

みんなのポジトリ

国立民族学博物館学術情報リポジトリ National Museum of Ethnology

Women's Craft Production in Arnhem Land, North Australia

メタデータ	言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2009-04-28 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 窪田, 幸子 メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.15021/00003132

Women's Craft Production in Arnhem Land, North Australia

SACHIKO KUBOTA

Osaka University of Foreign Studies

This paper will examine the production of art and craft by Aboriginal women at Galiwin'ku on Elcho Island, Arnhem Land in the Northern Territory of Australia. Although there have been several studies of art and craft production (e.g. Altman [1987], Williams [1976]) they have focussed on production by males and have tended to neglect women's production partly, it seems, because women are thought of as only producing cheap souvenirs and less valuable craft rather than art work. In this paper I will present and analyse data on women's craft production between 1980 and 1984 for the light it sheds on the nature of their involvement with the cash economy. I will begin with a brief account of the historical background to the contemporary situation at Galiwin'ku followed by a description of Galiwin'ku itself. I will then discuss the establishment of the craft centre, the gathering of raw materials and the manufacture of craft before turning to a detailed consideration of the information on craft production between 1980 and 1984 based on the Galiwin'ku craft centre ledger.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Aboriginal people were living in Arnhem Land 55,000 years before Europeans arrived in Australia to take up permanent residence in 1788 [ROBERTS *et al.* 1990]. Regular contact with Europeans in eastern Arnhem Land only began in the 1900s because of the remoteness of the area and the harshness of the terrain. Prior to European arrival, however, Macassan fishermen had been visiting the Arnhem Land coast seasonally since at least the seventeenth century, and probably much earlier, seeking trepang. They came with the northwest monsoon and stayed for three to four months before returning to the Celebes. Although the Macassans did not establish any permanent settlements in north Australia they influenced Aboriginal people in a number of ways. They introduced dug-out canoes, items made of metal, pipes and tobacco, many loan words and money [WILLIAMS 1982].

As a result of the Second World War and the establishment of a military base on the nearby island of Milingimbi where the Methodist mission had been operating since 1923, the mission decided in 1942, to move its operation to Elcho Island. The three main concerns of the mission were health, education and conversion to christianity [MCKENZIE 1976; COLE 1977]. The missionaries used rations of

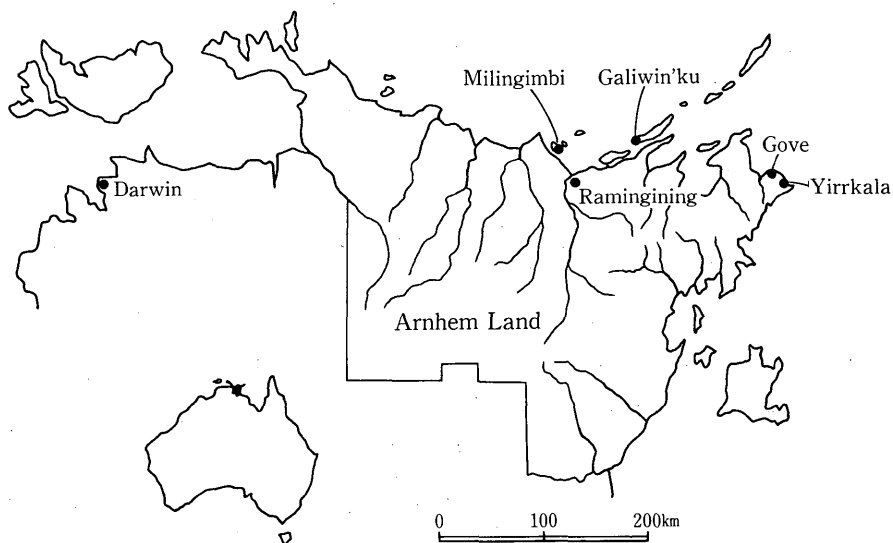


Figure 1. The cities and towns mentioned in the paper.

flour, sugar and tea to attract Aboriginal people to settle down at the mission and to help in the construction of houses, a hospital, a sawmill, a church and a school. In the early period no money was used but there was some bartering. One elderly missionary recalled that they taught the Aboriginal people the idea of a general medium of exchange using cigarettes: two cigarettes could be exchanged for a supply of tea and five for a bag of flour. This indicates just how far from integration into the cash economy they were at that time.

Following the war the government adopted a new policy of assimilation towards Aboriginal people designed to encourage them join the mainstream of Australian society. To promote this policy the government started to give substantial subsidies to the missions from 1953 onwards [McKENZIE 1976]. This led to an increase in the number of staff, more buildings and regular flights to Galiwin'ku from the administrative capital of the Territory, Darwin. In 1959 the government decided that Aboriginal people should be eligible for pensions like other Australians but these monies were paid directly to the mission superintendent and he remained in full administrative control of the mission.

