

Ageing New Zealand: The Growing Reliance on Migrant Caregivers, a 2014 Update

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Abstract

Demographic change is driving the increasing demand for aged care in New Zealand. This paper examines the changing characteristics of caregivers for the elderly in terms of age, whether born in New Zealand and duration of residence. It also explores whether temporary migrants are becoming a more significant component of the elder care workforce.

The current aged-care workforce is predominantly female (92%) and is ageing. Between 2001 and 2013 the median age increased from 45 to 49 years.

In the ten years between 1991 and 2001 overseas born aged caregivers made up approximately 20% of the workforce. However, in 2006, the proportion of overseas born aged-care-givers increased to comprise one quarter of the workforce. By 2013 this had risen to 31%. The high proportion overseas born is particularly evident in the 25-29 age group (52%) and 30-34 group (47%). In the Auckland region, in 2013 57% of caregivers were born overseas.

In 1991, 89% of female overseas born caregivers had lived in New Zealand five or more years. By 2013, this had reduced to 75%.

Across New Zealand in 2002, only one percent of new hires in the residential aged-care sector were temporary migrants and these migrants made up just one percent of total months worked. By 2013, new hires had increased to 13% and months worked to 7%. In 2013, temporary migrants made up 18% of new hires in Auckland's residential aged-care sector and 10% of months worked.

The source countries of aged-care migrants has also changed from being predominantly from the United Kingdom or Pacific to now from Asia, mainly the Philippines and India. In 2013, 40% of female overseas born caregivers recorded an Asian ethnicity. For male caregivers born overseas, 54% recorded an Asian ethnicity.

In previous papers we explored options for increasing the caregiver workforce in a way that best supports those providing care and those receiving it. The new data, alongside research on the working conditions of caregivers, reinforces our view that policy makers need to consider developing new migration streams for aged-care workers. In particular, consideration needs to be given to creating easier paths to permanent residency and citizenship.

Introduction

In October 2014, the New Zealand Herald announced that the Court of Appeal had upheld an Employment Court ruling on equal pay for workers in the aged-care industry.¹ The Employment Court found that to establish equal pay for workers in the female-dominated aged-care industry, their pay must be equal to workers in a similar male-dominated industry. This finding created further debate about the working conditions of those who care for New Zealand's elderly population.

Concerns about the working conditions of elder care workers are not new. In 2012, the Equal Opportunities Commissioner at the Human Rights Commission undertook an inquiry into the aged-care workforce. The commissioner reported:

In my time as Equal Employment Opportunities Commissioner there has seldom been the degree of unanimity about a work-related issue than there is about the low pay of carers. The consensus revealed by the Inquiry means that New Zealand has an unprecedented opportunity to address the indecency of poorly paid "emotional labour" undertaken by often marginalised workers looking after vulnerable older people. A much repeated comment up and down the country when the Commission undertook its field work was that the value we place on older people in New Zealand society is linked to the value we place on those who care for them.

In her 2013 study of the management of care in aged-care facilities in Dunedin involving migrant workers, Ngocha-Chaderopa explores the relationship between care-giving, attitudes to job status, and the complex relationship between the care givers as people and the occupation of care giving from an employer perspective. Among the factors that influence the quality of care are communication skills, including facility in English, the relatively higher qualifications of the migrant workers, and the work environment provided by the managers of the facilities. Among the factors affecting the well-being of the migrant care-givers themselves, Ngocha-Chaderopa identifies the stress of dealing with visa requirements; low pay regimes; lack of tenure; lack of professional training and support services, along with instances of discrimination and racism.

A 2014 report from the OECD (p. 13) notes that New Zealand depends heavily on foreign labour. Their report shows that that more than one out of four persons in the New Zealand workforce are foreign born, and both our temporary and permanent labour migration flows are among the largest in the OECD. Their report goes on to state:

In spite of being a settlement country, most labour migration is temporary and permanent migration mainly draws from the pool of temporary labour migrants. Temporary labour migration is equivalent to 3.6% of the workforce. This is by far the highest figure in the OECD, in spite of a significant decline since the beginning of the global economic crisis.

In a Regulatory Impact Statement prepared by the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, Crabtree (2013: 2) notes that:²

Temporary migrant workers can be particularly vulnerable to exploitation. This is because temporary migrants cannot access social services and, in particular, income support and, if there are conditions on their visa, are often reluctant to approach authorities for fear of the

¹ http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11349410

² For a more detailed discussion of the human rights of temporary migrants see Williams (2009).

consequences for their immigration status. In addition, many migrants are not familiar with New Zealand's institutions or their employment rights under New Zealand legislation.

While recognising the importance of pay and working conditions, this paper does not directly investigate working conditions of both domestic and migrant workers. Instead the paper updates research undertaken on employment trends in the aged-care sector.

As part of a collaborative project on low-skill migration, a number of papers were prepared within Victoria University's former *Institute of Policy Studies* (IPS) on the current and potential elder care workforce.³ Key papers published by IPS in 2009 included the working papers *Ageing New Zealand: The growing reliance on migrant caregivers* and *Low skill temporary migration in New Zealand*. A paper entitled *Paid Caregivers and domestic workers: Some policy issues in relation to meeting future demand in New Zealand* was published in 'Policy Quarterly' and *The future supply of caregivers for the elderly: Should Australia and New Zealand look to the Pacific?* was published in the 'Pacific Economic Bulletin'.

These papers drew on a range of information, notably census data and migration data from the then Department of Labour (now incorporated into the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment). Census data covered the period from 1991 to 2006, while population projections were produced by Statistics New Zealand. Other research on the elder care workforce was also reviewed.

Key findings in these papers were:

1. With an ageing population there has been an increasing demand for aged-care workers in New Zealand. This demand is projected to continue to increase.
2. The majority of aged-care workers are females aged over 45 years.
3. A significant and growing proportion of aged-care workers were born outside New Zealand.
4. A growing proportion of this migrant workforce were temporary migrants.
5. Historically, many of the migrant workers came from the Pacific and Europe. An increasing number of the expanding workforce came from Asia, specifically from the Philippines.
6. Policy makers need to consider developing new migration streams for aged-care workers.

