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Integrating Art Production and Economic Development in North West NT and the Tiwi Islands

NATIONAL SURVEY OF REMOTE ABORIGINAL AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER ARTISTS

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National Survey of Remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Artists

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PREFACE

This Report presents the results of a study that forms one component of a major National Survey of Remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Artists. The National Survey is being undertaken in the Department of Economics at Macquarie University progressively across six regions in remote Australia. The regions are:

Region 1: Kimberley, WA
Region 2: East and West Arnhem Land, NT
Region 3: North-West NT and Tiwi Islands
Region 4: Central Desert, NT and APY Lands, SA
Region 5: Pilbara and Western Desert, WA
Region 6: Far North Queensland

Implementation of the National Survey in Region 1 was completed in 2016[1], with the rollout continuing in Regions 2–5 during 2017, 2018 and 2019. Implementation in Region 6 is subject to funding approvals.

The present Report relates to the implementation of the National Survey in Region 3; North-West NT and Tiwi Islands. An initial scoping trip to the region was undertaken in November 2017 and the main fieldwork was carried out in March, April and June 2018, as discussed in more detail in the Report.

We would like to express our gratitude to a number of individuals and organisations who assisted us in various ways in the conduct of this work. Firstly, we acknowledge the financial support provided by the Commonwealth Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet through the Indigenous Advancement Strategy, the Australia Council for the Arts, Arts NT and Arts SA. A number of people in these departments and agencies were especially helpful, including Debra Myers (PM&C), Rebecca Mostyn and Lisa Walsh (Australia Council for the Arts), Angela Hill and Renita Glencross (Arts NT), Hugo Leschen (formerly Arts NT), and Jennifer Layther and Jared Thomas (Arts SA). We also express our gratitude to Sally Basser, Stephen Arnott, Jane Barney, Lyn Allan, Ingrid Barnes, Jacqueline Gropp, Sonia Hailes and Karen Bell in the Commonwealth Department of Communications and the Arts for their advice and encouragement at all stages of this project.

The collaboration of a number of Aboriginal artists, cultural consultants, translators and interpreters was an essential ingredient in designing and implementing the survey, including Alan Kerinauia, Regina Wilson, Pedro Wonaeamirri, Glen Farmer Illortamini, Brian Farmer Illortaminni, Janice Cameron, Augustine Cameron, Michael Miller, Ron Manyita, and Bede Tungulatum.

We would also like to thank the managers and staff of art centres and other organisations in the region who cooperated with us and assisted in implementing the survey, including: Jackie Hocking, Adrielle Drury (Jilamara Arts and Crafts); Paulina (Jedda) Puruntatameri, Guy Allain, Greg Adams, Michael Stitfold (Manupi Arts); Steve and Dianne Anderson (Tiwi Designs); Noella Babui (Pwanga (Bima) Wear); Joy and John Naden (Ngaruwanajirri Djirai); Miliwanga Wurrben, Dennis Stokes (Mimi Arts); the late Tom E Lewis, Anna Lewis, Fleur Parry (Djilpin Arts); Cath Bowdler, Jayne Nankivell, Clare Armitage (Godinmayin Yijard Rivers Arts and Cultural Centre, Katherine); Aaron McTaggart, Kieren Karritpul, Cathy Laudenbach (Merrepen Arts); Michael and Frances Enilane (St Francis Xavier School, Daly

[1] See David Throsby and Ekaterina Petetskaya, *Integrating Art Production and Economic Development in the Kimberley* (Macquarie University Economics Research Paper No. 2/2016, November 2016).

River); Regina Wilson, Kade McDonald (Durrmu Arts); Denise Messiter, Cassy Petherick (Palngun Wurnangat Aboriginal Corp); Robert Cooper, Kathy Williams (Larrakia Nation Arts); Lisa Buchanan (Knuckey Women's Centre Belyuen); Fox McLachlan, and Phil Evans (Aboriginal Broadcasting Australia).

We would like to thank the board directors, members and Chief Executive Officer of Arnhem, Northern and Kimberley Artists Aboriginal Corporation (ANKA), for their assistance and encouragement through different stages of this survey. In particular we thank the CEO Christina Davidson and the Board Chairman, Djambawa Marawili.

The Regional Coordinator for the survey in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region was Dr Denise Salvestro. Members of the research team who participated in the scoping trip in the region were David Throsby, Katya Petetskaya and Denise Salvestro. The survey interviews were conducted by Denise Salvestro, Neil Lanceley and Katya Petetskaya, supported by the translators and interpreters mentioned above.

Several people provided perceptive comments on a draft of this report. With the usual caveat, we acknowledge particularly Jane Barney, Rebecca Mostyn and Rebecca Sareff. We also acknowledge the financial and administrative support and cooperation provided by Macquarie University. In particular, we are very grateful for the editorial input and the administrative assistance at all stages of the project provided by Laura Billington in the Department of Economics at Macquarie University. The final editing and formatting of the Report was undertaken by Linda Drake.

Finally, we express our sincere gratitude to all the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands artists who gave up their time to be interviewed for this survey and its pilot stages in 2017 and 2018.

In expressing our thanks to all above, we make it clear that responsibility for the content of this Report and for the views expressed is entirely our own.

David Throsby
Katya Petetskaya
May 2019

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Report presents the results of a study that forms one component of a major National Survey of Remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Artists. The National Survey is being undertaken in the Department of Economics at Macquarie University progressively across six regions in remote Australia. The present Report relates to the implementation of the National Survey in Region 3: The North-West region of the Northern Territory, a region that includes the Tiwi Islands.

Background

The purpose of this study is to investigate and analyse the extent to which art and cultural production can provide a viable pathway towards economic empowerment for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples living in remote towns, settlements, homelands and outstations across the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region. These are areas where cultural production has the potential to be one of the most important means for providing a viable, sustainable and culturally-relevant livelihood for members of the community.

Art and cultural production in remote communities

Analytical framework

The model of the Indigenous art and cultural economy that we propose extends the conventional three-sector model (comprising a government sector, a commercial sector, and a non-profit "third" sector) by overlaying a fourth sector, a community/family sector, that has interactions with all three. Organisations operating within this economy can be seen as examples of "hybrid" organisations, which overlap and share services – art centres and ranger organisations are examples. Our focus in this study is on the individual artist or cultural producer who lives and works within this economy. He or she is placed at the centre of the system, engaging in cultural production and cultural transmission as an individual operating within all four sectors.

Employment and unemployment

An essential concern of this study is with the prospects for employment creation through art and cultural production. Efforts have been made by successive governments to deal with the lack of jobs and job training in remote areas. The Community Development Program (CDP) and equivalent programs represent one possible approach to tackling employment problems, an approach involving identification of skill shortages, training provision and job creation. An alternative is to recognise that significant skills already exist, which can be utilised in creating incomes and employment. Such an approach would seek to expand existing opportunities proven to be working, rather than creating new ones from scratch.

Remoteness issues

Today 44 percent of Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander people from remote and very remote areas Australia-wide live outside large communities and hub settlements and in small homelands/outstations. Another 40 percent visit homelands/outstations from time to time. It can be shown there are many economic, health, social and cultural benefits that living in smaller outstations/homelands can provide. At the same time living remotely does not mean a lack of engagement with the outside world. Artists who work from these locations also travel or send their work Australia-wide and internationally, and cultural tourism brings people from around the world to places where Indigenous culture can be experienced in the most direct and authentic way.

Mapping remote Indigenous cultural production

In the survey, mapping of cultural-economic activities that contribute to art and cultural production was undertaken by the research team in November 2017. The mapping exercise classified the major cultural-economic activities into the following categories (1) creative

artistic activities and (2) cultural maintenance and applied cultural activities, referred to simply as "other cultural activities". The activities identified are defined as follows:

> *Creative artistic activities*: Visual arts; Performing arts; Composing or choreographing; Writing or storytelling; Making a film, TV or radio program, or multimedia work.
>
> *Cultural maintenance and applied cultural activities*: Teaching others in arts and cultural activities; Caring for country; Being on a cultural board, committee or council; Interpreting, translating or cross-cultural consulting; Making Indigenous medicines or cosmetics or providing Indigenous health services; Fishing, hunting, collecting or preparing bush food; Participating in ceremonies; Providing cultural tourism services; Arts administration; Arts management; Cultural archiving and/or record keeping.

Objectives of the study

The National Survey of Remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Artists

The objectives of the National Survey of which this study forms a part is to produce a nationally representative database on how individual Indigenous artists in remote Australia establish, maintain and develop their professional arts practice. The policy areas for which the survey data are proving to be relevant include the following: avenues for expanding economic opportunities; education, training and skills development; infrastructure needs; the role of art centres and other third sector organisations; cultural tourism; and the future sustainability of Indigenous communities in remote and very remote locations.

The survey in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region

In the implementation of the National Survey in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region, the overall objectives remain as spelt out above. The survey investigates: the range of activities that artists undertake or have undertaken; the pathways for acquiring the knowledge and skills (cultural capital) to become an artist in remote areas; respondents' current economic engagement with arts and cultural production; the spread of paid and unpaid work of different types, the allocation of time to different activities, and the nature and amounts of income earned; aspects of professional creative art practice in the region; and the role of cultural production in sustainable community development.

Methodology

The North-West Northern Territory and Tiwi Islands study region lies within the following Statistical Areas Level 2 (SA2)[2] boundaries, as defined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS): Tiwi Islands; Daly; Thamarrurr; Alligator; Elsey; and Katherine. To be eligible for participation in the survey, respondents were required to: self-identify as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander or both; be 15 years old or above; be residing in remote and very remote areas of the North-West NT /Tiwi Islands region (in accordance with the defined study boundaries); and have had previous experience in at least one of the five creative artistic activities considered in this study. We estimate that there are about 2,500 Indigenous adult practising artists in the study region. This estimate allowed us to calculate the minimum requirement for a sample size for this region as being set at n=93. In the actual implementation of the survey, 123 interviews were achieved for this region – 66 interviews in the North-West NT and 57 in the Tiwi Islands. When analysing data specific to the Tiwi Islands the margin of error is 13 percent, and when analysing the North-West NT data, it is 12 percent (with a 95 percent level of confidence), according with the sample sizes achieved for these areas.

In identifying artists for interview, we relied on a limited sampling procedure involving locating artists through a variety of regional organisations including art centres, commercial

[2] The SA2s are a general-purpose medium-sized area built from whole SA1s. Their aim is to represent a community that interacts together socially and economically.

and artists'-run galleries, community centres, youth centres, men's sheds, women's centres, Indigenous rangers, publishing houses, schools, aged care centres, TV and radio stations, broadcasting corporations, culture and learning centres, language centres, archives and libraries, arts and cultural festivals, media production centres, peak bodies and relevant government departments.

The research team undertook a scoping trip to the study region in November 2017. The main fieldwork involving interviews with artists in the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands took place in March, April and June 2018. The survey interviews were conducted in Wurrumiyanga, Pirlangimpi, Milikapiti, Nauiyu, Peppimenarti, Wadeye, Belyuen, Wugularr, Manyallaluk and Katherine. The researchers received necessary research permissions to enter these communities and conduct interviews with full cooperation and engagement from the communities, local organisations and relevant peak bodies.

The survey was administered by computer-assisted face-to-face interviews in English or, when it was required, with the assistance of a translator/interpreter. Some weighting was needed in our data to adjust for differences between the sample and the target population. Subject to normal caveats concerning statistical inference, we can take our results to be broadly representative of the population of adult Indigenous artists in the region.

Socio-demographic characteristics of artists in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region

The average age of an Indigenous artist in the region is 48 years. A number of respondents speak more than one Indigenous language as well as English. More than half of artists in the region (55 percent) use mostly their traditional language, about a quarter (24 percent) stated they use English most these days, and just one-fifth (21 percent) said they used Aboriginal English mostly. Other socio-demographic characteristics of the sample include domestic arrangements and the incidence of disability. In terms of domestic arrangements, our sample shows that in the region the largest group among artists comprises single individuals without dependent children (39 percent). A third of artists in the survey region (33 percent) live with a disability or long-term illness. Yet only five percent of these artists said that this disability or illness has a negative effect on their work "all of the time" or "most of the time".

Artists' cultural activities

Within creative art practices, the most prominent art form in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region is visual arts, with just over three-quarters of survey respondents currently working in this field. Among other cultural activities, the most prevalent are the traditional cultural practices of caring for country, fishing/hunting/collecting/preparing bush food, making Indigenous medicines/cosmetics, providing Indigenous health services, and participating in ceremonies, as well as the continuing process of passing on cultural knowledge to others.

On average, an artist in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region has engaged in eight or nine cultural economic activities at some time in their life. At the present time, she or he is engaged in about two artistic activities and about four to five other cultural activities. This average artist receives some form of income for her/his work in at least one of the artistic activities and about two other cultural activities.

While almost everyone with experience in visual arts continues to be engaged in this artform (96 percent), only three in five of those with experience in composing or choreographing and in writing/storytelling are able to practise in these fields. In the case of other cultural activities, the great majority of artists with experience in the everyday cultural practices of caring for country and fishing/hunting/collecting bush food are currently engaged in these activities (90 and 93 percent respectively). In aggregate these data point to the availability of significant levels of cultural and human capital in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region that might be capable of further deployment in art and cultural production.

Acquisition of cultural capital

In this survey, we distinguish between: (1) formal education, which includes the processes of schooling and other general education that provide a wide range of knowledge and competencies; (2) cultural education, imparting knowledge and skills required for participating in cultural activities and gaining permissions to practise cultural work within certain cultural laws; and (3) specific training required for practising in a particular artistic occupation.

Formal education

About 20 percent of Indigenous artists in the region have completed Year 9 or below compared to just 17 percent of the general Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander labour force in remote/very remote NT; three percent did not receive any formal education, which is higher than in the remote/ very remote NT area overall (just below one percent). At the other end of the educational distribution, about 15 percent of artists in the region completed year 12 or equivalent, compared to eight percent in the remote and very remote wider Indigenous workforce in the NT.

Cultural knowledge

Learning culture from family members is both the most common way (100 percent) and the most important pathway (77 percent) for artists to acquire cultural knowledge. Elders and other community members are a highly significant source, with about three quarters of artists identifying it as such and 12 percent believing it was the most important factor in their cultural education. A significant majority of respondents (more than 90 percent) identify learning from being on country as important and for six percent of respondents this represents the most important pathway.

Art industry skills

There are multiple ways by which Indigenous artists in remote communities can acquire skills necessary for their artistic occupations. Again, learning from a family member is both the most common and most important source of knowledge, whether or not the learning includes participation as well as just observation. Other significant avenues include self-learning and learning on the job, workshops, school, and mentorship.

Conclusion

All of the pathways considered above can be seen to provide competencies that enable Indigenous people in the North-West NT/Tiwi islands region to engage in economically productive activity, while maintaining the inalienable connection with their culture. At the same time, it is important to note that these pathways also provide competencies that are relevant to a wide variety of jobs in the cultural economy and in the wider labour market.

Time allocation

In an average week, half of the artists in the region work in visual arts about 2-3 days and more than a quarter do so on a roughly full-time basis (four to five days). Time allocation patterns are markedly different for artists working in other art forms. Only about one in ten performing artists work more or less full-time (nine percent) with the great majority of them working on average less than one day per week. Time spent on other creative work mostly amounts on average to no more than a couple of days per month.

Artists in the region who undertake work activities that are not directly culture-related spend on average two to three full working days a week doing this work. In the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands region, artists work as aged/child/youth care workers, women's safe house workers, school teachers and coordinators, counsellors, municipal workers, employment consultants, administrators, supervisors and managers, carpenters, check-out workers at local shops, seamstresses, mechanics, cleaners, community maintenance workers, construction workers, and so on.

Financial circumstances

Paid and unpaid activities

The great majority (91 percent) of visual artists who practised their art in the last 12 months received some financial return from it. However, only about 60 percent of musicians, actors and other performers were paid, and even fewer writers and film-makers. Just over half of all writers and storytellers are paid, and less

than a quarter of all composers, who might only be paid royalties from time to time.

Turning to other cultural activities, we can observe that a significantly higher proportion of these activities is left unpaid, with an average 63 percent of these activities across the board being undertaken on a voluntary basis. The majority of artists in the region (54 percent) are not paid for their non-cultural work. This is attributable in part to the fact that many of those artists engaged in non-cultural work are Community Development Program (CDP) participants – about half of those engaged in non-cultural work. The voluntary nature of over 50 percent of non-cultural work in remote areas of the region points to the overall lack of opportunities for generating incomes outside the arts sector.

Sources of payment

Occasionally artists may receive payment as individuals, such as when they sell a painting directly to a final buyer, but the great majority of payments for artistic activity are derived via organisations such as art centres.

Importance of income from cultural activities

Only about a third of visual artists and a fifth of writers/storytellers and filmmakers/multimedia artists receive their *major* income from their creative work. For other cultural activities, those involving full-time or part-time employment arrangements are likely to comprise a significant income source, whereas most other activities cannot be relied on for generating a constant stream of income.

Methods of payment

Works of visual artists are usually paid per piece (74 percent of all visual artists). Most sell their work through an art centre, which may pay an agreed price for the work on receipt, or (more commonly) will pay the artists when the work is sold. Artists in part-time or full-time employment, for example in an art centre or a school, also enjoy some regularity in their income. About one-third of artists who combine their artistic practice with other cultural employment may be paid in full-time or near full-time salaries and wages. Yet for most other individuals, the method of payment is unlikely to lead to a regular inflow of money.

Other sources of income

Other paid or unpaid work outside the arts and cultural sector is undertaken by 27 percent of the artists in our sample; around three in five of artists who engage in non-cultural work are paid for this work. About one-third of those undertaking paid non-cultural activities are doing so on a full-time basis and about 44 percent on a part-time basis. The majority of these non-cultural jobs (52 percent) are within the third sector, which highlights the importance of this sector for generating employment in the region, including jobs outside the arts and cultural sector.

Only one in ten artists (11 percent) does not receive any form of support from one or more non-work sources. The main source of non-work income is government benefits; three quarters of all artists in the region receive some form of financial support through a government benefit program. Almost all artists support other people in one way or another; not surprisingly, the main beneficiaries of this income redistribution are members of the artist's close family including his or her children or grandchildren. These data reflect the demand sharing economy that typically characterises Indigenous communities in remote areas.

The main source of income

Creative artistic activities and other cultural activities were the income sources of almost a third of artists. One in five stated that they gain their principal income from other work. It is worth noting about half of all artists (51 percent) nominated "other sources", or non-work income, as their principal revenue stream. Almost all respondents in this group (97 percent) received some form of financial support from the government.

Mean and median incomes

Our data on artists' incomes in the last 12 months indicate a mean income from creative activities of $3,700 (median $500). Mean incomes from other cultural activities and from other non-cultural activities were $5,700 and $2,400 respectively, giving a mean total income from work of $11,700 (median $3,700). Average income from other sources, as described above, was $12,200 (median $12,500). Thus we find that the average artist's total income from all sources in the last 12 months was $23,800 (median $20,500).

These data show that artistic activities contribute just 16 percent of an average artist's total income, and about a third of their work income. However, the largest component of artists' work income in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region is income from participation in other cultural activities. It comprises about half of an average artist's work income and about a quarter of her/his total income. Work outside the arts and cultural sector makes up about a fifth of an artist's work income and ten percent of total income.

Professional practice

In considering issues of art practice, we distinguish between those artists who are primarily visual artists engaged in activities including painting, print-making, weaving, carving, and sculpting, and those who are performing artists engaged in music, dance, theatre, or film production.

Artists' years of experience

More than half the artists in the region (62 percent) have had more than 20 years' experience practising their art. This attests to the significant accumulation of human capital in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands as a major resource to generate economic benefit for communities in the region.

Locations and facilities for making work

The data show that 67 percent of visual artists use an art centre at some time and for 48 percent of them this is their most important work location. In contrast, performing artists such as musicians or dancers, often have no alternative other than to produce their music or practise at home, and for four in ten (41 percent) this is the most important location. Alternatively, a community facility such as a school or men's shed can provide the space and possibly equipment for performance practice. Some musicians in the region are fortunate enough to have access to a dedicated studio space, such as a recording studio, which may provide instruments, recording facilities and so on.

Preferences over time allocation

When asked whether they would like to spend more, less, or about the same amount of time at their art practice, 41 percent of respondents said they are happy with the status quo, while just over four in ten (44 percent) would like to spend more time on art work. The main reasons why those artists who would like to allocate more time to their art do not do so relate to family responsibilities, or a need to spend time at work not connected to their art practice, which affects about 21 percent of artists willing to do more. Another 11 percent of artists nominated health issues as the main reason for not undertaking more artistic work.

Professional achievements

Almost two-thirds (63 percent) of visual artists in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region have had their work shown or presented in capital cities, and one quarter (26 percent) have

been seen overseas. One in five (20 percent) of artists in the region have won an award or prize of some sort. The same proportion of artists has received a grant or similar funding for their art work. Of those whose work has been showcased overseas or in capital cities, about 90 percent regarded this experience as very positive, with the same proportion of those winning a prize or receiving a grant reporting these successes as very positive on their art practice.

Use of equipment and technology

Just over half of visual artists (54 percent) do not use any technological device, while the great majority of performing artists (88 percent) use one or more devices. Note that overall Indigenous artists use technology more than the Indigenous population in general. Australia-wide, Indigenous artists in very remote and remote areas access the internet more often than the general Indigenous population also in these areas – 73 percent compared to 64 percent for very remote areas, and 56 percent compared to 50 percent for remote areas.

Copyright issues

The great majority (89 percent) of artists said that as far as they were aware, their work or a reproduction of their work had not been used without their permission or payment. Of the very small number whose copyright had been infringed at some time, about one-third had taken successful action to stop infringement or to seek compensation. To their credit, most art centres, agents and galleries appear to take a responsible attitude and due care in regard to copyright protection for artists. Although copyright infringement does not appear to be a serious problem for artists in the survey region, it should not be taken as a reason for letting-up on more general efforts to strengthen measures for protection of Indigenous intellectual property.

Intra-regional differences

The region covered by this component of the national survey falls partly on the mainland of the Northern Territory and partly on the offshore Tiwi Islands. Although the two areas are related to some extent in cultural terms, they differ in a number of respects: their geography, land use, pattern of settlement, and size of their economies.

Demographics

There are no significant differences in the gender proportions or in the mean ages of artists in the two areas. In regard to family circumstances, there are some unexplained variations observable in the data – a greater proportion of singles with no children in the Tiwi Islands, for example. There appears to be a greater incidence of disability amongst artists in the Tiwi Islands compared to artists in the North-West NT.

Cultural activities undertaken

In regard to artistic activities, there is a stronger presence of music composition, film-making and multimedia work in the mainland component of the region, reflecting differences in availability of facilities. However, there is no difference between the two areas in the proportions of performing artists who are being paid for this work. In regard to the visual arts, there is a concentration of activity in the Tiwi Islands, and a larger proportion of these artists is paid for their work than their counterparts on the mainland component of the region. In the case of other cultural activities, there is mostly a greater engagement by artists in the North-West NT mainland than in the Tiwi Islands. Significantly smaller proportions of artists in the mainland component of the region are being paid for cultural work of various sorts than is the case for artists in the Tiwi Islands.

Education and training

The pathways that artists in the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands identify as most important in the process of acquiring their cultural capital appear to be similar between the two areas – it can be argued that the basic means by which knowledge and skills are learned by

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are essentially the same for all, regardless of location.

Financial circumstances

There are some striking differences between the income data for the two areas. Just over 20 percent of artists in the North-West NT component of the survey region nominated their income from artistic work as the main source of income for the year compared to only four percent of Tiwi artists. For three-quarters (74 percent) of the latter artists, income from other sources (primarily government benefits) was their main source, whereas this was the main source for only one third (31 percent) of North-West NT artists. Average incomes from all types of work are lower for Tiwi artists than for mainland artists in the survey region – work income for the latter artists is more than three times greater than for those on the Tiwi Islands. Non-work income (income from other sources) is higher on average for the islanders, which narrows the gap in mean total incomes between them and their mainland counterparts. Even so, the average total income of the Tiwi artists, at just on $20,000 a year, is still significantly less than the $27,000 a year received in total by the average artist on the mainland.

Gender issues

Demographics

The female/male gender ratio in the survey region is roughly 60/40. There are no significant differences between the genders in the proportions of male and female artists in our survey sample who suffer from disability, long-term illness or other form of impairment.

Education and training

There are few differences between men and women among artists in the region in their formal educational attainment. Some minor differences do appear in the data for the most important pathway for acquiring cultural knowledge. Although both men and women mostly learn about their culture from family members, women are more likely than men to learn from elders, friends or other community members, whereas a greater proportion of men learn from being on country. Males appear to be more dependent than females on self-learning, whereas female artists are more inclined than males towards more formalised skill acquisition.

Time allocation

Women engaged in the performing arts spend on average less than one day per month at this activity, whereas men spend up to one full day per week on average. It appears that women artists spend more hours per week at all the types of activities shown, apart from non-cultural work.

Financial circumstances

The most prominent category of income for both genders is “other sources”, reflecting the importance of government benefits and other non-work-related income as a source of income support for artists. Significantly more females than males identified creative artistic activities as their main income source (18 percent and 7 percent respectively). On the other hand, the proportion of male artists for whom other work is the main source of income is twice as great as female artists 27 percent compared to 14 percent).

