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Mashi Craft Market – Crafts and Livelihoods in Caprivi

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Acronyms

CBNRM	Community-based Natural Resource Management
CRMs	Community Resource Monitors
IRDNC	Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation
MCM	Mashi Craft Market
MHT	Mud Hut Trading
NGO	non-governmental organisation
p.a.	per annum
RF	Rössing Foundation

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Nature of Mashi Craft Market

Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC) works with crafters mainly from western East Caprivi, near Kongola, and West Caprivi and supports the Mashi Craft Market (MCM). This paper analyses the Mashi Craft Market purchase and sales data for individual crafters in Caprivi over three years, from 1999 to 2001, and reviews the livelihood impact of this money. The total sales figure for this period amounted to almost N$140,000 with over 4,000 craft items traded. The majority of craft producers are women, who weave baskets and reed mats. However, there are some men who weave palm bags and hats. Other items sold at the Mashi Craft Market include jewellery (necklaces and bangles) and woodcarvings. This paper focuses on the Mashi Craft Market, but also draws for comparison on earlier craft and livelihoods research in Caprivi which reviewed the Rössing Foundation's (RF) operation (Suich and Murphy, 2002).

Use of craft earnings

Like the RF producers in Salambala Conservancy and Masokotwane, there are only a small number of 'high' producers (in both quality and quantity) at MCM. Within the period analysed, 1999 to 2001, a large majority of producers earned less than N$500 per annum from craft sales. Less than five per cent earned over N$1,000 per annum from craft sales. However, most crafters in Caprivi are from the lower and middle income groups. Small amounts of cash are of great significance to poor people in alleviating poverty, making the development impact of craft sales considerable, despite low earnings.

The 20 crafters interviewed for this research identified food as the priority expenditure item from their earnings. This was the same for a similar sample of craft producers who supply the RF. Most of the 20 crafters kept control of their earnings and decided alone how it was spent. Some women made joint decisions with their husbands and only four women lost control of their earning to their husbands.

Constraints to craft production

Crafters supplying MCM perceived two main constraints to the production and marketing of their craft. These were the supply of palm and the need for increased sales at higher prices. One woman reported that she would make more baskets if she had more palm and that she would even work at night. The main threat to MCM's sustainable operation is the difficulty for producers in accessing palm. Currently they depend on the goodwill of IRDNC staff for transport to collect palm.

The security situation between late 1999 and 2001 served to reduce severely the amount of sales to passing tourists. However MCM was able to retain a significant amount of sales by sending craft directly to Mud Hut Trading (MHT) in Windhoek. The RF operation was less effected by the security situation because staff used the military convoy across West Caprivi and the quarterly buying trips continued in the 'safer' eastern East Caprivi.

Institutional comparison between Mashi Craft Market and RF's craft operation in Caprivi

The RF has been the lead NGO in the community-based craft development component of the Namibian Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programme. RF works with other NGOs (including IRDNC) to implement the programme. The programme is largely donor funded with the majority of donor funding coming from the WWF – Living in a Finite Environment programme in

Namibia. It is difficult to compare RF and IRDNC's work with crafts, as they each have very different operations meeting different needs. One notable aspect is the benefits that stem from the high level of synergy between the two organisations.

The main difference between the two is that RF has no market outlet in Caprivi, but purchases craft to supply an outlet in Windhoek – Mud Hut Trading. A RF staff member visits each quarter to buy craft upfront from producers in Salambala Conservancy and at Masokotwane. The producers prepare for these visits and receive payment on the day of purchase (or shortly after if they send their craft with a village representative).

Although there is a strong emphasis on producer empowerment, the RF operation could be construed as being market-driven. Recently RF staff members have worked on strengthening local market outlets so that buying can be centralised through local collecting/dispatching points. They have been using MCM as a model for local sustainable market outlets.

MCM is a producers' co-operative with a shop at Kongola. From the outset, sustainability of operations has been a top priority. A membership fee and commission is charged to cover operating and maintenance costs. Members are paid once shop customers or RF have purchased their items, which means producers may have to wait for several months to receive their craft sales money. MCM relies on management input from IRDNC staff, especially with regards to marketing outside of the region.

The expansion and commercialisation of craft production in Caprivi is a success story of the Namibian CBNRM programme and one that has bought significant benefit to producers. Recommendations to address current challenges are: addressing the palm supply crisis for MCM producers; considering increasing craft prices over and above the inflation rate; the upfront purchase of quality craft at MCM as an incentive to encourage production; providing better information to producers on the processing of their sales and use of the commission; and developing other income-generation activities based on common property natural resources that are accessible to poor, rural women in remote areas.

1. INTRODUCTION

Greater organisational support to community-based craft development in Caprivi has increased commercialisation of some traditional craft practices (Milton, 2001). Organisations providing support are mainly non-governmental with the assistance of donor funding. Two of the largest organisations are Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC) and the Rössing Foundation (RF) who have been working in several regions of Namibia as part of the Community-based Natural Resource Management programme (CBNRM). They have been the largest trainers and marketers of craft in the Caprivi Region in recent years. RF has been the largest buyer. IRDNC do not buy directly, but support the buying operation of Mashi Craft Market (MCM). Both organisations work from the premise of strong participatory partnerships with the producer base.

The most important commercial crafts have been woven products (particularly palm baskets, hats and bags and reed mats), woodcarvings and clay pots. The majority of craft makers in the region live in rural areas. Woodcarving appears to be the domain of men, while it is almost exclusively women who carry out weaving and pottery. There are a small number of male weavers, who produce hats and palm bags.

An earlier study focused on the craft development and marketing programme of the Rössing Foundation (Suich and Murphy, 2001) in the east of the Caprivi Region. This paper focuses on the craft development and marketing programme of MCM supported by IRDNC on the west side of East Caprivi and makes some comparisons between the two programmes.

The next section briefly examines the history of the development of MCM. It is followed by a concise analysis of the potential importance of craft production to rural livelihoods. Section four analyses the processing of craft and craft sales at MCM over recent years. It is followed by the results of case studies undertaken to determine the livelihood impact of this income on the households of MCM producer group members. A comparison is made between the two craft programmes and finally, conclusions are drawn and some tentative recommendations made.

2. MASHI CRAFT MARKET[1]

2.1 The development of Mashi Craft Market

MCM is located in Kongola, at the T-junction of the main road between Rundu and Katima Mulilo and the gravel road to Sangwali. It is adjacent to the Community Conservation Office (used by conservancies and IRDNC staff) and the new Mayuni Conservancy Office.

The origins of MCM are found in IRDNC staff working closely with Community Resource Monitors (CRMs) to facilitate local craft producers (mainly women) to make and sell their craft. The CRMs are women resident in conservancy areas, who have been selected to promote the participation of women

[1] Refer to Suich and Murphy (2002) for more detail on the general nature of craft production in Caprivi. Refer also to Halstead (2003) for details on the history and functioning of MCM in the context of factors contributing to the successful establishment and operation of community-owned tourism enterprises.

within the work of the conservancy and monitor the use of resources primarily used by women. Their work includes: supporting the craft industry through monitoring the raw materials used (palm and dye trees); assisting with training and general organisation, including the collection of craft from producers to take to MCM; delivering payment to them following sale; and in some instances giving assistance in the collection of the palm and dye materials used to make the crafts.

