Organization and Empowerment:
Fair Trade, U.S. Policy, and Development from the Bottom

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US policy toward women’s empowerment, food security, and areas such as HIV/AIDS are treated as separate policy areas, with distinct budget and staff who manage from above. While government officials frequently give lip service to the utility of integration across policy areas, especially for women’s empowerment, in fact they are not integrated. This separation stands calls for integration among policy thrusts by development professionals. It also contrasts with professionals’ strong understanding that long term development requires strong and sustainable grassroots organization. Using structured interviews with fair trade organization producers, key informant interviews, and participant observation in Botswana and Swaziland, I explore elements of empowerment as they interact with food security and HIV/AIDS policy. Self-help and other formal organization among the poorest of the poor emerge as particularly important for empowerment.

Fair trade organizations serve as exemplars of good development policy. With principles to create sustainable economic opportunities for the truly marginalized, build capacity in self-management and decision making, and place strong emphasis on women’s empowerment and girls’ education, these producer groups espouse on a small scale what the U.S. State Department and USAID have steadfastly promoted under the Obama administration and even earlier. As such, fair trade producer organizations offer sites to learn about practices that enhance and impede women’s empowerment, potentially providing guidance to policy. By examining two such sites of wild-harvesters in Swaziland and Botswana with very different orientations to organization, along with focus groups in Namibia and Zululand, lessons emerge for efforts to build sustainable economic opportunities that support women’s capacity.

**U.S. Department of State and USAID as Gender Policy Drivers**

Under Secretary of State Hillary Clinton the US State Department is generating considerable publicity surrounding women and girls. Their initiative is organized through the Secretary’s Office of Global Women’s Issues (S/GWI) and reports directly to the Office of the Secretary. In theory, its commitment to advancing the rights of women and girls as a central focus of U.S. diplomatic, development and defense interests is laudable. At a minimum, Secretary Clinton and her Special Ambassador At Large for Women’s Issues, Melanne Verveer, have focused more attention and resources than ever before.

The work of the office is organized around four pillars: 1) Promoting the full engagement of women in the political and economic spheres; 2) Mitigating the impact of violence against women; 3) Addressing underlying socio-economic problems, including women’s access to health and education, food security, and global problems such as climate change; and 4) Ensuring that women are integrated as equal participants in reconciliation, post-conflict reconstruction and development in areas affected by conflict. The policy vision is implemented through strategic focus on eight policy areas of particular concern to women: climate change, economic security and empowerment, education, food security, health, peace and security, political participation, and sexual and gender-based violence. Unfortunately, budgeting for these policy thrusts is drawn from other units and is not dedicated, making full advancement challenging. Instead the initiative relies upon a private fund, The Secretary’s International Fund for Women and Girls, which solicits private donations and philanthropic support. And, according to conversational interviews conducted with a State Department employee in March 2011, those with gender responsibilities frequently have interest but little training.

Similarly, USAID current policy priorities include an emphasis on food security, global health—including women’s health, and sustainable economic development. Importantly for policy integration however, it launched a new initiative March 1, 2012 on gender equity and female empowerment. After a concerted effort during 2012 to assess weaknesses in gender integration, the agency added two posts and reorganized. Its first policy is now to promote gender equality and female empowerment. Its policy 2012 to 2015 figures around three core thrusts:

*Reduce gender disparities in access to, control over and benefit from resources, wealth, opportunities, and services – economic, social, political, and cultural.*
Reduce gender based violence and mitigate its harmful effects on individuals and communities, so that all people can live healthy and productive lives.

Increase capability of women and girls to realize their rights, determine their life outcomes, and influence decision making in households, communities, and societies. (USAID March 2012)

Like fair trade, this new approach by USAID insists upon mutual respect and dignity. It also strives to enable women to have the capacity to participate freely and equally in economic and political decision making. Toward this end, women’s and girls’ unique expertise, initiatives, leadership, and contributions are recognized and supported by individuals and governments, which should lead to their economic, social, and political empowerment.

