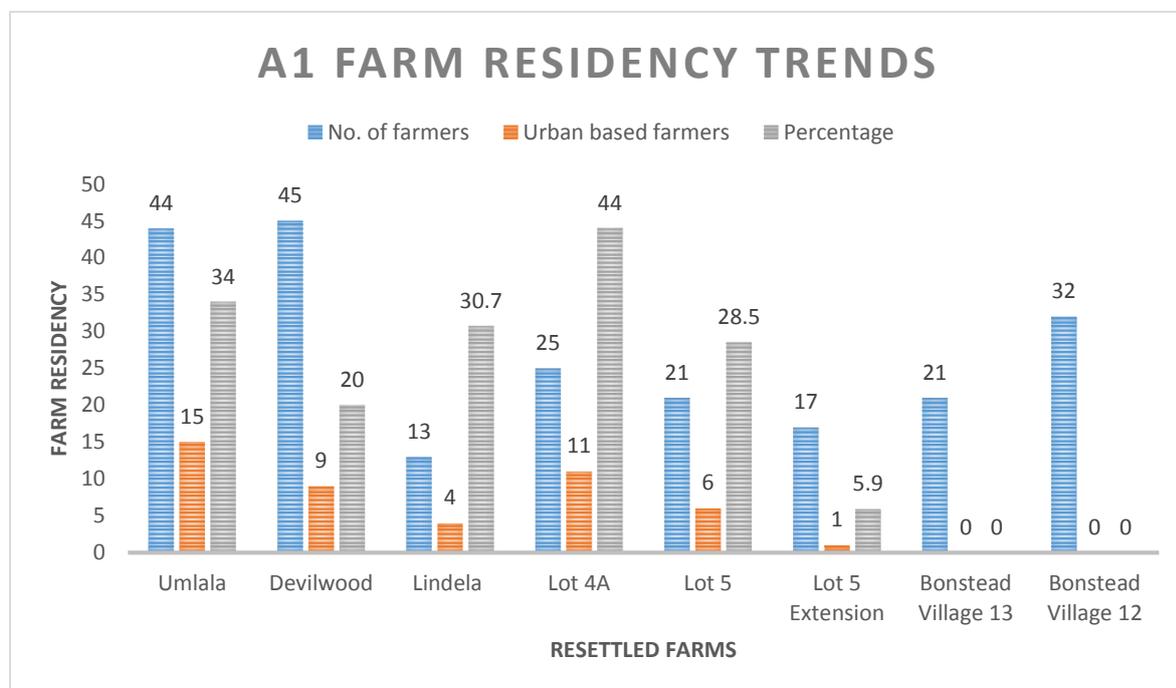
Table 2: Characterisation of land beneficiaries of the FTLRP

Category	Number	Percentage
Business people	7	1.6
Civil Servants (Agriculture and Lands Ministries)	18	4.8
Civil Servants (Education)	24	6.4
Civil Servants (Other)	15	4
Ex-Security	20	5.3
ExCombatants	3	0.8
Ex- Farm workers	4	1.1
Informal sector	24	6.4
Gold panners	5	1.3
Local councils	3	0.8
Pensioners	3	0.8
Parastatals	2	0.6
Private sector (finance)	3	0.8
Private sector (other)	14	3.7
Security ministries	13	3.5
Unemployed	119	53.1
Others	12	3.2
Total	375	100

Source: Zimbabwe Independent Institute 2007

In the Marxian way of thinking, land is one of the means of production, ownership of which changes one's class. From a social protection perspective, giving land to an unemployed person goes a long way in cushioning the beneficiary from some external shocks that may render the individual vulnerable. Immediately after accessing the land, the beneficiaries built their homes without looking to the state. They used natural resources in building these houses. Already this means that the beneficiaries would not have to look for money for shelter and children's right to shelter is guaranteed. A discussion can be held on the quality of the accommodation, which will be applicable for the majority of children who live in the rural setting. Figure 1 below shows that the majority of the beneficiaries of land reform stay on the land they were allocated. This could be more pronounced in the villages where most former farm workers were allocated. The research that was conducted by this researcher in Kwekwe District of Zimbabwe showed that 100 percent of the former farm workers stay on the land they were allocated and have all erected structures for their accommodation and families.

