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Migrant Dairy Farm Staff
In Canterbury
- Filipino and Chilean Experiences

A dissertation
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Bachelor of Agricultural Science

at
Lincoln University
by
Elizabeth Mary Christie

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- Filipino and Chilean Experiences

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Do the backgrounds and experiences of Filipino and Chilean migrants working on dairy farms in Canterbury differ?

Dairy exports are a major earner of the New Zealand economy. With the increase in the number of cows per herd and the amount of land in dairying increasing, there has been an increase in the demand for good labour. For example bigger corporate farms in the South Island compared with smaller family farms in the North Island. Given the ratio of 150-200 cows per full time staff member, there has been a shift in the labour profile from the traditional family owned and operated farm to the owner with manager and employed staff. The employment opportunities created from this have been largely ignored by New Zealanders. The New Zealand dairy industry has met this demand for staff by employing migrant labour from foreign countries, particularly from the Philippines and South America, who see it as an attractive option. These migrants have been described as 'essential' to the New Zealand dairy industry.

To compare and contrast the Filipino and Chilean experiences, I conducted ten semi structured interviews split evenly between the two ethnic groups. The participants were found by a snowball sample, basically one interview lead to another. Once interviews were completed I drew out key themes and used examples from participants to illustrate these.

Keywords: Migrants, dairy farming, farm labour, experiences, Canterbury.

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Firstly to my parents and sister, I could not have achieved what I have without you. I thank you for your support and encouragement and for always being at the end of the telephone line.

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To the library staff, your knowledge and advice has been invaluable.

And last but not least, to my flatmate, Mo O'Connell, for the laughs, and the numerous coffee breaks and for starting the snowball sampling.

Foreword

I grew up on a three thousand stock unit sheep and beef property near Eketahuna in the Wairarapa. In 2003 my parents made the decision to lease the farm out and also to invest in the three surrounding properties. This created one larger dairy farm where six hundred cows are milked by a lower order sharemilker. This research originated from my experiences of dairy farm labour in the North Island being largely family, or owner/operator sourced labour, to noticing the increasing use of migrant labour on South Island dairy farms when I shifted to Canterbury to study at Lincoln University. I started my degree halfway through a year and consequently the order of my papers is muddled, meaning my final honours year is split between two calendar years and across a summer holiday period. In compliance to the house rules of my dissertation it has meant I was only allowed to conduct my research in this year. This placed a large time restriction on this study and as a result I introduce new information in the discussion section.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

New Zealand dairy exports reached around \$NZ 13.2 billion in 2011, which was 27% of Total Merchandise Exports (Statistics New Zealand, 2011) making it very important for New Zealand's economy. This was produced from a national milking herd of 4.8 million cows in 11, 735 herds (NZ Dairy Statistics, 2010-2011) and collected by around 26, 000 people who listed their main occupation as dairy farming at the last Census (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Over the past thirty years there has been a trend, in the structure of the dairy industry, of a decrease in the number of herds while the number of cows has continued to increase. With cow numbers following an increasing trend and given that a relationship exists where the number of cows generally determines the number of staff, one full time labour equivalent per 150-200 cows (Woodford *et al.*, 2003), the dairy industry is a growing source of employment opportunities. Yet the youth unemployment rate is currently 17.5% suggesting dairy farming is not currently seen as an attractive career option by New Zealand's youth, which happens to be one of the goals of the DairyNZ's *Strategy for New Zealand Dairy Farming 2009-2020*. A hindrance to getting youth into dairy farm employment is that the growth in dairy farming is occurring in Canterbury, Otago, and Southland whereas the majority of the unemployed youth live in the Auckland region. Other deterrents were identified by a self diagnosis from the dairy farming industry and include: long hours; not attractive in comparison to other industries; recruitment and retention were problematic resulting in high staff turnover; the accident rate is the third worst in term of injuries per person employed; requirement of living on farm led to social isolation even when relatively close to large towns; and there was a lack of rural support networks (Dairy InSight, 2007).

This leaves the question, if young New Zealanders are not taking up the employment opportunities that the dairy industry is offering, then who is and why?

The 'who' was explained when the contradictory figures from two sources of data led to a comparison with the issue of temporary work permits. When Wilson and Tipples (2008) analysed Census data from 1991 to 2006 they discovered a decreasing trend in the number of people who listed their main occupation as a dairy farmer/worker. But when Callister and Tipples (2010) analysed Linked Employer-Employee Data (LEED) it was shown that the number of dairy farm workers had actually more than doubled from 1999 to 2008. Callister and Tipples (2010) and Tipples *et al.* (2010) compared data from the Census of Population and the number of Temporary Work Permits to show the number of short term migrants. They also arranged the data by nationalities to specify where the migrants were coming from. It highlighted a significant change in the country making up the majority

of migrant workers from the British, in traditional exchange schemes, in 2003/04 to the Filipinos, followed by South Americans in 2008/09.

As a result these findings suggest that migrant dairy staff have become essential to the New Zealand dairy industry. This has raised questions about the sustainability of the industry if it is dependent upon immigration. But before we can attempt to comment on whether the industry's on-farm employment of migrants is sustainable we must first understand why they are coming here to fill these positions in the first place. What do we know of the backgrounds and experiences of the migrant dairy workers? The answer is relatively little at this stage, but there is increasing interest from the media and the public, particularly employers of migrant dairy staff. Do motivations and experiences differ between national origins of dairy migrant staff? To answer this I conducted semi-structured interviews of dairy migrant staff in Canterbury from the Philippines and Chile. The Philippines and South America are the two largest areas from which people come, on temporary work permits, for dairy farming in New Zealand (Callister and Tipples 2010; Rawlinson and Tipples 2012). Since South America consists of many countries, cultures and ethnicities I have selected to interview people from Chile as a representation of South America. This will allow me to compare and contrast the backgrounds and experiences of Filipino and Chilean dairy staff in Canterbury to understand the motivating factors for their migration to work on dairy farms in New Zealand and more specifically in Canterbury.

Chapter 2

Review of the Literature

2.1 International Immigration

When talking about international migration, present and future, from developing countries to the rest of the world, the term 'migration pressure' has been used. Migration pressure had been defined by countries of origin, as an excess supply of labour compared to the demand for labour (Bruni and Venturini, 1995). Although, excess supply of labour does not always result in migration it can be defined in terms of effective demand (Schaeffer, 1993). Therefore it can be defined as the difference in the number of people who are willing to migrate in present circumstances and the number of people the host country is prepared to accept. There are many factors, in both the origin and destination countries, which determine whether migration potential actually results in migration (Gubert and Nordman, 2008). Factors from the origin country are referred to as the 'push' factors and those from the destination country are called 'pull' factors. Gubert and Nordman (2008) found that pull effects are more significant, on average, than push effects even though many destination countries have immigration restrictions. Population density and the share of population aged 15-24 in the origin country are found to be significant and the share of population aged 15-24 in the host country is found to exert a negative effect on migration flows. They concluded that this result could be explained by the demand side of international migration. Countries that have a rising share of elderly coupled with a decreasing share of young people in their population are using immigration to compensate for an aging population.

This highlights that a supply and demand relationship exists in regard to world migration. At present in OECD countries the changing demographics of the labour force is cause for concern due to an aging population. Predicted labour market effects show a decrease in the number of male work force participants; participation rate in men aged 24-54 declines slightly but is more stable than men aged 15 – 24 who show a clear trend in decreasing participation rate (Hagemann and Nicoletti, 1989). The opposite is predicted for the work force participation rate in non-OECD countries.

Koettl (2008) estimates the effects of changing demographics and participations rates, by comparing two data sets, on the future demand for labour from OECD countries and the ability of non-OECD countries to supply labour. Demographic projections are taken from United Nations (2005) data, which estimates past population data and projects future demographic developments, for every country worldwide by gender and age group, from 1950 to 2050. It should be noted that these projections are based on the assumption of no migration occurring. The projections of the United

Nations (2005) estimate the world population to reach 9 billion by 2050 but at a slowing rate. Overall the world population is ageing, and there are large regional differences in demographic developments. In high income countries of East Asia and the Pacific, which includes New Zealand, demographic growth is predicted to be low or even negative. In contrast, the total population in much of the developing world will continue to increase. The second data set is from the International Labour Organisation (1997), which provides estimates of past and present participation rates, for every country worldwide by gender and age, from 1950 to 2050. This data set is compatible with the United Nations data set, allowing for an exploration of the impact of demographic change on the labour force (Table 1).

Table 1: Projected change in labour force 2005 – 2050 (in millions).

	2005-10	2010-20	2020-30	2030-40	2040-50	Total Change
Potential Demand						
<i>Change in total Labour Force</i>	35	-9	-74	-76	-92	-216
China	27	13	-37	-37	-51	-85
EU & other Europe	-3	-14	-19	-17	-14	-67
East Asia & Pacific, high income	0	-5	-9	-10	-9	-33
Eastern & Central Europe, & Central Asia	7	-2	-5	-9	-13	-22
North America	4	-1	-4	-3	-5	-9
Potential Supply						
<i>Change in Labour Force (aged 15-39)</i>	111	185	126	96	52	570
Sub-Saharan Africa	31	72	78	79	69	328
South Asia	17	28	19	15	10	89
India	26	44	18	-2	-17	68
Middle East & North Africa	14	13	6	9	3	44
Latin American & Caribbean	12	15	6	0	-5	29
East Asia & Pacific, excluding high income	11	13	0	-5	-8	12

Source: Koettl (2008) adapted by World Bank (2009)

In the absence of migration the decline in the labour force, and demand for labour, in OECD countries with a shrinking labour force is expected to reach 216 million people between 2005 and 2050. In contrast non OECD countries would have migrant labour to offer. Due to the nature of migration and the costs associated, it is most likely migrants will come from the pool of young workers aged 15 to 39 years. From 2005 to 2050 the labour force aged 15 to 39 is projected to increase by a total of 570 million. Although the change in the 15 to 39 age group cannot be seen as an entire potential supply of migrants because it is extremely unlikely that all 570 million additional

workers would actually be willing to migrate. To account for this, a status-quo scenario was used and the result predicted that only 6 percent or 32 million people would leave their country of origin for deficit countries. Latin America was predicted to be the region with the highest potential for migration, based on current emigration rates. It was followed by the low income East Asia and Pacific region, which includes the Philippines (World Bank 2009).

The projected figure of 32 million is very small compared to the cumulative labour force deficit, or demand, of 216 million by 2050 in OECD countries. This suggested that the international demand for labour by OECD countries will be greater than what non-OECD countries will be willing to supply, which could result in OECD countries competing for migrant labour. Should this situation arise it is vital, especially for the dairy industry, that New Zealand has a good reputation and is an attractive option for emigrants.

2.2 Overview of Historic Agricultural Immigration to New Zealand

New Zealand has traditionally relied on immigration to provide additional population. Primarily, this came from the British Isles and subsequently other sources (Krivokapic-Skoko, 2001). Non-British immigrant groups began entering New Zealand farming through special settlements between 1840s - 1870s. The early history of agricultural development in particular localities of colonial New Zealand can be associated with Bohemians, the French, Germans, and Scandinavians. The Scandinavians were leaders of dairy development and their initial contribution to infrastructure in the North Island was vast (McGill, 1982; Peterson, 1956; Yap, 1982). Subsequently the Bohemians, Swiss and in particular the Dutch have made significant contributions to the dairy industry.

During the period ranging from 1870-1900 a widespread presence of Chinese was noticed in Otago, where they pioneered market gardening in support of the gold rushes (Ng, 1993; Beatson and Beatson, 1990). Market gardening has persisted to be the dominant occupational niche for the Chinese for many decades. Indians, beginning in the 1920s and increasingly in the next two decades, have also been closely affiliated with market gardening, particularly in the North Island (Taher, 1965; Leckie, 1981). This coincided in the same period that Italians began developing market gardens in Nelson and the Hutt Valley (Burnley, 1972; Yap, 1982). Also during the first few decades of the twentieth century a number of vineyards were established, in the North Island districts of Henderson and Kumeu, by Lebanese and Dalmatian settlers (Scott, 1964; Moran, 1958). During the 1950s and 60s there was a significant number of Dutch immigrants who entered farming and brought new technology with them which was transferred to the New Zealand agricultural systems (van Roon, 1971; van Dungen, 1992). In the 1990s there was sporadic immigration of European groups into the increasingly popular organic farming but also into the olive, grape and bulb sectors (Schouten, 1992).

These ethnic groups came to New Zealand, in search of a better life for themselves and their families, as land owners or tenants (Krivokapic-Skoko 2001).

