

Chapter 6: NTFP Crafts (grapevines and birdhouses)

6.1 Organization of Results for NTFP Categories

Results presented in the following chapters were obtained from literature review and field work conducted between January and September 1997. Results are organized into four different categories of NTFP: craft products, medicinal and herbal products, specialty wood products, and edible products. Specific products within each category which appeared to be most important are described in depth. The concept of marketing system is central to all results obtained in the research. A marketing system can be defined as the total of production, marketing, processing, and distribution in which each step through which a product flows is inter-linked and interdependent with other steps (Koster and Basuki 1991). In addition, each step involves different market players each having different functions, needs, and goals. What follows is a description of these market players and the marketing of their products, including pricing, promotion, value addition, market outlets, distribution, and market chains (Sinclair 1992). Results are presented for NTFP crafts, medicinal and herbal products, and specialty wood products are presented and discussed in a format which highlights marketing aspects. Results for edible products are presented in a different format because findings were dramatically different than for the other three categories.

6.2 Importance of NTFP Crafts

Crafts which incorporate NTFPs were selected for this research for several reasons: NTFP crafts are highly popular among the local population and tourists; their trade involves many people in southwest Virginia; and they are a source of income and a social activity traditional to the region. Crafting as a hobby and market activity makes use of a wide variety of NTFPs. Most commonly used are vines, moss, and bark in products such as baskets, wreaths, and birdhouses. The following section describes NTFP crafting in southwest Virginia and associated marketing systems. Two predominant craft items, grapevine products and birdhouses, were selected as representative and the results of their research will be discussed here. Grapevine products and birdhouses are studied in-depth

because they are commonly seen in market outlets in southwest Virginia and many people participate in their production and trade as a source of income.

The indigenous craft tradition in Appalachia has been part of mountain life for many generations. However, it was not until between 1900 and 1915 that Appalachian crafts were recognized as unique to Appalachian culture as well as an important mode of economic activity (Shapiro 1978). More recently, interest has developed in mountain speech, folklore, folksong, and handicrafts as a unique cultural identity of mountain people. Today, these traditions attract tourists from around the country to experience Appalachian life. Museums and local festivals are ideal places to see many aspects of this distinguished culture. Also, local people in southwest Virginia benefit from the sale of NTFP crafts and enjoy fellowship with friends and family during crafting activities.

Crafts are important in Appalachian life because they are a source of much needed income, especially for women who traditionally have had little opportunity to earn income. Furthermore, some believe that the indigenous craft tradition brings healthful excitement to the lives of women who otherwise live in “dire poverty and ignorance” (Shapiro 1978). Most human societies exhibit a gendered division of labor and southwest Virginia is no different. Appalachian culture teaches traditional income earning activities where men work outside the home and women are homemakers. Crafting is a domestic activity often practiced in the home by women who use the income for themselves or to supplement the family’s income. However, due to scarce employment opportunities in southwest Virginia, men also take part in crafting as an income opportunity. Some develop crafting as an income-earning hobby and others as larger business.

Craft instruction became common in many Appalachian educational institutions because of the importance of crafting in rural lifestyles. Early in the 1900s, craft instruction became a basis for schools’ curriculums which aimed to teach children skills appropriate to the reality of mountain life. Craft education took on new importance “as a means by which mountain people might be taught their own culture and the viability of the Appalachian

regionalism be assured” (Shapiro 1978:220). Craft education was viewed throughout the 1900s as more appropriate than vocational education because it did not train children in vocations which would take them away from the farm (Shapiro 1978). Otherwise, families would lose an important source of seasonal labor. Craft education aimed to improve rural life by teaching skills needed to supplement income, occupy leisure time in winter, and fill farm life with a satisfaction that wage labor alone did not provide.

Craft instruction also became key in development efforts in Appalachia, often called “settlement work”. Settlement work was conducted in Appalachia by government and private agencies, particularly since the Roosevelt administration, in an effort to develop close and productive communities (Appalachian Regional Commission 1996). Much settlement work was done around the crafts tradition because it brings neighbors together in organizations and clubs, essentially the goal of settlement work. As a result, cooperation is practiced and developed in a region where “practical experience in cooperation seemed particularly pressing (Shapiro 1978:221). Crafts instruction was well established in settlement work in Appalachia by the start of the 20th century because agencies understood how crafts would function to reach settlement goals. First, crafts provide a source of income to mothers. Second, crafts instruction trains children in manual and aesthetic skills through work with their hands. Third, crafting brings neighbors together for a common activity, the ultimate goal of settlement work. As a result, settlement agencies functioned as an informal social center around which people gathered to produce crafts.