Development Women’s Empowerment

Women’s empowerment has been a topic of scholarly interest, especially since the UN focused on its decades on women beginning in Mexico City in 1975 and furthered the interest through its Millennium Goals. This practical application gives grist for the scholarly mill about women’s empowerment. Some scholars use a theoretical approach to discuss women’s empowerment and focus generally on institutions (Shih 2004; VonDoepp 2002; Sharma 2006; Sharp et al. 2003). Looking at institutions inevitably leads Sharp et al. to conclude that to “adopt empowerment as part of a GAD (gender and development) strategy, it is also necessary to take seriously the role of men,”¹ in part because men dominate institutions. The new USAID approach explicitly references boys as part of gender equality and demarcates “female empowerment” in order to achieve both. Similarly, while fair trade principles insist upon women’s equality, the approach includes men fully.

The concept of empowerment has been considered slippery by many, however, as its exact parameters are hard to delimit and it has been used in a variety of ways. For example, Easton et al. make empowerment synonymous with grassroots, bottom up, transmission of new information.² In other instances, empowerment may be too assumed as a product of education or income. Malhotra and Mathers claim the typical notion that economic means and education empowers women is not necessarily true, particularly in the developing world because these theories are based on Western assumptions that income earning is reflected in household decision-making, a dynamic that did not occur in Sri Lanka.³ Such suggests that cultural differences are important for how women’s empowerment takes place. However, sufficient empirical evidence demonstrates the positive effects of employment and education for women; international policy now works to encourage through these means and most scholars agree that they work.

In fact much of the scholarship on empowerment focuses on economic or educational means (Odutolu et al. 2003; Fonjong 2001; Datta 2003; Bernasek 2003; Riyami et al. 2004) and also often extends to a health focus (Jacob et al. 2006; Odutolu et al. 2003; Riyami et al. 2004). For example, Odutolu et al. found that providing women with basic job training skills and micro-credit opportunity increased their

control over their reproductive health. These studies emphasize the fact that women across the developing world are marginalized and vulnerable, and encourage change.

The empowerment literature argues that economic empowerment in combination with education will result in an improvement in other aspects of the women’s lives because it allows for women to have more power to make decisions and better their lives overall (Odutolu et al. 2003; Ryami et al. 2004). These studies led us to expect we would find evidence of empowerment similar to a program in Nigeria that provided young females with educational material about reproductive health. Participants found the program beneficial because they no longer rely on others (often men) for money, and as a result, the young females avoid feeling like they owe the men. Economic independence provides the women with autonomy in other aspects of their life. Improvement in sexual health becomes particularly useful in the context of Swaziland where over one quarter of the population is infected with HIV. When women earn their own income, they do not need to ask men for money giving them greater power in sexual relationships with men; this power in turn means they can much better protect themselves from HIV infection. Accordingly, income and knowledge create a power shift in which women can take control of their chances of becoming infected with HIV.

Women with their own income experience benefits beyond the economic improvement. One significant example of this is the use of micro-lending as first utilized by the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, which provides small loans to those who cannot secure larger loans from banks. Over time, the bank came to give 95 percent of its loans to women because, “income earned by female borrowers had more beneficial effects on the well-being of children and household members generally than income earned by male borrowers.” Strong evidence shows households in which women have an income are better off than those with men as the primary income earner.

**Food Security, Poverty, and Women’s Empowerment**

If income-earning women are found to improve their households’ well-being, then improved health from better nutrition is also likely. One of the greatest struggles with women’s empowerment is that it is generally worst in countries with other significant problems. In these dire situations a connection between women’s empowerment and food security may be most evident.

