



**MINISTRY OF BUSINESS,
INNOVATION & EMPLOYMENT**
HĪKINA WHAKATUTUKI

Labour Market Adjustment in the Construction Industry

Labour market responses to changes in construction activity, 2001-2016

April 2018



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**MINISTRY OF BUSINESS,
INNOVATION & EMPLOYMENT**
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Executive Summary

The construction industry has the ability to quickly recruit and shed workers to meet changes in labour demand due to boom/bust cycles. In recent years the construction industry has rebounded from a decline following the Global Financial Crisis, reaching 215,800 workers employed in 2016.

The construction industry had a net gain of 9,600 workers in 2016. The main source of new workers for the construction industry is workers moving from other industries, with workers also entering the construction industry from outside the workforce (this includes both workers from education or training and migrants) and from benefits.

Over the last decade the proportion of new workers recruited from other industries has fallen to 58 per cent (down from 63 per cent in 2006) of all new recruits, while new workers recruited from outside the workforce has risen to 35 per cent (up from 29 per cent in 2006).

There is a broader reservoir of attached workers with construction qualifications or experience who are not currently employed in the construction industry, but could fill shortages as the industry expands. There were 521,800 workers in construction-related occupations in 2016. New hires in the construction industry earn significantly more than new hires in other industries. This contributes to the construction industry's ability to attract new workers.

The regional mobility of construction workers within the industry has helped to meet the labour demand of regional construction booms like the Auckland housing boom or Canterbury earthquake rebuild. Worker turnover in the construction industry is marginally lower than overall industry rates, and has followed a trend towards slightly greater stability over the period 2001-2016.

The annual earnings of construction workers are rising, and have remained consistently higher than the earnings of workers in all industries. The relative earnings of wage and salary construction workers show no apparent shift due to changing labour demand at the national level. However, some regional shifts have been observed, and the relative earnings of self-employed construction workers are more strongly affected by the boom/bust cycles.

In 2016, self-employed workers accounted for 32.6 per cent of those working in the construction industry compared with 16.5 per cent self-employed for all industries. However, the increased number of workers in the construction industry over the decade has been driven more by growth in the number of wage and salary workers (25.6 per cent increase from 2006 to 2016, compared with a rise in self-employed of 13.1 per cent).

Introduction

This report examines the flows of workers into and out of the construction industry during recent upswings and downturns, covering the period 2001 to 2016. This updates two previous reports and examines the labour market changes that have occurred in the construction industry:

- [Labour market adjustment in the construction sector 2001–2006](#), by Menaka Saravanaperumal, Statistics New Zealand, published December 2008
- [Labour market adjustment in the construction sector 2001–2009](#), Department of Labour, published June 2011.

The key dataset used for this analysis is the Statistics New Zealand's *Linked Employer-Employee Data (LEED)*¹, an administrative dataset that brings together information on individuals' employment activity, income support and business data. The data available for analysis at an industry level for this report runs from 2001-2016.

Construction demand follows boom/bust cycles

The activity of the construction industry in New Zealand follows a boom/bust cycle which is linked to wider economic growth and recession, so the number of workers employed in the industry fluctuates cyclically. The total value of building consents has grown in recent years as the construction industry rebounded from a decline following the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) in 2009.

Many factors contribute to both a construction boom and decline, including interest rates, population growth, wage growth and job growth.

MBIE also produces the National Construction Pipeline report. The latest edition presents forecasts for construction investment to end 2022². The pipeline reports inform the National Construction Occupations Model, which projects the demand for 62 construction-related occupations over the same period as the Pipeline Report.

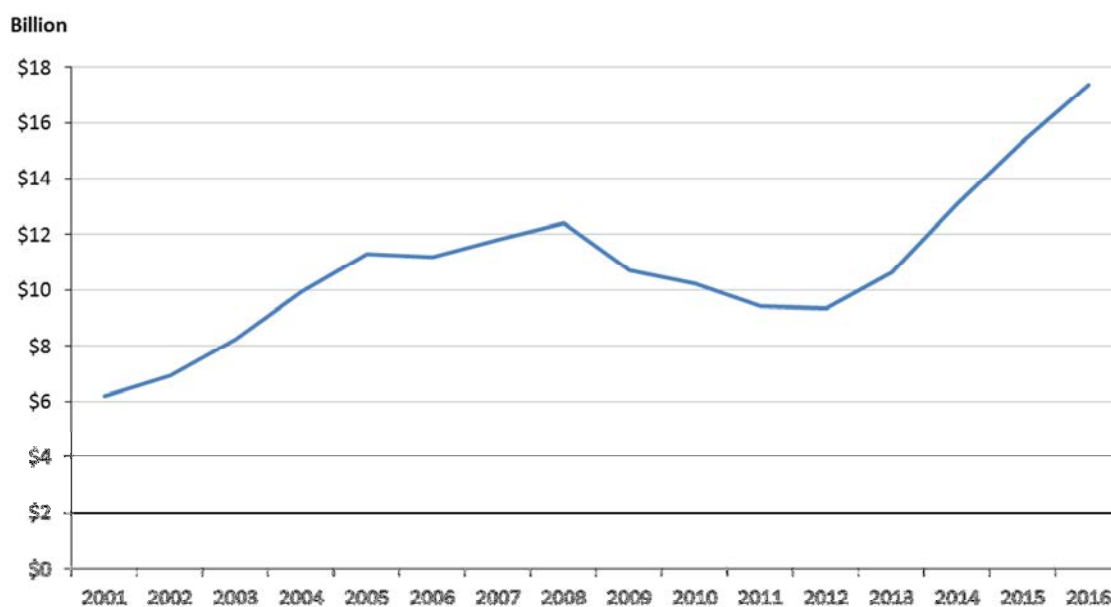
'Construction industry' is defined under the *Australia New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification (ANZSIC) 2006* [ANZSIC06]. The industry covers firms mainly engaged in the construction of buildings and other structures, additions, alterations, reconstruction, installation, and maintenance and repairs of buildings and other structures. It also includes firms engaged in demolition or wrecking of buildings and other structures, and clearing of building sites, as well as those engaged in blasting, test drilling, landfill, levelling, earthmoving, excavating, land drainage, and other land preparation.

