

3. The regional labour market

As with most Aboriginal settlements in north Australia, Port Keats (now Wadeye), was not established with an economic base, nor has it subsequently acquired one, at least not in a manner that is currently sustainable beyond the provisions of the welfare state and associated social services. While the regional labour market has grown in both size and complexity in recent decades as the mission influence has receded and government and market forces have encroached it can be argued that Aboriginal labour force participation has declined. In effect, the past 30 years in this region have witnessed a shift in Aboriginal employment from some historical association with the private sector, as represented by the pastoral industry, to an almost total reliance on the government sector in the form of CDEP. Beyond the latter, there is very limited Aboriginal engagement with mainstream work, with the bulk of the adult population dependent on welfare payments for their income. This is quite distinct from the non-Aboriginal population of Wadeye that is resident in the region solely for the purposes of employment—a structural gap that has significant consequences for relative economic status as well as for consideration of future outcomes in regard to Aboriginal economic participation.

There are three reasons for this. First of all, regardless of whatever targets might be set by the partners to the Thamarrurr agreement in respect of local employment, the major regional impacts on Aboriginal people in terms of raising overall labour force and economic status are likely to depend more on administrative and funding decisions regarding CDEP than anything else. CDEP is by far the main employer and is likely to continue as such given the lack of formal skills among most of the adult population. Future growth of the scheme is dependent on ever-expanding resources from government, while the welfare basis for such funding leaves little scope for advancing employment beyond part-time hours with corresponding low-income return.

Second, CDEP will inevitably form part of any comprehensive planning for regional economic development focused around future activities in Wadeye and surrounding areas. This is because much of the locally based potential workforce for non-CDEP activities would in all likelihood be currently engaged by the scheme and building the necessary skills and experience for alternate work via such employment.

Finally, the extent of reliance on CDEP for generating employment opportunities in the region places a premium on seeking other opportunities for creating and sustaining employment. The essential background to this need is the projected high growth in the Aboriginal working age population and the certainty that CDEP expansion will be insufficient to cater for labour supply.

Regional labour force status

Rates of labour force status drawn from the 2001 Census are shown for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal residents of the Thamarrurr region in Table 3.1 and these are applied to the 2003 usual resident population count of adults to derive implied labour force status characteristics for 2003 as shown in Table 3.2. Three standard indicators of labour force

status are presented, although these are modified here as simple proportions of the population aged 15 years and over:

- *employment/population ratio*, representing the percentage of persons aged 15 years and over who indicated in the census that they were in employment (either in CDEP or mainstream work) during the week prior to enumeration;
- *unemployment rate*, expressed as those who indicated that they were not in employment but had actively looked for work during the four weeks prior to enumeration, as a percentage of those aged 15 years and over;
- *labour force participation rate*, representing persons in the labour force (employed and unemployed) as a percentage of those of working age—shown here in its converse form as a rate of those not in the labour force (NILF).

Table 3.1. Labour force status for residents of the Thamarrurr region: 2001 rates

	Employment/ population ratio		Unemployment rate	Not in the labour force (NILF) rate	Total 15+
	CDEP	Other			
Aboriginal	8.0	5.8	2.0	84.2	100.0
Non-Aboriginal	0.0	95.0	0.0	5.0	100.0

Source: ABS 2001 Census of Population and Housing

Table 3.2. Implied 2003 levels of labour force status for residents of the Thamarrurr region

	Employed CDEP	Employed Other	Unemployed	NILF	Total 15+
	Aboriginal	88			
Non-Aboriginal	0	63	0	3	66

a. From Table 2.3

Source: Author's own calculations

There are several difficulties involved in using these census labour force data. First, as they are based on the usual residence count, they exclude any persons missed by the census. Second, they appear to conflict substantially with indications of labour force status from administrative sources. For example, the census indicates that there were 63 individuals employed in CDEP in 2001, whereas ATSIIC records show a total of 125 CDEP participants at the time of the census. More striking is the difference between the census count of 16 unemployed persons, compared to the fact that Centrelink recorded 325 Newstart and 129 Youth Allowance customers at the same time, although these were

exempt from the work test and so may have been regarded as not in the labour force for census purposes.³

