Report
CR007 2014

## The Art Economies Value Chain reports: Artists and Art Centre production

Alice Woodhead
Tim Acker

怾: cre
NINTI © TREMOTE ONE. EEONOMC ONE.C

## Citation

Woodhead A and Acker T. 2014. Art Economies Value Chain Report: Artists and Art Centre production. CRC-REP Research Report CR007. Ninti One Limited, Alice Springs.

## About the authors

Based in Lismore, Dr Alice Woodhead is the senior researcher on the Art Economies project with the CRC-REP and Southern Cross University. Alice's research interests are in cultural economics and social sciences.

Based in Perth, Tim Acker is the Principal Research Leader with the CRC-REP, based at Curtin University. Tim has worked with the remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander art sector since 1999.

## Acknowledgement

This research would not have been possible without the support of the more than 200 Art Centres, art businesses, individuals and funding agencies that have contributed their data, time and ideas.

## Art Economies project team

Tim Acker, Iris Bendor, Jessica Booth, Susan Congreve, Kim Petersen, Dr Lisa Stefanoff, Michelle Whittle and Dr Alice Woodhead

## Art Economies advisory group

- Australian Government Ministry for the Arts
- Professor Fred Myers, New York University
- Hetti Perkins, Curator
- Emily Rohr, Short Street Gallery
- Gabrielle Sullivan, Martumili Artists
- Professor David Throsby, Macquarie University
- Alick Tipoti, Artist
- Philip Watkins, Desart


## Technical support

- Elouise Dukalskis, Flinders University
- Adam Griffiths, CompNet
- Don Johnson, Southern Cross University

The Cooperative Research Centre for Remote Economic Participation receives funding through the Australian Government Cooperative Research Centres Program. The views expressed herein do not necessarily represent the views of CRC-REP or its Participants.

## For additional information please contact

Ninti One Limited, Communications Manager
PO Box 154, Kent Town, SA 5071, Australia
Telephone +61889596000 Fax +61889596048
www.nintione.com.au
© Ninti One Limited 2014. Information contained in this publication may be copied or reproduced for study, research, information or educational purposes, subject to inclusion of an acknowledgement of the source.

Art economies value chain report:
Artists and Art Centre production

Alice Woodhead<br>Tim Acker

## Contents

Shortened forms ..... iv
Glossary .....  v
Executive summary ..... vii

1. Introduction ..... 2
2. Analysis of Art Centre production in remote Australia ..... 3
2.1 National and art region production ..... 3
3. Stock versus sold products ..... 5
3.1 In stock. ..... 5
3.2 Time in stock ..... 7
3.3 Sold products ..... 7
4. Artist demographics and productivity. ..... 9
4.1 Artist demographics ..... 9
4.2 Artist production ..... 11
5. Price and product categories ..... 13
5.1 Pricing by number and value of products ..... 13
5.2 Change in number and value of products by price categories ..... 15
5.3 Change in age and gender by price category ..... 16
5.4 Product categories by number and value ..... 19
5.5 Paintings by value. ..... 21
5.6 Change in number of paintings by size and value ..... 22
Appendix A: Art region data ..... 24
References ..... 27

## Tables

Table 1: Total number and value of products over time ..... 3
Table 2: Art region production by year ..... 4
Table 3: Product category: Number and value of products by year ..... 20
Table A 1: Total number and value of products, by art region ..... 24
Table A 2: Received and sold art products 2008-12, by Art region ..... 25
Table A 3: Product category by year and art region ..... 26

## Figures

Figure 1: Reports map ..... vii
Figure 2: Stakeholder map ..... 2
Figure 3: Art regions map, showing the zones of production and the areas where the AEVC analysis was focused ..... 4
Figure 4: Number and value of stock and sold items between 2003 and 2012 ..... 6
Figure 5: Sold art products by Art region ..... 6
Figure 6: Time from finished production to sale ..... 7
Figure 7: Product sales mean value by years, 2003-2012 ..... 8
Figure 8: Product sales numbers and value, 2003-2012 ..... 8
Figure 9: Percentage and number of artists by age and gender ..... 9
Figure 10: Percentage and number of artists by region, age and gender (top: female; bottom: male) and age ..... 10
Figure 11: Change in number of products, sales and mean over time, by gender ..... 12
Figure 12: Change in production number, value and mean, 2003-07 and 2008-12, by age ..... 13
Figure 13: Total number, mean and value of products with a sale price, by price category ..... 14
Figure 14: Percentages of total sales value and total number of products with a sale price, by price category ..... 15
Figure 15: Change in product numbers and value, 2003-2012, by price category ..... 16
Figure 16: Change in sales value by price category: age under 30 ..... 17
Figure 17: Change in sales value by price category: age over 67 years old ..... 17
Figure 18: Change sales value, 2003-2012, by gender (top: female; bottom: male) and price category ..... 18
Figure 19: Warmarrungu; painting by Nyarapayi Giles. ..... 19
Figure 20: Painting in production ..... 19
Figure 21: Wooden sculpture, or tjara (shield), by Reggie Jackson ..... 20
Figure 22: Wooden sculpture, or piti (bowl) ..... 20
Figure 23: Woven sculptures - grass and wool baskets ..... 20
Figure 24: Painting sales mean value by years, 2003-2012 ..... 21
Figure 25: Value and number of paintings, 2003-2012 ..... 21
Figure 26: Change in number of paintings and mean value by five-year time period (top: 2003-07; bottom 2008-12), by painting size ..... 22

## Shortened forms

# IN THIS ARTISTS AND ART CENTRE PRODUCTION REPORT 

| ABS | Australian Bureau of Statistics |
| :--- | :--- |
| AEVC | Art Economies Value Chain |
| CRC-REP | Cooperative Research Centre - Remote Economic Participation |
| Ozco | Australia Council for the Arts |