This paper briefly revisits the topic. A key aim of the paper is to update the census data to incorporate information from the 2013 census. Information is also drawn from two recent MBIE studies as well as from a 2014 OECD publication on New Zealand migration. Finally, some data are provided from the new Integrated Data Infrastructure (IDI) managed by Statistics New Zealand.⁴

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http://igps.victoria.ac.nz/events/Ongoing_research/Lowskill%20Migration%20Downloads/Lowskill%20Migration.html

⁴ See Appendix 2 for conditions for use of these data.

Research Questions and Methodology

The caregiver workforce has a highly skilled component comprising of nurses, doctors, managers and accountants; and a lower skilled, yet fundamentally important, workforce for day-to-day care giving activities, such as, bathing, dressing, feeding and interacting with the elderly. As with our previous work, this paper examines this lower-skilled and lower paid component of the aged-caregiver workforce.

In this paper we explore two main questions. These are;

- In the 22 years between the 1991 and 2013 Censuses, how has the mix of caregivers for the elderly changed in terms of age, place of birth (born in New Zealand or overseas) and duration of residence?
- Are temporary migrants becoming a significant component of the elder care workforce?

The first part of the study is based on census data from 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006 and 2013. Census data are snapshots of each period but, as such, show broad trends over time. The census population reported is the 'usually resident' population. While most of the data is for the whole of New Zealand some information is provided for the Auckland region.

The first part of the study also draws on recently published migration studies.

Finally, we provide some basic data from the Integrated Data Infrastructure (IDI) managed by Statistics New Zealand. This is a longitudinal dataset combining information gathered by a wide range of government agencies. It includes income tax and benefit data from the Ministry of Social Development, as well as data from ACC, the Department of Corrections, and the Ministry of Education.

Data Limitations

Given the changes in occupational coding during the four censuses from 1991 to 2006, we needed to combine some occupations that had a component of care giving for the elderly (see Badkar, Callister and Didham, 2009).

While the purpose of this paper is to understand the need for caregivers for the elderly in New Zealand, one of the census data limitations is that there is no distinction between the number of disability support workers caring for people with lifelong disabilities, and the number caring for older people. However it is worth noting that many similarities can be drawn between the aged-care and disability workforces. Although we were unable to separate disability and aged-care workers in our analysis, it is worth noting that 94% of the disability workforce is female (aged between 40 to 50 years) and 89% are employed as permanent part-time workers (MoH Disability Workforce Action Plan 2013-16. In addition, 55% do not have formal qualifications (Higgins et al, 2012). In our analysis we have grouped three five digit occupations (health assistant, nurse aide and caregiver) to be classified as caregivers for the elderly. This is because all three of these occupations have a component that includes caring for the elderly, and includes people who are carers in either residential or non-residential facilities or, indeed, in both types of facility. Although this will result in

the actual numbers of caregivers for the elderly being slightly higher, the overall purpose of our paper is to examine how the proportion of migrant caregivers has changed by country of birth.

Moreover, there is a critical difference between the definition of ‘resident’ in immigration data and census data. In immigration data the reference is to their legal status within New Zealand, while The Census counts everyone as ‘usually resident in New Zealand’ if they say they are. The guidelines for the definition is whether or not the respondent is, or intends to be, resident in New Zealand for 12 months or more. People may therefore fit the census criteria as usually resident in New Zealand while still not being legally permanent residents. Examples include international students and people on extended work permits with specific but limited tenure in New Zealand.

While the IDI is a powerful new longitudinal database drawing together a range of administrative data, it too has limitations. For example, currently there is no measure of ethnicity, no occupation information, no information on hours worked, and only taxed earnings are captured. In this paper, the IDI data only counts those working in residential care.

Caregivers for the Elderly: Who are they, how many are there and where are they from?

This section gives an overview of the current supply of caregivers for the elderly in New Zealand. It examines the demographics of our current caregiver workforce, including their place of birth, age and duration of residency in New Zealand.

An Ageing Female Dominated Workforce?

In New Zealand almost all caregivers are female, comprising 92% of the caregiver workforce. Like their clients, caregivers are also ageing. This is a similar pattern to the overall nursing workforce in New Zealand (Ministry of Health, 2014).

New Zealand born, Naturalised Citizens or Temporary Migrants?

Our previous studies indicated that an increasing number of caregivers were migrants. In 2014 the OECD published a report with the title *Recruiting Immigrant Workers: New Zealand*. It notes:

New Zealand has a longstanding history of immigration and depends like few other OECD countries on foreign labour. More than one out of four persons in the workforce are foreign-born, and both temporary and permanent labour migration flows are among the largest in the OECD. In spite of being a settlement country, most labour migration is temporary and permanent migration mainly draws from the pool of temporary labour migrants. Temporary labour migration is equivalent to 3.6% of the workforce. This is by far the highest figure in the OECD, in spite of a significant decline since the beginning of the global economic crisis (p. 13).

This report goes on to state that in recent years temporary labour migration has been the main means of entry for labour migrants into New Zealand and has expanded massively since the late 1990s. More than 23,000 Essential Skills (ES) visas (temporary workers) were granted in 2011/12, with the main countries of origin being the United Kingdom (accounting for almost 16% of the grants), followed by the Philippines (14%) and India (11%) (OECD, 2014: 53).

In 2013 MBIE published a report exploring the growth in temporary migration across a range of industries in New Zealand (McLeod and Maré, 2013). This was based on IDI data. Table 1 is drawn from this report and shows the growth in months worked by temporary migrants.⁵ It depicts the change between 2001 and 2005, 2005 and 2009 and 2009 to 2011. Overall, there was very strong growth in the months worked by temporary migrants between 2001 and 2005 (222% growth). This slowed to a still strong growth (78%) between 2005 and 2009. Between 2009 and 2011 there was a decline of 10%.

When the industry residential care services are considered there was very strong growth in each of the time periods: 336% between 2001 and 2005, 179% between 2005 and 2009, and 16% between 2009 and 2011. This is an industry grouping so will cover many occupations including doctors and nurses. But most will be caregivers, just as the occupation of caregivers includes people in other non-residential care giving situations.

⁵ These data capture all temporary permits including international students and working holidaymakers.

