

RECENT TRENDS IN INDIGENOUS EMPLOYMENT

Danielle Venn and Nicholas Biddle

In 2009, the Council of Australian Governments committed to ‘halve the gap in employment outcomes between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians within a decade (by 2018)’ (PMC 2018: 76). Data from the most recent Closing the Gap report suggest that this target is not on track to be met (PMC 2018). Indeed, as will be shown in this article, the gap has widened rather than narrowed over the past decade, and shown little overall change since the turn of the century, when measured using census data.

However, while the headline figures provide little optimism that the employment gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians will be closed anytime soon in the absence of significant policy change, this article shows that there are very different trends by sex, geography and education levels. On average, employment outcomes have improved more for: Indigenous Australians with relatively high levels of education; Indigenous women; and Indigenous people living in non-remote areas. Some of the explanation for Indigenous employment trends undoubtedly lies with Australia’s macroeconomic circumstances and secular trends in the labour market. Measuring progress in achieving employment targets is also complicated by the demise of the Community Development and Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme and changes in patterns of Indigenous identification, both of which will be discussed in more detail later in this article.

The article uses data from the Australian Census of Population and Housing to provide an overview of changes and patterns in employment outcomes for Indigenous Australians, focusing first on longer-term trends and then on changes between 2011 and 2016. The main contribution of

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the article is to differentiate between trends for the Indigenous population as a whole and those for sub-groups. We present data on trends by sex and region. We then focus on two groups of particular interest: those living in remote areas, and young people.

Measuring Indigenous employment

The monthly Labour Force Survey conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) is the primary source of employment-related data for the Australian population. While the monthly sample size is considered too small to make reliable estimates for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population, the ABS produced annual or biennial estimates from 1994 to 2011 of Indigenous employment, unemployment and labour force participation by remoteness, age and state/territory (ABS catalogue no. 6287.0, various editions). However, this publication has been discontinued and no data are currently released from the Labour Force Survey by Indigenous status. As a result, we use data from the five-yearly Australian Census of Population and Housing, from 2001 to 2016 to examine trends in the employment rate – the proportion of the population who are employed in a paid job. In the 2016 Census an individual is classified as employed if they had a job of any kind for one hour or more in the week prior to the census.

Employment estimates and their trends over time are likely to have been affected by the demise of the CDEP scheme, which was phased out between 2006 and 2015. In censuses before 2016, CDEP participants were classified as employed. In the 2016 Census, previous CDEP participants who had not found ongoing paid work, or new labour market entrants who may have otherwise participated in the CDEP scheme, are likely to have been classified as unemployed or not in the labour force rather than as employed.¹ While the inclusion of CDEP participation in employment prior to 2016 complicates the measurement of employment

¹ Participants in labour market programs in remote areas that were implemented after the CDEP scheme was abolished, such as the Community Development Program (CDP), are not classified as employed unless they also are working in a paid job while participating in CDP. If they do not have a paid job, they will be classified as either unemployed or not in the labour force, depending on how they answer questions about job search activities and ability to start a new job.

trends over time, we feel that it is still important to examine such trends. However, it is important to keep these changes in the census definition of employment in mind when interpreting the results, as they are likely to have had the effect of reducing measured Indigenous employment rates in the 2016 Census compared with earlier years, particularly in remote areas where CDEP participation was relatively high.

Indigenous status in the data we use is self-identified based on information from the household census form. We define Indigenous people as those who identified in the census as either Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander or both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, and non-Indigenous people as those who said they are neither Aboriginal nor Torres Strait Islander. We exclude from our analysis those who did not provide data for Indigenous status (see Markham and Biddle 2017 for a discussion of missing data on Indigenous status in the 2016 Census).

We do not factor in changes in Indigenous identification in our analysis. There is strong evidence that the number and proportion of people who identify as being Indigenous have increased over time, and that the newly-identified Indigenous population has better socioeconomic status than the previously-identified population (Markham and Biddle 2018). However, in this article, we take the Indigenous population as revealed at each census as the relevant population of interest and compare repeated cross-sections of individuals. The implications of identification change for employment trends are discussed in more detail in the conclusion.

