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Culture and the Gender Pay Gap for Australian Artists

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1 Introduction and background

The gender pay gap in the Australian workforce continues to indicate a significant income disadvantage for female workers compared to males across virtually all industries in the Australian economy, including the arts (Workplace Gender Equality Agency 2022). Our previous research on this issue for Australian artists (Throsby, Petetskaya and Shin 2020) showed that even when the conventional differences in employment conditions, domestic circumstances, hours worked, and other factors are accounted for in explaining disparities between the earnings of male and female artists, there remains an unexplained income gap. After exploring a range of variables that could possibly continue to be causing the gap, we concluded that the most plausible explanation was likely to be a continuation of systemic gender-based discrimination in the artistic workplace. In other words, our research suggested that, despite some notable efforts to counter such discrimination in the arts, it was likely to be even more of a problem for female artists as it appears to be for females working in other occupations.

One potential contributing factor that we were not able to explore in our earlier work was a possible role for cultural difference across and within different cohorts of artists. There has been increasing interest recently in whether gender differences in various social and cultural circumstances reflect underlying cultural values and beliefs, and whether in due course such differences are significant in explaining different types of gender gap – in workforce participation, in employment levels or in incomes (Guiliano 2020). These sorts of relationships between gender and culture are apparent, for example, in the differences in gender norms across countries and over time, and within countries via possible gender stereotyping and other socio-cultural influences (Sevilla 2020). All these factors can, in their different contexts, lead to observable disparities in social circumstances and economic outcomes between women and men.

These considerations have led us to ask whether it may be possible to identify possible cultural influences on the gender pay gap for Australian artists from our own data. We have two distinct datasets arising from research projects carried out over recent years by David Throsby and Katya Petetskaya. The first covers data for practising professional artists across all artforms derived from the 2015-16 individual artists survey, published in the report *Making Art Work* (Throsby and Petetskaya 2017). The other dataset is for First Nations artists working in remote communities, compiled from data collected in three separate regional surveys by the same researchers as part of the ongoing National Survey of Remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Artists. These surveys were carried out in three regions: Arnhem Land (NT); Central Desert (NT)/APY Lands (SA); and NW Northern Territory/Tiwi Islands (NT). The results of these three surveys were published in Throsby and Petetskaya (2019a, 2018, 2019b, respectively)[1].

The two aggregated datasets, labelled "mainstream artists" and "First Nations artists" respectively, allow us to compare female/male earnings differentials between

[1] An earlier region in the series, in fact the first undertaken as part of the National Survey, was the Kimberley region (WA). This region is not included in the present analysis because some variables were not measured in the same terms in the original survey as in the later regions.

the two cohorts and to investigate the relative determinants of those differentials. It is possible that any such differences may simply relate to socio-demographic differences between the populations of mainstream and First Nations artists generally, but our hypothesis is that they may also reflect the influence of cultural factors, given the recognised differences in cultural norms, practices and values between First Nations and non-First Nations society in Australia.

We can also investigate the impact of cultural difference within the populations of both mainstream and First Nations artists. In the case of the mainstream artists, the only variable in the dataset that could be taken to indicate one aspect of cultural differentiation is the variable that defines whether an artist comes from a non-English-speaking background (NESB). For the First Nations dataset, there may be some identifiable cultural differences between the regions covered and if so, it may be possible to assess whether they may lead to differences in the economic circumstances of men and women artists working in remote communities in these regions.

This report is structured as follows. We begin in section 2 by articulating the cultural characteristics within the two populations of artists. Section 3 concerns specifically the mainstream artists, where we investigate in detail the impact on female/male earnings of cultural difference within this population. In section 4 we turn to the First Nations artists, applying the same analyses to the complete First Nations dataset and then to the regional sub-groups. Section 5 discusses some implications of our results and draws some conclusions.

2 Identifying cultural difference

2.1 Mainstream artists

As noted above, we look to NESB status as an indicator of cultural difference within the cohort of practising professional artists in Australia. Artists coming from backgrounds where their first language is not English are part of the wider NESB community in the workforce. The proportion of artists from non-English speaking backgrounds among practising professional artists across all art forms in Australia was 10 percent in 2016[2] which was significantly lower than the 18 percent of NESB people in the total Australian labour force as per the 2016 census. Any differences we may uncover between NESB artists and their counterparts with English-speaking backgrounds (ESB) need to be interpreted in terms of characteristics or experiences common to the NESB community as a whole. Previous research in this area has highlighted the fact that NESB workers generally suffer some penalty in labour market circumstances and outcomes compared with other workers; for example, Borland and Coelli (2016) found that even though NESB immigrants tend to have higher educational qualifications than in the workforce at large, they experience lower average incomes, at least among full-time employees.

Data from *Making Art Work* (Ch. 14 pp.143-149) show that on most socio-demographic indicators such as average age, gender, family circumstances and so on,

[2] *Making Art Work,* p.143.

NESB artists are broadly similar to ESB artists. Given these similarities, do any NESB artists feel that their career as an artist has been affected by their NESB status? According to the survey results, the majority of NESB artists (54 percent) think that the impact on their career of having had a language other than English as their first language was more positive than negative, with only one in five (19 percent) seeing the impact as negative. The average creative incomes of NESB artists at the time of the survey were comparable with those of ESB artists. Although NESB artists earned less on average for arts-related work, and correspondingly more on average from non-arts work, their gross incomes were very much the same as for their ESB counterparts. Thus, within the professional workforce at large in Australia, NESB artists do not appear at first glance to suffer from a penalty on account of their language background. However, these aggregate data do not reveal whether there are gender differences in incomes, a matter which we investigate further below.

2.2 First Nations artists

The cultural lives of First Nations peoples living in remote communities in Australia, like Indigenous people all over the world, are distinctly different from those of mainstream society. The cultural foundations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander life rest on the three elements of land, language and traditional knowledge (Kwaymullina 2005; Grant et al 2011; Throsby and Petetskaya 2016). The influence of these elements permeates the ways in which communities function and lives are lived. Given these significant differences between First Nations and non-First Nations communities in this country, we would expect that these differences would be reflected in economic outcomes for First Nations artists compared with artists in the mainstream. In particular, it might be expected that gender roles could be important, as we shall see further below.

As noted earlier, it may also be possible for us to use our data to examine possible cultural differences within the overall cohort of First Nations artists, by reference to any differing cultural circumstances or practices between the three regions covered in the dataset. For example, there are known to be some culture-related differences between coastal and desert communities, and there is also some variation in the extent to which traditional ceremonial practices are maintained in different parts of remote Australia. One possible indicator could be the use of traditional languages in different First Nations communities; this variable could be interpreted as a marker of cultural difference between communities. We will return to these issues, with reference to differing gender impacts, in a later section.