A case study from KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa about policy toward land reform and agricultural transformation demonstrates ways in which Southern African women are disempowered, as well as its relationship to food security. According to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) food security exists “when all people at all times have access to the food they need for a healthy, active life.” This definition of food security suggests people must have enough food, but also requires food that makes them healthy. In rural communities women are generally responsible for food production. However, cultural and social norms undervalue their work so the food producers themselves often eat too little. In a vicious circle, the food producers have less access to crucial resources necessary to achieve food security for everyone.

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Much research connects poverty and food security and suggests that overcoming poverty is at the root of food security (Haile 2005; Kaschula 2008; Tweeten 1999). Hence, in order to achieve food security, poverty must first be addressed; hence, the need for greater attention and action towards economic development. “Because it is the poor who lack access to food, alleviating food insecurity means alleviating poverty.”

The United Nations and particularly the World Health Organization (WHO) directly connect food security and poverty. WHO presents food security as a problem for much of the developing world and designates poverty as a primary root of the issue. Its response concentrates on three primary aspects: the impact of nutrition, health and poverty, and the importance of providing sound information and analyses for targeting the most vulnerable groups within the most vulnerable countries.

Food Security and HIV/AIDS

Although not all policy connects the two, nutrition is primary to both food security and HIV/AIDS. In fact, as a dimension of HIV treatment and care, nutrition is often overlooked. Infected individuals taking ARV medications must have a healthy and balanced diet or the medicine will make them very ill. However, with little access to nutritious food, infected individuals in rural and impoverished areas find taking their medications to fight the disease difficult. In addition, and generally less considered, is the relationship between malnutrition and the disease. Quite simply, HIV positive people who are vitamin deficient are less able to fight off the disease because their immune system lacks essential vitamins. Additionally, vitamin deficiency was shown to increase the chance of mother to child transmission. Food security connects directly to ameliorating HIV/AIDS through nutrition.

Approach and Methods

Despite past trends to keep policy areas separate, women’s empowerment is now generally understood to be related to a host of concerns critical to development. Although I wanted to confirm whether this relationship existed in fair trade women’s cooperatives or community development organizations, I remain more concerned with how these dynamics might work. Our methodology therefore triangulated to include participant observation, structured interviews, and a focus. Both cases were supplemented by conversations with key informants.

The sites of the cases are Swazi Indigenous Products in Mpata, Swaziland and a community development business in Gabane, Botswana. Both producer groups wild harvest or gather an indigenous fruit, marula, which is a plum-sized member of the mango family. The Swaziland case is of a cooperative of 2,600 women who also own the company that processes the marula. The Botswanan case is of a community development private company that buys from gatherers, but the gatherers have no formal organization.

Both studies took place in July, with participant observation for July 2010 placing researcher Miranda Bernstein at the SIP factory in Swaziland and for July 2011, researcher Nathan Omans worked with a community development business in Gabane, Botswana for 7 weeks. Georgia Duerst-Lahti visited both locations for about a week to meet with key informants, revise and reorient participant observation.

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goals based upon data to date, and in Swaziland she was also able to hold a focus group. Researchers conducted a structured interview with a randomly selected set of the gatherers. In Swaziland, the interviews took place as the gatherers brought hand-cracked nuts to a monthly payment station. Respondents were selected with an eye toward age distribution but otherwise were random. A total of 20 interviews were conducted at three locations. In Botswana, gatherers were asked to come together for the interviews, so largely were self-selected. A total of 32 interviews were conducted at five locations.

Translation proved very tricky and very important because neither language of the respective gatherers, siSwazi nor Tswana, have a word for “empowerment” and hence great care was taken in pre-testing questions in the Swazi case. In the Botswanan case, the first 18 interviews used a term close to giving help with the remaining 14 employing a term closer to encouragement. This challenge of translation may skew the results for the latter.