Because of these discrepancies, a basic count of regional employment was conducted in Wadeye in November 2003. This revealed a total of 178 Aboriginal people in the Thamarrurr region with jobs—133 funded by CDEP, and 45 funded from other sources. Using these figures, together with Centrelink data on Newstart and Youth Allowance payments for April 2003, a revised set of labour force status levels and associated rates are provided for 2003 in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3. Actual levels and rates of labour force status for Aboriginal residents of the Thamarrurr region, 2003

	Employed		Unemployed	NILF	Total 15+
	CDEP	Other			
<i>Levels</i>	133	45	449	477	1104 ^a
<i>Rates</i>	12.0	4.1	40.7	43.2	100.0

a. From Table 2.2

Sources: Thamarrurr community census, Thamarrurr employment survey, and Centrelink, Darwin

This suggests an Aboriginal labour force of around 630 which is much greater than that indicated by the census. Of course, much here depends on semantics—are those exempt from the activity test outside of the labour force? Are CDEP participants necessarily in employment according to census definitions? Should a distinction be drawn between CDEP and other jobs given that many CDEP jobs effectively substitute for ‘real’ jobs in many areas such as education, health, and council services? Indeed, given the administratively determined nature of much Aboriginal economic activity in the region, the boundaries between officially recorded employment, unemployment, and consequent labour force participation, are sufficiently blurred to approach all these data with some caution. They are best seen as rough estimates rather than as robust indicators.

To arrive at a meaningful measure of labour force status, such issues require careful scrutiny on the ground and this provides a useful vehicle for engaging ICCP partners in a dialogue with local working groups concerning the real nature of work, its source funding, and its appropriate measurement. One aspect of this exercise would extend the analysis to consider aspects of economic activity that the census and administrative data sources tend to overlook, namely those customary activities associated with land management, ceremony, and the manufacture of arts and crafts. Just as an example, the 2001

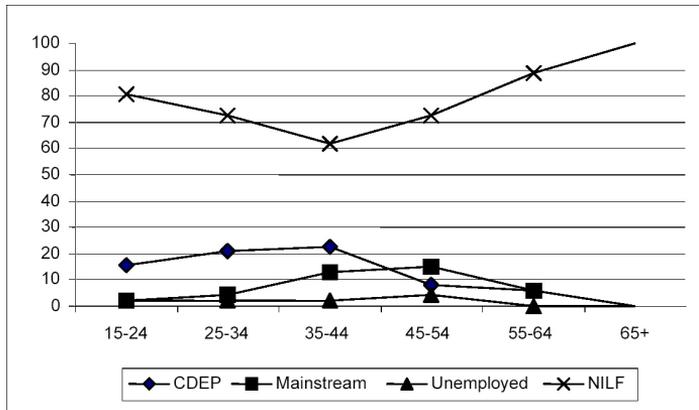
³According to Department of Employment and Workplace Relations (DEWR) Northern Territory Office, a total of only 39 Wadeye residents have been referred to Intensive Assistance with Job Network since May 1998, but it is not possible to identify those currently serviced by Job Network providers owing to privacy constraints.

Census recorded only 110 Indigenous visual artists in the whole of the Northern Territory, despite evidence from other sources that those participating (admittedly to varying degrees) in the industry through community art centres number in the thousands (Altman 1989; 1999: 83–5; Wright 1999: 25). In Wadeye, the census counted no such occupations, even though the Dirrmu Ngakumarl Gallery in Wadeye and the Wadeye Art and Craft Gallery in Darwin currently support the activities of 10 local artists and have dealt with as many as 126 since 1997. To underscore the local economic importance of activities that are likely to be overlooked by the census, it has been claimed that, by Australian standards, Aboriginal people on some Aboriginal lands are fully employed in the informal sector (Altman & Allen 1992: 142; Altman & Taylor 1989).