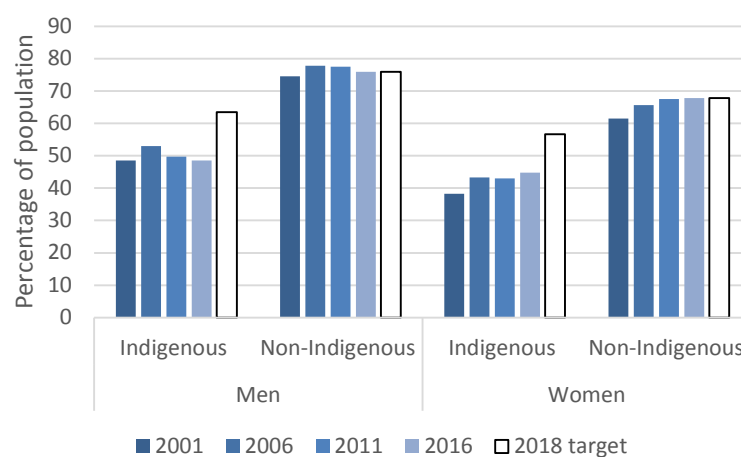
When the analysis for this article was done, remoteness areas for the 2016 Census had not been released by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. All statistics by remoteness in this article are based on the 2011 remoteness areas. We do not expect that this will have a major influence on our results.

Long-term trends in the Indigenous employment rate

The employment rate of Indigenous men has fallen over the past decade and is currently 49% (Figure 1). Indigenous women's employment rate has risen from 38% in 2001 to 45% in 2016. In large part, these trends echo those of the non-Indigenous population: steady growth in the employment rate for women; and an increase in the employment rate for men between 2001 and 2006 and then a steady decline over the period since the Global Financial Crisis.

As such, there has been little change in the Indigenous–non-Indigenous employment gap for men or women between 2001 and 2016. At the time of the 2016 Census the employment gap remained at 27 percentage points for men and 23 percentage points for women. Although comparative data for 2018 are not available, it is likely that the gap has not since closed. For example, if the non-Indigenous employment rate had remained unchanged since 2016, the Indigenous employment rate would have needed to increase by 15 percentage points on the 2016 rate for men and 12 percentage points for women to meet the Closing the Gap target of halving the employment gap by 2018.

Figure 1: Employment rate of people aged 15–64 Years, 2001–2016



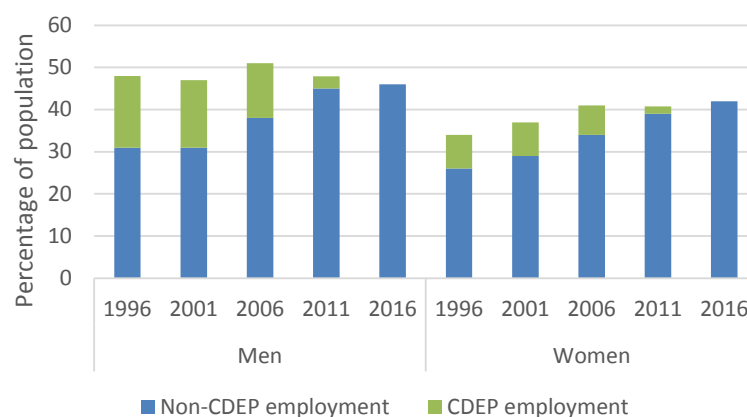
Source: Data from the 2001–2016 censuses.

Note: Employment rate is the ratio of employed persons to total population aged 15–64 years. The 2018 target is the Indigenous employment rate required for the gap in employment rates between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people to be halved by 2018 (compared with 2006 levels). The 2018 target is calculated assuming that the employment rate of non-Indigenous people is unchanged between 2016 and 2018.

Some of the slow growth or decline in the employment rate for Indigenous Australians over the last two decades can be explained by the gradual decline of participation in the CDEP scheme as it was phased out between 2006 and 2015. As detailed in the previous section, CDEP participation was classified as employment in censuses before 2016. Using administrative data on CDEP participation, Gray *et al.* (2014) estimated non-CDEP employment in each census year from 1996 to 2011. Their results are reproduced in Figure 2, with the addition of employment rates from the 2016 Census.