In contrast to this, agricultural immigration in the twenty first century has largely been to meet labour demands. This can be highlighted by the introduction of the Recognised Seasonal Employment (RSE) scheme in 2007 by the New Zealand Government. The scheme addressed the needs of the horticulture and viticulture industries for increased labour demands at specific times of the year, unable to be met by locals, by matching this with the search for employment and income of those in the Pacific nations (Timmins, 2009). A similar scenario has been developing in the dairy industry since the early 2000s where the increasing demands for labour, particularly in the South Island, are being met by supply from migrant workers (Tipples and Lucock, 2004a, 2004b; Tipples, Wilson, Edkins, & Sun, 2005; Wilson and Tipples, 2008; Callister and Tipples, 2010; Tipples *et al.*, 2010; Tipples and Trafford, 2011a, 2011b).

2.3 The New Zealand Dairy Industry

New Zealand dairy exports reached around \$NZ 13.2 billion, which was 27 percent of Total Merchandise Exports (Statistics New Zealand, 2011) making it very important for New Zealand's economy. This was produced from a national milking herd of 4.8 million cows in 11, 735 herds (NZ Dairy Statistics, 2010-2011) and collected by around 26, 000 people who listed their main occupation as dairy farming at the last Census in 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). The dairy industry offers a career path where people can progress through the ranks, often know as the dairy 'career ladder'. The traditional model now has many variations but the general progression is as follows: dairy assistant → assistant herd manager → herd manager → assistant farm manager → farm manager → lower order sharemilker → 50/50 sharemilker → equity partner → land owner.

Over the past thirty years there has been a trend, in the structure of the dairy industry, of a decrease in the number of herds while the number of cows has continued to increase. Between 1980/81 and 2007/8 total herd numbers declined at an average rate of 170 herds per season (Figure 1). However, the total number of herds in the 2010/11 season increased by 44 from the previous season. This was the third consecutive season where herd numbers increased. The average herd size for the 2010/11 season was 386, which was an increase of 10 cows on the previous season and is consistent with the trend for the past thirty seasons. The average herd size has more than tripled in the past thirty years and has increased by more than 100 cows in the previous eight seasons. The increase in cow numbers and slight increase in number of herds can be attributed to high commodity prices in recent years resulting in new dairy conversions from marginally economic sheep/beef farms, particularly in the South Island (Tipples and Trafford, 2011b).

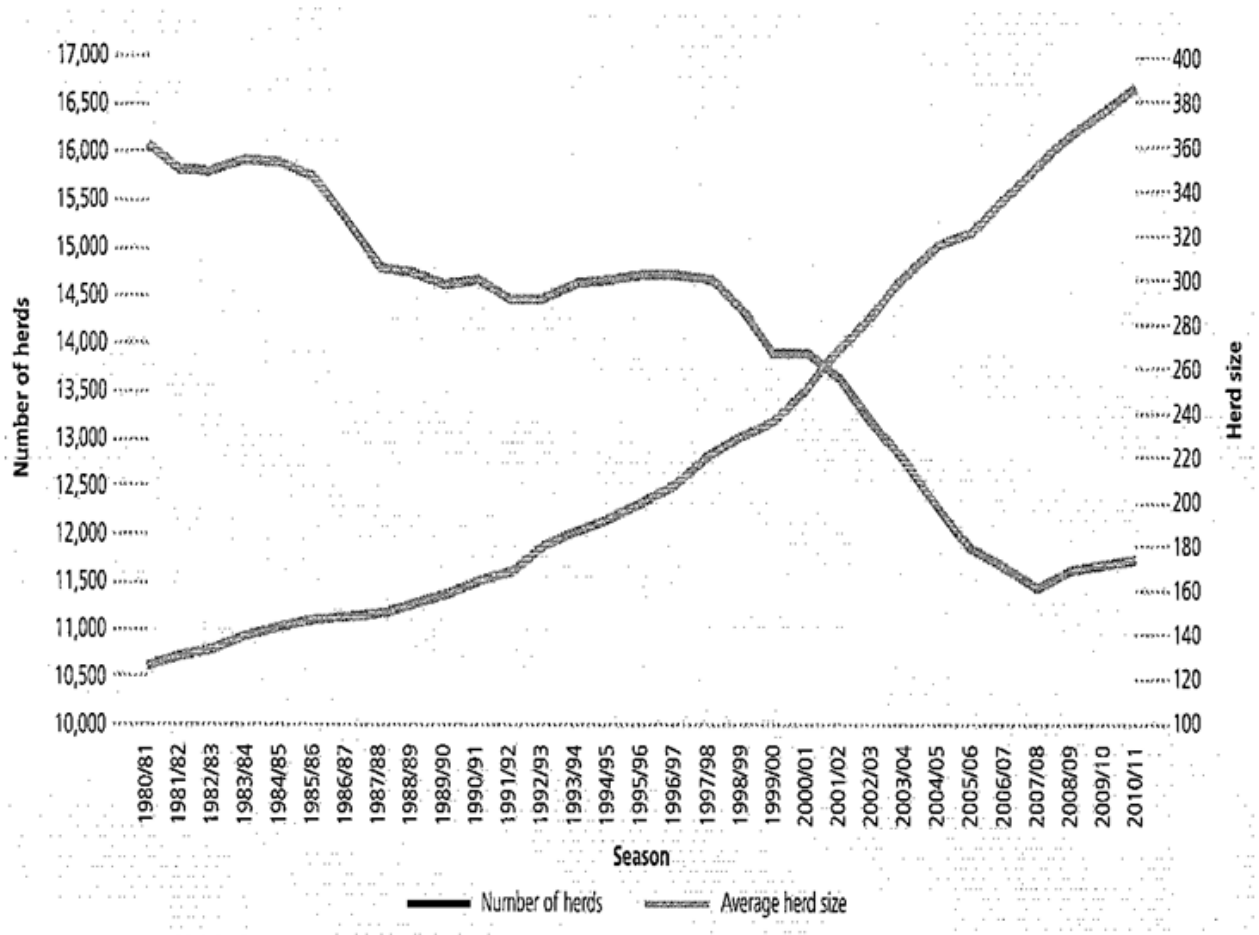


Figure 1 Trend in the number of herds and average herd size for last 30 seasons (NZ Dairy Statistics, 2010/2011)

The majority of herds are found in the North Island (76 percent), with the majority (30 percent) concentrated in the Waikato (NZ Dairy Statistics, 2010/2011). On herd basis, Taranaki is the next largest region, in the North Island, with 15 percent. Although the South Island dairy herds account for less than one quarter of the national total (24 percent), they contain over one third of all cows. Sixty four percent of all cows are in the North Island with twenty five percent located in the Waikato region. So it is by far the biggest dairy region (often referred to as the heartland of New Zealand dairy farming) followed by North Canterbury, Taranaki, and Southland (all at 11 percent).

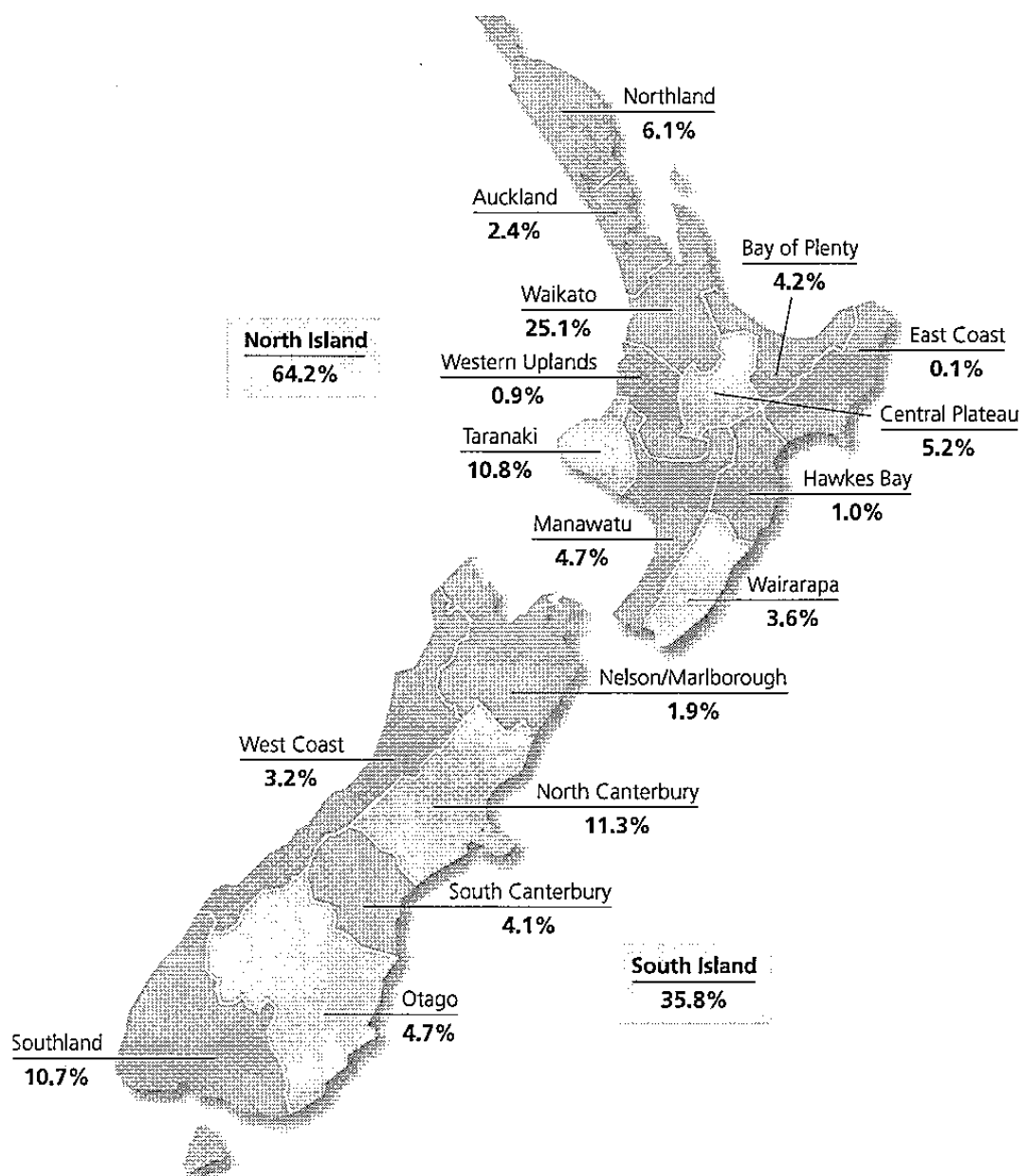


Figure 2 Regional distribution of dairy cows in 2010/11 (NZ Dairy Statistics, 2010/2011)

Farms in the South Island are, on average, larger, in terms of both farm area and cow numbers, than those in the North. The average herd size continues to increase in both Islands. In the South Island, North Canterbury has the largest average herd size (757 cows) and in the North Island, Hawkes Bay has the largest average herd size (657 cows). The smallest herd sizes are found in Auckland, Taranaki, and Northland, averaging 248, 279, and 296 cows respectively. North Canterbury has the highest average stocking rate (cows/ha) of 3.3, followed by South Canterbury with 3.2 cows/ha. This is due to the relatively flat topography allowing for centre pivot irrigation in a warm climate, optimising the dry matter production of the traditional ryegrass/white clover pasture based system. The importance of this is simply that more cows in larger herds' means increased labour requirements. Most farms operate with one full time working member of staff per 150-200 cows (Woodford *et al.*, 2003).

Traditionally, New Zealand farms have been small, mainly family businesses with little or no employed labour. In the North Island this is still largely the case. When irrigation technology increased and the more efficient centre pivots were available, coupled with increasing profitability of the dairy industry, many dairy farmers from the North Island, crippled by several years of drought and high land prices, saw the opportunities to shift South. These large South Island conversion farms tend to be owned by corporations or equity partnerships and consequently cannot rely on the previously traditional family labour source (Figure 3).