This definition does not include occupational groups such as architects or engineers (whose firms are typically included in the *Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services* industry categories), except where they are directly employed by construction firms.

¹ LEED is an administrative dataset that brings together information on individuals' employment activity and government income support from the tax system, and information from the Statistics NZ's business register on businesses. All residents of New Zealand will appear in the LEED dataset, provided they have an IRD number and have received at least one payment that was subject to income taxes, such as earnings from wage or salary employment; earnings from self-employment; a benefit, student allowance, or paid parental leave payment; earnings related compensation from the Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC); or New Zealand Superannuation.

² <http://www.mbie.govt.nz/info-services/building-construction/skills-innovation-productivity>

Figure 1: Value of building consents for all constructions, 2001-2016



Source: Statistics New Zealand, Building Consents for all construction (new and altered). Year ended March

The construction industry adapts quickly to demand

Many workers enter and leave the construction industry each year

The net flow of workers into and out of the construction industry follows a similar trend to the cyclical growth and decline in the value of building consents issued (see Figure 1). In 2016, 46,500 workers entered the industry and 36,800 left (an annual net gain of 9,600 workers, compared with an annual net exit of 14,900 workers in 2010 at the peak of the GFC downturn).

There were 215,800 workers employed in the construction industry in 2016, 11.5 per cent more workers than during the peak of the last construction boom in 2008. From 2006, the total number of people working in the industry has grown by 21.2 per cent.³

There is a broader reservoir of attached workers with construction qualifications or experience who are not currently employed in the construction industry, but could fill shortages as the industry

Does the construction industry have the capacity to scale up quickly?

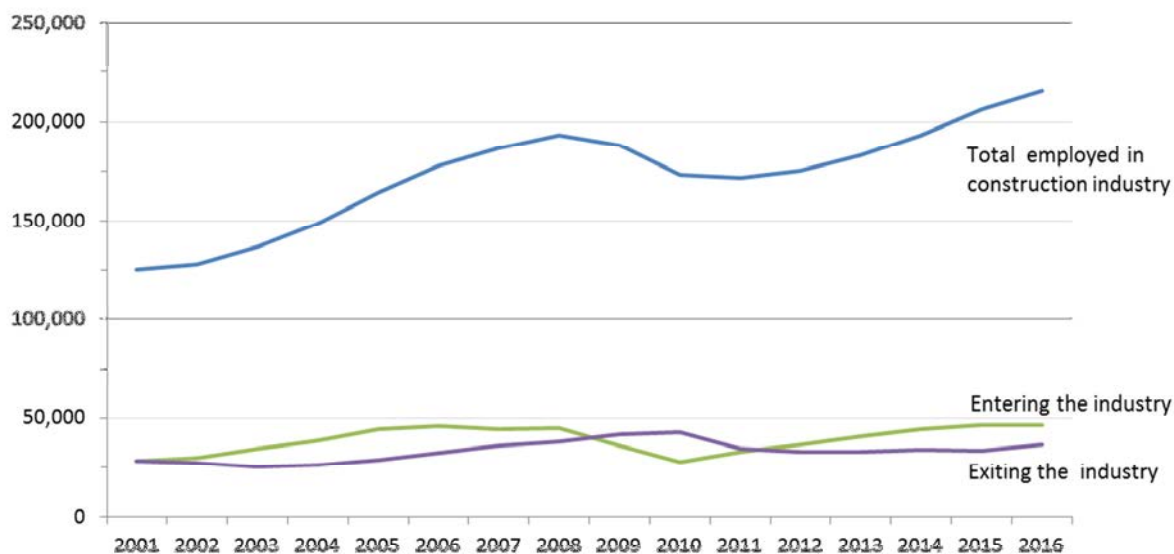
There are limits on the ability of an industry to rapidly increase its workforce to meet rising demand, particularly when new workers require specialised training and skills to be able to contribute productively to the workforce. Generally, the less specialised the skills required, the more easily firms can recruit extra staff, as they can easily access pools of suitably qualified workers. Firms can employ workers from other industries by offering higher wages or better working conditions, or recruiting those who are out of the labour force (for example, students, new recruits or workers from overseas).

The ability of the construction industry to shed and hire workers to meet the changing demand for its services highlights the flexibility of the industry's workforce.

³ People either receiving wages and salaries or self-employment income as their main income source, as defined by Statistics New Zealand, LEED Annual Statistics, Dataset Table 1.5, <http://nzdotstat.stats.govt.nz/wbos/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=TABLECODE7003#>

expands. There were 521,800 workers in construction-related occupations in 2016⁴. This is much greater than the number of workers employed in the construction industry because it includes many workers with construction skills who are employed in other industries.

Figure 2: Employment changes in construction industry, 2001-2016



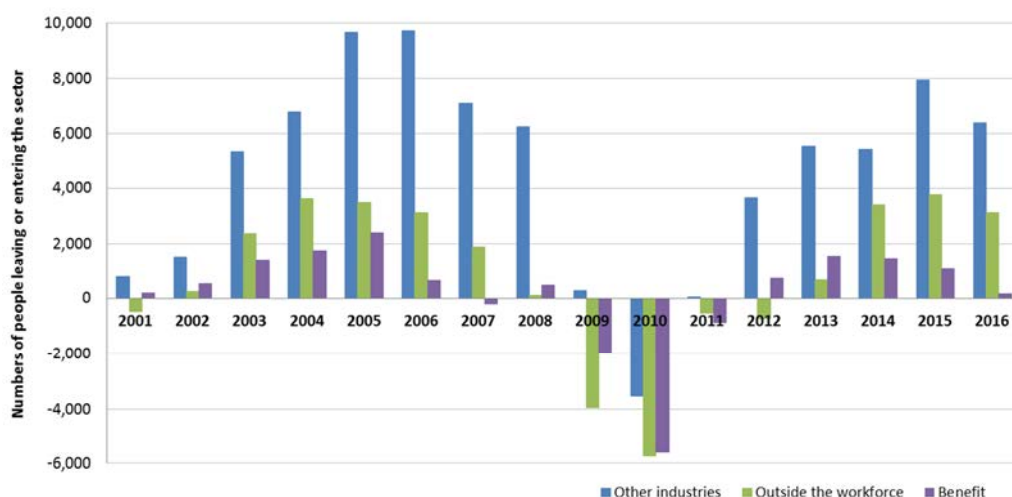
Source: Statistics New Zealand, LEED Annual Tables. March years.