The non-CDEP employment rate increased steadily between 2001 and 2011 (Figure 2). Growth in the non-CDEP employment rate slowed between 2011 and 2016, increasing from 45% to 46% for men and from 39% to 42% for women. It is notable that the relatively strong increase in non-CDEP employment since 2001 has not been enough to offset the decline in CDEP participation, resulting in declining total employment rates for men and stagnating rates for women between 2006 and 2016.

Figure 2: Employment rate of Indigenous people aged 15+ years



Sources: Gray *et al.* (2014) for 1996–2011 data; data from the 2016 Census.

Note: CDEP = Community Development Employment Projects. Employment rate is the ratio of employed persons to total population aged 15+ years.

Long-run employment rate trends look more positive when CDEP participation is excluded from employment, however growth in the non-CDEP employment rate between 2011 and 2016 slowed considerably compared with previous years. Despite slowing, growth in the Indigenous non-CDEP employment rate outpaced growth in the employment rate for the non-Indigenous population (see Figure 1). As such, this slowdown is likely to be caused in part by the broader macroeconomic and labour market situation following the Global Financial Crisis (Healy 2014; Oliver and Yu 2017). Nevertheless, it seems clear that the Closing the Gap target of halving the gap in employment rates between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians by 2018 is unlikely to be met.

Changes in Indigenous employment, 2011–2016

Employment rates and recent patterns of growth vary considerably across regions (Appendix 1). Indigenous employment rates in remote areas dropped substantially between 2011 and 2016: by 4 percentage points for women and 9 percentage points for men. As discussed above, this was partly due to the phasing out of the CDEP scheme. Employment performance was considerably worse than for the non-Indigenous population in remote areas, where the employment rate increased by 1 percentage point for men and 2 percentage points for women, resulting in a widening of the employment gap in remote areas by 10 percentage points for men and 6 percentage points for women.

By contrast, in most non-remote areas, growth in the Indigenous employment rate between 2011 and 2016 was considerably faster than for the non-Indigenous population. In most non-remote areas, Indigenous women's employment rate increased, with the largest increases in New South Wales, Victoria and the Australian Capital Territory, followed by South Australia and Tasmania. The employment rate grew more slowly in Queensland and Western Australia, and fell in regional Northern Territory. In total, the employment rate of Indigenous women increased by around 3 percentage points in major cities and regional areas. This easily surpassed employment rate growth for non-Indigenous women in these areas and resulted in a reduction in the employment gap by 2–3 percentage points in major cities and 1 percentage point in regional areas.

The employment rate of Indigenous men was generally constant or fell in non-remote areas. The exception was in New South Wales, where the employment rate increased by 3 percentage points in major cities and 4 percentage points in regional areas. Nevertheless, except for the Northern Territory and Tasmania, the growth of the employment rate for Indigenous men exceeded that for non-Indigenous men in non-remote areas, resulting in a reduction in the employment gap. On average across Australia, Indigenous men's employment rate increased by around 1 percentage point in major cities and was unchanged in regional areas between 2011 and 2016, at a time when the employment rate for non-Indigenous men fell by close to 2 percentage points.

One of the reasons that the employment rate of Indigenous women has grown faster (or declined more slowly) than that of Indigenous men between 2011 and 2016 is because Indigenous women are more likely than Indigenous men to be employed in fast-growing industries such as healthcare and education. Appendix 2 shows the distribution of Indigenous employment by industry in 2016. As is the case for the non-Indigenous population, men's and women's employment is concentrated in different industries. Construction, public administration and manufacturing are the largest employers of Indigenous men, while Indigenous women's employment is concentrated in healthcare and social assistance, education and public administration. The pattern of Indigenous employment by industry also varies with geographical location. The mining, education and public administration industries are relatively more important in remote areas, while retail trade, accommodation and food services, transport and manufacturing industries are more important in major cities.

For both men and women, the public sector accounts for a considerable share of employment, either through direct employment in government at Commonwealth, state or local level or in industries where public sector employment is high, such as education, healthcare and public safety. In 2016, just over 20% of Indigenous employment was in the public sector, compared with 15% of non-Indigenous employment. The majority of Indigenous employment in the public sector was with state/territory governments. Indigenous women were more likely than Indigenous men to be employed by Commonwealth or state/territory governments, but Indigenous men had higher employment rates in local government than Indigenous women.