Although its origins date back to 1994 (Trench, 2002), MCM was officially opened at its present site in March 1998. From the beginning MCM has been a formal organisation with a constitution that calls for regular management meetings and a membership list and fee. MCM has a Management Committee of up to 12 people which meets four times a year. The Management Committee represents most of the producer groups. The membership fee is N$5 for members from the original producer groups and N$20 for members outside the original producer groups. In 2001 just over half the 142 crafters lived in conservancies, although MCM serves crafters from as far away as Zambia. IRDNC provides continuing support through a manager, a craft facilitator, a CRM facilitator, transportation and a small operating budget to support events such as training workshops and product development.

In 1999 most sales were made from the shop to the passing tourist trade with only one per cent of sales being made to Mud Hut Trading (MHT) – a retail outlet managed by RF in Windhoek. From late 1999, due to the deteriorating security situation and subsequent lack of tourists, MCM adapted its sales operation to make more sales direct to MHT on an order basis. MCM continued to sell crafts to passing trade, but the amount sold direct from the shop was dramatically reduced. Sales to MHT rose to almost 40 per cent in 2000, but dropped to almost 30 per cent in 2001. The shop closed completely for a period of time from 2000 to July 2001. From July 2001 to June 2002 it was open three days a week, re-opening full-time in July 2002. MCM continues to sell to both MHT and passing tourists. Operating and maintenance costs are met by charging a 40 per cent commission on items sold. These costs include the employment of up to two sales assistants.

The craft sold most frequently at MCM are woven items, woodcarvings, jewellery and, just recently, pottery (from far eastern Caprivi).

2.2 Woven items

The woven items include palm baskets (open, closed and Khwe veld-food gathering baskets); flat palm bags; palm hats; and papyrus reed mats (large sleeping mats or table place mats). Palm baskets, bags and hats are crafted from the young, closed leaves of the indigenous Makalani palm (*Hyphaene petersiana*). Palm coloured with traditional plant dyes is used to make designs on the woven items.

The Khwe bag-shaped, collecting baskets with handles merit special mention. This type of basketry was revived through the work of IRDNC and the development of MCM. The weaving of these traditional baskets had virtually died out until one elderly Khwe women was persuaded to teach other Khwe women this dying art (RF, 1998). Today there are a limited number of producers – about 25 women – and good quality Khwe baskets are highly marketable.

2.3 Jewellery

Necklaces and bracelets are made from seeds or woven from palm. Bangles, made from PVC piping and engraved with designs coloured with ink, are also sometimes sold.

2.4 Pottery

The pots that have only recently started to be sold at MCM are from the Ioma village area within the Salambala Conservancy, in far eastern Caprivi. They are fired pots made from local river clay and are considered the finest examples of traditional pots in Namibia (Terry et al., 1994). Other pottery includes utility items such as candlesticks, ashtrays and teapots.

2.5 Woodcarving

A limited quantity of woodcarvings made by Zambian crafters is available for sale at MCM.

3. CRAFT AND LIVELIHOODS

3.1 Sustainable livelihoods approach

As craft production is one of the many livelihood strategies used by Caprivians to supplement subsistence farming, the research has been informed by the sustainable livelihoods approach.[2] Use of this approach avoids viewing craft production in isolation by providing a holistic and dynamic framework, within which to assess the effect of craft production on producer households and the broader development context. It takes into account the use of cash earning – for example, to meet basic needs such as food, health-care and education, or to make investments to improve well-being such as the purchase of cattle. The approach also encompasses the risks and constraints to livelihood activities and the extent to which these can be overcome.

A livelihood perspective draws attention to the importance of the Caprivian craft industry in supporting many rural women. Development activities that target women are widely acknowledged as a direct way to alleviate poverty.

3.2 Socio-economic status of crafters in Caprivi

The earlier craft and livelihoods research paper identified that crafters tend to come from middle to lower income groups (Suich and Murphy, 2002). This holds true for the Kavango Region as well (C. Paxton, pers. comm.). Confirmation that crafters do indeed come from less secure households is provided by the limited livestock holdings of the 20 people interviewed for this paper. Nearly half of the crafters interviewed came from households that did not own any cattle. (The four crafters from West Caprivi are prohibited from owning cattle as they reside within a game reserve.) Of those that came from cattle-owning households, the average number of cattle was five, with a range of between one and 15 cattle (the latter was a male weaver). It is worth noting that three crafters reported that they had used their craft earnings to invest in livestock. Two female reed mat makers had bought two cattle each with their earnings and one male crafter selling palm bags and hats had bought three cattle and five goats from the proceeds of his craft sales.

[2] A livelihood is made up of the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living (DFID, 1999).

3.3 Natural resource management[3]

Sustainability of the craft industry requires continuous use of the available raw materials used in crafting. The craft materials used in Caprivi are common property natural resources. This is often the only type of resource easily accessible to poor households. Damage to the natural resource base used by poor households can contribute to deepening poverty.

Fortunately the focus of CBNRM in craft production is the sustainable use of palm and dye plants. MCM members are taught by CRMs to harvest palm and dye material in the least damaging manner. This is important because many of the producers are new to weaving and would not have learnt these techniques anywhere else. CRMs also participate in dye tree monitoring and the establishment of palm gardens. Twelve palm gardens have been established at nine locations: MCM, Choi, Labuta, Sachona, Singalamwe, Nongozi, Sheshe Crafts (Sangwali), Kongola and in West Caprivi. The palm garden locations were chosen for their proximity to producers rather than for optimal growth conditions.

MCM producers identified the harvesting of palm as a major constraint to craft production. They currently travel a return trip of over 220km to collect palm near Katima Mulilo. At present, these palm forests have been an open-access resource and MCM producers can harvest without having to seek permission from the authorities. Some limited work has been conducted into the location and use of palm for basket weaving in Caprivi (Tijiuoro, 2002). For example, a comparison was made between the height and level of elephant damage to palm trees at Lusese (south west of Bukalo) and Chefuzwe (near Katima Mulilo). The palm trees at Lusese were found to be taller because they are not harvested as much as at Chefuzwe. Elephants are fewer at Chefuzwe, so there was less elephant damage to palm there than at Lusese. Harvesting did not seem to damage the trees but kept them short, which is desirable for harvesting (Tijiuoro, 2002).

At the time of writing this paper, no formal, comprehensive investigation has been conducted into the location and availability of the palm supply for craft production in Caprivi. A participatory study of the extent, accessibility, use and conservation of major harvesting locations is necessary. Further research is also needed to improve the production within the established palm gardens. Current productivity of the palm gardens is limited; it is believed mainly due to their location in areas where water and soil conditions are unsuitable. The viability of other available plant resources for weaving also needs to be established. For example, MCM members and IRDNC are currently investigating the use of *Sansevieria pearsonii* or *mafu* for basket weaving.