Eventually, agencies working for settlement and development in the mountains played the additional role of helping people market their products. The agencies began to function not only as a social centers but also as production and distribution units for craft items and a link between Appalachian communities and the outside world. Agencies adopted marketing responsibilities to foster the production of crafted items, designate salable items, provide instruction, and establish standards of workmanship and materials.

Knowledge of Appalachian craft style spread outside the region as products were more effectively marketed and distributed.

A problem which arose as development agencies helped market crafts was erosion of the quality and uniqueness of mountain crafts. Models of non-craft economic activity were adopted for crafting in Appalachia because agencies consulted engineers, business developers, or vocational instructors who disliked the primitive manner of manufacturing crafts. As a result, the focus was maximization of production by standardization and division of labor rather than individual design and labor (Shapiro 1978). Crafts factories were established for mass production, a trend consistent with industrial expansion of America during the middle 1900s. “For settlement workers, preservation of a crafts mode of production seemed ultimately less important than the economic and social gains to be derived from the development of such native industries. Therefore, persistence of primitive techniques of manufacture seemed more quaint than critical” (Shapiro 1978: 222). As a result, the traditional and cultural quality of crafts diminished.

Today, some see Appalachian culture eroding because of lack of interest among young generations to keep the crafts tradition active. Appalachian crafters, especially of quilts and baskets, feel that traditional crafts will be lost because children are not being educated as much about crafts. For example, certain basket weaving techniques are known only to a few elderly Cherokee women who remark that local youths have no interest in learning the technique (Irving 1997). This type of situation is present in other crafts and populations as well. However, certain crafts such as grapevine crafts continue to be important sources of income for people faced with scarce employment opportunities and the need to increasingly rely on local resources to earn income.

6.3 Grapevine wreaths, baskets, and furniture

The research in 1997 has shown that grapevines are used to make wreaths, baskets, furniture, and birdhouses. Wreaths and baskets are predominant and will be discussed in detail. Most crafters harvest grapevine from a nearby forest or along roadsides where grapevine grows abundantly. Some grow their own grapes and harvest vines for use in crafting. Although grapevine is very common, crafters remark that raw material acquisition is the hardest task in the production process because of the difficult labor it involves (cutting or tugging the vine out of the tree and cleaning it). Vines are dragged to a vehicle and transported to the crafter's home or workshop.

It was observed that the process of crafting a wreath or basket generally involves repeating winding of vines in a circle to form wreaths and a circular cylinder to form baskets. Vines may be soaked in water to increase flexibility and wire may or may not be used to reinforce the circular shape and increase strength. Wreath sizes vary from approximately eight inches to three feet in diameter. Basket sizes vary from six inches to three feet tall. Only the most experienced grapevine crafters have mastered the art of basket making. Baskets are time consuming and can be made in a variety of styles using various techniques, many perfected by the indigenous Native Americans generations ago. This research deals with wreaths and baskets made of grapevine, which is the most common material used in these crafts. However, other materials are also used such as honeysuckle, smokevine, willow twigs, cattail, and kudzu. Choice of material depends on the crafters own artistic preference and availability of materials.

Certain experienced crafters in southwest Virginia have become locally famous for their unique vine furniture. Chairs, tables, beds, and trellaces are made out of the thick (two to four inches in diameter) base sections of vines. Chairs for children and adults, tables of various sizes, and sofas give a rustic look to a front porch or interior. Although these items are unique, their market is limited and shop owners say most are sold to local

people. The reason for the low attractiveness to tourists may be the high price due to the great amount of time involved in production. Also, tourists may be reluctant to carry around such a large item while traveling.

Another furniture category made from non-timber forest products observed during the research is oak strip seated chairs, a relic from colonial times (Irving, 1997). Usually the crafter asks to be supplied with a wooden chair and he will make the oak strip seat. Oak is stripped from branches cut from trees or downed oak trunks. Long oak strips are approximately one inch in width and are woven in a pattern through holes cut along the seat supports of wooden chairs. The market for these chairs is localized in southwest Virginia and these crafters seem to produce more as a hobby than for regular income.