3 Mainstream artists: analysis of culture/gender impacts

3.1 Gender and NESB status

Possible interrelationships between gender and NESB status within the overall workforce in the economy can be studied with reference to labour market outcomes for immigrant women, on the assumption of a rough concordance between immigrant status and having come from a non-English-speaking background. We noted above that NESB workers generally suffer an income penalty compared to ESB workers. Is this penalty exacerbated or lessened because of gender difference? In a

study of skilled immigrant women in the US, Mary Lopez (2012) found that in fact these women suffer a double earnings penalty resulting from the joint negative impacts of their NESB status and their gender. More generally, she found that skilled immigrant women were not immune from various forms of labour market discrimination.

We can assess whether being an artist might add to this problem. There is ample evidence that artists, regardless of gender, suffer an income penalty compared to professional occupations of equivalent status in terms of qualifications and experience[3]. In addition, it may be that attitudes to women artists may play a role in explaining a gender price discount for visual artists observed in some markets (Adams et al. 2018). These authors' research supports a finding that "art by women sells for a lower price simply because it is made by women" (p. 6); they argue that this reflects some culture-related tendencies in mainstream society generally. Moreover, although observable differences between men and women in such factors as hours worked, occupational segregation and family dynamics apply to most occupations including those in the arts, there may be characteristics of being a male or female artist which are unique in their effect on artistic work (Lindemann et al. 2016; Miller 2016). If this is so, NESB women artists may experience a triple earnings penalty arising from being female, being NESB and being an artist. Our analyses in this paper help to shed light on whether this is so in the Australian arts.

Finally, we note that according to our survey results, only 17.5 percent of NESB female artists identify their NESB status as one of the factors that have made an impact in terms of inhibiting or restricting their professional development as artists at some time in their career. In other words, the great majority of NESB women artists do not perceive their NESB status to be an inhibiting factor in their career development as a professional artist.

3.2 Descriptive data for male and female NESB artists

We turn now to investigating empirically how the above considerations play out in the case of women NESB artists in Australia. We look first at the simple descriptive statistics for these artists compared to their male counterparts, as well as to ESB artists both male and female. Table 1 shows mean data from our survey sample for some relevant socio-demographic and other variables. Overall, these characteristics are broadly similar between female and male NESB artists. Nevertheless, one striking and statistically-significant difference is that NESB women spend considerably more time each week at their creative practice than NESB men – 32 vs 21 hours on average. Given the approximate equivalence of creative incomes between the two groups, this points to a corresponding significantly lower rate of return per hour for creative work among NESB female artists compared to NESB male artists. In fact, our results show that NESB women artists spend the most time on their creative work across all artists cohorts - more time than female ESB artists (32 vs 22 hours on average) and more than male NESB and ESB artists, who spend

[3] See Withers (1985); Throsby (1996); Alper and Wassall (2006); Towse (2006). For Australian data on the income penalty for artists, see *Making Art Work* p. 78.

about 21 and 24 hours on average respectively. Note, however, that there is more to the income comparison than is revealed by simple averages, as we shall see below.

In addition, there are some other differences between all four groups of artists shown in Table 1. For example, there appear to be different training pathways for female and male NESB artists. Specifically, relatively more female artists identify private arts training as their most important pathway in the development of their career, whereas more NESB men point to formal arts training as the most important for them. Also, more female than male NESB artists acquire their skills for artistic practice through training avenues such as workshops, mentorships and learning from others, and twice as many women than men NESB artists receive grants or funding. In addition, there are differences in the proportions of female and male NSEB artists who have children under care, who are or have been managed by an agent, and who have external professional recognition as an artist, although none of these differences is statistically significant. We discuss the implications of these and other differences in section 3.4 below.

3.3 Impact of gender on incomes of NESB artists

The first step in analysing the impact of gender on the incomes of NESB artists is to look at the determinants of income for the entire sample of mainstream artists so that the relative effects of gender and NESB status can be discerned while all else is held constant. We use regression methods in this and subsequent analyses to investigate these relationships[4]. Table A1 shows results for regressions of creative income on a range of explanatory variables for all mainstream artists where both gender and NESB status are included among the regressors. The significant female income penalty is clear in this result – we estimate that there is a decline of between 23 and 27 percent in average creative income of female NESB artists, although NESB status on its own has no significant impact. However, the interaction term between the female and NESB variables has a significant negative coefficient. In simple terms this suggests that while NESB status of itself does not have a noticeable effect on creative income for artists, a non-English-speaking background does carry an income penalty only for women artists, reducing the income of NESB female artists by around 48 percent in total when compared to ESB male artists. This finding indicates that despite there being no significant gender difference in the mean level of creative income as seen in Table 1, we find a significant difference when the effect of other variables is accounted for. In other words, NESB female artists may indeed be subject to the triple income penalty that we noted above.

An alternative way to demonstrate this result is to calculate the creative income for a "typical" artist from each cohort, i.e. we set all variables except gender and ESB/NESB status at their mean levels to reflect the "average" artist in each group (NESB female, NESB male, ESB female, ESB male) and then calculate the

[4] Regression results are reported in Appendix Tables A1 to A5. The estimating method is PPML (Poisson pseudo-maximum likelihood), which has some advantages over OLS (ordinary least squares) when zero observations are present. In all regressions the dependent variable is creative income in $'000 per annum at constant December 2017 prices. The interpretation of "creative income" is explained in *Making Art Work,* pp. 61, 72.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics: mean data showing gender differences amongst NESB and ESB artists

	NESB Female	NESB Male	ESB Female	ESB Male
Creative Income	18,127.2	18,703.9	16,065.5	24,453.8
Creative Work Hours	31.9	20.5***	22.4†††	23.7
Socio-Demographic				
Age (mean years)	52.3	50.9	49.4	49.6
Partner (%)	59.0	77.0	66.7	69.1
Child/ren Under Care (%)	46.3	30.8	32.0	28.2
Work-Affecting Disability (%)	10.6	0.0*	7.8	7.2
Experience				
Managed by Art Centre, Community Org, Private Company (%)	34.2	28.1	27.5	33.1
Prize or Award (%)	26.0	20.6	24.1	23.7
Extended Recognition (Interstate, Capital Cities, Overseas) (%)	64.7	57.2	62.3	67.8
Grant or funding (%)	48.4	23.2**	39.8	34.2
Education (Completion)				
Less than Year 12 (%)	5.2	0.0	0.8	3.0*
Year 12 (%)	3.9	6.5	5.0	10.5**
Certificate/Diploma (%)	18.1	17.2	11.8	17.1*
Undergraduate (%)	40.3	31.5	35.0	31.4
Postgraduate (%)	32.5	44.7	47.4†	37.9**
Training				
Basic Training (Years)	8.8	9.0	7.0	7.6
Category 1 (Most Important)				
Formal Training (%)	36.2	45.7	41.9	35.8
Private Training (%)	21.0	6.6	13.1	16.5
Other Training (%)	42.8	47.8	45.0	47.7
Category 2 (Skills Learned)				
Vocational Training (%)	14.6	4.9	13.4	14.6
University (%)	45.3	32.2	61.2†	45.0***
Workshops (%)	67.6	35.8**	58.2	37.5***
Family/Friends/Community (%)	57.3	20.8***	44.3	44.1
Mentorship (%)	29.3	12.6	26.4	18.4**
Self-learning (%)	75.7	72.7	75.0	76.9
N (weighted)	35	37	302	295