To set the context for policies core to U.S. policies and the research questions relating to women’s empowerment, a few points of reference for HIV/AIDS and food security are provided. Two neighboring countries are included, Namibia, which very much resembles Botswana in geography, except it has a coastline whereas Botswana is land locked and South Africa, the regional giant that influences the entire region economically and culturally. For example, it is not possible to fly from the capital city of any of these countries without going through the airport hub in Johannesburg. They also were the sites for two focus groups conducted with members of a women’s cooperative and a small farmer essential oil development projects, which is referenced as well.

Table 1 shows the relative economic power of these countries, through ranking by various sources. It is important to note that despite ranking 105th among countries by economic measures, Botswana is considered moderately developed with its well managed wealth from diamonds, and is not eligible for MCC (Millennium Challenge Corporation) funds.

Table 2 illustrates the dire circumstances regarding HIV/AIDS in these countries which rank the highest in the world. Although the rate of adults varies some, in all cases women carry a disproportionate burden, often because they cannot resist sex with infected husbands but also because poverty drives them to “sugar daddies” who provide for them. Income therefore is literally a matter of life and death by infection. Also, however, note that Botswana has done an outstanding job of coverage of ARV for its population after disastrous conditions in the 1990s when a majority of the younger adult cohort died from AIDS. Namibia has made great gains in coverage in recent years.

Table 3 about here.

Again, note the proportion of people living in hunger especially in Botswana, which is considered too rich for MCC assistance. In the case of Botswana, the condition of the gatherers proved particularly shocking to the translator who did not realize such hunger existed in the relative “wealthy” country.

What can the practices of two fair trade organizations contribute to these efforts?
Who Gathers Marula?

The demographics and dynamics of the Swaziland and Botswana organizations differs despite similarities. First, the Swazi group was entirely comprised of women. In fact throughout the history of the organization, only one man ever “stooped” to this women’s work. He did it only for one year, using the money he earned to by a sow to breed hogs. Apparently he is considered a great success now that he has over 8 hogs and can sell some each year. About 23 percent of the Botswanan gatherers were men. Second, a sizable majority—roughly three-quarters of each group have no education or only some primary education. Swazi key informants also discussed the challenges of innumeracy when trying to teach basic bookkeeping or about saving money. Third, in terms of health they overwhelmingly appear to be of average health, with one standing out in each site for poor health. Given the exceptionally high HIV/AIDS rates of these countries, in all likelihood many are infected. One good aspect of gathering marula, and cracking the stones in the case of Swaziland, is that the work is not overly taxing and hence possible to do even with the somewhat diminished energy levels common among those with HIV.

What the Income Provides Materially

For a variety of practical reasons, the structured questionnaires and method of interviewing are not exactly the same so comparisons cannot be entirely direct. Likewise, conditions in the two countries vary as suggested above, and this is reflected in what the income provides. Swaziland is deemed poorer and is eligible for MCC funding whereas Botswana is “moderately developed.” Perhaps most notably, the public school system is stronger in Botswana so paying school fees is less of an issue, whereas in Swaziland most respondents made paying school fees a priority. Because everyone in the village knows who’s behind on paying fees, it is a point of public status or shame; hence, some of the poorest Swaziland harvesters will pay school fees rather than eat another meal. Nonetheless, two Botswanan respondents mention it and one mother says with the income from harvesting, “I can give something to my daughters: schooling.” In both producer groups income earned from gathering wild marula fruit proves to be of great material importance.

The first challenge in understanding impact was to establish the respondents’ socio-economic status before or without income from marula. Some of the respondents had harvested since 2005 in Botswana and 2007 in Swaziland. To get at this difficult measure, we asked what they spent the money on and how life was different because of this income.

Chart 1 about here.