6.3.1 Grapevine Ecology

Grapevines are part of the vine family, *Vitaceae*, comprised of many species throughout the country. These vines climb rapidly during the growing season by coiling around branches, fenceposts, and even on sheer walls. The vine is woody and becomes quite thick in older plants, strong enough to support humans and even used by Native Americans as rope. In many regions grapevines are a menace to forests because their leaves block sufficient sunlight to the tree's leaves and cause tree death. Grapevine removal is a common forest management practice of stand improvement in the northeast United States. Vines are also important wildlife habitat and are sometimes left in the forest specifically for this purpose. However, in southwest Virginia grapevines serve an additional important social and economic purpose as raw material for crafting. Some crafters grow domesticated grapevines as a source of craft material. These vines grow just as prolifically as wild vines and the grapes can be harvested as food while the vines cut for use in crafts.

There are many species of wild grapevine in the United States. Those most common in southwest Virginia are: fox grape (*Vitis lambrusca*) found in thickets and woodland borders; summer grape (*Vitis aestivalis*) found abundantly in thickets and woods; riverbark grape (*Vitis reparia*) found commonly along waterways; winter grape (*Vitis vulpina*) found in moist thickets and along waterways; graybark grape (*Vitis cinerea*, also called pigeon, downy, or sweet winter grape) found along rich riverbottoms; and muscadine (*Vitis rotundifolia*) found in swamps, riversides, and areas of rocky or sandy soil (Viertel 1970 and O’Roarke 1993). Many of these sites are poor conditions for the growth of high quality forests.

6.3.2 Value Addition and Market Outlets

Interviews show that several opportunities for value addition and various market outlets exist for grapevine products. Wreaths and baskets may be sold plain or decorated with dried or synthetic flowers, ribbons, or other ornaments. Results of this research indicate that two types of crafters make grapevine wreaths and baskets: i) crafters who sell the products undecorated to florists and gift stores which then decorate for sale; and ii) crafters who decorate products themselves.

The first group which sells products undecorated are usually of poorer socioeconomic class and tend to live in more rural and remote areas than other crafters. These crafters cannot afford to buy decorations for wreaths or are not able to easily travel to urban locations (Abingdon, Virginia or Bristol, Tennessee) where craft supply stores sell decorations. However, they have easy and often, free, access to wild growing grapevines from which they can make wreaths and baskets. Women, men, adults, and youths make these products in the home, until a sufficient quantity is made to take into town for sale. These crafters are described by buyers as traveling with a pickup truck loaded with products for the buyer to pick from. One florist remarked of a wreath supplier, “whenever

he gets broke, he comes in to sell us some of his wreaths.” Most florists have crafters who stop in once or twice a month even when they decline to purchase.

The second group of crafters who decorate wreaths and baskets for retail and wholesale distribution usually own a florist shop, craft supply store, or gift store and/or are an avid crafter who travels to craft shows to sell products. Florists and small gift shops are located in nearly every town in southwest Virginia. The owners are of higher socioeconomic class than the first group of crafters since they own a business or can afford to participate in distant craft shows. The stores in smaller towns often buy wreaths and baskets locally made or from traveling crafters who make rounds of the entire area. Others purchase regularly from a local relative or friend. Due to tourists’ demand, stores in historic Abingdon or Bristol typically stock products of higher quality, unique, and decorated products. These stores are more upscale than small town stores and have higher investments in the store building and more modern business operations (i.e have a cash register, special displays and lighting).

Local festivals frequently have craft shows where many local crafters sell decorated grapevine wreaths and baskets. Generally, during the summer and fall seasons small towns have annual festivals which attract local residents as well as tourists. Such festivals occur in southwest Virginian towns such as Norton, Coeburn, Wise, and Abingdon. Crafters spend months in the off seasons preparing products and during the festival set up sales booths in the street or indoor locations. Local people take great pride in these festivals which usually honor a historic event or significant person.

The biggest craft show in southwest Virginia occurs during the annual two-week long Virginia Highlands Festival, held in Abingdon during August. The craft show is juried and only accepts crafts of highest quality. Crafters send slides of their products in advance to a show panel which judges and selects those crafters of highest quality to join the show.

Each admitted crafter then pays a fee to reserve a booth. This fee was \$300 in August 1997 which crafters say is low compared to fees charged at other well-known, juried shows in the eastern United States. At this price, crafters must gain profits of only \$21.00 per day to cover the cost of entering the show. However, due to the cost of traveling to Abingdon from rural parts of southwest Virginia and high quality standards required, only the best and most lucrative crafters are able to afford this show.