Notes: Percentages within each group. Asterisks in male columns refer to statistically significant differences from corresponding female statistics at 0.01 (***), 0.05 (**), and 0.10 (*) levels. Daggers refer to statistically significant difference between NESB and ESB female artists at 0.01 (†††) and 0.10 (†) levels.

predicted creative income for this "typical" artist in each group. The results are shown in Table 2. They indicate that annual creative earnings of female NESB artists are about half (53 percent) of equivalent male NESB earnings, with all other sources of variation accounted for. This can be compared with annual creative earnings of ESB women artists who make 71 percent of what male ESB artists make. Thus, whereas NESB status does not greatly affect the annual creative earnings of male NESB artists as compared to male ESB artists, it reduces annual creative earnings of female NESB artists as compared to female ESB artists by 29 percent. In other words, there is a greater income penalty for NESB women artists than there is for women artists from an English-speaking background.

Table 2: Comparison of predicted female/male creative incomes for NESB and ESB artists.

	NESB	ESB	NESB/ESB %
Female $'000 p.a.	10.1	14.2	71
Male $'000 p.a.	18.9	19.4	97
Female/Male %	53	73	

Notes: Predictions at mean values based on Column (2) in Table A1.

3.4 Factors affecting female and male incomes for NESB artists

In this section we separate out female and male earnings and regress creative income in each case on the explanatory variables for females and males. We do this to uncover any significant gender-related differences in the impacts of different characteristics on creative incomes. The results are shown in Table A2 for both NESB and ESB artists. Note that the NESB results are affected by relatively small sample sizes, especially for males[5]. Thus these results must be treated with caution, although some overall tendencies can be established.

Among the significant coefficients, several female/male differences emerge. Having children under care has an adverse effect on the incomes of NESB women although the effect is not statistically significant. This is in contrast not only to NESB male artists but also to ESB women artists and ESB men artists, for whom having children appears to increase their creative incomes. This apparently adverse impact for NESB women might reflect a problem of access to childcare that could be experienced by immigrant women in general. However, such a conclusion would require more detailed research.

Incomes of NESB women appear to increase significantly with age until about 50 years of age and then decline. For artists, opportunities for building a career in the arts often come from their own networks, i.e., friends and relatives. On the assumption that we made earlier of NESB status indicating a potential immigrant background, the lack of networks when coming to Australia could be a factor that could delay these opportunities. Furthermore, although age is not a direct indicator

[5] As a result, we cannot control for PAO and State/Territory in these regressions because there would be insufficient degrees of freedom; for consistency, the ESB results shown in the Table A2 also do not control for these variables.

of the number of years spent in Australia, the fact that an older age for NESB artists is associated with a higher creative income could imply that it takes longer for these artists to build their artistic careers; coefficients for both male and female NESB artists are positive, although these findings are only statistically significant for NESB female artists.

We can examine these possibilities further by looking at differences in the levels of training and professional experience of female and male NESB artists, as illustrated in the descriptive statistics shown in Table 1. Firstly, although the differences are not significant in statistical terms, it appears that that larger proportions of women than men in the NESB artist population are or have been managed by an agent, manager or dealer – 34 vs 28 percent. This observation possibly reflects the fact that such arrangements would allow female NESB artists to acquire the networks that are important for their artistic careers, as noted above; the results in Table A2 show that working with an agent, manager or dealer is associated with higher creative incomes for both women and men, although the effect is not statistically significant.

It is also evident from the data on career experience in Table 1 that slightly more women NESB artists than men win prizes and awards, gain external recognition for their work, or are awarded grants or other funding. The results in Table A2 show that these achievements have a positive effect on creative incomes, although the effect is only statistically significant in the case of the extended recognition variable. This finding could perhaps be seen as pointing to a greater need for NESB female artists than for other artists to assert themselves professionally with the help of external recognition by other arts industry professionals, such as judges of art awards or personnel in arts institutions and agencies, if they wish to increase their creative incomes. In other words, it may be that some NESB women artists feel somewhat isolated in professional terms from the mainstream Australian art world and its institutional structures – this may be particularly true for recent immigrants. If this is so, it could be suggested that gaining recognition via an award or prize, or by experiencing interstate of overseas exposure, might be one way in which these artists can become more closely integrated with the mainstream.

3.5 Comparisons between female NESB and female ESB artists

If we look at all female artists in our sample, what can be said about the differential impacts on earnings for NESB women compared to ESB women? The descriptive statistics in Table 1 show a number of differences in the characteristics of the two cohorts. Importantly NESB women work considerably longer hours at their creative work than their ESB counterparts. They are also more likely to have children under care, and to experience a disability that affects their work. They appear to rely less on formal training to advance their careers, and more on private training, workshops and so on.

In regard to the impact of these differences on incomes as seen in Table A2, it appears firstly that having children under care has a rather different impact on creative incomes for ESB women compared to their NESB counterparts; there is a significant positive impact for ESB women, but the apparent negative impact for NESB women is not significant in statistical terms. Nevertheless, there is no obvious

causal connection here; there may be interactions between this variable and others in the data that explain this result.

Secondly, it is noteworthy that for NESB women artists, older age is associated with a higher creative income, but there is no such association for female artists from an English-speaking background. As discussed above, the weaker networks that NESB women artists may have in comparison to female artists from an English-speaking background when establishing their careers could mean that it takes them longer to begin earning their creative income.

A final comparison between NESB and ESB women artists relates to the extent to which they see their gender as an important factor in affecting their professional development. According to our survey data, the proportion of NESB women artists who see their gender as an inhibiting or restricting factor is roughly the same as among women artists from an English-speaking background – around 23-24 percent.

3.6 Conclusions on the role of NESB status

To sum up, we have found that NESB women artists experience a greater income disadvantage than women artists from an English-speaking background, other things being equal. In addition, their NESB leads to a greater income penalty than for NESB men. In total, the evidence suggests that NESB women artist may suffer a triple income penalty imposed on them relative to the rest of the working population; the penalty arises because they are (1) artists, (2) NESB, and (3) female. It may be that NESB women have greater difficulties in establishing and developing their careers as artists, leading eventually to lower predicted creative incomes than their ESB counterparts. Nonetheless, it appears that NESB women artists work more hours than NESB men or ESB artists on average which lead to their observed mean level of creative income comparable to NESB men. In addition, NESB women appear to build their careers upon non-formal arts training in contrast to NESB men.