Given their labour-intensive nature and widespread occurrence, it is important to consider ways of strengthening these elements of customary economic activity as part of the broad strategy of raising employment levels. A good local example of this is provided by the Thamarrurr Rangers supported by the Northern Land Council's Caring for Country program and by CDEP. This employs 15 local people in land and sea management activities such as mimosa and feral animal eradication, marine species survey, sacred site protection, and in ensuring continuity in local environmental knowledge (Thamarrurr Rangers 2003). Against the background of population projections, the scale of the challenge ahead clearly requires some broadening of the definition and composition of officially sanctioned work to encompass potentially labour-intensive activities associated with land management and cultural heritage, as well as the arts industry. With regard to the latter, it is significant to note that as many as 126 local artists, weavers and carvers have sold products via the Dirrmu Ngakumarl Gallery in Wadeye and the Wadeye Art and Craft Gallery in Darwin since 1997, pointing to substantial potential for economic participation. Presently, however, only 10 individuals are associated regularly with this enterprise—four women and six men—suggesting a need to review options for revitalising the arts industry in the region.

Of particular interest for development planning is the distribution of employment and related labour force status rates by age. As this information was not gathered in the basic 2003 employment survey, these data are drawn from the 2001 Census as well as from CDEP participant records for August 2001. In combining census and CDEP administrative data in this way, the assumption is that CDEP employment figures drawn from administrative data directly affect the numbers shown by the census as not in the labour force. Using these combined data, Figure 3.1 shows the labour force status of broad age groups and reveals that labour force participation (the mirror of those shown here as NILF) peaks in the 35–45 year age group, but even here it is still only 40 per cent. At younger ages, and especially among those in the transition years between school and work, participation in the workforce is very low with barely two per cent of 15–24 year olds engaged in non-CDEP work, and only 15 per cent in CDEP. The vast majority (80%) of these young adults are not in the labour force and are therefore dependent for their income on welfare payments (assuming that these are accessed). The other feature is that participation in non-CDEP work peaks in the older working age group of 45–54 years.

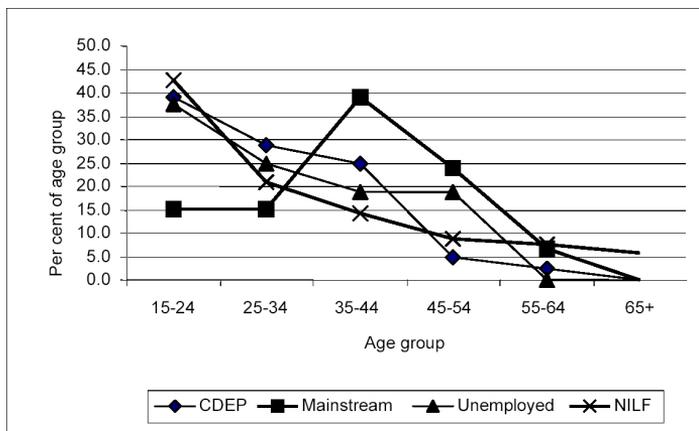
Figure 3.1. Labour force status of each age group: Aboriginal residents of the Thamarrurr region, 2001



Source: ABS 2001 Census of Population and Housing and ATSI CDEP branch

If the distribution of different labour force states across age groups is examined as in Figure 3.2, it is apparent that this lack of participation among young adults occurs despite the fact that, overall, CDEP participants tend to be young people with 39 per cent of participants in the 15–24 age group, and with the share of CDEP workers declining with age. The opposite is true, though, in regard to non-CDEP employment with 40 per cent of non-CDEP workers in the 35–44 age group and 25 per cent in the 45–54 age range. Almost half (43 %) of all those who are NILF are in the 15–24 age group.