As Chart 1 shows, about two-thirds of respondents (13 of 20) started with “nothing.” Given the hard work involved in gathering and cracking the marula “stones” or nuts to get the kernels, this proportion is unsurprising. The eight women of Category D clearly began destitute, as this income does not even cover all necessities. Categories A and B offer a contrast because respondents report already being “secure” or having “livable” conditions before SIP. Usually these households had income from male wage earners. Non necessities include purchases such as better dishes or curtains. Importantly, often respondents in Categories A and B used the income to start an outside business. From the interviews it is not possible to tell whether they are particularly entrepreneurial and ambitious, although this seems likely. A key informant told the story of the one man who humbled himself by doing “women’s work” of

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10 I use the term Botswanan as an adjective referring to the country. The preferred term for someone from Botswana is Batswana; however, this refers to members of the Setswana language group—the dominant political group—even though the government uses the term to refer to all people of Botswana.
SIP for a year in order to gather enough capital to start a small hog farm, which had grown to be successful with eight hogs. Another key informant stated that the management of SIP celebrates when a participant feels wealthy enough to retire because there “always would be more poor women to gather and crack,” and these women were their greatest concern.

The Botswanan respondents beginning status was a bit more difficult to judge, in part because we asked about the changes in so many ways. Nonetheless, based upon number of meals per day they eat, whether or not they had a wheelbarrow for harvesting, their clothes, and what they use the income for, we identified nine variations of SES, which we collapsed into three categories: Struggles for basics, generally secure, getting to nicer. None of the 32 respondents fit our definition of abject poverty, although 4 ate two or fewer meals each and had no wheelbarrow, and poor clothes. The mode with 10 respondents had a wheelbarrow and generally had adequate clothing and two meals daily. A total of 14 fall into the struggles for basics category. With 9 of 32 respondents, the generally secure category is marked by a wheelbarrow, generally good clothing and schooling, and some monetary maturity and an ability to invest in some non-basic purchases. The final 9 respondents are “getting to nicer”, using their income for non-food purchases and good schooling for themselves and their children; they also have generally good houses and clothing.

Chart 2 about here.

Income and Personal Change: Toward Empowerment?

For the Swaziland respondents change toward what we consider empowerment was common. All SIP interview respondents—100 percent—reported empowerment through improved self-esteem. Most often self-esteem empowerment impacts emerged when respondents were asked how they view themselves in comparison to community members who do not sell marula to SIP. For this question, every respondent answered that they were either “different” or “better” than these individuals generally directly because of their SIP income. “I find that I’m better than them (non-participating community members) because I have the income and they don’t.”

As expected, earning income improved self-sufficiency, which also affected self-esteem. Many respondents mentioned “feeling free” because they no longer rely on others for the things they need. Importantly, self-sufficiency or economic autonomy means that these women are less vulnerable because they no longer must depend on others for necessities. Income from SIP was reported to create a sense of self-sufficiency for 95 percent of respondents. Several women answered that because they have their own income, they no longer need to beg from their neighbors for things like money for school fees, bus fare, or salt and sugar. Furthermore, in a theme echoed in two focus groups, they said that now their neighbors come to them for things, which means they have gone from a net borrower to a net lender. For these women, such a shift in community status held great meaning. No longer did they face the shame of needing to borrow and could feel the pride of having enough resources so they could lend. This shift, in turn, changed the power dynamics.

The Botswana producers interviewed report dramatically different results. In response to the same question asked in Swaziland, “Can you think of one specific example of how Wild Foods has changed your life, just you personally, maybe inside, or emotionally [touch head and heart while asking]? 16 said they experienced no change, one said she was no longer hungry, while eight suggested the kinds of status changes above through better and more material goods. Only 6 mention quality of life, happiness, or other types of emotional satisfaction or growth. In a related question of how it matters in
their life that they make more money, overwhelmingly they focus upon material items such as buying more food (6), or clothes or personal and household goods (6), although eight mention that they now have peace of mind. Still, compared to the Swaziland respondents, this response is perplexing.