In the end we need to ask whether the NESB/ESB differences observed are socio-economic rather than cultural in origin. It seems, as we have shown, that women NESB artists are affected, along with the workforce in general, by some socio-demographic differences in explaining their relative disadvantage compared both to men and to wider elements in Australian society. Our findings suggest that it is entirely plausible that some cultural influences will have effects that cannot be easily expressed in quantitative terms. Many of these effects have been positive, and continue to be so, reflected in the fact already mentioned that a majority of NESB artists see their language (and hence cultural) background as having a more positive than negative impact on their creative work. Yet our findings point to a considerable pay discount for female NESB artists. Thus, although the increasing multicultural content of the arts in Australia -- mirroring trends in Australian society at large -- offer opportunities to NESB artists to celebrate their cultural background in their art, the gender-related disadvantage for NESB female artists – the double or even triple income penalty that they suffer – cannot be ignored. If any of these negative effects have a cultural origin, they should be the subject of further research.

4 First Nations artists: analysis of culture/gender impacts

4.1 Women in First Nations society

The gender roles of men and women in First Nations society in Australia have been extensively researched, documented and discussed over the years by anthropologists and ethnographers, and more recently by a range of scholars in the humanities and social sciences. Early accounts of women in traditional societies were affected by the prejudice and ignorance of white colonial observers, and it has only been in the second half of the last century that oral histories and other evidence provided by Aboriginal women concerning their lives and experiences, together with more objective and perceptive scholarship, have served to correct the record. For example, there is now a better understanding of the important economic and social role played by women in pre-colonial times in areas such as food collection, nurturing of children, transmission of knowledge, and so on (Gale, 1990).

In the process of research on gender relationships in Aboriginal communities, the roles of men and women have been clarified, replacing earlier notions of male dominance within patriarchal social structures with a recognition that the gender roles can be described as being distinctively different rather than superior or inferior (Berndt 1970; White 1970). The importance of women as bearers of culture has been articulated (Brandl 1983), as well as the need expressed for increased social action (Merlan,1992). At the same time Australia has witnessed the gradual emergence of political activism and leadership roles for women in First Nations affairs (Haabich 2011).

Although much research on gender roles in remote Aboriginal communities deals directly or indirectly with the economic importance of women, there has been little documentation of the financial outcomes from female participation in the monetary economy. An exception is the work of Elspeth Young, who studied income and employment of men and women in three very different remote communities in the early 1980s (Young 1983). She analysed incomes from wages and social security payments and found that women's average incomes were well below those of men – between 50 and 70 percent lower. It appears that when women in remote communities took on paid work, their remuneration would have been affected by the generally lower rates of pay for female work that were common in Australia at that time. However, Young noted that the circulation of monetary payments within communities made it difficult to draw firm conclusions about the impacts of these differential receipts.

In more recent times, issues of gender equity have become more prominent. For example, a South Australian study has identified roles for Aboriginal women and men around family responsibilities and cultural maintenance, where fairness or gender equity is defined as men and women standing together in the family, the community and the workplace (Aboriginal Health Council of SA 2019).

4.2 Descriptive data for male and female First Nations artists

Across all regions

The National Survey of Remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Artists from which we draw our data for this study gathers data from a sample of First Nations artists working remotely. Our sample is calibrated against the main socio-demographic characteristics of the remote Indigenous population as a whole, as recorded in recent data from the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (NATSISS, various years). Thus, within given statistical constraints, our sample can be used as a valid basis for inference to the whole population of First Nations artists in the regions under study. Table 3 shows descriptive statistics for female and male artists for our full sample of First Nations artists across the three regions.

It is apparent that male and female artists are broadly similar in terms of working hours at their art practice and creative incomes earned. We note that there is a larger proportion of performing artists among males (mostly musicians) and a larger proportion of visual artists among females in this population. These artform differences underlie some of the statistics in the table, such as is seen in the higher numbers of women whose work is managed by an art centre. Overall, women are somewhat better educated than men, although differences there are slight. There are statistically significant discrepancies in some socio-demographic characteristics, with women artists being older on average, more likely to be affected by disability, more likely to have children under care, and less likely to have a partner.

Pathways towards a career as an artist show some differences between female and male First Nations artists practising in remote areas. Only very small percentages of artists report formal artistic training as most important, with somewhat more men than women pursuing that path. But considerably larger proportions of women artists than men have attended workshops or undertaken mentorships as avenues for learning or improving their skills.

For separate regions

Th same statistics for female and male artists are shown for each of the three regions in Table 4. Levels of creative income are highest in the Central Desert/APY Lands region and lowest in Tiwi Islands/NW NT. Although these figures reflect in part some minor differences in working hours, the pattern of artists' incomes across the regions is more likely to be attributable to differences in market access. There is a strong direct tourist market in the Central Desert, together with a vigorous and coordinated marketing effort for APY Lands visual art; by contrast, the art sectors in both the Tiwi Islands and the more remote areas of NW Northern Territory are less well integrated into the major marketing channels. Arnhem Land lies somewhere in between these two extremes, with a modest level of tourist visitation and a strong connection to online marketing services for visual art in several of its art centres.

Table 3: Some descriptive statistics for First Nations female/male artists: full sample

	First Nations female	First Nations male
Creative Income ($'000 p.a.)	8755.8	7758.7
Creative Work Hours (hrs. per wk)	23.4	21.8
Socio-Demographic		
Age (Mean, Years)	50.9	45.9***
Partner (%)	45.4	54.8*
Child/ren (%)	59.3	40.5***
Work-Affecting Disability (%)	25.6	13.1***
Uses language other than English (%)	89.1	89.3
Experience		
Experience (Mean, Years)	16.6	17.4
Managed by Art Centre, Community Org, Private Company (%)	92.2	79.9***
Prize or Award (%)	19.3	26.0
Extended Recognition (Interstate, Capital Cities, Overseas) (%)	66.7	60.3
Grant or funding (%)	15.6	15.2
Education (Completion)		
Less than Year 12 (%)	55.4	63.4
Year 12 (%)	19.1	16.4
Certificate/Diploma (%)	22.3	19.4
Undergraduate (%)	2.1	0.8
Postgraduate (%)	1.1	0.0
Arts Training		
Most Important		
Formal Training (%)	2.0	4.6
Private Training (%)	82.8	77.8
Other Training (%)	15.3	17.6
Skilled Learned		
Vocational (%)	9.8	8.6
University (%)	4.1	4.7
Workshop (%)	45.1	21.2***
Family (%)	86.1	85.4
Friends/Community (%)	46.3	42.2
Mentorship (%)	38.4	25.5**
Self-learning (%)	61.4	68.0
PAO		
Performing artist (%)	5.1	34.7
Visual/craft artist (%)	94.9	65.3
N (weighted)	188	135

Notes: Percentages within each group. Asterisks in male columns refer to statistically significant gender differences at 0.01 (***), 0.05 (**), and 0.10 (*) levels; PAO data omit very small numbers of multimedia artists and writers.