## IN OTHER AEVC REPORTS

| AACHWA | Aboriginal Art Centre Hub of WA (Perth) |
| :--- | :--- |
| ABA | Aboriginal Benefits Account |
| AEP | (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander) Art Economies Project |
| ANKAAA | Association of Northern, Kimberley and Arnhem Aboriginal Artists (Darwin) |
| ATSIAB | Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Arts Board: part of the Australia Council |
| BIA | Backing Indigenous Arts |
| DAA | Department of Aboriginal Affairs (Western Australia) |
| DCA | Department of Culture and Arts (Western Australia) |
| GFC | Global Financial Crisis |
| IACA | Indigenous Art Centre Alliance (Cairns) |
| ICS | Indigenous Cultural Support |
| IVAIS | Indigenous Visual Arts Industry Support |
| IEI | Indigenous Employment Initiative |
| PMCH Act | Protection of Movable Cultural Heritage Act 1986 |
| RAF | Regional Arts Fund |
| RRS | Resale Royalty Scheme |
| SMSF | Self-managed Super Funds |
| TAN | Tiwi Art Network |
| TSRA | Torres Strait Regional Authority |
| WDM | Western Desert Mob |

## ART REGIONS

| A | Arnhem |
| :--- | :--- |
| APY | Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara |
| C | Central |
| CD | Central Desert |
| ED | Eastern Desert |
| FNQ | Far North Queensland |
| K | Kimberley |
| OB | Outback |
| T | Tiwi |
| TSI | Torres Strait Islands |
| WC | West Coast |
| WD | Western Desert |

## Glossary

## TERMS USED IN THE AEVC REPORTS

Artist An Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander person who produces art products.
Art business Any party that sells works of art to customers, on behalf of artists, using one of the types

Art product categories

1. Paintings and drawings: on canvas, linen, bark, paper, watercolours
2. Textiles and fashion: fabrics, leather, garments, jewellery
3. Works on paper: limited edition prints
4. Sculpture: wood (yidaki/didjeridoo), metal, glass, fibre/weaving, dance machines / dance boards, ceramic, soft sculpture, shell
5. New media: photography, film (video), digital mixed-media, installation

Markets:
Primary

Markets: The market for works that are transacted further along the value chain - among collectors,
Secondary

Merchandise
products
categories
This is the market for artworks that are passing through the value chain for the first time, that is, the first sale from artist/Art Centre to gallery, dealer or customer. Money from this sale goes back to the artist/Art Centre rather than passing from one dealer to another, or from an auction house to a gallery, or one collector to another. auction houses, galleries or dealers. Apart from potential resale royalties, money from these sales is not returned to the artist. This market is not included in this research.

1. Stationery: bookmarks, cards, mousepads, bookmarks, pens
2. Prints/reproductions: posters
3. Homewares: drink containers, crockery, furnishings, manchester, rugs, lampshades, soft furnishings, bar mats
4. Jewellery
5. Sculpture: boomerang, didgeridoo, toys, metal, glass, ceramic
6. Clothing: t-shirts, ties, scarves, garments
7. Trinkets: key rings, spoons following models:

## Publicly funded Art Centre or Cultural Centre

Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander-owned and/or governed art businesses providing a range of artistic, cultural and entrepreneurial services to a group of artists. Business operations include wholesale, retail and gallery (has exhibition space separate to retail space and holds exhibitions).

## Private art business

A business that trades in Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander art products for commercial gain and may also support the development of artists. Private art business operations includes Retailer/Gallery (exhibiting and non-exhibiting, i.e. shop); Retailer/Wholesaler online only; Retailer/Wholesaler (exhibiting and non-exhibiting, i.e. shop) and Wholesaler (on-sells to other art businesses).

## Mixed business

This is the same as a private business but with a broader focus: art plus another business activity, such as a restaurant, accommodation or tourist outlet.

Remote
Australia

Visual art products

The concept of remoteness is an important dimension of policy development in Australia The provision of many government services is influenced by the typically long distances that people are required to travel outside the major metropolitan areas. The purpose of a Remoteness Structure is to provide a classification for the release of statistics that inform policy development by classifying Australia into large regions that share common characteristics of remoteness.

alue adding activities of an organisation or an entire supply chain. This is used as the reference point for defining the boundaries of an investigation of a product (art works) and/or service to give a value chain analysis.

An original (creative or cultural) product that is made, designed or produced by an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander person. Includes paintings, crafts, sculpture, fabric, baskets from any material, bought materials or waste such as fish nets and plastics.

## Executive summary

The Art Economies Value Chain project seeks to understand the production and trade of visual art products. The source of the visual art products is remote and very remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities; however, the markets for these goods span the globe.

The analysis of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander visual art value chain has been divided into four reports. Each report focuses on important economic, social and trade issues in the art value chain, with regional analysis and methodology summarised in the Synthesis paper.

This Artists and Art Centre production report focuses on assessing visual art products (quantity, type and value) produced by artists who work in public art businesses: the Art and Culture Centres of remote and very remote Australia. Figure 1 lists the reports, with each report hyperlinked through its title.


Figure 1: Reports map

|  | SUMMARY OF FINDINGS |
| :--- | :--- |
| This research draws on 33 | The total number of artists estimated to be working with Art Centres is 13,196. |
| years of data from 10,338 | The Art Centre data represented 80\% ( $\mathrm{n}=10,338$ ) of the estimated total |
| Aboriginal and Torres Strait | population of Art Centre artists. Approximately 70\% of artists were female, and |
| Islander artists. | 30\% of artists were over 55 years old. |
|  | Art Centre data represented 391,025 art products. Records with date information |
|  | were available for 247,520 products from 1980 to 2012. |
|  | The Western Desert art region accounts for 50\% of art production in remote |
|  | Australia. |

## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

| Art product sales increased by $\$ 6$ million from 2008 to 2012. The number of products also increased. | Art product sales in 2008-12, based on the Art Centre data, generated $\$ 52.7$ million. This is a $\$ 6$ million increase in sales value and 40,000 more art products than in 2003-07. The number of products increased in most art regions. Analysis indicates that there were over 60,000 art products that were produced but not sold in the 10 years from 2003 to 2012 inclusive. <br> The artists' commission is $60 \%$, equating to $\$ 30$ million income to artists. There are challenges for Art Centres and artists: the mean value of products declined over this period, and the length of time that art products remained in stock increased. Faster sales of the art products and reduction in stock could generate significant income for Art Centres. |
| :---: | :---: |
| The total sales and mean value of small paintings increased. The mean value of larger paintings decreased. | Between 2008 and 2012, paintings represented $91.36 \%$ of sales, with fabrics representing $0.26 \%$, works on paper $3.30 \%$ and sculpture $5.08 \%$ of sales. Paintings increased their market share, while sculpture declined. <br> Products valued at under $\$ 1000$ represent nearly $90 \%$ of all products produced in Australia. The trend is towards smaller art products. The smallest size, 30 x 30 cm paintings and under, increased in mean value from $\$ 60$ to $\$ 73$ across the 2003-2012 time frame. The numbers of smaller sized paintings produced also increased. <br> Larger paintings were more likely to remain in stock; they are harder to sell, partly because they are more expensive. |
| Artists who are younger than 30 years old produce less valuable paintings than the older artists. | Younger artists (under 30 years) had a significant change in the mean value of their art product sales, from $\$ 659$ to $\$ 388$, a $40 \%$ decrease. Younger artists produce less valuable art products, primarily products valued at under $\$ 1000$. Artists over 55 years old account for $30 \%$ of the artist population but $55 \%$ of the value of art product sales. Their sales are primarily derived from higher value (over \$5000) art products. <br> Older artists produce higher value, larger paintings, but have had the largest fall in income. Artists over 67 years old had the largest decrease in mean value of art products: a 52\% fall for art products between the periods 2003-07 and 2008-12. |
| Males are achieving a higher mean value for art products. | The mean value for female artists' art products in 2008-12 was $\$ 414$; for males it was $\$ 661$. The higher mean value that male artists are achieving is because male artists produce fewer low value products than female artists during their career. All age groups and both genders had a decrease in the mean sales value of their art products between the periods 2003-07 and 2008-12. |

## 1. Introduction

No value chain operates in isolation of external factors such as global markets, local issues or customer values. Therefore, to assess production, key stakeholders were identified (Figure 2), and the core production issues were identified, from artists to customers. A series of analyses were undertaken to assess the diversity and complexity of the art value chain. This report focuses on assessing the number, value and product traits of works produced by artists at publicly funded Art Centres.


Figure 2: Stakeholder map

Data were provided by 51 Art Centres (referred to hereafter as 'Art Centre data'). The experimental design drew on benchmarking and value chain design (Woodhead et al. 2000; Woodhead 2010), whereby variables were developed that compared visual art product traits across regions and over time. Two toplevel benchmarking criteria were defined to establish commonality of comparisons across the value chain:

1. Spatial: Art regions, defined by artistic and cultural traits, to measure diversity and product characteristics (see Figure 3, below). Remote Australia was divided into 12 art regions. The art regions were based on known areas of art production, grouped by cultural and aesthetic characteristics, not governance jurisdictions. Individual Art Centres were then grouped into the respective art regions.
2. Temporal: The number and quality of records from Art Centre data were more detailed from 2003 onwards, therefore analysis for most questions has been undertaken on sub-sets of the Art Centre data: two five-year time brackets of 2003-2007 and 2008-2012. Data prior to 2003 were included for analysis of certain product traits.

Considerable care has been taken to present the data accurately and meaningfully. However, when reading this report it is important to remain cognisant of the response rate from Art Centres. The 2003-2007 data are based on Art Centre data from $41 \%$ of the total operational Art Centres ( $n=61$ ), during that period. The 2008-2012 data are based on data from $51 \%$ of total operational Art Centres ( $\mathrm{n}=87$ ). It is not advisable to multiply the total sales by the percentage or number of missing Art Centres as there is considerable variation in the size and scale of production by different Art Centres.

Changes in staff, variations in software systems and changes in Art Centre numbers over time are factors that have contributed to the variability in the quality and depth of data for each art region and over time.

This variation in the number and size (productivity) of Art Centres within regions and the response rate has limited analysis of total sales value within and between art regions and governance regions. To address this limitation, trends and comparisons have been explained using percentages and means in addition to total product numbers and sales value.

Notwithstanding these limitations and analytical challenges, the results presented here are unique, significant and provide the most accurate analysis of and insights into the trade in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander art.

## 2. Analysis of Art Centre production in remote Australia

In the following sections, Art Centre data (representing 10, 338 artists) are analysed and compared using art regions, time frames, gender, age and production categories. This section establishes data on total production across art regions (Figure 3). Section 3 assesses production against sold products, and a figure for 'stock' levels was derived. Section 4 analyses artist productivity by personal attributes (age and gender). Finally, Section 5 explores art product traits: product pricing categories, product categories (painting, sculpture, works on papers and textiles) and painting size.

### 2.1 National and art region production

The total number of art product records in the Art Centre data was 391,025 . Table 1 shows the number and value of products in the Art Centre data with a sales price ( $\mathrm{n}=339,916$ ) with a total value of $\$ 154.6$ million. Not all products had a date received or a date sold, but 247,520 products had at least one of these dates and a sales price (see Table 1).

Table 1: Total number and value of products over time

|  | No date | $\mathbf{1 9 8 0 - 2 0 0 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 3 - 2 0 0 7}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 8 - 2 0 1 2}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total sales value | $\$ 42,653,596$ | $\$ 12,600,700$ | $\$ 46,612,236$ | $\$ 52,702,677$ |
| Number of items | 92,396 | 25,083 | 90,776 | 131,661 |
| Mean value | $\$ 462$ | $\$ 502$ | $\$ 513$ | $\$ 400$ |

In the 2008-12 time period, there were a total of 131,661 products with a sale date, with a value of $\$ 52.7$ million, a $\sim 40,000$ increase in the number of products recorded in 2003-07. From 2003 to 2012 the mean value of art products decreased by $\$ 113$ to $\$ 400$.

### 2.1.1 Art region production

Art Centres across remote Australia were surveyed (Figure 3). The area was divided into 12 art regions, based on known areas of art production, grouped by cultural and aesthetic characteristics. Art Centres were then grouped into the respective art regions.


Figure 3: Art regions map, showing the zones of production and the areas where the AEVC analysis was focused

The highest producing region by number of products and value was the Western Desert, followed by Kimberley and Arnhem Land (see Table 2). In 2008-12 the Western Desert region accounted for over 50\% of sales value and almost $50 \%$ of product numbers. The mean value of products was highest in the West Coast and Far North Queensland regions. Given that these two locations have mean value calculations based on under 3,000 products (compared to over 62,000 in Western Desert), some caution needs to be exercised with the interpretation of the high mean value. However, these tables do provide an insight into the distribution of production, the total and mean value of art products, and the number of products in Australian art regions (see Appendix A, Table A 1 for the total number and value of products in the Art Centre data by art region [includes all products with no date in Table 1]).