Table 1: Relative changes in temporary migrant employment by industry from 2001 to 2011

	% change 2001-2005	% change 2005-2009	% change 2009-2011
Fruit and tree nut growing	207	130	9
Dairy cattle farming	169	169	14
Agriculture and fishing support services	510	269	20
Other agriculture, forestry and fishing	151	82	6
Manufacturing	185	62	-25
Construction	290	108	-34
Wholesale trade	205	55	-16
Supermarket and grocery stores	408	107	-10
Other retail trade	281	54	-7
Accommodation	327	60	-4
Food and beverage services	235	110	-20
Professional, scientific and technical services	182	54	-21
Employment services	232	59	-1
Building cleaning, pest control and gardening services	351	32	14
Packaging services	432	456	2
Other admin and support services	161	37	-11
Tertiary education	215	5	1
Other education and training	131	14	-2
Residential care services	336	179	16
Other health care and social assistance	112	23	-11
Other industries	239	73	-14
Total	222	78	-10

Source: McLeod and Maré (2013)

Regarding the question of how long these temporary migrants stay in New Zealand, the OECD report (2013, p. 64) notes:

Although there is no limit on the number of renewals and thus on the maximum duration of stay on successive Essential Skills visa, relatively few visa holders stay within this category for long. Nevertheless, in 2011/12, there were still more than 4 100 persons in New Zealand who had held a valid ES visa for at least five years. In a number of occupations, it is indeed rather common to stay on an ES visa for a long time. This largely concerns lesser-skilled occupations (ANZSCO levels 4 and 5) in which there is a structural shortage and which do not provide points under the points system, making it virtually impossible for most migrants working under an ES visa to be eligible for permanent migration. For example, more than half of the dairy cattle farm workers, 45% of the truck drivers and almost 30% of the aged care assistants who obtained a first ES visa around 2008 were still on an ES visa in mid-2012.

Clearly a significant proportion of temporary, aged-care workers end up staying in New Zealand for significant periods. If temporary migrants stay more than one year they are more than likely to be counted in the census count of usual resident population. Many are therefore likely to be counted in Table 2. Table 2 counts all people who were employed with their occupation coded as caregivers as defined above and who specified whether they were born in New Zealand or overseas, for each census from 1991 to 2013.

Table 2: Number of employed caregivers for the elderly, by gender and whether born in New Zealand or overseas, 1991 to 2013

		New Zealand Born	Overseas Born	Total
1991	male	480	132	612
	female	11,934	2,709	14,646
	total	12,417	2,844	15,261
1996	male	930	252	1,182
	female	18,555	3,903	22,458
	total	19,485	4,155	23,640
2001	male	1,803	567	2,370
	female	25,893	5,793	31,686
	total	27,686	6,361	34,047
2006	male	1,995	921	2,916
	female	25,827	8,205	34,032
	total	27,825	9,126	36,951
2013	male	2,493	1,656	4,149
	female	25,356	11,226	36,582
	total	27,849	12,882	40,731

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand.

Table 3 shows that in the ten years between 1991 and 2001, overseas born, aged caregivers across the whole of New Zealand made up approximately 20% of the workforce. However in 2006, the proportion of overseas born, aged caregivers increased to one quarter of the aged caregiver workforce. By 2013 this had risen to 31%.

Table 3: Employed female caregivers for the elderly by place of birth, New Zealand and Auckland region

	New Zealand		Auckland region	
	New Zealand born	Overseas born	New Zealand born	Overseas born
1991	81%	19%	65%	35%
1996	83%	17%	64%	35%
2001	82%	18%	60%	40%
2006	75%	24%	50%	50%
2013	69%	31%	43%	57%

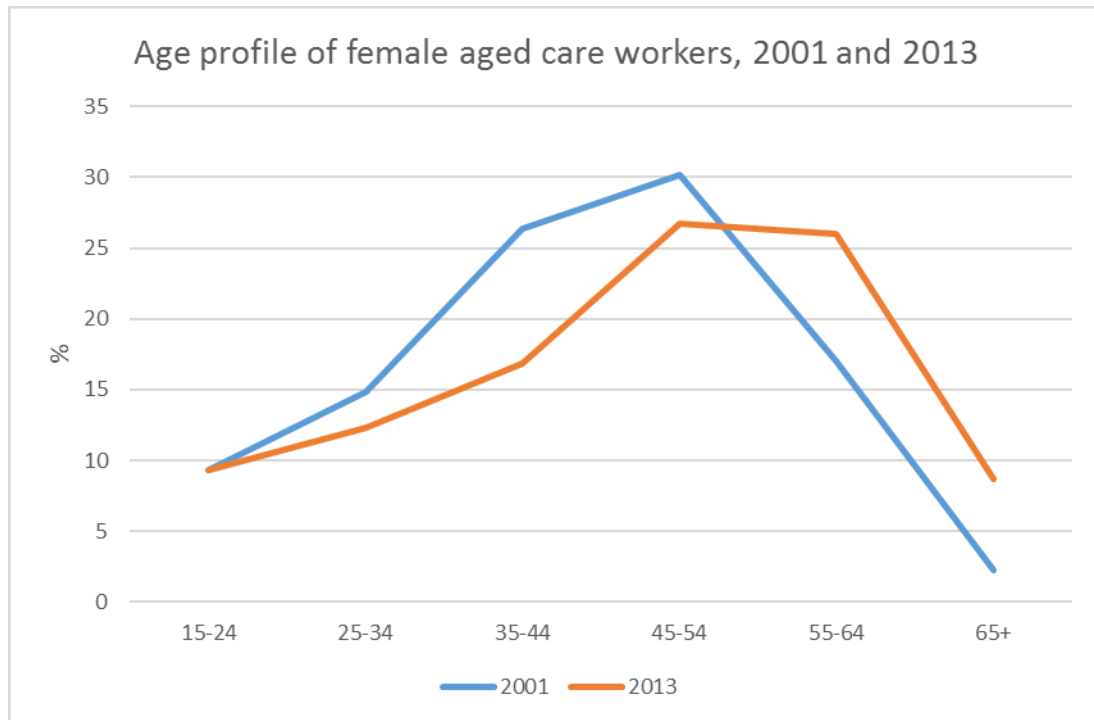
Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand.

Table 3 also shows the proportion of caregivers in the Auckland region who were born in New Zealand or overseas. In each of the censuses a far higher proportion of Auckland caregivers were born overseas. By 2013, just under 60% of Auckland caregivers were born overseas.

Workforce age structure

The age structure as well as and the ageing of the aged care workforce demonstrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1



Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand.