This research has also revealed another unique market outlet for NTFP craft items - Appalmade store in Abingdon, a craft store which buys locally made crafts. This store is part of the organization, People Incorporated, which helps residents of southwest Virginia improve their economic conditions. This store accepts on a limited basis various types of crafts, including grapevine wreaths and baskets. Crafters typically live in poor, remote areas and below or near the poverty level. Appalmade performs a service by providing a market outlet for products which otherwise would be confined to rural areas. Crafters of these products usually are unable to travel to urban market locations and tourist centers. Appalmade arranges to transport products from the crafters home to the Appalmade store. Products sold in the store are attractive and well-made, however, are of lower quality than those accepted for sale in higher scale gift and craft shops. Appalmade also features products in a catalog which has resulted in orders from around the United States.

Vine furniture can be seen displayed at craft and gift stores throughout southwest Virginia. Crafters are usually socioeconomically poor and travel throughout the area to sell products. Like crafters of wreaths and baskets, many furniture crafters do not have telephones and live in remote, mountainous areas. Money from the sale of vine furniture supplements their total income and some remark that it pays bills. Some store owners or employees of gift shops add value to a chair or sofa by hand making a cushion.

6.3.3 Pricing

Research found that prices for grapevine wreaths and baskets vary with size, amount of decoration, and location of sale. Retail prices for undecorated wreaths range from \$8 to \$20 and baskets from \$10 to \$25, depending on the size. The larger the size, usually the higher is the price. Decorated wreaths range from \$25 to \$35 and decorated baskets from \$35 to \$45. Large wreaths four to five feet in diameter may be sold for \$100. Prices may be higher or lower depending on the quality and location of sale. Vine furniture varies from \$50 to \$150. A sofa can cost \$100 including a handmade cushion. More costly products are usually only purchased by tourists because locals are unwilling to pay high prices. Instead, a local person may prefer to collect materials and craft the item him/herself.

Prices are determined by the cost of materials and amount of labor time. Although grapevine is very common, crafters remark that raw material acquisition is the hardest task in the production process because of labor in dragging the vines out of the forest and cleaning them. Winding and fastening of the wreath takes approximately fifteen minutes or more depending on the crafter's skill level. Baskets are much more time consuming and require a higher degree of skill. One crafter remarked that the difficulty and time required in making baskets is the reason for their relatively high price, as perceived by local people.

Generally, the cost of materials is 40% of the retail price for a fully decorated wreath or basket. Decorations vary in price due to quality. For example, simple imported synthetic flowers cost less than dried or chemically preserved real flowers. Prices of wreaths and baskets are higher in the urban locations of Abingdon and Bristol and at the Virginia Highlands Festival. Craft stores in these cities often sell on consignment where stores take a percentage of the craft price as store profit and return the rest to the crafter. Some crafters prefer to not sell in this manner because they feel the consignment percentage

taken out of their products' sale is too high. A positive aspect of these stores is that they provide a prime location to access consumers.

6.3.4 Promotion

Research results indicate that promotion of grapevine products is not sophisticated or extensively planned in southwest Virginia. Traveling crafters who sell undecorated wreaths and baskets promote their products by word of mouth and unexpected visits at stores offering products. These individuals often live in remote areas and do not have phones. Consequently, they are difficult to locate and options for promotion of their products is limited. Word of mouth promotion appears to be sufficient since stores rarely lack of supply.

On the other hand, craft stores and florists are registered businesses and are thereby usually listed in the phone directory and owners have business cards. Advertisements may be run in newspapers. Promotion also occurs as owners and crafters take part in craft shows. Another important aspect of promotion is location of the shop. One shop owner in southwest Virginia believes that location is even more important than advertisements in newspapers and magazines. Location in a large city or town exposes more products than in a small town. Similarly, location on a busy street corner will provide more exposure than on a side street. Most prime locations are more costly to rent or lease. Since, most craft stores are not extremely lucrative businesses, less noticeable locations are chosen based on what is affordable. Florists are often located in more central locations of people and traffic. Perhaps, this indicates that the florists' products and services are more regularly demanded than those of craft stores. Florist businesses also require a greater amount of capital than craft stores for refrigeration, access to flower producers, decorations, and tools. As a result, florist owners may be willing to pay more for a store site which will attract a high business volume to help repay the initial investment.