There are only minor differences between the genders in the total levels of work income, but the somewhat higher returns received by women from other sources mean that overall their total incomes are roughly ten percent higher than men’s. We conclude that the financial disadvantage that is so pervasive for women in mainstream Australia does not appear to extend to artists in this region.

Art and culture in sustainable communities

We found a significant majority of artists (95 percent) agree with the proposition that art and cultural production has the potential to promote long-term sustainability of remote communities in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region. In addition, there was very strong agreement that "Artists/writers like myself can train young people in the community to become artists/writers". Respondents also endorsed the importance of bilingual education in school (89 percent of respondents). In a post-school context, the value of arts-practice workshops was supported by 94 percent of respondents.

The results show that there was strong support for the importance of art centres, with 97 percent of respondents agreeing that "Having an art centre creates (could create) jobs and incomes in my community". There would appear to be scope for further infrastructure development in some remote communities, with almost 65 percent of respondents agreeing with the proposition that facilities such as community centres, venues, etc. in their community at present were not enough to support more artistic activity.

Almost all respondents in our survey expressed a positive attitude to having tourists visit to experience Aboriginal culture first hand. Furthermore, a significant majority of respondents (92 percent) thought that tourists can bring incomes and employment to communities; however, there remains some ambivalence towards high-volume mass tourism which, although potentially lucrative, may be culturally insensitive or even damaging.

Conclusions: Policy issues and recommendations

(1) Infrastructure needs

Art centres

Artists are unequivocal in their recognition of the vital role that art centres play in the functioning of the Indigenous arts economy in the region. Nevertheless, while the art centre model has been working, it will need to rely on a continuation of support in future. In particular, art centres provide many additional social services and other public benefits to the wider community for which they rarely receive any funding support. It is important that funding arrangements for art centres recognise this reality for their ongoing sustainability.

Aside from their functions in supporting their artists, most art centres in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region also operate a gallery on site, and some offer accommodation to visitors or operate a museum. Such activities extend the functions of an art centre into commercial arrangements that can yield revenue to strengthen the centre's core work in supporting artists. For such initiatives to be sanctioned within the traditional art centre model, three requirements need to be met. First, there must be sound financial management to ensure commercial sustainability of the business. Second, the centre's primary arts support function should not be compromised. Finally such initiatives should not place demands on skilled and capable practitioners whose time is already committed to existing cultural activities

Resources for performing artists

Generally performing artists do not have access to widely available facilities to assist in the development of their creative work. Many also face problems finding opportunities to present their work because of a shortage of suitable venues or events. Some cultural or community facilities can foster musical work by creative individuals, and there is ample scope for extending these kinds of facilities to more communities with adequate funding support. These infrastructure facilities can make an important difference, especially for young people with potential to develop their creative skills and perhaps embark on a creative career.

Support organisations

Several cultural organisations exist in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region to support the work of artists. One of the most important is ANKA, the peak organisation for the region. It

provides advocacy, training, marketing and resourcing services, and its regional conferences are important for providing support and coordination for art centres in the region. There are a number of other organisations supporting arts in the region, including Artback NT, Music NT, Ironbark Aboriginal Corporation, NT Writers' Centre, Larrakia Nation, Aboriginal Broadcasting Australia, Thamarrurr Development Corporation, and Top End Aboriginal Bush Broadcasting Association.

The financial and governance structures of all of the organisations referred to above differ from one another., Their important role in facilitating the development of arts and cultural practice in the region needs full acknowledgement in the formulation of policy strategies at all levels of public and private sector engagement affecting arts and cultural producers.

(2) Expanding economic opportunities

Earning income from culture-related activities

In addition to the creative arts there are a number of other culture-related activities which can also generate income. These include translation and interpreting, cultural archiving, cross-cultural consulting, and providing cultural tourism services to visitors. However, there are many artists who do not earn additional income through working at these activities, despite having the skills and experience to do so. With support there could be significantly more economic opportunities from these sorts of activities, contributing in turn to developing a stronger arts and cultural sector in the region.

Small business development

Some artists may take up opportunities to establish small creative enterprises, perhaps on a collaborative or cooperative basis, and engage in experimental art or developing new modes of distribution. In policy terms, such initiatives can link to a broader innovation agenda to further develop cultural and creative industries. Smart policy measures that recognise talent in this field can provide seed funding or small business incubators to encourage creative enterprise development.

Market and supply-chain issues

To expand economic opportunities for individual cultural producers in the region, it is important to develop the distribution and marketing components of the value chain. To a large extent market development takes place in response to commercial incentives, but there is a role for judicious policy intervention. This includes providing market intelligence, export promotion programs, and regulatory measures to prevent the sale of fake Indigenous art products, and promotion of best practice in certification of authenticity by all sellers of products purporting to come from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists.

Learning from successes of hybrid organisations

Remote Indigenous communities provide cross-cultural environments. Working in these environments requires bridging different values, rationales, agendas and objectives. Enterprises and organisations that have understood and accommodated this, such as ranger programs and art centres, have been able to function and thrive in these conditions. Their structures allow them to operate within the hybrid realm of the market, embracing government, community/families and the not-for-profit sectors. There is an opportunity to acknowledge such working models and learn from their experiences.

(3) Education, training and skill development

School

School education is recognised by artists as having some part to play in imparting cultural knowledge and skills that to complement the essential role of family and community members. Some programs provide cooperation between an art centre and the local school, where children visit the centre on a regular basis, or where senior artists visit the school to teach arts and cultural skills to children. There is an opportunity to strengthen these

educational pathways by acknowledging their long-term nature and providing appropriate funding support.

Inter- and intra-generational cultural transmission

At present the costs of family- and community-based art and cultural teaching are to a large extent borne by the community and in-kind payments. Very few funding streams acknowledge artists involved as teachers and fund their work accordingly. Other educational initiatives that involve family and community members include training provided by arts centres, ranger organisations, culture and language centres and other organisations. These organisations rarely have an appropriate budget or funding to support these activities, and workers are most likely unpaid. The Report points to the need to acknowledge the long-term educational benefit that these organisations can provide, and ensure that they are properly supported.

Skill transfers from outside

One of the features of organisations working to support art and cultural producers in remote Indigenous communities is the mixing of skills, experiences and knowledge of local Indigenous staff with those of non-Indigenous professionals coming from outside the communities. Incoming experts in turn benefit from training and advice received from senior artists and local Indigenous staff. When these people leave, many years of valuable experience is lost. A database could perhaps be established of culturally-experienced professionals who might be available for later engagement as consultants in the arts and cultural sector in the region or in other industries.

Access to country

Virtually all artists spend some part of their time caring for country, and many rely on accessing their country as a source of knowledge and creative inspiration, place of practice or for gathering materials for their art production. The data provide compelling evidence in support of the need for securing artists' access to country if art and culture are to become a stronger source of economic empowerment for remote Aboriginal communities in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region.

Further education

Various opportunities exist for further education of artists in the region, such as short courses and workshops provided through an art centre, other organisation or agency. These activities may include hosting a visiting artist or educator to train local practitioners in particular techniques such as printmaking, fabric design, and so on, and provision of specialised courses for film- and multi-media makers. There is a need for continued funding for such initiatives, including support for workshops and short courses taught by Indigenous senior artists and cultural producers from the region.

Business skills

There is a strong need for business training in remote communities to enable Indigenous artists, cultural producers and other community members to understand better the business side of art and cultural production. Many art centres already educate their artists on business aspects of the arts. More could be done if dedicated funding and support materials could be provided for organisations to take on this function.

(4) Cultural tourism

A program of particular importance in encouraging tourist engagement with Indigenous art and culture is the series of Territory Arts Trails, developed by the Territory Government. It is one component of its program for building the Territory's creative economy through the art and cultural sector, including the Indigenous Tourism Champions program. The latter is a program that identifies Aboriginal-owned tourism businesses offering authentic cultural experiences delivered by Indigenous people. There is also scope for smaller start-ups and local initiatives in the Indigenous cultural tourism space. In some locations, opportunities

exist for the establishment of small family-based tourism enterprises involving Aboriginal individuals and focussing on providing small-group art/culture/nature experiences for discriminating visitors. Sometimes these activities can occur in association with the work of Indigenous rangers.

Prospective enterprises in this field require basic business skills, indicating the need for skill development programs such as workshops, short-course training sessions, and/or small business incubators tailored to the needs of family-based tourism initiatives. For these developments to proceed, a well-planned and adequately funded training strategy focussing on small Indigenous family- and community-run businesses is needed. If successful, these enterprises could become a prime example of a participatory economy in the region, engaging Aboriginal individuals and communities, helping to reduce levels of welfare dependency among the Indigenous population.

Tiwi Islands

The development of tourism on Melville and Bathurst Islands is constrained by issues of access, with the main activity occurring as day-trips from Darwin to the regional centre of Nguiu. Cultural tourism outside the main centre is very limited. Access to Melville Island is possible by road and ferry but can be difficult, particularly in the wet season. There are airstrips on the island and scheduled air services to both Snake Bay (Milikapiti) and Garden Point (Pirlangimpi). Only small numbers of tourists visit the art centres there. Several resorts on the coast cater to customers who visit for barramundi fishing. While some find their way to one or other of the art centres, there is undeveloped potential to draw larger numbers of lodge visitors to engage with local culture.

In survey interviews, Tiwi artists indicated they would welcome tourists to share their culture. There is a wide range of distinctive cultural products available for sale, including paintings, prints, carvings, textiles, clothing, and artefacts such as the combs that are unique to the islands. However, improvements in tourist infrastructure are needed – local transport, accommodation, catering and services such as tour guides. The region needs a strategic plan for tourism development specific to its particular needs, strengths and potential for growth.

North-West Northern Territory

The tourism industry in the remote and very remote parts of North-West NT is dependent on accessibility, which varies considerably across the region. Areas served directly by the Stuart Highway running south from Darwin can draw on the volumes of traffic using this major thoroughfare. Elsewhere in the region the tourism industry remains less developed. There is good road access to Daly River, but accessibility further west is difficult, especially in the wet season. Because of this, art centres in these places receive relatively small numbers of visitors. There are opportunities for developing small-group cultural tourism to make the most of the artistic and cultural resources of these places, assuming tour companies are willing to respond to the identified potential.

A small number of art centres in the region provide visitor services such as tours and accommodation. These activities represent additional economic opportunities that could be explored by some art other centres if there is capacity and funding for staff to take on these additional functions. In particular, such ventures could provide new jobs and economic opportunities to community members from outside the art centre. However, extension of an art centre's operations into direct engagement with tourism should not divert core resources from the centre's primary mission of arts and cultural support, and should not put pressure on those artists who would prefer artistic work to tourism.

(5) Concluding remarks

There is considerable variation across the region in existing economic, social and cultural circumstances and in different communities' potential for future development. It is impossible to offer generalised recommendations on policy action. It is unlikely a single policy measure will address all issues at once. Instead a mix of complementary measures is

needed to address particular aspects. It is important also to note we do not suggest that art and cultural production on its own can transform any remote community. We argue that under the right conditions it can be an effective for employment creation and income generation, and help improve the long-term prospects for economic sustainability and social viability, while also respecting the fundamental importance of Indigenous culture. All policy recommendations that flow from this study are pointed in this direction.

National Survey of Remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Artists

Integrating Art Production and Economic Development in North-West NT and the Tiwi Islands

1 BACKGROUND

Arts and cultural production has significant potential to contribute to the economic sustainability of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities in remote areas of Australia. Indigenous Australians possess fundamental cultural knowledge and skills, and participate in a wide range of arts and cultural activities. These are the activities that allow Indigenous cultures to be maintained, developed and expressed, ensuring their continuation. They also encourage a strong sense of community identity. Yet little is known as to how the cultural assets in Indigenous communities can be mobilised as a source of income generation and employment creation. The only official survey that collects data on aspects of cultural production in Indigenous communities in remote Australia is the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (NATSISS) carried out periodically by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). However, the data collected by NATSISS only target some selected cultural activities, and the statistics generated are not suitable for determining the full scale of artistic and cultural production in these areas.

In the mainstream arts in Australia it has been recognised that the only way to collect reliable, robust, systematic and objective data about the conditions of individual artistic production is via a nationwide survey. Such a survey was undertaken for the first time in 1983 as a component of the Australia Council's Individual Artist Inquiry, and has been repeated periodically ever since, with the most recent survey conducted in 2017[3]. The information about arts practice yielded by the surveys has been of inestimable value to government departments and agencies at Federal, State, Territory and local levels, peak bodies in all areas of the arts, cultural institutions, other arts-related organisations and the general public. While these surveys have included Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists working at a professional level in the mainstream – mostly in metropolitan and other urban and regional locations – it has never been possible to extend the coverage to include remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists. A completely different questionnaire and survey methodology is required to address the realities of artistic production of these artists.

The nationwide survey of Remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists, of which the present study is a part, was initiated by the present authors in 2015 to remedy this situation. The Survey responds to a need for a deeper and more informed understanding of the circumstances of Indigenous cultural production as a source of income and employment in remote communities. It is motivated by two basic propositions: (1) Use of cultural assets has the potential to make a significantly more substantial contribution to the economic sustainability of Indigenous communities in remote Australia than it does at present, and it can do so in a way that links economic and business development with the maintenance of

[3] See David Throsby and Katya Petetskaya, *Making Art Work: An Economic Study of Professional Artists in Australia* (Sydney: Australia Council for the Arts, 2017), referred to henceforward as *Making Art Work 2017*.

Indigenous culture; and (2) If the stakeholders are to understand the potential of cultural assets as a component of economic sustainability, and if policy-makers are to understand how to design policy strategies to support this, basic data are needed about cultural work and practice on the ground.

The purpose of the study in the North-West Northern Territory and the Tiwi Islands is to investigate and analyse the extent to which art and cultural production can provide a viable pathway towards economic empowerment for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples living in remote towns, settlements, homelands and outstations across the region. These are areas where cultural production has the potential to be one of the most important means for providing a viable, sustainable and culturally-relevant livelihood for members of the community. Cultural production is taken to include artistic activities such as the visual and performing arts, writing/ storytelling, composing, artistic production in film and audio-visual media, as well as a range of other cultural activities such as caring for country, participating in ceremonies, cultural governance, cultural archiving, and so on. Notwithstanding the wide range of cultural activities covered, the primary focus of this study is on the creative arts, and on the prospects for art and cultural production to promote employment for creative workers and incomes for communities. Implementation of the survey in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region is particularly important because of the following considerations:

- Firstly, economic sustainability for Indigenous Australians living in remote communities is an extremely important issue in the Northern Territory, and there is a strong need for clearer understanding of the ways in which production of arts and cultural goods and services might contribute to long-term resilience of these communities.
- Secondly, there are a number of established art centres and other cultural organisations in the region, which are an important component of the infrastructure supporting regional art and cultural production. The maintenance and further development of this infrastructure is essential to the viability of art and cultural activities for Indigenous people in remote and very remote areas.
- Thirdly, the policy directions of the Commonwealth and NT Governments have an extensive engagement with the issues addressed by this project, and its results have the potential to make a significant contribution to forming policy at all levels of public administration as well as in commercial and non-government sectors.

2 ART AND CULTURAL PRODUCTION IN REMOTE COMMUNITIES

As described in Section 1 of this Report, the aim of this study is to investigate and analyse the extent to which art and cultural production can provide a means towards economic empowerment for remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. The context, within which the study is placed, is one that recognises the fundamental significance of culture to the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. The intangible cultural capital possessed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in these remote communities is the fundamental resource upon which they can draw – both generally in their day-to-day lives, and specifically in their creative and culture-related activities. It is through the use of their cultural and natural resources that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities have their strongest opportunity to attain long-term economic and cultural sustainability.

Analytical framework

For the purposes of systematic analysis, we require a model encapsulating the essential character of the Indigenous art and cultural economy in remote regions. Such a model will look somewhat different from standard economic models of industrial organisation, labour supply, profit-oriented production, entrepreneurial behaviour, and so on. An overarching framework for our model can be drawn from the concept of sustainability as understood by First Nations communities all around the world. For these peoples, the basic premises governing economic, social and cultural life relate to the interconnected roles of land, cultural law and language. The social norms and mode of governance for Indigenous communities in Australia exemplify these principles, which have underpinned the maintenance and transmission of their culture for thousands of years.

Our focus in this study is on the individual artist or cultural producer who lives and works within this Indigenous art and cultural economy. The model of the economy that we propose extends the conventional three-sector model (comprising a government sector, a commercial sector, and a non-profit "third" sector) by overlaying a fourth sector, a community/family sector, that has interactions with all three. Organisations operating within this economy can be seen as examples of "hybrid" organisations, which combine elements from at least two of the state, market, non-profit and community sectors[4]. The boundaries between sectors are blurred and overlaps between sectors can shift with time and changes of circumstances, and will be specific to each particular hybrid organisation. The concept of hybridity in organisations emerged in the mid-1990s and has gradually gained in importance in what is now known as a "hybrid movement" (Battilana et al. 2012).

There are multiple definitions of hybridity. In the context of remote Indigenous communities, hybrids occur as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander-owned corporations, social enterprises, community-run initiatives, and commercial businesses, as well as private companies with established protocols for corporate social responsibility and corporate philanthropy. The concept of hybridity also embraces Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander arts and cultural practitioners working as individuals. For our purposes, we can take an art centre in a remote Indigenous community as an example of a hybrid organisation. Art centres are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander owned, managed and governed enterprises that are state-supported, yet they also function as businesses that need to generate operating profits. In many communities, art centres are often forced to take on additional duties as social welfare distributors in the absence of such organisations in the community in which

[4] Use of the terms "hybrid" here is different from its application in Jon Altman's concept of the "hybrid economy" comprising state, market and customary sectors (see Altman, 2007).

they operate. Such additional services include but are not limited to: account management for their artists; negotiating with Government services on behalf of the artists (and at times their family members); providing training and education to community members; documenting and archiving material of cultural and social significance to the community; and so on. At times, an art centre might be the only organisation in a community that has functional equipment and facilities, such as internet or phone connections, a printer, or transportation resources. A remote art centre often also serves as an effective conduit for other organisations and agencies, enabling them better to serve the Indigenous community. In this respect these other organisations take advantage of the art centre's role as a broker between artists and outside stakeholders.

Ranger groups provide another example of hybrid organisations in remote Indigenous communities. These groups usually receive support from various Government programs for providing environmental services to the Australian community, yet some of their activities are market-based – plant harvesting enterprises, for example, or making bush medicine/cosmetics for retail or wholesale sale via local markets, stores and online. These organisations may also participate in the market via trading in Australian Carbon Credit Units.[5] Notwithstanding these commercial operations, ranger programs are an extension of existing practices of caring for country that have been undertaken by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples continuously over many years across Australia.

Given the context of hybrid organisations as outlined above, the analytical framework we propose involves the individual cultural producer placed at the centre of the system, engaging in cultural production and cultural transmission as an individual operating within all four sectors. The individual cultural producer is portrayed as a member of a community with cultural, social and other responsibilities, and functioning in an environment that is affected by values, agendas and rationalities (often competing with each other) that derive from all four sectors.

It is important to note that the hybridity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organisations operating remotely allows for overlapping and sharing of services between organisations. This happens in a variety of ways, including when: tourist operations cooperate and rely on services provided by art centres or rangers; art centres rely on the stream of tourists being brought in by those tourist operators; artists cooperate with rangers for collecting materials on country; organisations or groups in a community rely on the services of a local multimedia centre for documentation of events and promotional material; dancers and musicians benefit from using vacant spaces provided by a local school for rehearsals; or when artists are able to earn some income from participating in culture programs run by a school. Because there are strong interconnections between the sectors, boosting one or more of the sectors in remote Indigenous communities has the potential to contribute to the growth of the local economy overall.

Employment and unemployment

An essential concern of this study is with the prospects for employment creation through art and cultural production in remote Indigenous communities in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region. It is well known that employment opportunities for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander individuals living in remote areas of Australia, especially the younger generation, tend to be sparse, increasing the pressure on young people to leave the community in search of employment in larger centres. Jobs in remote areas have particular challenges such as constraints on accessibility, resources, services, infrastructure and

[5] Received for reducing carbon emissions via burning at the start of the dry season, which allows avoiding much bigger fires later on.

communication, as well as limited access to professional development, training and education. In addition, in many remote areas in Australia, seasonality and having to work in a physical environment of climatic extremes add to the list of challenges. Moreover, many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander individuals experience difficulties balancing their cultural and work obligations. The impact of this on the workplace is well known, such as when ceremonies interrupt work for several days or weeks. There is a strong need for culturally appropriate jobs in remote areas or at least jobs sufficiently flexible to accommodate cultural requirements and obligations.

Efforts have been made by successive governments to deal with a lack of jobs and job training in remote areas. The Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) program was introduced to remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities in the 1970s as a community development, employment creation and income support scheme. The CDEP was terminated in 2009. Now, the Community Development Program (CDP) is the main program of job-related assistance for unemployed people in remote areas[6]. In 2017 there were about 35,000 CDP participants, of whom about84 percent were Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander individuals. The CDP provides social security for the job seeker, with obligations to meet certain requirements, such as undertaking 25 hours a week in work-for-the-dole, or up to their assessed capacity. Penalties can be applied for non-attendance.

The CDP and equivalent programs represent one approach to tackling employment problems in remote Indigenous communities, an approach involving identification of skill shortages and training provision for potential jobs. An alternative is to recognise that significant skills and even employment options already exist in the region. These resources can be utilised to create incomes and further employment possibilities for local Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities in remote areas. Such an approach would seek to expand existing opportunities proven to be working, instead of creating new ones from scratch. For this to work there is an urgent need to understand the scope of existing skills and experiences that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in remote regions. The National Survey of Remote Indigenous Artists was created with this purpose in mind.

Remoteness issues

There is a belief that the majority of jobs available remotely are concentrated in larger communities and hub settlements. To the extent that this has occurred, there is evidence that it has created social, cultural and economic problems (see, for example, Morphy 2008), yet has not contributed to improving the situation of remote Indigenous unemployment. Today 44 percent of Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander people from remote and very remote areas Australia-wide live outside such hub settlements and in small homelands/outstations. Another 40 percent visit homelands/outstations from time to time –places where they fish, hunt, collect bush medicines, collect materials for their art works, make art, and take part in ceremonies. Only four percent have never visited a homeland, or are not allowed to, or do not know if they are allowed to visit (NATSISS 2014-15). For Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples there are many economic, health, social and cultural benefits that living in smaller outstations/homelands can provide (Altman and Taylor 1989, McDermott et.al. 1998 Rowley et al. 2008). When living on their country, "people feel that they have a degree of autonomy, of control over their own destiny" (Morphy 2008, p.388).

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander individuals who are engaged in artistic activities have high levels of engagement in homelands/outstations. It is more common for Indigenous

[6] The Remote Jobs and Communities Program (RJCP) was also in existence between 1 July 2013 and 1 July 2015.

artists than non-artists to live in such places. Nevertheless, living remotely does not mean a lack of engagement with the outside world. Artists who work from these locations also travel or send their work Australia-wide and internationally. Cultural tourism brings people from all over the world to places where Indigenous culture can be experienced in the most direct and authentic way. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander individuals from these remote locations also participate in research, such as research into biodiversity undertaken in collaboration with different institutions in Australia and overseas – there are a number of examples of harvesting and cultivation of bush foods and medicine as commercial ventures[7]. Our analytical framework recognises the realities of living and working remotely for Indigenous cultural producers.

Mapping remote Indigenous cultural production

The broad conceptual framework within which this study is situated as outlined above involves also a delineation of the nature and extent of Indigenous cultural production in remote and very remote locations. In the present survey, mapping of cultural-economic activities that contribute to art and cultural production in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region was undertaken by the research team in July 2017, based on the results of a similar mapping exercise of cultural-economic activities carried out by the present authors in the Kimberley region in 2015 and the East Arnhem Land region in 2012-2014.

The continuous mapping exercise allowed identification of the major cultural-economic activities being practised in remote areas, broadly classified into the following categories (1) creative artistic activities and (2) cultural maintenance and applied cultural activities, referred to simply as "other cultural activities". The activities identified (and corresponding occupations for the creative activities) are defined as follows:

Creative artistic activities:

- Visual arts (painting, photography, printmaking, making sculptures, textiles, carvings, weaving, ceramics, glass, jewellery)
- Performing arts (acting, dancing, playing musical instruments, singing)
- Composing or choreographing
- Writing or storytelling
- Making a film, TV or radio program, or multimedia work

Cultural maintenance and applied cultural activities:

- Teaching arts and cultural activities to others
- Caring for country
- Being on a cultural board, committee or council
- Interpreting, translating or cross-cultural consulting
- Making Indigenous medicines or cosmetics or providing Indigenous health services
- Fishing, hunting, collecting or preparing bush food
- Participating in ceremonies
- Providing cultural tourism services
- Arts administration
- Arts management
- Cultural archiving, record keeping

[7] See, for example, Altman et al. (1997); English and Baker (2003); Merne Altyerre-ipenhe (Food from the Creation time) Reference Group et al. (2011); Walsh et al. (2014).

All cultural-economic activities listed above can be interpreted with reference to standard industrial definitions as determined under the Australian and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification (ANZSIC) 2006 (Revision 2.0), as shown in Appendix 1.