The main source of new workers for the construction industry is workers moving from other industries, with 26,700 workers entering from other industries in 2016, compared with 16,400 from outside the workforce and 3,300 who were on a benefit. The numbers who are recorded as coming from outside the workforce will include those who are new to the New Zealand labour force (from education or training) as well as those who have been recruited from offshore (migrants)⁵.

⁴ <http://www.mbie.govt.nz/publications-research/research/construction-sector-productivity/future-demand-for-construction-workers.pdf>

⁵ In LEED/Tax data there isn't enough information to further breakdown the outside the workforce category, so we cannot distinguish between migrants and workers coming from education.

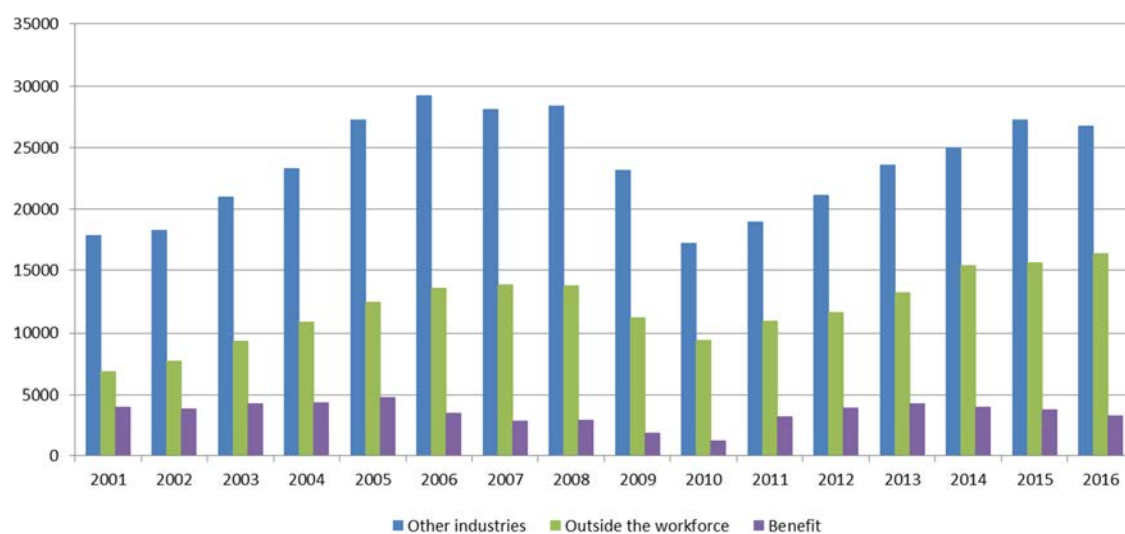
Figure 3: Net flows of workers in the construction industry, 2001-2016



Source: Statistics New Zealand, LEED Annual Tables. March years.

Over the last decade the proportion of new workers recruited from other industries has fallen to 58 per cent (down from 63 per cent in 2006) of all new recruits, and new workers recruited from outside the workforce has risen to 35 per cent (up from 29 per cent in 2006), as shown in Figure 4 below. The number of workers who join the construction industry from being on benefits is strongly driven by broader economic conditions, falling to 4 per cent in 2010 at the height of the GFC then peaking at 11 per cent in 2012-13 during the economic recovery before returning to 7 per cent in 2016.

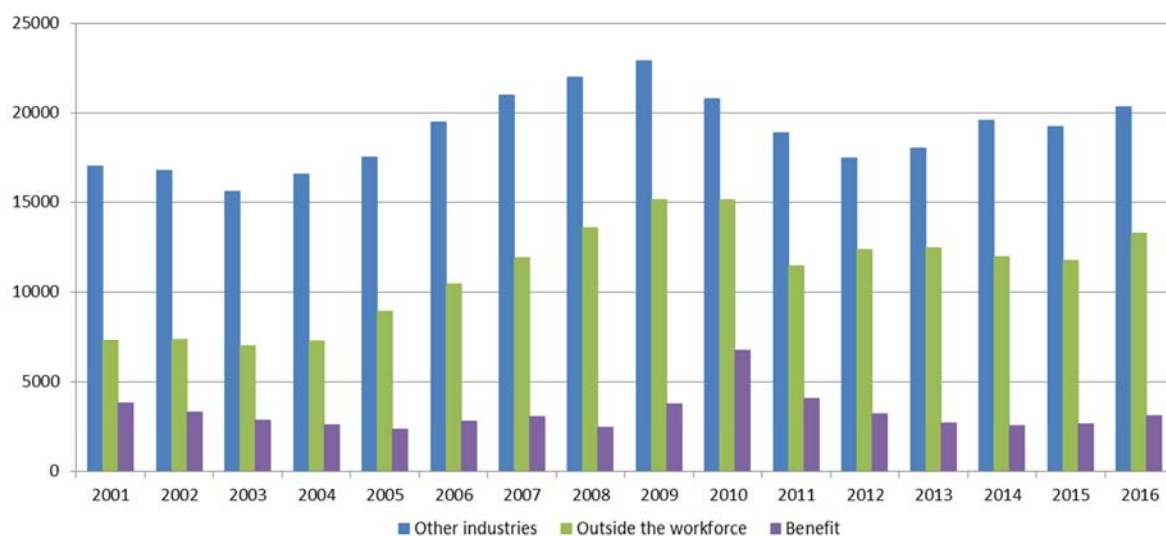
Figure 4: Inflows to the construction industry, by source 2001-2016



Source: Statistics New Zealand, LEED Annual Tables. March years.