Major changes began in 1972 following the election of the Australian Labour Party which radically changed policies towards Aborigines including introducing land rights, award wages and greatly increasing the levels of assistance to Aboriginal communities. These policy changes were brought in under the term 'self-determination' which included the missionaries gradually withdrawing from the management of the missions and handing them over to Aboriginal control.

GALIWIN'KU

The town of Galiwin'ku is located at the southern end of the 30 km long Elcho Island. The town itself had just under 1,000 residents in 1985 but there were a total of about 1,500 people who had and still have the town as their regional centre. These other people live in small communities, called outstations, numbering between fifteen and fifty people, in the surrounding bush. There are ten such outstations on Elcho Island itself and some others on the adjacent mainland.

The town is now run by a town council consisting of ten Aboriginal people who are elected annually. As well as the town council there is an advisory committee to the town council comprised of the leaders of each language group.

The school system is now bilingual in English and Djambarrpuyngu, the most widely spoken local language, and staffed by 20 European teachers and a similar number of Aboriginal assistant teachers. In addition to the original institutions established by the mission there is now a supermarket, a bank, a post office, a power house, a police station, a town council office, an outstation resource centre, an adult education centre, a housing company and a craft centre. These organisations are largely staffed by white government employees.

The town's economy is almost entirely dependent on government through its payment of wages to employees of the school and hospital, its annual grant to the town council for the maintenance of municipal services and through its transfer payments to the population at large. Many attempts have been made to establish self-supporting industries including market gardening, fishing, sawmilling and timber plantations but although some have had success for limited periods none has taken root and all are now moribund. By far and away the most important source of income comes from the social security payments of unemployment benefit, pensions of various kinds and child endowment. Income is used to purchase all carbohydrates and in many cases almost all food, along with clothing, electrical goods and travel to visit relatives and the neighbouring towns. Production for use is highly variable. On the outstations all animal protein may be obtained by hunting and fishing, providing up to 50% of the k-cal. intake [MEEHAN 1982; ALTMAN 1987] while in the town of Galiwin'ku it has declined to around 10% for most families. The only production for exchange today is the art and craft industry.

CRAFT CENTRE AT GALIWIN'KU

While Aboriginal people in this general region have been producing art and craft for sale since the 1950s much of it was originally just for the mission staff and visitors. In the 1960s the Methodist mission started marketing art and craft to the outside world but Elcho Island was never a main centre of production: these were at Milingimbi and Yirrkala. In 1971 the Department of Aboriginal Affairs established a company called Aboriginal Arts and Craft Pty Ltd. to encourage art production by stimulating the demand for it in the populated parts of Australia. They did this

by setting up shops devoted to Aboriginal art and craft in Cairns, Adelaide, Perth, Alice Springs, Darwin and Sydney. At the same time the Aboriginal Arts Board of the Australia Council started to fund craft centres in the producing communities each staffed with a craft adviser [PETERSON 1983]. By 1981 seventeen advisers were employed to buy the finished crafts, control the quality of products and to promote and market them. The Galiwin'ku craft centre was established in 1978.

The craft centre was not in operation at the time I was at Galiwin'ku. Its closure at the end of 1984 because of financial troubles had led to a deterioration in the quality and quantity of production, especially in the bark paintings produced by the men, according to art gallery circles in Darwin. For the producers on Elcho the practical problem was the loss of a regular sales outlet. As a result sales at Galiwin'ku were limited to sporadic visits from the craft advisers at the neighbouring centres of Ramingining and Yirrkala or visitors from the cities. Those Aboriginal producers with children in Darwin or who had to travel there on official business were able to take their art and craft with them and sell it through the shops in the town.

Aboriginal art and craft production in this region is clearly divided into objects made by men and those by women. Bark paintings, didjeridoos, spears, large carvings and poles for ritual use are usually made by men whereas baskets, mats, bags, necklaces, small carvings and shell crafts are made by women. In general men's products are recognised as art and skilled male artists can command high prices for their work. Women's products on the other hand are mainly seen as crafts and their prices are generally lower as they are mainly sold to the tourist end of the market.

GATHERING RAW MATERIALS AND MAKING CRAFT

The major items of women's production are woven from the leaves of *gunga* (*Pandanus yirrkalaensis*) or from the inner bark of the *dharranguruk* tree (*Brachychiton cf. paradoxes*) using both new and traditional techniques. Traditionally the women coloured the fibre with ochre after finishing the weaving or they did not colour it at all. Nowadays to make the items more attractive for sale they use the roots of the *burukpil* tree (*Mounda citrifolia*), the roots of the *yirringaning* tree (*Abrus precatorius*?) and fine ash from the bark to dye the fibres and strings and sometimes they even use chemicals to produce new colours [KUBOTA 1987].