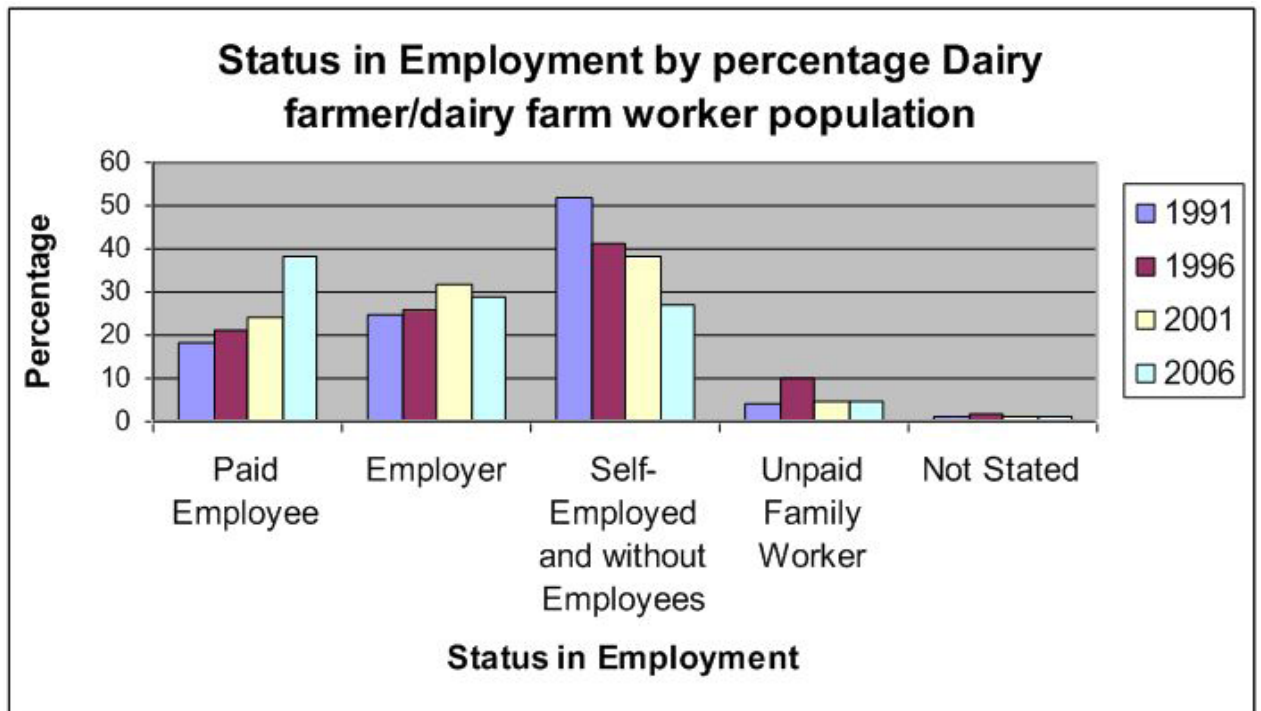


Figure 3 Proportions of dairy farm staff by status in employment (Census of Population 1991-2006, Wilson and Tipples, 2008)

2.4 The New Zealand Work Force

The population in New Zealand, as in many OECD countries, is aging. There is also a reducing number of young New Zealanders available to enter the work force (Searle, 2003). The New Zealand's labour force is predicted to grow from an estimated 2.24 million in 2006 to 2.65 million in 2031 and 2.79 million in 2061 (Statistics New Zealand, 2008). Half of New Zealand's work force will be older than 42 in 2011, in comparison to the median age of 40 years in 2006 and 36 years in 1991. The labour force aged over 65 is expected to rise from an estimated 62, 000 in 2006, to 160,000 in 2021 and around 200, 000 in the mid 2030s. The youth segment, aged between 18-24 years, of the work force is only expected to make up 12 percent of the labour force in 2051, compared with 16 percent in 1996 (Statistics New Zealand, 2005).

The present structure of the labour market indicates that 69 percent of the working age population are in the labour force (Figure 4). Of this 6.6 percent are unemployed which is comparable to the OECD average of 8.5 percent. The current unemployment rate for youth is 17.5 percent and New Zealand has the 16th highest rate of youth unemployment in OECD countries (Statistics New Zealand, 2011; OECD, 2010).

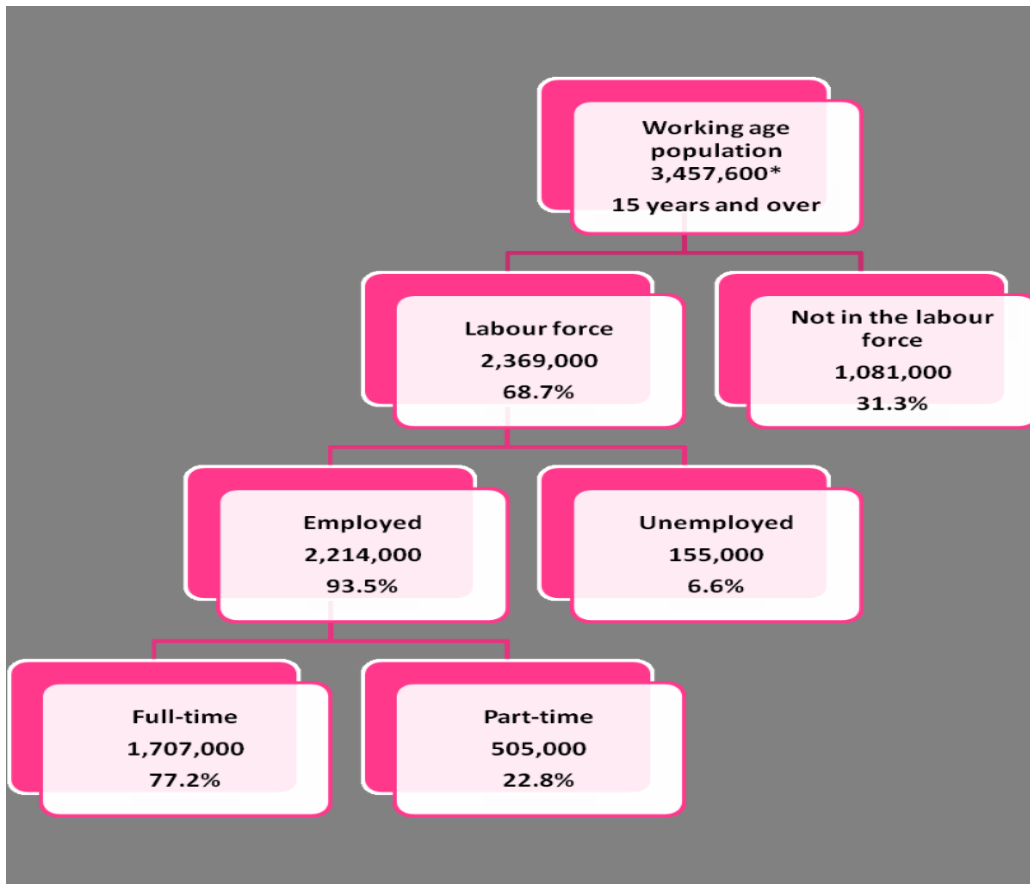


Figure 4 Structure of the Labour Market (Data from Statistics New Zealand, 2010 adapted by Human Rights Commission, 2011)

When broken down into regions, the population in Auckland is considerably larger than any other region and accounts for 31 percent of the working age population (www.neon.org.nz). The percentage of youth participation rate is lowest in Auckland and across all ethnicities. Auckland is home to 71 percent of all working age Pacific people. A third of working age Maori also live in Auckland. Auckland has the highest unemployment rates across all groups at 7.8 percent and for youth at 19.4 percent.

The compounding factors of an aging work force and fewer youth participants will surely exaggerate the labour issues already faced by the New Zealand dairy industry.

2.5 The New Zealand Dairy Work Force

It can be estimated that the increase of 130,000 cows into the milking herd in the 2010/11 season above the last (2009/10) will result in the requirement of an additional 650 - 867 new dairy workers (Statistics New Zealand, 2011; Woodford *et al.*, 2003). With cow numbers following an increasing trend and given that a relationship exists where the number of cows generally determines the number of labour units, the dairy industry is a growing source of employment opportunities.

In 2004 DairyNZ published *The Dairy Industry Strategic Framework* which has now been replaced by the new *Strategy for New Zealand Dairy Farming 2009-2020*, which focuses on five outcomes:

- Increasing farm profitability
- Talented and skilled people are attracted to, and retained in the industry
- An internationally competitive milk supply maximises returns to farmers
- Industry reputation is enhanced locally and globally
- Achievement of shared goals through genuine partnership between industry and government and wider community

Outcomes 1, 3, and 5 are dependent on outcomes 2 and 4 (Tipples and Trafford, 2011a). It appears that outcome two is proving to be the most difficult. In 2010 it was estimated, by Federated Farmers and recruitment agencies, that there was a shortage of at least 2000 skilled dairy workers (Career Services Rapuara, 2010). Despite the number of jobs available increasing and the potential to 'climb the dairy ladder' and consequent financial rewards, the dairy industry is still struggling to attract and retain New Zealand's skilled and talented youth. This is highlighted by the disturbing fact that Lockhart and Reid (2005) reported that succession rates for dairy farming, an area of traditional family business, were as low as 6 percent.

So, why are NZ youth not taking advantage of opportunities offered by the New Zealand dairy industry?

A previous self-diagnosis by the industry identified potential constraints to achieving the outcomes 1-5. In 2007 the dairy farming industry (Dairy InSight, 2007):

- Had long hours
- Was not attractive compared to other industries

- Had high staff turnover; recruitment and retention were problematic
- Had an accident rate which was the third worst in regard to injuries per person employed
- Required employees to live on-farm, which led to social isolation even when relatively close to large towns
- Lacked rural support networks

The unattractive hours of work have been known for years but it was emphasised by the once-a-day milking (OAD) research (Verwoerd and Tipples, 2007). In the year 1937/38 it was reported, by Doig (1940), that 65 percent of dairy farmers worked an average of 70 hours per week in busy periods while permanent employees worked an average of 65 hours per week. Analysis of recent census data showed that the percentage working greater than 70 hours per week increased from 1991 - 2001 to 32 percent but then fell to 27 percent in 2006. One possible explanation for the decrease was the introduction of the Holidays Act 2003 which increased annual holidays to four weeks per year. During this time the standard for the industrial sector may still be regarded as 40 hours per week (Blackwood, 2007). In regards to the New Zealand population as a whole, the proportion working more than 50 hours per week was 22 percent while for those in the dairy industry it was 61 percent (Tipples & Trafford, 2011b).

Dairy farming working days typically start at 5am with an hour for breakfast after milking then an hour for lunch and finishing after milking at around 6pm. Of course calving, the busiest time of the season, is another matter all together where work hours are even longer. In addition to a long work day, rosters are typically long too. Many still run on the traditional 12 days on 2 off, eg every second weekend off, although there has been a shift to shorter roster systems of around 8 on 2 off.

When these long hours are taken into consideration, the pay rates are very low at an average level. With only about 39 percent of farmers recording employees' hours, this leaves a considerable range for paying an hourly rate of pay below that of the minimum hourly rate of pay set in the Minimum Wages Act 1983 for the national norm of 40 hour week (Federated Farmers, 2012). Basically a dairy farm assistant could be packing groceries or flipping burgers at McDonalds for the same pay each week but only working 40 hours per week, most likely not starting at 5am, allowing them a social life in town at the same time. This is something that has been found to be of importance for 'Generation Y' (Tipples *et al.*, 2004; Tipples and Bewsell, 2010). The current minimum wage in New Zealand is \$13.50 per hour. The law states that for every pay period an employee must be paid at least \$13.50 for the hours worked during that pay period. Thomas (2012) reported that this requirement presents

a very real risk for employers of those on lower salaries and recommends that time records are kept for all staff, even those on salaries.

The long hours of dairy staff were highlighted as a problem for recruitment and retention when investigation into once a day (OAD) milking systems, in comparison to traditional twice-a-day (TAD) systems, was undertaken (Tipples and Verwoerd, 2005; Verwoerd and Tipples, 2007). This research showed that more free time from milking allowed:

- More sleep, leading to feeling more rested and making better decisions
- Less stress and feeling less rushed with the same routines
- More flexibility of when and how to do tasks
- Increase in the amount of time available in blocks, resulting in more jobs completed, increased job satisfaction and a safer farm environment
- Better quality family life and improved relationships
- Opportunities for hobbies, sport and involvement with the community (Verwoerd and Tipples, p 48, 2007)

Despite the significant improvements OAD has on the social sustainability of the dairy industry workers, there has been little uptake of the system. This is largely due to the increasing profitability of dairy farming. The price for milk is based on a set price per kilogram of milk solid. Switching from TAD to OAD reduces the amount of milk solids produced per cow. Data from the national dairy pastoral farm monitoring report 2001 (MAF, 2011) shows the dairy farms performing in the top 10% have highest number of milk solids per cow and per hectare, ultimately resulting in the highest economic farm surplus per hectare (a current key performance indicator of profitability). New dairy conversions with pivot irrigation are designed to maximise efficiency and production. It is therefore unrealistic, from an economic perspective, to milk cows OAD on these properties. On existing dairy farms where the shape or topography of the property limits production, via long and steep walks to the milking shed, OAD becomes more viable as the loss in production per cow is substituted by milking more cows (increasing the stocking rate). Basically, OAD is a lifestyle choice and for corporation/equity partnerships dairy farming is a business.

The long hours of dairy farming has an impact on the ability of the industry to recruit and retain staff. High levels of staff turnover (Figure 5) were identified from Linked Employer-Employee Data (LEED) analysed by Callister and Tipples (2010). While the level of turnover for all workers is between 15-20

percent, the levels in dairy farming were much higher at 22-40 percent. Some of the turnover may be due to the seasonal structure of the dairy industry (Figure 7), as many sharemilkers and employees change farms on Gypsy day (1st of June). Turnover of staff results in lost training capital and organisational knowledge of those changing businesses at the end of a season (Tipples and Lucock, 2004a). The actual cost of dairy staff turnover in Australia, in terms of monetary value, has been quantified by Nettle *et al.* (2011) to be between \$AU60-200 million annually for the entire dairy industry or 50-150 percent of an employee's annual salary to their employer.