3.4 Craft and the conservancies/CBNRM programme

Although MCM is located in a conservancy and draws members from four conservancy areas (Wuparo, Kwandu, Mashi and Mayuni), West Caprivi and other non-conservancy areas, it is an independent organisation, managed executively by the producers. However, as highlighted earlier, the conservancy CRMs, IRDNC and RF have played and continue to play an important support role in the craft industry. In addition, both IRDNC and RF work as one of the many partners in the wider Namibian CBNRM programme. A unique feature of the craft enterprise within the CBNRM programme is that it uses collective management (mainly concerning training, grading, propagating palm and purchasing), but supplies individual financial benefit (due to the nature of individual production and sale of items).

[3] Refer to Suich and Murphy (2002) for more detail regarding natural resource management.

4. ANALYSIS OF MCM CRAFT PURCHASES AND SALES

The sales and purchase data available for analysis for MCM covers the years 1999 to 2001. In this time, the market processed N$99,391 of craft in western East Caprivi and West Caprivi and sold N$138,021, trading 4,076 individual pieces. (The difference in these figures is the result of the 40 per cent commission mentioned earlier, which is used to cover the operating and maintenance costs of the market.)

Due to the way the data was entered, it is difficult to determine the quality of goods. However, it would appear that quality increased substantially over this period – the average price paid to producers increased from N$18 in 1999 to N$31 in 2001.[4] Also the D Grade was abolished and an AA Grade instituted. This increase in quality can also be deduced when we see that, although the quantity of goods sold decreases, there is no proportional decrease in the value of goods sold. As the types of craft did not change dramatically in this period, this suggests that the goods are of higher value.

Table 1 shows the details of craft processed by MCM in this period. It can be seen that the value of sales increased between 1999 and 2000, and subsequently dropped. This reduction is attributed to the market losing its direct sales to passing tourists as a result of the poor security situation and subsequent lack of tourists. Had MCM not sold to MHT, this drop would have been far more significant. In addition, the number of producers in West Caprivi dropped as people fled to Botswana. Those who could stay had their access to palm cut off by the lack of security.

Table 1 MCM craft purchases and sales 1999–2001[5]

MCM Purchases					
Year	Total value of purchases	Average producer price	Minimum producer price	Maximum producer price	No. of purchases
1999	30,481	18	1	195	1,722
2000	37,314	28	2	100	1,321
2001	31,596	31	1	99	1,033
MCM Sales[6]					
	Total value of sales	Average sales price	Minimum sales price	Maximum sales price	No. of sales
1999	42,482	25	1	273	1,722
2000	51,685	39	3	140	1,321
2001	43,854	42	2	139	1,033

The drop in sales caused many producers to loose enthusiasm and stop making craft as they realised that the market was closed and MHT purchases did not offer a quick financial return. The

[4] It should be noted, however, that it is difficult to draw conclusions from the comparison of average prices because of the variety, and therefore value, of crafts included in the calculation.
[5] The figures presented here differ from the official IRDNC figures, which were N$68,055 for 1999; N$38,856 for 2000; and N$ 36,566 for 2001. However, the total value of sales over the three years is the same. The variations can be attributed to different accounting and data entry methods.
[6] The MCM sales figure for 2002 was just over N$ 40,000 for total value of sales. The total value of sales for 1998 was N$27,769.

organisational structure of support staff within IRDNC also underwent change at this time (L. Halstead, pers. comm.). In addition to this, MHT only purchases quality craft, which meant that C-grade craft was not being purchased. New producers can only make C-grade craft at first.

With the exception of Wuparo Conservancy and crafters outside the conservancies, there appears to be a trend in each 'region'[7] from which MCM sells craft for the number of producers to decrease over time. This is in stark contrast to the RF craft programme, where producer numbers have continued to increase. This is likely to be related in part to RF's cash-upfront method of purchasing, compared to MCM's consignment method. In late 1999, 10 out of the 25 Khwe women craft producers fled to Botswana and have returned only very recently.

In terms of the value of craft sold by MCM between 1999 and 2001, the West Caprivi crafters and those in Mayuni Conservancy have earned by far the most – N$26,597 and N$26,551 respectively. In contrast, over the same period Mashi Conservancy producers earned only N$3,736 in craft sales through MCM. However, considerably fewer producers from Mashi Conservancy sell through MCM than in other regions (see Table 2). Craft produced in Mayuni Conservancy had the highest average price per item in 2001, although the total number of sales from this conservancy dropped considerably between 2000 and 2001. This is likely to be related to the marginal nature of craft (high time input for low return) and the commission charged at MCM, which producers consider too high. The only producers to increase sales to MCM during this time were those from Wuparo Conservancy and the non-conservancy areas (and it was only in these two areas that the number of crafters also increased.) A group of crafters from Masida joined at this time and they have a locally accessible palm source.

[7] These 'regions' refer to the four conservancies, West Caprivi and the non-conservancy areas.

Table 2 Craft sales to MCM by region (location of producers) 1999–2001

Location/Year	Total sales value	Average price	Minimum price	Maximum price	No. of sales	No. of producers
Kwandu Conservancy						
1999	5,263	14	1	195	363	30
2000	4,820	26	4	100	185	27
2001	5,682	29	1	72	197	25
Mashi Conservancy						
1999	1,365	25	3	180	55	6
2000	917	22	12	48	41	5
2001	1,454	35	10	82	41	6
Mayuni Conservancy						
1999	10,246	17	1	181	617	17
2000	12,260	37	3	80	331	21
2001	4,045	37	2	89	109	17
Wuparo Conservancy						
1999	4,752	25	3	120	188	21
2000	2,995	32	6	97	94	24
2001	5,611	25	4	99	159	32
West Caprivi						
1999	5,975	16	3	84	383	62
2000	11,676	24	2	84	483	68
2001	8,946	29	1	94	309	29
Other non-conservancy areas						
1999	2,812	26	3	80	110	14
2000	4,457	25	3	76	176	22
2001	5,548	27	6	94	202	26