Figure 3.2. Distribution of labour force status by age group: Aboriginal residents of the Thamarrurr region, 2001



Source: ABS 2001 Census of Population and Housing and ATSI CDEP branch

Whether there is any transition from CDEP participation at younger ages to mainstream work later on with the former acting as a preparatory skilling phase is not discernable from these data. This is something that could usefully be explored by the Thamarrurr

ICCP working groups. As expected, though, labour force participation is positively correlated with age up to 44 years, but recedes rapidly thereafter indicating a distinctly shortened working-life span. One prospect is that this reflects increased morbidity with advancing age, a proposition that will be tested with hospital separations data.

Dependency ratios

Measures of the potential economic implications of a given age structure can be combined with data on labour force status to produce a range of dependency ratios. These are shown in Table 3.4 for the Aboriginal population of Thamarrurr using the population data for 2003 shown in Table 2.4, and the levels of labour force status for 2003 shown in Table 3.3. Comparison is drawn with the Northern Territory as a whole using 2001 Census data. The *childhood dependency* ratio is the simplest of these measures and expresses the number of children in the population (aged 0–14 years) as a ratio of the working-age population (defined here as aged 15–49 given the prevalence of adult morbidity). Obviously, a ratio of 1.0 would indicate that the size of the two age groups is the same and that there is one person of working age for every child. A figure greater than 1.0 indicates less than one person of working age to each child, and less than 1.0 indicates more than one person of working age to each child. Obviously, this only provides an indication of potential economic providers to dependents as it takes no account of the economically inactive.

Table 3.4. Dependency ratios for the Aboriginal populations of the Thamarrurr region 2003, and the Northern Territory, 2001

	Thamarrurr region 2003	Northern Territory 2001
Childhood dependency ^a	0.95	0.66
Childhood burden	5.2	1.8
Childhood burden (excl. CDEP)	20.7	3.6
Dependency ratio	2.2	3.1
Economic burden	10.4	3.9
Economic burden (excl. CDEP)	44.2	9.1

a. Based on working age population aged 15-49

Source: ABS 2001 Census of Population and Housing customised tables, Thamarrurr community census, and Thamarrurr employment survey

In the Thamarrurr region, the *childhood dependency* ratio is 0.95, which means that the number of children and those of working age is roughly equivalent. This is quite different to the situation in the Northern Territory as a whole where the ratio of 0.66 indicates far fewer children on average to each person of working age. This provides another measure of the relatively youthful character of the regional population.

More refined measures of dependency incorporate some indication of the ability of working age adults to support others. The *childhood burden*, for example, is defined as the ratio of the number of children to the number of employed persons. Once again, a

figure of 1.0 indicates parity. According to the data in Table 3.4, there were 5.2 Aboriginal children to each employed adult in Thamarrurr if all those engaged by the CDEP scheme are considered to be in employment. If, however, this calculation is based on those employed only in non-CDEP work, then the ratio is far higher at 20.7. The fact that both of these ratios are much lower for Aboriginal people generally in the Northern Territory underlines the gross lack of employment opportunities in Thamarrurr and the far greater reliance on CDEP as the primary support mechanism for large numbers of child dependents.

Another measure is provided by the *dependency ratio* which represents the ratio of children and economically inactive adults to the labour force (those employed plus those unemployed). Again, using the data in Table 3.4, this produces an average of 2.2 dependents per economically active person, which is fewer on average than in the Northern Territory as a whole reflecting the use of Centrelink data on Newstart payments to construct the Thamarrurr unemployment numbers presented in Table 3.3.

Finally, the *economic burden* is a ratio of the number of children and economically inactive persons (including here those unemployed) to employed persons. This shows that for each employed Aboriginal person at Thamarrurr (including those in the CDEP scheme) there are 10.4 other Aboriginal people who are not employed (including children), a figure more than twice the Northern Territory average of 3.9 persons. If, however, those in CDEP are excluded from the economically active and considered instead as part of the measure of economic burden, then the figure in Thamarrurr rises to a staggering 44 dependents per income earner, compared to a figure of 9.1 for the Indigenous population of the Northern Territory as a whole—almost five times as great.