Table 4: Some descriptive statistics for First Nations female/male artists: by region

	Arnhem Land		Central Desert & APY Lands		NW NT & Tiwi Islands	
	Female	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**
Creative Income ($'000 p.a.)	8,853.8	8,336.7	11,275.2	11,622.1	3,868.6	3,812.8
Creative Work (hours per wk)	22.4	19.7	25.1	28.7	21.7	18.7
Socio-Demographic						
Age (Mean, Years)	46.1	46.2	55.2	42.6	49.5	48.3
Partner (%)	52.3	59.2	38.5	62.5	48.9	43.1
Child/ren (%)	49.2	44.9	72.0	51.7	48.9	25.6
Work-Affecting Disability (%)	18.5	10.2	35.6	14.2	16.3	15.6
Uses language other than English (%)	87.7	95.9	93.8	94.4	82.1	76.9
Experience						
Experience (Mean, Years)	16.1	18.6*	17.0	15.6	16.5	17.5
Managed by Art Centre, Community Org, Private Company (%)	84.6	93.9	96.2	70.7***	95.3	70.6***
Prize or Award (%)	18.5	14.3	20.8	49.4***	17.9	20.6
Extended Recognition (Interstate, Capital Cities, Overseas) (%)	64.6	61.2	63.5	64.7	75.8	55.6**
Grant or funding (%)	15.4	18.4	9.0	14.5	28.4	11.9**
Education (Completion)						
Less than Year 12 (%)	43.1	55.1	69.1	74.3	46.3	64.4*
Year 12 (%)	24.6	12.2*	17.4	19.7	14.7	18.8
Certificate/Diploma (%)	27.7	32.7	11.0	3.0*	36.3	16.9**
Undergraduate (%)	3.1	0.0	2.5	3.0	0.0	0.0
Postgraduate (%)	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6	0.0
Arts Training						
Most Important						
Formal Training (%)	0.0	0.0	3.3	16.7**	2.1	0.0
Private Training (%)	92.3	87.8	77.0	66.5	80.5	75.0
Other Training (%)	7.7	12.2	19.6	16.7	17.4	25.0
Skills Learned						
Vocational (%)	3.1	4.1	5.7	8.2	26.8	14.4
University (%)	3.1	2.0	1.1	9.0	11.1	4.4
Workshop (%)	30.8	8.2***	49.3	28.4**	56.8	31.2**
Family (%)	95.4	93.9	75.3	61.5	93.7	95.0
Friends/Community (%)	36.9	20.4**	42.1	52.3	66.8	61.2
Mentorship (%)	47.7	16.3***	21.9	23.8	56.8	38.1*
Self-learning (%)	63.1	59.2	46.6	76.3***	86.8	71.9*
PAO						
Performing artist (%)	11.7	17.0	3.0	65.3	--	23.0
Visual/craft artist (%)	88.3	83.0	97.0	34.7	100.0	77.0
N (Weighted)	60	54	83	37	44	44

Notes: Percentages within each group. Asterisks in male columns refer to statistically significant gender differences at 0.01 (***), 0.05 (**), and 0.10 (*) levels.

Regarding female/male differences in characteristics, we note again the larger proportions of male performers and of female visual artists in all except Arnhem Land where these proportions are broadly similar. On the whole, women artists of all types are broadly similar to men in most of the characteristics listed. In particular, there appear to be no significant differences between male and female average creative earnings or hours of creative work in any of the three regions. However, as before we can construct a more accurate picture of relative earnings by estimating predicted incomes under controlled conditions. These calculations are discussed in section 4.3.3 below.

4.3 Impact of gender on incomes of First Nations artists

As before, we use regression analysis to investigate the contribution that various characteristics of artists have on creative incomes, with particular reference to female/male differences. We consider first the impact of gender on incomes for the whole First nations sample and for individual regions, following which we look more closely at the determinants of income for female and male artists separately.

Across all regions

The regression results across First Nations artists in all three regions in our sample are shown in Table A3, column (1). We see no statistically significant income penalty in aggregate for female First Nations artists practising in remote areas of Australia. This result appears in contrast to the gender gap that we observe for mainstream artists. Nevertheless, there are regional- and gender-related differences that lead to some modification of this conclusion, as we shall see.

Looking at the determinants of creative earnings of First Nations artists in Table A3, we can see several significant impacts. Firstly, artists able to work longer hours at their creative practice have higher creative incomes. Specifically, one additional hour of creative work per week is associated with a three percent increase in creative income with all else held constant. Likewise, all the markers of a successful and well-established artists have a significant positive effect on incomes, including winning prizes, receiving grants, and having work showcased in capital cities and abroad. Similar to the mainstream artists, having children under care is also associated with higher incomes for First Nations artists. Creative incomes increase with age up to about 50, and thereafter decline slowly as the artist grows older.

The role of education and training is complex. Formal education in arts in general does not play a particularly positive role in creative income. In particular, we observe that having a bachelor's degree, compared to having less than Year 12 education, is associated with a lower level of creative income of First Nation artists. Having private artistic training and other training as their most important arts-related training are associated with a higher level of creative income relative to formal training in arts. In remote First Nations communities, private arts training includes training received from a family member, friend or community member and feedback from a professional; other forms of arts training include workshops and short courses, online sources and self-learning. These are all important training pathways that increase the likelihood of higher incomes for First Nations artists in remote areas.

For the separate regions

We turn now to applying the same analysis as above to the separate regions. The results are shown in columns (2)-(4) of Table A3. Just as we found no overall gender pay gap in incomes in aggregate, we do not observe a statistically significant gender gap in creative income in all three regions. We will examine this result in section 4.3.3 below.

Elsewhere in Table A3 we can observe some differential impacts, with the Tiwi Islands/NW NT region tending to be different from the others. For example, in contrast to the others, this region shows some significant negative impacts on incomes of having a certificate/diploma or a postgraduate degree, as well as having a disability. However, artists in this region who mostly use their traditional language or Kriol tend to earn more than those using English. For Arnhem Land, hours spent on creative work has the highest impact on income among the three regions; an additional hour of creative work per week increases the creative income of Arnhem Land artists by 4.5 percent with all else held constant. Receiving grants or funding also has positive impact on income. In the Central Desert/APY Lands region, winning awards or prizes or receiving grants or funding has a positive effect on incomes. This is also the region where we find that creative incomes increase the most with age up to about 50, but then decline the fastest among the three regions.