Worker turnover rate, 1999-2008, LEED data

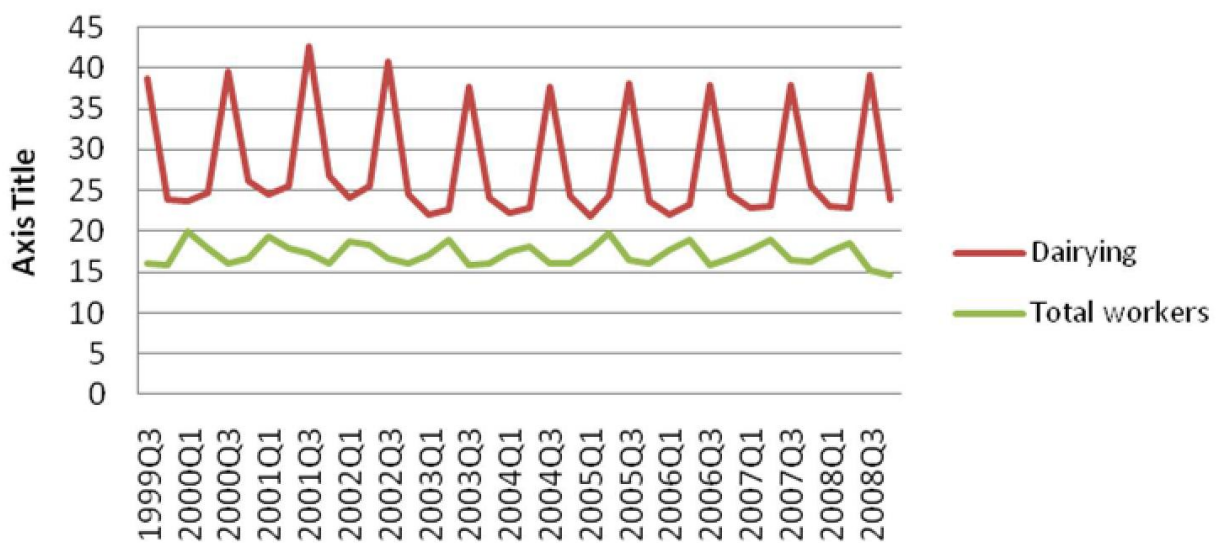


Figure 5 Worker Turnover rates 1999-2008 (Callister and Tipples 2010)

Another issue brought up by Dairy Insight (2007) was the relatively high number of accidents that occur on farm. In New Zealand there is a 'no fault accident' insurer called the Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC) which is funded through employer levies. The rate of levies is determined according to the riskiness of an industry. Basically ACC tries to balance the amount paid out from claims with the amount deducted from levies from a particular industry. For the financial year ending 30 June 2010 the cost of active claims from Agriculture was \$NZ 59 million (Tipples and Trafford 2011a). Dairy farming made up 48 percent of the work force contributing to that figure but was only responsible for 41 percent, or \$NZ 24 million, of the claims. From the 1st July 2004 to the 30 June 2010 the cost of active claims rose by 1 percent per year but has begun to decline (Figure 6). There have been a decreasing number of new claims per year. The cause of this is undetermined. It could be a reduction in the number of claims approved or that safety education/training has filtered into data, either way it is a positive trend for the dairy industry.

Accepted ACC claims for dairy farming

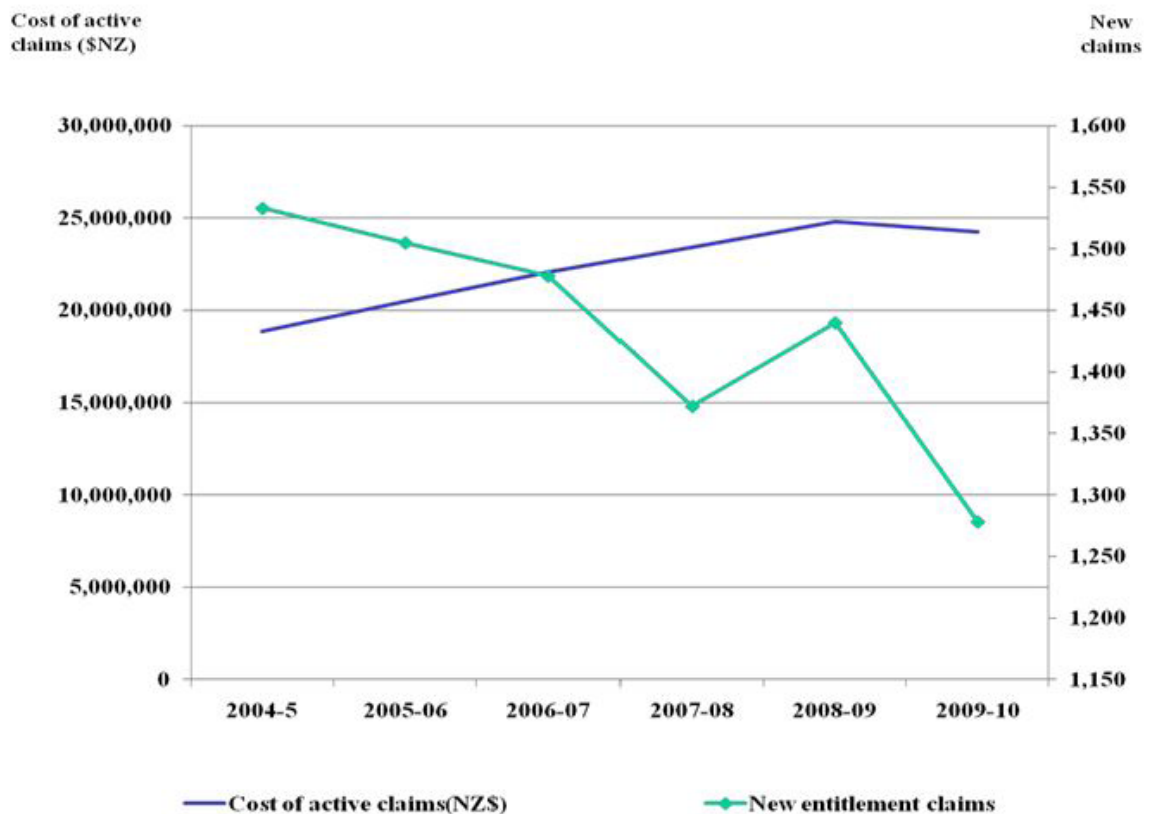


Figure 6 Accepted ACC claims for dairy farming (Callister and Tipples 2010)

Rural isolation is another problem for recruitment and retention in the dairy industry. Farm workers are required to live on farm, which is beneficial for farmer and the worker as they are provided with accommodation, though the standard can vary considerably. However with the high staff turnover levels and the introduction of the 90 day trial period, losing the job or resigning will mean losing that accommodation (Gasson, 1974). Living out in the country often means there is limited or no cell phone coverage and internet access. With, texting and Facebook popular ways for ‘Generation Y’ to communicate it is no wonder they have problems maintaining social contact. Rawlinson (2011) found dairy workers in Canterbury had difficulty maintaining established friendships when such friends in Christchurch failed to maintain contact with them and as a result one informant had moved closer to town. Dairy workers also found it difficult to forge new friendships in the area, further increasing their isolation.

In some dairy farming regions rural support networks in communities have been established. An example is the Amuri Dairy Employers Group in North Canterbury, although the retirement of the chairman recently has resulted in the inactivity of the group. This is not the case for relatively new dairy farming areas, such as Canterbury and Otago or areas converting back to dairy, like Southland. The differences in lifestyle and daily work patterns have hindered locals establishing common ground

and engaging with the dairy farming community (Tipples and Trafford, 2011b). In addition, locals have been wary of dairy farmers due to the dairy sectors reputation for failing to honour contracts or pay invoices for agricultural services (Greenhalgh, 2010; Rawlinson, 2011).

The problems associated with the dairy industry’s ability to attract and retain skilled young New Zealanders was highlighted by the trend discovered when Wilson and Tipples (2008) analysed The Census of Population data. Unfortunately data is only available to 2006 as the 2011 census was cancelled due to the 22nd of February 2011 earthquake. The census data appeared to suggest a contracting of the dairy industry (Table 2). However, we know this is not the case due to the increasing number of cows in the national milking herd (Statistics New Zealand, 2011) and the increasing proportion of dairy farm land (see Figure 1).

Table 2 Census data for the number of dairy farmers/staff

Census Year	Dairy farmers/workers
1991	28,134
1996	29,976
2001	26,328
2006	24,795

Source: Wilson and Tipples (2008)

When Callister and Tipples (2010) analysed Linked Employer-Employee Data (LEED) it was shown that the number of dairy farm workers had actually more than doubled from 1999 to 2008 (Figure 7).

Number of dairy farming workers, 1999-2008, LEED data

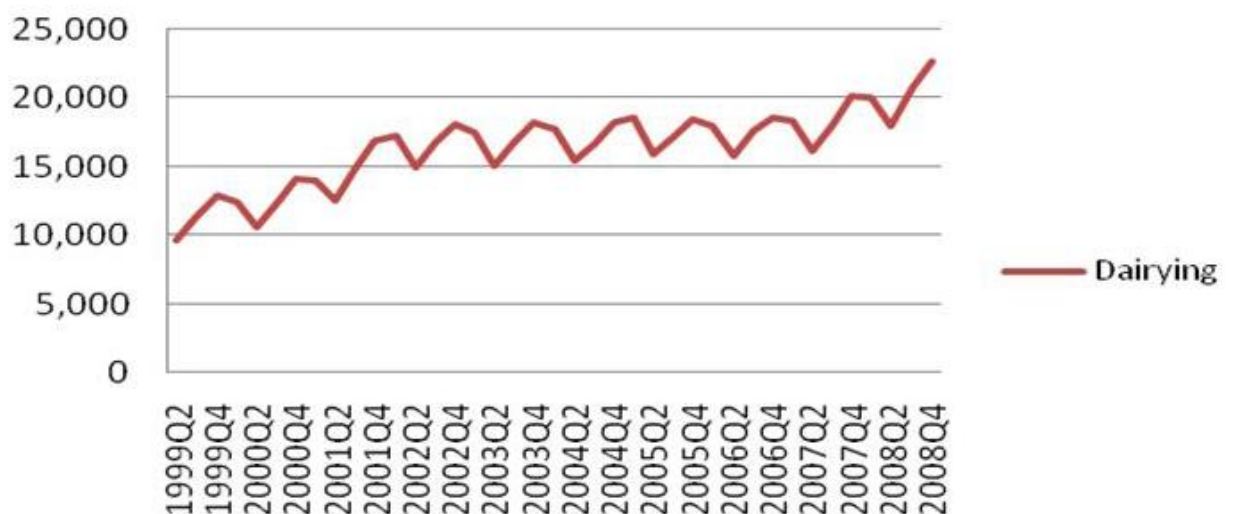


Figure 7 Dairy farming numbers, 1999-2008 (Callister and Tipples 2010)

So, if New Zealanders are not entering the dairy industry, then who is?

2.6 Migrant Labour in the New Zealand Dairy Industry

The answer is migrants. Callister and Tipples (2010) and Tipples *et al.* (2010) compared data from the Census of Population and the number of Temporary Work Permits (Figure 8) to show the number of short term migrants.