From a regional planning perspective, then, the youthful Aboriginal age profile is a key demographic feature when set against the relatively poor labour force status of adults. In effect, there are 44 dependents, on average, for each Aboriginal employee in the mainstream labour market. This represents a significantly higher economic burden for the Thamarrurr population than recorded for the Aboriginal population generally in the Northern Territory. Perhaps of more significance, in the local context of access to resources and consumer spending, is the fact that it is massively higher than observed among non-Aboriginal residents of the region with whom Aboriginal residents can draw direct comparison.

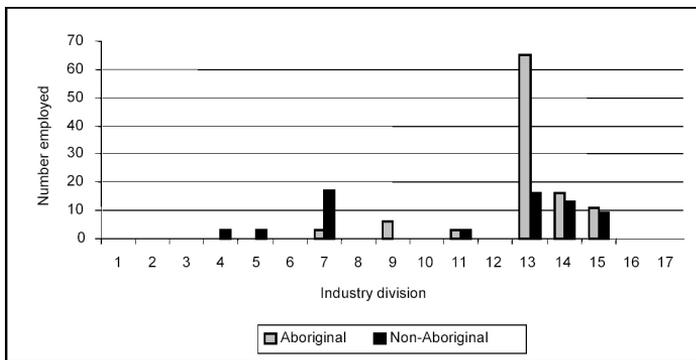
Industry and occupation

In the final analysis, employment provides a means to personal income generation, while the amount generated is determined largely by occupational status. In turn, the availability of particular occupations within a region is partly related to the industry mix of economic activities. Thus, the relative distribution of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal employment by industry and occupational category is a vital feature of participation in the regional labour market. The sole source of employment data classified according to the Australian and New Zealand Standard Industry Classification (ANZSIC) and the Australian Standard Classification of Occupations (ASCO) remains the census. Accordingly,

Figures 3.3 and 3.4 show broad industry and occupational categories of employment for the Thamarrurr region using data from the 2001 Census.

Clearly, the distribution of Aboriginal employment by industry division is quite different from that of non-Aboriginal workers in Thamarrurr. Aboriginal employment is heavily concentrated in government administration, which in effect reflects the census classification of much CDEP employment. Another focus for Aboriginal workers is health and education. By contrast, according to these data, the non-Aboriginal workforce is more widely spread across industry categories, although the overall range is limited and indicates the very simple structure of the local labour market based on providing essential services and administration to a relatively small population. As for occupations, the distribution reflects the skills gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal workers, with most of the former classified as labourers, and far more of the latter as professionals and tradespeople. However, it is interesting to observe that the Aboriginal distribution itself is bimodal with people employed in either professional or intermediate/labouring positions with an absence of employment in trades and advanced clerical jobs.

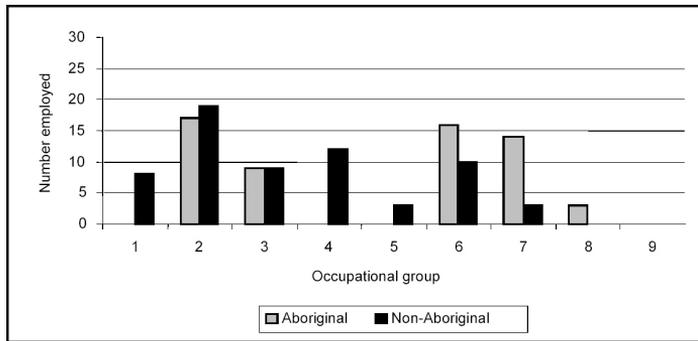
Figure 3.3. Distribution of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal employment by industry division: Thamarrurr region, 2001



Source: ABS 2001 Census of Population and Housing, customised tables

Key: 1. Agriculture, forestry and fishing; 2. Mining; 3. Manufacturing; 4. Electricity, gas and water; 5. Construction; 6. Wholesale trade; 7. Retail trade; 8. Accommodation, cafes and restaurants; 9. Transport and storage; 10. Communication services; 11. Finance and insurance; 12. Property and business services; 13. Government administration and Defence; 14. Education; 15. Health and community services; 16. Cultural and recreational services; 17. Personal and other services

Figure 3.4. Distribution of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal employment by occupational group: Thamarrurr Region, 2001



Source: ABS 2001 Census of Population and Housing, customised tables

Key: 1. Managers and administrators; 2. Professionals; 3. Associate professionals; 4. Tradespeople and related workers; 5. Advanced clerical and service workers; 6. Intermediate clerical, sales and service workers; 7. Intermediate production and transport workers; 8. Elementary clerical, sales and service workers; 9. Labourers and related workers.