Pandanus leaves for mats, baskets and dilly bags, wood fibre for string bags, tree roots for dye, wood for carving and ochre for colouring are the major raw materials required for production. Since the raw materials are not available in or around Galiwin'ku women must go by truck into the bush and gather them. The best opportunity for gathering them is when men go hunting. Food gathering trips by women are also an opportunity for gathering raw materials. Usually a regular group of women based on family or kin relationships make these trips together and

others are rarely invited to join. These are the core groups of women's everyday lives in which they carry out daily activities such as cooking, chatting, napping, shopping and mutual visiting as well as hunting and raw material gathering. They most usually form around siblings or among co-wives, these latter relationships often surviving after the death of the husband.

Access to transport is important for active craft workers. Although there were more than twenty vehicles in Galiwin'ku in 1988 of which 8 were owned by Aboriginal people, most women do not drive so they had to be opportunistic to get rides. Interestingly, active craft workers had easy access to transport through their kinsmen.

Even though raw materials are gathered by groups of women most manufacture is done by women sitting at their own family fires near their house. Sometimes one or two women working on craft will be found amongst a group sitting under a shady tree chatting. Basically, however, craft production in an individual activity but craft makers exchange information about materials, techniques, sales results and they lend tools and materials to each other as well. Those craftworkers showing the strongest mutual support are usually siblings or co-wives.

GALIWIN'KU CRAFT CENTRE LEDGER

The craft centre ledger contains information for a total of 50 months over four years from May 1980–June 1984. The total number of transactions recorded in the ledger amounts to approximately 4,300. Each transaction carries the details of the date, name of the producer, type(s) of artefact sold to the centre and the quantity of each type of artefact together with the total cash payout. Seven hundred and sixty-nine producers are recorded, of which 230 are males and 539 are females. According to my inquiries producers mainly took their own products to the craft centre to sell although sometimes women took along their male relatives paintings and the men their female relatives craft work: these occasions are clearly identifiable in the case of females and allowance has been made for this in the analysis. It is not possible to identify people bringing work by somebody else of the same sex as themselves but the producers indicated they only did this infrequently.

The main points to emerge from a consideration of the ledger are that: a large percentage of the adults in Galiwin'ku have produced art or craft for sale, even if it is only one item; there are twice as many female producers as there are male producers; female producers generally speaking, produce many more items than male producers for which they receive less per unit; the average income of male producers is three times that of female producers; and only 6% of the producers produce art and craft constantly (see below).

Particularly striking is how small the amounts of money women received were, even when the figures for all four years are aggregated. Figure 2 compares the aggregate rate of payment to male and female producers for the 4 years. The

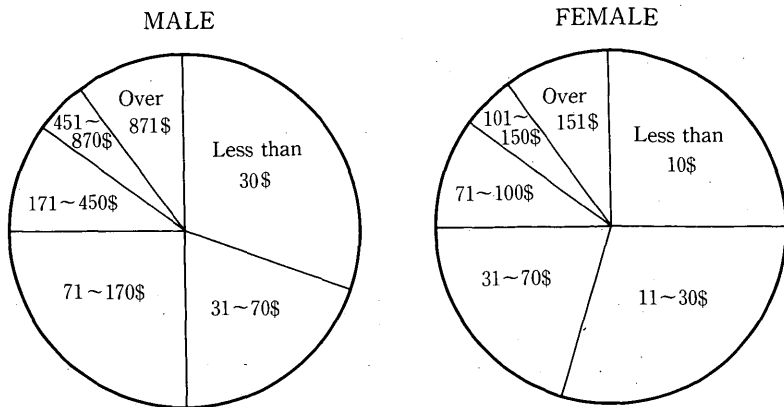


Figure 2. Rates of payment.

breakdown of payment to female producers shows: 25% received less than \$A 10, 60% received less than \$A 30 and 75% received less than \$A 70. For male producers the figures are: 30% received less than \$A 30, 50% received less than \$A 70 and 75% received less than \$A 170. This makes it clear that most of the female producers were receiving a great deal less than the men although sixteen males and sixteen females did receive more than \$A 1,000 over the four year period¹⁾.

Total sales recorded in the ledger were \$A 135,585: \$A 75,478 going to male producers and \$A 60,107 to female producers. The average income per person was \$A 116 for females and \$A 328 for males over the four years but as will be seen these averages conceal considerable variation.

Although the ledger shows 16 women earning more than \$A 1,000 it seems likely that the figure is closer to the five shown in Table 2. The difference is accounted for by the fact that in the other 11 cases the women were also selling male products. It has been assumed that the women were simply acting as sellers and gave the income from the male products back to the male producers. It is interesting that even when allowance has been made for the sale of male products these some women fall into the most productive category.