Estimated mean incomes

Another comparison between male and female incomes can be derived for First Nations artists can be obtained by estimating predicted average annual creative earnings with all other variables apart from gender held constant at their mean levels. The results of these calculations are shown in Table 5. As we have observed elsewhere, there are problems of small sample size which affect our regional-level data, so these estimates must be treated with care. Nevertheless, we can see that taken overall there appears to exist only a relatively small gender pay gap for First Nations artists in remote areas, with average female earnings at about 89 percent of equivalent male earnings. This differential of 11 percent is not as marked as that for mainstream artists, for whom the difference is around 30 percent.

Table 5: Comparison of predicted female/male creative incomes for First Nations artists: full sample and by region ($'000 p.a.)

	All First Nations Artists	Arnhem Land	Central Desert/ APY Lands	Tiwi Islands/ NW NT
All	6.8	8.6	9.0	3.4
Female	6.5	8.7	8.6	3.0
Male	7.3	8.4	9.7	4.1
Female/Male%	89%	104%	89%	73%

Notes: Predictions at mean values based on Column (2) in Table A3.

However, the aggregate results for First Nations artists in the first column of Table 5 conceal some sharper differences for the regions. In particular, there is apparently some gap for artists in the Tiwi Islands/NW NT and Central Desert/ APY Lands regions; in Arnhem Land, women artists earn slightly more than men from their creative work. We discuss these results further below.

4.4 Factors affecting female and male incomes of First Nations artists

A fuller picture of gender differences in the determinants of creative incomes can be obtained by regressing creative income on the various explanatory variables for female and male First Nations artists taken separately. Table A4 shows the results. Amongst the male/female differences we note that having a partner or a disability has a negative impact on incomes for male artists but not for female artists. On the other hand, having a child or children under care has a positive influence on incomes for males but again not for females. Regarding age, the results indicate that male incomes grow significantly faster than female as their careers progress, but then decline more quickly. We also observe significant positive impacts of creative work hours on incomes of male artists.

Education and training have different effects on incomes for female and male First Nations artists in remote communities. Going on to take a bachelor's degree has a strong negative impact on the incomes of men, compared to having less than Year 12 education; no such effect is apparent for women, although these results are affected by the small numbers involved, and should be treated with caution. For both male and female artists, engaging in private or other types of training has a significant positive impact relative to formal education. Being managed in their creative work by an art centre, community organisation or private company as well as receiving extended recognition in a form of having their work showcased in capital cities, interstate and abroad all have significant positive impacts on income for women artists but not for men.

Our sample is not large enough to provide estimates that are controlled for individual art forms, such as visual artists, performing artists, authors, composers, choreographers, filmmakers and multimedia artists. Thus, results for the separate art forms are not reported. However, the effect of differences in the art form of artists within our sample can be considered. Calculating average female and male incomes across all artforms using our limited sample shows some differential between male and female earnings because of imbalance in the proportions of female/male visual artists compared to performers. First Nations visual artists working in remote communities, especially those who are members of art centres, mostly have access to relatively effective in-person or online marketing channels for their work. On the other hand, performing artists in remote communities (mostly musicians) have only very limited opportunities to market their work either live or recorded, and as a result their creative earnings tend to be low. Since they are mostly male, their incomes cause average male incomes to be reduced, offsetting any tendency towards a gender gap.

Note also that in regard to factors affecting female and male incomes taken separately, we do not show results for the three regions individually, because the sample sizes become too small for reliable statistical inference.

4.5 Comparisons between female First Nations artists and female mainstream artists

Given the different day-to-day circumstances in which female First Nations artists in remote communities work in comparison to their mainstream counterparts, it is not surprising that there are some differences in the impacts of some variables on the capacities of these artists to earn an income. Table A5 shows these comparisons. Amongst other effects, we note that having a child or children under care plays a positive role in affecting the creative incomes of both mainstream and First Nations women artists. Regarding age, the accumulation of experience as an artist appears to have a pronounced positive effect on First Nations women's capacity to earn a creative income up to age around 50, after which creative incomes decline. However, we do not find the same result for mainstream women artists. Again, the way in which education and training play out in their effect on incomes is different for these two cohorts –receiving private arts training and other forms of training have a positive effect on First Nations women's incomes in comparison to formal arts training, but not for mainstream women.

Having management support in their artistic career and receiving extended recognition have a positive impact on creative incomes for both First Nations and mainstream artists, although the extent of these impacts differs -- arts management support appears to have a stronger impact on the First Nations women's ability to earn creative income, whereas having work showcased interstate and overseas has a stronger impact for mainstream women artists. However, in both these instances the relevant coefficients are not statistically significant. Winning awards and prises contributes to increases in creative income for First Nations women artists but not for the mainstream women artists.

4.6 Conclusions for First Nations artists

The social structures and cultural norms within which First Nations artists in remote communities live and work reflect the long traditions of economic and social organisation that have evolved in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander society since before the colonial period. As such, the roles of men and women can be described as they have been in the past, namely distinctive but neither superior nor inferior. In this context, women occupy a strong and respected position. It must be remembered, however, that there is some variation in the applicability of these observations across different locations in remote Australia, in particular because of differences in post-colonial legacies as experienced in different communities.

When it comes to creative incomes, our results show that First Nations women artists practising in remote areas of Australia do not suffer from the same sorts of income disadvantage that is evident among mainstream artists. Indeed, for visual artists, although there is evidence of a significant discount for works by female painters in worldwide auction markets (Marchenko and Sonnabend 2020; Adams et al 2021), no such discount appears to operate for Australian First Nations artists working in remote communities; in fact, the reverse may be true (Farrell, Fry and Fry 2021). In

general, the distinctive role of women within First Nations society, together with a recognition in the marketplace of the importance of these artists' work, probably underlies the general equality that we have demonstrated in creative incomes earned by First Nations men and women artists in remote areas. This equality could perhaps be explained by more equal incentives and opportunities for male and female artists in remote First Nations communities, but it also appears to reflect an absence of the sort of systemic gender-based discrimination that continues to affect women artists working in the mainstream.

5 Conclusions

The aim of this study has been to investigate the extent to which there might be a role for cultural difference across and within different cohorts of artists in helping to explain observed differentials between female and male creative incomes. We have been able to undertake empirical analysis of this issue using data for both mainstream and remote First Nations artists in Australia. Several conclusions emerge.