Table 4 examines the age structure of female caregivers from 1991 through to 2013 in relation to whether they are born overseas or in New Zealand. It shows the ageing of the New Zealand born, caregiver workforce.

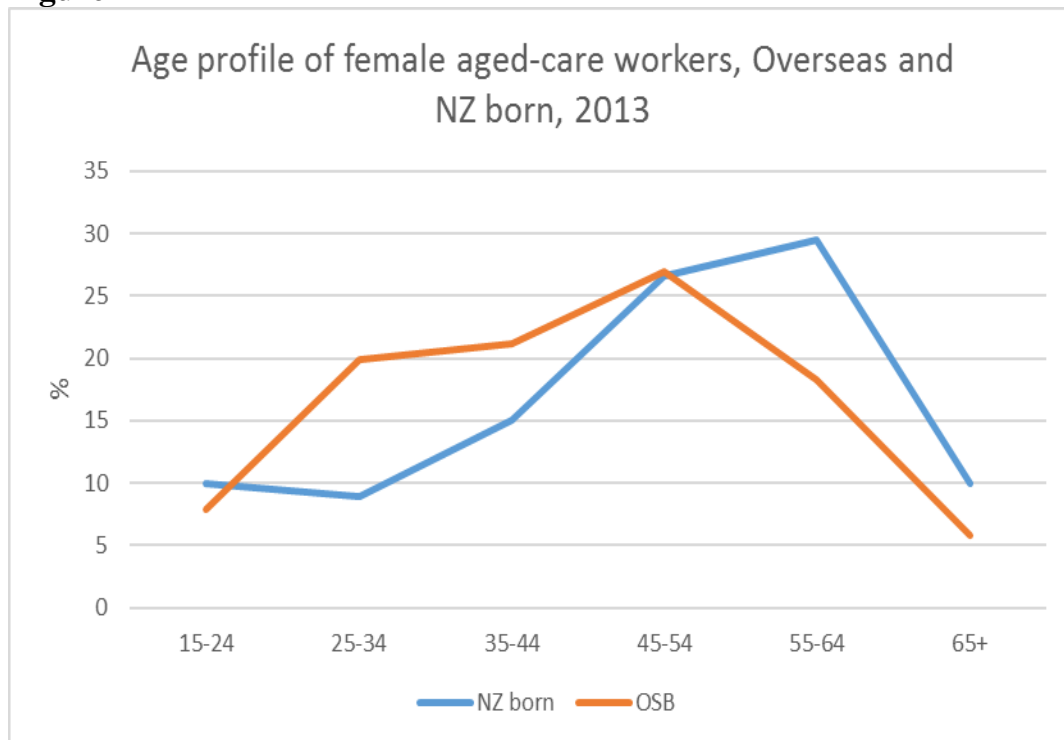
Table 4: Proportion of females who were born overseas and in New Zealand by age groups, employed (age 15+) as caregivers for the elderly

	1991		1996		2001		2006		2013	
	NZ born	OSB born	NZ born	OSB born	NZ born	OSB born	NZ born	OSB born	NZ born	OSB born
15-24	20	11	15	8	10	7	10	9	10	8
25-34	20	21	18	19	15	15	11	16	9	20
35-44	29	33	28	29	26	28	21	26	15	21
45-54	23	26	26	30	30	30	29	27	27	27
55-64	8	10	11	13	17	18	24	18	30	18
65+	1	1	1	2	2	2	5	4	10	6

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand.

Figure 2 shows the difference in age structure of the New Zealand born and overseas born workforce in 2013.

Figure 2



Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand.

Table 5 shows changes in the median age of caregivers from 2001 to 2013. Overall, the median age increased from 45 to 49 years. However, for the total overseas born, the median age has stayed at 45 through the period while ‘ageing’ of the New Zealand born workforce is more evident, especially for New Zealand born women.

Table 5: Median age of caregivers for the elderly, New Zealand Born, Overseas Born and Total for men and women, 2001 to 2013

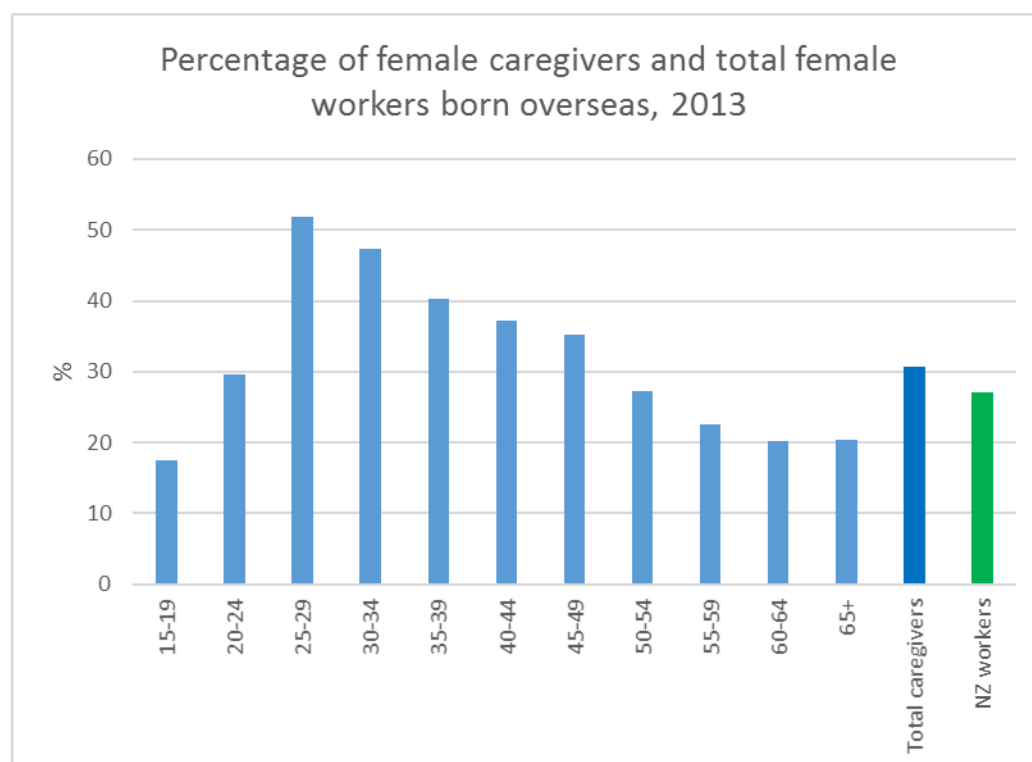
		2001	2006	2013
Male	NZ Born	42	45	47
	OS Born	45	44	38
	Total	42	45	44
Female	NZ Born	45	48	52
	OS Born	45	45	45
	Total	45	47	50
Total	NZ Born	44	48	51
	OS Born	45	45	45
	Total	45	47	49

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand.