The proportion of people leaving the construction industry in the last decade to take up a job in another industry has fallen to 55 per cent of all outflows (down from 59 per cent in 2006). Those leaving the construction industry to take up a benefit have remained fairly steady at approximately 9 per cent of all outflows (or around 3,400 workers annually). However, this number doubled to 16 per cent (or 6,800 workers) in 2010 with the construction downturn and scarcity of other jobs due to the GFC. Over the same period the proportion leaving the workforce has grown to 36 per cent (up from 32 per cent in 2006), with the majority of this growth coming in the 50+ age categories.

Figure 5: Outflows from the construction industry, by destination 2001-2016



Source: Statistics New Zealand, LEED Annual Tables. March years.

Manufacturing and administrative and support services are the largest sources of additional workers

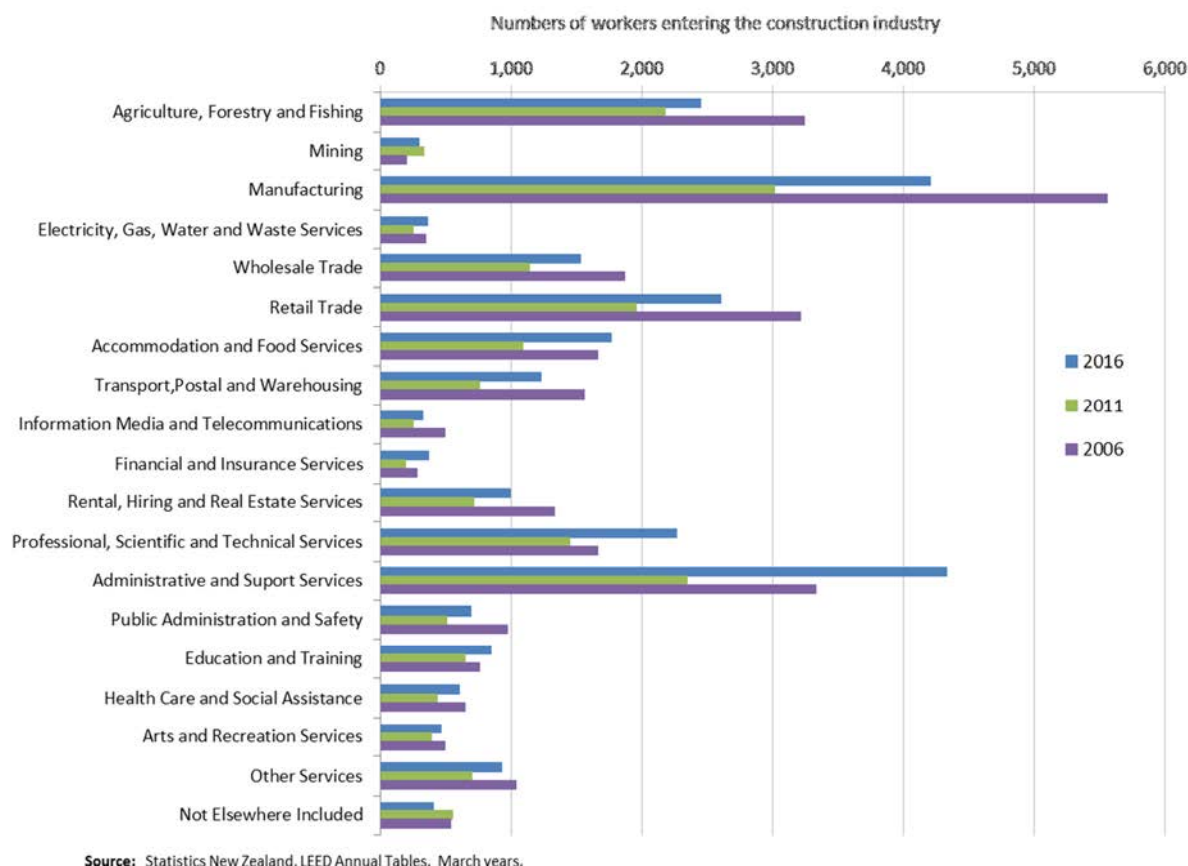
Recruiting workers from other industries has been the main way in which the construction industry has consistently met its growing demand for labour (see Figure 6 below). This creates opportunities and challenges for affected firms in those industries in backfilling any vacancies or skills shortages. Manufacturing has traditionally been the largest source of these workers, but in recent years the administrative and support services industry has become the largest source of new construction workers.

Are we retaining construction skills?

The industry of employment simply refers to where the worker’s wages come from. Workers employed by other industries might still be working construction jobs. For example, truck drivers can work for a range of industries, and construction workers might be contractors employed by a recruitment agency in the administration and support services industry.