Leaving aside a likely undercount in the census of numbers employed, there is a tendency for the broad industry and occupation classification to hide a degree of diversity in employment activities at the small area level. Before considering the particular case of CDEP and customary economic activities, it is worth demonstrating this point by examining the range of industries and occupations that are recorded in the census using the detailed industry and occupational classification (based on four-digit coding). Ignoring the actual numbers, as many of these are randomised anyway, Table 3.5 is useful in providing a qualitative depiction of the range of detailed industry activities that collectively describe the composition of the local economy. Key activities emerge such as house construction, the supermarket, takeaway, automotive repair, air transport, credit union, etc. However, even at this fine-grained level, other important industries appear to be unrecorded, such as the sewing centre, arts and crafts, and land management.

Detailed occupations are shown in Table 3.6 and provide another qualitative depiction of the local labour market according to official classification. Despite a wider variety of occupations compared to industries, once again according to these data there are no artists in Thamarrurr, no sewing machinists, no special care workers, no land management workers, and no horticultural workers. This is manifestly not the case, and part of the problem here relates to the census classification of CDEP work.

**Table 3.5. Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal employment by detailed industry class:
Thamarrurr region, 2001^a**

Industry class	Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal	Total persons
House construction	0	3	3
Supermarket and grocery stores	0	8	8
Takeaway food retailing	0	5	5
Automotive repair and services, nec	0	3	3
Retail trade, undefined	3	0	3
Air transport, undefined	3	0	3
Credit unions	3	0	3
Business administrative services	0	3	3
Central government administration	3	3	6
State government administration	3	0	3
Local government administration	61	15	76
Education, undefined	0	3	3
School education, undefined	9	0	9
Primary education	3	5	8
Combined primary and secondary education	0	4	4
Health services, undefined	5	3	8
Dental services	3	0	3
Community health centres	4	3	7
Religious organisations	3	0	3
Interest groups, nec	0	3	3
Police services	0	3	3

a. Cell counts of less than three are randomised

Source: 2001 ABS Census of Population and Housing, customised tables

**Table 3.6. Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal employment by detailed occupation unit:
Thamarrurr Region, 2001^a**

Occupation unit	Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal	Total persons
General managers	0	3	3
Information technology managers	0	3	3
Professionals, nfd	0	3	3
Registered nurses	0	4	4
Dieticians	3	0	3
Primary school teachers	3	3	6
Special education teachers	3	0	3
Miscellaneous education professionals, nfd	0	3	3
Extra-systemic teachers	6	0	6
English as a Second Language teachers	0	3	3
Welfare and community workers	3	0	3
Urban and regional planners	3	0	3
Occupational and environmental health professionals	3	0	3
Financial dealers and brokers	0	3	3
Shop managers	0	3	3
Customer service managers	0	3	3
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health workers	5	0	5
Police officers	3	3	6
Motor mechanics	0	3	3
Electricians	0	3	3
Carpentry and joinery tradespersons	0	3	3
Plumbers	0	3	3
Greenkeepers	0	3	3
General clerks	5	3	8
Accounting clerks	0	3	3