Figure 3 shows the age data in a different way. It depicts the proportion of each age group who were born overseas (31%). Also shown is a comparison with the overall workforce (27%). The proportion overseas born is particularly evident in the 25-29 age group (52%) and 30-34 group (47%).

Many of the overseas born caregivers are in prime childrearing age groups. Those who are permanent residents or New Zealand citizens are likely to be raising these children in New Zealand. But some will be temporary migrants who are likely to have left children in their home country being raised by grandparents or by other family members.

Figure 3



Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand.

Table 6 looks at the proportion of people born overseas who are employed as caregivers for the elderly since 1991, by region of birth. In 1991, the two main birthplace regions were United Kingdom/Ireland (44%) followed by the Pacific Islands (30%). Over subsequent censuses there has been very strong growth in the proportion born in Asia, up from just 5% in 1991 and reaching 29% in 2013. There has been a small increase in the proportion born in the Pacific and a large decline in those born in the UK/Ireland.

When just the Auckland region is considered, in 2013 44% of overseas born female caregivers were born in the Pacific. This reflects the high concentration of Pacific migrants in the Auckland region. While 29% were born in Asia, just 11% were born in UK/Ireland.

Table 6: Proportion of females born overseas employed as caregivers for the elderly by region of birth

	1991		1996		2001		2006		2013	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Pacific Islands	819	30	1,152	30	1,866	32	2,712	33	3,600	32
Asia	135	5	297	8	621	11	1,497	18	3,240	29
UK/Ireland	1,179	44	1,560	40	1,953	34	1,995	24	2,016	18
Other	576	21	897	23	1,356	23	1,998	24	2,370	21
Total	2,709	100	3,903	100	5,793	100	8,205	100	11,226	100

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand.

Among the caregivers born in Asia, those born in the Philippines continue to dominate accounting in 2013 for 46%, with those born in India accounting for 20% and in China 10%. Table 7 shows Asia-born females and lists the top five countries that female caregivers have come from. The strongest rise in numbers since 1996 has been from the Philippines and in each census women from the Philippines represent the highest proportion of Asian born, female caregivers. The second largest group come from India, which overtook China in the 2006-2013 period. A wide range of other Asian countries also contributed migrant female caregivers.

Similar to the growing reliance on migrants from Asia countries in the aged-care workforce, there has also been an increase in the number of applications to the Nursing Council of New Zealand for New Zealand registration from nurses from India (30%), followed by the Philippines (29%) and the United Kingdom (18%). Almost half (48%) of these nurses held a bachelor of science in nursing, followed by those with a diploma in nursing and, similar to migrant aged-care workers, the majority of internationally qualified nurses were female (Nana et al 2013).

Table 7: Proportion of females born in Asia employed as caregivers for the elderly by country of birth

	Number				%			
	1996	2001	2006	2013	1996	2001	2006	2013
Philippines	114	213	390	1,488	38	34	26	46
India	33	75	228	663	11	12	15	20
China, People's Republic of	27	63	315	315	9	10	21	10
Sri Lanka	18	45	90	144	6	7	6	4
Korea, Republic of	6	27	57	102	2	4	4	3
Other Asia	99	198	417	528	33	32	28	16
Total Asia	297	621	1,497	3,240	100	100	100	100

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand.

When male caregivers from Asia are considered, the Philippines and India also stand out. In 2013 of Asian born male caregivers, 48% came from the Philippines and 33% from India.

Time lived in New Zealand

Table 8 focusses on those female caregivers who were born overseas. It shows how long these workers had lived in New Zealand at the time of the 2013 census. The number and proportion who had lived in New Zealand less than five years rose steadily between 1996 and 2006, but while numbers continued to increase the proportion has now stabilised. The proportion who had lived in New Zealand five to nine years increased. In contrast, the proportion who had lived in New Zealand 10 years or more decreased in each census. These data reinforce the idea that there has been a strong increase in the proportion of caregivers who were born overseas but that many are staying long term in New Zealand. The longer term stayers are likely to be mainly permanent residents or citizens but some will be long term, temporary migrants.

Table 8: Employed overseas born female caregivers for the elderly by duration of residence in New Zealand

	1996		2001		2006		2013	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Less than 2 years	204	5	270	5	786	10	1,023	9
2 - 4 years	204	5	576	10	1,386	17	1,728	16
5-9 years	609	16	567	10	1,164	15	2,277	21
10 years or more	2,712	73	4,167	75	4,605	58	5,883	54
Total	3,729	100	5,580	100	7,941	100	10,908	100

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand.

Ethnicity of caregivers

Tables 9 and 10 show the ethnic mix of the caregiver population in 2006 and 2013. These are total counts so those people recording ethnicities in more than one ethnic group are counted more than once. Hence the percentages add up to more than 100%. An important change between 2006 and 2013 was the number of people coded to the

ethnicity 'New Zealander' (which is included in the 'Other Ethnic Group'). In each of the tables this primarily affects the European and Other Ethnic group counts.⁶

Tables 9 and 10 show that in 2006 and 2013 the majority of New Zealand born caregivers, both male and female, were part of the European ethnic groups (84 % for females, 73 % for males in 2013). This proportion rose between 2006 and 2013, probably primarily through the New Zealander issue since the Other Ethnic Group decreased by a similar proportion. The next largest ethnic group for New Zealand born caregivers in both censuses was Māori. Only a very small proportion of New Zealand born caregivers recorded a Pacific ethnicity.