Table 2: Art region production by year

|  | 2003-2007 |  |  |  | 2008-12 |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Art | Number of <br> products | Mean | Value of sold <br> products | Number of <br> products | Mean | Value of sold <br> products |  |
| A $^{1}$ | 35,989 | $\$ 154$ | $\$ 5,549,378$ | 18,761 | $\$ 108$ | $\$ 2,022,303$ |  |
| APY | 1,526 | $\$ 270$ | $\$ 412,009$ | 6,441 | $\$ 437$ | $\$ 2,812,813$ |  |
| C |  |  |  | 2,706 | $\$ 469$ | $\$ 1,269,464$ |  |
| CD | 1,119 | $\$ 650$ | $\$ 727,782$ | 7,765 | $\$ 307$ | $\$ 2,386,467$ |  |
| ED | 64 | $\$ 156$ | $\$ 9,984$ | 1,363 | $\$ 399$ | $\$ 543,570$ |  |
| FNQ | 1,244 | $\$ 2,023$ | $\$ 2,517,084$ | 2,283 | $\$ 625$ | $\$ 1,426,104$ |  |
| K | 13,566 | $\$ 673$ | $\$ 9,134,312$ | 21,341 | $\$ 507$ | $\$ 10,816,772$ |  |
| T | 6,102 | $\$ 504$ | $\$ 3,074,721$ | 5,472 | $\$ 523$ | $\$ 2,861,748$ |  |
| TSI |  |  |  | 767 | $\$ 201$ | $\$ 154,003$ |  |
| WC |  |  |  | 2,756 | $\$ 795$ | $\$ 2,190,590$ |  |
| WD | 31,166 | $\$ 808$ | $\$ 25,186,966$ | 62,006 | $\$ 423$ | $\$ 26,218,842$ |  |
| Total | $\mathbf{9 0 , 7 7 6}$ | $\$ 513$ | $\$ 46,612,236$ | $\mathbf{1 3 1 , 6 6 1}$ | $\$ 400$ | $\$ 52,702,676$ |  |

[^0]
## 3. Stock versus sold products

This section assesses the number of art products produced and/or sold. Art products were categorised as either:

- stock (with a sales price, $24 \%$, or without a sales price, $13 \%$, for a total $37 \%$ of products)
- sold (products with a sales price and a sales date, $63 \%$ ).


### 3.1 In stock

An analysis of stock value and change over the two time periods is illustrated in Figure 4. Stock is the total production value of stock with a sales price minus the total sales value of sold products. Therefore, stock over time was derived by subtracting the value of sold art products during a time period (2003-07 and 2008-12) from the value of all the art products that were received within that time period. For a detailed breakdown of art products received and sold, by art region, see Table A 2 in Appendix A.

The analysis of received and sold is based on Art Centre data with product-received dates between 2003 and 2012 and a sales price. The received products in 2008-12 do not include a carryover of stock from 2003-07. Sold art products in 2008-12 include stock from 2003-07 period.

The proportion of stock to sold products increased between 2003-07 and 2008-12 (Figure 4):

- In 2003-07, the total value of art products (stock) with a sales price was $\$ 57.5$ million, with sales valued at $\$ 46.6$ million, and products remaining in stock valued at $\$ 10.9$ million ( 25,899 products)
- In 2008-12, the total value of new art products with a sales price in the 2008-12 period, minus those with a sales price that did not sell, gave a value of products remaining in stock of $\$ 18$ million $(35,664$ products).

The sum total number of products recorded as stock in the art centre data from 2003 to 2012 is therefore over 60,000 products with a book value of nearly $\$ 30$ million. This is an underestimate of the number and value, because no price data were available for $13 \%$ of the stock items as discussed above. Other potential confounding factors are that art products may not be recorded until they are sold, or conversely they may have been destroyed or damaged but they have not been removed from the database.


Figure 4: Number and value of stock and sold items between 2003 and 2012.
The Tiwi Islands, Kimberley and Western Desert regions had the lowest percentage of stock numbers, or conversely the highest numbers of sold art products, over 70\% (Figure 5). Data for the Torres Strait Islands were less populated than for other regions. Data for the Central region suggest that there has been incomplete entry of stock products. Therefore, caution needs to be taken when comparing regions, as the data are less accurate for some regions. Further, no data were available for the Outback region.


A = Arnhem, APY = Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara, CD = Central Desert, ED = Eastern Desert, FNQ = Far North Queensland, $\mathrm{K}=$ Kimberley, $\mathrm{T}=$ Tiwi, TSI = Torres Strait Islands, WC = West Coast, WD = Western Desert

Figure 5: Sold art products by Art region

### 3.2 Time in stock

To further understand why there was an increase in art products held in stock between 2003-07 and 2008-12, an analysis of the length of time art products were in stock was undertaken. Data were grouped into four time periods. Figure 6 shows the time a product was in stock, from when an art product was received (received date) and when it sold (sale date). Products in the over 1 year category may still be in stock.


Figure 6: Time from finished production to sale.

The length of time that art products remain in stock has increased (Figure 6). This change was not significant for artworks that were in stock 1-5 months (around 36\% in both 2003-2007 and 2008-2012). However, in 2008 to 2012 there was an:

- increase in stock being retained for:
- 6 months to 1 year (from 15.7\% to 17.9\%)
- more than 1 year (from $20.6 \%$ to $25.6 \%$ )
- decrease in stock being retained for less than 1 month (from 27.2\% to 20.5\%).

In summary, the number of products has increased over time, and the length of time to sell these products has also increased. In a further exploration of these trends, the next section looks at product sales.

### 3.3 Sold products

Sold art products were assessed using several explanatory variables to determine the value of products over time, the product and price category and the artist age and gender. To establish context for the following analysis in Section 4, this section looks at the total value of sold products from all art regions across time.

Figure 7 shows the mean value of art products (paintings, sculpture, works on paper and textiles and fabrics) across individual years from 2003 to 2012. It reached a high of $\$ 555$ in 2007, and has steadily declined to \$359 in 2011, recovering slightly in 2012.