In regard to definitional issues in interpreting the list of activities above, the following points should be noted:

- "Performing arts" is distinguished from "Participating in ceremonies". During survey interviews, respondents were asked if dance or music pieces that they were engaged in were performed to outsiders as part of showcasing local culture. A positive response was defined as "performing arts".
- "Fishing, hunting, collecting bush food" and "Making Indigenous medicines or cosmetics or providing Indigenous health services" involve participation in activities that require detailed knowledge of the local environment – its seasons, ecology, flora, sand fauna" (Morphy 2008).

"Caring for country" involves controlled burning, weed and feral species control, protecting marine life, the clearing of beaches, conservation and research of marine and terrestrial wildlife, in other words, land and sea management using Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander ecological knowledge.

3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

3.1 THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF REMOTE ABORIGINAL AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER ARTISTS

The objectives of the National Survey of which this study forms a part is to produce a nationally representative database on how individual Indigenous artists in remote Australia establish, maintain and develop their professional arts practice. This database aims to provide reliable data on how cultural knowledge and creative skills are accumulated and transmitted within and between generations in different remote regions and how individual Indigenous artists utilise their knowledge and skills to serve both cultural and economic purposes, while pursuing their artistic aspirations. The database is intended to cover all major remote regions of Indigenous art production in Australia and will be able to be updated over time with further information and account for changing conditions.

The results of this work so far are already providing a solid evidence base helping to inform policy-making by a range of stakeholders including individual artists, community organisations, art and cultural businesses, art centres, peak bodies and government agencies. The policy areas for which the survey data are proving to be relevant include the following:

- avenues for expanding economic opportunities through mobilisation of the existing cultural capital in remote Indigenous communities;
- education, training and skills development;
- infrastructure needs;
- the role of art centres and other non-government (third sector) organisations;
- cultural tourism;
- the future sustainability of Indigenous communities in remote and very remote locations.

The results of the National Survey are expected to be of increasing use and relevance to policy at local, regional, State/Territory and ultimately national levels as the database is further developed over time.

3.2 THE SURVEY IN THE NORTH WEST NT AND TIWI ISLANDS

In the implementation of the National Survey in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region, the overall objectives remain as spelt out above. Since a basic premise of the survey is that art production must be seen in the context of the full extent of artists' cultural engagement, the Survey in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region investigates a range of aspects of art and cultural production including:

- the number and extent of cultural-economic activities that artists undertake or have undertaken;
- the pathways for acquiring the knowledge and skills (the cultural capital) to become an artist in remote areas;
- respondents' current economic engagement with arts and cultural production;
- the spread of paid and unpaid work of different types, the allocation of time to different activities, and the nature and amounts of income earned;
- aspects of professional creative art practice in the region; and
- the role of cultural production in sustainable community development.

This Report is structured as follows. The methodology used in the study is described in Section 4. Sections 5–12 discuss the detailed survey findings. Section 13 draws together the significant results of the study in an in-depth consideration of policy issues, while the final section presents some conclusions.

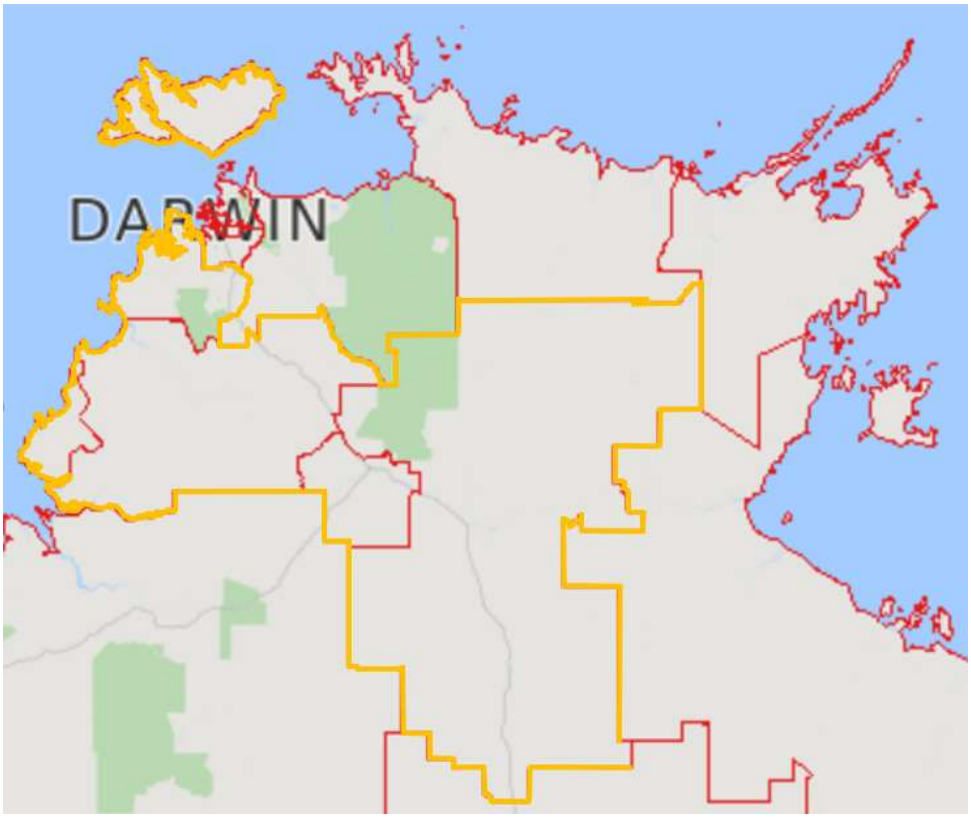
4 METHODOLOGY

This section provides a description of methodology used for this study and how this regional survey was carried out. First, we define the region. We then discuss how we estimated the target population and the required sample size, followed by a description of the survey procedure, and the calculation of weights to be applied to the data to assist in standardising results in line with known population characteristics.

4.1 REGIONAL BOUNDARIES

The North-West Northern Territory and Tiwi Islands study region lies within the following Statistical Areas Level 2 (SA2)[8] boundaries, as defined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS): Tiwi Islands; Daly; Thamarrurr; Alligator; Elsey; and Katherine. Figure 4.1 shows the study region boundaries within the solid yellow line. This entire area is classified as "remote" or "very remote" in accordance with the 2016 ASGS Remoteness Structure.

Figure 4.1 North-West Northern Territory and Tiwi Islands regional boundaries



[8] The SA2s are a general-purpose medium-sized area built from whole SA1s. Their aim is to represent a community that interacts together socially and economically.

4.2 TARGET POPULATION

The target population for this study are adult Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists residing in remote and very remote areas of the North-West Northern Territory and Tiwi Islands region.[9] The people covered includes Tiwi, Mayali, Ngan'gityemerri, Alyawarre, Waramungu, Murrinh-Patha, Rembarranga, Murrinh-Nuwanh, and Marringarr people, as well as some from other language groups.

To be eligible for participation in the survey respondents had to self-identify as:

(1) being Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander or both;
(2) being 15 years old or above;
(3) being residents in remote and very remote areas of the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands region (according with the defined study boundaries); and
(4) having had previous experience in at least one of the five creative artistic activities considered in this study (see Section 6).

Screening questions were introduced in the survey to ensure the above criteria were met.

4.3 ESTIMATION OF THE SAMPLE SIZE

The numbers of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists practising across different art forms residing in remote areas of Australia are largely unknown. For the purposes of this study we had to rely on the only source available to make such estimations possible – the ABS series of National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Surveys (NATSISS). The 2014–15 NATSISS provides data about percentages of Indigenous adults (15+) in remote and very remote areas who had participated in at least one of the following three artistic activities in 2014-15:

- making Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander arts or crafts;
- performing any Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander music, dance, theatre; and
- writing or telling any Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander stories.

The definition of an artist used in the present survey covers a wider range of creative artistic activities than these three as it also includes composers, choreographers, film-makers and multimedia artists. Therefore, the NATSISS estimates of artists' proportions are likely to be significantly lower than the number of artists covered by this survey. In the absence of other sources, however, NATSISS data were used.

Our definition of artists focuses on those *with experience* in particular art forms and not only those who have practised their art forms in the previous year, which is the focus of the NATSISS Surveys. To make a comparison between these two datasets we use the data from our survey on artists who had participated in at least one of the five creative artistic activities in "the last 12 months".

Analysis of the 2014-15 NATSISS data shows that 25 percent of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adults (15+) in remote areas of the Northern Territory and 40.2 percent in very remote areas had participated in at least one of the three creative artistic activities in 2014-15. We therefore assume that these percentages can be applied to the adult Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population in the region as indicated by the 2016 Australian Census to estimate a lower bound on the number of artists located in the region. The calculations are shown in Table 4.1.

[9] Note that throughout this Report the word "remote" refers to "remote and very remote" unless otherwise indicated.

Table 4.1 Population distribution and size

ABS 2016 Statistical Area Level 2	Communities	Remoteness	ATSI adults (15+)		
			Population*	Participated in selected artistic activities in 2014-15**	
			No.	%	No.
Tiwi Islands	Wurrumiyanga, Pirlangimpi, Milikapiti	Very remote	1,602	40.2	644
Daly	Nauiyu, Peppimenarti	Very remote/ Remote	748	40.2/ 25.0***	255
Thamarrurr	Wadeye	Very remote	1,473	40.2	592
Alligator	Belyuen, Batchelor	Remote	755	25	189
Elsey	Wugularr, Manyallaluk	Very remote	1,119	40.2	450
Katherine	Katherine	Remote	1,466	25	367
Total North-West NT & Tiwi Islands			**7,163**		**2,497**

* Source: ABS 2016 Census
** Source: NATSISS 2014-15
*** Calculations reflect that approximately 60% of the area is classified as "very remote" and 40% as "remote".

Our calculations show that there are about 2,500 adult practising artists residing in the study region. While we use these estimates to determine the approximate sample size for our survey, it needs to be remembered that estimates are likely to understate the true figure for the reasons mentioned earlier. The minimum sample size requirement was set at n=93, for a 10 percent margin of error at a 95 percent level of confidence. In the actual implementation of the survey, 123 interviews were achieved for this region – 66 interviews in the North-West NT and 57 in the Tiwi Islands. When analysing data specific to the Tiwi Islands the margin of error is 13 percent, and when analysing the North-West NT data, it is 12 percent (with a 95 percent level of confidence), according with the sample sizes achieved for these areas.

4.4 SURVEY PROCEDURE AND WEIGHTING

In the absence of a complete list of adult Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists residing in the study region, we could not construct a comprehensive sample frame for this study.[10] Instead we relied on a limited sampling procedure involving locating artists through a variety of regional organisations in commercial, government, not-for-profit and community sectors dealing with art and cultural activities. These organisations included art centres, commercial and artists-run galleries, community centres, youth centres, men's

[10] For a more detailed discussion of sampling issues in surveying remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander populations, see David Throsby and Ekaterina Petetskaya (2015) Remote Indigenous Cultural Practitioners in East Arnhem Land: Survey Methodology and Principal Results. Macquarie Economics Research Paper 1/2011. September 2015, pp. 8–9.

sheds, women's centres, Indigenous rangers, publishing houses, schools, aged care centres, TV and radio stations, broadcasting corporations, culture and learning centres, language centres, archives and libraries, arts and cultural festivals, media production centres, peak bodies and relevant government departments. To ensure that all individuals from the target population had a chance for selection and representation in the survey, we adopted the following strategies to find survey respondents:

- Potential respondents were located via connections to one of the regional organisations as indicated above, or via family members working with these organisations, or were approached in public spaces in the various survey locations.
- Interviewers explained the nature and objectives of the survey to potential respondents, who were then asked if they were willing to participate in the survey.
- Potential respondents were also asked screening questions to eliminate ineligible respondents.

When the interviews were completed and the full final dataset was available for analysis, it was possible to compare relevant characteristics of the sample of artists with those of the target population to determine weights, as described further in Section 4.5 below.

The survey interviews were conducted in Wurrumiyanga, Pirlangimpi, Milikapiti, Nauiyu, Peppimenarti, Wadeye, Belyuen, Wugularr, Manyallaluk and Katherine. The researchers received necessary research permissions to enter these communities and conduct the interviews, with full cooperation and engagement from the communities, local organisations and relevant peak bodies.

The research team undertook a scoping trip to the study region in November 2017, when the draft questionnaire was tested with local Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander consultants to make sure that it addressed local particularities of artistic and cultural production in the region. On the basis of the feedback received from the region, the draft survey instrument was revised and subsequently prepared in final form. The main fieldwork involving interviews with artists in the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands took place in March, April and June 2018. The survey was administered by computer-assisted face-to-face interviews in English or with the assistance of a translator/interpreter when required.

4.5 CALCULATION OF WEIGHTS

To determine how representative our survey sample is of the entire population of the Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander artists in the survey region, we compared the socio-demographic characteristics of the obtained sample with the corresponding characteristics of the target population derived from NATSISS data – Indigenous adults in remote and very remote areas of the Northern Territory who had participated in the creative artistic activities (see Section 4.3).

NATSISS data allow stratification by gender and age for most regions. However, the 2014-15 NATSISS data for the Northern Territory do not allow valid stratification by age because of very high relative standard errors for "very remote" areas (greater than 50 percent), which make estimates unreliable. Therefore, we are only able to compare our sample with NATSISS data for gender. Thus all weights are calculated to adjust only for gender differences and not for State/Territory or remote/very remote residential differences; in other words, we are concerned with how well our sample represents artists' gender and not how well it represents where artists reside within the region.

The results of our calculations of weights are presented in Table 4.2, which shows that some corrections were necessary to adjust for gender differences between the sample and the target population. The calculated weights in the last row of the table were applied to the raw

data to obtain estimates adjusted to reflect the gender characteristics of the target population. We can take these results to be broadly representative of the population of adult Indigenous artists in the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands region, subject to normal caveats concerning statistical inference. It is the weighted data that are shown in all subsequent tables in this Report.

Table 4.2 Comparison of the sample with the NATSISS 14-15 data by gender of ATSI adults who participated in artistic activities 'in the last 12 months' in remote and very remote areas in NT and weights calculations

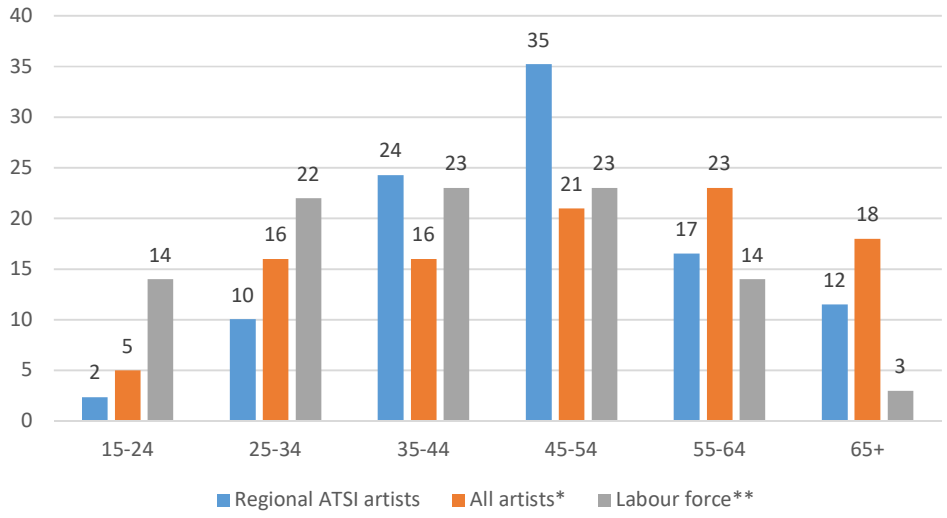
	Remote			Very remote		
	Female	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
Our sample, %	55.6	44.4	100	50.5	49.5	**100**
NATSISS 2014-15, %	60.9	39.1	100	55.0	45.0	**100**
Weights applied in the survey	**1.10**	**0.88**		**1.09**	**0.91**	

5 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF ARTISTS IN THE NORTH WEST NT AND TIWI ISLANDS REGION

In this section we discuss the main socio-demographic characteristics of our sample: gender, age, language, domestic arrangements and disability. Note that education, a major socio-demographic characteristic, is discussed in detail in Section 7 of this Report.

The sample includes 123 respondents in total, 56 percent of whom are female and 44 percent are male (an unweighted female/ male ratio of 51/49).[11] The age distribution of artists in the region is shown in Figure 5.1 in comparison with all Australia practising professional artists and the Australian labour force as a whole. While the age distribution of the Australian labour force reflects the life cycle pattern of the average worker, practising professional artists are different in that they tend to continue working beyond the usual retirement age. However, the age distribution of Indigenous artists in the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands region appears to follow more closely the life cycle pattern of an average worker in the Australian labour force rather than other practising professional artists, possibly because of differences in life expectancy. Nevertheless, the Indigenous artists in the region tend to start later at their artistic careers, and continue working into older ages than the labour force on average. The average age of an Indigenous artist in the region is 48 years (49.5 years being the median age).

Figure 5.1 Age distribution of North-West NT and Tiwi Islands artists, all Australian artists and Australian labour force (percent)



**Making Art Work* 2017

** ABS Census 2016

[11] No respondents opted for "Prefer not to answer" or "Other" options to the gender question in this survey.

While many respondents speak more than one Indigenous language as well as English, survey respondents were asked to identify the single language group as the one to which they belong. Table 5.1 shows the main language groups of survey respondents. More than half of artists in the region (55 percent) use their traditional language most, about a quarter (24 percent) stated they mostly used English these days, and just one-fifth (21 percent) said they used Aboriginal English mostly.

We can compare these figures with the 2014-15 NATSISS data for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists[12] in remote/very remote areas of Australia. The NATSISS data show that artists in remote/very remote areas of Australia use their Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language more than non-artists (48 percent compared to 38 percent respectively).

Language is an important carrier of culture, and these data illustrate the particularly important role artists play in the maintenance of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture. This role is especially strong in the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands region, given that the percentage of Indigenous artists in this region is higher than Indigenous artists in other remote areas Australia-wide - 55 percent compared to 48 percent.

Table 5.1 Language group of North-West NT and Tiwi Islands artists (percent of respondents)

Language group (n=122)	%
Tiwi	48
Murrinh-Patha	9
Rembarranga	6
Mayali	4
Ngan'gityemerri	7
Warlpiri	2
Marringarr	1
Alyawarre	1
Waramungu	1
Murrinh-Nuwanh	1
Other	20
Total	**100**

In terms of domestic arrangements, our sample shows that in the region the largest group among artists comprises single individuals without dependent children (39 percent). One quarter of regional artists have a partner and dependent child or children, about one in five (21 percent) have a partner and no dependent children, and the remaining 15 percent are singles with a dependent child or children.

[12] Those who participated in the creative artistic activities as defined by NATSISS in the last 12 months prior to the survey interviews.

A third of artists in the survey region (33 percent) live with a disability or long-term illness. Yet only five percent of these artists said this disability or illness has a negative effect on their work “all of the time” or “most of the time”. A further 54 percent said this health condition has a negative effect on their artistic practice “sometimes”; and the remaining 41 percent stated their health condition has no negative impact on their artistic practice.

Turning to the geographical distribution of the sample, we note that 29 percent of respondents reside in *remote* areas and the remaining in *very remote* areas of the region. The data also show that 54 percent of all respondents are located in North-West NT and 46 percent are residents of the Tiwi Islands; we discuss some differences between artists residing in these two areas in Section 12 of this Report.

6 ARTISTS' CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

In this section we discuss the data concerning creative artistic practice and other cultural work in the lives of artists in the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands region, the range of existing cultural and artistic experience in the region and the significance of cultural-economic activities in generating income for regional artists. We have noted earlier that art production by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples cannot be studied in isolation, but must be considered in the context of the full extent of artists' cultural engagement. Therefore, in this study and as described in Section 2, we identify a wide range of art and culture-related activities that we classify broadly into two groups: creative artistic activities and other cultural activities.

We look first at the artistic and cultural experience that exists in the region at the present time. Table 6.1 shows the proportions of artists in the region who have ever during their lifetime engaged in the various activities, the proportions involved in the activities during the last 12 months, and the proportions of those artists who have been paid for these activities in the last year.

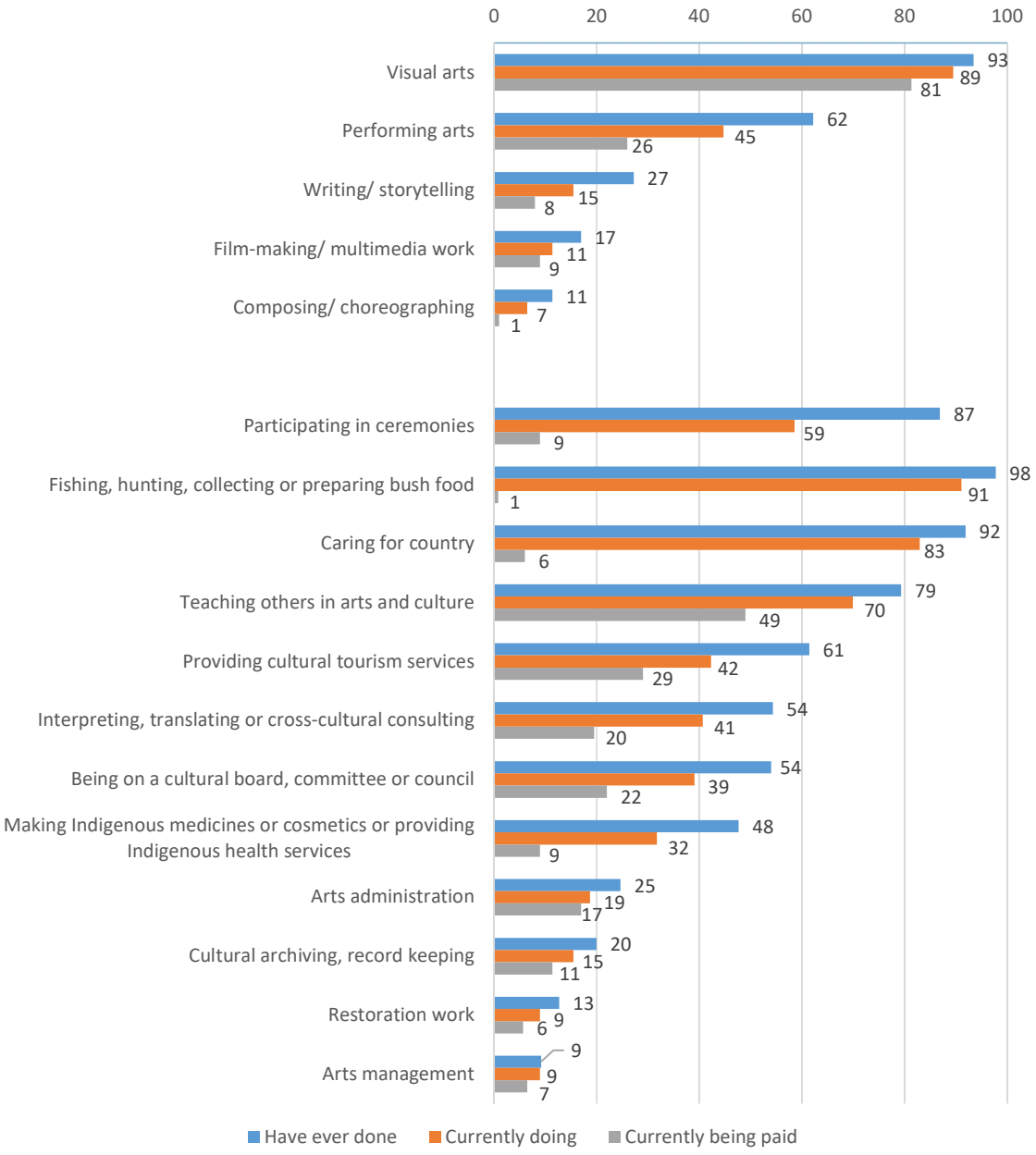
Table 6.1 Cultural-economic activities undertaken by artists (percent of all respondents)

Activities**	Have ever done	Currently doing*	Currently being paid*
		(n=123)	
		%	
Creative artistic activities			
Visual arts	93	89	81
Performing arts	62	45	26
Composing/choreographing	11	7	2
Writing/storytelling	27	16	8
Film-making/multimedia work	17	11	9
Other cultural activities			
Participating in ceremonies	87	58	9
Interpreting, translating or cross-cultural consulting	54	41	20
Cultural archiving, record keeping	20	16	11
Being on a cultural board, committee or council	54	39	23
Teaching others in arts and culture	79	70	50
Caring for country	92	83	6
Fishing, hunting, collecting or preparing bush food	98	91	1
Making Indigenous medicines or cosmetics or providing Indigenous health services	48	31	9
Arts management	9	9	7
Arts administration	26	21	19
Providing cultural tourism services	61	43	29
Restoration work	13	9	6

- indicates nil response in this sample.
* In the last 12 months.
** Multiple responses allowed.

The same data are displayed in a diagrammatic form in a descending order for current activities (engaged in the last 12 months) in Figure 6.1. As the table and the figure demonstrate, within creative art practices the most prominent artform in the region is visual arts, with almost nine in ten of all regional artists currently working in this field. The next most common artform in the survey region is the performing arts (primarily music and dance), with almost half (45 percent) of artists currently engaged in one or other of these performing activities. In the category of other cultural activities, the most prevalent are the traditional cultural practices of caring for country, fishing, hunting, collecting, preparing bush food, participating in ceremonies and teaching others in arts and culture.