Table 9: Proportion who were born overseas and in New Zealand by sex and ethnicity employed as caregivers for the elderly, 2006 census

	New Zealand born		Overseas born		Total numbers	
	female	male	female	male	female	male
European	76%	65%	45%	45%	23,226	1,692
Māori	19%	28%	0%	1%	4,860	564
Pacific Peoples	2%	5%	25%	18%	2,556	264
Asian	0%	1%	26%	32%	2,271	309
Middle Eastern/Latin American/African	0%	0%	4%	5%	306	42
Other Ethnic groups	12%	12%	2%	3%	3,231	267
Total numbers	25,695	1,974	8,115	906	33,810	2,880

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand.

Note: Numbers and percentages do not add to 100% as total counts are used for ethnicity

In contrast, a declining proportion of male and female caregivers born overseas recorded a European response. Pacific and, increasingly, Asian people were important groups amongst the overseas born. By 2013, 40% of overseas female caregivers recorded an Asian ethnicity, as did a higher 54% for male caregivers. The fact that Pacific and Asian caregivers are over-represented in the overseas born but under-represented amongst the New Zealand born suggests that this is a job more likely to be taken by immigrants in these ethnic groups.

Table 10: Proportion who were born overseas and in New Zealand by sex and ethnicity employed as caregivers for the elderly, 2013 census

	New Zealand born		Overseas born		Total numbers	
	female	male	female	male	female	male
European	84%	73%	35%	29%	25,386	2,301
Māori	20%	28%	1%	1%	5,142	717
Pacific Peoples	3%	7%	21%	13%	3,075	384
Asian	1%	2%	40%	54%	4,617	927
Middle Eastern/Latin American/African	0%	0%	4%	5%	435	84
Other Ethnic groups	2%	3%	0%	0%	459	75
Total numbers	25,350	2,493	11,220	1,656	36,579	4,149

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand.

Note: Numbers and percentages do not add to 100% as total counts are used for ethnicity

⁶ For a further discussion of this issue see http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/ethnic-profiles.aspx?request_value=24798&parent_id=24794&tabname=#24798

Table 11 compares the ethnic breakdown of the total elder caregiver with that of the total New Zealand population aged 80 years and older. While not all those 80 years and over will require care many are likely to

In the health literature there is much attention given to matching the ethnic group of the health workforce to those for whom they are caring. The idea behind this is to ensure culturally sensitive care is given. These data show that this ideal is becoming more difficult to achieve with regards to the older population. As we have discussed elsewhere, this simply emphasises the need for culturally sensitive caregiving regardless of the ethnic group, religious belief or other characteristics of both those who are undertaking and those who are receiving care (Callister, Badkar and Didham, 2011).⁷

Table 11: Proportion of all elder caregivers in each ethnic group and those in the New Zealand population aged 80 and over, 2013 census

	Total elder caregivers		Total population aged 80 and over	
	Number	%	Number	%
European	27,999	68	137,628	93
Māori	5,961	15	4,473	3
Pacific Peoples	3,507	9	2,124	1
Asian	5,619	14	3,942	3
Middle Eastern/Latin American/African	534	1	285	0
Other Ethnic groups	543	1	978	1
Total numbers	41,085	107	147,549	101

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand.

Are Temporary Migrants becoming a More Important Part of the Workforce?

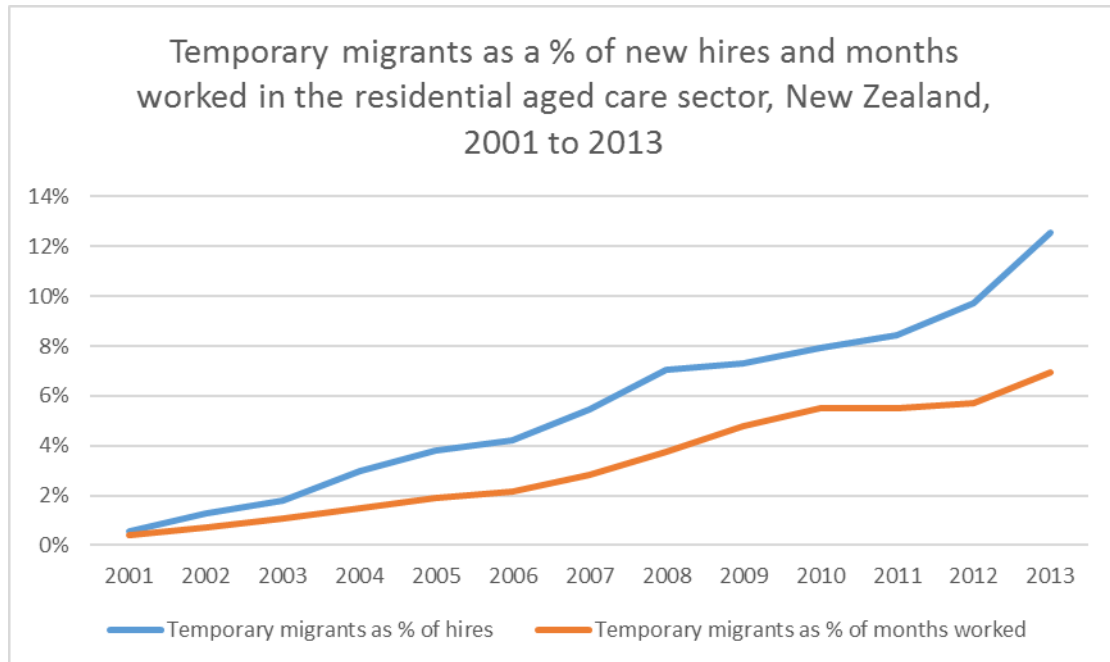
Finally, we present some data from the Integrated Data Infrastructure.⁸ Figure 4 shows the growth of new hires of temporary migrants in the residential, aged-care sector as well as their months worked as a percentage of total months worked from 2001 to 2013 (data in Appendix 2). In 2001, there were few temporary migrants working in this sector. However the growth has been very rapid from this low base. By the end of the 2013 tax year, 13% of new hires across New Zealand were temporary migrants and they made up 7% of months worked. The difference in percentage of new hires versus the lower percentage of months worked is likely to reflect that there will be some ‘churn’ in temporary migrants with some leaving through choice or through non-renewal of work permits and new migrants replacing

⁷ Gee et al (2014) explore ways ensuring a culturally sensitive dementia care workforce.