FIVE PRODUCER EXTENDED FAMILIES

Of the thirteen high earning females it was possible to trace in detail the kinship

- 1) Of the 32 producers who made sales of over \$A 1,000 during the four year period sixteen were identified as female. An analysis was made of the 13 about whom personal information could be gathered. Three of the women are married monogamously while the rest are co-wives. That is 77% of the most productive women craft workers were polygynously married. As will be seen the high productivity of these 13 women appears to be partly related to their having a collective of co-wives to fall back on for support in collecting raw material and for minimising interruptions to production from the day to day demands of domestic life.

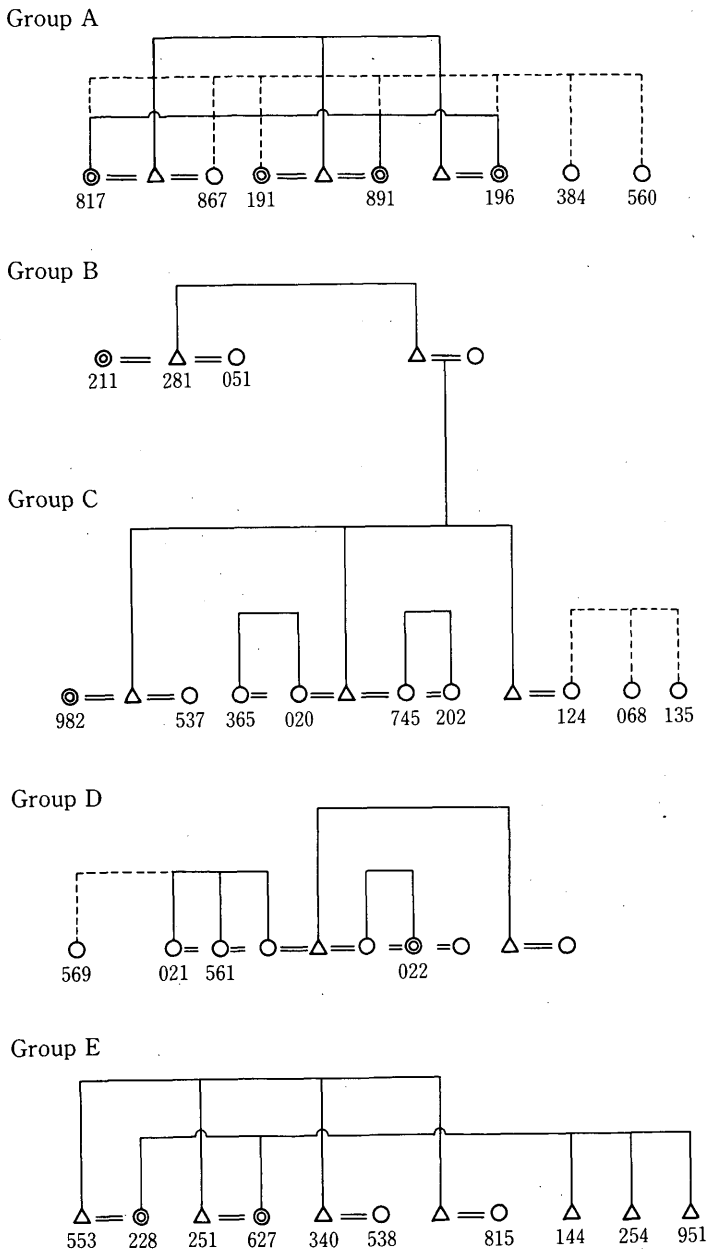


Figure 3. The extended families of the nine most productive female craft workers.

relations of nine. Figure 3 indicates that they belong to one of five extended family groups and shows the main members of each and the relationships between them. Each producer has been given an identification number. It can be seen that the highly productive persons, indicated by a double circle, are distributed across the

Table 1. Income by sex and extended family group in the period May 1980–June 1984.

	Women	Men	Total
Group A	420.80	1,780.00	5,990.80
Group B	2,910.45	7,394.45	10,162.90
Group C	2,901.60	133.40	3,035.00
Group D	1,343.00	0	1,343.00
Group E	5,736.00	8,516.05	14,252.05
Total	16,959.85	17,823.90	34,783.75

(\$A)

extended families as follows: four are in group A, one each in groups B, C, and D and two in group E. A sibling relationship between wives within a group is common. It is also noteworthy that only husbands in groups B and E are active producers while a large number of women in each group produce. Table 1 shows each groups' total income from art and craft production during the 50 months for both men and women.

Two points emerge: the degree of variability in the levels of income between extended family groups and the low overall amounts received even in the most productive groups given that the Table covers four years' earnings. Income is not, however, pooled in these groups so a further breakdown is more revealing and dealt with below in Tables 2 and 3.