Figure 6.1 Cultural-economic activities undertaken by artists (percent of all respondents)



The very wide range of cultural practice in which artists have experience and in which they are currently participating is summarised in Table 6.2, which shows the average number of activities that artists in the region have ever done or are currently undertaking[13] as well as the number of different activities that are generating some form of income. On average, an artist in the region has engaged in eight or nine different cultural economic activities over the course of their life. At the present time, she or he is engaged in about two creative artistic activities and about five other cultural activities. This average artist receives some form of income for her/his work in at least one of the several artistic activities and about two of the other cultural activities that she or he undertakes at present.

Table 6.2 Average number of cultural economic activities undertaken by artists (number of activities)

Activities**	Have ever done	Currently doing*	Currently being paid*
Creative artistic	2.1	1.7	1.3
Other cultural	6.4	5.1	1.8
All cultural activities	**8.5**	**6.8**	**3.0**

* In the last 12 months.

** Includes "Restoration work"; excludes "Other" cultural work activities.

The data in these tables reveal some gaps – firstly, between the numbers of those who have experience in a particular activity and those who are actually engaged in it, and secondly, between the numbers of those who currently do an activity and those who receive some form of financial reimbursement for their work in that activity. We look into the first issue in this section; the income data are analysed in more detail in Section 9, where we consider artists' financial circumstances.

Table 6.3 shows the numbers of respondents currently engaged in each activity as a proportion of those who have experience in that activity; the same data are shown diagrammatically in Figure 6.2, where the proportions of currently practising artists are arranged in descending order. While almost everyone with experience in visual arts continues to be engaged in this artform (96 percent), only three in five of those with experience in composition or choreography and in writing/storytelling are able to practise in these fields. In the case of other cultural activities, the great majority of artists with experience in the everyday cultural practices of caring for country and fishing/hunting/collecting bush food are currently engaged in these activities (90 and 93 percent respectively), and among the relatively small numbers of artists with experience in arts management, all are currently working in this occupation.

However, there are several activities in which artists are not practising at present, despite having had experience in those activities. These include, for example, writing/story-telling among creative artistic activities, and providing cultural tourism services among other cultural activities. The weighted averages shown in Table 6.3 indicate a gap of about 20 percent in aggregate between those with experience and those currently practising.

[13] In this survey, these are activities that have been undertaken in the last 12 months prior to the survey interviews.

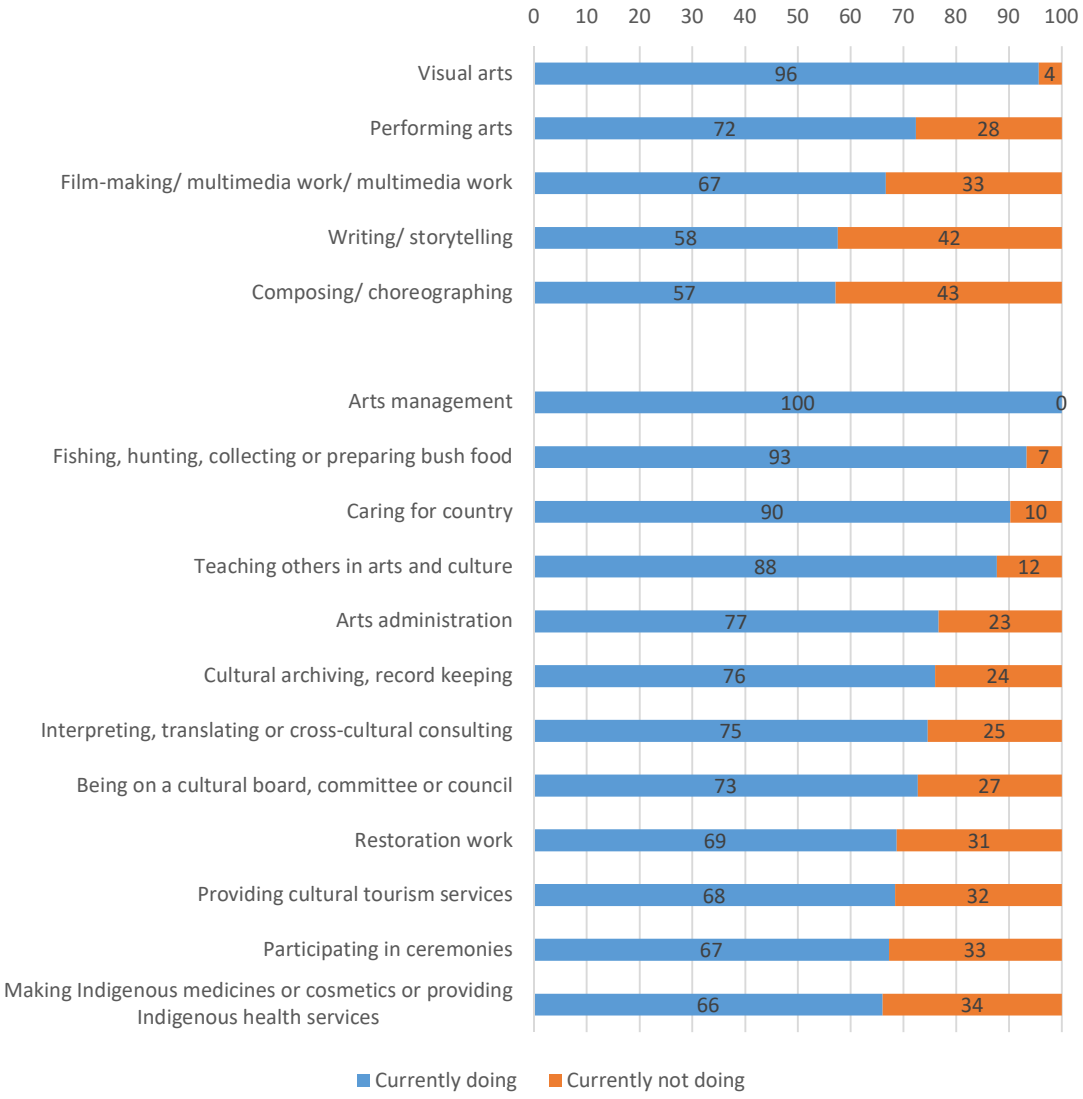
Table 6.3 Proportions of artists with experience in activities currently engaged in those activities (percent of those with previous experience)

Activities*		Currently doing	Currently not doing
	N	%	
Creative artistic activities			
Visual arts	115	96	4
Performing arts	76	73	27
Composing/ choreographing	14	64	36
Writing/ storytelling	33	59	41
Film-making/ multimedia work/ multimedia work	21	65	35
Weighted average for creative artistic activities	-	80	20
Other cultural activities			
Participating in ceremonies	107	67	33
Interpreting, translating or cross-cultural consulting	67	76	24
Cultural archiving, record keeping	25	80	20
Being on a cultural board, committee or council	66	72	28
Teaching others in arts and culture	98	89	11
Caring for country	113	90	10
Fishing, hunting, collecting or preparing bush food	120	93	7
Making Indigenous medicines or cosmetics or providing Indigenous health services	59	65	35
Arts management	11	100	-
Arts administration	30	81	19
Providing cultural tourism services	76	70	30
Restoration work	16	69	31
Weighted average for other cultural activities		**79**	**21**

- indicates nil response in this sample.

* Multiple responses allowed.

Figure 6.2 Proportions of artists with experience in activities currently engaged in those activities (percent of those with previous experience)



Certainly, circumstances differ between individuals, and there could be many reasons for non-engagement at present – sometimes artists want to focus full-time on their artistic practice, while at other times they may look for opportunities to supplement their incomes with casual or part-time work that does not directly relate to their culture or artistic practice. Nevertheless, in aggregate the data discussed here point to the availability of significant levels of cultural and human capital in the region that might be capable of further utilisation in art and cultural production. In the survey, we also asked respondents about seasonality of the cultural-economic activities that are being practised; the results are summarised in Figure 6.3. In the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands region the majority of activities are being practised all year round. Among creative artistic activities, almost all visual artists and authors in the region appear to be able to continue their practice regardless of the season. However, a somewhat greater dependence on the season is apparent in the performing arts, with just over one-third of artists engaged in these activities doing so only in some seasons. Among other cultural activities, the most seasonally affected activities are participating in ceremonies, providing cultural tourism services and restoration work – about 50 percent of artists engage in these activities during some seasons only. Seasonality of some of the arts and cultural activities does not affect artists' time allocation, as we shall see in Section 8 – our results point to a busy 50-hour week on average throughout the year.

7 ACQUISITION OF CULTURAL CAPITAL

There are a number of pathways that an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artist living in remote areas in the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands region can follow to receive education and training necessary for professional artistic practice. Apart from formal education, learning and teaching occurs among the family and other community members at home, in art centres, on country, in ceremonies and so on. Within the education system, further opportunities for cultural transmission may arise – for example, senior artists and cultural practitioners could be formally or informally invited to a local school to teach school children in culture and language classes, or the school could arrange for their students to visit an art centre for hands-on experience with the art centre artists.

In this survey, we distinguish between (1) formal education, which includes the usual processes of schooling and other general education providing a wide range of knowledge and competencies; (2) cultural education that provides the knowledge and skills required for participating in cultural activities, including gaining permissions to practice cultural work within a certain cultural law; and (3) specific training and skills required for practising in a particular artistic occupation. The boundaries between these three are not easily distinguishable. The skills acquired through a general education, for example, could be useful in an artist's professional work. Some arts-related education and training could be undertaken as part of the formal education, for example at school or university. Cultural knowledge and skills such as language or body painting could be acquired in different art forms and through diverse cultural activities. Skills acquired through professional artistic practice, for example sound-recording skills, could be utilised across a range of cultural activities, including cultural archiving, and in work that is not directly related to culture, such as report writing.

7.1 FORMAL EDUCATION

In the survey we asked respondents to indicate the highest level of formal education or training they have completed. This includes general education and training in non-arts as well as formal arts education that is not related to respondents' cultural knowledge. The results are summarised in Table 7.1. The table also shows the same data for the Indigenous labour force in remote and very remote areas of the NT, derived from the 2014-15 NATSISS data.

As Table 7.1 shows, the differences between Indigenous artists in the survey region and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander labour force in the remote Northern Territory are not significant. About 20 percent of Indigenous artists in the region have only completed Year 9 or below compared to just 17 percent of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander labour force in remote NT; three percent did not receive any formal education at all, which is higher than for the remote NT area overall (just under one percent). At the other end of the educational distribution, about 15 percent of artists in the region completed year 12 or equivalent, compared to eight percent in the remote Indigenous workforce in the NT.

A further comparison with similar educational statistics for all Australian artists drawn from *Making Art Work 2017* indicates that artists in mainstream Australia access much higher educational levels than their remote Indigenous counterparts. It is apparent that for the latter artists it is not formal education that provides the most essential training for participation in arts and cultural production, as we shall see further below.

Table 7.1 Highest levels of formal education (percent of respondents and Indigenous labour force in remote and very remote areas of NT)

Level of education	Indigenous artists in the study region			Indigenous labour force in remote and very remote NT
	Visual artists (n=106)	Performing artists (n=15)	All artists (n=123)	
	%			
No schooling	3	-	3	*
Completed Year 9 (or equivalent) and below	21	23	21	17
Completed Year 10 (or equivalent)	17	12	16	24
Completed Diploma or Certificate[14]	28	29	28	29
Completed Year 11 (or equivalent)	15	12	14	18
Completed Year 12 (or equivalent)	15	12	15	8
Completed Bachelor Degree	-	-	-	**
Completed Postgraduate Degree, Diploma or Certificate	1	-	*	***
Other	*	12	2	4
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

- indicates nil response in this sample.
* indicates less than 1%.
** Estimate has a relative standard error of 25% to 50% and should be used with caution.
*** Estimate has a relative standard error greater than 50% and is considered too unreliable for general use.

7.2 CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE

In the survey, respondents were asked in regard to cultural activities they undertake "How did you get the knowledge to do these activities?" They were then asked which of these was "the most important" to them in gaining cultural knowledge and skills. Table 7.2 summarises the findings. Learning culture from family members is both the most common (100 percent of respondents) and the most important pathway (77 percent) to acquire such knowledge. Learning from elders and other community members is another highly significant pathway for transmitting cultural knowledge – about three quarters of artists in the region identify it as such (73 percent) and more than one in ten (12 percent) believe this to have been the most important to them in their cultural education.

[14] Diplomas and above Year 12, Certificates I/II are below Year 10 and above Year 9, and "Certificates not further defined" are below "Year 9 and below".

Table 7.2 Important pathways for acquiring cultural knowledge (percent of all respondents)

Cultural knowledge pathways	Important pathway**	Most important pathway
	(n=123)	
	%	
Directly from family members	100	77
Directly from elders and/ or other community members	73	12
From being on country	91	6
From participating in ceremonies	89	3
From artworks, songs or stories	89	*
From festivals or other cultural events	48	-
Some other way	*	-
Total		**100**

- indicates nil response in this sample.
* indicates less than 1%.
** Multiple responses allowed.

Another pathway that was identified as important by about nine in ten of respondents was learning from being on country, and for six percent this represented the most important pathway to gain cultural knowledge and skills. As has been the case in other regions covered in the national survey, many respondents had difficulty determining the most important pathway when choosing between learning from family and community, and learning from country. Many pointed out that these two may come together, because cultural education often occurs on country through guidance of a family or community member.

Once culturally educated, a person can participate in a number of the cultural-economic activities considered in this study. Moreover, as in the case of formal education that provides basic, academic or industry skills applicable to a variety of jobs in the labour market, cultural education also provides knowledge that has a wide application in the culture-based economy.

7.3 ART INDUSTRY SKILLS

Artistic practice requires skills, i.e. a range of technical abilities to work with artistic materials such as paint, clay, film, or to use equipment such as a video camera, screen-printing equipment, a sound system or editing software. There are multiple ways by which Indigenous artists in remote communities can acquire skills necessary for their artistic occupations. For the artists working within the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands region these are summarised in Table 7.3. Again, the role of family members in transmitting knowledge and skills is seen to be highly significant. More than nine in ten artists have learnt their industry skills from their family, and for two thirds of them this has been the most important pathway. Some differences occur in the ways in which this learning occurs within families. In some cases, family members allow and encourage doing artistic work together through both participation and observation (77 percent of all respondents), whereas in other cases only observation will be allowed or possible (14 percent). Observing and participating has been the most important pathway for about half of all respondents; only 15 percent nominated observing only as the most important source of their industry skills.

A similar distinction between observing/participating and simply observing applies in the case of another significant pathway, i.e. learning from a friend or community member. Our data show that 60 percent of all respondents see this as having been an important source, split about evenly between the two modes, but only eight percent identify this as their most important pathway. The other major means by which artists in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region gain their industry skills is via self-learning – three-quarters of artists identify this as having been important for them, although only ten percent see it as having been the most important source.

Table 7.3 Important pathways for gaining industry skills and experience (percent of all respondents)

Industry skills pathways	Important pathways**	Most important pathway
	(n=123)	
	%	
Learning from a family member:	91	67
Observing and participating with a family member	77	52
Observing only from a family member	14	15
Learning from a friend or community member:	60	8
Observing only from a friend or community member	31	6
Observing and participating with a friend or community member	29	2
Self-learning	75	10
Workshops/ short courses	43	5
Learning on the job	59	4
School	57	3
Vocational training	20	2
Mentorship with an art professional	46	*
University program	7	*
Some other way	3	*
Total		**100**

* indicates less than 1%.

** Multiple responses allowed.

The data in Table 7.3 indicate that participation in formal education processes such as school, workshops and vocational training has been important for significant numbers of artists in the region as an avenue towards acquiring their artistic skills. However, only very small numbers see these sources as the most important (five percent or less of all respondents). The latter result should not be seen as indicating that formal education in artistic skills is unimportant; as we shall see in Section 12, artists in the region support formal forms of training as part of a wider range of learning opportunities for Indigenous artists living remotely. This includes workshops that provide skill refreshment for

established practitioners and an introduction to artistic practice for beginners. Indeed, artists in the region see short courses, workshops etc. as contributing to community sustainability in the longer term. Nevertheless, observing and participating with family and other community members remains by far the most significant way for transferring and acquiring knowledge and skills for Indigenous artists in the region. These forms of training need to be more fully recognised and supported.

Acquiring cultural knowledge and skills takes a significant investment in time, both for the person who undertakes such training and for the person(s) who perform the training. The costs involved in producing a culturally educated person in remote Indigenous communities in Australia are largely unknown. While some cultural education might occur within the formal educational system, for example via culture and language programs at school, the majority of the associated costs would be incurred by the family and community members. Later in this Report we discuss the time that is spent by artists in passing on their knowledge to others.

7.4 CONCLUSION

The data discussed in this section demonstrate the fundamental importance of family and community for the processes of acquiring not only cultural knowledge but also industry skills for participation in the arts and cultural industries. Nevertheless, all pathways considered above, whether through formal schooling or the processes of inter- and intra-generational cultural transmission, can provide competencies to enable Indigenous people in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region to engage in productive activity in the remote cultural economy of the region, while maintaining the inalienable connection with their culture. At the same time, it is important to note these pathways also provide competencies and skills that are relevant to a variety of jobs in the wider labour market.

8 TIME ALLOCATION

As discussed in Section 6, artists in the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands region practise a wide range of arts and cultural activities as well as undertaking non-cultural employment in some cases. Art production cannot be understood in isolation from other activities, particularly those cultural activities that maintain, support and contribute to continuous development of artistic work. In undertaking a variety of types of work, Indigenous artists apply different time allocation strategies in an effort to balance their artistic aspirations, their cultural obligations, their personal needs and their financial commitments. In this section we look into these strategies with reference to patterns of time use, average number of hours spent on different activities, and constraints affecting artists' time allocation.

There is no clear line between "work" and "life" for most Indigenous arts and cultural producers. Many cultural activities are understood as "work" by Indigenous people (Austin-Broos 2006), and the terminology is occasionally carried across – for example, ceremonial activities are often called "business", as in "sorry business" and so on. Yet, some activities that would be seen as work in the mainstream Australian economy – for example, tourism services or certain administrative work – may not be seen as such by some Indigenous cultural producers. Notwithstanding these definitional issues, in this survey we asked respondents questions about the amount of time they spend specifically on the seventeen cultural-economic activities covered by the survey. Prompt questions were asked to enquire if, for example, "every working day" meant four to five days a week, or if "a full day" meant working in the morning and afternoon with 7.6 hours work in a typical day. For our calculations we also assume 48 weeks a year on average.

The average amounts of time that Indigenous artists in the region spend on various activities were calculated for each activity as a proportion of the numbers of artists currently engaged in that activity. The calculated averages take into account the seasonality and temporal nature of some activities. The results are shown in Table 8.1. The table also shows an average score for the time spent at each activity, calculated according to the scale indicated at the foot of the table. For example, writing/storytelling occupies around one or two days per month of an average artist's time.

We can observe some general patterns that emerge from these data. Visual arts activities absorb the largest amounts of artists' time when considered across the full range of activities. In an average week, half of the artists in the region work in visual arts about 2-3 days and more than a quarter do so on a roughly full-time basis (four to five days). Time allocation patterns are markedly different for artists working in other art forms. Only about one in ten performing artists work more or less full time (nine percent) with the great majority of them working less than one day per week on average. Time spent on other creative work mostly amounts to no more than a couple of days per month on average.

Table 8.1 Time spent on activities in the last 12 months (percent of those currently engaged in the activity)

Activities	4-5 full days/ week	2-3 full days/ week	1 full day/ week	1-2 full days/ month	Few full days/ year	Total	Weighted average score**
				%			
Creative artistic activities							
Visual arts (n=110)	27	50	14	7	2	100	3.9
Performing arts (n=54)	9	7	15	32	38	100	2.2
Composing/ choreographing (n=8)	-	-	22	43	35	100	1.9
Writing/ storytelling (n=19)	-	-	17	49	35	100	1.8
Filmmaking/ multimedia work/multimedia work (n=14)	6	-	8	30	56	100	1.7
Other cultural activities							
Participating in ceremonies (n=69)	2	-	2	24	73	100	1.4
Interpreting, translating or cross-cultural consulting (n=49)	-	2	16	57	25	100	2
Cultural archiving, record keeping (n=19)	6	-	16	37	41	100	1.9
Being on a cultural board, committee or council (n=48)	-	4	2	25	69	100	1.4
Teaching others in arts and culture (n=87)	1	13	31	37	18	100	2.4
Caring for country (n=101)	-	4	43	40	13	100	2.4
Fishing, hunting, collecting or preparing bush food (n=111)	-	21	58	17	4	100	3
Making Indigenous medicines or cosmetics or providing Indigenous health services (n=37)	3	6	-	41	50	100	1.7
Arts management (n=10)	21	38	-	11	30	100	3.1
Arts administration (n=24)	5	47	17	-	31	100	3
Providing cultural tourism services (n=52)	-	6	20	25	49	100	1.8
Restoration work (n=11)	-	-	19	21	60	100	1.6
Other activities (not directly related to culture)							
Other activities (n=34)	52	29	6	6	7	100	4.1

- indicates nil response in this sample.
* indicates less than 1%.
** 1 - “Few full days/year”; 2- “1-2 full days/month”; 3 – “1 full day/week”; 4 - “2-3 full days/week”; 5 – “4-5 full days/week”. Excludes "Don't know/ Not sure" responses.

Among other cultural activities, arts management, arts administration and fishing/hunting or collecting bush food take at least one full day in an artist's week on average. Teaching others in arts and culture and caring for country are the two other activities that absorb significant amounts of Indigenous artists' time in the region – between one full day a week and one or two full days per month on average (see Table 8.1). Artists in the region who undertake work activities that are not directly culture-related spend on average two to three full working days a week doing this work. In the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands region, artists work as aged/child/youth care workers, women's safe house workers, school teachers and coordinators, counsellors, municipal workers, employment consultants, administrators, supervisors and managers, carpenters, check-out workers at local shops, seamstresses, mechanics, cleaners, community maintenance workers, construction workers, and so on.

An alternative way of representing our data on time allocations to various activities is to convert the time estimates on which Table 8.1 is based into the equivalent in hours per week. This requires us to make a series of plausible assumptions as to the average weekly hours implied by each category of frequency of involvement, and to apply these assumptions to the individual response records in order to calculate hours spent by each respondent in each activity. The resulting estimates of time spent per week for the major groupings of activities are shown in Table 8.2. It is apparent from these data that artists in the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands region spend more time on cultural activities that support and maintain their culture than on artistic activities or non-cultural work. The fact that an artist's working week consists of 50 hours implies that on average artists spend over seven hours daily divided between the seventeen arts and cultural activities considered in this study, as well as non-cultural work.

Table 8.2 Mean and median number of hours that artists spent on activities in the last 12 months (hours)

Hours spent on… (n=121)	Mean	Median
	Hours	
Creative artistic activities (n=123)	20	18
Other cultural activities (n=121)	24	21
Total arts and cultural activities (n=121)	44	41
Other activities (not directly related to culture) (n=121)	6	0
Total working hours (n=119)	50	47

There are a number of factors that affect how individual artists in the region allocate their time on different artistic, other cultural and non-cultural activities. These include: seasonality of work; limited transportation options; lack of access to facilities or equipment on a regular basis; road closures during certain times of the year; variations in demand for artists' services; and occasionally the need to undertake multiple activities at the same time. Having to balance their time between multiple activities is a common factor that affects many artists throughout their career. Culturally-knowledgeable artists are usually subject to many competing demands to apply their cultural skills and knowledge, for example from their families or communities, or from organisations that rely on such skills in their employees. These demands continue to grow as the knowledge and skills of the artist increase. This is why many senior artists often find themselves in a situation where at the

peak of their artistic career they have to put aside their art work and take on more cultural responsibilities, such as cultural governance and leadership, education, and providing cross-cultural advice, as well as having to spend increased time on ceremonies.

Overall, our data point to multiple and interconnected ways in which artists in the region allocate their time on creative artistic work and on other cultural activities. There is clearly a mix between work that generates an income and activities that are undertaken for cultural, artistic or social reasons. Artists balance these types of work in line with their financial, social and cultural needs. The various demands on artists' time may act as a constraint on their capacity to make art and/or to undertake more income-yielding employment.

In Section 10.3 of this Report we look into artists' preferences over the ways in which they spend their time as well as some specific constraints on their time allocation patterns.

9 FINANCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES

One of the most important objectives of the National Survey of Remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Artists is to assess the extent to which art and cultural production can provide a means towards employment creation and income generation for Indigenous people in remote communities. To consider this objective in empirical terms, a range of information is needed on the financial circumstances of arts and cultural producers – how many of their various cultural activities are paid, what are their main sources of income, and how is their total income from all sources comprised. This section presents the survey results on these issues for the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands region.

9.1 PAID AND UNPAID ACTIVITIES

In the previous section, we discussed the amounts of time spent at various activities by artists in the region on average. Some of this time is paid and some is undertaken unpaid or on a voluntary basis. Table 9.1 shows the proportions of artists who were paid and not paid when they engaged in artistic or cultural activities or non-cultural work in the last 12 months. These data are also shown in a diagrammatic form in Figure 9.1, where the creative and other cultural activities respectively are arranged in descending order of the proportions of artists who are paid. It should be noted that being paid for a certain activity does not mean that all of that individual's work in that activity was financially rewarded, it simply means that an artist was paid for at least some of their work.