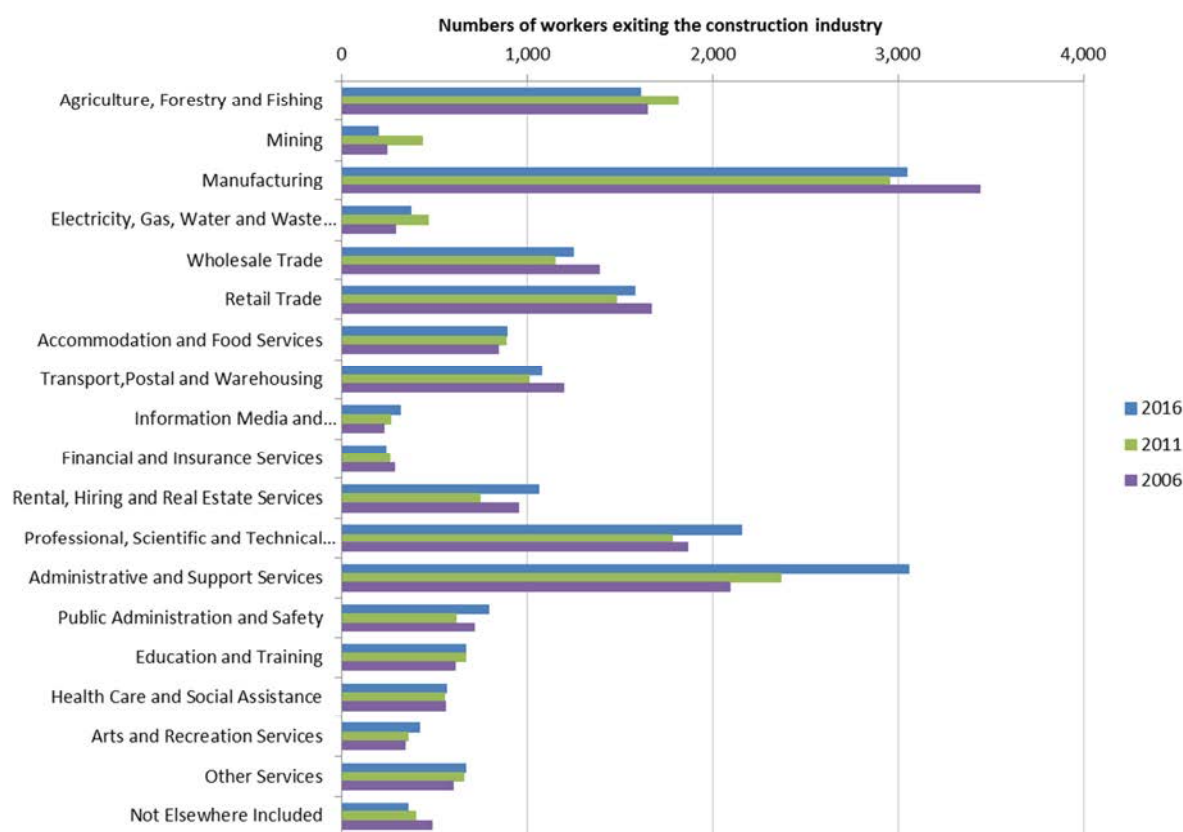
This means that workers who move between the construction industry and other industries might not actually be changing jobs. While outflows from the construction industry remain quite large, even during a construction boom, not all of the skills these workers have are lost.

Figure 6: Inflows of construction workers by source industry



Even in a construction boom, there are still significant numbers of workers leaving the construction industry to work in other industries. In 2016, 20,400 workers left the construction industry to work in other industries, with the main destinations being manufacturing and administrative and support services (see Figure 7). On average 19,000 workers have left the construction industry annually since 2001 to take up jobs in other industries – ranging from a minimum outflow of 15,600 workers in 2003 to a maximum of 23,000 workers in 2009, when the construction industry experienced a downturn at the start of the GFC.

Figure 7: Outflows of construction workers by destination industry



Source: Statistics New Zealand, LEED Annual Tables. March years.

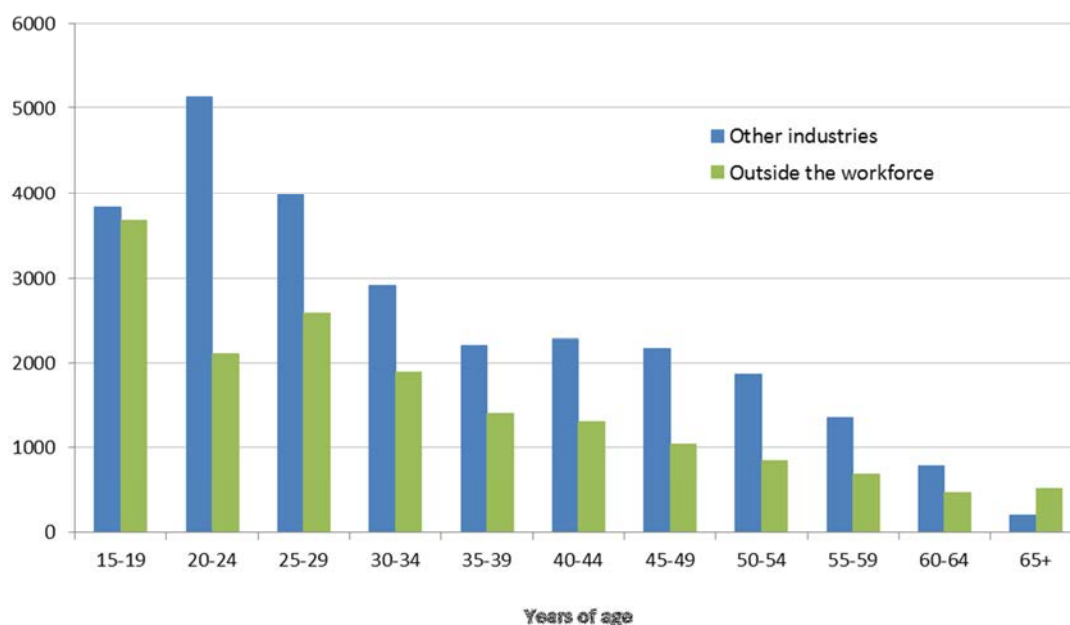
Workers generally enter the construction industry relatively young

In 2016 a third of new workers recruited from outside the workforce or from other industries were under 25 years of age (see figure 8), while approximately 9 per cent of workers entering the construction industry in 2016 were aged 55 years or older.