ITEMS PRODUCED

The items produced by women fall into five categories:

- Type P: woven baskets and dilly bags made of pandanus leaves. Collecting time for raw material for an average item amounted to 3 hours with a further 3 hours processing time and 20 hours weaving.
- Type S: string goods including bags and arm bands made from wood fibre string. Collecting materials for the string bags takes about 9 hours, processing 6 hours and weaving 40 hours. For arm bands collecting takes 3 hours, processing 2 hours and weaving 6 hours.
- Type C: small carvings (the larger ones are made by males). Collecting materials takes 3 hours and carving 6.
- Type K: shell products such as painted bailer or turtle shells. Collecting takes 3 hours and cleaning and painting 6.
- Type N: seed and nut products, especially necklaces. Collecting raw materials takes 4 hours and making 6.

A large bark painting by comparison would take two hours to collect the bark, an hour to prepare it (the bark then has to be left for two weeks or more to dry out if it is not to split), and five days to paint, although usually the painting is done over



Photo. 1. A finished string bag. It is about 40 cm long, and sold for \$A 17.

a longer period of upto fourteen days (Matsuyama: personal communication). In approximate terms, and depending on the actual size of the painting, a large bark would take between 40 and 50 hours work. This is about the same time as a string bag and twice as long as a pandanus bag.

Table 2 shows the artefact type, number, income received and average unit

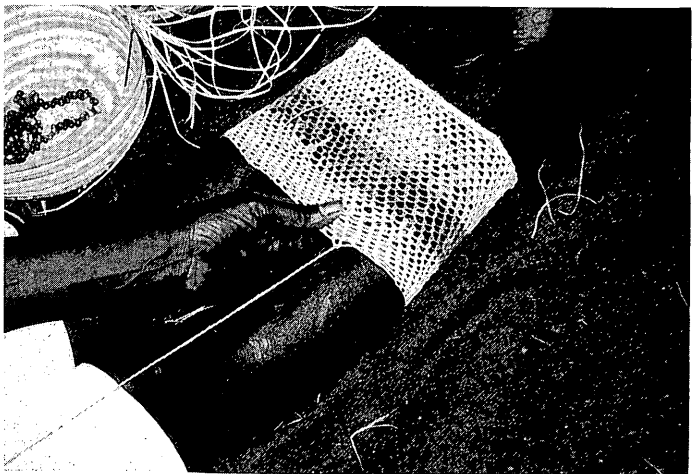


Photo. 2. Making a string bag. String bags are made from bark twine. Natural yellow and red colours are used to make the stripe design.



Photo. 3. Making a dilly bag. Dilly bags are made from pandanus leaf fibre, and used for collecting and carrying things.

price for the production of the twenty-six female craft workers in the five extended families. Table 3 provides the same information for the men in the same groups and Table 4 provides information on the highest and lowest prices realised and the unit price in each artefact category. Although the highest unit price for women comes from pandanus products, the return per hour is low at approximately 53.5 cents per hour. It is not surprising therefore that carvings are by far and away the most popular item to make since they return double the amount at \$A 1 per hour. String bags are even less productive returning around 20.2 cents per hour. While the figures on production time are only approximations based on field observations, but not extensive documentation, they give an accurate indication of the relative order of magnitude of return.

The rates of return for male bark painters are very variable depending on the size and quality but it is possible for people to earn up to \$A 10 or so per hour (see Tables 3 and 4) but more usual for the amount to be less than half this. Unfortunately information on production time for other items produced by men is not available but it would seem a reasonable inference that the frequency with which men make didgeridoos indicates that they provide the best return for time spent working, although not the large single payments: that come from bark paintings.

PRODUCTION PATTERNS

The ledger was examined for patterns of production. The results are shown in Table 5. The symbols indicate differences in income from art and craft production: ☆ indicates a monthly production in excess of \$A 200; ◎ indicates production between \$A 100-199; ○ indicates production between \$A 50-99; ◇ indicates

Table 2. Women's production in the five families by value and number of items (in brackets) in each artefact category.