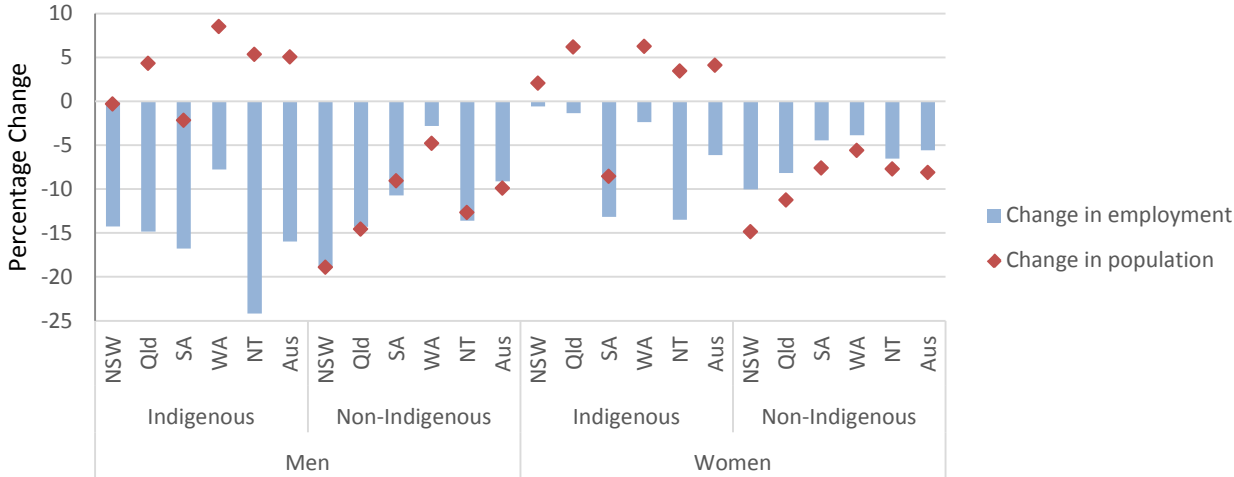
Employment in remote areas after CDEP

The previous section showed that, in remote areas, labour market outcomes for Indigenous people deteriorated compared with non-Indigenous people between 2011 and 2016. We cannot determine how much of this decline in Indigenous employment is directly attributable to the cessation of the CDEP scheme, nor how much can be attributed to changes in other employment policies and programs in the period. However, in this section we examine trends in employment and population for the Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations in remote areas to determine whether factors other than CDEP participation are likely to have influenced the Indigenous employment rate in these areas and the extent to which non-CDEP employment opportunities have emerged to absorb former CDEP participants.

Total employment fell by around 15% for Indigenous men and 6% for Indigenous women between 2011 and 2016 (Figure 3). At the same time, the Indigenous working-age population increased by around 6%, leading to a significant deterioration in the employment rate. The disparity between employment and population growth was largest in the Northern Territory, Queensland and Western Australia, and it was in these areas that the employment rate fell most sharply. Despite the overall poor employment performance in remote Australia, Indigenous employment grew in several areas from 2011-16. For Indigenous women, employment grew in remote areas of the Indigenous regions of Cape York, Mt Isa, Broome, South Hedland and Alice Springs. Indigenous men's employment declined in every remote region except South Hedland.

At least some of the decline in Indigenous employment in remote areas between 2011 and 2016 was probably because the CDEP scheme ended. However, declining employment for non-Indigenous people in remote areas suggests that poor labour market conditions also contributed to the fall. In New South Wales and Queensland, the decline in employment for non-Indigenous people in remote areas was larger than for Indigenous people, while the opposite was true in South Australia and the Northern Territory (and for men in Western Australia), where Indigenous employment fell by more than non-Indigenous employment. Nevertheless, employment fell for non-Indigenous people in remote areas across all states and territories during this period. This is unlikely to have been influenced by the conclusion of the CDEP scheme.

Figure 3: Change in total employment and population (aged 15–64) in remote areas, 2011–16



Source: Data from 2011 and 2016 censuses.

Note: The data for 'Australia' includes remote areas in Victoria and Tasmania that are too small to show in the figure.