6.3.5 Distribution and Marketing Chain

This research has revealed steps in distribution for grapevine products which enable the marketing chain to be described. Figure 6.3.1 is a diagram of the marketing chain for grapevine products. The first level of the chain is the producer whose function is to collect and clean grapevines and make a product. An individual rarely only collects and sells grapevines since prices for raw material are much lower than for a finished product. As a result, it is economically sensible to not only collect grapevines, but also craft a product. Grapevine wreaths and baskets leave the hands of the producer either decorated or undecorated. If undecorated and bought by a florist, the product will be decorated and sold in the florist shop as part of a floral arrangement. Craft store owners may buy decorated or undecorated products. Such products may be sold undecorated or value may be added by decoration. Some craft store owners also sell products in local craft shows and through catalogs which can include photos of products and be distributed around the United States. Some crafters make, decorate, and sell their products without involving any intermediary which gives them control over the entire marketing chain. These crafters often distribute their products in craft shows and festivals because these market outlets attract many tourists and locals.

The producer of undecorated products, shown on the left side of Figure 6.3.1 sells products mainly to regional craft supply stores, which are located in urban locations (i.e. Abingdon, Virginia or Bristol, Tennessee). Florists and craft stores buy undecorated grapevine products from these stores and decorate them for sale in their own store. Many people who enjoy making grapevine products and do not own a craft store, purchase products from the craft supply stores and decorate them either for themselves, gift-giving, or local craft shows. Craft supply stores also service local and distant wholesale customers. Wholesale customers include businesses, offices, universities, and other institutions. For example, an interior design department of a university has established a

wholesale account with a regional craft supply store for grapevine products which are used by students in design courses. Another example may be a business, such as a large, urban mall, which purchases great volumes of grapevines products for holiday decoration.

In most cases, the entire marketing chain of grapevine products takes place within southwest Virginia . Producers often live in rural locations where grapevine is easily available. Craft stores, florists, and craft shows usually are located in towns and cities and regional craft supply stores in the larger cities of southwest Virginia, Abingdon and Bristol. Retail customers are local residents and tourists, which visit the region mostly in summer and early fall. Tourists arrive in southwest Virginia from around the United States and the world during the peak tourist season of summer and early fall. Wholesale customers may be located throughout the eastern United States and in large urban locations, such as New York City, Washington D.C., Baltimore, Philadelphia, Raleigh, and Atlanta.