	Age	Pandanus products				String		Carving	Shell	Necklace	Sub total	Value per item	Total
		Dilly bag	Basket	Mat	Fan	Bag	Arm band						
191(A)	35	0	0	0	0	22 (3)	0	531 (52)	17 (2)	18 (3)	588 (60)	9.8	750
196(A)	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	644 (80)	0	0	644 (80)	8.1	755.8
891(A)	49	8 (1)	31 (2)	0	0	55 (4)	0	424 (45)	10 (1)	0	528 (53)	9.9	747
817(A)	35	0	0	0	0	12 (1)	0	618 (90)	85 (15)	122 (7)	837 (113)	7.4	1017
867(A)	48	0	0	0	0	4 (1)	0	469 (43)	0	10 (3)	483 (47)	10.3	483
384(A)	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	391 (49)	0	0	391 (49)	8.0	398
560(A)	47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	60 (1)	60 (1)	60.0	60
211(B)	35	0	39 (2)	16 (1)	0	53 (4)	0	338 (42)	204 (34)	0	650 (83)	7.8	826
051(B)	46	17 (1)	27 (2)	158 (10)	0	171 (16)	0	55 (5)	30 (4)	0	458 (38)	12.1	458
982(C)	60	133 (8)	190 (12)	88 (6)	0	378 (33)	15 (12)	34 (2)	288 (19)	53 (7)	1179 (99)	11.9	1298.6
537(C)	45	0	75 (4)	48 (1)	0	30 (3)	0	0	0	0	153 (8)	19.1	153
020(C)	36	28 (1)	140 (11)	3 (1)	0	103 (8)	0	0	0	0	274 (21)	13.0	291
745(C)	32	274 (19)	158 (11)	65 (4)	0	258 (19)	53 (22)	0	24 (3)	0	732 (78)	9.4	756
365(C)	39	0	0	0	0	50 (3)	0	0	0	0	50 (3)	16.7	50
124(C)	50	0	25 (2)	0	0	25 (2)	0	0	0	16 (2)	66 (6)	11.0	66
202(C)	22	10 (1)	10 (1)	0	0	47 (4)	0	0	0	0	67 (6)	11.2	67
068(C)	63	0	4 (1)	0	20 (2)	0	0	141 (13)	24 (2)	0	189 (18)	10.5	189
135(C)	47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31 (1)	31 (1)	31.0	31
022(D)	37	43 (4)	158 (8)	351 (32)	284 (27)	90 (7)	0	24 (10)	0	111 (2)	1061 (90)	11.9	1086
561(D)	39	80 (5)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	80 (5)	16.0	80
021(D)	37	0	16 (1)	16 (2)	0	0	0	0	5 (1)	40 (1)	77 (5)	15.4	77
569(D)	52	80 (2)	20 (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100 (3)	33.3	100
228(E)	52	232 (13)	64 (5)	0	0	92 (9)	0	985 (117)	101 (6)	367 (27)	1841 (177)	10.4	2098
627(E)	48	197 (14)	440 (33)	15 (1)	0	690 (63)	0	42 (3)	38 (13)	39 (3)	1461 (130)	11.2	1817
815(E)	45	136 (13)	241 (11)	57 (7)	0	387 (30)	0	42 (4)	5 (1)	0	868 (66)	13.1	884
538(E)	33	42 (3)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	42 (3)	11.6	42
Total number	555	85	107	65	29	210	34	555	101	37			

(\$A)

Table 3. Men's production in the five families by value and number of items (in brackets) in each artefact category.

	Bark	Carv	Didj	Pole	Spear	Sub-Total (numbers)	Average per item	Total
281 (B)	1337(50)	899(55)	185(20)	215 (6)	291(27)	2927(158)	18.5	3313
251 (E)	35 (1)	124 (9)	620(54)	134 (3)	0	913 (67)	13.6	913
553 (E)	792(20)	120 (2)	0	990(54)	0	1902 (76)	25.0	1902
340 (E)	0	0	0	0	154(27)	154 (27)	5.7	154
144 (E)	0	0	0	0	43 (3)	43 (3)	14.3	43
254 (E)	0	25 (6)	0	0	0	25 (6)	4.1	25
951 (E)	590(18)	0	60 (2)	595 (7)	0	1245 (27)	46.1	1245
Total number	89	72	130	16	57			

(\$A)

production between \$A 20-49; and \triangle indicates production between \$A 1-19. Three patterns were identified as follows:

Continuous: where production occurred for at least 12 months continuously during the 50 month period

Intermittent: where production occurred on at least three separate periods over the 50 month period but no single period of production being as long as 12 months

Occasional: where production occurred in not more than two periods in the 50 months with no single period lasting longer than six months

The distribution of producers between categories is shown in the righthand column of Table 5. Most females in group A are intermittent producers and group B has no continuous producers either. However the other three groups each have one or more continuous producers with group E having three.

Income level was examined by age: Table 6 shows the results. Most producers

Table 4. Value and number in each artefact category.

	Highest price (\$A)	Lowest price (\$A)	Total value (\$A)	Total number	Unit price (\$A)	% of the products less than \$A 20
String bags	80	0.7	15636	1413	11.1	92.1
Pandanus products	122	0.5	16989	1087	15.6	77.7
Shell products	110	0.5	3443	428	8.0	91.6
Necklaces	110	1	3388	332	10.2	89.2
Carvings	42	1	6787	757	9.0	98.9
Bark paintings	450	1	30619	1241	34.7	59.1
Carvings	600	2.3	13373	567	23.6	63.7
Didjeridoos	152	2.3	12339	672	18.4	73.4
Ritual poles	300	7	6835	128	53.4	19.5
Spears	166	0.8	10259	992	10.3	91.7

Table 5. Production patterns.