Turning now from employment levels to employment rates illustrates another element of this complex picture. In contrast to the large falls in the Indigenous employment rate in remote areas, the employment rate for non-Indigenous people in these regions was stable for women and fell only slightly for men because the working-age population typically fell by as much or more than employment. This suggests that as job opportunities declined in remote areas between 2011 and 2016, non-Indigenous people left remote areas while Indigenous people tended to stay, consistent with previous research that shows that non-Indigenous people living in remote areas were more likely to move to other areas (particularly cities and regional towns) than Indigenous people (Biddle and Markham 2013).

Employment growth in remote areas varied considerably across industries. Indigenous employment growth was typically faster than non-Indigenous employment growth in industries where CDEP jobs were not prominent. Particularly strong employment growth for Indigenous people (compared with non-Indigenous people) was seen in the mining, retail and hospitality industries. It is notable that the slowdown in the mining sector (*e.g.* ABS 2016) did not result in a fall in Indigenous employment. It may be that the winding back of fly-in fly-out arrangements provided more opportunities for local Indigenous people to be hired; this is an interesting area for further research. Modest growth in remote Indigenous employment in education and training occurred, while employment in health care and social assistance was stable for women and fell for men. By contrast, remote Indigenous employment fell significantly in industries where CDEP jobs were formerly concentrated: public administration and safety, arts and recreation services, and construction (the latter for men).

Hunter and Gray (2013) show that CDEP employment was concentrated in low-skilled occupations, so it seems likely that this is where most of the fall in employment in remote areas due to the end of the CDEP scheme would be apparent. Indeed, employment of Indigenous labourers fell by 43% between 2011 and 2016. However, Indigenous professional employment also fell by around 6% in remote areas, adding further evidence that poor labour market performance in remote areas was not entirely due to the impact of the CDEP scheme.

Changes in youth employment 2011–2016

Labour market conditions for young Australians deteriorated between 2011 and 2016, with higher unemployment rates, lower employment rates and university graduates taking longer to find work (Brotherhood of St Laurence 2017; Junankar 2015; Social Research Centre 2017). As mentioned previously this has been compounded for the Indigenous population with the demise of CDEP, particularly in remote areas.

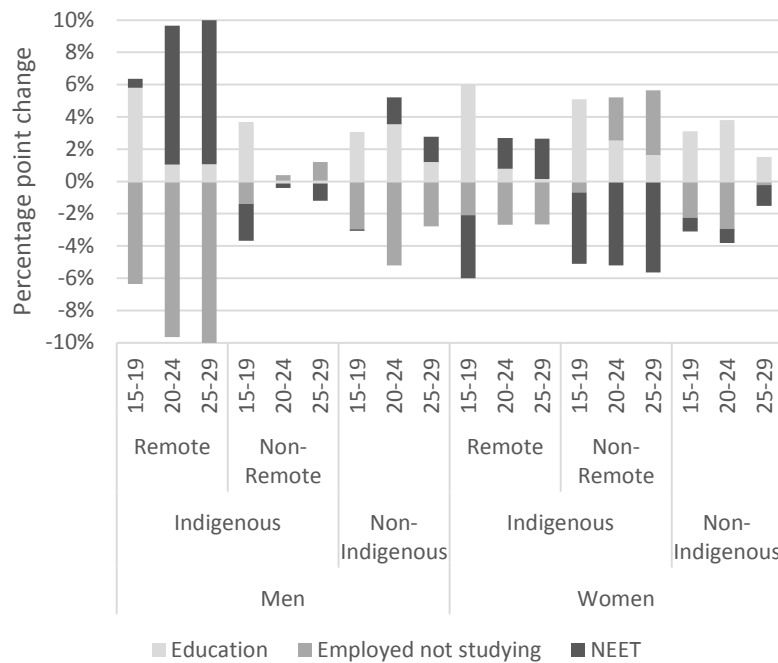
The slowing labour market saw a general trend among non-Indigenous youth of declining employment and increased education participation as young people remained in education longer rather than enter a weak labour market (Figure 4). There were also considerable increases in education participation among the Indigenous population. The proportion of Indigenous 15–19-year-olds in education increased for all groups, with the biggest increases – of around 6 percentage points – in remote areas. This aligns with a substantial increase in senior secondary school participation and Year 12 attainment for Indigenous students over the same period (Crawford and Venn 2018). There were also increases in older youth participating in education in remote areas, and for women in non-remote areas. The increase in education participation among Indigenous youth was typically larger than for non-Indigenous youth.