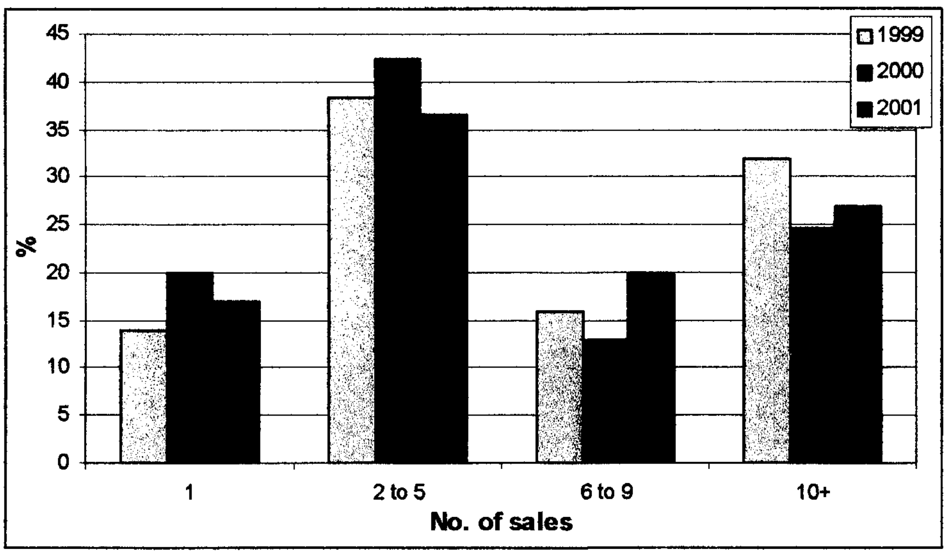
Within this period, a large majority of producers earned less than N$500 per annum from craft sales. Less than five per cent earned over N$1,000 per annum from craft sales. Several of these crafters were consistently high earners – two earned over N$1,000 per annum two years running and one earned over N$1,000 per annum in each of the three years. Evidence of the relatively low returns from this activity can be seen in Table 3 and Figure 1, where between one quarter and one third of crafters sell ten or more pieces of craft each year, but fewer than 15 per cent earn over N$500 in a year. This is demonstrated further by the fact that in no year did the bottom 25 per cent of producers earn more than three per cent of the total value of sales for that year (three per cent in 1999 and 2001; two per cent in 2000). This amounts to no more than N$1,114 between the producers in any year. In contrast, the top 25 per cent of producers earned 51 per cent of the total value of sales in 1999, 53 per cent in 2000 and

51 per cent in 2001. Between them these producers earned N$21,515 in 1999, N$27,500 in 2000 and N$19,913 in 2001.

Table 3 Proportion (%) of crafters by income earned p.a.

	1999	2000	2001
<N$100	51	52	44
N$101–500	40	35	47
N$501–1,000	7	8	6
N$1001+	3	5	4

Figure 1 Proportion of crafters by number of sales p.a.



5. CASE STUDIES

Twenty crafters were interviewed from ten villages that fall within the MCM catchment area. (See Appendix 1 for interviewees' names and the location of their villages within conservancy areas.) The crafters were selected for being either high or middle income earners from craft sales.

Twelve crafters from the highest income bracket and eight from the middle income bracket (according MCM craft purchase figures) were interviewed. The two different groups were selected to determine whether there was significant difference between the groups – that is, whether the top earners made more money because they produced more craft (relatively) or because they produced higher quality goods. The distinction was also made to try and determine what the different levels of income earned from craft mean to different groups – that is, whether the median earners produce less because they have other ways of earning cash. Low earners were not interviewed since it is believed that the income such crafters earn is too low (as little as N$5 per annum) and too infrequent to have significant livelihood impacts on their household.

5.1 Case-study individuals

The 20 crafters interviewed constituted three men and 17 women. Between them, the men produced woven palm bags and hats, PVC bangles and woodcarvings. All the female crafters were weavers. Their woven products included open and closed palm baskets, Khwe veld-food gathering baskets and reed mats (floor and table mats).

The crafters interviewed ranged in age from 34 to 68 years. Seven of the crafters, including all the male crafters and all the crafters from West Caprivi, had never been to school. Of the school-going crafters, the highest grade completed was Grade 8. Fifteen of the crafters were married, and all but one had children. The number of children per crafter ranged between two and 18 (one crafter had three wives) with an average of six children. The number of the crafters' school-going children ranged in number from one to seven, with an average of three children at school. The limited livestock holdings of the crafters, as referred to previously, indicate that they are from less secure households.

About half the sample were taught their craft by relatives – mainly parents or grandparents. Interestingly, within the Mayuni Conservancy there was no strong tradition of commercial weaving and, in 1996/7, skilled weavers from Sangwali taught most of the present day weavers in this area. These areas are approximately 50km apart; training was facilitated by IRDNC. In turn these weavers have passed their skills on to other local women. One weaver was taught her weaving skills at school. All crafters stated that they started producing and selling their craft in order to make money, although several had already been producing craft for home use (one basket-a-year for winnowing) or to give to family and friends.

Most of the high earners identified their talent as the reason they could earn more money than other crafters. Other reasons mentioned included the knowledge gained from exchange trips to Zimbabwe, Botswana and Kavango Region (Shankara Project). The crafter producing woven hats and bags attributed his success to the fact that he was the only supplier of these products. This is because other people are not willing to learn this craft because returns are too low.[8]

Table 4 shows the differences between the two groups, with the high earners earning significantly more each year than the median earners – a combination of both higher sales and the higher prices received for better quality produce. (Appendix 2 shows the sales' details of the case study interviewees.)

[8] An hourly rate was calculated for this crafter of approximately N$1.25 per hour.

Table 4 Average craft income and sales by group

	Median earners	High earners
Total income (N$)		
1999	426	719
2000	192	862
2001	175	744
Number of sales		
1999	33	32
2000	6	23
2001	6	21

5.2 When do crafters make their craft?

Seasonality in the production of craft items was noticeable. The cause of this varied according to gender. The seasonal pattern in the female crafters' production is dictated by the priority labour activities of the women, specifically those related to food production. The male weavers identified the supply of suitable raw materials as the main seasonal factor affecting production. The two men who produced woven palm bags and hats identified the late rainy season as a good time for weaving, since the palm material is most suitable for weaving at that time (due to a high moisture content). The male crafter producing engraved plastic bangles and wooden carvings said that he made them throughout the year. (However he has not supplied MCM in the last year, apparently due to lack of transport to supply craft.)

All but one of the female weavers identified the winter months as the best time for weaving. In winter the women are not in the fields producing the household food supply, therefore have more time available to stay at home and produce craft. Although reeds can be harvested throughout the year, a reed mat producer identified July as the best time for harvesting reeds. In summer she was too busy farming and a return trip to the river to harvest reeds could take an entire day.

The one woman who did not identify the winter as the busiest weaving time said that she made baskets throughout the year because she did not have a lot of work to do at home. Another woman also reported that if she could do her household chores and had enough palm, she would weave throughout the year. This particular woman makes some of the best quality Khwe baskets, which are highly marketable and in short supply.

During the day, essential domestic maintenance chores take precedence over weaving. Many of the women reported that the best time to weave was early in the morning or in the afternoon after preparation of the midday meal. One of the high earners commented that she did not have enough time to weave, but did have more time to weave on the weekends when her children helped her with domestic chores. She had three school-going children.