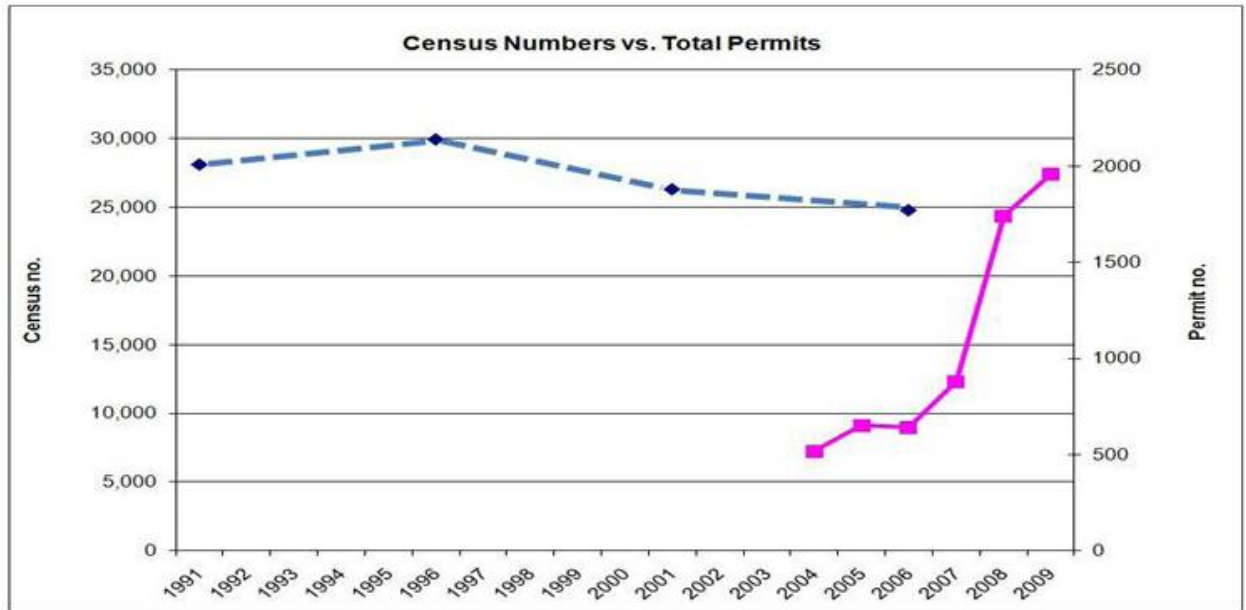


Figure 8 Census of population data for dairy farm staff in their main occupation 1991, 1996, 2001 & 2006 compared to the number of Temporary Work Permits issued for dairy farming 2004 to 2009 (Callister and Tipples 2010)

They also arranged the data by nationalities to specify where the migrants were coming from (Figure 9). It highlighted a significant change in the national origin of the majority of migrant workers from the British, in traditional exchange schemes, in 2003/04 to the Filipinos, followed by South Americans, in 2008/09.

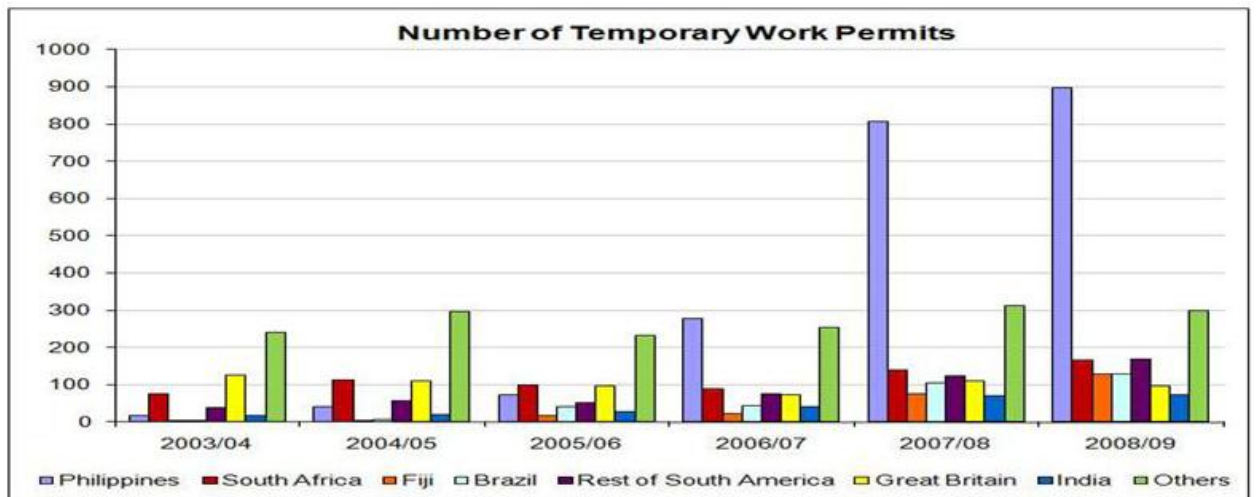


Figure 9 The national origins of people on temporary work permits for dairy farming (Callister and Tipples 2010)

The same pattern was found when Rawlinson and Tipples (2012) analysed work visas granted for dairy farming, from 2003/4 to present (Figure 10), but it is unclear if these are figures for temporary or permanent visas, or both. When Brazil, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay totals are added together for each year, South America is still the second largest region of origin for dairy workers in New Zealand, which is in accordance to findings by Callister and Tipples (2010).

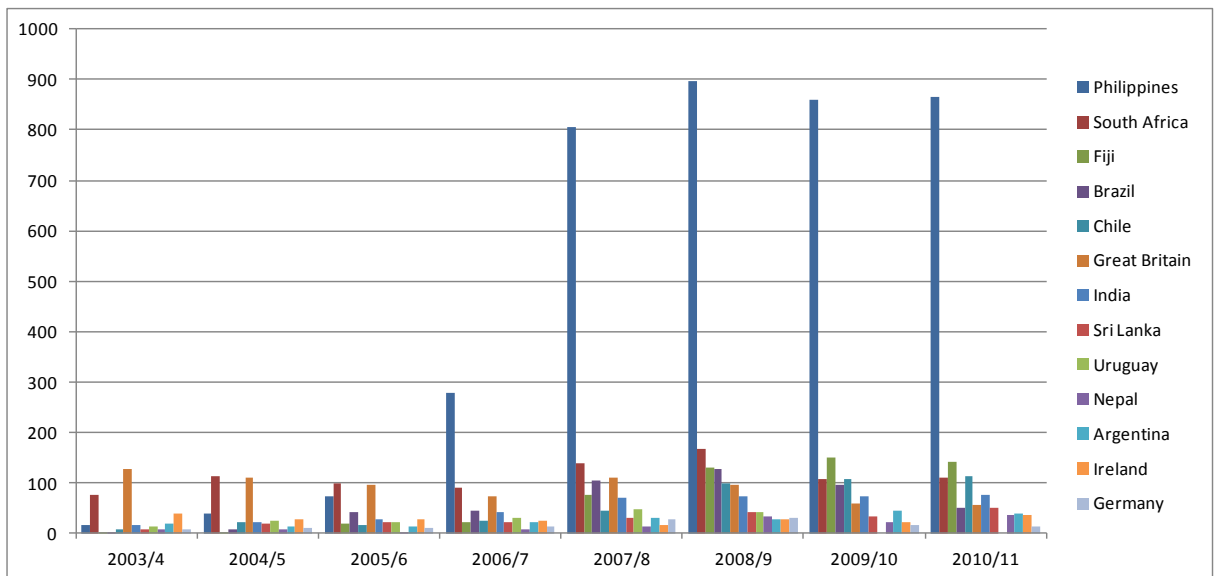


Figure 10 Origins of people working on dairy farms in New Zealand granted work visas (adapted from Rawlinson and Tipples, 2012)

Farmers are increasingly willing to employ migrants because they:

- Have come to New Zealand for a particular reason
- Have a conscientious nature
- Are loyal
- Are reliable and dependable
- Have strong work ethics
- Are highly motivated
- Are willing to work (Christie, 2011; Human Rights Commission, 2008; Rawlinson and Tipples, 2012)

Also, bad experiences and frequent problems with New Zealand staff were a deterrent because they had:

".. no performance .. It's very, very easy to motivate motivateable people but very difficult to motivate a person that's unmotivateable ... I went dairy farming because I enjoyed farming and not to be a social worker or financing people's accounts or a marriage guidance counsellor ... With migrant workers, that stuff's all gone away." (Christie, 2011, p.2)

The increase in the use of migrant labour has been described as essential in the dairy industry. However there is a risk that this dependence on migrant workers may leave the dairy industry in a labour crisis should there be a policy change to lower unemployment rates. This is not likely to occur given the recent support the Government has provided for migrant workers and employers. Two guides, one for employers and the other for migrant employees on dairy farms, have been published in a collaborative development by the following organisations; DairyNZ, Federated Farmers, Rural Women New Zealand, Department of Labour, Settling In, and Immigration New Zealand as part of the Migrant Dairy Workers Initiative (Immigration New Zealand, 2012a; 2012b). The purpose of these guides is to smooth the transition into work and life on a New Zealand dairy farm for migrants by informing them of what it will be like and by educating employers on what they can do to help this process. The guide for migrant workers is published in Tagalog for Filipinos and Spanish for South Americans. The Government is also supporting Vision 2015 (Immigration New Zealand, 2012c) by approving the new Immigration Global Management System (IGMS). The IGMS replaces the Application Management System (AMS) which was implemented in the early 1990s before the internet became the way the world communicates. It will make the process of immigration electronic and will streamline and simplify the visa system. For migrants this will mean they will be able to

complete the visa applications online. There will no longer be the need to use an agency to do this on their behalf for usually a substantial fee.

Most dairy farm migrants are on temporary work visas (Immigration New Zealand, 2012a). There are a number of different categories available to apply under and the migrants circumstances will determine which category to use. The most common is the Essential Skills category because Assistant Herd Manager, Herd manager, Assistant farm manager and Farm manager all appear on the Immediate Skills Shortage List. An employer needs to prove they have genuinely tried to find a New Zealand worker to fill the position. There are different qualifications or experience requirements for each job description: an assistant herd manager must have National Certificate in Agriculture (level 2 or above) AND/OR two years relevant experience; a herd manager requires National Certificate in Agriculture (level 2 or above) and at least two years relevant experience; an assistant farm manger requires National Certificate in Agriculture (level 3 or above) and a minimum of three years relevant experience; and a farm manager requires National Certificate in Agriculture (level 4 or above) and a minimum of three years relevant experience. The duration of Essential Skills work visa is typically three years, but can be granted once for five years if the criteria are met.

As agreed to under the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) - Australia - New Zealand Free Trade Agreement (AANZFTA) there is a Philippines Special Work Category. Under this category there are 20 positions available, at one time, for farm managers, who meet the requirements, to be granted a visa for up to three years. The disadvantage of this category is that if you wish to return here you need to spend at least three years out of New Zealand before you can apply under this category again.

2.7 Filipino and South American Dairy Staff in Canterbury

It has been said that in Canterbury Kiwi English is now one of the rarer languages to be heard on dairy farms (Rawlinson and Tipples, 2012). In the North Canterbury district of Amuri, of the staff employed by the Amuri Dairy Employers Group (ADEG) members, now more than 50 percent are migrant employees (Tipples and Bewsell, 2010). From figure 9, it clear that Filipinos' are by far the largest group followed by the South Americans (Brazil plus the rest of South America), and by 2009 there were around 900 and 300 dairy workers, respectively, on temporary work permits. Currently there is estimated to be about 1000 Filipino dairy workers in Canterbury (New Zealand Philippines Embassy, 21 March 2012). From members of the Filipino Dairy Workers of New Zealand Incorporation (FDWNZ) we know there are at least 400 in Mid Canterbury.

FDWNZ is an advocacy group based in Ashburton that was founded in 2007 by Sam Bruzo. It was initially established to provide social contact for Filipino dairy workers but soon evolved to help

resolve employer/employee differences, to help resolve differences with immigration agencies, provide assistance with pay disputes, and where exploitation appears to be occurring (Bruzo, 2011). These are not the sole purposes of the group. Others are aimed at improving conditions for dependants of the workers and include:

- English language proficiency
- Skills of spouses and partners
- Providing legal assistance
- Connecting with other Filipinos
- Fundraising for betterment of employees
- Obtain equipment that can be used by the group (Filipino Dairy Workers New Zealand Inc. 2007)

Other groups similar to FDWNZ have been formed in other districts of Canterbury too. In the North Canterbury district of Amuri, Danny Sales is president of the Amuri Filipino Community which supports around 45 families and is growing quickly (MacDonald, 2012). In Timaru, Filipina Belinda Dewe has formed a shelter and cultural group called the South Canterbury Filipino Association (Stilwell, 2009). There are also groups in Southland and in the North Island there is the Waikato Filipino Association (New Zealand Philippines Embassy, 21 March 2012).

So, why is dairy farming in New Zealand so attractive to Filipino migrants? One reason is they are able to bring their families with them, provided they are given a letter of support from their employer for the visa application. And once here, dependent children are granted student visas (domestic) provided the parent earns over the threshold of \$NZ 33, 675 gross per annum. Another explanation is to generate an income which allows for remittances to be sent back to the Philippines.

It is estimated that 10 percent of the Filipino population lives abroad and sends remittances home (Commission of Filipinos Overseas, 2006). In 2009 the Philippines received \$US 19, 688 million in remittances, this equates to almost 10 percent of GDP (World Bank 2008). Gubert and Nordman (2009) found it is usually the wealthy and highly educated that migrate first when demographic pressures occur. This can be seen in the dairy industry as the level of training and experience required for visas limits the ability of the poor in the Philippines to move to New Zealand for dairy farm jobs. Consequently, many Filipino dairy farm workers in New Zealand have animal science or veterinarian degrees. Filipino dairy workers in Southland, who send remittances home, felt that

although their families were well off by Filipino standards, the remittances eventually filtered down to benefit the poorer in the community (Frazer, 2011). Others sent money directly to organisations which are working in the poorest communities.