Figure 7: Product sales mean value by years, 2003-2012


Figure 8: Product sales numbers and value, 2003-2012

The slight rise in mean value in 2012 is due to the fall in production numbers to 17,890 , down from 25,526 in 2011 (Figure 8). Sales and production numbers in 2011 and 2012 appear to be moving back to the 2003 and 2004 levels, but mean value is $20 \%$ lower. Therefore, the 2005 to 2010 levels could be considered as a 'bubble'. To further understand what is driving this change the next sections look in more detail at artist gender and age, product pricing and product category.

## 4. Artist demographics and productivity

The total number of artists estimated to be working with Art Centres is 13,196 (see the associated Methodology and Art regions report [Woodhead and Acker 2014b], section 3 for distribution of all artists Art Centre and freelanced - by art regions and by gender). The Art Centre data represented 78\% ( $\mathrm{n}=$ 10,338 ) of the estimated total population of Art Centre artists. Gender data were recorded for 2,425 female artists and 981 male artists, representing $33 \%$ of the artist population in the Art Centre data. Almost all $(95 \%)$ of the artists with gender data also had age data. Given the gaps in the data, detailed regional analysis using artist gender and age was not possible, and most of the analysis of production categories has been undertaken at a national level.

### 4.1 Artist demographics

Female artists represented $71 \%$ of the artist population for whom gender data were known. Figure 9 shows gender and age divided into five categories, with the percentage of the total population in each age group shown by the black line. Nearly $30 \%$ of artists are in the $30-42$ age group. There is also a large group (14\%) of older artists: given that the life expectancy in remote Australia of Aboriginal men is 67.2 and women is 72.3 (ABS 2014), the graph shows that the industry may soon lose many highly productive artists (see also Section 5.3). From the available data, it was not possible to determine whether artists were alive or not at the time of this analysis; artists may be deceased, but their art products continue to be sold.


Figure 9: Percentage and number of artists by age and gender



Figure 10: Percentage and number of artists by region, age and gender (top: female; bottom: male) and age

Note: No data available on age and gender for Outback region

Figure 10 shows the percentage and number of artists by age in each art region. While the Torres Strait Islands art region has a high percentage of young male artists, overall the gender proportions (70:30 females to males) are representative across all age groups. Both females and males had a high proportion of over 55 -year-old artists, more than $30 \%$ of the artist population. The Western Desert represents $48 \%$ of all artists in Australia and the region has a high proportion of older artists. These trends are noted:

- Kimberley has the highest number and proportion of younger artists
- Torres Strait Islands has few older artists, as do the Tiwi Islands and the Eastern Desert
- Tiwi has the largest percentage of middle-aged artists (30-54 years old)
- Kimberly, Arnhem and Western Desert have the highest number of older artists and among the highest proportion of older artists.


### 4.2 Artist production

This section discusses artist production by age and gender. Figure 11 and Figure 12 show production over time by drawing on data about artist gender and artist age respectively. Key observations:

- All age groups and both genders had a decrease in the mean sales value of their art products between 2003-07 and 2008-12.
- The mean value for female artists' art products in 2008-12 was $\$ 414$; for males it was $\$ 661$. The higher mean value that male artists are achieving is because male artists produce fewer low value products than female artists (see Section 5.3) during their career. Male artists are not necessarily achieving higher prices for individual art works than females.
- Younger artists (under 30) had a significant change in the mean value of their art products, from $\$ 659$ to $\$ 388$, a $40 \%$ decrease. However, this decrease in mean value for younger artists is far smaller than the drop in mean value for over 67-year olds, which was the largest decrease in mean value: $52 \%$ for art products between 2003-07 and 2008-12.

Artists who were aged 55 and older produced $55 \%$ of all art works by value from 2003 to 2012. Older artists produce more valuable art products (see Section 5.3). The fall in mean value for artists over 67 reflects the fall in the high end, fine art market. Details of these market impacts are discussed in the associated Art business trading practices and views on policy report (Woodhead 2014).


Figure 11: Change in number of products, sales and mean over time, by gender



Figure 12: Change in production number, value and mean, 2003-07 and 2008-12, by age

## 5. Price and product categories

To understand what was contributing to the lower mean value and increased production numbers and the role of gender and age, products were categorised by price points. Pricing categories were defined after discussion with stakeholders and represent the most logical grouping of product prices by customer purchasing behaviour. For a breakdown of product categories by year and art region, see Appendix A, Table A 3.

### 5.1 Pricing by number and value of products

The pricing categories were defined using five pricing points as illustrated in Figure 13 and Figure 14. While the level of detail shown by dividing the price range into five categories was relevant for some discussions, there were also significant insights to be drawn when the price range was divided into three categories, by collapsing the two low value and two high value groups:

- Less than $\$ 1000$ ( $\$ 2$ to $\$ 249$ and $\$ 250$ to $\$ 999$ categories)
- Over \$5000 (\$5000 to \$9999 and \$10,000 and higher categories)

The middle pricing category remained the same.
The pricing categories are first explored using the total number of products with a sales price ( $\mathrm{n}=339,916$ ), with a total value of $\$ 154.6$ million. Then the change in each product category over time (2003-07 to 2008-12) is analysed using:

- sold products by number and value
- sold products by gender and age.

The following discussion uses both pricing categories as appropriate to the analysis. Some observations about the price categories follow:

- The highest number of products ( $\mathrm{n}=218,163$, or $64 \%$ ) were in the under $\$ 250$ price range, with a mean value of $\$ 89$ and a total value of $\$ 19.4$ million.
- Products valued at less than $\$ 1000$ ( $\$ 2$ to $\$ 249$ and $\$ 250$ to $\$ 999$ categories) represented $87 \%$ of total number of products and $37 \%$ of the total sales value.
- The highest total value price category was products priced between $\$ 1000$ to $\$ 4999(41 \%$ of sales value and $9 \%$ of the total number of products). These products had a total value of $\$ 63.6$ million.
- Products valued at over $\$ 5000$ ( $\$ 5000$ to $\$ 9999$ and $\$ 10,000$ and higher) represented $1.1 \%$ of the total number of products, but they represent $21.5 \%$ of the total sales value.


Figure 13: Total number, mean and value of products with a sale price, by price category


Figure 14: Percentages of total sales value and total number of products with a sale price, by price category

### 5.2 Change in number and value of products by price categories

To further understand how the value of products is distributed across price categories, this section analyses sold products by price categories over time. To best understand the broader trends, this analysis focuses on the three price categories (Figure 15).