By contrast, the employment situation deteriorated for Indigenous youth in remote areas, with falls in employment particularly large for men in their 20s. This is likely to be largely due to the winding back of CDEP. That is, former CDEP participants or those who would have entered CDEP after leaving school and who did not find non-CDEP jobs were classified in the 2016 Census as unemployed or not in the labour force. This led to an increase in the proportion of young people who were not in employment, education or training (NEET) in remote areas, although these were somewhat offset by increases in education participation.

In non-remote areas, employment fell only for the youngest Indigenous cohort (15–19-year-olds), and this appears to be due to greater numbers staying on at school or participating in post-school education. For those in their 20s, employment rose: by around 1 percentage point for men and 3 points for women. Combined, greater education participation and better employment outcomes saw NEET rates fall (often quite dramatically) across all non-remote Indigenous cohorts, with results particularly strong for women. This coincides with a dramatic fall in teenage fertility among

Indigenous women and an increase in the proportion of Indigenous teenage mothers who are staying at school (Venn and Crawford 2018).

Figure 4: Change in education, employment and NEET rates for 15-29 year-olds, 2011–2016



Source: Data from the 2011 and 2016 Censuses.

Note: NEET = not in employment, education or training

Rapid increases in educational attainment among Indigenous youth are also likely to have a positive impact on average labour market outcomes. Indigenous youth who complete Year 12 or a higher qualification have substantially higher rates of employment, lower rates of inactivity, and are more likely to work full-time and in skilled occupations than early school leavers (Venn 2018).

Conclusion

At face value, headline employment figures from the 2016 Census when compared with previous censuses show that the employment gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians remains high and has changed little since the turn of the century. However, the employment situation of Indigenous people varies widely by geographical region, with those living in major cities generally seeing an increase in employment rates between 2011 and 2016. In particular, the employment rate of Indigenous women in non-remote areas increased between 2006 and 2011, resulting in a fall in the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous employment rates for women. For Indigenous men in non-remote areas, growth in the employment rate was slower in this period than that of Indigenous women, but still faster than for non-Indigenous men. As a result, the gap in employment rates between Indigenous and non-Indigenous men in non-remote regions also declined.

Our results highlight important differences in employment performance for Indigenous men and women. Looking at the data for all regions, Indigenous women have seen a slow but steady increase in their employment rate over the past 15 years, while men's overall employment rate has stagnated or fallen. There are two main reasons for these differences. First, a smaller proportion of Indigenous women worked in CDEP jobs previously (Hunter and Gray 2013), so its end has had less effect on their employment rate. Second, Indigenous women's employment is more concentrated in occupations and industries that are growing in employment opportunities – including health and community services, education, hospitality and retail – whereas Indigenous men are more likely to work in jobs where employment is falling or stagnant, both relative to Indigenous women and to non-Indigenous men (Venn and Biddle 2018). Nevertheless, women's employment rates remain lower than men's, particularly for those with low levels of education. It is also likely that the concentration of women's employment in some industries and occupations, while positive for their current and future employment prospects, brings with it lower wages and job security.

Some of the seemingly positive employment result in non-remote areas is likely due to an increase in the number of people with relatively good labour market prospects identifying as Indigenous in the 2016 Census but not in the 2011 Census. The employment rate of newly-identified Indigenous people in 2016 was higher than those who identified as

Indigenous in both 2011 and 2016 (Markham and Biddle 2018). As a result, average Indigenous employment was higher in 2016 than it would have been in the absence of identification change. While our cross-sectional results suggest some grounds for optimism about trends in employment in non-remote areas, the extent to which such improvements can be attributed to policy developments is unclear. Further research on the impact of identification change on observed employment trends – and indeed on Closing the Gap progress more generally – is needed to better understand and explain these trends.

In remote areas, the end of the CDEP scheme undoubtedly resulted in lower recorded employment rates, particularly for the low skilled. However, the remote labour market also appears to have performed poorly between 2011 and 2016, with non-Indigenous employment falling considerably. The widening gap in the employment rate between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in remote areas was exacerbated by non-Indigenous people moving away from remote areas in response to the poor labour market, whereas the Indigenous working-age population in those remote regions grew.