Year & Month Group & ID	80					81					82					83					84					Pattern			
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5		6		
Group A																													
191	-	○	△	-	○	○	○	○	○	-	-	-	-	○	○	○	△	-	-	-	○	-	△	-	-	○	-	△	B
891	-	-	-	-	○	-	○	-	-	△	○	-	△	○	-	△	-	○	○	-	☆	○	-	-	○	-	-	-	B
817	○	○	-	-	○	☆	-	-	-	-	○	☆	○	○	-	-	○	○	-	☆	-	-	-	-	△	-	-	B	
196	☆	○	-	○	○	☆	○	-	-	-	-	△	☆	○	-	-	△	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B	
867	○	-	-	-	○	-	-	-	-	△	-	-	-	○	○	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	△	-	-	B	
384	-	-	-	-	○	○	-	-	-	-	-	○	○	○	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	○	-	-	B	
560	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	△	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	
Group B																													
211	○	○	-	-	○	○	-	○	○	○	-	-	○	-	-	△	△	○	-	☆	☆	○	△	-	-	-	-	B	
051	-	-	△	○	-	-	△	○	☆	○	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	
Group C																													
982	-	-	-	△	-	-	-	-	-	△	-	○	△	○	△	-	△	△	-	○	△	-	△	-	○	○	○	○	A
537	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	△	○	-	○	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	
020	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	○	○	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	
745	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	○	-	-	○	△	△	○	○	-	○	△	△	-	○	△	-	-	△	-	-	A	
202	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	△	-	-	-	-	△	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	△	-	-	-	-	-	-	B	
124	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	△	△	△	-	-	-	-	-	C	
365	-	-	-	-	-	○	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C		
068	-	○	-	-	△	-	-	-	-	△	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	△	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B	
135	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	△	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	
Group D																													
022	-	-	○	○	△	○	○	-	○	△	△	-	△	-	○	○	○	○	-	○	△	-	△	-	-	○	-	○	A
561	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	○	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	
021	-	○	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	△	-	-	-	○	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B	
569	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	○	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	
Group E																													
228	-	-	○	-	○	☆	○	-	☆	○	-	-	○	△	☆	☆	☆	○	-	○	○	○	○	-	○	☆	○	-	A
627	-	-	-	○	○	△	○	-	○	△	-	△	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	△	-	△	A
815	-	-	-	○	-	○	○	○	-	△	-	○	○	○	○	-	○	△	△	△	○	-	△	-	○	△	-	-	A
538	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	

Table 6. Income by age of female producers.

Age	Income level	1	2	3	4
		-\$A100	\$A100-499	\$A500-999	\$A1000+
-35		2	-	5	-
36-45		3	3	1	1
46-55		3	3	1	3
56-		-	1	-	-

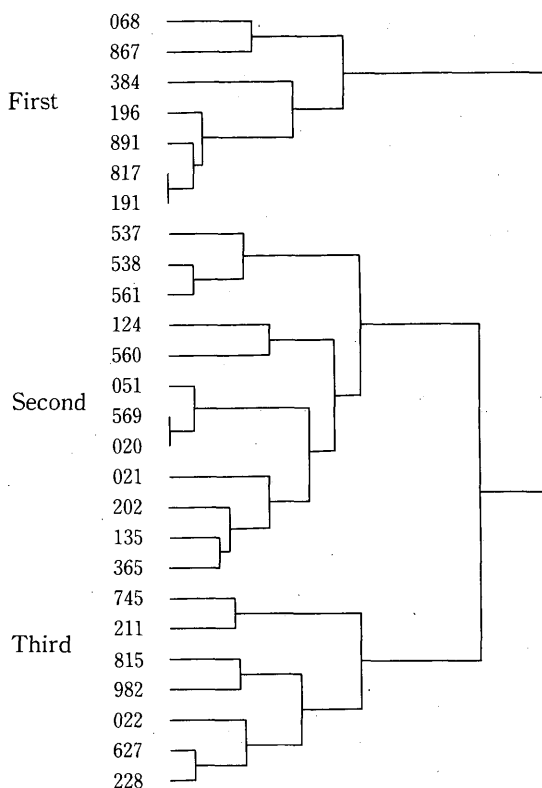


Figure 4. Cluster analysis of female craft producers.

are between 36 and 55 years of age although the age range of producers is from 22–60. Although the youngest age group, under 35, has a concentration of high income producers most of the highest income earners are over 36. When the age of producers is considered according to the main artefacts produced it is clear that those concentrating on carvings and pandanus products are comparatively young with an average age of 40.5 years while those who concentrate on string bags are older, with an average age of 49. Not only do the string bags require much more skill to make, but as seen above they give much lower returns than carvings and pandanus products.