Section 3 discussed the levels of stock, the time in stock and the number of sold items. An increase in the number of art product stock items was noted between 2003 and 2012. To better understand this change in stock and sales, this section assesses the trends over time in product sales by value.


#### Abstract




Figure 15: Change in product numbers and value, 2003-2012, by price category

Figure 15 highlights the trend towards lower value products from 2003-07 to 2008-12: there was an increase in the percentage (by value) of market share of under $\$ 1000$ art products and a decrease in the over $\$ 5000$ art products. Across time the $\$ 1000-\$ 4999$ products remained relatively static, a drop of $1.8 \%$ in market share, down to $39.5 \%$. The under $\$ 1000$ art products increased market share by $11 \%$, up to $42 \%$, and the over $\$ 5000$ decreased market share by $11 \%$, down to $18.4 \%$ in 2008-12.

The growth in the number and total value of under $\$ 1000$ products was valued at nearly $\$ 8$ million. A more detailed analysis of the under $\$ 1000$ category products across time revealed that:

- The under $\$ 250$ price category product numbers grew from 60,000 to 90,000 , with the value increasing from $\$ 4.8$ million to $\$ 8$ million ( $66 \%$ increase). The mean value of the under $\$ 250$ price category also increased, from $\$ 81$ to $\$ 89$, the only price category that increased.
- The $\$ 250$ to under $\$ 1000$ price category product numbers also increased from 19,000 to 29,000 , and the value increased from $\$ 9.6$ to $\$ 14.2$ million ( $48 \%$ ). However, the mean value decreased from $\$ 494$ down to $\$ 482$.


### 5.3 Change in age and gender by price category

In 2008-12, more than $50 \%$ of all art products sold by all age groups were valued at less than $\$ 250$. In the under- 30 age group, $70 \%$ of the sales were valued at under $\$ 250$, and this age group produced $17 \%$ of all products valued at under $\$ 250$.

Artists over 67 years of age had a higher proportion of high value products than other age groups. All artists over 55 (both age groups) produced $85 \%$ of all products valued at over $\$ 10,000$ and $77 \%$ of products valued between $\$ 5000$ and $\$ 10,000$.

A determining factor in art product value is age; older artists produce higher sales value art products, and younger artists produce lower sales value art products. Older artists (over 55 years old) account for $30 \%$ of the artist population (extrapolated from Art Centre data with age details) and $55 \%$ of the value of art products. Their sales are primarily derived from higher value art products. To further understand the change in product value, price categories by age group between 2003-07 and 2008-12 were analysed. The following changes are noted:

- All age groups increased sales in the under $\$ 250$ price category.
- All age groups (except over 67 years old) increased sales in the $\$ 250-\$ 999$ price category.
- 30-67 year olds increased sales value of over $\$ 10,000$ art products.
- 55-67 year olds have the highest value of sold items in the \$1000-\$4999 category.

Artists older than 67 had significant drops in sales value of product categories over $\$ 5000$ (Figure 17 and Figure 18), but it was a smaller percentage of their sales than the under 30s.


Figure 16: Change in sales value by price category: age under 30


Figure 17: Change in sales value by price category: age over 67 years old



Figure 18: Change sales value, 2003-2012, by gender (top: female; bottom: male) and price category

The price categories were also analysed by gender (Figure 18). Results showed that:

- For art products under $\$ 250$, females and males increased sales; however, the increases for female artists were significantly higher than for male artists.
- In the \$5000-\$9999 price category, female artists had a larger decrease in product sales than males.
- In the over $\$ 10,000$ price category, males had a higher percentage decrease than females.

While there are a range of trends across age and gender, overall there was a decrease in the sales of higher value products and an increase in the sales of lower value products. However, the increases in total sales value are due to a larger number of products, not an increase in the individual value of art products.

To better understand the type of product categories, the next section breaks down product categories and looks at their distribution and value using size and price categories.

### 5.4 Product categories by number and value

From the total of 391,025 products, 374,794 (96\%) had a product category. Paintings represented the largest category, followed by sculptures (see the Glossary for art products that are included in each category). The breakdown of products by total numbers is:

1. Paintings: $\mathrm{n}=239,805$ (64.0\%)
2. Textile and Fabrics: $\mathrm{n}=2,418(0.6 \%)$
3. Works on Paper: $\mathrm{n}=33,255$ (8.9\%)
4. Sculpture: $\mathrm{n}=99,316$ (26.5\%)

While paintings represent $64 \%$ of product numbers, when assessed by value of sold items, the ratio of product categories changes considerably. Paintings represent $88 \%$ of the sales value in 2003-07, increasing to $91 \%$ in 2008-12 (Table 3). This gain in market share was offset by a fall in the market share of sculpture, which had a 3\% decrease. The actual sales value of sculpture fell from $\$ 3.7$ million to $\$ 2.5$ million over this time period.

The percentage sold (number of products):

- Works on Paper represented the lowest percentage of sold products ( $40 \%$ ).
- Sculpture had the highest proportion of sales ( $74 \%$ ), or the lowest number of items in stock.
- The mean value of all products except Textile and Fabrics decreased over this time period. ${ }^{1}$

Total sales value of paintings increased by $\$ 5.36$ million between the 2003 to 2007 and 2008 to 2012 (see Appendix A, Table A 3 for the value and number of product categories by art region).

Increases in total value need to be considered within the context of the overall drop in the mean value of paintings of $-36 \%$, and an increase in production numbers. There were 37,455 more paintings in 2008/12 than 2003/07, a $44 \%$ increase in production.


Figure 19: Warmarrungu; painting by Nyarapayi Giles.
Photo courtesy of Tjarlirli Art.


Figure 20: Painting in production
Photo courtesy of Tjarlirli Art

[^1]

Figure 21: Wooden sculpture, or tjara (shield), by Reggie Jackson
Photo courtesy of Maruku Arts and Crafts


Figure 22: Wooden sculpture, or piti (bowl)
Photo courtesy of Maruku Arts and Craft.