Craft production – certainly for the female weavers – is an activity that craft makers fit into their other livelihood activities, rather than a full-time occupation. Other activities, such as food production and daily household chores, take precedence. The specific activities mentioned by women that take priority over craft production included ploughing; chasing birds from the crops; housekeeping; cleaning clothes; preparing meals; and seeing to the needs of children and husbands. However, day-to-day, once these chores are completed, the women will weave.

One of the two male weavers reported that it was possible for him to work all day and that he could make two palm bags in that time. The other said that he had plenty of time to make craft and that if he had nothing else to do, he could start weaving in the morning and work all day until sunset. He could make one hat in two days and a large palm bag in two to three days.

Crafters producing for RF's quarterly buying trips displayed a relative lack of seasonality in production. RF producers work on an immediate cash return basis, therefore production is driven more by buying times.

5.3 Difficulties with craft production and sales

When asked about the difficulties in making and selling craft, two clear categories of difficulties emerged – those related to the supply of raw materials (particularly palm) and those related to marketing. One weaver summed this up by saying that she could make more baskets if she had more palm and more sales. From the end of 1999 to June 2002, there was almost a total lack of passing tourists due to the security situation.

5.3.1 Supply of palm

Nearly all the weavers mentioned that the supply of palm was a major constraint to producing more baskets for sale. They reported that if they had more palm, they could make more baskets. The main problem is the vast distance between the weavers and the palm supply and the difficulty in accessing transport. Local palm supplies are either absent or unsuitable for use. At present IRDNC field staff facilitate access to palm by providing transport to the palm forests at Chefuzwe, close to Katima Mulilo. This is a 220km round trip. One weaver used to pay transport costs of N$20 before IRDNC's assistance. This did not include the cost of transporting the heavy, bulky bags of palm. IRDNC staff recognise that their support in collecting palm is not sustainable and are seeking alternatives (R. Diggle, pers. comm.).

There are local sources of palm but various factors have prevented their exploitation. The palm supply in West Caprivi (at Dwarspan and Omega 3) has not been used in recent years due to its location on the Angolan border and the poor security situation. Attempts are being made at present to resume harvesting operations with the co-operation of the Namibian Defence Force. A weaver living in Nongozi village (Sangwali area) reported that they had local palm forests but elephants have damaged these and the palm fronds were unsuitable for weaving. This has been reported to be the same case for the Kasika area in far eastern Caprivi (C. Milton, pers. comm.). A crafter from Sachona reported that they went 'footing' to collect palm in the old days. He added that the increased number of elephants and lion make it more difficult to go there today (C. Milton, pers. comm.).

5.3.2 Marketing

Marketing difficulties identified by the crafters included the huge decrease in customers (tourists) in the area due to the security situation; the reduced opening time of MCM as a result of the lack of tourists; the slow turn-over of craft at MCM necessitating a delay between supply and receipt of payment (money is not paid upfront); the difficulty of transporting craft to MCM due to the remote location of crafters; the need for local market outlets (in West Caprivi); the high quality of craft demanded by MHT (A and B grades) and the problem in selling lower grade baskets (many remain in MCM for a long time and occasionally they are returned to the weaver, if not sold after a period of time). One weaver making reed mats overcomes the problem of excess supply by only producing craft to order.

The marketing problem was exacerbated at the end of 2002 when the number of tourists travelling in the region had increased dramatically since the lifting of the military convoy between Bagani and Kongola, but the shortage of palm meant that the market was poorly stocked and so unable to sell to tourists who may have been willing to buy.

5.4 Sources of income from weaving and other livelihood activities

5.4.1 Median earning group

The median earning group of crafters mentioned 11 different activities from which they earned cash. The most significant of these was selling craft – contributing an average of 38 per cent of the household's cash income from the sale of baskets, reed mats, PVC bangles and/or woodcarvings. The sale of thatching grass was the second most important cash generator (averaging 13 per cent and undertaken by five of the interviewees), followed by maize sales (contributing on average 11 per cent and undertaken by four people).

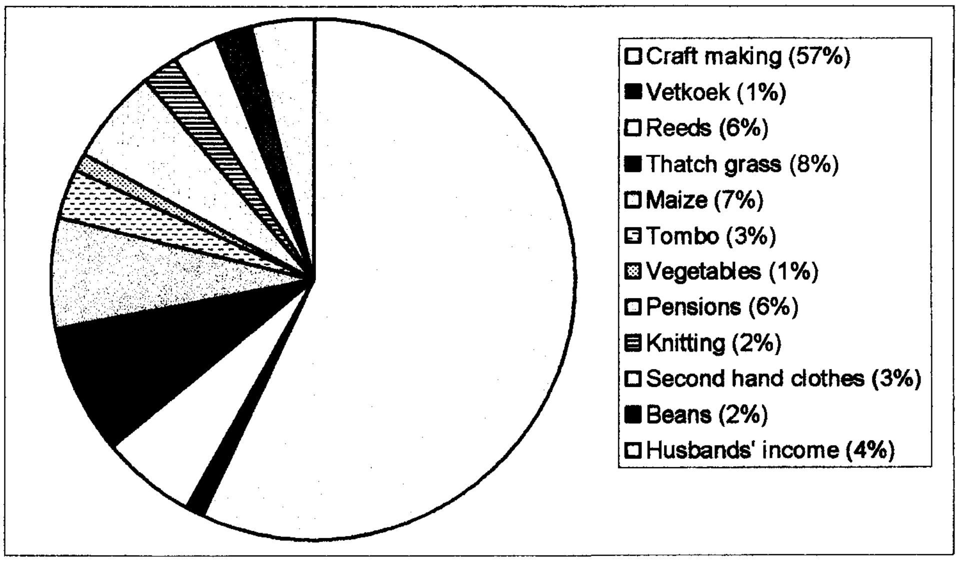
Other cash-generating activities mentioned were sales of reed (nine per cent, mentioned by three crafters); sales of *tombo* (traditional beer; five per cent, two individuals); and vetkoek (cake) and bean sales (three per cent each, both mentioned by two individuals). Activities listed as cash-generators for one household each included the sale of vegetables; re-selling clay pots; pensions; and the husband's employment as a Community Game Guard in West Caprivi. On average, this group undertook between three and four different activities to earn cash for the household, with a range of one to six activities.

5.4.2 High earning group

Information was only available regarding sources of income for 10 of the 12 high earners. Nine different activities were mentioned for generating cash. As with the median group, craft income was the most significant – generating on average 72 per cent of the crafters' total income. Of these 10 crafters, three were entirely reliant on craft sales to provide cash.

Pensions and the sale of maize were both mentioned by three households, contributing on average only six and five per cent of the household's total income respectively. Other income-generating activities mentioned were sales of reed and thatching grass (both undertaken by two households); sales of *tombo* and second-hand clothes, sewing and knitting (each mentioned by only one household). In contrast to the median earners, this group undertook only around two different activities to generate cash for the household. (See Figure 2 for contribution of each activity to household cash for all case studies.)