The pattern of paid/unpaid work for different activities varies greatly. Among creative artistic activities, the great majority (91 percent) of visual artists who practised their art in the last 12 months were financially reimbursed for their work in one form or another. Almost four in five filmmakers and multimedia artists are paid. However, only about 60 percent of musicians, actors and other performers receive some financial return from their work, while 40 percent do not receive any. Just over half of all writers and storytellers are paid, and less than a quarter of all composers, who might only be paid royalties from time to time.

There could be a number of reasons why artists undertake their creative artistic work unpaid, including: passing on their knowledge to others; learning their culture or artistic skills; cultural obligation reasons; developing a new body of work; or the artists' own enjoyment or enjoyment shared with others. During the interviews respondents also cited other reasons for undertaking artistic activities such as "keeping my culture strong", "sharing my culture with others" or "keeping me and others positive". On the other hand, some of the work that remains unpaid could be interpreted as producing output for which the artist is unable to access a market, as is likely to be the case for the great majority of composers. Moreover, at times artists are expected to provide their services free on a pro-bono basis -- for example, an artist may be asked to perform at a ceremony for an opening of a new local business or organisation. Overall, it appears that three-quarters of artistic work produced by Aboriginal artists in the North-West NT/ Tiwi Islands region is reimbursed in one way or another, and one-quarter remains unpaid.

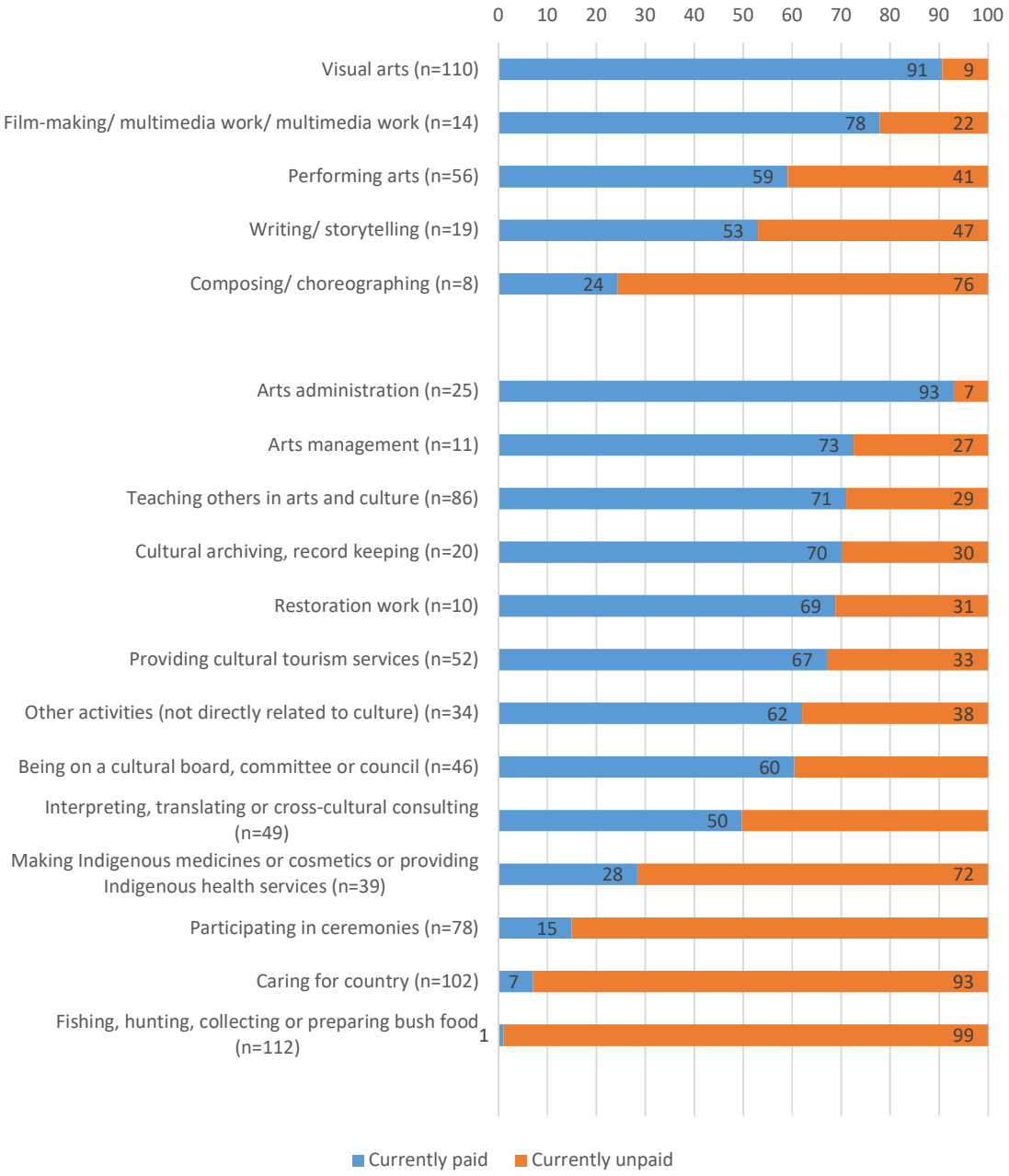
Table 9.1 Proportion of artists paid and not paid for cultural activities (percent of those who engaged in each activity in the last 12 months)

Activities	Currently paid	Currently unpaid	Total
		%	
Creative artistic activities			
Visual arts (n=110)	91	9	**100**
Performing arts (n=56)	59	41	**100**
Composing/ choreographing (n=8)	24	76	**100**
Writing/ storytelling (n=19)	53	47	**100**
Film-making/ multimedia work/ multimedia work (n=14)	78	22	**100**
Weighted average for creative artistic	**75**	**25**	**100**
Other cultural activities			
Participating in ceremonies (n=78)	15	85	**100**
Interpreting, translating or cross-cultural consulting (n=49)	50	50	**100**
Cultural archiving, record keeping (n=20)	70	30	**100**
Being on a cultural board, committee or council (n=46)	60	40	**100**
Teaching others in arts and culture (n=86)	71	29	**100**
Caring for country (n=102)	7	93	**100**
Fishing, hunting, collecting or preparing bush food (n=112)	1	99	**100**
Making Indigenous medicines or cosmetics or providing Indigenous health services (n=39)	28	72	**100**
Arts management (n=11)	73	27	**100**
Arts administration (n=25)	93	7	**100**
Providing cultural tourism services (n=52)	67	33	**100**
Restoration work (n=10)	69	31	**100**
Weighted average for other cultural	**37**	**63**	**100**
Other activities (not directly related to culture)			
Other activities (n=62)	46	54	**100**

Turning to other cultural activities, we can observe that a significantly higher proportion of these activities is left unpaid, with an average 63 percent of these activities across the board being undertaken on a voluntary basis. However, those activities that are generally undertaken on an employment basis, such as arts administration and arts management, are paid. Between 60 and 70 percent of artists who engage in restoration work, providing tourism services, or cultural archiving are paid for their work. The data show that three in five artists who serve on local, regional or state board or committee receive some financial compensation for their time. However, in some cases fees are not paid but travel could be reimbursed. Making Indigenous medicine or cosmetics and/or providing Indigenous health services are primarily done for own and family use, though nearly 30 percent of artists who

are involved with these activities do so for payment. Participating in ceremonies is primarily an unpaid activity, although 15 percent of artists who undertake ceremonies are paid. While more than four in five artists are currently engaged in caring for country activities, only seven percent are paid, usually when these activities are undertaken as part of a formal ranger program or when they involve provision of environmental management advice to different agencies, in which case payment is likely as consulting fees.

Figure 9.1 Proportion of artists paid and not paid for cultural activities (percent of those who engaged in each activity in the last 12 months)



We can compare the paid/unpaid pattern for arts and cultural work to the paid/unpaid pattern for work that does not directly relate to culture. Table 9.1 and Figure 9.1 show the majority of artists in the region (54 percent) are not paid for their non-cultural work. Many artists engaged in non-cultural work are Community Development Program (CDP) participants – about half of those engaged in non-cultural work. The CDP does not provide a real wage that would be equivalent to the minimum wage in Australia or above; it is a form of job-related assistance for unemployed people in remote areas.[15] This is why in this survey we treat CDP payments as "government benefits" and not as income that is derived from work, whether the payments are made for arts/cultural work or non-cultural work. Nevertheless, the voluntary nature of more than 50 percent of non-cultural work in remote areas of the region points to a lack of opportunities for generating incomes outside the arts sector.

9.2 SOURCES OF PAYMENT

Artists receive work-related income from organisations operating within three main sectors: the government, the private sector and the third sector (community and not-for-profit organisations). In some cases, such as when selling their paintings or their tourist guiding services to final buyers, artists may also receive payments as individuals. In the survey, we asked respondents what sort of organisation(s) made payments to them for various types of work in the last 12 months. Multiple responses were allowed as there could have been a number of organisations paying an artist for one or another activity. The results are summarised in Table 9.2. They show that the great majority of payments for artistic activities and other cultural work are derived from the third sector, which highlights the importance of this sector in providing employment and income opportunities to remote Indigenous artists.

In terms of income derived for creative artistic work, the government sector is important to writers/storytellers, with 40 percent receiving income from this sector for their work. Also one in five filmmakers/multimedia artists receive income for some of their work from the government sector. Nevertheless, the private sector (when combined with individual sales) is as important as the government sector to artists in the region, particularly for performing artists and writers/storytellers.

For all other cultural activities, the third sector is the main provider of incomes, although the government sector is another significant income provider to interpreters, translators, cross-cultural consultants, and arts and cultural teachers. As can be seen from Table 9.2, the private sector creates only a relatively small number of jobs in cultural work, at least for now. Nevertheless, there is one exception – 28 percent of artists engaged in environmental management activities receive this income from the private sector. It appears there is significant scope for the private sector to grow in the region in its engagement with Indigenous artists, their communities and the art economy.

[15] To access full unemployment benefits in remote areas, CDP participants are obligated to commit to 25 hours per week in Work for the Dole or up to their assessed work capacity, scheduled as five days per week. For some discussion of the CDP, see Jordan *et al.* (2016), Fowkes (2019). Further discussion will be accessible via the Diversity Council of Australia's Indigenous People and Work Research and Practice Hub at the University of Technology, Sydney.

Table 9.2 Sources of payment for artists undertaking various activities in the last 12 months (percent of those paid in each activity)*

	Private company	Government or public organisation	Community or non-for-profit organisation	As an individual**
	%			
Creative artistic activities				
Visual arts (n=100)	4	-	87	11
Performing arts (n=33)	17	6	65	19
Composing/ choreographing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Writing/ storytelling (n=10)	11	40	43	20
Film-making/ multimedia work/ multimedia work (n=11)	17	18	55	-
Other cultural activities				
Participating in ceremonies (n=12)	-	8	51	-
Interpreting, translating or cross-cultural consulting (n=24)	7	36	65	-
Cultural archiving, record keeping (n=14)	8	8	82	-
Being on a cultural board, committee or council (n=28)	-	4	96	-
Teaching others in arts and culture (n=61)	1	20	67	5
Caring for country (n=7)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Fishing, hunting, collecting or preparing bush food	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Making Indigenous medicines or cosmetics or providing Indigenous health services (n=11)	-	10	89	-
Arts management (n=8)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Arts administration (n=23)	-	-	96	-
Providing cultural tourism services (n=35)	5	5	82	8
Restoration work (n=7)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Other activities (not directly related to culture)				
Other activities (n=34)	6	42	52	-

* Multiple response allowed.
- indicates nil response in this sample.
n/a indicates insufficient sample size.
** i.e. when an artist receives direct payment for their work or service from the buyer of the work or service.

9.3 IMPORTANCE OF INCOMES FROM CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

In the survey, respondents were asked about the significance of the payments from various activities, i.e. whether according to their knowledge the revenue from these activities constituted a major income source or were smaller amounts of money that could be regarded as extra or incidental income. The results of the estimates as perceived by respondents are shown in Table 9.3.

It is noteworthy that despite the amounts of time that artists in the region put into their artistic practice, the majority of them regard the income from their artistic work as extra income or "incidental income" only. Only about one-third of visual artists and one-fifth of writers/storytellers and filmmakers/multimedia artists receive their *major* income from their creative work.

Table 9.3 Perceived importance of income from cultural activities (percent of those paid for each activity in the last 12 months)

Activities	N	Major income	Extra income	Incidental income	Total	Weighted average score*
			%			
Creative artistic activities						
Visual arts	100	35	44	21	**100**	**2.1**
Performing arts	25	3	18	78	**100**	**1.3**
Composing/ choreographing	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Writing/ storytelling	10	21	21	58	**100**	**1.6**
Film-making/ multimedia work/ multimedia work	11	20	16	64	**100**	**1.6**
Other cultural activities						
Participating in ceremonies	11	-	19	81	**100**	**1.2**
Interpreting, translating or cross-cultural consulting	22	43	10	47	**100**	**2.0**
Cultural archiving, record keeping	14	39	8	53	**100**	**1.9**
Being on a cultural board, committee or council	28	-	7	93	**100**	**1.1**
Teaching others in arts and culture	57	24	27	49	**100**	**1.8**
Caring for country	5	-	39	61	**100**	**1.4**
Fishing, hunting, collecting or preparing bush food	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Making Indigenous medicines or cosmetics or providing Indigenous health services	11	20	10	70	**100**	**1.5**
Arts management	8	73	-	27	**100**	**2.5**
Arts administration	20	61	19	20	**100**	**2.4**
Providing cultural tourism services	34	30	27	43	**100**	**1.9**
Restoration work	7	70	15	15	**100**	**2.5**

- indicates nil response in this sample.
n/a indicates insufficient sample size.
* 1 - "Incidental income"; 2- "Extra income"; 3 – "Major income". Excludes "Don't know/ Not sure" responses.

Among other cultural activities, the top three "major income" activities are arts management, restoration work and arts administration. Payments for some other cultural activities are sporadic, such as for translating, interpreting, cross-cultural consulting or cultural archiving, with some artists being able to generate major income from these activities, but many others earning only incidental incomes. For some artists, casual employment in other cultural activities on top of their artistic work is advantageous, as it can fit in with their cultural and family obligations. In the absence of significant financial returns for these cultural activities, we can assume they are mostly undertaken for reasons related to the maintenance and continuation of culture.

9.4 METHODS OF PAYMENT

Artists in the region receive income for their work by different means of payment. Table 9.4 shows the most common payment methods for different arts and other cultural activities, and other activities not directly related to culture. Works of visual artists are usually paid per piece (74 percent of all visual artists), although almost one in five receive part-time salaries or wages for working as arts workers, usually as part of an arrangement with their art centre. While some visual artists receive payment directly from individual buyers of their work, or from dealers and galleries, the majority (87 percent of visual artists in the region) sell their work via a community or not-for-profit organisation, primarily an art centre. Different art centres in the region have different systems of payment, as approved by their respective boards and artists.

The majority of art centres will pay the artists when the work is sold; however, some may pay the artist an agreed price for the work on receipt. Some art centres operate an income management arrangement for their artists, whereby the artist is paid a relatively small weekly allowance in cash or as a voucher for spending at the local store; the amounts of these payments are debited to the artist's account held by the centre. Implementation of this system is subject to the approval of the board and the artists. Although this procedure involves additional work for art centre staff, artists benefit by having a regular and reliable income stream for meeting their daily expenses, with their balance hopefully kept in credit through continuing sales of work.

Almost four in five performing artists in the region – musicians, singers, dancers and actors – are paid fees per service. Filmmakers and multimedia artists usually work for full-time or part-time wages (42 percent), with the rest receiving fees per service, payments per piece or wages for casual work.

Regularity of income varies between different activities. About one-third of artists who combine their artistic practice with other cultural employment such as interpretation/ translation/consulting and cultural archiving see a regular stream of income from full-time employment, as do about half of the artists who also engage in arts management. Arts administration and restoration work also provide some regularity in artists' income, predominantly as part-time wages. However, for many artists, the method of payment does not lead to a regular inflow of money. For example, the majority of artists involved in cultural governance are paid on a fee-per-service basis (such as sitting fees for board members), which depends on the frequency of meetings. Also more than a third of artists working in cultural tourism or teaching in arts and culture are also paid per service, which provides flexible work arrangements but depends on the nature and availability of the work involved.

Table 9.4 Methods of payment (percent of those currently paid for each activity)

Activities	N	Salaries/ wages full-time	Salaries/ wages part-time	Casual wages	Payments per piece	Fees per service	Hourly rate	Royalties/ licence fee	In-kind payments	Commissions	Other	Total
Creative artistic activities												
Visual arts	100	5	18	3	74	-	-	-	-	-	-	**100**
Performing arts	33	7	13	-	77	-	-	-	-	-	-	**100**
Writing/ storytelling	10	10	42	18	9	21	-	-	-	-	-	**100**
Composing/ choreographing	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	**100**
Film-making/multimedia work	10	11	31	19	20	19	-	-	-	-	-	**100**
Other cultural activities												
Participating in ceremonies	10	-	-	-	-	69	-	-	-	-	31	**100**
Interpreting, translating or cross-cultural consulting	24	33	30	12	-	17	8	-	-	-	-	**100**
Cultural archiving, record keeping	14	31	47	7	-	8	-	-	8	-	-	**100**
Being on a cultural board, committee or council	28	4	12	3	-	54	19	-	8	-	-	**100**
Teaching others in arts and culture	56	16	31	7	2	34	10	-	-	-	-	**100**
Caring for country	5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	**100**
Fishing, hunting, collecting or preparing bush food	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	**100**
Making Indigenous medicines or cosmetics or providing Indigenous health services	11	20	30	-	40	-	-	-	-	10	-	**100**
Arts management	8	51	36	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	-	**100**
Arts administration	22	19	59	8	-	-	9	-	5	-	-	**100**
Providing cultural tourism services	35	23	17	6	2	38	8	-	3	-	3	**100**
Restoration work	7	27	73	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**100**
Other activities (not directly related to culture)												
Other activities	34	32	44	15	6		-	-	-	-	3	**100**

- indicates nil response in this sample.
n/a indicates insufficient sample size

9.5 OTHER SOURCES OF INCOME

Apart from the creative and other cultural activities discussed above, we identify two other sources of revenue that may contribute to an artist's total income: other paid or unpaid work outside the arts and cultural sector, and other sources such as financial assistance received from family members, government benefits or financial loans.

Our data show that in addition to their arts and cultural activities, 27 percent of artists in the region undertake other work that is not directly related to their culture. As was seen in Table 9.1, about three in five artists who engage in this work are paid for it, leaving almost 40 percent who do this work unpaid. About one-third of those undertaking paid non-cultural activities do so on a full-time basis and 44 percent on a part-time basis (see Table 9.4), paid in the form of full- or part-time salaries or wages. The rest do such work for casual wages (15 percent) or for payments per piece or per service (six percent). As Table 9.2 demonstrates, the majority of these non-cultural jobs (52 percent) are within the third sector, highlighting the importance of this sector for generating employment in the region, including jobs outside the arts and cultural sector; more than half of all non-cultural jobs are being provided by not-for-profit and community organisations.

Our survey also provides data on the second source of income noted above, i.e. financial support received from government benefits of various kinds, money received from a partner or other family members, or payment from community trust funds and so on. In the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region, only about one in ten artists (11 percent) does *not* receive any form of support from one or more of these non-work sources, as shown in Table 9.5. Sources of artists' non-work income include financial support from their partners (23 percent), financial support from other family members (26 percent)[16] and mining royalties/community trusts (16 percent).

Table 9.5 Artists receiving support from other income sources in the last 12 months (percent of respondents)

Other income sources	N	%
Artists not relying on other income sources	**14**	**11**
Artists relying on other income sources *	**109**	**89**
Total	**123**	**100**
Government benefits, such as unemployment or other benefits	92	75
Money received from family (other than partner)	32	26
Partner income	28	23
Mining royalties (community trust)	20	16
A loan from a financial institution	3	2
Other loans, such as Indigenous Business Network	1	**
Other	2	2

* Multiple responses allowed.
** indicates less than 1%.

[16] Support from partners and family members does not include transfers in kind.

However, the main source of non-work income is government benefits. Exactly three quarters of all artists in the region rely on some form of government support, the largest single group being individuals who are CDP participants (see Table 9.6). The second largest group of recipients of government benefits consists of those artists receiving disability support pensions (17 percent). About one in ten artists who are on government benefits receive a parenting payment and about the same number are on unemployment benefits, such as Newstart or Youth Allowance. We note that the New Enterprise Incentive Scheme has not attracted any artists in our survey sample. There may be several reasons why this is so, one of which is possibly because the scheme requires a level of entrepreneurial and business skills found among only a few individual artists in the region.

Table 9.6 Artists receiving government benefits in the last 12 months (percent of respondents)

Government benefits	N	%
Artists not receiving government benefits	**31**	**25**
Artists receiving government benefits*	**92**	**75**
Total	**123**	**100**
Work for the Dole with CDP activities	32	26
Disability Support Pension	21	17
Unemployment benefits, such as Newstart or Youth Allowance	17	14
Parenting Payment	16	13
Age pension	9	7
Carer payments	4	4
Family tax benefit	3	2
Work for the Dole without CDP activities	2	2
New Enterprise Incentive Scheme	-	-
Other	8	7

* Multiple responses allowed.
- indicates nil response in this sample.

9.6 THE MAIN SOURCE OF INCOME

As discussed earlier in this section of the Report, artists could have multiple sources of income from cultural or non-cultural activities or from non-work income. In the survey, we asked respondents to identify which one of all these income sources had been, according to their knowledge, their *main* source of income in the last 12 months. Table 9.7 shows the results, which indicate that creative artistic activities and other cultural activities were the income source for almost a third of artists. One in five stated that they gain their principal income from other work. But it is noteworthy that about half of all artists (51 percent) nominated "other sources", or non-work income, as their principal revenue stream. Almost all respondents in this group (97 percent) received some form of financial support from the government. It seems likely these other sources of income were identified so often because they are perceived as being more consistent, despite generating on average only about half the typical artist's income.

Table 9.7 The main income source in the last 12 months as perceived by respondents (percent of respondents)

Income sources	N	%
Income from creative artistic activities	16	13
Income from other cultural activities	20	16
Income from other activities (not directly related to culture)	24	20
Income from other sources	62	51
Total	**122**	**100**

9.7 MEAN AND MEDIAN INCOMES

The use of population surveys as a means of collecting data about the monetary amounts of people's incomes and expenditures faces particular difficulties. Such information is private and respondents are often sensitive about divulging details of their financial affairs. These considerations are just as relevant to Aboriginal artists as they are to anyone else. However, as in other regions where the National Survey has already been carried out, we received no refusals from respondents in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region to provide information about their incomes, and all did so to the extent that they could. Despite such cooperation from interviewees, however, there remain serious constraints on deriving accurate income data in a survey such as this. Some of the respondents have low numeracy levels[17] and most do not keep accurate accounting records or do not lodge their tax returns every year. Many of the respondents also could not recall exactly how much they have received as income and when it might have been received, particularly as most receive income from a variety of sources. Moreover, monies paid to Aboriginal artists could also be immediately shared with family members and others, so it is not clear how much of any payment actually accrues to the individual. In some cases, income is received on behalf of the family, for example in royalty payments through the Land Council.

[17] For data on competency levels derived from a survey of a small sample of Indigenous arts workers carried out for Desart in 2014, see Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education (2014); see also Wright (2000).

In our survey, we were able to deal with these problems for the component of income derived from artistic work through the following avenues. For those visual artists whose creative income was managed more or less solely through an organisation, such as an art centre or gallery, we were able to collect accurate statistics directly from these organisations with written permissions of the artists to allow access to their income data. In regard to other artistic forms, a number of artists were paid as employees (e.g. film-makers and writers), enabling their salaries to be determined.

For income from other cultural and non-cultural activities, recollection was often hazy, particularly as there were generally multiple sources of income in varying amounts during any given period. In cases where the respondent received a reasonably consistent income through salary or wages (e.g. as rangers, arts and media workers, teachers) more precision was possible. Sitting fees, fees for performing and fees for consulting services were particularly hard to determine.

Other sources of income (non-work) were also difficult to pin down; not all respondents were able to provide figures and these data need to be treated with caution. In most cases where Government benefits were received, the amounts could be estimated approximately from the standard payment rates for the different benefit types subject to a respondent's circumstances, such as whether or not they had dependent children, the respondent's age, their disability status and so on. These amounts are approximations only, because our survey does not give data on details that would be needed for determining more accurate estimates, such as arrangements with partners, number and the age of dependent children, and so on. We also did not have clear information on the continuity of these Government payments in individual cases, such as whether respondents received these payments throughout the entire 12 months or during some months that year only, or whether there had been subtractions due to CDP penalties. In the absence of this information, we had to assume that all respondents who received Government benefits received them for the entire 12 months and no penalties were applied. This means some overestimations are possible in these data. In the case of other sources such as income from a partner or money received from family, these receipts were likely to be irregular, and respondents had difficulty nominating the total amount they would have received last year. In all such cases it was not possible to obtain precise dollar figures; instead we asked respondents to choose the range within which their income fell. In compiling tables from these data, we assume the point estimate to be the mid-point of the range.