In contrast, it appears South American dairy workers come to New Zealand to learn about our pastoral farming systems. They acquire knowledge, skills and experience here that they take home with them. This is quite different to the Filipinos and may be explained by climate. The Philippines is closer to the equator and therefore has a more tropical climate whereas New Zealand and South American countries are further below the equator and have more temperate climates. Another clear difference is that the Filipinos build social community groups almost everywhere they go, but I was unable to find anything similar for the South Americans.

Future investigation into the life experiences of Filipino and South American migrants is required to determine:

- Key decisions behind the choice to migrate
- Why they chose dairy farming, New Zealand, and Canterbury over alternatives
- What they like/dislike about dairy farming, New Zealand and Canterbury
- The role and importance of family and community
- Future goals and intentions
- And how these relate or differ between the two

Chapter 3

Methodology

The Philippines and South America are the two largest areas from which people come, on temporary work permits, for dairy farming in New Zealand (Callister and Tipples 2010; Rawlinson and Tipples 2012). Since South America consists of many countries, cultures and ethnicities I have selected to interview people from Chile as a representation of South America. This will allow me to compare and contrast the backgrounds and experiences of Filipino and Chilean dairy staff in Canterbury to understand the motivating factors for their migration to work on dairy farms in New Zealand and more specifically in Canterbury.

I used qualitative methods to undertake this exploratory research by conducting 10, 5 Filipino and 5 Chilean, semi structured interviews. Because this research involved people, I needed permission from the Human Ethics Committee. The application to the committee for this study was attached to Rupert Tipples application for an upcoming study in Southland. Approval was granted for the research by the Human Ethics Committee.

I adopted a grounded theory approach into my questioning by relating to key events such as; the decision making process of deciding to come to New Zealand, how they got to New Zealand, and what happened when they got here. The reason for using a grounded approach in the interviewing process was due of the exploratory nature of the research – because I did not yet know what I didn't know.

The participants were found by snowball sampling. This method was selected to generate contact with other people, who were relevant to this research, because of the difficulty of being able to contact potential interviewees in any other way (Davidson and Tolich, 2007). There were no sampling frames or lists available to identify potential interviewees and it is undesirable to be dependent solely on employers for this type of research. Basically a small number of informants identified potential interviewees or others who are able to lead to a potential interviewee. Then the next interviewee was identified by a previous interviewee and so forth. This continued until I have completed all 10 interviews. Ideally it would have been until a point of saturation was reached, when the collection of new data does not shed any further light on the on the issue being investigated (Manson, 2010), but this was not possible due to time restrictions.

It should be noted that it was up to the individual to opt in to the research rather than opt out. In most instances the person first asked their acquaintance [the potential interviewee] if they would be willing to talk to me before they gave their contact information to me. This may have been a source

of bias in my research if it was their employer asking them if they were willing to talk to me or if it is was acquaintance I have previously interviewed they may then have discussed what I have asked and therefore have practiced answers. The usual method of contact was by telephone but also included email and text messaging.

Interviews were conducted in a neutral location, ideally one on one but were also in a group because it was appropriate for a particular situation. For example, the interviewees felt more comfortable, they lived together, and it was convenient for them if they worked on the same property, as dairy staff are often time poor, et cetera. When this was the case, more time and diligence was needed to ensure a full collection of information was obtained from each individual in the group in their own words, for example making sure they conveyed their own experiences and were not just agreeing or fading into the group. At the beginning of an interview a consent form was given to the participant, which gave a description of the purpose of the interview and also made it clear that at anytime should they wish to withdraw from the study, they may and also that all information from the interview would remain anonymous. There was also a line on the consent form for my use, where I added a number to identify the participant. Interviews were transcribed using these numbers to hide the identity of the participants. Once all interviews were completed I used a large piece of paper [A3] folded into a table, with interviewees numbers heading the columns, and drew out common themes which emerged from transcripts, including relevant quotes. This provided ideas for sections of the report.

Chapter 4

Review of the Snowball Sample

4.1 Identifying Participants

This section provides a description of how each interviewee was identified.

4.1.1 Interviewee's # 1 and 2

When I first began this research I made contact with a woman, who is involved with the Amuri Dairy Employers Group (ADEG), and who I knew employed Filipino dairy workers on their farm from a news paper article. She was very helpful and gave me the number of a South American, Chilean, couple she knew working in the area, interviewee's 1 and 2. Unfortunately when I was ready to begin interviews and tried to make contact with the woman I was unable to do so. I later learnt that she has been in hospital.

When I phoned interviewees 1 and 2 they were very keen to do the interview. By chance they happened to be in Christchurch the next day so we arranged to meet at McDonalds in Hornby. They had taken an early morning flight to Wellington to renew interviewee # 1's passport and flew back to Christchurch the same afternoon.

During the interview the differences between the individual cultures and countries in South America were highlighted. This prompted me to reassess the parameters of my research and I decided to use Chilean interviewee's as a representation of a South American culture. It also happened that I had the number of another Chilean working on a dairy farm in Canterbury.

4.1.2 Interviewee's # 3, 4 and 5

Interviewee # 3's number was given to me by a B. Com student who was a class mate. He is now working on a dairy farm in Canterbury which is part of a corporate farming enterprise. He knows interviewee's # 3, 4 & 5 quite well, as they all work on dairy farms owned by the same corporate farming enterprise. These dairy farms are located in very close vicinity to one another.

I spoke with interviewee # 3 on the phone and arranged a time for the interview one night after his work. I also mentioned if he knew of any other Chileans working on dairy farms in Canterbury, and was expecting to further discuss the possibility of attaining their contact information after the interview. When I arrived to conduct the interview I was surprised to learn that interviewee # 3 had taken the initiative to contact the other Chileans working on dairy farms he knew and invited them to the interview. It turned out he is married to interviewee # 4 and works and lives with her. They both

knew interviewee # 5 from high school and he works down the road on a dairy farm owned by the same corporate farming enterprise. His fiancé is also from Chile and lives and works on the dairy farm with him but was too shy about her English to come to the interview. This interview was conducted in a group setting which I had not anticipated but made the most of the opportunity as they had taken the time to talk to me. Unfortunately they did not know of any other Chilean's working on dairy farms in Canterbury, as they were all in the one room, so the snowballing effect did not continue.

4.1.3 Interviewee # 6, 7 and 8

A fellow Bachelor of Agricultural Science student suggested I rang a man who owns a number of dairy farms in Canterbury. The student had worked for a local contractor over the summer period and had noticed that this man employed Filipino staff on one of his properties in Springston. I rang this man and he agreed to ask some of his staff if they would be willing to talk to me and then texted me interviewee # 6 and 8's numbers.

I spoke with interviewee # 6 in the office at the cow shed one afternoon. After the interview I asked him if he knew of any other Filipinos working on dairy farms that would be willing to talk to me. He then took me out to the shed where interviewee # 7 was putting cups on cows and introduced me. A few days later I went back to the farm and interviewed him. I spoke with interviewee # 8 two weeks later when he had time for the interview. He was extremely busy as they were under staffed because another staff member was having time off because his wife was due to have a baby. He was very straight to the point in his interview and I did not get the chance to ask if he knew of any other Filipinos working on dairy farms that would be willing to talk to me before he sped off down the gravel driveway leaving me to follow in a cloud of dust.

4.1.4 Interviewee's # 9 and 10

My flatmate from last year and fellow Bachelor of Agricultural Science student's father has recently invested in a new equity dairy farm conversion. By chance they were able to purchase some in-calf dairy cows that were bound for China. They were selling cheaply as their calving had been timed for the season in China and were due to calve in May. Dairy cows usually calve in August in New Zealand to time the nutritional requirements of lactation with the growth of high quality pasture to maximise milk production. My friend had visited the farm with her father and met the manager. She also knew he had hired Filipino staff. She rang the manager, explaining what I was doing, and asked for the two Filipino staff's numbers. When I contacted them we arranged a time for me to go to their home, as they were living in the same house together on the property, and interview them together. They were very accommodating and even cooked me a meal. When I asked whether they knew of any

other Filipinos working on dairy farms that would be willing to talk to me, Interviewee # 9 gave me the number of a Filipino friend who worked on a dairy farm down the road and they invited me to their basketball game that evening, which is a competition run by the Filipino Dairy Workers in New Zealand Inc. Unfortunately I could not attend as I had prior engagements. In an unforeseen complication they took it upon themselves to distribute my number to other Filipinos some time during that evening. I was then bombarded with text messages and phone calls from a number of Filipinos wishing me a happy birthday. Unfortunately some of the content of these text messages I received were inappropriate and left me unable to use any of the contacts interviewee # 9 had provided without introducing a bias to my research. And after a discussion with my supervisor we felt that the best option was to ignore and not respond to any of the messages. It should be noted that I never received any inappropriate messages from interviewees # 9 or 10, nor do we know that they were aware of what was being texted to me, therefore their interview was still credible for this research.

4.2 Summary of Snowball Sample

The biggest constraint to the effectiveness of using a snowball technique for this research was the timeframe I had to complete this research. I started my degree halfway through a year and consequently the order of my papers was muddled, meaning my final Honours year was split between two calendar years and across a summer holiday period. In compliance to the House Rules of my dissertation it has meant I was only allowed to conduct my research in this year and I have discovered that time is needed to build up the connections, relationships and trust that is required for this type of research, dealing with people from different cultures and nationalities. I feel as though the interviewees' would have been more willing to pass on the contact information of friends and family, instead of the people they worked with or worked in the neighbourhood, to someone they knew and trusted. Not someone they spoke with for five minutes on the phone a couple of times and then had an interview with for approximately an hour.

Using snowballing for this research also required a lot of patience and I also felt pressure due to the time constraints. For example when I contacted the women in the Amuri district, I was encouraged by her positivity and was excited when she offered to ask around the area for potential interviewees'. I knew from the news paper article that one of the Filipinos that was employed on her property had started a Filipino community group in the area, and was hoping to interview him. When I tried to make contact a few weeks later as we had discussed I was unable to reach her. I later found out she had been in hospital which was an unforeseen circumstance. Like many migrant dairy staff I could not find a listed phone number for the Filipinos I was hoping to interview. I resorted to locating their profile on Facebook and sending a private message explaining the situation and asking if they

would be willing to talk to me, but I never heard back from them and to be honest I'm not sure I would have responded if I had received such an email, there are an awful lot of scams run through computers and we are told to be wary of unknown senders. The dead end I reached in this case of snowballing was disappointing and completely beyond anyone's control.

I believe snowballing could still be an effective method to use for this type of exploratory research if given ample time to conduct it, allowing for the development of trust and connections to be built.

This could be achieved by incorporating similar techniques used in ethnographic methods.

Ethnography is a qualitative method where the researcher immerses themselves into the lives of the group or community to study them in their natural setting. Tolich and Davidson (2007) described it as 'the combination of observation, participation, and unstructured interviewing in the field'. The key technique to incorporate to my research from this would be the participation factor. I imagine this would provide the opportunity for the participants and their community to get to know and trust me, therefore be more willing to pass on contact information of potential interviewees and keep the snow ball rolling. It would also grow the base of network connections.

Chapter 5

Background Information on Interviewees' and Agencies

5.1 Interviewee Backgrounds

This section provides a description of the backgrounds of individual interviewees. The purpose of this is to give the reader a clearer picture of the interviewee when they are quoted in later sections.

5.1.1 Interviewee # 1

Sex: Male

Age: 36

Origin: Santiago, Chile

Arrival date: January 2003

Occupation: low order sharemilker, owns 600 cows

Location: Culverden

Relationship status: Married, to interviewee #2

Family: Two children, a boy (4) and a girl (3). Parents in Chile, brother and sister in New Zealand.

He was a civil engineer working for a building company in Chile. He was in a relationship with interviewee #2 but called it off when he decided to come to New Zealand. The company was opening a sister company in Australia, which he was going to work for. He came to New Zealand in January 2003 after becoming frustrated with the slow progress of obtaining a work visa for the job opportunity in Australia. He did not find the job he wanted in Auckland, so after 3 months he went to Dunedin with a friend. After being in Dunedin for two weeks, interviewee #2 arrived for a two week holiday. And round this time he learnt of the growth opportunities in the dairy industry, and found them both a job on a dairy farm in Culverden.

"I saw milking cows and start to see potential here. At that time, nine years ago, it's a big chance because you can see the boom came, five or seven years ago." (Interviewee #1, interview 1, pp. 2)

They stayed on that farm for four years. He worked up from a dairy assistant to an equity herd manager in that time. After four years they applied for a lower order sharemilker position in Ashburton where they stayed for a year before moving back to a bigger farm in Culverden, where they have been for the last four years. He is a resident and hopes to buy a farm or some land in the future.