Occupation unit	Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal	Total persons
Bank workers	3	0	3
Education aides	5	0	5
Personal care and nursing assistants	3	0	3
Mobile construction plant operators	4	0	4
Intermediate machine operators, nfd	0	3	3
Truck drivers	3	0	3
Storekeepers	3	3	6
Seafarers and fishing hands	3	0	3
Printing hands	3	0	3
Sales assistants	0	3	3
Labourers and related workers, nfd	3	0	3
Cleaners	5	3	8
Nursery and garden labourers	3	0	3
Garbage collectors	8	0	8
Handymen	3	0	3

a. Cell counts of three or less are randomised

Source: ABS 2001 Census of Population and Housing, customised tables

CDEP activities

One drawback in relation to census-derived industry and occupational data is their tendency to apply blanket classification to CDEP scheme employment. As shown above, this results in a high concentration of Aboriginal employment in government administration, and as labourers. It is also the case that because of the employment substitution effect of CDEP, much work which is classified as CDEP actually covers a wider range of industry and employment categories than is apparent from census coding.

An example here would be CDEP work in a horticulture project. If this were in the mainstream labour market it would be classified under agriculture, fishing and forestry as an industry, and the workers may well be classified as farm hands or skilled agricultural workers depending on the nature of the job. Instead, the tendency is for them to be classified as labourers in local government. The argument here is that census coding of CDEP masks a good deal of potentially significant diversity in the pattern of Aboriginal participation in the regional economy.

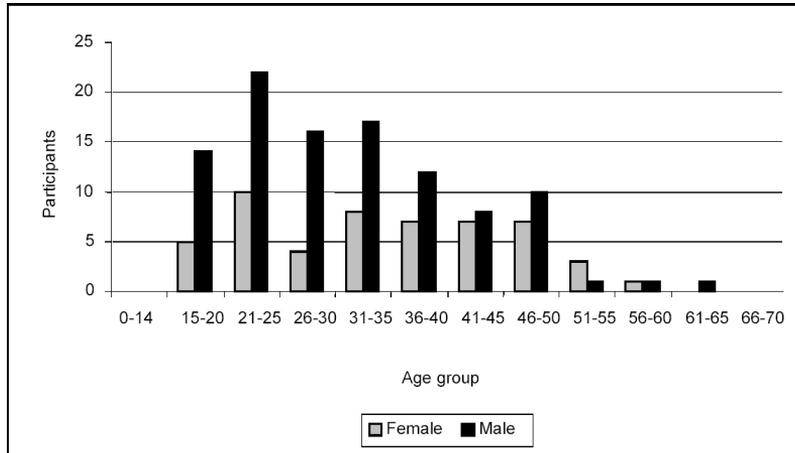
One way to demonstrate this is to use information from the activity worksheets of CDEP schemes which provide details of individual economic activities. Among those listed

within the region in 2003 are: grading, fencing, road maintenance, plant maintenance and operation, market gardening, media, landscaping, childcare, aged care, environmental health services, sewing, house and other building construction, non-building construction, plumbing and electrical maintenance, pipe laying, painting and decorating, vehicle repair, youth and men’s support activities, Centrelink services, clinic assistants, teachers assistants, sport and recreation activities, office assistants, store assistants, and security.

Planning for CDEP in financial year 2003/04 includes 44 workers for local government-type administrative programs, 23 workers for the construction team, 44 workers for community service activities, 13 workers for women’s programs, and 40 workers for activities at Palumpa. Given the key role played by CDEP in terms of providing for Aboriginal employment, there is a need to fully acknowledge this diversity of economic activity and explore ways in which vital elements might articulate with economic developments that currently exist, or might materialise, either via direct contracting, sub-contracting and/or joint venturing in some way.