Taking into account the issues discussed above, we present in Table 9.8 the mean and median incomes of artists in the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands region for the last 12 months. The table shows the means/medians calculated across all artists in the sample, including zero incomes wherever relevant, but not including cases where income information was incomplete or uncertain.

Table 9.8 Mean and median incomes for artists in the last 12 months ($'000 p.a)

Income sources (n=67)	Mean	Median
	$'000 p.a.	
Income from creative artistic activities	3.7	0.5
Income from other cultural activities	5.7	0.5
Income from other activities (not directly related to culture)	2.4	-
Total income from work	**11.7**	**3.7**
Income from other sources	12.2	12.5
Total income	**23.8**	**20.5**

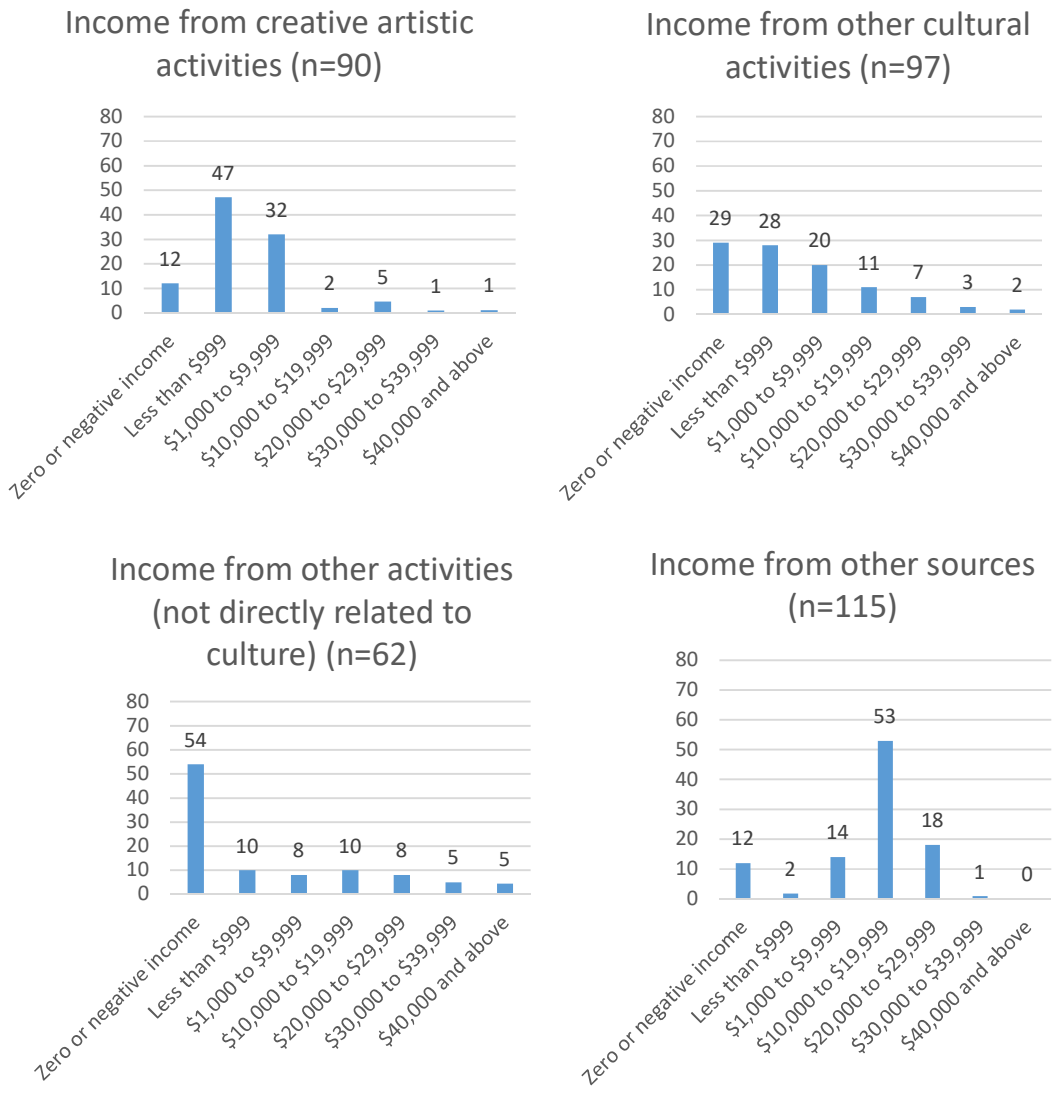
The table shows that artistic activities contribute just 16 percent of an average artist's total income, and about a third of their work income. However, the largest component of artists' work income in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region is income that comes from participation in other cultural activities. It comprises about half an average artist's work income and about a quarter of her/his total income. Work outside the arts and cultural sector makes up about a fifth of an artist's work income and ten percent of total income on average. Overall, the income that an average artist in the region receives from work is roughly equal to the income derived from other sources (49 percent for the former and 51 percent for the latter). It needs to be noted again here that we treat income from CDP work activities as unpaid work and any remuneration received for these activities as government benefits, in accordance with the purpose of the CDP scheme.

We can compare the creative artistic income and total income of Aboriginal artists in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region with the corresponding data for all Australian artists. The report *Making Art Work* shows that practising professional artists in Australia earned $18,800 on average in 2014–15 from their artistic work, with total incomes from all sources of $48,400. These incomes are considerably higher than the corresponding earnings of Indigenous artists in the survey region. However, it appears that artists in the region may nevertheless be better off on average than other Indigenous people in the region. Two comparisons are possible; since our data show that the majority of Indigenous practising artists in the region are not in the labour force, we can compare incomes of artists in the region (1) against incomes of Indigenous adults (15 years old and older) in general, and (2) against incomes of Indigenous adults who are in the labour force. Our estimate of the median annual income of artists in the region of around $20,500 a year is significantly higher than the median personal income for Indigenous (15+) people in remote and very remote areas of the Northern Territory (about $11,700 a year) derived from 2016 ABS Census data. This median income of Indigenous artists in the region is, however, lower than the median personal income of Indigenous people in the labour force (about $23,400 a year)[18].

[18] Derived from estimates of weekly personal incomes for Indigenous persons (15 +) in general and in the labour force in Remote and Very Remote NT from the 2016 Census.

Finally, we show in Figure 9.2 the income distributions within the main income categories. These diagrams illustrate the observations concerning the various income sources that we have discussed in this section. In the case of income from artistic activities, the largest group of artists (59 percent) consists of those who earned less than $1,000 last year from their creative work. The second largest group (32 percent) earned between $1,000 and $10,000 last year. It is noteworthy, however, that among all the different income sources, by far the highest percentage of zero incomes is from non-cultural work – 54 percent of those who participated in this work in the last year.

Figure 9.2 Income distribution from different sources (percent of respondents who receive income from these sources



10 PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

This section addresses professional practice issues of artists residing in the remote areas of the region. In presenting the results, we distinguish between those artists who are primarily visual artists (activities including painting, print-making, weaving, carving, sculpting and so on) and those who are performing artists (engaged in music, dance, theatre, or film production). We recognise that Indigenous artists, as all other artists, often work across artform boundaries, and we have documented these work patterns for our survey sample in section 6 of this Report. Nevertheless, it is possible for artists to identify a mode of practice that takes up most of their time these days, and this is the basis of the distinction used here[19].

The survey data provide insights into a range of issues relating to professional artistic practice, including: the years of experience in art production; spaces that are available to artists in the remote areas of the region; artists' preferences for spending more or less time in their artistic practice; and artists' use of technology. We also look into a number of professional experiences that are common among artists in the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands and their impact on artists' professional lives.

10.1 ARTISTS' YEARS OF EXPERIENCE

The great majority of artists in the region have been practising in the arts for more than 20 years (62 percent), as shown in Table 10.1. This reflects both the age distribution of the artist population in the region, and the early age from which artists learn and practice their art. It also attests to the significant accumulation of human capital in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region that comprises a major resource contributing to the generation of economic benefit for communities in the region.

Table 10.1 Years of experience by art form (percent of respondents)

Years of experience	Visual artists (n=106)	Performing artists (n=15)	All artists (n=123)
		%	
1-2 years	7	-	7
3-5 years	9	6	9
6-10 years	8	6	8
11-20 years	12	24	14
20+ years	63	65	62
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

- indicates nil response in this sample.

[19] Note that the same issue arises in the survey of all Australian artists as reported in *Making Art Work* (2017). In that survey the specification used is of an artist's principal artistic occupation (PAO), defined as that art form in which the artist "mostly works these days in terms of time" (p.) Although many artists do engage in multi-artform practice, all have been able to identify one as their PAO.

10.2 FACILITIES FOR MAKING WORK

To continue their practice, artists in the region make use of different facilities available in remote areas. In the survey we asked respondents to tell us about the places in which they have been making their work. Respondents were then asked to identify one place where they have spent the most of their time on their artistic work. The results are summarised in Table 10.2. An artist's home, or the home of a family member, is a common location for their work. Almost 70 percent of all artists in the region utilise their own or family member's home as a place for artistic practice. For more than a third, private homes are the places where they spend the most of their time making work. Homes as places of practice are more often used by performing artists than by visual artists – about nine in ten performing artists have practised at home, and two in five have spent most of their productive time there.

For visual artists, an art centre is likely to be an important work location. Two-thirds of visual artists in the region have been able to practise in an arts centre, and for nearly half of them arts centres are where they spend most of their working time. Only a small percentage of performing artists have utilised art centres' spaces. Almost one-third of all artists in the region also make use of other community spaces and facilities, such as community halls and recreation spaces -- this is more common among performing artists than visual artists. Table 10.2 also highlights the importance of working on country, not only for the purposes of collecting materials but also for making work, with one-fifth of all artists in the region making their work and practising there. During interviews, some respondents explained that working on country is where their art "would come alive", and "achieve meaning".

Almost half of performing artists in the region have at some time had an opportunity to utilise a dedicated studio space, such as a recording studio or editing suite. Only seven percent of visual artists in the region have practised in a dedicated artist studio outside the art centre format. About a fifth of all artists have also made use of educational facilities, such as schools, when making their art.

Table 10.2 Places used for artistic practice and the most used place in terms of time spent by art form (percent of respondents)

Place of artistic practice	Used for practice*			The most time spent in		
	Visual artists (n=106)	Performing artists (n=15)	All artists (n=123)	Visual artists (n=106)	Performing artists (n=15)	All artists (n=123)
	%			%		
Art centre	67	6	60	48	-	42
Home or family member's home	66	91	69	36	41	36
Community space or facility	25	67	30	14	24	15
Dedicated studio space, such as artist studio, recording studio or editing suite	7	49	12	-	6	*
On country	18	49	21	-	-	-
Educational institution (such as school, TAFE, etc.)	20	18	20	-	6	2
Other	3	60	10	2	23	5
Total				**100**	**100**	**100**

* Multiple response allowed.
- indicates nil response in this sample.

10.3 PREFERENCES FOR SPENDING MORE/LESS TIME IN ARTISTIC PRACTICE

In the survey, we asked respondents if they would like to be spending "more, about the same or less time on their art practice". Only one in ten respondents said that they would like to spend less time, as Table 10.3 shows. Approximately two in five of all artists are happy with the amount of time they currently spend on making their artistic work, with a similar number of artists indicating that they would like to spend more time. In the region a larger proportion of visual artists than performing artists would like to spend more time on their practice.

Table 10.3 Preferences for more/less time to spend on artisitic practice by art form (percent of respondents)

	Visual artists (n=106)	Performing artists (n=15)	All artists (n=123)
		%	
More time	46	29	44
About the same	42	41	41
Less time	11	24	13
Don't know	1	6	2
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

Those respondents who indicated that they would like to spend more time on their practice were then asked about reasons that prevented them from allocating more time to it. As Table 10.4 shows, among many reasons mentioned there are two that stand out: having to do other non-arts work, and having to balance artistic work with community or cultural responsibilities. Not only are these two obstacles the most commonly cited reasons why more art work could not be undertaken, they are also the *most important* obstacles for the largest proportions of respondents.

Table 10.4 Reasons for preferring to spend less time on artistic practice (percent of those respondents who prefer to spend more time on their artistic activities

Reasons (n=52)	Reasons *	The main reason
	%	%
Too much non-arts work that I have responsibilities for	33	22
Balancing my work with community or cultural responsibilities	27	21
Health issues	15	11
Family issues	17	10
Lack of materials	21	10
New thing, just starting it out	7	7
Difficulties with promoting my work/ getting my work to market	2	4
Lack of equipment	17	4
Lack of skills/ experience	4	2
Lack of access to country	2	2
Little income from this work/need to earn more income elsewhere	2	-
No time because have to fulfil requirements in order to receive government benefits	2	-
Lack of facilities	17	
Other	10	7
Total		**100**

* Multiple response allowed.
- indicates nil response in this sample.

10.4 PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES

Despite being produced in the most remote parts of Australia, the artistic outputs of Indigenous artists in these regions are appreciated throughout Australia as well as overseas. Table 10.5 shows the proportion of artists who have had professional engagements as artists or have had their work shown in Australian capital cities and abroad. More than 60 percent of all artists in the region have had their work showcased outside of their remote settlements in one or more Australian capital cities, and 27 percent have shown their work overseas[20]. There are also other ways in which artists' work moves beyond the region -- many music bands, for example, tour between towns and communities in and outside the region, and work of visual artists sold at a local art centre may be taken anywhere in Australia or the world.

[20] It appears that Aboriginal artists in the region are having less exposure to the international art market than all artists Australia wide – 27 percent vs 42 percent (the latter data from *Making Art Work,* 2017).

Table 10.5 Artists' professional engagement in the Australian capital cities and overseas (percent of respondents)

Professional experiences*	ATSI artists in the region			All Australian artists
	Visual artists (n=106)	Performing artists (n=15)	All artists (n=123)	
	%			
Showing your work in capital cities	63	42	61	n/a
Showing your work overseas	26	30	27	42

* Multiple responses allowed

Winning an award or prize in an artistic field can advance an artist's career and contribute to the artist being recognised and becoming more established in their practice. Table 10.6 shows that about one in five artists in the region have won an art award or prize at some stage of their career. Winning an award or prize is more common among performing artists in our sample than among visual artists, perhaps reflecting the wider range of awards available to Indigenous performers. In the survey, respondents were also asked whether to their best knowledge they received a grant or funding to continue their artistic work. The results show that one-fifth of all artists in the region have received such financial assistance, with little difference between visual and performing artists. Note that some artists in the region may not be fully aware of funding applications that have been submitted by organisations on their behalf or on behalf of a group of artists.

Table 10.6 Artists' winning awards, prizes or receiving grants or funding to continue their work (percent of respondents)

Professional experiences*	Visual artists (n=106)	Performing artists (n=15)	All artists (n=123)
		%	
Winning an award or prize	14	61	20
Receiving a grant or funding to continue artistic work	20	24	20

* Multiple responses allowed.

When it comes to applying for funding, it appears that less than one percent of artists stated that they applied directly themselves for a grant or funding in the 12 months prior to the survey interview, as Table 10.7 shows. About half of all artists did not apply for any funding in the last year, and about one-quarter of artists believed that an art centre or other organisation had applied on their behalf. The success rate of these funding applications was high, with four in five applications being successful according to the artists' understanding.

Table 10.7 Application for funding and success rate in the last year (percent of respondents)

	%
Of all artists (n=123)	
Applied myself	*
Someone applied on my behalf	1
An art centre or community organisation applied on behalf of the group of artists, including myself	24
Did not apply	51
Don't know/ Not sure	23
Total	**100**
Of those who applied whether themselves of someone/ organisation applied on their behalf (n=32)	
No	6
Yes	84
Don't know/ Not sure	8
Total	**100**

* indicates less than 1%.

Artists have different arrangements to promote and sell their work. Some artists are managed by an art centre, local gallery or other local organisation, agent, manager or gallery dealer, while some work independently. Table 10.8 provides insights into how common some of these arrangements are among Aboriginal artists in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region. More than nine in ten visual artists in the region have experienced working with an art centre, artist-run initiative or other community organisation, but such professional experience is not as common among regional performing artists (only 13 percent). Being managed by a private company, such as a commercial gallery, record company or publisher, is much less common in the region, with only 12 percent of all artists having such an experience. Significantly more performing artists than visual artists have had a private company managing their artistic practice (40 percent vs 8 percent).

Table 10.8 Artists' management arrangements (percent of respondents)

Professional experiences*	Visual artists (n=106)	Performing artists (n=15)	All artists (n=123)
		%	
Being managed by an art centre, community organisation or artist-run initiative	91	13	80
Being managed by a private company	8	40	12

* Multiple responses allowed.

Any of the professional experiences discussed so far can have both positive and negative impacts on an artist's professional life. In the survey we asked respondents to assess how these and some other professional experiences affected the amount and quality of their artistic work. Table 10.9 provides the results. Most of the experiences were perceived by respondents as "very positive", with the average weighted scores ranging between 4.9 and 4.8.

Table 10.9 Professional experiences and their impact on artistic career (percent of respondents)

Professional experiences*	% of all artists (n=123)	Very positive	Fairly positive	No effect	Fairly negative	Very negative	Total	Average weighted score**
Showing your work in capital cities	61	90	9	1	-	-	**100**	4.9
Showing your work overseas	27	91	9	-	-	-	**100**	4.9
Winning an award or prize	20	89	11	-	-	-	**100**	4.9
Receiving a grant or funding to continue artistic work	20	100	-	-	-	-	**100**	5.0
Being managed by an art centre, community organisation or artist-run initiative	80	93	5	-	2	-	**100**	4.8
Being managed by a private company	12	86	8	6	-	-	**100**	4.9
Working with an established artist/ author (assisting or collaborating)	11	100	-	-	-	-	**100**	5.0
Taking a loan to continue artistic work	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
None of these	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

* Multiple responses allowed.
- indicates nil response in this sample.
** 5 – "Very positive", 4 – "Fairly positive", 3 – "No effect", 2 – "Fairly negative", 1 – "Very negative".

10.5 USE OF TECHNOLOGY

About half the Aboriginal artists in the region use some form of technology in their artistic work, as shown in Table 10.10. Among those artists who use technology, mobile and smart phones are used most in the production of art works, with 43 percent of all artists using phones for these purposes. A quarter of artists who use technology also use social media platforms. Desktop computers, laptop computers, iPads and so on are also relatively popular. It is interesting to note that none of the respondents said that they used a personal website to promote their work.

Table 10.10 Artists' use of technologies in the process of creating art (percent of respondents)

	Visual artists (n=106)	Performing artists (n=15)	All artists (n=123)
		%	
Use some of these:*	**46**	**88**	**51**
Mobile or smart phones	40	61	43
Social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram or others	23	42	26
Desktop computer, laptop computer, iPad, etc.	17	30	18
Still photography camera	12	12	12
Video or film equipment	6	24	9
Sound recording or playing equipment	2	49	9
Third-party websites, such as YouTube, Vimeo or others	4	12	6
Personal website	-	-	-
Other	0	12	2
Do not use any of these	**54**	**12**	**49**
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

* Multiple response allowed.
- indicates nil response in this sample.

Performing artists in the survey region appear to be more technologically engaged than visual artists - almost 90 percent of them use technology compared to only 46 percent of visual artists. They also show higher use across all technological devices considered in this study with one exception – the use of photography cameras is as important to visual artists as it is to performing artists.

10.6 COPYRIGHT ISSUES

Our data show that Aboriginal artists in the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands region are well aware of the importance of intellectual property as a means for providing remuneration to creators and to allow consumers orderly access to creative work. This is perhaps due to the success of awareness campaigns that have been initiated in recent years to inform Indigenous artists in remote parts of Australia on copyright issues. The majority of survey respondents showed awareness that the intellectual property of their work must be adequately protected against unauthorised exploitation or appropriation.

In the survey, we asked respondents "As far as you are aware, has copyright of your creative work ever been infringed (i.e. use of an image of your work without permission or payment) or has your work been pirated (i.e. used without your, or your art centre, or dealer's permission)?" Table 10.11 gives details of infringements of copyright experienced by Aboriginal artists in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region and by all Australian artists across the board. It appears that copyright infringements are experienced less by Aboriginal artists in remote areas than by all artists Australia-wide. However, there is more uncertainty on this question among the Indigenous artists, as a larger proportion of them were not sure or did not know whether any infringement took place at all.

Table 10.11 Infringement of economic rights of artists (percent)

	All Indigenous artists in the survey region(n=123)	All artists Australia-wide
	%	
Copyright infringement*		
No	74	71
Yes	11	26
Don't know/ Not sure	15	3
Total	**100**	**100**
Action taken to stop copyright infringement or seek compensation:	**32***	**37***
Successful	75**	59**
Unsuccessful	-	29**
Don't know/ Not sure	25**	12**
Total	**100**	**100**

*Percentage of artists who have had their copyright infringed.
**Percentage of those artists who have taken action.

Those respondents who experienced infringements were asked if they personally or someone else on their behalf had ever acted to stop infringement or had sought compensation. About a third of artists in the survey region who experienced infringements have acted or sought compensation, almost the same proportions as for all artists Australia-wide who were in the same situation. However, small sample sizes here prevent us from drawing any inferences as to relative success rates.

11 INTRA-REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

The region covered by this component of the national survey falls partly on the mainland of the Northern Territory and partly on the offshore Tiwi Islands. Although the two areas are related to some extent in cultural terms, they differ in a number of respects: their geography, their land use, their pattern of settlement, and the size of their economies. In this section, we tabulate some of the main results from the survey broken down into North-West NT and Tiwi Islands components, to assess whether any differences between the two areas may have some effect on any of the major variables under study in a way that might have implications for policy formation.

11.1 DEMOGRAPHICS

Some demographic characteristics of artists in the two areas are shown in Table 11.1. There are no significant differences in the gender proportions or in the mean ages of artists in the two areas. In regard to family circumstances, there are some unexplained variations observable in the data – a greater proportion of singles with no children in the Tiwi Islands, for example. There appears to be a greater incidence of disability amongst artists in the Tiwi Islands compared to artists in the North-West NT.

Table 11.1 Demographic characteristics of artists, by areas (percent of all respondents

	North-West NT (n=66)	Tiwi Islands (n=57)
Gender (%)		
Female	56	55
Male	44	46
Total	100	100
Age (years)		
Mean age	49	47
Median age	50	50
Family circumstances (%)		
Single no children	34	45
Single with children	13	17
Partner no children	27	14
Partner with children	26	24
Total	100	100
Living with disability, long-term illness (%)	37	45

11.2 CULTURAL ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN

Table 11.2 shows the range of cultural-economic activities that artists in the two areas have ever done, are currently doing, and for which they are currently being paid, with percentages calculated across all artists in the sample. Table 11.3 shows the proportions of artists in the two jurisdictions who are currently engaged in activities, calculated as percentages of those with experience in the various activities. Of those artists who are currently engaged in activities, the proportions currently being paid are shown in Table 11.4, and the average number of cultural-economic activities being undertaken by artists in the two areas is shown in Table 11.5.

In regard to artistic activities, there is a stronger presence in music composition, film-making and multimedia work in the mainland component of the region, reflecting differences in availability of facilities. However, there is no difference between the areas in the proportions of performing artists who are currently being paid for this work. In regard to the visual arts, there is a concentration of activity in the Tiwi Islands, and a larger proportion of these artists are paid for their work than is the case for their counterparts on the mainland component of the region. In the case of other cultural activities, there is mostly a greater engagement by artists in the North-West NT mainland than in the Tiwi Islands, noticeable particularly in ceremonial activity, interpreting/translating and service on boards/committees. However, there appears to be relatively more engagement with cultural tourism by artists in the Tiwi Islands. The data in Table 11.3 suggest that there is untapped potential among experienced artists in several cultural activities that could be tapped if appropriate income-earning opportunities in these activities should arise in future.

In regard to the proportions of engaged artists who are paid for their work, Table 11.4 shows that significantly smaller proportions of artists in North-West NT are paid for different kinds of cultural work than artists in the Tiwi Islands. For example, almost all Tiwi visual artists are being paid, compared to only 80 percent in the mainland component of the region, with an even bigger disparity for performing artists (81 vs. 47 percent).

11.3 EDUCATION AND TRAINING

The pathways identified by artists in the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands as being the most important in the process of their acquiring their cultural capital are shown in Table 11.6 for the acquisition of their cultural knowledge, and in Table 11.7 for the ways in which they have gained the skills and competencies necessary to practise as an artist. The patterns and assessments of importance appear to be similar – as an explanation it can be argued that the basic means by which knowledge and skills are learned by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are essentially the same for all, regardless of location. The minor variations that can be seen in our data in aspects such as the proportions of respondents learning from family members or elders/other community members can simply be attributed to the occurrence of different circumstances from time to time at the micro-level, and not because of any systematic differences between the areas.