As expected given the movement from study to employment, a higher proportion of the youngest workers (aged 15-19) come from outside the workforce rather than from other industries. In 2016, 22 per cent of those who entered the construction industry from outside the workforce were aged 15-19 years, whereas 17 per cent of workers who were recruited from other industries were aged 15-19 years. In recent years, the shift towards more workers entering the construction industry from other industries, rather than from out of work, means that more workers are entering the construction industry aged 20-29, while fewer are entering aged 15-19⁶.

⁶ This includes workers from other industries and from outside the workforce, but not people from benefits.

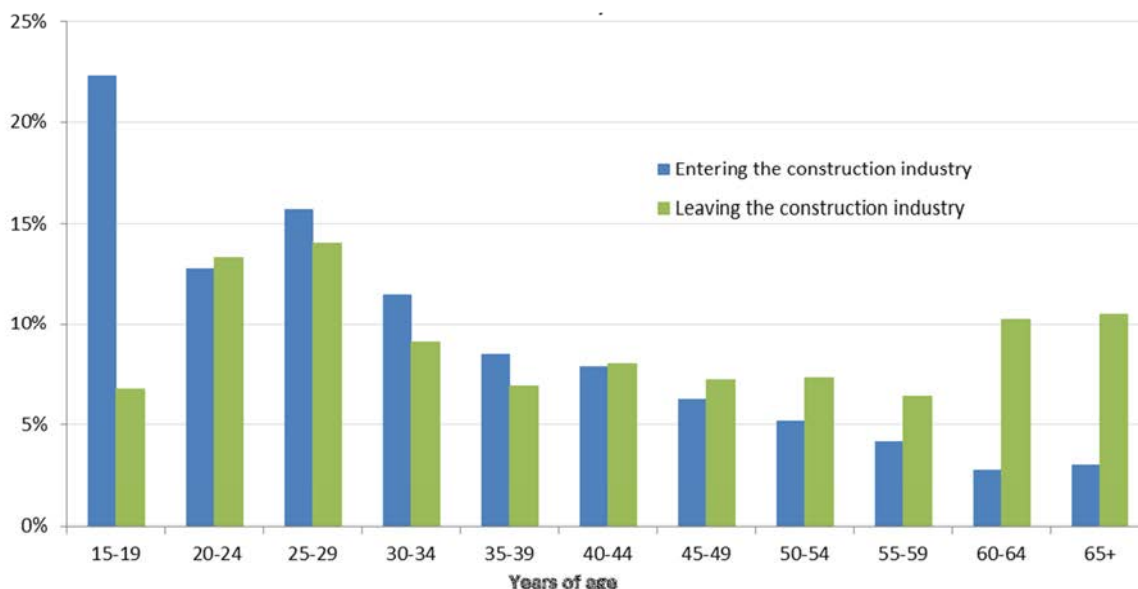
Figure 8: Age profile of workers entering the construction industry, 2016



Source: Statistics New Zealand, LEED Annual Tables. March years.

A number of workers who leave the construction industry also leave the workforce – 13,300 workers in 2016, which represents 36 per cent of all outflows. Only about a quarter of these workers leave the construction industry to retire (27 per cent of those leaving the workforce in 2016 were aged 55 years or older), while many leave to pursue study or to travel/work overseas (20 per cent of those leaving the workforce in 2016 were under 25 years of age), as shown in Figure 9 below. A number of those leaving the workforce are migrant workers returning home.

Figure 9: Age profile of construction industry flows with Outside the Workflows, 2016



Source: Statistics New Zealand, LEED Annual Tables. March years.

Workers also move between jobs within the industry

Some construction workers move between regions

The mobility of construction workers within the industry helps firms to meet the labour demand of regional construction booms, like the Auckland housing boom or Canterbury earthquake rebuild. A worker moving regions but staying in the construction industry might be changing jobs, but could also be starting a new project with the same company.

Table 1: Regional Movements of Construction Workers in 2016

		To				
		Auckland	Waikato & Bay of Plenty	Wellington	Canterbury	Rest of NZ
From	Auckland		609	99	366	405
	Waikato & Bay of Plenty	426		54	126	168
	Wellington	90	57		147	174
	Canterbury	216	60	51		306
	Rest of NZ	345	210	144	513	

Source: Statistics New Zealand, LEED annual data, March years

Worker turnover within the construction industry is marginally lower than that of other industries

Worker turnover rates⁷ provide a measure of workforce stability, with a lower percentage indicating greater stability. As shown in Table 2 below, worker turnover in the construction industry is marginally lower than overall industry rates, and has followed a trend to slightly greater stability over the period 2001-2016.

Table 2: Industry and Worker Annual Turnover, 2001-2016

Year ended March	Worker turnover	
	All Industries	Construction
	Annual rate (per cent)	Annual rate (per cent)
2001	17.7	16.6
2002	17.7	16.2

⁷ *Worker Turnover Rate* is the ratio of the average number of employees who have joined employers since the previous period (accessions) and number of employees who have left employers since the previous period (separations), divided by the average of the total jobs in the last period and previous period. Represented by the formula $\frac{\text{accessions} + \text{separations}}{2} / \frac{(\text{jobs (t)} + \text{jobs (t-1)})}{2}$

Year ended March	Worker turnover	
	All Industries	Construction
	Annual rate (per cent)	Annual rate (per cent)
2003	17.2	16.1
2004	17.3	16.1
2005	17.2	16.5
2006	17.7	16.0
2007	17.4	15.2
2008	17.3	15.7
2009	16.3	14.1
2010	14.5	12.0
2011	16.3	13.8
2012	15.6	14.2
2013	14.7	14.5
2014	14.9	14.1
2015	15.0	13.8
2016	15.1	13.9

Source: Statistics New Zealand, LEED annual data, March years

Wages are rising steadily, and show little response to changes in construction demand

Increases in the construction industry wages, relative to the increase in wages in other industries, are an important indicator of the ability of the construction industry to adjust to increasing demand for both the numbers of workers and their different skills. Three datasets were used to investigate the responsiveness of wages to changes in demand in the construction industry:

- *Labour Cost Index (LCI)*, which measures the changes in labour cost for a job⁸. This allows LCI to measure the change in wages for individuals working specified number of hours with similar levels of human capital.