5.1.2 Interviewee # 2

Sex: Female

Age: 35

Origin: Osorno, Chile

Arrival date: May 2003

Occupation: Low order sharemilker, owns 600 cows

Location: Culverden

Relationship status: Married, to interviewee #1

Family: Two children, a boy (4) and a girl (3). Parents in Chile, brother in New Zealand.

She completed a Bachelor of Commerce degree from the Central University of Chile in Santiago, Chile. Her grandfather had a dairy farm.

“My grandpa used to have a farm, a dairy farm, a small one in my country in the south, in Osorno, where all the kiwi companies are buying land now. My father grew up on the farm, I didn’t I grew up in the city, but on school holidays I was going to the farm and see my uncle and my aunty on the dairy farm.” (Interviewee #2, interview 1, pp. 3)

She was working in Santiago and in a relationship with interviewee #1, when he decided to come to New Zealand.

“I waved goodbye, he said ‘you’re not coming with me, forget about it, we’re not carrying on’.. After I miss him, after three months I came to New Zealand.. After I arrived he said to me ‘we’re going to go milk cows’ I said ‘What!! I’m on holiday for two weeks, I’ve just resigned my job’.. We started to work on the 1st of June that year and we haven’t stopped since!” (Interviewee #2, interview 1, pp. 2)

The first dairy job was in Culverden.

“We grew up from dairy assistant to 2IC to herd manager. He was equity farm manager and I was herd manager on the farm..After four years we decided to move on and apply for a low order sharemilker position in Ashbuton and we took that one. We went and worked there for one year and after we decided to move back again to Culverden in a bigger farm. We’ve been there four years now. It’s been good. In those last four years we’ve been able to grow our equity.. We brought 600 cows now. We need just the farm to go now.” (Interviewee #2, interview 1, pp. 2)

5.1.3 Interviewee # 3

Sex: Male

Age: 22

Origin: Loncoche, Chile

Arrival date: September 2008

Occupation: 2IC

Location: Te Pirita

Relationship status: Married, to interviewee #4

Family: Parents and brother in Chile

Grew up in both the city and the country side.

“My family live in the city but I have some family that lives on the farm, so I was half and half in the city. One week in the city, one week on the farm” (Interviewee #3, interview 2, pp. 9)

He attended an Agricultural High School in Panguipulli, Chile, along with interviewee’s #4 and #5.

“We studied agriculture for four years at high school.. After I finished high school, it was agriculture, so then I had to do practical. It was 140 hours experience in dairy and everything. Then finished practical, then [name] was working for a New Zealand company.. in Chile, then he says he has an option to bring Chilean to come study in New Zealand for three months and get some experience about New Zealand dairy farm. And then we can work for one year here in New Zealand. So we thought it was a good idea to get more experience and we know New Zealand is the best.” (Interviewee #3, interview 2, pp. 1)

The man and the company he refers to are called Agency A. After completion of the course, Agency B was used to find a dairy job in Canterbury in December 2008 through Agency A. He has been working with his wife and for the same boss since December 2008, but not on the same farm.

“Just two [farms], but with the same company [corporate farming] and the same boss and the same manager.. five months and then we come here, and we’ve been here almost three years. So the contract now finish on the 1st of June and on the 1st of June we’re going to another farm in Rangiora” (Interviewee #3, interview 2, pp. 3-4)

He intends to go home when his Temporary Work Visa expires in April 2015. It is unclear what he is going to do upon returning home. Most likely working on a dairy farm using his skills and experience from New Zealand but when his wife mentioned undertaking a Veterinary degree he said he would also like to do that.

“I want to stay for another two years. I am 2IC here so want to stay two more years and get experience then go back to my country.” (Interviewee #3, interview 2, pp. 2)

5.1.4 Interviewee # 4

Sex: Female

Age: 22

Origin: Loncoche, Chile

Arrival date: September 2008

Occupation: Herd Manager

Location: Te Piritā

Relationship status: Married, to interviewee #3

Family: Parents and siblings in Chile

Grew up on a farm but later moved into the city.

"My father is working on the farm but we move to live in town for study cause that's better in town than on the farm, but I do grow up on the farm"
(Interviewee #4, interview 2, pp. 9)

She attended an Agricultural High School in Panguipulli, Chile, along with interviewee's #3 and #5. She came to New Zealand, with interviewee's #3 and #5, via Agency A to complete a three month agricultural course. On completion of the course she and interviewee #3 found a dairy job together, in Canterbury, using Agency B, who was recommended by Agency A. They have been working for the same boss since December 2008, but not on the same property.

"He was the manager and now he's the sharemilker and we come from one farm to here..Here is herringbone and the new farm is rotary.. Here is 500, there is 1000 [cows]." (Interviewee #4, interview 2, pp. 4)

Her Temporary Work Visa also expires in April 2015. On returning home she wants to study to become a Veterinarian.

"I want to stay another two years, my visa's for another two years.. I want to go to University at home. Because I see its similar money to buy here and buying in Chile but it's more difficult because of the language. I want to study in Spanish. But now I'm saving money and getting experience."
(Interviewee #4, interview 2, pp. 2 & 8)

5.1.5 Interviewee # 5

Sex: Male

Age: 22

Origin: Valdivia, Chile

Arrival date: September 2008

Occupation: Herd Manager

Location: Te Piritā

Relationship status: Engaged

Family: Parents and siblings in Chile

He grew up on a dairy farm.

"Absolutely farm. My dad is a farmer." (Interviewee #5, interview 2, pp. 9)

He attended an Agricultural High School in Panguipulli, Chile, along with interviewee's #3 and #4. Came to New Zealand, with interviewee's #3 and #4, via Agency A to complete a three month agricultural course. On completion of the course he found a dairy job, in Ashburton, using Agency B, who was recommended by Agency A. He worked in Ashburton for almost three years and has been on the farm in Te Pirita almost a year.

"I worked two and a half years in Ashburton, then I meet my girlfriend and I tried to get her to work with me, but it doesn't work so I had to get another job to work with her together. So that's why I came here..Almost one year here. At first farm we milk 1500 cows in an 80 bale rotary and now I come here to milk 1000 cows in 54 bale rotary. (Interviewee #5, interview 2, pp. 2-4)

His Temporary Work Visa expires in a year, so he will either go home then or reapply for another two years. Once returning home he will most likely continue dairy farming.

"I think one or three years more, then carry on with the same stuff in my own country." (Interviewee #5, interview 2, pp. 2)

5.1.6 Interviewee # 6

Sex: Male

Age: 33

Origin: Philippines

Arrival date: July 2006

Occupation: Herd Manager

Location: Springston

Relationship status: Married

Family: Wife is pregnant. Mother and younger brother and aunts in Philippines. His older brother and cousin both live in Canterbury

He was raised by his grandparents and aunts. His grandparents owned a rice and corn mill and land with harvest fruits and coconuts. After high school he completed a computer science degree, and then he worked in a ply wood factory. He then went on to Australia as part of an International Exchange Programme to be a dairy trainee for a year. He then headed to New Zealand and used Agency C to find a dairy job. The job was in Southland. He stayed there for one year and then moved to Rakaia, Canterbury, to be closer to his brother and cousin. He stayed at that job for two years before shifting to another farm in Rakaia. The second property in Rakaia is a sister property to a farm in Springston, where he is now.

"I grew up with my grandparents, me and my brother that's in Christchurch at the moment, we grew up with our grandparents, so we are not close to our mother.. My grandparents had a rice and corn mill so they are quite wealthy, so money wasn't a problem for my grandparents, they paid for school from nursery to high school. Money wasn't an issue for them and they got a lot of land with harvest fruits or coconuts.. I got a computer science degree.. I was working in a ply wood factory, I was working there almost a year and then I applied for Australia and when my visa came in I resigned..I went to Australia as a dairy trainee for a year, I trained there for a year, International Exchange Programme..From Australia I came straight here to New Zealand... I applied to Agency C.. My brother, he did it first then I followed. So my brother contacted them and told them that he had a brother looking for a job in New Zealand..When I arrived I was placed in Southland, stayed there for a year then I moved here cause my brothers here, my cousins here in Canterbury. The placement was in Rakaia..I was working for that employer for two years and from there I was working with the manager in our sister farm in Rakaia and then I was asked to move here cause they needed some more experienced staff." (Interviewee #6, interview 3, pp. 1, 2, 4 & 6)

His wife joined him in New Zealand last year and they were expecting their first child in May. Once the child is born they intend to get it a New Zealand passport and then apply for residency. His brother was working on a dairy farm but now is a citizen and living in Christchurch. His cousin is working on a dairy farm in Ashburton. He and his wife have brought some land in the Philippines where they intend to build a house, which her parents will live in. They are planning on visiting home at least every five years. He also sends \$300-500/month to his mother in the Philippines, where she is responsible for the budgeting and distribution of it.

5.1.7 Interviewee # 7

Sex: Male

Age: 43

Origin: Philippines

Arrival date: January 2008

Occupation: Herd Manager

Location: Springston

Relationship status: Married

Family: His wife and youngest daughter and son lives with him. His eldest daughter (19) and parents live in Philippines

He completed a short course, six months, in the dairy industry and production factory, at university.

"If you get the agriculture degree there is a part on dairy so there is a course for dairy in the Philippines and we also have short courses. I have been there for six months for a short course. So six months for dairy industry as well as the production factory making cheese, milk, ice cream, yoghurt. So before I

*went into dairy I was accustomed to different types of processing of milk.”
(Interviewee #7, interview 4, pp.2)*

His father was one of the first Filipinos to go to Saudi Arabia and work in the dairy industry for Almarai. Almarai is the largest integrated dairy food company in the world. His uncle and brother have also worked in Saudi Arabia for Almarai. Interviewee #7 did four years in Saudi Arabia with Almarai before coming to New Zealand. He talked of the agency which travels to the Philippines, from Saudi Arabia, specifically to recruit dairy workers.

*“They fly to Philippines and hire Filipinos because the Filipinos are hard worker, that’s why they choose Filipino.. Before we go into Saudi Arabia in the dairy, the agency gave the rules and regulations so we can be safe.”
(Interviewee #7, interview 4, pp. 1 & 2)*

After four years in Saudi Arabia, he used the internet to find Agency C, and used them to find a dairy job in New Zealand. His first position was in Southland, but he only stayed at that farm for one month as he thought his boss was racist. The agency found him another farm where he stayed for nine months before shifting to the neighbouring farm where he could upgrade his position. After 8 months there, he moved to Springston, Canterbury because the climate is warmer than in Southland. His wife, son and youngest daughter joined him in Springston in November 2010. His eldest daughter and parents are in the Philippines and he sends them money each month. He has just submitted his Expression of Interest to Immigration New Zealand to apply for residency. Once he has residency he wishes to bring his eldest daughter to New Zealand.

“From internet, my agency is Agency C..I gave them my CV and I pay them money for finding me a job in New Zealand.. You can bring your family here but in Saudi Arabia you could never do that.. My first employer was only one month..because my boss in Southland was racist.. maybe communication was one part of the misunderstanding, because the way he talked, he used those words.. maybe one thing that we are not on good terms is the way he talk. He’s always saying the ‘s, f, b’.. it’s very bad to say the ‘s, f, and b’, the Filipinos never, ever do...The agency put me on the other farm, I been there nine months then I found another farm.. I found the neighbour farm, the farm next door, that they give me the opportunity to step up.. I don’t like the cold. I like the warm because my country’s warm, so I was just using my computer to find a job in Canterbury.. I want to stay longer or my lifetime in New Zealand.. I just submit my expression of interest so after a few months I will make the application for invitation to apply, I’m just waiting on the invitation.” (Interviewee #7, interview 4, pp. 1, 2, 3, & 4)

5.1.8 Interviewee # 8

Sex: Male

Age: 32

Origin: Philippines

Arrival date: July 2008

Occupation: Herd Manager

Location: Springston

Relationship status: Married

Family: Wife and two children, son (1) and daughter (4) in New Zealand. Parents and brother in Philippines

Studied towards a criminology degree for two years, but did not complete it. This background is interesting when you consider other comments made throughout the interview. For instance, he mentions crime, 'the national problem', and civil war in the Philippines.

"Our country's very poor and there's civil war. There's damaged property and killing and things like that." (Interviewee #7, interview 5, pp.5)

After studying for two years he did odd jobs before he worked on his father-in-law's dairy farm. He has friends in New Zealand working on dairy farms and came to New Zealand on their advice. He used Agency D to find a job in New Zealand. That job was in Hinds, Canterbury, where he stayed for two months. The owner of that farm is the brother of the property he moved onto in Springston. His wife joined him in Springston in 2009 and they have since had two children, a daughter who 4 years old and a son who is 1 years old. They are planning to apply for residency in December 2012. He does not send money to his family in the Philippines, he is saving and hopes to become a sharemilker in ten years time.