Table 11.2 Cultural-economic activities undertaken by artists, by areas (percent of all respondents)

Activities*	Ever done		Currently doing**		Currently being paid**	
	North-West NT	Tiwi Islands	North-West NT	Tiwi Islands	North-West NT	Tiwi Islands
	%					
Creative artistic activities						
Visual arts	90	97	86	94	72	92
Performing arts	71	52	53	35	25	28
Composing or choreographing	13	10	n/a	8	n/a	n/a
Writing or storytelling	30	24	14	18	n/a	11
Making a film, TV or radio program, or multimedia work	18	16	13	9	10	n/a
Other cultural activities						
Participating in ceremonies	81	93	64	51	7	11
Interpreting, translating or cross-cultural consulting	57	52	47	33	25	14
Cultural archiving, record keeping	18	22	14	18	8	15
Being on a cultural board, committee or council	59	48	47	30	22	23
Teaching others in arts and culture	82	78	73	68	49	51
Caring for country	89	95	86	79	n/a	n/a
Fishing, hunting, collecting or preparing bush food	96	100	91	92	n/a	n/a
Making Indigenous medicines/ cosmetics or providing Indigenous health services	52	42	37	25	17	n/a
Arts management	11	n/a	11	n/a	n/a	n/a
Arts administration	29	23	24	16	22	16
Providing cultural tourism services	67	55	43	43	36	19
Restoration work	16	9	10	n/a	n/a	n/a

n/a indicates insufficient sample.
* Multiple responses allowed.
** In the last 12 months.

Table 11.3 Proportions of artists with experience in activities currently engaged in those activities, by areas (percent of those with previous experience)

Activities	North-West NT (n=66)	Tiwi Islands (n=57)
	%	
Creative artistic activities		
Visual arts	95	97
Performing arts	76	66
Composing or choreographing	n/a	83
Writing or storytelling	46	77
Making a film, TV or radio program, or multimedia work	76	56
Other cultural activities		
Participating in ceremonies	79	55
Interpreting, translating or cross-cultural consulting	83	65
Cultural archiving, record keeping	74	84
Being on a cultural board, committee or council	79	63
Teaching others in arts and culture	89	87
Caring for country	97	84
Fishing, hunting, collecting or preparing bush food	95	91
Making Indigenous medicines/ cosmetics or providing Indigenous health services	70	59
Arts management	100	n/a
Arts administration	84	69
Providing cultural tourism services	64	77
Restoration work	60	n/a

n/a indicates nil response in this sample.

Table 11.4 Proportions of artists paid per activity in the last 12 months, by areas (percent of those who engaged in activity in the last 12 months)

Activities	North-West NT (n=66)	Tiwi Islands (n=57)
	%	
Creative artistic activities		
Visual arts	83	98
Performing arts	47	81
Composing or choreographing	n/a	n/a
Writing or storytelling	n/a	61
Making a film, TV or radio program, or multimedia work	78	n/a
Other cultural activities		
Participating in ceremonies	11	20
Interpreting, translating or cross-cultural consulting	52	43
Cultural archiving, record keeping	58	81
Being on a cultural board, committee or council	47	76
Teaching others in arts and culture	68	75
Caring for country	n/a	n/a
Fishing, hunting, collecting or preparing bush food	n/a	n/a
Making Indigenous medicines/ cosmetics or providing Indigenous health services	45	n/a
Arts management	n/a	n/a
Arts administration	89	100
Providing cultural tourism services	n/a	n/a

n/a indicates nil response in this sample.

Table 11.5 Average number of cultural-economic activities undertaken by artists, by areas (number of activities)

Activities	Ever done		Currently doing		Currently paid	
	North-West NT	Tiwi Islands	North-West NT	Tiwi Islands	North-West NT	Tiwi Islands
	no. of activities		no. of activities		no. of activities	
Creative artistic	2.2	2.0	1.7	1.6	1.1	1.4
Other cultural	6.4	6.1	5.5	4.7	1.9	1.6
All arts & cultural	**8.6**	**8.1**	**7.2**	**6.3**	**3.1**	**3.0**

Table 11.6 Most important pathways for acquiring cultural knowledge, by areas (percent of all respondents)

Cultural knowledge pathways	North-West NT (n=66)	Tiwi Islands (n=57)
	%	
Directly from family members	73	83
Directly from elders and/ or other community members	14	11
From being on country	8	5
From participating in ceremonies	4	2
From artworks, songs or stories	1	-
From festivals or other cultural events	-	-
Some other way	-	-
Total	**100**	**100**

- indicates nil response in this sample.

Table 11.7 Most important pathways for gaining industry skills and experience, by areas (percent of all respondents)

Industry skills pathways	North-West NT (n=66)	Tiwi Islands (n=57)
	%	
Learning from a family member:	67	66
Participating with and observing from a family member	57	46
Only observing from a family member	10	20
Learning from a friend or community member:	8	6
Participating with and observing from a friend or community member	3	-
Only observing from a friend or community member	5	6
Self-learning	7	13
Workshops/ short courses	3	7
Learning on the job	3	6
School	5	-
Mentorship with or feedback from an art professional	2	-
University program	2	-
Vocational training	1	2
Online sources	1	-
Some other way	1	-
Total	**100**	**100**

- indicates nil response in this sample.

FINANCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES

The income sources that artists nominate as being the main one making up their annual income are shown for the two locations in Table 11.8. There are some striking differences between the data for the two areas. In relation to artists' identification of their main income source in the past year, Table 11.8 shows that more than 20 percent of artists in the North-West NT component of the survey region nominated their income from artistic work as the main source of income for the year compared to only four percent of Tiwi artists. For three-quarters (74 percent) of the latter artists, income from other sources (primarily government benefits) was their main source, whereas this was the main source for only one third (31 percent) of North-West NT artists.

The mean and median incomes of artists for the main categories of income are shown in Table 11.9 for the two areas. Again there are some major differences between them. Average incomes from all types of work are lower for Tiwi artists than for mainland artists in the survey region – work income for the latter artists is more than three times greater than for those on the Tiwi Islands. Non-work income (income from other sources) is higher on average for the islanders, which narrows the gap in mean total incomes between them and their mainland counterparts. Even so, the average total income of the Tiwi artists, at just on $20,000 a year is still significantly less than the $27,000 a year received in total by the average artist on the mainland.

Table 11.8 The main income source in the last 12 months as perceived by respondents, by areas (percent of respondents)

Income sources	North-West NT (n=65)	Tiwi Islands (n=57)
	%	
Income from creative artistic activities	21	4
Income from other cultural activities	21	10
Income from other activities (not directly related to culture)	27	12
Income from other sources	31	74
Total	**100**	**100**

Table 11.9 Mean and median incomes for artists in the last 12 months, by areas ($'000 p.a.)

Income sources	North-West NT (n=66)		Tiwi Islands (n=57)	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
	$'000 p.a.		$'000 p.a.	
Income from creative artistic activities	4.6	0.5	2.7	0.5
Income from other cultural activities	8.4	0.5	2.4	0.5
Income from other activities (not directly related to culture)	4.2	0	0.3	0
Total income from work	**17.1**	**11.0**	**5.3**	**3.0**
Income from other sources	9.9	12.5	14.9	12.5
Total income	**26.9**	**22.5**	**20.2**	**18.0**

12 GENDER ISSUES

The position of women in Australian society in general and in the workforce in particular has been coming under increasing scrutiny in contemporary times. The issues being raised are just as important for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women as for any other group. It is appropriate, therefore, that this study should take a closer look at the similarities and differences in the circumstances of female and male artists in the survey region. We do so in this section, comparing where possible the data for the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands artists with statistics for all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adults residing in remote and very remote areas Australia-wide, and for all Australian artists as shown in *Making Art Work* 2017.

12.1 DEMOGRAPHICS

The female/male gender ratio in the survey region is roughly 60/40. Some demographic characteristics of the female and male artist population in the region are shown in Table 12.1. There are few differences between the genders in these statistics, except for the fact that there is a much smaller proportion of male single parents with children than of females. This differential reflects the common occurrence among families where parents have separated – casual experience and observation suggests that it is more often the mother who subsequently has care of the children.

Table 12.1 Demographic characteristics of artists, by gender (percent of respondents)

	Female (n=69)	Male (n=54)
Age (years)		
Mean age	49	48
Median age	50	50
Family circumstances (%)		
Single no children	33	47
Single with children	22	5
Partner no children	21	21
Partner with children	24	27
Total	**100**	**100**

Table 12.2 shows the proportions of male and female artists in our survey sample who suffer from disability, long-term illness or other form of impairment. There are no significant differences between the genders revealed by these data.

Table 12.2 Disability, long-term illness or other impairment, by gender (percent of respondents)

Disability/ long-term illness/ other impairment	Female (n=69)	Male (n=54)
	%	
Yes	33	32
No	67	68
Total	**100**	**100**

12.2 EDUCATION AND TRAINING

How do female and male Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists in remote areas compare in terms of their levels of formal education, and are there any differences between men and women when learning about their culture or acquiring their industry training skills to work in the arts?

The highest levels of formal education received, the pathways for acquiring cultural knowledge, and the pathways for gaining industry skills are shown by gender in Tables 12.3, 12.4, and 12.5 respectively. There are few differences between men and women among artists in the region in their formal educational attainment. It appears that more women than men proceed to obtain a post-school qualification, although the sample sizes are too small for a firm conclusion to be drawn. Nevertheless, these results reflect an Australia-wide pattern, since female artists in general tend to spend more years in training and education than their male colleagues.[21] Some minor differences do appear in the data for the most important pathway for acquiring cultural knowledge. Table 12.4 shows that although both men and women mostly learn about their culture from family members, women are more likely than men to learn from elders, friends or other community members whereas a greater proportion of men learn from being on country. However the differences are only small.

There are gender differences in the way artists gain their skills and experience. Males appear to be more dependent than females on self-learning, whereas female artists are more inclined towards formalised skill acquisition, for example through mentorships or workshops/short courses. Again, most of the differences are minor.

[21] *Making Art Work* 2017, p. 125.

Table 12.3 Highest level of formal education, by gender (percent of respondents) ^

	Never attended	Year 10 (or equivalent) and below	Year 11 and Year 12 (or equivalent)	Completed Diploma or Certificate	Completed Bachelor Degree	Completed Postgraduate Degree, Diploma or Certificate or Doctorate Degree	Total
				%			
Indigenous artists residing in remote and very remote areas in the North-West NT and Tiwi Islands region**							
Female (n=69)	3	35	27	33	-	2	**100**
Male (n=53)	2	40	34	24	-	0	100
Indigenous adults residing in remote and very remote areas Australia-wide***							
Female	2	49	26	21	1	1	**100**
Male	2	52	23	22	0	1	**100**
All artists Australia-wide****							
Female	*	1	5	11	37	46	**100**
Male	*	3	11	16	32	38	**100**

^ Excludes 'Don't know/ Not sure' responses.

* indicates less than 1%.

** Excludes 'Other' responses.

*** NATSISS 2014-15.

**** Artists' Survey 2017.

- indicates nil response in this sample.

Table 12.4 Most important pathway for acquiring cultural knowledge, by gender (percent of respondents)

Cultural knowledge pathways	Female (n=69)	Male (n=54)
	%	
Directly from family members	78	77
Directly from elders and/ or other community members	14	10
From being on country	5	8
From participating in ceremonies	3	3
From artworks, songs or stories	-	2
From festivals or other cultural events	-	-
Some other way	-	-
Total	**100**	**100**

- indicates nil response in this sample.
* indicates less than 1%.

Table 12.5 Important and 'most important' pathways for gaining industry skills and experience, by gender (percent of respondents)

Industry skills pathways	Female (n=69)	Male (n=54)
	%	
Learning from a family member:	65	68
Observing and participating with a family member	49	55
Observing from a family member	16	13
Learning from a friend or community member:	8	7
Observing and participating with a friend or community member	3	-
Observing from a friend or community member	5	7
Self-learning	5	17
School	3	2
Mentorship with an art professional	2	-
Learning on the job	6	2
University program	2	-
Workshops/ short courses	8	2
Vocational training	2	2
Some other way	-	-
Total	**100**	**100**

- indicates nil response in this sample.

12.3 TIME ALLOCATION

Time spent on cultural-economic activities by female and male artists is shown in Table 12.6, summarised as the weighted average score for each activity. The gender differences among the creative art activities reflect the occupational split between men and women artists in the region, with more men than women engaged in music, writing, film-making and multimedia work. We note, for example, that women engaged in the performing arts spend on average less than one day per month at this activity, whereas men spend up to one full day per week on average. Across the other cultural activities there are few gender differences, although the data confirm that arts administration and management absorb more of women's time than for men.

Table 12.6 Time spent on cultural-economic activities, by gender (weighted average score)

Activities	Female	Male
	Weighted average score*	
Creative artistic activities		
Visual arts	4.0	3.7
Performing arts	1.7	2.6
Composing/ choreographing	n/a	2.0
Writing/ storytelling	2.1	1.3
Film-making/ multimedia work	1.7	1.7
Other cultural activities		
Participating in ceremonies	1.3	1.3
Interpreting, translating or cross-cultural consulting	1.8	2.1
Cultural archiving, record keeping	2.1	1.6
Being on a cultural board, committee or council	1.2	1.8
Teaching others in arts and culture	2.4	2.5
Caring for country	2.3	2.5
Fishing, hunting, collecting or preparing bush food	2.9	3.0
Making Indigenous medicines or cosmetics or providing Indigenous health services	1.8	1.2
Arts management	3.1	n/a
Arts administration	3.4	2.3
Providing cultural tourism services	1.8	1.9
Restoration work	1.5	n/a

n/a indicates insufficient sample size.
* 1 indicates "few full days/year"; 2 indicates "1 full day/month"; 3 indicates "1 full day/week"; 4 indicates "2-3 full days/week"; 5 indicates "4-5 full days/week". Excludes "Don't know/ Not sure" responses.

Data on the number of hours in the average week that artists allocate to various activities are shown in Table 12.7. It appears that women artists spend more hours per week at all the types of activities shown, apart from non-cultural work.

Table 12.7 Mean and median number of hours that artists spent on activities in the last 12 months, by gender (hours)

Hours spent on…	Female (n=69)		Male (n=54)	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
	hours			
Creative artistic activities	21	18	19	18
Other cultural activities	26	22	23	20
Total arts and cultural activities	**47**	**42**	**41**	**40**
Other activities (not directly related to culture)	5	0	7	0
Total working hours	**51**	**48**	**49**	**47**

12.4 FINANCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES

The current gender full-time pay gap is 14 percent across the Australian workforce, with Australian women earning $240 per week less than men on average[22]. In 2015, the pay gap for Australian artists was significantly larger, with women earning 30 percent less than men for their creative work[23]. It is therefore important to ascertain whether a similar financial disadvantage applies to women artists in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region.

Firstly, we can identify the main income sources for male and female artists in the region as revealed in the survey. Table 12.8 shows the proportions of artists who nominated each source as their single main revenue source. It is apparent that "other sources" is the most prominent category of income for both genders, reflecting the importance of government benefits and other non-work-related income as a source of income support for artists, as discussed earlier in this Report. Significantly more females than males identified creative artistic activities as their main income source (18 compared to 7 percent). On the other hand, the proportion of male artists for whom other work is the main source of income is twice as great as for females (27 vs. 14 percent). Note, however, that the absolute level of income received last year from other work by females averaged $3,400, a considerably greater amount than that received by males for this work ($1,100 on average).

Table 12.8 The main source of income, by gender (percent of respondents)

Main income comes from	Female	Male
- creative artistic activities	18	7
- other cultural activities	16	17
- other work	14	27
- other sources	52	49
Total	**100**	**100**

- indicates nil response in this sample.

[22] Workplace Gender Equality Agency (2019) *Australia's Gender Pay Gap Statistics*. February 2019.
[23] *Making Art Work* 2017, p. 131.

Turning now to income levels, we show in Table 12.9 the mean and median incomes from different types of work for male and female artists in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region. There are only minor differences between the genders in the total levels of work income, but the somewhat higher returns received by women from other sources mean that overall their total incomes are roughly ten percent higher than men's. We conclude that the financial disadvantage that is so pervasive for women in mainstream Australia is not evident among artists in this region, although this is not to suggest that remote Aboriginal artists are less disadvantaged than women generally.

Table 12.9 Mean and median incomes for artists in the last 12 months, by gender ($'000 p.a.)

Income sources	Female (n=35)		Male (n=32)	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
	$'000 p.a.		$'000 p.a.	
Income from creative artistic activities	3.5	0.5	4.0	0.5
Income from other cultural activities	5.4	0.5	6.0	0.0
Income from other activities (not directly related to culture)	3.4	0.0	1.1	0.0
Total income from work	**12.2**	**6.0**	**12.1**	**3.5**
Income from other sources	12.9	12.5	11.2	12.5
Total income	**25.0**	**22.5**	**22.3**	**16.0**

13 ART AND CULTURE IN SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES

One of the important purposes of this study has been to consider the extent to which art and cultural production has the potential to promote the long-term sustainability of remote communities in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region. As a component of the survey, we presented respondents with a series of statements, both positive and negative, relating to this question and sought the extent of their agreement or disagreement with each statement. The following aspects were considered:

- views on the role of art and cultural production as a source of income and employment in respondents' communities;
- needs for skill development;
- infrastructure issues; and
- tourism as a source of economic benefit.

Details of the statements and of the responses for each one are shown in Table 13.1. The summary scores shown are calculated according to the scale shown beneath the table. Note that the order of the statements was randomised in presenting them to respondents in the interviews.

Turning first to artists' views on the role of art and culture in generating incomes and employment, we note that a significant majority of artists (95 percent) agreed with the proposition that artistic activities can indeed be a source of economic benefit. Similarly, there was almost unanimous agreement that culture-related activities could also be beneficial. These attitudes extended to the long-term prospects for the role of art in community development, as can be seen in the table.

Secondly, there was very strong agreement that "Artists/writers like myself can train young people in the community to become artists/writers", attesting to the importance of intergenerational and intra-generational cultural transmission in skill development that we have noted earlier in this Report. Respondents also endorsed the importance of bilingual education in school (89 percent of respondents); not only is this essential for the maintenance of Indigenous languages, the dual nature of such educational programs is seen to help young people in the community to get jobs and earn incomes later on. In a post-school context, the value of arts-practice workshops in providing people in the community with the skills to do more artistic activities was supported by 94 percent of respondents. More formal course programs such as those available in TAFE and university were seen in an even more positive light – about 98 percent of respondents were in favour.

Thirdly, there was strong support for the importance of art centres, with 97 percent of respondents agreeing that "Having an art centre creates (could create) jobs and incomes in my community". For those respondents from communities with an existing art centre, this importance was an observable reality, whereas those artists from communities without such a facility could only say that having an art centre would potentially create economic opportunity in their community. In this regard, there appears to be scope for further infrastructure development in some remote communities, with 65 percent of respondents agreeing with the proposition that facilities such as community centres, venues, etc. in their community at present were not enough to support more artistic activity. This observation relates particularly to infrastructure to support artistic work in music, film-making and multimedia production.

Finally, tourism is a significant issue in all parts of the region. We will discuss the advantages and disadvantages of tourism as a source of economic benefit to remote communities in the next section of this Report. Here we simply consider the view of artists on this matter.

Virtually all the respondents in our survey expressed a positive attitude to having tourists visit to experience Aboriginal culture at first hand. Furthermore, a significant majority (92 percent) thought that tourists can bring incomes and employment to communities. However, it is noteworthy that the proportions of respondents who *strongly* agreed with these propositions differ substantially, with 92 percent strongly agreeing that tourists are welcome but only 75 percent strongly agreeing that they bring economic benefits. This result could be taken to reflect a level of ambivalence felt in some quarters towards tourism, particularly high-volume mass tourism which, although potentially lucrative, may be culturally insensitive or even damaging.

Table 13.1 Opinions regarding impact of arts and cultural activities on the economic sustainability of remote Indigenous communities (percent of all respondents and weighted average score)

Statements	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know/ No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total	Weighted average score**
Artists/ writers like myself can train young people in the community to become artists/ writers (n=123)	86	11	2	1	0	**100**	**1.8**
Artistic activities like painting, music, dance, writing, can provide jobs and incomes for young people in my community (n=123)	84	11	2	2	1	**100**	**1.8**
Cultural maintenance activities can provide jobs and incomes for young people in my community (n=123)	81	18	2	0	0	**100**	**1.8**
The facilities in my community, such as community centres, venues, are not enough to support more artistic activity (n=119)	42	23	3	11	21	**100**	**0.5**
Having an art centre creates (could create) jobs and incomes in my community (n=120)	89	8	2	2	0	**100**	**1.8**
Arts-practice workshops can provide people in my community with necessary skills to do more artistic activities (n=121)	88	6	4	1	2	**100**	**1.8**
It is good (would be good) for tourists to visit our community to see our culture at first hand (n=118)	92	7	0	1	0	**100**	**1.9**
Tourists can bring jobs and incomes to my community (n=121)	75	17	4	4	0	**100**	**1.6**
Over the long term, sales of art and other cultural activities could bring in enough money to make our community sustainable (n=120)	75	20	2	3	0	**100**	**1.7**
Bilingual education in the school can help young people in my community with jobs and incomes later on (n=122)	72	17	4	5	2	**100**	**1.5**
Sending young people to study in TAFE or university can help them to become artists/writers (n=120)	86	12	1	1	1	**100**	**1.8**

- indicates nil response in this sample.

* indicates less than 1%.

** **Scores: 2**="Strongly agree"; **1**="Agree"; **0**=Don't know/ No opinion"; **minus 1**="Disagree"; **minus 2**="Strongly disagree

14 CONCLUSIONS: POLICY ISSUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this Report we have shown how the visual artists, performing artists, composers, writers, film-makers and multimedia artists in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region represent a rich resource of cultural capital. The knowledge and skills of these artists already contribute significant levels of cultural goods and services to the regional economy. But the data show considerable untapped potential – experienced artists who are willing to work at cultural production but who for various reasons may not be able to participate fully in the art economy at the present time.

In this final section of the Report we identify a number of policy issues that arise in considering the present state and future potential of art and cultural production in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region. The issues are grouped into the following categories: infrastructure needs; expanding economic opportunities; training and skill development; and cultural tourism. In considering policy development, it must be understood that policies affecting individual art and cultural practice in the region are formulated at local, State/Territory and national levels as well as among the various non-government and private sector organisations and agencies. Thus there is unlikely to be a single one-size-fits-all strategy applicable to all regional remote communities. Instead, different needs can be identified in different locations depending on a range of factors. In these circumstances there is clearly a requirement for coordination between the decisions and actions of stakeholders at various levels in the policy process.

14.1 INFRASTRUCTURE NEEDS

The art economy in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region depends on a wide variety of infrastructure that supports and facilitates its operation. Some of this infrastructure is general, and serves everyone in the region, such as transport and communication services. Other categories of infrastructure are specific to the arts and cultural sector, providing the necessary support to enable artists and cultural producers to pursue their work. The latter include: art centres; recording studios and other facilities for performing artists, film-makers, multimedia and other artists; and cultural organisations of various sorts.

Art centres

Art centres play a vital role in the functioning of the Indigenous arts economy in the region. They are active in the visual arts market, forming partnerships and making connections with agents and galleries in the capital cities in Australia and overseas. Artists are unequivocal in their recognition of this role in affecting their own individual and community circumstances. Our data show that artists in communities which currently do not have an art centre recognise the benefits that might accrue if such a centre were to be established in their community. Nevertheless, while the art centre model has been working, it will need to rely on a continuation of support in future; owing to the hybrid nature of these organisations, such support will derive from both public and private sectors. In particular, art centres continue to provide many additional social services and other public benefits to their artists and the wider community which are outside of their core business operations, and for which they rarely receive any funding support, but which are essential for the communities to function and for artists to continue their work. It is important that funding arrangements for art centres recognise this reality for their ongoing sustainability.

Art centres provide a first point of sale for the work of their artists and a channel linking artists to the wider art market through their participation in art fairs such as the Darwin Aboriginal Art Fair, their relationships with dealers and galleries in Australia and abroad, and their marketing presence on the internet. Aside from their functions in supporting their

artists, most art centres in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region also operate a gallery on-site and some offer accommodation to visitors (as in Wadeye and Beswick) or even operate a museum, as in the Djilpin Arts art centre. Such activities extend the functions of an art centre into commercial arrangements that can yield revenue to strengthen the centre's core work in supporting artists. Mostly these arrangements are small in scale, although more ambitious projects arise from time to time, such as plans by Tiwi Design at Nguiu on Bathurst Island to build an eco-lodge and café to cater for visitors, and to provide training in hospitality services for local Indigenous employees. Such a development moves the organisation towards becoming a social enterprise operation whose purpose extends beyond support for art into engaging with the whole income and employment stream for local people.

It is apparent that for such initiatives to be sanctioned within the traditional art centre model, three requirements would need to be met. First, there must be sound financial management to ensure the commercial sustainability of the business. Second, the centre's primary arts support function should not be compromised – indeed it should be enhanced as a result of the additional revenue available. Finally, such initiatives should not place demands on skilled and capable practitioners whose time is already committed with their existing cultural activities, but instead should focus on providing opportunities to those who need these opportunities most.

Resources for performing artists

Generally, performing artists do not have access to widely available facilities to assist in the development of their creative work, and must often rely on their own resources – we found that for many musicians, for example, their main place of work was at home. Overcrowding is one of the biggest challenges that Indigenous communities face and having to rely on one's home as the only place available for artistic practice could present obvious difficulties to many artists in the region. A number of the performing artists in the region also face problems with finding opportunities to present their work due to a lack of appropriate venues or events. Most individual performers do not have ready access to financial support and must rely on their own resources. For example, members of the Red Sunset Band from Wadeye perform at festivals such as Baranga, but do not have other support, and they lack facilities for practice and recording. They mostly practise at home with basic equipment.