Figure 23: Woven sculptures - grass and wool baskets

Photo courtesy of Tjanpi Desert Weavers

Table 3: Product category: Number and value of products by year

|  |  | Paintings | Textile and Fabrics | Works on Paper | Sculpture |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{2 0 0 3 - 0 7}$ | \# products | 48,983 | 999 | 5,108 | 34,731 |
|  | Mean value | $\$ 831$ | $\$ 95$ | $\$ 309$ | $\$ 107$ |
|  | Sales value | $\$ 40,722,564$ | $\$ 94,516$ | $\$ 1,579,397$ | $\$ 3,706,232$ |
|  | $\%$ value sold | $88.30 \%$ | $0.20 \%$ | $3.40 \%$ | $8.00 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{2 0 0 8 - 2 0 1 2}$ | \# products | 86,438 | 493 | 6,974 | 31,294 |
|  | Mean value | $\$ 533$ | $\$ 270$ | $\$ 239$ | $\$ 82$ |
|  | Sales value | $\$ 46,091,847$ | $\$ 133,100$ | $\$ 1,664,190$ | $\$ 2,561,330$ |
|  | $\%$ value sold | $91.40 \%$ | $0.30 \%$ | $3.30 \%$ | $5.10 \%$ |
|  | \% sold (by \# products) | $65 \%$ | $67 \%$ | $40 \%$ | $74 \%$ |

### 5.5 Paintings by value

Given that paintings represent such a significant proportion of art product sales, a more detailed analysis of sales over time is appropriate. Figure 24 and Figure 25 show the change in painting numbers and sales value by year from 2003 to 2012. The mean value of paintings provides an accurate analysis of the change in painting value over time. There has been a steady decline in the mean value of paintings since 2005; the 2012 mean value is \$449, nearly half of 2005 (\$885).

Initially the growth in number of paintings (see Figure 25) maintained, indeed increased, the total value of paintings, peaking at $\$ 11.6$ million in 2007. Production peaked in $2010(n=19,083)$. The increase in production numbers somewhat disguised the decrease in product value. From 2011, product numbers have also declined, and the sales value in 2012 was $\$ 6.3$ million (45\%) down on 2007. The 2012 sales value is very close to 2004 sales, but approximately $40 \%$ more products were sold in 2012 to produce the same value.


Figure 24: Painting sales mean value by years, 2003-2012


Figure 25: Value and number of paintings, 2003-2012

### 5.6 Change in number of paintings by size and value

Paintings were divided into six size categories (Figure 26), and further analysis was undertaken of sale price by painting size and price categories.

Table 3 shows that $65 \%$ of paintings were sold, or conversely $35 \%$ remained in stock. Analysis of production numbers of stock paintings (explanations of stock in Section 3) indicated that there were more large paintings in stock. Further analysis of the mean value by painting size and change in value and production numbers is illustrated in Figure 26. Overall, the mean value of all painting sizes decreased, except the smallest size paintings ( $30 \times 30 \mathrm{~cm}$ and under), which increased in mean value from $\$ 60$ to $\$ 73$ across the 2003 to 2012 time frame. Although production numbers of the smallest painting size remained fairly static, the total sales value did increase by $\$ 41,000$ (16\%).



Figure 26: Change in number of paintings and mean value by five-year time period (top: 2003-07; bottom 2008-12), by painting size

The number of paintings increased in all size categories except for the smallest size ( $30 \times 30 \mathrm{~cm}$ ). The changes in the $50 \times 50 \mathrm{~cm}$ painting size were particularly significant. While there was an increase in product numbers from 9,982 to 23,262 , the sales value increase was from $\$ 1.8$ million to $\$ 3$ million over the same time period. Therefore the mean value of $50 \times 50 \mathrm{~cm}$ size paintings fell by $27 \%$ over this time period.

The $50 \times 50 \mathrm{~cm}$ and smaller paintings ( $30 \times 30 \mathrm{~cm}$ ) represent nearly $80 \%$ of the $\$ 2$ to $\$ 249$ price category. $50 \times 50 \mathrm{~cm}$ paintings also represent $50 \%$ of the $\$ 250$ to $\$ 999$ price category. Once the value increases, so does the painting size, with $150 \times 150 \mathrm{~cm}$ paintings having the highest percentage of all sizes in the above $\$ 1000$ price categories.

## Appendix A: Art region data

These data are indicative of production numbers and value. Caution should be taken when comparing change across years as some art regions had no data in 2003-07, and other art regions had gaps in data. The data were most populated for the 2008-12 time period. Therefore, the mean value (total value divided by number of products) is the most reliable measure to compare product value across time and between regions; the higher the number of products, the greater the accuracy of the mean.

There were no detailed product data available for the Central and Outback regions, and therefore none of the following tables have these data.

Table A 1 includes all the Art Centre data with a sales price ( 7030 art products were entered without a sales price). As shown in Table A 1, many art products ( $n=92,396$ ) were entered without a date; this table includes all art products with and without a date for each art region.

Tables A 2 and A 3 use Art Centre data with product received dates between 2003 and 2012 and a sales price. No carry over has been analysed. Sales of products received in the 2003-07 period may have occurred in 2008-12. The received products in 2008-12 do not include a carry over of products from 2003-07.

Table A 1: Total number and value of products, by art region

| Art <br> region | Total number <br> of products | Number of products <br> with sale price | Mean value of products <br> with sale price | Value of products <br> with sale price |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{A}^{\mathbf{1}}$ | 107,340 | 93,949 | $\$ 156$ | $\$ 14,673,611$ |
| APY | 14,555 | 10,354 | $\$ 443$ | $\$ 4,581,897$ |
| C | 5,123 | 5,024 | $\$ 337$ | $\$ 1,694,419$ |
| CD | 20,356 | 15,172 | $\$ 418$ | $\$ 6,341,281$ |
| ED | 3,875 | 3,403 | $\$ 445$ | $\$ 1,513,648$ |
| FNQ | 7,734 | 5,280 | $\$ 1,105$ | $\$ 5,832,553$ |
| K | 58,519 | 49,988 | $\$ 586$ | $\$ 29,306,116$ |
| T | 21,567 | 15,908 | $\$ 510$ | $\$ 8,109,993$ |
| TSI | 4,918 | 1,537 | $\$ 258$ | $\$ 396,020$ |
| WC | 6,583 | 5,931 | $\$ 890$ | $\$ 5,277,651$ |
| WD | 140,455 | 133,370 | $\$ 576$ | $\$ 76,842,020$ |
| Total | 391,025 | 339,916 | $\$ 455$ | $\$ 154,569,209$ |

[^2]Table A 2: Received and sold art products 2008-12, by Art region

| Art <br> region | Received 2008-12 |  |  |  |  | Sold 2008-12 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