There are signs of improvement in the labour market for Indigenous youth. Between 2011 and 2016, large increases in educational participation among Indigenous teenagers saw NEET rates drop for male and female youth in non-remote areas. NEET rates also dropped for Indigenous people in their 20s in non-remote areas (particularly women). These results are especially encouraging given the deteriorating labour market situation for young Australians during this period, particularly among those with lower levels of education. The picture in remote areas is more mixed, largely because the elimination of CDEP saw employment drop and NEET rates increase. Nevertheless, educational participation for Indigenous people in their 20s increased in remote areas.

Overall, the results presented in this article show that, despite progress for some groups and regions, Indigenous employment rates remain considerably lower than those for the non-Indigenous population. Improvements in education are important as there is a clear correlation between educational attainment and employment outcomes (Venn and Biddle 2018). However, we must ensure that the quality of that education is high and that the growth in education is faster than declines in employment for low-skilled workers. It is also important that Indigenous Australians have access to career advice, training and labour market

opportunities to help them take advantage of emerging employment opportunities, both nationally and in the areas where they live.

This article focuses primarily on Indigenous employment. However, other factors, including hours of work, job security and wages will influence the welfare gains to Indigenous people from labour market engagement. We have highlighted the example of Indigenous women, who appear to have had employment gains from working in occupations and industries where employment opportunities are expanding, but who may also experience the adverse effects of low pay and job insecurity. It may also be the case that employment gains from moving currently unemployed people into low-skilled (but low paid and insecure) jobs will not result in commensurate improvements in socioeconomic outcomes or broader measures of wellbeing. These limitations should be kept in mind when interpreting the results of the article.

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Appendix 1: Employment rate of people aged 15–64 years and % change 2011-16 (Δ)

		Indigenous men			Indigenous women			Non-Indigenous men			Non-Indigenous women		
		2011	2016	Δ	2011	2016	Δ	2011	2016	Δ	2011	2016	Δ
NSW	Cities	55.5	58.1	2.7	49.2	52.9	3.7	76.6	76.0	-0.5	65.5	66.8	1.3
	Regional	44.5	48.0	3.5	39.9	44.7	4.8	74.0	74.0	0.0	65.1	67.8	2.7
	Remote	46.2	39.7	-6.5	38.1	37.1	-1.0	81.6	81.5	-0.1	69.5	73.5	4.0
	Total	49.6	52.5	2.9	44.1	48.4	4.3	76.0	75.6	-0.4	65.4	67.0	1.6
Vic	Cities	60.0	60.2	0.2	52.3	54.8	2.6	77.6	75.8	-1.8	66.4	66.5	0.1
	Regional	48.6	50.2	1.6	40.7	44.3	3.6	76.5	75.6	-0.9	66.3	68.5	2.2
	Total	54.7	55.6	1.0	46.7	50.1	3.4	77.3	75.7	-1.6	66.4	66.9	0.5
Qld	Cities	58.3	58.3	0.0	50.9	51.9	1.0	78.2	76.9	-1.3	68.8	69.5	0.6
	Regional	48.6	44.8	-3.8	41.6	42.1	0.6	77.8	74.1	-3.6	66.2	67.0	0.7
	Remote	56.4	46.0	-10.4	42.0	39.0	-3.0	84.9	85.1	0.3	71.1	73.6	2.5
	Total	53.2	49.7	-3.5	44.6	45.0	0.4	78.3	76.2	-2.1	68.0	68.8	0.7
SA	Cities	45.8	45.5	-0.3	42.2	43.8	1.6	75.1	72.3	-2.8	67.2	67.1	-0.2
	Regional	41.3	40.4	-0.9	37.5	39.5	2.1	75.5	73.7	-1.8	66.5	67.8	1.3
	Remote	47.0	40.0	-7.0	37.3	35.4	-1.9	82.9	81.4	-1.5	71.3	73.7	2.4
	Total	44.6	43.0	-1.5	39.9	41.2	1.4	75.5	72.9	-2.6	67.2	67.4	0.2