⁸ For a job with a specified human capital and specified hours of work, so that quality and quantity of labour supplied is controlled for.

- *Quarterly Employment Survey (QES)*, which measures the average hourly and weekly paid earnings of those employed in the construction industry⁹.
- *Linked Employer-Employee Dataset (LEED)*, which measures the average quarterly earnings paid to full-quarter employees¹⁰ for continuing jobs and new hires¹¹. LEED does not distinguish between part-time and full-time work and does not include hourly wages. In addition, no adjustments are made for the experience and qualification of the employee, and self-employment income is not included in the quarterly statistics.

The LCI measures how the labour cost of the same job changes over time. The QES and LEED measure changes in earnings for paid employees. The QES measure takes into account full-time and part-time workers by measuring the number of hours worked, while LEED allows for breakdowns between new hires and self-employed.

The LCI shows that wage rates increased in the construction industry by 13.7 per cent between 2010 and 2016, compared with an increase of 11.0 per cent for all other industries (see table 3). Construction wage and salary rates increased more in the Canterbury region compared with the rest of New Zealand (increasing 17.5 per cent from 2010 to 2016, compared with 13.0 per cent increase for rest of New Zealand) due to heightened labour demands from the earthquake rebuild.

Table 3: Changes in Wage and Salary Rates in Construction Industry, LCI, 2010-2016

Quarter	Construction Industry		Construction Industry	All Industries Combined
	Canterbury	Rest of New Zealand		
March 2010	1014	1012	1012	1012
March 2011	1039	1029	1031	1031
March 2012	1073	1053	1055	1052
March 2013	1119	1075	1081	1070
March 2014	1153	1093	1102	1087
March 2015	1176	1116	1125	1105
March 2016	1191	1144	1151	1123

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Labour Cost Index, Table Ref LCI040AA and LCI028AA

Note: Base is June 2009 quarter (=1000), 'All salary and wage rates'

⁹ There are no human capital adjustments for those employed. However, the hourly wage measures allow the quantity of labour supplied by an employee to be controlled.

¹⁰ Full-quarter employees are those employed continually through the quarter by the same employer.

¹¹ An employee has a *continuing job* if they have been with the same employer continuously over the current and previous quarter. A *new hire* is an employee who has been with the same employer continuously for the current quarter but began the job sometime in the previous quarter. New hires have not been employed with the same employer in the 12 months prior to the job start date, and as a result, seasonal staff/employees rehired within the 12 month period are excluded from new hires.

From the QES, the average hourly earnings in the construction industry are lower than those across all industries. This is offset by the construction industry having significantly higher average weekly paid hours (39.1 weekly paid hours in the construction industry compared with 33.1 across all industries) due to fewer part-time workers, so the average weekly earnings per employee are higher (see Table 4).

From LEED data, it is found that the average earnings in the construction industry are slightly higher than for all industries (average quarterly earnings of \$15,090 for construction workers, compared with \$14,460 for all industry workers, in the March 2016 quarter). However the construction industry pays significantly better for new hires (average quarterly earnings of \$12,310 for new hire construction workers compared with \$10,430 for all industry workers). This difference helps explain how the construction industry is able to attract workers from other industries in times of growth.

Relative average earnings in the construction industry, compared with all industry earnings as measured by both LEED and QES, have shown little change due to either the current boom in the construction industry or the downturn experienced in the 2009-2010 period (during the GFC). Given the current growth in demand for workers in the construction industry, and the recruitment of workers from other industries to meet demand, it would be expected that relative earnings would be higher than is shown by the QES and LEED data.

Table 4: Changes in relative earnings for construction Industry

Quarter	Linked Employer-Employee Data (LEED)			Quarterly Employment Survey (QES)		
	Relative average quarterly earnings (full-quarter jobs)			Relative average weekly paid earnings	Relative average weekly paid earnings FTEs	Relative average hourly paid earnings
	All Jobs	Continuing Jobs	New Hires			
March 2001	1.03	1.01	1.17	1.16	1.01	0.92
March 2002	1.04	1.02	1.19	1.12	0.98	0.89
March 2003	1.03	1.01	1.20	1.11	0.98	0.89
March 2004	1.02	1.01	1.20	1.09	0.96	0.89
March 2005	1.02	1.00	1.21	1.13	0.99	0.89
March 2006	1.02	1.01	1.15	1.11	0.99	0.88
March 2007	1.02	1.00	1.18	1.11	1.00	0.91

Quarter	Linked Employer-Employee Data (LEED)			Quarterly Employment Survey (QES)		
	Relative average quarterly earnings (full-quarter jobs)			Relative average weekly paid earnings	Relative average weekly paid earnings FTEs	Relative average hourly paid earnings
	All Jobs	Continuing Jobs	New Hires			
March 2008	1.02	1.00	1.16	1.14	1.02	0.91
March 2009	1.04	1.02	1.21	1.14	1.01	0.92
March 2010	1.04	1.02	1.21	1.11	0.98	0.92
March 2011	1.04	1.02	1.19	1.10	0.98	0.91
March 2012	1.04	1.03	1.18	1.08	0.96	0.90
March 2013	1.04	1.03	1.13	1.09	0.98	0.91
March 2014	1.04	1.03	1.17	1.10	1.00	0.93
March 2015	1.05	1.03	1.17	1.10	1.00	0.93
March 2016	1.04	1.03	1.18	1.09	0.99	0.92

Source: Statistics New Zealand, LEED and QES data

Note: Construction earnings in both LEED and QES data are March quarterly earnings relative to all industries (which includes construction industry).