CLUSTER ANALYSIS

A cluster analysis was carried out for the 26 female producers using the nineteen attributes²⁾. As can be seen from Figure 4, three clusters resulted. The first cluster, at the top of the figure consists mainly of members from extended family A who are similar in respect to the items produced, their production pattern, income and the level of unit price they received. The third cluster at the bottom of the figure, is characterised by a group of high income producers who produce

constantly. They make mainly pandanus and string products and have good reputations as professional craft producers which leads to them being able to command a higher unit price. Their constant production pattern can, perhaps be interpreted as a desire for cash income. The second cluster falls between the first and the third and includes many low income and concentrated production pattern producers. Their level of commitment to art production represents the average Elcho women at the time of the study. While they produce a similar range of items as the third cluster and have a high unit price their total production is low.

CONCLUSION

A principal feature of women's production at Galiwin'ku is the large number of cheap items they produce. This seems to be for several reasons. One is that the items yielding the highest returns are those which it is only culturally appropriate for men to make. Another is that the items they produce which require a high degree of skill and time, like the pandanus products and bags, are competing with similar kinds of artefacts from elsewhere in a way that the men's products are not. Thus hourly rates of return to Aboriginal women are kept down in part by the low rates of return paid to women basketmakers in the Third World. But it seems evident that the matter is more complex than this because the motivation for being involved in artefact production is not overwhelmingly economic. If it were the nature of the items produced and the rates of production would be rather different. Many people continue to make the pandanus products and string bags despite the poor returns per hour rather than concentrating solely on carvings. Further even the high producers stop producing for two or three months at a time. The strongest evidence however comes from the overall level of income achieved: by any standards it is very low particularly because so many people are occasional makers. From my observations of the way in which women spend the money received from the craft they sell, it is on small items for immediate consumption by themselves and their close kin. Occasionally they save for visit to a neighbouring town or give some as pocket money to a close relative. This suggests that the reason some women produce craft is related to their personal identity and because of the pleasure they derive from the exercise of familiar skills in a context where they have ample leisure time. This is suggested in part by the fact that many people do their craftwork at home.

-
- 2) The following are the nineteen factors used in the cluster analysis. A, human network factors: (1) co-wife; (2) co-wife with full sister; (3) sibling members found in extended family; (4) other craft producers besides herself in her group; (5) other craft producers involved in her married family group; B, main products: (6) pandanus products; (7) string products; (8) carvings; (9) shell products; (10) necklaces; C, production performance time: (11) constant; (12) intermittent; (13) occasional; D, income: (14) less than \$A 100; (15) between \$A 100 and 500; (16) between \$A 500 and 1,000; (17) over \$A 1,000; E, unit price: (18) less than \$A 10; (19) \$A 10 or more.

Acknowledgements This paper is based on data from the Galiwin'ku Arts and Craft Centre, and on field data both collected during my field research from 1985 to 1988. The research is funded by the Institute of Interdisciplinary Study in Konan University (1986) and by the Ministry of Education (1988, Representative: Dr T. Matsuyama, National Museum of Ethnology).

I express a deep gratitude to the people who read through my paper and gave me useful advice and the people in Galiwin'ku for their warm kindness.

REFERENCES

ALTMAN, J. C.

- 1987 *Hunter-gatherers Today: an Aboriginal Economy in North Australia*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

COLE, K.

- 1977 A Critical Appraisal of Anglican Mission Policy and Practice in Arnhem Land 1908-1939. In R. Berndt(ed.), *Aborigines and Change*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. pp. 177-198.

KUBOTA, S. (窪田 幸子)

- 1987 「オーストラリア・アボリジンの繊維文化」『月刊染織 α』76: 10-15. (Weaving Culture of Australian Aborigines. *Gekkan Sensyoku α* 76: 10-15.)

MEEHAN, B.

- 1982 *Shell Bed to Shell Midden*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

MCKENZIE, M.

- 1976 *Mission to Arnhem Land*. Adelaide: Rigby Limited.

PETERSON, N.

- 1983 Aboriginal Arts and Crafts Pty Ltd: a Brief History. In P. Loveday and P. Cooke (eds.), *Aboriginal Arts and Crafts and the Market*. Darwin: Australian National University North Australia Research Unit. pp. 60-65.

ROBERTS, R. G., R. JONES and N. SMITH

- 1990 Thermoluminescence Dating of a 50,000 Year Old Human Occupation Site in Northern Australia. *Nature* 345: 153-156.

WILLIAMS, N.

- 1976 Australian Aboriginal Art at Yirrkala: Introduction and Development of Marketing. In N. H. H. Graburn (ed.), *Ethnic and Tourist Arts*. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 266-284.

WILLIAMS, D.

- 1982 *Discovering Aboriginal Culture*. Canberra: The Curriculum Development Centre.