Figure 1: Land Reform beneficiaries' residency on the farms

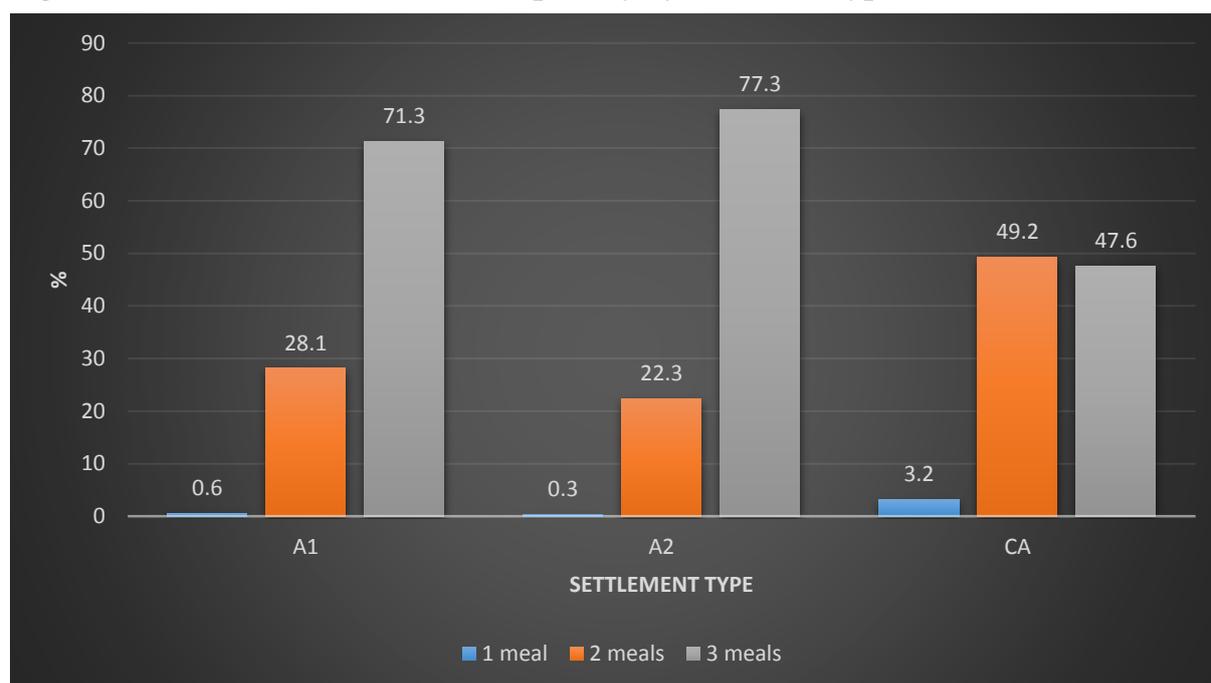


Source: Own fieldwork, 2015

In terms of access to a healthy diet, the research observed that while beneficiaries of the land reform may not have cash some of the times, they would still manage to have balanced meals. This is because in the rainy season, there would be plenty of vegetables and fruits accessible to them. Because of communitarianism that exists among these communities, households are able to cushion each other by sharing grain, salt, productive equipment and livestock produce like milk. This ensures that children obtain a balanced diet. For those in extreme poverty, they sell their labour to the better off beneficiaries not commodified according to market rates but as a way to provide help. In a research conducted by the African Institute for Agrarian Institute (AIAS), the majority of the beneficiaries would have three meals each day as can be deciphered from Figure 2 below.³⁴

³⁴ A1 farms are the family sized farms made up of 30 hectares of land (including livestock grazing land) to which averagely 10 hectares are arable. There is a second type of A1 farms which is villagised where there is shared grazing land but with farming area averagely 5-10 Hectares. The A2 model is the medium to large scale farming with land size of between 20-250+ hectares. CA represents communal areas. These are areas where the colonial regime had settled the black people as they were alienating the land.