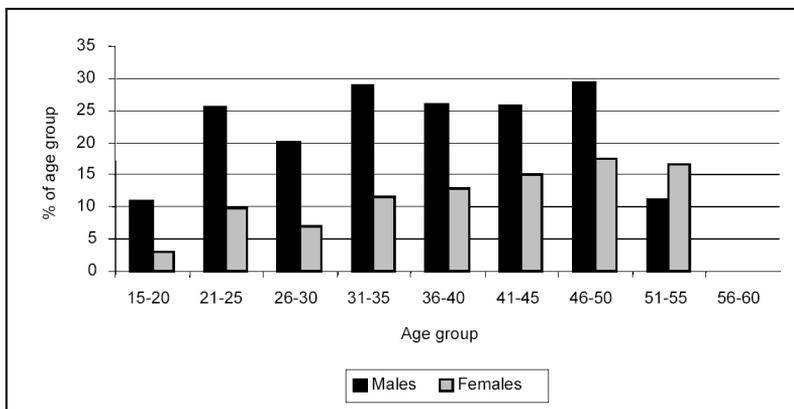
According to data supplied by ATSIC, in August 2003 there were 159 CDEP participants employed by the Thamarrurr CDEP scheme, four of whom were non-Aboriginal. The vast majority of Aboriginal participants were male (103), and 52 were female. Figure 3.5 shows the distribution of these participants by broad age group and reveals that whereas most male workers are relatively young and under 30 years, most female participants are over 30 years.

Figure 3.5. CDEP participants by age and sex: Thamarrurr region, August 2003



Source: ATSIS CDEP Division, Adelaide

Figure 3.6. CDEP participants as a per cent of male and female age groups: Thamarrurr region, August 2003



Source: ATSI CDEP Division, Adelaide

However, raw numbers alone mask the importance of CDEP as a source of employment for older residents. This is shown in Figure 3.6 which indicates the percentage of each age group in the Thamarrurr region employed by CDEP. Among males, the rate of CDEP employment is highest among those aged 46–50 years, and is consistently above 25 per cent for those aged between 31 and 45. At the same time, this is not to deny the significance of CDEP for younger workers with 25 per cent of males in the 21–25 year age group also participating, although the rate among those in the transition years from school to work is relatively low. Among females, there is a direct relationship between age and participation with the importance of CDEP as an employment source generally rising up to age 55.

This essential role of CDEP as a means of generating local employment is further underlined by the lack of alternative opportunities for the unemployed. According to Centrelink data, there were 449 employment services customers in the Thamarrurr region in 2003, 183 of whom had a Job Seeker Classification Instrument (JSCI) score. Despite this, data provided by the DEWR indicate that only 39 Wadeye residents were referred to Intensive Assistance with Job Network providers servicing the Wadeye region since May 1998 (an average of six per year).

Estimating future labour force status

From Table 2.4, the resident Aboriginal population of working age in Thamarrurr is projected to almost double in size from 1104 in 2003 to 2133 by 2023—an increase of 1029, or 93 per cent. Clearly, the economic status of Aboriginal people in the region is largely a function of their continued failure to adequately participate in paid economic activity. What then is the scale of the task ahead if a key aim of the ICCP process is to enhance such participation?

Three future employment scenarios are explored in Table 3.7. The first considers the number of jobs that would be required by 2023 if the 2003 Aboriginal employment to

population ratio were to remain unchanged at the current very low rate of 16.1 per cent (inclusive of CDEP). The answer is 343. Thus, the current workforce would need to double in size over the next 20 years simply to avoid any further deterioration in the low employment rate. However, what if the target sought by the Thamarrurr partnership was to double the employment rate, which would bring it in line with the rate recorded for all Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory in 2001? This might be seen as moving to 'normalise' the situation at Wadeye—a term that is now part of the lexicon of planning within the Thamarrurr region signalling the pursuit of equity in social and economic conditions. Against this scenario, the additional jobs required amount to more than 500—a task in order of magnitude that would seem to be way beyond the capacity of current policy settings.

Table 3.7. Extra Aboriginal jobs required in the Thamarrurr region by 2023 against selected target employment rates

Employment/ population ratio in 2003	Base employment 2003	Total jobs required by 2023	Extra jobs required by 2023
16.1 ^a	178	343	165
32.2 ^b	178	687	509
33.2 ^c	178	708	530

a. The 2003 Aboriginal employment/population ratio inclusive of CDEP

b. A doubling of the Aboriginal employment/population ratio in 2001

c. The Northern Territory Aboriginal census-derived employment/population ratio in 2001.

Source: Author's own calculations