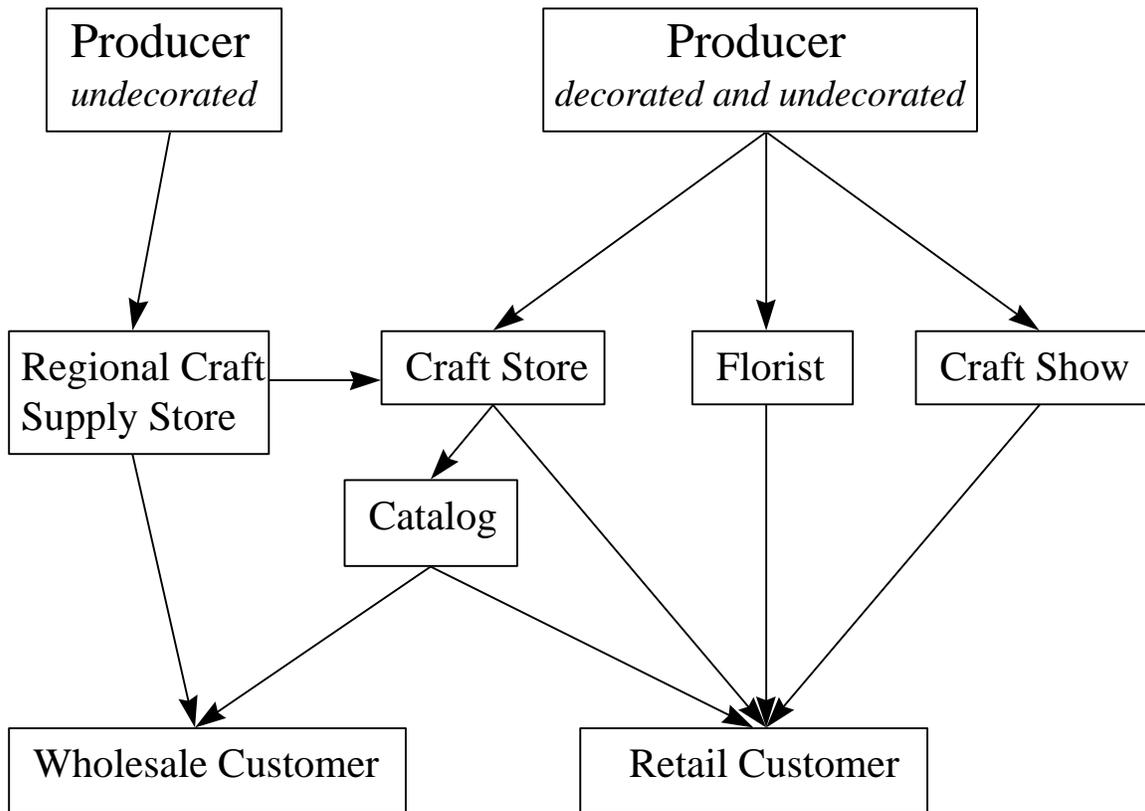


Figure 6.3.1 Marketing chains for decorated and undecorated grapevine products in southwest Virginia

6.4 Birdhouses

A second significant NTFP craft in southwest Virginia revealed during the research is birdhouses. Birdhouses are a common craft made partially from NTFPs collected in local forests and pieces of scrap lumber. NTFPs used in making birdhouses are bark, twigs, branches, vines, and moss. Bark, twigs, and branches used in making birdhouses are not from any specific tree species since collectors harvest the most easily available and accessible materials. Southwest Virginia forests are predominantly of the Appalachian hardwood forest type. Common tree species in southwest Virginia from which birdhouse materials may originate are white oak (*Quercus alba*), black oak (*Quercus negra*), red

maple (*Acer rubrum*), yellow poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*), hickory (*Carya spp.*), black walnut (*Juglans nigra*), black willow (*Salix nigra*), Eastern hemlock (*Tsuga canadensis*), and Eastern white pine (*Pinus strobus*) (Harlow et al. 1991). Grapevine species listed in the section on wreaths and baskets are used in making components of birdhouses. In addition, various species of moss grow in the forests of southwest Virginia which are collected for use in making birdhouses.

NTPF birdhouses appeal to a wide variety of birds including bluebirds, nuthatches, wrens, and finches. Some crafters create elaborate houses that are more for decoration than actual habitation. Some houses are set on tiers with branches as supports having two to five separate houses per item. Time required to make a single house is 30 minutes to one hour, in addition to time spent gathering materials.

Crafters of birdhouses are usually of lower socioeconomic class and, like grapevine crafters, depend on birdhouse sales to supplement their income. Those who have found regular outlets for birdhouses are fortunate. Others have trouble selling a single house. These crafters remark that so many people make birdhouses that the market is saturated. One crafter had an entire workshop full of approximately seventy-five birdhouses and complained he had no way to sell them. Only expanded markets out of southwest Virginia or increased tourist flow will revive the birdhouse business.

6.4.1 Value Addition and Market Outlets

This research shows that market outlets for birdhouses are craft/gift stores and local festivals throughout southwest Virginia. However, birdhouses are so plentiful that not every crafter has success in marketing through these outlets. The Virginia Highlands Festival is too costly for booth rental and has quality standards too high for most birdhouse crafters. Marketing of birdhouses is limited to word of mouth or visual displays

of products on roadsides because the products are not demanded enough to allow for more sophisticated marketing activities. Birdhouses are also sold by traveling crafters as is done with wreaths and baskets. Often the same traveling crafters who make wreaths and baskets also make birdhouses.

Some crafters have added value by differentiating their birdhouses for tourist appeal by typing a descriptive label to the item. Labels may read that the house originates from a “mountain workshop”, materials are native, and suggestions for its use and care. Such differentiation may be important for crafters to have success in the saturated market for birdhouses. However, it is only useful if crafters have access to an adequate retail market outlet such as craft/gift stores and festivals. Value addition also occurs when crafters can incorporate unique or rare materials into birdhouses, such as unusual stones or wood carving.

6.4.2 Pricing

The price of birdhouses primarily depends on the amount of time spent in collection and manufacture since crafters usually do not buy the materials and collect from the forest themselves. Single or multi-tiered birdhouses can be found in local craft and gift stores for between \$10 and \$40. Birdhouses with more detail and decoration are priced higher than simpler ones ranging from \$25 to \$40. Since manufacture of one simple birdhouse may take only half an hour, a price of \$10 is comparable to wage labor made in other local employment such as mining or office work.