Firstly, we have looked at cultural differentiation within the population of practising professional artists in the mainstream by reference to whether or not an artist comes from a non-English-speaking background. This characteristic is associated with immigrant status. Our results suggest that NESB women artists may experience some of the labour market disadvantage of female immigrant workers, whereas male NESB artists do not. Moreover, we have argued that NESB women artists may find it more difficult than women from an English-speaking background to establish their professional careers and gain acceptance in their artistic profession. As a result, we have concluded that NESB women artists may suffer from a triple income penalty arising from the three sources: being NESB, being female and being an artist. Nevertheless, these observations must be set against the positive aspects that a different cultural background can impart to the practice of NESB artists regardless of gender, many of whom celebrate their cultural origins in their art and act as ambassadors for their culture in a diverse artistic environment.

Secondly, in comparing the populations of mainstream and remotely-practising First Nations artists, we have shown that the observed gender gap in incomes among mainstream artists is by and large not replicated among First Nations artists. There are some minor variations in this finding for subgroups of First Nations artists in different regions, depending in part on differences in the mix of visual and performing artists in the relevant population – in general the incomes of performing artists, mostly musicians and mostly male, are considerably lower than those of visual artists, thus leading to lower average incomes when there are larger numbers of performers in the sample. But whatever other differentials may exist between female and male earnings, they do not appear to be attributable to the sorts of systemic gender-based discrimination that we have pointed to in relation to the residual gender gap for mainstream artists. Instead, we suggest that there may be other reasons for the relative absence of a gender income gap for remote First Nations artists related to fundamental cultural differences between the cultural norms, values and inherited traditions that apply in remote and very remote

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities compared to those characterising the contemporary cultural and social environment of mainstream Australia.

Finally, in the case of remotely-practising First Nations artists in different regions, the distinctive cultural content of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander music, dance, visual art and literature is an essential feature of the work of these artists and is present irrespective of the artist's gender. These characteristics pass through to the marketplace, and there does not appear to be any obvious gender gap in the way the art is received. Thus, although there is always differentiation between the art produced in different remote regions of Australia which varies depending on the complexities of different inherited cultural traditions, there is no indication of any gender-based discrimination associated with these regional differences.

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Appendix

Table A1. Regression results showing determinants of creative income estimated across all mainstream artists

Dep. Var. Creative Income ($'000 p.a.)	**(1)**	**(2)**
Female	-0.256* (0.113)	-0.316** (0.116)
NESB	-0.0253 (0.250)	-0.0274 (0.260)
Female X NESB	-0.626** (0.208)	-0.658** (0.203)
Work Hours Per Week	0.0298*** (0.00331)	0.0306*** (0.00325)
Socio-Demographic		
Age	0.0601* (0.0265)	0.0574* (0.0255)
Age Squared	-0.000601* (0.000271)	-0.000598* (0.000259)
Partner	0.320* (0.127)	0.358** (0.129)
Child(ren) under care	0.318* (0.125)	0.323* (0.128)
Disability	-0.673** (0.230)	-0.644** (0.229)
Education (Base: Less than Year 12)		
Year 12	0.141 (0.423)	0.0262 (0.404)
Certificate/Diploma	-0.0949 (0.396)	-0.123 (0.378)
Bachelor	-0.0354 (0.369)	-0.0918 (0.356)
Postgraduate	-0.437 (0.372)	-0.516 (0.360)
Experience		
Managed	0.248* (0.112)	0.256* (0.109)
Prize or Award	0.0981 (0.110)	0.0542 (0.116)
Extended Recognition	0.663*** (0.182)	0.665*** (0.176)
Grant or Funding	-0.194 (0.103)	-0.172 (0.104)
Arts training		
Training Time	0.00358 (0.00726)	0.00142 (0.00747)
Private Training (Base: Formal Training)	0.143 (0.155)	0.108 (0.158)
Other Training (Base: Formal Training)	-0.100 (0.131)	-0.101 (0.140)
Constant	7.142*** (0.677)	7.356*** (0.767)
PAO Controls included	No	Yes
State Controls included	No	Yes
Adjusted R-Squared	0.277	0.297
Observations	671	671

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. Asterisks refer to statistically significance at 0.01 (***), 0.05 (**), and 0.10 (*) levels; for details of measurement of variables, see Table 1 in the text.

Table A2: Regression results showing determinants of creative income for female and male NESB/ESB artists

Dep. Var. Creative Income ($'000 p.a.)	(1) NESB Female	(2) NESB Male	(3) ESB Female	(4) ESB Male
Work Hours Per Week	0.0444*** (5.83)	0.0681*** (3.52)	0.0353*** (6.15)	0.0258*** (6.28)
Socio-Demographic				
Age	0.259** (2.81)	0.124 (1.23)	0.0283 (0.58)	0.0796* (2.15)
Age Squared	-0.00255** (-2.78)	-0.00123 (-1.30)	-0.000328 (-0.61)	-0.000770* (-2.08)
Partner	0.133 (0.52)	-0.603 (-1.05)	0.127 (0.68)	0.610*** (3.47)
Child(ren) under care	-0.290 (-0.89)	1.366* (2.20)	0.564** (2.82)	0.254 (1.53)
Disability	-0.0333 (-0.13)		-0.750** (-2.66)	-1.299** (-2.91)
Education (Base: Less than Year 12)				
Year 12	-1.672*** (-3.88)	-0.418 (-1.36)	0.956 (1.79)	0.152 (0.33)
Certificate/Diploma	-0.189 (-0.48)	-0.126 (-0.16)	0.216 (0.39)	0.0308 (0.08)
Bachelor	0.227 (0.71)	1.549*** (3.48)	0.589 (1.31)	-0.243 (-0.65)
Postgraduate			0.421 (0.97)	-0.835* (-2.24)
Experience				
Managed	0.594 (1.01)	0.701 (1.48)	0.185 (0.97)	0.151 (0.93)
Prize or Award	0.533 (1.11)	-0.867* (-2.53)	-0.0224 (-0.14)	0.194 (1.25)
Extended Recognition	1.420*** (3.33)	0.427 (1.02)	0.608* (2.28)	0.572* (2.19)
Arts training				
Training Time	-0.0534*** (-3.35)	-0.0314 (-1.38)	0.0137 (1.73)	0.00211 (0.21)
Private Training (Base: Formal Training)	0.707* (2.25)	0.177 (0.46)	0.0677 (0.30)	0.0974 (0.44)
Other Training (Base: Formal Training)	0.587 (1.54)	0.121 (0.22)	-0.285 (-1.21)	-0.00659 (-0.04)
Constant	0.133 (0.06)	4.579 (1.74)	6.922*** (6.93)	6.730*** (6.68)
R-Squared	0.915	0.721	0.236	0.312
Observation	43	29	345	253

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. Asterisks refer to statistically significance at 0.01 (***), 0.05 (**), and 0.10 (*) levels.