Figure 2 Sources of income – all earners



5.4.3 Comparison between groups

In 2001, the cash earned by those in the median earning group from craft sales ranged from just N$5 to N$312. Total cash income for the household ranged from N$110 to N$1,675.[9] The craft income generated by those in the high earning group ranged from N$180 to N$1,764 in 2001. The total household cash for that year was calculated to range between N$180 and N$2,224.[10]

Table 5 shows the differences in craft and total income between the median and high earning groups and compares incomes of producers for MCM with those of the RF.

Table 5 Differences in cash income between RF and MCM producers

		Craft income	Total household income
Median earners	MCM	N$5 to N$312	N$110 to N$1,675
	RF	N$70 to N$1,050	N$161 to N$2,820
High earners	MCM	N$180 to N$1,764	N$180 to N$2,224
	RF	N$137 to N$1,418	N$291 to N$2,388

Using an exchange rate of approximately N$10.50:$US1.00 (as at September 2002), the internationally accepted poverty line of $US1.00 per person per day can be calculated as approximately N$3,830 p.a. All of these crafters fell below this line. If the recently revised poverty line of $US2.00 per person per day is used (equivalent to roughly N$7,665), then the highest earning producer earned only

[9] Two crafters were excluded from this calculation. One stated that he earned all of his income from craft sales, yet sold only N$5 worth to MCM in 2001. This producer sells craft elsewhere, though the total value of his sales to all sources could not be determined. The other crafter excluded from the calculation apparently earned no cash from craft sales (at least to MCM) in 2001.

[10] Three households were excluded from the calculation of total household cash income for the high earning group. One was excluded because the crafter had earned no cash from craft in 2001, the other two because there was no information for them about the proportions of cash earned from different sources.

approximately 31 per cent of this amount. Craft production is, however, a part-time occupation and crafters have other sources of income.

The gender differences in income between producers for RF are significant (for more information on RF producers see Suich and Murphy, 2002). The highest income of a female RF producer in 2001 was N$1,418, while for a man it was N$8,314. There does not appear to be such a marked gender divide amongst the MCM producers. In both regions, men and women make different types of craft, but male MCM producers appear not to hold a monopoly on the making of high return craft. The male crafters supplying to RF include a number of master carvers producing high value produce.

In other comparisons between the MCM and RF producers, the number of activities undertaken to generate cash were very similar. The median earning producers in both areas undertook between three and four different cash-generating activities, while the high earners from both groups undertook only two to three different cash-generating activities. However, an interesting difference in the proportion of cash generated from craft sales can be seen between the two areas (see Table 6). The most startling difference is the considerably higher reliance of the RF producers on selling maize to generate cash for the household. The most likely explanation for this is the timing of the interviews in both areas. Those with RF producers occurred in November 2001 and January 2002, after two relatively good years of rain which had enabled reasonable maize harvests. Interviews with MCM producers occurred in July 2002, during a drought which caused widespread crop failure, exacerbated by elephants damaging some of the remaining crops (Mulonga et al., 2002).

Table 6 Proportions of cash generated by the two most important activities (%)

	MCM producers		RF producers	
	Median earners	High earners	Median earners	High earners
Craft sales	38	72	37	50
Maize sales	11	5	29	24

Given the different reliance on particular activities for cash generation between median and high earners, and the different number of activities undertaken to generate cash by the two groups, it might be expected that the median earners relied less on craft sales because they carried out more activities for household income. For the same reason, a higher total household cash income might also be expected. It is not obvious whether the median households undertook more activities to improve small incomes or whether the higher earning group undertook fewer activities because they were able to earn proportionately more from them. It appears that the median earners did not produce less craft despite additional (and higher return) means of generating income. This is because their estimated total household income was lower than that of the higher income group, and so they remained more vulnerable than the higher earning group.

5.5 Crafters' control of income from craft sales

All three male crafters had control over their earnings from crafting and decided how it was spent. Eleven of the remaining 17 female crafters kept control over their earnings. Of these 11 women, six were married and five were not (either divorced, widowed or single). Of the six married women, half informed their husbands about their use of their earnings. Six weavers did not have control over their earnings. Two made decisions jointly with their husbands and four lost control of their money to their husbands.

5.6 Expenditure distributions

5.6.1 Median earners

Unsurprisingly, most income was spent on food – an average of 43 per cent of expenditure for this group. School fees ranked as the second most important expenditure (on average 21 per cent), with only two households not spending money on education. Clinic fees ranked third (15 per cent of household spending), followed by clothes (including school uniforms) on which about 10 per cent of income was spent. For this group, other expenditure items included the purchase of tools/equipment to make craft, and the purchase of brown sugar to make *tombo* to sell.

5.6.2 High earners

Once again, the most important expenditure item was food (averaging 29 per cent of household expenditure), followed by education costs (22 per cent), clinic fees (19 per cent) and clothes, including school uniforms (16 per cent). Other expenditures were made on soap; paying to have a house built; hiring oxen to plough; paying herd boys' wages; paying to have palm cut; buying goods to trade (chitenges and shoes); and putting money in the bank.

5.6.3 Comparisons between groups

For both MCM and RF producers, the two most important expenditure items were food and education. Expenditure on clinic fees and clothes were the next two most important expenditure items for both groups, but were clothes were ranked third by MCM producers and fourth by RF producers, while clinic fees were fourth most important to MCM producers and third most important to RF producers. See Table 7 for more information on expenditure by MCM and RF producers.

There appears to be no great difference between the high and middle earning groups in terms of their expenditure of their earnings on other income-generating activities – or further expenditure on materials for craft production. However, MCM producers seem to be more likely to spend their (smaller) total household income on materials that could be used to generate further income (e.g. trade goods; ingredients for *tombo*; paying for palm to be cut; purchase of materials for craft production; etc.). In contrast, RF producers seldom mentioned expenditures on such items, with the exception of hiring tractors or oxen for ploughing and purchasing the ingredients for vetkoek that would later be sold.

Table 7 Average expenditure distributions of MCM and RF producers

Expenditure item	Rőssing Foundation		Mashi Craft Market	
	High	Median	High	Low
Food	37	34	29	43
School costs	18	28	22	21
Clothes/uniforms	12	19	16	10
Soap, powder, etc.	9	5	3	0
Clinic/hospital fees	8	7	19	15
Hiring oxen	5	0	3	0
Bank	4	1	1	0
Hiring a tractor	3	1	0	0
Household goods	2	2	0	0
Weeding	2	0	0	0
Milling grain	0	2	0	0
Transport	0	1	0	0
House building	0	0	3	0
Herd boy	0	0	2	0
Other income-generating activities*	0	0	2	11

* Non-agricultural activities

5.7 Alternatives to craft production

There were very limited suggestions for alternative income-generating activities. Nearly half of those questioned could not identify any alternatives. Of the suggestions that were made, all were existing income-generating activities carried out by rural people in Caprivi. Salaried labour was not mentioned as an alternative. Remote rural location and limited formal education further hinder the crafters' ability to exploit any employment opportunities.