6.4.3 Promotion

Promotion of birdhouses is simple and often unplanned. Producers cannot afford sophisticated promotion and often rely on word of mouth. Visibility of displays on roadsides is one way to promote birdhouses to tourists. As with location of craft and gift stores, location of a birdhouse display is critical in attracting consumers. For example, location on a highly traveled road during tourist season is better for selling birdhouses than on a smaller, mountain road. Crafters often do not think of promotion until after the product is crafted. This may be one reason why crafters have such difficulty in finding market outlets for birdhouses.

6.4.4 Distribution and Marketing Chain

Results of the research indicate that distribution and marketing chains for birdhouses are more simple than for wreaths and baskets as shown in figure 6.4.1. Producers usually collect materials from the forest themselves and craft the product in their own home or workshop. The second level in the marketing chain involves three different distribution centers which help birdhouses reach consumers: craft or gift stores, roadside stands, and local festivals. The craft and gift stores which sell birdhouses are usually not high quality or upscale stores, such as those which cater to tourists in Abingdon and Bristol. These stores are often located in smaller towns and sell mainly to local residents. Several low to medium quality craft and gift stores in Abingdon and Bristol carry birdhouses, including the Appalmade store. Crafters usually do not have the ability to distribute widely and are limited in the distance they can afford to travel. Appalmade is an important intermediary in the marketing chain for birdhouses because it helps products reach a tourist market which would otherwise be difficult for crafters to access due to lack of finances and transportation.

Stands selling birdhouses and other Appalachian crafts can be seen on roadsides throughout southwest Virginia during the summer and fall tourist seasons. This type of distribution is easily accomplished by crafters because it involves little travel cost and can be done close to the crafter's home. Sometimes a booth is constructed for displaying birdhouses. Products can also be displayed without a booth, and on top or out of the trunk of a vehicle. Local festivals, which usually have craft shows, are another market outlet for birdhouses. These festivals are easily affordable for local crafters because they often require little or no entrance fee. Larger festivals with juried craft shows, such as the Virginia Highlands Festival in Abingdon, are unavailable to most birdhouse crafters because of prohibitive travel and entrance costs. In addition, birdhouses are not of high enough quality to be accepted into most juried craft shows.

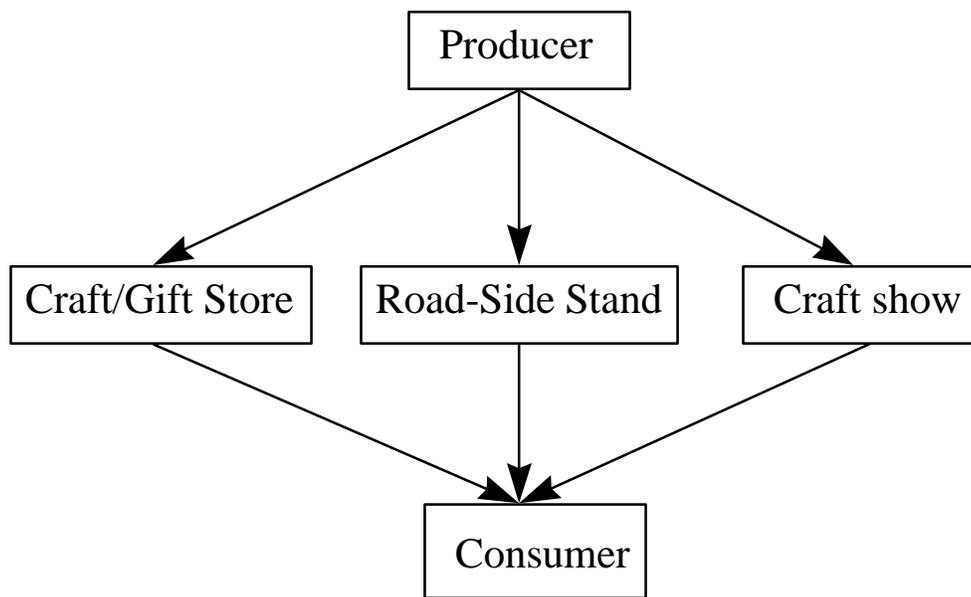


Figure 6.4.1 Marketing chains for birdhouses in southwest Virginia