Support organisations

Several cultural organisations exist in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region that support the work of artists. One of the most important is ANKA, the peak organisation for the region. It represents up to 5,000 Artists from 43 art and craft centres located in the Tiwi Islands and the Darwin/Katherine, Kimberley, and Arnhem Land regions. It provides advocacy, training, marketing and resourcing services, and its regional conferences are an important means for providing support and coordination for art centres in the region. There are a number of other organisations supporting the arts in the region, including Artback NT, Music NT, Ironbark Aboriginal Corporation, NT Writers Centre, Larrakia Nation, Aboriginal Broadcasting Australia, Thamarrurr Development Corporation, and Top End Aboriginal Bush Broadcasting Association.

The financial and governance structures of all of the organisations referred to above differ from one to the other, but their important role in facilitating the development of arts and cultural practice in the region needs full acknowledgement in the formulation of policy strategies at all levels of public and private sector engagement affecting arts and cultural producers.

14.2 EXPANDING ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

A fundamental policy issue in addressing issues of disadvantage among remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities concerns how to open up opportunities for employment creation and income generation in communities in a way that respects the needs and desires of Indigenous people, with particular regard to employment that is both culturally sensitive and culturally appropriate. Here we consider several means to expand economic opportunities for artists in the survey region.

Earning income from culture-related activities

In addition to the creative arts, which yield about 40 percent on average of an artist's total income from work, there are a number of other culture-related activities which can also generate an income. For example, in the field of translation and interpreting, significant progress has been made in the last 15 years to develop a wider recognition among organisations and individuals working with Aboriginal communities to remunerate the work of translators and interpreters. In addition, the NT Government has expanded its Aboriginal Interpreter Service and its training and accreditation of Aboriginal interpreters locally. All these have contributed to generation of additional incomes to those community members who are able to provide such services, and reduced the pressure on those who had to do this work unpaid on top of their other duties. At regional, national and international levels other cultural activities have also been generating economic opportunities for some Aboriginal cultural producers who engage in them, for example via cultural archiving and museology services to museums and galleries, or cultural and language education for students outside the region.

However, there are many artists who do not earn additional income through working at these and other cultural activities considered in this study, despite having the skills and experience to do so. We have argued that there are opportunities for more artists and cultural producers to become engaged in these areas. On a local level these activities are often provided by artists on an unpaid basis, for example in the form of: translation and interpretation when dealing with service providers for family or other community members; cross-cultural consulting or language translation in a job that does not include such services in its job description; providing cultural tourism for visitors to their communities; organising and performing a welcoming ceremony; and so on. Cultural governance is another area that requires significant time and effort from local cultural producers, with some senior artists spending a great deal of time as directors and members of different boards and committees. A significant amount of this work is also performed on a voluntary basis; many organisations are not able to pay any sitting fees to their board directors and members, at times due to legislation[24], and some can only afford token amounts.

Better awareness among organisations working with Aboriginal people in the region and among the general public is required to acknowledge and remunerate appropriately the various cultural contributions that Aboriginal artists and cultural producers have been providing. With the right support there could be significantly more economic opportunities derived from these sorts of activities, contributing in turn to developing a stronger arts and cultural sector in the region.

[24] Not-for-profit organisations may not be allowed to pay their board directors and can only reimburse their directors' travel costs.

Small business development

Most visual artists in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region work as independent individuals within the art centre framework. Although other artists such as musicians, film-makers, multimedia artists, or any artists working with digital technologies may also work as independent individuals, some may take up opportunities to establish small creative enterprises, perhaps on a collaborative or cooperative basis, and perhaps engaged in experimental art or developing new modes of distribution. In policy terms, such initiatives can link into a broader innovation agenda associated with the development of cultural and creative industries. Smart policy measures that recognise talent in this field can provide seed funding or small business incubators to encourage creative enterprise development.

An example of an Indigenous small business development project in the region is the Enterprise Learning Projects initiative, which exists to foster and support grassroots micro business development in remote Aboriginal communities. The group began with grant funding, but expanded into a range of activities such as publishing cards and colouring books, and working with communities in fabric design. Such initiatives tend to grow out of the enthusiasm and entrepreneurial skills of one or two individuals, but they can be significantly encouraged by provision of small-business incubators and other similar policy measures aimed at business training and development.

Market and supply-chain issues

An important avenue towards expanding economic opportunities for individual artists and cultural producers in the region lies in developing the distribution and marketing components of the value chain. These are parts of the supply chain for artistic goods and services that need to be well established if work produced is to find an appropriate market. The demand for the output of artists may be local; examples include a dance performance for visitors to an art centre or a community; sale of artworks, bush cosmetics or other cultural goods through local outlets; or musical performances in local venues. Alternatively, markets may be found beyond the region, through sales of work interstate or internationally. To a large extent market development takes place in response to commercial incentives, but there is a role for judicious policy intervention, for example through provision of market intelligence, export promotion programs, and so on. Such intervention may be able to assist communities for market development for cultural products which offer something distinctive from the region; examples include the textiles produced at the Merrepen art centre in Naiuyu (Daly River), or the Billygoat and Kakadu Plums that grow in the Wadeye region. In the latter case, significant marketing efforts have been put together by regional Aboriginal enterprises individually and via a consortium, the Northern Australia Aboriginal Kakadu Plum Alliance (NAAKPA); however, more government support would help these initiatives to reach potential consumers in Australia and overseas.

One area where market intervention is appropriate is in ensuring ethically-sourced Indigenous art. Art centres and many galleries act responsibly in providing certificates of authenticity for works they sell, but further progress is needed through regulatory measures to prevent the sale of fake Indigenous art products of every kind, and to promote best practice in the certification of authenticity by all sellers of products purporting to come from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists. Improvement in such measures will not only enhance the capability of these artists to assert their economic and moral rights, they would also give buyers added confidence in the functioning of the Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander art market, with consequent positive effects on demand.

Learning from successes of hybrid organisations

Remote Indigenous communities provide cross-cultural environments. Working in these environments requires bridging diverse and often competing values, rationales, agendas and objectives that come from different sectors – family, community, market, government and the third sector. Enterprises and organisations that have understood and been able to accommodate this, such as ranger programs and art centres, have been able to function and thrive in these conditions. Their structures allow them to operate in the hybrid realm of the market within government funding requirements, while embracing community/families' needs and diversity of the not-for-profit sector. There is an opportunity to acknowledge such working models and learn from their experiences.

Hybrid enterprises and organisations operating in the region are interconnected, such that activation of any of them may lead to increased activities in others. For example, a successful tourism enterprise could stimulate local production of visual and performing arts, as well as perhaps film and multimedia works. These activities could in turn have flow-on effects into cultural archiving, jobs in arts management and administration, sale of local art materials, or other impacts. A further example might be a language and learning centre, which could be supported with additional government funding for a language-reviving project or for cultural archiving services; this could then lead to the centre taking on some publishing house functions and perhaps create opportunities for local Aboriginal writers, storytellers and illustrators.

14.3 EDUCATION, TRAINING AND SKILL DEVELOPMENT

One of the most important areas for policy formulation at all levels of public administration in supporting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in remote communities is in education and training. Much of the policy attention in this area is devoted to formal education processes; nevertheless, although this Report has shown how these processes are significant, they are not necessarily the most important avenues of knowledge acquisition and skill development for artists in the region. The findings of this study show that the most important pathways for transfer of art and cultural skills and knowledge are found within the communities through family and other community members. Our results also show that for many arts and cultural jobs, Indigenous cultural producers are already job-ready and do not require a significant amount of training.

The survey results point towards a number of improvements that could be made in the delivery of education, training and skills development in the remote areas of the region, as discussed below.

School

The importance of schooling in preparing children for life is of course well understood. Our data show that school education is recognised by artists as having some part to play in imparting cultural knowledge and skills that can be complementary to the essential role of family and community members. In some parts of the region both formal and informal programs exist. These provide for cooperation between an art centre and the local school, whereby children visit the centre on a regular basis to participate in hands-on creative activity under the guidance of senior artists, or where senior artists visit the school to teach children arts, cultural skills and language. For example, on Melville Island the Jilimara arts centre in Milikapiti runs classes in school on Fridays, and Munupi Arts and Crafts in Pirlangimpi provides cultural programs in schools in the dry season with funding from the Tiwi Land Council. Likewise the Djilpin art centre provides some school programs in the Wugularr (Beswick) community. Such activities, which are evident in schools across the

region, can be seen as extremely important in maintaining language and in introducing students to art practice.

An example of a program that arranges visits by prominent artists to schools in the region to conduct workshops for students is the Artists on Tour initiative of Artback NT. Programs are tailored to meet individual student group capabilities and needs across all year levels from Kindergarten to Year 12. Workshops are provided in several art forms including dance, visual art, craft and theatre. The program can be seen as a model for bringing artists into schools that could be more widely adopted, given appropriate resourcing.

Inter- and intra-generational cultural transmission

In this study we have gathered extensive data on the ways in which cultural knowledge and skills continue to be passed down from one generation to the next by processes of inter- and intra-generational cultural transmission that have been in place throughout history. The learning pathways for artists that have proved to be most successful in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region, as elsewhere, have been: observing/participating with a family member; learning on the job/self-learning; and learning from friends and other community members. Family members are particularly important in this context and their role and that of the two other pathways need to be taken into account in the planning of training and educational programs in the region.

At present the costs of this form of art and cultural teaching are to a large extent borne by the community and via in-kind payments. Very few funding streams acknowledge local senior cultural producers and artists as teachers, and fund their work accordingly. For example, the culture programs in schools referred to above are generally not continuous; usually they rely on short- to mid-term funding arrangements and at times on the good will of artists to work with students on a voluntary basis. Other educational initiatives that involve family and community members include some training provided by arts centres, ranger organisations, culture and language centres and other hybrid organisations that have recognised the importance of inter- and intra-generational cultural transmission, and have incorporated local artists and members of the community into their training processes. But these organisations rarely have an appropriate budget or funding to support these activities, so the workers are likely to go unpaid. The Report points to the need to acknowledge the long-term educational benefit that local cultural producers and artists can provide through these organisations, and to ensure that the organisations that host them are properly supported.

A key resource in processes of inter- and intra-generational cultural transmission in the region is the knowledge, skills and status of senior artists. There is a danger that the knowledge and skills of these artists may not have the opportunity to be transferred, because these artists are already extremely busy, spending more hours on their arts and cultural work than other less-experienced artists, with little time left over. During the survey interviews, some senior artists expressed a strong desire to transfer their knowledge, but recognised that there are limited avenues for them to do so on a regular basis outside their families.

Skill transfers from outside

Having to operate in an intercultural space explains why many organisations working to support art and cultural producers in remote Indigenous communities rely on non-Indigenous staff[25]. A decision to engage someone from outside who can contribute to an art

[25] For example, in many art centres, the managers come from outside the community. To some extent, it is important that an art centre receive all the industry knowledge it can get from someone with significant experience in the industry. On the other hand, concerns could be raised with regard to building local capacity if the top jobs are filled externally. But it may also happen that local Indigenous

centre in the hybrid space is a choice for the Indigenous Board Directors (the employer) who may benefit from such an engagement. These organisations bring together different cultures and values, and it is clear that both Indigenous and non-Indigenous approaches are required to navigate through this process – indeed one of the features of these organisations is the mixing of skills, experiences and knowledge of local Indigenous staff with those of non-Indigenous professionals from outside the communities.

The incoming experts in turn benefit from training and advice received from senior artists and local Indigenous staff. While non-Indigenous managers come and go, art centre Directors and Indigenous arts workers are generally the keepers of the corporate knowledge. When these non-Indigenous experts leave, many years of valuable experience also goes. Such experience is a valuable resource that could be utilised and built upon. There are examples of former art centre managers returning for short periods to the region to manage an art centre on an interim basis while its existing manager is on leave, or while its financial or governance affairs are sorted out, or in the period before a new manager is appointed. There are opportunities to harvest the knowledge and experience of former arts centre staff; for example, if there were a database of these culturally experienced professionals they could also be engaged as consultants later on in the arts and cultural sector, or perhaps in other industries.

Access to country

The fundamental relationship between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and the land is well understood, and is reflected in our survey data – virtually all artists spend part of their time caring for country, and many rely on accessing their country as a source of knowledge and creative inspiration, place of practice or for gathering materials for art production and, at times. as a place for creating work. The data provide compelling evidence in support of the need for securing artists' access to country, if art and culture are to become a stronger source of economic empowerment for remote Aboriginal communities in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region.

Further education

Only relatively few artists in the study region continue beyond school to obtain tertiary level qualifications, for example by participating in programs offered by the Batchelor Institute and Charles Darwin University – although both educational institutions have a strong presence in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region. Another avenue for further education in the region is the ANKA Arts Worker Extension Program, an intensive nine-month professional development program for a small number of Indigenous arts workers from the ANKA membership. The program is designed to increase professional skills and industry networks for arts workers to further their careers in Northern Australian Indigenous Art Centres. There are also some less formal post-school educational pathways for expanding artists' knowledge and skills, such as short courses and workshops provided through an art centre or other organisation or agency.

staff, even those with a full range of required experience, may prefer *not* to take on managerial duties. This could be due to multi-cultural complexities, such as dealing with financial needs of the art centre, or having to represent and service all the art centre's artists while being bound by obligations to family members. In these cases, the experienced local staff members may prefer simply to provide guidance to the non-Indigenous manager.

Business skills

There is a strong need for business training in remote communities to help artists, cultural producers and other community members better understand the business side of art and cultural production. Many Indigenous artists in remote communities do not completely understand the art business -- how their payments are calculated, taxes are deducted, where buyers for their outputs come from, and how the market operates. Part of the function of peak organisations such as ANKA is to undertake business training. Many art centres have taken on a responsibility for educating their artists, their artists' families, and the wider community in business aspects of the arts – one of the aims of such initiatives is to stop humbugging[26]. More can be done if dedicated funding and support materials could be provided for organisations to take on this function. Use of local examples and best practices elsewhere would be particularly beneficial. Such support could significantly reduce pressure on organisations' staff, and could potentially help achieve higher rates of staff retention.

14.4 CULTURAL TOURISM

Sale of goods and services produced by artists requires a market, and in remote locations accessible markets may exist only through channels leading to customers who may be located far away. However, tourism is a means to bring customers directly to the source of supply. Tourists who visit remote communities can engage with Indigenous culture at first hand and hopefully buy artworks or attend performances staged by local artists. There is a significant demand from both domestic and international tourists to experience Indigenous culture; for example, international arts tourists who visited regional areas of the Northern Territory in 2017 had particularly high levels of engagement with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander art, with 79 percent of them attending a First Nations arts activity while visiting Australia (Australia Council for the Arts, 2018: 20)[27].

A program of particular importance in encouraging tourist engagement with Indigenous art and culture is the series of Territory Arts Trails, developed by the Territory Government as a component of its program for building the Territory's creative economy through the art and cultural sector. In the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region, two areas served by Arts Trails are Darwin, Tiwi Islands and surrounds, and Katherine and surrounds. The Trail in the latter region pays particular focus to Katherine galleries in and around the region that specialise in locally produced works reflecting the styles and influences of the Jawoyn, Warlpiri and Dagoman Aboriginal people. Visitors can watch and participate in art being produced, from didgeridoos and boomerangs, to weaving, dilly bags, clap sticks and carvings.

Tourism in the Northern Territory also forms part of the Commonwealth Government's strategy for growing the tourism market nationally, as administered through Tourism Australia. For instance, the Discover Aboriginal Experiences program is a collection of specifically identified tours enabling visitors to experience Indigenous culture in the company of Aboriginal guides. Two examples in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region are Sealink NT, which offers day trips from Darwin to Bathurst Island on a "Tiwi-by-Design" tour, and Nitmiluk Tours, a company run by the traditional owners of the land in which the Nitmiluk Gorge is situated, the Jawoyn people of Katherine.

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[26] The word 'humbug' is defined as unreasonable/incessant demands from relatives or other community members (Johnston et al. 2007: 493).

[27] Further data on tourism in the Central Desert can be found in the regional profiles published periodically by Tourism NT for Darwin and surrounds, and Katherine and surrounds; see Tourism NT, (2018).

Both examples are also listed by Tourism Australia as Indigenous Tourism Champions. This is a program that identifies Aboriginal-owned tourism businesses offering authentic cultural experiences delivered by Indigenous people. The criteria for nomination of a business as an Indigenous Tourism Champion include that it runs a full-time commercial enterprise for at least six months of the year, and is proactive in the domestic and international marketplace. It must have a website, a current business plan, and a strong understanding of customer service. These requirements indicate that only well-established and efficiently-operated businesses will qualify for inclusion in the program.

Nevertheless, in addition to these larger enterprises, there is scope for smaller start-ups and local initiatives in the Indigenous cultural tourism space. In some locations, opportunities exist for the establishment of small family-based tourism enterprises involving Aboriginal individuals and focussing on providing small-group art/culture/nature experiences for discriminating visitors. There are many ways to increase involvement of Aboriginal individuals, families and communities in these initiatives. For example, in some communities there are likely to be experienced cultural producers who are good storytellers and who feel comfortable talking to visitors, enabling them to act as tour guides, interpreters and translators for tourists individually or in groups. Sometimes these activities can occur in association with the work of Indigenous rangers.

Prospective enterprises in this field require basic business skills, indicating the need for skill development programs such as workshops, short-course training sessions, and/or small business incubators tailored to the needs of family-based tourism initiatives. For these developments to become a reality, a well-planned and adequately funded training strategy focussing on small Indigenous family- and community-run businesses is needed. If successful, these enterprises could become a prime example of a participatory economy in the region, engaging Aboriginal individuals and communities, and helping to reduce levels of welfare dependency among the Indigenous population.

We turn now to a more detailed consideration of issues for cultural tourism in the two main areas of the survey region.

Tiwi Islands

The development of tourism on Melville and Bathurst Islands is constrained by access, with the main activity occurring as day-trippers from Darwin to the regional centre of Nguiu. These visitors are a good source of demand for cultural products such as textiles and clothes. The Tiwi Design art centre offers visitors a welcome ceremony and takes them on tours that include performances of singing and dancing by local performers, with local Aboriginal artists acting as tour guides. Many tourists come individually by air or sea, or on tours provided by the ferry company (Sealink) or the local airline (Fly Tiwi).

Cultural tourism outside the main centre is very limited. Access to Melville Island is possible by road/ferry but getting there can be difficult, especially in the wet season. There are airstrips on the island and scheduled air services to both Snake Bay (Milikapiti) and Garden Point (Pirlangimpi). Only small numbers of tourists visit the art centres in Milikapiti (Jilamara Arts and Crafts) and Pirlangimpi (Munupi Arts and Crafts). There are several resorts on the coast that cater to customers who come for barramundi fishing; some visitors to these lodges find their way to one or other of the art centres, but the potential for drawing larger numbers of them to engage with the local culture remains undeveloped.

In survey interviews, Tiwi artists indicated they would welcome tourists to come to share their culture. There is a wide range of distinctive cultural products for sale, including paintings, prints, carvings, textiles, clothing, and artefacts such as the combs that are unique

to the islands. The proximity of the Tiwi Islands to the Northern Territory's capital city offers considerable potential for further development, especially of the niche market of cultural tourism. However, before progress can be made, improvements in infrastructure are needed – local transport, accommodation, catering and services such as tour guides. The region needs a strategic plan for tourism development specific to its particular needs, strengths and potential for growth. Such a strategy would need to be integrated with the Territory's overall tourism strategy, originally framed in terms of 2020 (Tourism NT, 2013) and currently being moved forward to planning for developments up to 2030 (NT Government, 2018).

North-West Northern Territory

The tourism industry in the remote and very remote parts of North-West NT is dependent on accessibility, which varies considerably across the region. Areas served directly by the Stuart Highway running south from Darwin can draw on the volumes of traffic using this major thoroughfare. Katherine, for example, is well supplied with accommodation, restaurants and other tourist facilities, as well as being home to cultural institutions such as the Godinymayin Yijard Rivers Arts and Culture Centre, and Mimi Aboriginal Arts and Crafts. Art centres near the town can be readily accessed, including those at Beswick (Wugularr) and Manyallaluk, and events such as the Barunga Festival in June or the Walking with Spirits festival in July allow visitors to participate in local culture.

Elsewhere in the region, however, the tourism industry remains less well developed. From the Stuart Highway there is good road access as far as Daly River, where a number of fishing lodges are situated, although the art centre in the Aboriginal community of Nauiyu (Merrepen) has experienced some difficulties in the past that have constrained the extent to which it can take advantage of this source of visitors. Accessibility further west to Peppimenarti and Wadeye is difficult, especially in the wet season. Because of this, the art centres in these communities (Durrmu Arts and Palngun Wurnangat respectively) receive only relatively small numbers of visitors. There are opportunities for developing small-group cultural tourism to make the most of the artistic and cultural resources of these places, assuming that tour companies are willing to respond to the undoubted potential.

As we have noted already, at times art centres choose to function as tour operators and tourist accommodation providers to visitors, for example as done by Djilpin Arts. These activities represent additional economic opportunities that could be explored by some art centres and under certain circumstances, if there is capacity and funding for staff to take on these additional functions. In particular, such ventures could provide new jobs and economic opportunities to community members from outside the art centre. However, extension of an art centre's operations into direct engagement with tourism should not divert core resources from the centre's primary mission of arts and cultural support, and should not put pressure on those artists who would prefer artistic work to tourism.

14.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Our aim in carrying out this study has been to document the nature of art and cultural production by individual Indigenous cultural producers in the North-West NT/Tiwi Islands region, and to assess the extent to which these activities might provide a means to integrate economic and cultural development in the region's remote communities. In this final section of the Report, we have drawn together some of the key policy issues that have emerged from the study. As we have noted, there is considerable variation across the region in existing economic, social and cultural circumstances and in different communities' potential for future development. It is impossible to generalise in recommending policy action. Moreover, it is unlikely that a single policy measure can be found that will address all the issues at once. Instead a mix of complementary measures will be needed to address particular aspects.

It is also important bear in mind we are not suggesting that art and cultural production can on its own transform any remote community; rather, we argue that in the right conditions it can be an effective avenue towards employment creation and income generation, helping to improve the long-term prospects for economic sustainability and social viability, while respecting the fundamental importance of Indigenous culture. All policy recommendations that flow from this study are pointed in this direction.

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APPENDIX 1.

Concordance between cultural-economic activities in the Central Desert/APY Lands Region and the Australian and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification (ANZSIC) 2006

Cultural-economic activities	Division – Subdivision	Group – Class
CREATIVE ARTISTIC ACTIVITIES		
Painting, printmaking, sculpturing, textiles, carvings, weaving, ceramics, glass, jewellery, photography	R Arts and Recreation Services - 90 Creative and Performing Arts Activities	900 Creative and Performing Arts Activities
Performing	R Arts and Recreation Services - 90 Creative and Performing Arts Activities	900 Creative and Performing Arts Activities
Composing or choreographing	R Arts and Recreation Services - 90 Creative and Performing Arts Activities	900 Creative and Performing Arts Activities
Writing or storytelling	R Arts and Recreation Services - 90 Creative and Performing Arts Activities	900 Creative and Performing Arts Activities
Making film, television, audio or multimedia work	J Information Media and Telecommunications – 55 Motion Picture and Sound Recording Activities	551 Motion Picture and Video Activities 552 Sound Recording and Music Publishing
ARTS- AND-CULTURE-RELATED ACTIVITIES		
Participating in ceremonies	S Other Services - 95 Personal and Other Services	954 Religious Services 952 Funeral, Crematorium and Cemetery Services
Interpreting, translating or cross-cultural consulting	M Professional, Scientific and Technical Services - 69 Professional, Scientific And Technical Services (Except Computer System Design And Related Services)	699 Other Professional, Scientific and Technical Services
Cultural archiving, record keeping	J Information Media and Telecommunications – 60 Library and Other Information Services	601 Libraries and Archives
	R Arts and Recreation Services - 89 Heritage Activities	891 Museum Operation
Serving on a cultural board, committee or council	O Public Administration and Safety - 75 Public Administration[28]	696 Management and Related Consulting Services 751 Central Government Administration 752 State Government Administration 753 Local Government Administration 955 Civic, Professional and Other Interest Group Services
Teaching others in arts and cultural activities	P Education and Training 82 Adult, Community and Other Education	821 Adult, Community and Other Education; 822 Educational Support Services

[28] Excluding the management of commercial and business activities or activities other than central, state or local government administration are included in the classes appropriate to these activities.

Cultural-economic activities	Division – Subdivision	Group – Class
Caring for country	R Arts and Recreation Services Subdivision - 89 Heritage Activities	892 Parks and Gardens Operations
Fishing, hunting, gathering or preparing bush food	A Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing - 04 Fishing, Hunting and Trapping	041 Fishing; 042 Hunting and Trapping
Making Indigenous medicines or cosmetics or providing Indigenous health services	Q Health Care and Social Assistance - 85 Medical and Other Health Care Services	851 Medical Services
	C Manufacturing - 18 Basic Chemical and Chemical Product Manufacturing	184 Pharmaceutical and Medicinal Product Manufacturing
Arts management	M Professional, Scientific and Technical Services - 69 Professional, Scientific And Technical Services (Except Computer System Design And Related Services)	696 Management and Related Consulting Services
Arts administration	N Administrative and Support Services - 72 Administrative Services	729 Other Administrative Services
Providing cultural tourism services	N Administrative and Support Services - 72 Administrative Services	722 Travel Agency and Tour Arrangement Services

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