WA	Cities	47.8	45.4	-2.4	41.3	42.1	0.8	81.1	77.0	-4.2	68.9	68.1	-0.8
	Regional	37.0	35.1	-2.0	36.2	37.4	1.2	80.3	76.2	-4.1	67.4	68.4	1.0
	Remote	51.3	43.6	-7.7	36.6	33.6	-3.0	87.7	89.5	1.8	73.3	74.7	1.4
	Total	46.9	42.4	-4.5	38.3	37.8	-0.5	81.6	77.9	-3.7	68.9	68.5	-0.4
Tas	Total	58.1	55.4	-2.8	50.9	52.9	2.1	72.7	71.6	-1.1	65.3	67.0	1.7
NT	Regional	46.4	46.7	0.3	50.4	49.4	-1.0	82.9	85.5	2.6	77.0	77.1	0.0
	Remote	37.3	26.9	-10.5	31.8	26.6	-5.2	86.3	85.3	-0.9	78.1	79.1	1.0
	Total	39.3	31.4	-7.8	35.6	31.4	-4.3	84.0	85.5	1.4	77.4	77.6	0.3
ACT	Total	65.0	66.8	1.9	60.7	63.6	2.9	82.1	79.8	-2.3	76.2	75.0	-1.2
Aus	Cities	55.2	56.2	1.0	48.6	51.1	2.6	77.7	76.0	-1.6	67.1	67.5	0.4
	Regional	46.6	46.5	-0.1	41.6	44.1	2.6	76.1	74.6	-1.5	66.2	67.9	1.8
	Remote	46.9	37.5	-9.4	36.4	32.8	-3.6	85.2	85.9	0.7	72.5	74.5	2.0
	Total	49.7	48.5	-1.2	43.0	44.8	1.8	77.5	75.9	-1.6	67.0	67.8	0.8

Source: Data from the 2011 and 2016 censuses.

Note: Employment rate is the ratio of employed persons to total population aged 15–64 years. Totals for Victoria include remote areas even though they are not shown separately because of the small sample size. No subregional results are shown for Tasmania and the Australian Capital Territory because of the small sample size.

Appendix 2. Indigenous employment by industry, 2016

	Men (%)				Women (%)			
	Major cities	Regional	Remote	Total	Major cities	Regional	Remote	Total
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	0.7	6.0	7.0	3.9	0.3	1.9	1.6	1.1
Mining	2.6	5.2	16.6	5.8	0.8	1.0	4.9	1.4
Manufacturing	7.3	8.8	1.5	7.1	2.4	2.4	0.6	2.2
Electricity, Gas, Water & Waste	1.6	1.9	1.2	1.7	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.4
Construction	18.3	15.5	8.4	15.7	2.0	1.6	1.4	1.7
Wholesale Trade	2.7	2.3	0.7	2.2	1.3	0.8	0.2	0.9
Retail Trade	7.7	7.2	3.8	6.9	11.4	11.7	6.4	10.8
Accommodation & Food Services	5.8	5.6	2.8	5.3	9.3	11.4	4.9	9.6
Transport, Postal & Warehousing	7.6	6.1	2.8	6.3	2.6	1.8	1.2	2.1
Information Media & Telecomm.	1.4	0.8	0.4	1.0	1.2	0.6	0.5	0.8
Financial & Insurance Services	1.6	0.5	0.1	0.9	2.6	1.6	0.6	1.9
Rental, Hiring & Real Estate	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.8	1.6	1.1	0.7	1.2
Professional, Scientific & Tech.	3.3	2.0	1.2	2.5	4.1	2.5	1.8	3.1
Administrative & Support Services	3.6	3.4	3.3	3.5	3.9	4.6	4.1	4.2

Public Administration & Safety	10.3	9.8	15.9	10.9	11.7	9.4	13.7	11.0
Education & Training	4.9	4.5	6.1	4.9	13.1	13.4	20.2	14.2
Health Care & Social Assistance	5.6	6.4	8.0	6.3	21.6	24.6	21.4	22.8
Arts & Recreation Services	2.4	1.7	2.1	2.1	2.0	1.3	2.0	1.7
Other Services	3.9	4.2	10.4	4.9	3.6	3.5	7.8	4.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Data from the 2016 Census. *Note:* Excludes those who did not state their industry of employment.

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