We asked several questions directly about empowerment, which itself was a challenge as neither native language has the word. While translation might account for the differences between the sets of respondents, to have 100 percent of the Swazi respondents in some fashion stands in stark contrast to the Botswanan respondents for whom definitions settled around being given food and clothes by someone (like an NGO or the government) and 21 of 24 who answered “How has Wild Foods empowered you” move to money and material goods, with only one attending to “authority through income.

Changes in decision making are also hypothesized to result from more income. If women earn income it can change the cultural dominance of men related to decision making on how it is spent. Focus groups at gatherings in Northern Namibia, Swaziland, and Zululand suggest strong cultural differences with the Namibians giving the most control to the one who earns the money and the Zulus the least. It was striking that the Swazi women described changes in household dynamics even if they made decisions jointly with male household members, most had more decision authority and recognized that dynamics changed as a result. The Batswanan11 culture is thought to be more gender egalitarian than many in Southern Africa so perhaps it is not surprising that respondents report little change. Only three said they made at least some more decisions, while 17 reported no change, the same number who said they made the decisions already. Of the nine who said someone else made the decision, eight referenced a mother or grandmother as the decision maker. Perhaps the disappointing reports of indicators of empowerment fall upon an already more egalitarian culture or a narrow and materialistic translation of the concept taking place in a country that is wealthier and better developed. However, one more possibility emerges from the earlier Swaziland study.

Associated or Being Organized as a Key to Empowerment

In the study on Swaziland and through the focus groups there and at two other sites during 2010 one completely unanticipated factor came to light: association. The Namibian focus group produced a resounding response to a question about how they feel inside and whether participating in their formal cooperative made them feel stronger inside. All participants raised both their hands, ululating in joyous sound. A participant in the Swaziland focus group perhaps captured elements of self-esteem best when she said, “Participating has given me the confidence to contract to put a proper toilet in my house.” That is, she explicitly references confidence to undertake a complex arrangement as a result of her participation in the formal organization.

Many Swaziland respondents spoke of the value of simple association, of connecting with other women at procurement meetings. The procurement meetings were the source of this impact. Similar dynamics were reported at all three focus groups in which the “joy of coming together” gave them confidence to stand their ground or assurance that they knew what to do. Sometimes the confidence was about producing more and more efficiently, such as techniques for cracking nuts or growing the crops for essential oil. They gained confidence through proficiency and the group helped them to achieve it.

11 Here I refer to the culture of the Setswana language group, who are known as Batswana.
More often, conversation centered on matters of home and hearth: how to deal with a sick child, what to do with a son who allowed his wife to flout custom, and nutrition about HIV/AIDS were all mentioned. Several key informants suggested that these meetings had replaced conversation women used to have at the river washing laundry or fetching water. Modernity had isolated them and producer group meetings or procurement day offered a chance to come together and share perspectives. The shared perspectives, as well as the content of the information, both appear to contribute to empowerment, as did associating, being part of a larger group.

The Botswana gatherers, in contrast, are not formally organized. Of the 31 who responded, 14 do not organize at all, while 12 only organize within the family, and just five are part of organizing the community. And when they harvest, 25 work in units of three or smaller. The Botswanan gatherers do not have a cooperative or other formal association holding them together. Cooperatives are challenging to form and take constant tending to keep them alive and functioning well according to key respondents. Yet, this case without a formal association suggests the importance of some kind of formal organization to strengthen the empowerment potential for the gatherers.

Being organized, in some fashion, is a strong tenant of most fair trade practices. While a case of one proves nothing, and several factors such as wealth of the country, more egalitarian culture, problems of translation confound any conclusion, it does suggest that future work should concentrate on the nature of organization for the workers.