Table A3: Regression results showing determinants of creative income estimated across all First Nations artists: full sample and by region

Dep. Var. Creative Income ($'000 p.a.)	(1) Pooled	(2) Arnhem Land	(3) Central Desert & APY Lands	(4) NW NT & Tiwi islands
Female	-0.0771 (-0.44)	0.0651 (0.28)	-0.494 (-1.63)	-0.151 (-0.55)
Regions (Base: Male Arnhem Land)				
Central Desert & APY Lands	0.0497 (0.44)			
NW NT & Tiwi Islands	-0.901*** (-14.74)			
Creative Work Hours (Weekly)	0.0300*** (4.69)	0.0448*** (4.27)	0.0345** (3.02)	-0.00103 (-0.08)
Socio-Demographic				
Age	0.0892*** (6.19)	0.133* (2.01)	0.161** (2.64)	0.125 (1.02)
Age Squared	-0.000830*** (-5.70)	-0.00134 (-1.91)	-0.00143* (-2.45)	-0.00109 (-0.94)
Partner	-0.411 (-1.23)	0.0571 (0.21)	-0.790** (-2.89)	-1.100*** (-3.49)
Child(ren) under care	0.485* (2.56)	0.291 (0.99)	0.538* (2.20)	1.259*** (4.10)
Disability	-0.325 (-1.65)	-0.835 (-1.56)	-0.151 (-0.68)	-1.522*** (-4.14)
Uses language other than English	-0.229 (-0.64)	-0.335 (-0.73)	-0.437 (-1.05)	1.367** (3.01)
Experience				
Managed	0.363 (0.91)	0.432 (0.98)	0.963 (1.71)	-0.178 (-0.36)
Prize or Award	0.447** (3.15)	0.114 (0.31)	0.478* (2.05)	0.698** (2.77)
Extended Recognition	0.501*** (7.39)	0.500 (1.53)	0.614 (1.47)	0.341 (0.90)
Grant or Funding	0.533** (3.25)	0.755* (2.08)	0.838* (2.14)	-0.524 (-1.72)
Education (Base: Less than Year 12)				
Year 12	-0.0182 (-0.06)	0.386 (1.21)	-0.657* (-2.11)	0.0178 (0.06)
Certificate/Diploma	-0.223 (-0.72)	0.0752 (0.24)	-0.127 (-0.31)	-1.789*** (-4.87)
Bachelor	-1.097*** (-4.65)	-2.621*** (-3.74)	-0.994 (-1.46)	
Postgraduate	0.410 (0.28)	2.655 (1.90)		-2.359*** (-3.30)
Arts training (Base: Formal training)				
Private Training	1.127*** (3.75)	0.142 (0.30)	0.614 (1.29)	-1.356 (-1.61)
Other Training	1.342*** (3.89)		0.780 (1.49)	-0.307 (-0.37)
Constant	4.376*** (21.86)	3.868* (2.02)	2.641 (1.54)	4.995* (2.03)
R-Squared	0.284	0.302	0.406	0.638
Observation	323	114	120	89

Notes: *t*-statistics in parentheses. Asterisks refer to statistically significance at 0.01 (***), 0.05 (**), and 0.10 (*) levels.

Table A4: Regression results showing determinants of creative income for female and male First Nations artists: full sample

Dep. Var. Creative Income ($'000 p.a.)	(1) Female	(2) Male
Creative Work Hours (Weekly)	0.0215 (1.64)	0.0397*** (3.74)
Socio-Demographic		
Age	0.0554*** (3.87)	0.149** (3.06)
Age Squared	-0.000542*** (-3.51)	-0.00136** (-3.00)
Partner	-0.342 (-0.88)	-0.571** (-3.29)
Child(ren) under care	0.516 (1.58)	0.327*** (3.49)
Disability	-0.0950 (-0.61)	-1.080*** (-5.79)
Uses language other than English	-0.425 (-0.95)	0.643 (0.72)
Experience		
Managed	0.882*** (3.39)	0.523 (1.18)
Prize or Award	0.457* (2.41)	0.585*** (11.02)
Extended Recognition	0.548*** (9.03)	0.0517 (0.12)
Grant or Funding	0.314 (0.72)	1.087** (2.77)
Education (Base: Less than Year 12)		
Year 12	0.0759 (0.20)	-0.291 (-1.60)
Certificate/Diploma	-0.641 (-1.88)	0.384 (1.51)
Bachelor	-0.844 (-1.59)	-1.455*** (-4.12)
Postgraduate	0.592 (0.84)	
Arts training (Base: Formal training)		
Private Training	1.129*** (7.87)	1.155** (2.72)
Other Training	1.529*** (6.81)	0.887*** (3.55)
Constant	5.116*** (21.99)	1.627*** (5.42)
R-Squared	0.300	0.285
Observations	193	130

Notes: *t*-statistics in parentheses. Asterisks refer to statistically significance at 0.01 (***), 0.05 (**), and 0.10 (*) levels. Regions controlled for in both columns.

Table A5: Regression results showing determinants of creative income for female First Nations artists compared to female mainstream artists

Dep. Var. Creative Income ($'000 p.a.)	(1) First Nations Female	(2) Mainstream Female
Work Hours Per Week	0.0215* (2.20)	0.0370*** (7.47)
Socio-Demographic		
Age	0.0554*** (6.66)	0.0278 (0.33)
Age Squared	-0.000542*** (-5.51)	-0.000306 (-0.33)
Partner	-0.342 (-0.91)	0.0782 (0.94)
Child(ren) under care	0.516* (2.12)	0.505*** (4.35)
Disability	-0.0950 (-1.03)	-0.417* (-1.99)
Uses language other than English	-0.425 (-0.99)	
NESB		-0.415*** (-6.10)
Experience		
Managed	0.882 (1.54)	0.276*** (3.52)
Prize or Award	0.457*** (4.46)	0.0678 (0.48)
Extended Recognition	0.548*** (7.64)	0.718 (1.77)
Grant or Funding	0.314 (0.79)	-0.173 (-0.70)
Education (Base: Less than Year 12)		
Year 12	0.0759 (0.27)	1.310* (2.08)
Certificate/Diploma	-0.641* (-2.27)	0.712 (1.00)
Bachelor	-0.844 (-1.71)	1.052 (1.64)
Postgraduate	0.592* (2.05)	0.864 (1.45)
Arts training (Base: Formal training)		
Private Training	1.129 (1.92)	0.174 (1.14)
Other Training	1.529** (2.61)	-0.228 (-1.14)
Constant	4.955*** (28.16)	6.427*** (3.94)
R-Squared	0.300	0.295
Observation	193	388

Notes: *t*-statistics in parentheses. Asterisks refer to statistically significance at 0.01 (***), 0.05 (**), and 0.10 (*) levels. Regions controlled for in both columns.