⁸ In these data months worked relate to any month in which an individual is recorded as working for wages and salaries according to tax data. Hours worked are not collected in IDI data so a person could be working full time every week or just a couple of hours per month. Hires are identified through an employee working for an employer in a month where they did not work for that employer in either of the preceding two months. Temporary migrants are identified using visa data from the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, linked to the IDI. In the graphs and tables youth are aged 16-24. Data relates to the aged-care sector, as identified using the industry of the employer (ANZSIC code = Q8601, Aged Care Residential Services). Finally, cells are rounded using Graduated Random Rounding to protect confidentiality.

them. Some of the temporary migrants will also be in the process of changing status to that of becoming permanent residents. More research is needed on these flows.

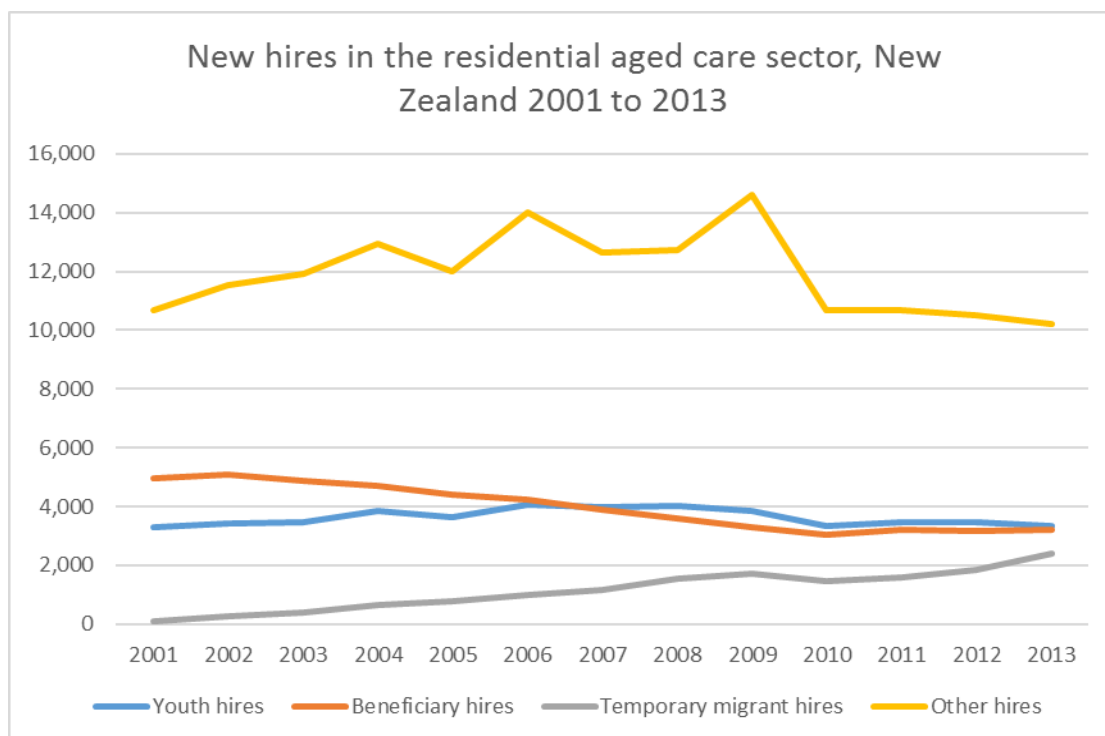
Figure 4



Source: Integrated Data Infrastructure

Figure 5 show actual numbers of new hires in the residential aged-care sector from 2001 to 2013. Two trends stand out. One is the decline in new hires of beneficiaries. The other is the strong increase from a low base of temporary migrant hires. However, across the whole period ‘other’ hires remain the highest. These will be older New Zealand permanent residents and citizens.

Figure 5



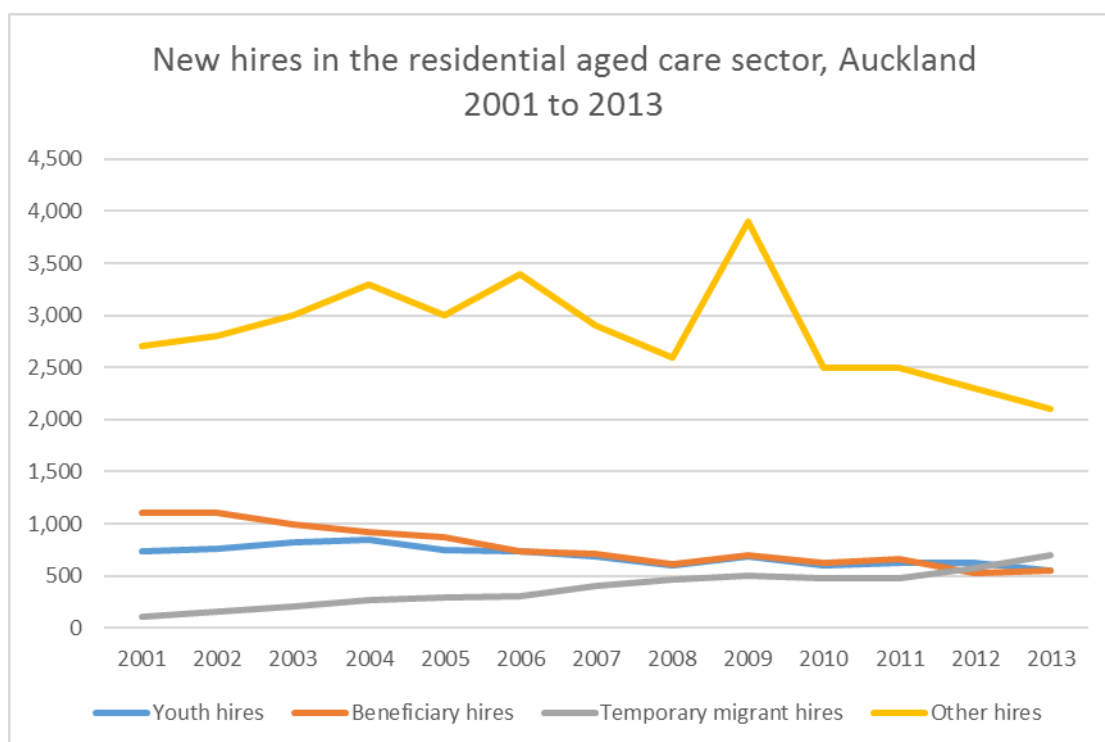
Source: Integrated Data Infrastructure

In their report on temporary migration, McLeod and Maré (2013) show overall patterns of hires across all industries. They note that youth and older non-beneficiary hires are related to economic conditions driving total hiring, but beneficiary hires are more responsive to changes in beneficiary numbers. They show that these numbers fell nationally over the decade before rebounding in 2009 and 2010. Their New Zealand wide data show that across all industries rates of beneficiary hires versus temporary worker hires were at similar levels by 2011.⁹

Given that Auckland is the entry point for many new migrants and is our largest city, it is not surprising that the growth of temporary migrant hires in the aged-care sector is stronger in this region (Figure 6 below). Also stronger is the downward trend in the new hires of beneficiaries, youth as well as other hires. In 2013, in Auckland temporary migrants made up 18% of new hires in the residential aged-care sector and 10% of months worked.