Self-employed workers are more affected by changing demand

In 2016, self-employed workers accounted for 32.6 per cent of those working in the construction industry, compared with 16.5 per cent self-employed in all industries. However, the increased number of construction industry workers over the decade has been driven more by growth in wage and salary workers (25.6 per cent increase from 2006 to 2016, compared with a rise in self-employed of 13.1 per cent)¹².

Workers in the construction industry earn more on average than workers in other industries.

¹² Statistics New Zealand, LEED Annual Statistics, Dataset Table 1.5, <http://nzdotstat.stats.govt.nz/wbos/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=TABLECODE7003#>

Unlike other industries, construction wage and salary workers consistently earned more on average than self-employed workers. In 2016, self-employed construction workers earned on average \$46,220 compared with \$42,100 earned by self-employed workers in all industries. Wage and salary construction workers earned on average \$49,620 compared with average wage and salaries for all industries of \$41,930.

As Table 5 shows, the annual wage and salary earnings of construction workers relative to other workers have remained consistently higher than that of workers in all industries, while the earnings of self-employed construction workers show greater variability relative to all self-employed. Wages of the self-employed in the construction industry are more strongly affected by the boom/bust cycles of the industry.

Table 5: Annual Earnings in Construction Industry Relative to All Industry

Tax Year	Median annual relative earnings for construction workers	
	Self-employed Workers	Wage and Salary Workers
March 2001	0.95	1.14
March 2002	0.96	1.16
March 2003	1.08	1.14
March 2004	1.11	1.14
March 2005	1.13	1.13
March 2006	1.14	1.14
March 2007	1.12	1.15
March 2008	1.10	1.16
March 2009	1.11	1.16
March 2010	1.07	1.16
March 2011	1.04	1.17
March 2012	1.02	1.17
March 2013	1.06	1.16
March 2014	1.04	1.17
March 2015	1.08	1.18
March 2016	1.10	1.18

Source: Statistics New Zealand, LEED Dataset Table 1.5, Main earnings source, by industry

Conclusion

This report highlights that the construction industry has the ability to quickly recruit and shed workers to meet changing labour demand due to boom/bust cycles. This is achieved without any apparent shift in relative earnings of wage and salary workers at the national level. However, some regional shifts have been observed, and the relative earnings of self-employed construction workers are more strongly affected by the boom/bust cycles. New hires in the construction industry earn significantly more than new hires in other industries. This contributes to the construction industry's ability to attract new workers.

There is a broader reservoir of attached workers with construction qualifications or experience who are not currently employed in the construction industry, but could fill shortages as the industry expands. Additional construction industry workers are primarily recruited from other industries. While annual worker turnover rates are slightly lower for the construction industry compared with other industries, a significant number of workers leave the industry each year, even during a construction boom. This raises questions about the overall accumulation and retention of skilled staff in the construction industry.

Appendix 1: Details of employment flows in the construction industry

Table 6: Inflows to the construction industry, 2001-2016

Year ended March	Workers coming from other industries	Workers previously on a benefit*	Workers previously outside the workforce [◆]	Total inflow of workers to construction
2001	17,850	4,026	6,807	28,683
2002	18,282	3,879	7,650	29,811
2003	20,970	4,311	9,354	34,635
2004	23,322	4,383	10,872	38,577
2005	27,189	4,749	12,447	44,385
2006	29,226	3,501	13,566	46,293
2007	28,059	2,901	13,788	44,748
2008	28,293	2,949	13,740	44,982
2009	23,226	1,818	11,226	36,270
2010	17,229	1,182	9,426	27,837
2011	18,939	3,219	10,944	33,102
2012	21,132	3,969	11,667	36,768
2013	23,613	4,305	13,194	41,112
2014	25,005	4,047	15,348	44,400
2015	27,201	3,777	15,543	46,521
2016	26,712	3,321	16,440	46,473

NOTES TO TABLES 6:

- * Inflows and outflows of people in receipt of a **benefit** covers those people who received a taxable income tested, needs based, benefit as a main income source the previous year, and covers those receiving the unemployment benefit, domestic purposes benefit, sickness benefit, invalids benefit, widows benefit and emergency benefit.
- ◆ Inflows and outflows from people **outside the workforce** includes those people who were previously out of the tax system, such as, students, migrants, and those undertaking caring responsibilities; and those receiving ACC, government superannuation, paid parental leave, or student allowance as their main income source in the previous year.

Table 7: Outflows from the construction industry, 2001-2016

Year ended March	Workers leaving for other industries	Workers leaving to receive a benefit*	Workers leaving the workforce [◆]	Total outflow of workers from construction
2001	17,079	3,843	7,281	28,203
2002	16,767	3,339	7,404	27,510
2003	15,621	2,907	6,981	25,509
2004	16,572	2,637	7,263	26,472
2005	17,535	2,337	8,970	28,842
2006	19,503	2,847	10,470	32,820
2007	20,985	3,123	11,892	36,000
2008	22,074	2,466	13,623	38,163
2009	22,953	3,816	15,177	41,946
2010	20,793	6,765	15,171	42,729
2011	18,888	4,080	11,460	34,428
2012	17,496	3,255	12,381	33,132
2013	18,054	2,760	12,519	33,333
2014	19,587	2,577	11,967	34,131
2015	19,248	2,697	11,772	33,717
2016	20,358	3,171	13,320	36,849

NOTES TO TABLES 7:

- * Inflows and outflows of people in receipt of a **benefit** covers those people who received a taxable income tested, needs based, benefit as a main income source the previous year, and covers those receiving the unemployment benefit, domestic purposes benefit, sickness benefit, invalids benefit, widows benefit and emergency benefit.
- ◆ Inflows and outflows from people **outside the workforce** includes those people who were previously out of the tax system, such as, students, migrants, and those undertaking caring responsibilities; and those receiving ACC, government superannuation, paid parental leave, or student allowance as their main income source in the previous year.