Alternative income-generating activities mentioned were:

- ploughing to grow maize for sale
- sewing items for sale
- making vetkoek for sale
- selling thatch grass
- selling reed
- resale of items such as shoes and chitenges (cloth wraps)
- making and selling woollen hats
- making baskets (mentioned by a reed mat maker).

These options were mentioned by more than one producer. Reasons were given as to why opportunities could not be realised. One woman from Choi had not been able to sell her crops that year as elephants had destroyed them and she could no longer sell thatching grass because the market had collapsed due to the poor security situation in 1999/2000. Another crafter wanted to sew clothes for sale but needed training. In addition, one crafter with a walking disability mentioned that she was unable cut reeds and thatch for sale.

Apart from the harvesting of the palm, preparation of the palm for weaving and the weaving itself can be carried out from crafters' homes. The cost of this is the time that it takes to collect and prepare the materials, weave the basket and deliver the basket to the market. This opportunity cost may be low given the limited alternatives to the crafters for income generation.

5.8 Livelihood change with craft income

Crafters were asked whether the money they earned from craft had made a significant change in their lives. The whole sample replied in the affirmative. Two women said that they were no longer dependent on their husbands for cash; one crafter said that she no longer needed to borrow money; another said, "The money that I get from selling baskets has made a big change in my life because I can now pay the school fund for my children. That time when I was not making baskets, my daughters wanted to leave school because of lack of support."

The producers were then asked what would happen if they could no longer make and sell craft. Each stated that this would bring problems that would threaten their livelihoods. These included starvation/no food; no clothes; much suffering; negative feelings because of the lack of any means to get extra money; dependence on pension; having to steal (themselves or their children); children having to leave school; being poor again; and not being able to survive.

Food was the single most important expenditure item from craft sales earnings. Crafters also used their money to meet their family's health and education needs.

6. INSTITUTIONAL COMPARISON BETWEEN MCM AND RF OPERATIONS

Nurtured by the dedication and vision of staff members of the two NGOs, a remarkable synergy is evident between IRDNC and RF through their shared training and marketing initiatives. This level of co-operation has been recorded previously as one of the strengths of the Namibian CBNRM programme (Child et al., 2001). In addition, had RF not purchased craft from MCM during 2000 and 2001, MCM producers would have been unable to sell as much craft as they did in this period. Sales would have been up to 40 per cent lower in 2000 and almost a third lower in 2001. Given the collapse at the same time of the thatching grass industry in Caprivi, this would most likely have had significant livelihood impacts on those producing craft for sale. (Crafters are often also reliant on cash generation from other NR uses, such as selling reeds and thatching grass.)

6.1 Institutional design

The institutional design of the two operations is very different. Both work on the basis of strong, participatory partnerships with producer groups. The RF design could be construed as being more market driven whereas MCM has a strong focus on the producers.

RF buys craft from most regions of Namibia (including 14 conservancies in the north-west and north-east of the country) and transports it to Windhoek where it is retailed (with a commission mark up) at MHT or occasionally exported. In Caprivi, craft buying trips are conducted quarterly and the producers are paid a cost price immediately for craft purchased. This is a very satisfying arrangement for producers. Anyone with quality craft can sell to RF, but they must be able to get their craft to one of the locations where buying actually occurs. (Centralised buying has reduced the locations to three – Ituse serving Machita, Muluti, Matemwa, Makawa and Makalonga; Bukalo Open Air Museum serving Bukalo, Ikumwe, Silumbi Sikanjabuka, Iseke, Ngala, Muyako, Bwara, Mahundu and Ibbu; and Ngoma Craft Centre, formerly known as Kache-Kache, serving Ioma, Isuswa, Mutikitila, Masikili and Ngoma.) Procurement costs for RF are high and, through upfront payment for craft, RF run the risk of carrying items that cannot be sold.

In contrast, MCM is a much more localised production with much smaller procurement costs. MCM charges a 40 per cent commission to ensure the sustainability of the market. Producers who sell to MCM must also pay a membership fee. Once this is paid, they can deliver as much craft as they can produce to the market for sale, as long as the items meet quality control. MCM does not risk buying craft upfront and carries much smaller stock levels then RF. Producers do not receive payment until the craft is sold. Quality standards also apply to the craft that is displayed in the shop and occasionally craft is returned to the producer, if it has been on display for a long time and not sold. CRMs and IRDNC staff members help producers as far as possible to deliver their craft to the market. They also deliver the cash earned from sales to individuals in different villages.

6.2 Scale of operation

RF staff members have bought at least one basket from over 500 producers in Masokotwane and the Salambala Conservancy. There currently are about 120 members of the MCM. Despite this difference in producer numbers, the sales figures are not so different. Between June 1998 and the end of 2001, the total sales figures for RF in Caprivi were N$200,000. For a six month shorter period (between 1999 and 2001), MCM sales figures amounted to almost N$140,000.

6.3 MCM as model for a sustainable, local institution

Being producer managed and owned, and by charging a 40 per cent commission, the MCM could be considered an institutional model for a sustainable co-operative enterprise. RF staff members have recognised this and are attempting to make their Caprivi operation more sustainable by supporting the fledgling Ngoma Craft Market and Bukalo Open Air Museum along the same lines as MCM. Should this model prove effective, something along similar lines could be developed at Masokotwane (C. Paxton, pers. comm.).

However, one issue that threatens MCM's sustainability is the difficulty for producers to access palm for weaving – due to the distance between producers and the palm source. This is also a problem for basket makers in the Kavango (at Shankara and Mbushe), who supply MHT and live between 30 and 120 km from their source of palm. Sale in palm has developed whereby producers buy palm from locals living near the palm source or barter food with family members for palm and resell to other basket producers (C. Paxton, pers. comm.).

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

The expansion and commercialisation of craft production in Caprivi is a success story of the Namibian CBNRM programme that has brought significant benefit to producers. This success has increased the credibility of the CBNRM programme and the conservancy initiative. It has also strengthened the role of women (Flintan, 2001). However, there are still challenges facing the MCM and the community-based craft component of the Namibian CBNRM programme. Research results were discussed with some MCM producers in the context of addressing challenges that are causing a reduction in the craft supply to MCM (Murphy, 2002). Recommendations to address these challenges are given below.

7.1 Addressing supply of palm

MCM producers said that they are not getting enough palm to be able to make more baskets (Murphy, 2002). Historically, craft production for MCM has been expanded into areas that traditionally do not have their own, accessible palm forests. As a result, there has been a growing reliance by MCM producers on the IRDNC staff to assist with transportation for palm harvesting trips to Chefuzwe palm forest near Katima Mulilo (a return trips of over 220km). IRDNC are not in a position to continue to feed this dependency and staff members are concerned about the continued open access status of Chefuwze forest as a common property resource (J. Kamwi, pers. comm.). Recent reports are that people harvesting at Chefuzwe will need to report to the Ngweze Khuta for permission and pay a fee (Brideness Mutali, pers. comm.). Transport solutions identified by producers included using alterative transportation to IRDNC.