Figure 2: Number of meals consumed per day by settlement type



Source: African Institute for Agrarian Studies Household Baseline Survey 2013/14

The AIAS research also observed that averagely each household is involved in some horticultural activity. On average, each household produces its own vegetables and tomatoes. Some of the households produce surplus to sell. For these beneficiaries, they are able to get extra cash to cover other costs like their children's education. Below are the various activities which are conducted by the land beneficiaries to generate income, apart from farming.

Table 3: Income generating activity natural resource exploitation by of A1 and A2 farmers in 6 districts of Zimbabwe

Activity	Goromonzi District		Zvimba District		Chipinge District		Chiredzi District		Kwekwe District		Mangwe District		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Thatching grass	0	0	1	2.1	4	8.3	1	4.2	2	4.5	42	75.0	50	19.6
Wood Caving	0	0	1	2.1	1	2.1	0	0	1	2.3	0	0	3	1.2
Firewood	0	0	0	0	1	2.1	0	0	5	11.1	1	1.8	7	2.7
Collecting river pit sand	0	0	0	0	1	2.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.4
Gold Panning	0	0	1	2.1	0	0	0	0	21	46.7	0	0	22	8.6

Source: African Institute for Agrarian Studies Household Baseline Survey 2013/14

Some of the children, depending on their evolving capacities, are involved in the activities in the table above. The research observed that these children sell their produce to their teachers thereby inculcating in them negotiation skills as they transact with their teachers. During

informal discussions with some of them, the children highlighted that the idea of working for their money after school motivated them to generate more so that they be able to get things like cell phones and clothes. This element however needs a delicate balance on giving children life skills and parents together with the state abrogating their responsibility to provide for children's basic needs.

5. Conclusion

If Africa is to 'run while others are walking' as was noted by Julius Nyerere, the continent has to identify innovative and organic tools that will facilitate catching up as was alluded to by Mkandawire. In the period under review, the continent has witnessed some of these innovative ideas like mobile money transfer which is purely an African innovation that built on the technology that is evolving. The paper argued that Africa should not just imbibe concepts and project ideas that would have been developed elsewhere which may be devoid of the African context. African scholarship also has to take its place in developing organic concepts that can propel Africa to a desired future.

The paper has demonstrated that the FTLRP that was conducted by Zimbabwe between 2000 and 2004 achieved transformative social protection outcomes because of its redistributive nature. The paper has demonstrated that land reform is a social protection tool because it facilitated transfer of assets to the poor thereby protecting them against livelihood risks while enhancing their social status. The land reform also reduced economic vulnerability for the poor and marginalised groups.

There is a lot of progress that Africa has made since 1990 when the ACRWC was put in place. The paper has shown that Africa is a continent on the move where it is playing catch with the other parts of the world. The colossal question however is the extent to which the progress being made in children's rights can be traced to the ACRWC. The paper has argued that the progress that has been made has been primarily a result of accountable political leadership; well-resourced institutions that deliver on the state's obligations as the legal duty bearer and the absence of conflict in some of the parts of Africa. The child rights movement in Africa therefore needs to interest itself in governance issues that affect children's rights. Furthermore, the movement should be engaged in budgeting processes to influence their allocation and provide ideas on how state parties can improve their fiscal spaces to meet their child rights obligations. Such ideas could include earmark taxes to cover issues like education, health and social protection. The paper is optimistic that in the next 25 years, the state of children's rights in Africa will be way better off than it is now. One of the reasons for this optimism is the vibrancy which the ACRWC monitoring body, the African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, has in holding states accountable.