⁹ Ministry of Social Development data show an ongoing decline in numbers on main benefits from March 2011 to September 2014. The numbers dropped from 327,817 to 294,321. In September 2014 the numbers on the main benefits were 123,133 on Jobseeker support, 72,589 receiving Sole Parent support and 93,852 receiving a Supported Living allowance.

Figure 6



Source: Integrated Data Infrastructure

Conclusion

This paper updates and expands our previous research on the aged-care sector. It is based on the premise that given an ageing population, unless there is some radical shift to robotic care or other significant productivity gains there will be an increasing demand for aged-care workers in New Zealand.

It shows that the aged-care workforce continues to be female dominated and continues to age. This is similar to recent data for the nursing workforce. The new data presented in this paper show that the trend for a growing proportion of aged-care workers being born outside of New Zealand has continued. However, while the migrant workforce itself is ageing it has a younger age structure than the New Zealand born workforce. Some of these migrants workers have lived a long time in New Zealand but a significant proportion are relatively recent arrivals.

Many workers who are born overseas will be either New Zealand residents or citizens. But a newly available dataset shows that an increasing proportion of the migrant workforce are temporary migrants. While some will stay for short periods, published research shows a significant proportion of the temporary caregiver workforce are staying for relatively long periods in New Zealand.

Historically, many of the migrant workers came from the Pacific and Europe. An increasing number of the expanding workforce is coming from Asia, notably from the Philippines and India.

In previous papers we explored options for increasing the caregiver workforce in a way that best supports both those providing and receiving care. While we have not specifically revisited this topic, the new data, alongside research on the working conditions of caregivers, reinforces our view that policy makers need to consider developing new migration streams for aged-care workers. In particular, consideration needs to be given to creating easier paths to permanent residency and citizenship. Care of the aged is not seasonal and is not subject to changes in demand due to economic conditions. Its growth is primarily driven by demographics. It is better suited to being staffed by a stable, long term workforce than a temporary migrant workforce with high turnover or workers staying for long periods but with limited rights. Aged-care clients are a vulnerable group and if they are looked after by another vulnerable group, without the protection of permanent residency or citizenship, this may impact on quality of care.

Finally, while immigrants are a consistent and growing source of the aged-care workforce in New Zealand, beneficiary and youth hires are still an important component of the workforce. Adequate training should also be provided to these groups to ensure high quality care of older people.

Appendix 1

Disclaimer and acknowledgement

The Integrated Data Infrastructure (IDI) data was supplied by Keith McLeod. None of the authors had direct access to the IDI data. Keith also provided useful comments on our draft paper.

The results in this paper are not official statistics; they have been created for research purposes from the IDI managed by Statistics New Zealand. Ongoing work within Statistics New Zealand to develop the IDI means it will not be possible to exactly reproduce the data presented here.

The opinions, findings, recommendations and conclusions expressed in this paper are those of the authors. Statistics New Zealand or the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment takes no responsibility for any omissions or errors in the information contained here.

Access to the data used in this study was provided by Statistics New Zealand in accordance with security and confidentiality provisions of the Statistics Act 1975. Only people authorised by the Statistics Act 1975 are allowed to see data about a particular person, business or organisation. The results in this paper have been made confidential to protect individual people and businesses from identification. Careful consideration has been given to the privacy, security and confidentiality issues associated with using administrative data in the IDI. Further details can be found in the privacy impact assessment for the IDI available from www.stats.govt.nz. The results are based in part on tax data supplied by Inland Revenue to Statistics New Zealand under the Tax Administration Act 1994. This tax data must be used only for statistical purposes, and no individual information may be published or disclosed in any other form, or provided to Inland Revenue for administrative or regulatory purposes.

Any person who has had access to the unit-record data has certified that they have been shown, have read and have understood section 81 of the Tax Administration Act 1994, which relates to secrecy. Any discussion of data limitations or weaknesses is in the context of using the IDI for statistical purposes, and is not related to the data's ability to support Inland Revenue's core operational requirements.

Appendix 2

New hires of temporary migrants in the residential aged-care sector and months worked as a % of total months worked from 2001 to 2013, New Zealand total

Tax year	Youth hires	Beneficiary hires	Temporary migrant hires	Other hires	Youth months worked	Other months worked	Temporary migrants months worked	Temporary migrants as a% of hires	Temporary migrants as a% of months worked
2001	3,290	4,980	110	10,680	31,410	279,400	1,185	1	0
2002	3,425	5,105	260	11,530	31,460	286,700	2,310	1	1
2003	3,465	4,870	375	11,930	32,250	294,200	3,590	2	1
2004	3,840	4,710	660	12,940	33,300	301,000	5,120	3	2
2005	3,650	4,390	795	11,990	34,760	304,600	6,620	4	2
2006	4,080	4,250	980	14,020	34,500	302,700	7,490	4	2
2007	3,970	3,890	1,180	12,660	34,500	299,200	9,740	5	3
2008	4,020	3,590	1,545	12,740	33,250	301,700	13,000	7	4
2009	3,860	3,310	1,710	14,610	32,730	301,800	16,860	7	5
2010	3,340	3,020	1,470	10,690	33,070	309,700	20,020	8	6
2011	3,470	3,200	1,595	10,660	32,750	315,700	20,230	8	5
2012	3,470	3,170	1,850	10,510	33,900	318,600	21,300	10	6
2013	3,335	3,200	2,405	10,230	33,600	321,600	26,510	13	7

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