Identifying and exploiting more localised palm sources and sourcing or using other locally available material for craft could also be considered. Use of MCM commission to buy palm and resell at cost may be worthy of consideration. A smaller increase in the purchase price of craft could also provide the cash needed to buy palm.

7.2 Increasing prices for craft items

MCM producers identified low prices for craft as one of the reasons for their reduced production. They recommended the increase in craft prices across the board (all grades) but especially with high quality items. As an incentive to continue production MCM needs to consider increasing craft prices, while maintaining marketability. Careful attention needs to be paid to identifying and meeting overhead costs prior to any price increase. At present, RF price lists are used for craft sales within the CBNRM programme. Khwe veld-food gathering baskets are highly marketable and are therefore likely to be able to demand higher prices.

7.3 Increasing the flow of information between MCM and producers

To keep track of their sales, MCM producers from outlying villages said they needed more information on their baskets in terms of which ones had been accepted for sale and the price they have been given according to their quality. Producers in Choi Village can get this information themselves as their village is close to MCM. One of the CRMs recommended that each producer group have a file for the CRMs to record craft sent to MCM[11].

[11] This measure has been implemented.

Some MCM producers lacked an understanding of the need for and use of commission. They were unable to understand why the payment they received for the craft was lower than the selling price at the market (because of the deduction of a commission to pay for the running of MCM). They believed that they were losing money. Some producers also thought that a smaller commission would automatically mean that they would receive more money for their craft.

Producers need on-going education by the MCM manager, sales lady and CRMs on the generation and use of the MCM commission.

7.4 MCM consideration of upfront purchase of high quality craft

As an incentive to skilled craft producers to supply good quality craft on a regular basis, MCM should consider the upfront purchase of high quality craft. This could also include all grades of Khwe veld-food gathering baskets.

Upfront cash purchases could work if MCM were able to process orders and there were guaranteed sales locally or elsewhere. However, this requires an adequate cash flow and an accurate understanding of the market with regard to what items are saleable and at what price. The Caprivi Art Centre has tried this system in the past and failed (K. Le Roux, pers. comm.).

7.5 Increase sustainable local market outlets and target local lodges

Support to craft production and sales in Caprivi should continue to nurture the establishment and maintenance of local outlets. The rejuvenated Caprivi Art Centre in Katima Mulilo holds potential. MCM could improve direct marketing to lodges in Caprivi and even further a field in Zambia and Botswana.

7.6 Alternative income generation activities for rural residents

More resources should be allocated by the CBNRM programme to develop other income-generation activities accessible to poor rural women in Caprivi, especially those based on common property natural resources. Increased sustainable harvesting' possible cultivation, processing, use and marketing of indigenous plant resources were identified as the most important opportunities for micro-enterprise development at the household level in Caprivi (CRIAA, 2000).

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APPENDIX 1: CASE STUDY INTERVIEW DETAILS

CONSERVANCY AND VILLAGES	NAME AND DATE OF INTERVIEW
MAYUNI CONSERVANCY Choi	15 July 2002 Mavis Munembo Agnes Lubindo Marina Malanzabi Erris Bedde Rosenah Mafati 19 July 2002 Angelina Mutuso Edinah Kamwii
KWANDU CONSERVANCY Kalubi and Singalamwe	15 July 2002 Angelina Mukungu (Singalamwe) Imelda Sijona (Kalubi)
MASHI CONSERVANCY Lubuta and Sachona	16 July 2002 Maureen Matengu (Lubuta) Adson Kwana (Lubuta) Peter Mujiwe (Sachona)
WUPARO CONSERVANCY Samahia, Nongozi and Samudono	16 July 2002 Jessica Mukwata (Samahia) Helen Sulashando (Samahia) 19 July 2002 Mary Lyonga (Nongozi) Josephine Muhweta (Samudono)
WEST CAPRIVI Mashambo and Chetto	17 July 2002 Kamene Ndeunda (Mashambo) Nyanda Anderson (Mashambo) Dele Nara (Mashambo) Nautjo Nore (Chetto) Cornelia Muyambango (Chetto)

Questionnaire:

1. May we have permission to ask these questions, and do you mind if we use your names in our report?
2. Timeline: Draw a timeline of the crafter's life (including date of birth, when/if she/he started school, when did she/he finish school, when did she/he get married, when were her/his children born, when did she/he start making and selling baskets, why did she/he start to make and sell craft)
3. What are the sources of money for you, and for the family? What are the proportions of total income from each source (using pie chart and bean allocation)?
4. What is the money used for? What proportion of income is spent on each item? Is income earned from selling craft used for anything specific?
5. Has the money you have earned from craft made a significant change in your life and that of your family? If yes, how has the money made a change? What would happen if you could not longer make and sell craft?
6. Who in the family controls the money that is earned? Do you control the money yourself?
7. What time of year do you make craft? What time of day do you make your craft? Is there enough time for craft making?
8. Do you like to make craft? If so, why?
9. What are the difficulties with making craft?
10. Are there any alternatives to making craft to earn cash? Is there anything you would rather do to make money? If so, why?
11. For the high earners: Why is it do you think that you are able to make a large amount of money from craft making?
12. We also asked whether the crafters owned any cattle (draught or milking cattle), and how many to determine very roughly their asset wealth.

APPENDIX 2: SALES DETAILS OF CASE STUDY INDIVIDUALS[12]

	Year	Total income (N$)	Average price	No. of sales
1	1999	42	21	2
	2000	832	38	22
	2001	682	31	22
2	1999	500	38	13
	2000	1,048	40	26
	2001	1,201	39	31
3	1999	1,841	17	109
	2000	2,366	44	54
	2001	1,025	37	28
4	1999	710	25	28
	2000	360	20	18
	2001	1,764	25	72
5	1999	890	19	47
	2000	1,052	50	21
	2001	312	62	5
6	1999	690	41	17
	2000	555	21	27
7	1999	987	23	43
	2000	1,018	54	19
	2001	367	37	10
8	1999	532	30	18
	2000	1,181	30	39
	2001	1,157	39	30
9	1999	568	32	18
	2000	376	47	8
	2001	185	26	7
10	2000	307	44	7
	2001	730	73	10
11	1999	431	19	23
	2000	1,059	31	34
	2001	180	60	3

[12] In random order

	Year	Total income (N$)	Average price	No. of sales
12	2000	186	47	4
	2001	579	53	11
13	1999	286	7	44
	2000	16	4	4
	2001	5	5	1
14	2000	77	26	3
	2001	312	28	11
15	1999	256	23	11
	2000	89	45	2
	2001	44	22	2
16	1999	199	12	17
	2000	392	49	8
	2001	268	54	5
17	1999	150	75	2
	2000	150	75	2
18	1999	446	19	24
	2000	86	29	3
	2001	168	21	8
19	2001	280	40	7
20	1999	1,220	12	98
	2000	526	24	22
	2001	151	22	7

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