Another dimension of association, which may stand as a separate factor, is regular and ongoing contact. In the case of Swaziland (and EWC), the women come together throughout the year because they crack the stones by hand over most months of the year after harvest season. In contrast, the Botswana producers earn income from the raw fruit during harvest season only. The focus on income rather than other aspects of empowerment might well be explained by the limited opportunity and the need for more ongoing income through the company. In fact, the questionnaire asked about interest in harvesting other natural products and received broad positive response. With structured contact throughout the year, more association would occur. Whether this would need to become formalized to achieve stronger empowerment remains a question, but fair trade practices and the other producer groups suggest organization is a key. US policy might well be advised to orient toward putting formal associations into practice. Clearly now, they are supporting many events in which women come into contact with like others. A seemingly important next step is to make that association endure.

**Progress in US Policy that Recognizes Bottom Up Empowerment**

Although US policy strategies to bring full prominence to efforts to empower women as a means to integrate many other policy areas may still face obstacles of budget and divisional benchmarks, real progress appears to have occurred over the last year. Since the initial study of Swaziland’s women’s cooperative, the State Department has heightened its symbolic efforts even more and USAID has shifted resources. In testament to its recognition fair trade women’s cooperatives have potential to make a big impact, the US Embassy in Namibia has begun to focus efforts on these very products and cooperatives. A March 14, 2012 press release cites the advantages of the Namibian cooperative that served as the source of an instructive focus group in 2011. While it does not cite fair trade practices particularly, it clearly understands that to have women coming together through such association lays the foundation for individual women’s empowerment and hence collective empowerment by

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12 [http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/article/2012/03/201203121998.html#axzz1pblpVXMN](http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/article/2012/03/201203121998.html#axzz1pblpVXMN)
developing indigenous products for them to organize around. The study of the Botswanan community development organization that does not itself organize its gatherers suggests one important facet of empowerment through this bottom up empowerment strategy. Although more study is needed, US policy should take note that association appears to be a meaningful element of success and foster opportunities for cooperatives or to form or other organizational tools for strong associations to develop among the gatherers. It is perhaps ironic that contemporary organizational structures that replace informal association of traditional times might contribute greatly to the success of US development policy.

Table 1. Rank Gross Domestic Product and Purchasing Power Parity, Swaziland, Botswana, Nambia, South Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>IMF Year of data</th>
<th>World Bank 2 Rank</th>
<th>CIA Factbook Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>2011 est.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Country Comparison on Selective HIV/AIDS Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Adults living with HIV/AIDS</th>
<th>Women as percent of adults with HIV/AIDS</th>
<th>ARV Coverage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>5th</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

http://www.globalhealthfacts.org/factsheets. Rank, based upon Kaiser Family Foundation data at

Table 3. Food Security Indicator: Global Hunger Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Global Hunger Index</th>
<th>Proportion of population that lives in hunger</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: International Food Policy Research Institute. “Global Hunger Index.”
Chart 1: Swaziland Impact Categories and Nature of Material Change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category (n)</th>
<th>Nature of Change</th>
<th>Income Use</th>
<th>Surplus?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A (3)</td>
<td>From “secure” to nicer</td>
<td>Money is spent on luxury or non-necessities</td>
<td>Extra money for saving, business or investments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B (4)</td>
<td>From livable to “secure”</td>
<td>Purchases some luxury items in addition to necessities</td>
<td>Saves some or contributes to outside business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C (5)</td>
<td>From “nothing” to saving</td>
<td>Can now buy necessities</td>
<td>Saves a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D (8)</td>
<td>From “nothing” to something</td>
<td>Can only buy some necessities</td>
<td>No surplus to save</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chart 2: Botswanan Impact Categories and Nature of Material Change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category N (%)</th>
<th>Apparent SES</th>
<th>Income Use</th>
<th>Surplus and Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=9 (28%)</td>
<td>Getting to Nicer</td>
<td>Food (6), other household goods (2)</td>
<td>“luxury’ food, phone air time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=9 (28%)</td>
<td>Basically Secure</td>
<td>Food (9),</td>
<td>Save for other household items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=14 (44%)</td>
<td>Struggles for Basics</td>
<td>Food (11), give to another (3)</td>
<td>Saved for spoons, blankets</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Works Cited