Table A 3: Product category by year and art region

|  | $\begin{gathered} 2003 \text { to } 2007 \\ \mathrm{n}=89,821 \end{gathered}$ |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 2008 \text { to } 2012 \\ \mathrm{n}=125,199 \end{gathered}$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Art region | Number of products | Mean | Value of products | Number of products | Mean | Value of products |
| Painting |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| A | 11,818 | \$226 | \$2,672,143 | 7,940 | \$152 | \$1,203,861 |
| APY | 1,368 | \$293 | \$401,063 | 5,707 | \$479 | \$2,731,899 |
| CD | 892 | \$688 | \$613,917 | 7,246 | \$301 | \$2,184,127 |
| ED | 62 | \$155 | \$9,594 | 1,153 | \$438 | \$504,987 |
| FNQ | 1,137 | \$2,201 | \$2,502,004 | 2,167 | \$639 | \$1,384,164 |
| K | 7,346 | \$1,141 | \$8,382,217 | 10,291 | \$916 | \$9,424,037 |
| T | 3,610 | \$648 | \$2,339,878 | 3,293 | \$619 | \$2,039,206 |
| WC |  |  |  | 2,458 | \$851 | \$2,091,376 |
| WD | 22,750 | \$1,046 | \$23,801,748 | 46,183 | \$531 | \$24,528,190 |
| Textile and Fabric |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| A | 667 | \$9 | \$6,254 | 94 | \$52 | \$4,918 |
| CD |  |  |  | 2 | \$126 | \$252 |
| K | 94 | \$33 | \$3,113 | 2 | \$60 | \$120 |
| T | 191 | \$440 | \$84,063 | 201 | \$526 | \$105,766 |
| TSI |  |  |  | 69 | \$54 | \$3,703 |
| WC |  |  |  | 27 | \$241 | \$6,510 |
| WD | 47 | \$23 | \$1,086 | 98 | \$121 | \$11,831 |
| Works on Paper |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| A | 18 | \$538 | \$9,690 | 36 | \$370 | \$13,335 |
| APY | 18 | \$189 | \$3,405 | 587 | \$122 | \$71,853 |
| CD | 41 | \$111 | \$4,547 | 145 | \$375 | \$54,330 |
| FNQ | 88 | \$107 | \$9,441 | 30 | \$468 | \$14,028 |
| K | 1,587 | \$297 | \$471,257 | 3,190 | \$247 | \$786,567 |
| T | 798 | \$192 | \$153,049 | 638 | \$310 | \$197,479 |
| TSI |  |  |  | 462 | \$211 | \$97,290 |
| WC |  |  |  | 10 | \$82 | \$821 |
| WD | 2558 | \$363 | \$928,008 | 1,876 | \$228 | \$428,487 |
| Sculpture |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| A | 23,486 | \$122 | \$2,861,291 | 10,691 | \$75 | \$800,189 |
| APY | 140 | \$54 | \$7,541 | 147 | \$62 | \$9,061 |
| CD | 186 | \$588 | \$109,318 | 371 | \$398 | \$147,670 |
| ED | 2 | \$195 | \$390 | 210 | \$184 | \$38,583 |
| FNQ | 19 | \$297 | \$5,639 | 86 | \$325 | \$27,912 |
| K | 4,281 | \$47 | \$202,556 | 5,064 | \$50 | \$254,639 |
| T | 1,034 | \$190 | \$196,867 | 754 | \$249 | \$187,606 |
| TSI |  |  |  | 236 | \$225 | \$53,010 |
| WD | 5,583 | \$58 | \$322,630 | 13,735 | \$76 | \$1,042,660 |

[^3]
## References

ABS (Australian Bureau of Statistics). 2006. Remoteness Structure. Available from http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/d3310114.nsf/home/remoteness+structure.

ABS (Australian Bureau of Statistics). 2014. Life Tables for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2010-2012. Cat no. 3302.0.55.003. Available from http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/3302.0.55.003. Accessed 29 May 2014.

Woodhead A. 2014. The Art Economies Value Chain reports: Art business trading practices and policy views. CRC-REP Research Report CR008. Ninti One Limited, Alice Springs. http://www.crc-rep.com.au/resource/CR008_AEVC_ArtBusinessTradingPractices.pdf

Woodhead A and Acker T. 2014a. The Art Economies Value Chain reports: Synthesis. CRC-REP Research Report CR004. Ninti One Limited, Alice Springs. http://www.crc-rep.com.au/resource/CR004 AEVC Synthesis.pdf

Woodhead A and Acker T. 2014b. The Art Economies Value Chain reports: Methodology and Art regions. CRC-REP Research Report CR005. Ninti One Limited, Alice Springs. http://www.crc-rep.com.au/resource/CR005_AEVC_MethodologyArtRegions.pdf

Woodhead AC, Cornish PS and Slavich PG. 2000. Multi-stakeholder benchmarking: clarifying attitudes and behaviour from complexity and ambiguity. Australian Journal of Experimental Agriculture 40(4), 595-607.

Woodhead A. 2010. Guidelines to sustainability in supply chains. Australian Government, DEWHA and Macquarie University, Sydney.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1} \mathrm{~A}=$ Arnhem, APY = Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara, C = Central, CD = Central Desert, ED = Eastern Desert, FNQ = Far North Queensland, K = Kimberley, OB = Outback, T = Tiwi, TSI = Torres Strait Islands, WC = West Coast, WD = Western Desert

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ The small number of Textiles and Fabric products ( $n=493$ in 2008-12) could mean that a few high value products are distorting the mean value, which may be closer to the 2003-07 mean of \$95.

[^2]:    ${ }^{1} \mathrm{~A}=$ Arnhem, APY = Annangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara, C = Central, CD = Central Desert, ED $=$ Eastern Desert, FNQ = Far North Queensland, K = Kimberley, T = Tiwi, TSI = Torres Strait Islands, WC = West Coast, WD = Western Desert

[^3]:    ${ }^{1} \mathrm{~A}=$ Arnhem, $\mathrm{APY}=$ Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara, CD $=$ Central Desert, ED $=$ Eastern Desert, FNQ $=$ Far North Queensland, $\mathrm{K}=$ Kimberley, $\mathrm{T}=$ Tiwi, $\mathrm{TSI}=$ Torres Strait Islands, WC = West Coast, WD = Western Desert