"I didn't finish my university..in the Philippines, it was criminology..I did two years then i stopped because of the national problem. Then I just worked around, then I heard that dairying was good so I changed to farming..I am experienced back in Philippines because my father-in-law there has a small dairy farm and I buy some cows also.. Some of my mates have already come here and they told me they are still hiring here in New Zealand for dairy workers..I heard there were agencies there [in New Zealand] that were hiring Filipinos to go there.. I applied and lucky that I passed all my interviews.. I was at Hinds only about two months then I came here.. I like that my family is here with me, it's an inspiration.. I am applying [for residency] this coming December... I save all my money here. Sometimes if there's an occasion I send money.. My goal is to become a sharemilker, saving money for that... about ten years time maybe." (Interviewee #7, interview 5, pp. 1, 2, 3 & 4)

5.1.9 Interviewee # 9

Sex: Male

Age: 30

Origin: Iloilo, Philippines

Arrival date: September 2011

Occupation: Assistant Herd Manager

Location: Staveley, Canterbury

Relationship status: Single

Family: Mother and brother still in the Philippines

He completed a Bachelor of Science in Agriculture at West Visayas State University in 2002. After University he worked on a pig farm before becoming a sales man for animal products. He then went to Saudi Arabia and worked on a dairy farm there, for Almarai, for four years. He then used Agency E to find him a job in New Zealand and took out a loan with the agency to pay for agency fees. The job was in Temuka, starting in September 2011, where he stayed for three months before moving to his current job in Staveley. He is a member of the Filipino Dairy Workers in New Zealand Inc (FDWNZ). He sends money to his family in the Philippines. Is unsure whether he will stay in New Zealand in the long term.

*"I was in swine, pigs, I had a position there, and I was doing breeding and everything. Then I transferred to sales. I worked as a sales agent for animal feeds and products then I went to Saudi Arabia, then I came here. I worked in Saudi Arabia for four years then after that came here to New Zealand... the requirements of the New Zealand Immigration is that you need to have at least two years experience on dairy, we have an opportunity before in Saudi Arabia so we went there, got an experience, then came here. But our main goal is to come here... There is an agency in the Philippines, they are recruiting mostly skilled dairy workers. They are the ones organising our papers and doing that for us then we just flew over..if we were here in New Zealand they told us to contact him [managing director of Agency E] or the agency in New Zealand if we were having problems, if we didn't like the employer. And as we found out that changing employer is not big deal. This is my second employer already..In Temuka, to be honest I didn't like the boss.. I stayed there for three months then fortunately [boss] hired me."
(Interviewee #9, interview 6, pp. 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5)*

5.1.10 Interviewee # 10

Sex: Male

Age: 28

Origin: San Fernando, Philippines

Arrival date: August 2011

Occupation: Assistant Herd Manager

Location: Staveley, Canterbury

Relationship status: Single

Family: Mother and father still in the Philippines

He studied an Information Technology computer degree at Mindanao Sate University in Marawai, Philippines. While he was studying he did odd jobs, including a little bit of dairy farming in the Philippines. After completing his degree in 2007 he went to work for NADA, a dairy company in Saudi

Arabia, for four years. He also used Agency E to find a dairy job in New Zealand and loaned the fee for this from the agency. That job was closer to Ashburton, than his current job in Staveley, and he was there for ten months. At the time of the interview he had only been on the Staveley farm for two weeks. He is also a member of FDWNZ and sends money to his family in the Philippines. He intends to stay in New Zealand as long as possible.

"I have been working in different fields just to earn money and to pay for school.. I am also working in dairy farm before New Zealand. The dairy industry in the Philippines is not very successful because they have limited facilities. When I was working there I was aiming to come to New Zealand. Before we come here we need experience of dairy, not only in the Philippines, it's the requirement of the immigration here. We go to Saudi Arabia to have additional experience in dairy, just to come here.. the reason why we came with an agency is because we are assured an employer, were safe and we can trust the agents to get the worker to come here. We spend a lot of money.. I've been here ten months.. my first job was closer to Ashburton. I moved here for [the boss]... I want to stay, as long as I get paid, I'm not tired and I can still work, I will stay here. (Interviewee #10, interview 6, pp. 1, 2, 4 & 5)

5.2 Agency Information

In this section an overview is given of the agencies that different interviewees' used to emigrate to New Zealand.

5.2.1 Agency A

Agency A is based in Christchurch. The manager of this company travels to South America and advertises the courses. These include agriculture, equine, horticulture, and forestry courses which count towards national qualifications. Courses in English language and tuition which can include New Zealand experiences, such as rugby and horse riding, are available to international students. The agricultural course offered to international students involves studying for three months, with a practical component. A Student Visa is required for studying in New Zealand. If the international student is from one of the countries which qualify for the Working Holiday Scheme, then this Visa is applicable as long as the courses they are studying are for twelve weeks or less. Full information is available on the National Trade Academy website, including pricing and contact email addresses and phone numbers. Providing entry criteria are met, a certificate specialised in New Zealand farm skills cost an international student at total of approximately \$NZ 14, 275 for the 12 week course, accommodation, transport, visa, and finding a job. This can be broken down into:

Item	Cost (\$NZ)
Course fees	5160 @ 430/week
Enrolment fee	260
Course materials fee	365
English course fee	3480 @ 290/week
English course enrolment fee	260
NZ Immigration work visa (subject to change)	200
Immigration and employment consultant	690
Homestay	2760 @ 230/week
Homestay placement fee	200
Bus fares	900 @ 75/week
Total	14, 275

Interviewee's # 3, 4 and 5 used this agency in September 2008 to come to New Zealand and complete the three month agricultural course. When they wanted a full-time dairy job in December 2008, this agency referred them to Agency B. From Agency A's website it appears that they are now referring clients to Agency D to source them a permanent position.

5.2.2 Agency B

This agency is based in Ashburton, aimed at finding the 'right' person for the employer and offer Human Resource packages. It is a specialised agriculture division of a parent company. The parent agency is specifically concerned with recruitment in the Canterbury region, with offices in Christchurch, Ashburton, Timaru, and Oamaru. It is aimed more at finding jobs for people in New Zealand rather than sourcing them from overseas. There is no information on the website about the cost of listing a job for the employer or if there is a placement fee for the job seeker. I doubt there is a placement fee for the job seeker, because unlike the recruitment agencies designed to find jobs for migrants, the company is orientated towards the employer. The website lists the addresses and phone numbers for the offices, but like the other agencies there is the same 'question and answer box' under the 'contact us' tab. You can also fill out a more detailed 'question and answer box' to register with the agency and obtain a login.

5.2.3 Agency C

This agency is based in Auckland. They promote themselves on their website as 'New Zealand's true dairy recruiters'. It is a specialist agency for assisting in finding employees for dairy farm employers and dairy jobs for migrants. Employers can register with this agency by submitting a position via their website. The same type of 'question and answer box' form is used by potential employers and employees to send their information to the agency by simply entering the information and clicking submit on the page. It is very impersonal, and does not provide any information as to when you will expect to hear back from the agency or who to contact in the mean time. There is a contact info page which has a NZ toll free 0800 number, the Auckland office number and an 'info@' email address.

Once again no names are offered to who you will be contacting. I did read on another page that the agency only accepts skilled migrants who meet the criteria of Immigration New Zealand for a Temporary Work Permit under the Skilled Migrant section. Therefore the agency is not interested in helping people meet the criteria to fill positions, rather than being the middle man in matching migrants with their employers. Interviewee #6 and #7 both used this agency.

“I paid \$NZ 1200 for a placement plus processing fee, I think it cost \$NZ 1500 in total.” (Interviewee #6, Interview 3, pp. 2).

In addition to this as part of the two year contract, interviewee #6 also mentioned a payment of \$NZ 50/week to the agency by the employer, on behalf of the interviewee #6.

“My employer was paying, I think it was \$NZ50/week for agency, so instead of paying them that much money they decided to buy my contract. I don’t know how much they paid but I was told to forward my contract [to agency]”. (Interviewee #6, Interview 3, pp. 2).

From this we can approximate that a job placement through this agency would cost \$NZ 6, 700. This is quite a considerable amount of money for a job placement, although not as expensive as some of the other agencies. However, the ongoing weekly payments are quite steep when considering the proportion of the pay cheque they account for. The average salary for a dairy assistant herd manager in the South Island is \$44, 446 (Federated Farmers, 2012). Once tax has been subtracted, the weekly amount is around \$680, making the weekly payments to the agency around 7 percent of a week’s salary.

5.2.4 Agency D

Agency D is based in Hamilton, this agency has a specialist section for agricultural recruitment, which has its own separate website. Both of these’s websites give the same type of ‘question and answer box’ for making contact with the agency, whether it is an employer or migrant. There is also the New Zealand phone number, a cell phone number, a fax number and an ‘office@’ email address. No names are next to these numbers, just the company’s, which is very impersonal. The interviewee who used this agency did not disclose any information about fees to me. But from the website I have been able to find a little information. If you wish to apply for a temporary visa, there is no charge for the first meeting/telephone call/contact but then the full fee is payable in advance once the agency is given the go ahead. No specific prices are mentioned. I question if filling in the ‘question and answer box’ counts as first contact.

5.2.5 Agency E

Is based in the Philippines with a sister agency in New Zealand. The Philippines agency website directs you to the New Zealand sister agency’s website, where it promotes itself as supplying dairy

farm workers to dairy farms around New Zealand for several years. Interviewees # 9 & #10 used the agency in the Philippines to get in contact with the New Zealander who is the managing director of the sister company, which is based in Auckland, New Zealand. The New Zealander is based in Manila, Philippines, where the sister company has an office. The agency also has agents in a number of other countries, including; Germany, South Africa, India, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Singapore, China, Malaysia, UK, and Mauritius. Interestingly, when you click on the 'contact us' tab on their webpage, it is blank. There are no contact phone numbers or emails on the website. There are pages where employers and migrants can register with the agency by creating a login, perhaps after you have done that contact information is available or the agency contacts you. Or no contact information could be an issue with the website.

From information disclosed to me, this agency charges substantial placement fees. Interviewee # 9 and # 10 paid around \$NZ10, 000 and more than \$NZ10, 000, respectively.

"We loan our placement fees, we loan it from the agency in the Philippines. We earn money just to pay the loans, once our loans fully paid we can do anything, we're rich! .. It depends on the loan because they are the ones giving you how much you should pay to them .. They gave me six months to pay.. You need big money for the placement just to come here.. Around \$NZ10, 000." (Interviewee #9, Interview 6, pp.6).

This is a very short time frame to pay back such a loan, especially if we once again consider the proportion of the weekly salary this will require. Assuming the average salary for a dairy assistant herd manager in the South Island is \$44, 446 (Federated Farmers, 2012) and once tax has been subtracted, the weekly amount is around \$680. I calculated the weekly loan repayment to be \$416/week for the six month period. This equates to around 61 percent of the weekly salary going towards the loan repayments, or in other words, it leaves the migrant with \$264/week for living and other costs.

Chapter 6

Key Themes

6.1 Why Emigrate?

The reasons described by Chilean and Filipino interviewees' for leaving their countries of origin were distinctly different, but both ethnicities wanted a better style of life.

Interviewees # 1 and 2 came to New Zealand because they wanted to grow and own their own business, which they didn't feel was possible in their own country. Improving their lifestyle together was a positive about coming to New Zealand. Although this was not a factor for interviewee #1 when he decided to leave Chile but when interviewee #2 came to visit him in Dunedin for a holiday, the possibility of being able to live and work together was the deciding factor in her choice to immigrate.

"My main motivation was every time I tried to own my own business, I couldn't... The Basic or the common interest for people to come to New Zealand is different country in better situation like you are in your country... Style of life, cost of living – your money can do more for the same product. Chile not too far, maybe \$2000 here and \$2000 in my country you can do the same whereas it's a bigger gap say in Argentina." (Interviewee #1, interview 1, pp. 1 & 4)

"One of the motivations was trying to do something for ourselves, trying to get our own thing. But another thing is a good style of life too, in a way we can stay together and work together because at the time we had to work separate so we only saw each other once a week or so and that wasn't a great thing for the future I didn't think, like that. More than that we really like to grow, we really like to grow as a business, as a person and everything. So we said yes we'll have a big change, in our future and our lives, and we'll just go for it and do our thing... Obviously when you move your thinking it's going to be better over there than where you were.. We said we were going to stay here for a couple of years and see how we go but if we don't see any growth or nothing we would move back." (Interviewee #2, interview 1, pp. 1, 4 & 9)

Interviewees # 3, 4 and 5 choose to leave Chile to gain experience in the New Zealand dairy industry. They described it as an overseas experience (OE), much like the traditional rite of passage of New Zealanders who travel to the United Kingdom for a working holiday or those who travel to Australia or America to earn big money driving machinery during the harvest seasons. Experiencing a different country and culture and learning a new language were also mentioned as well as the greater potential to earn money on a New Zealand dairy farm than on one in Chile.

"See how New Zealand does dairy.. and get experience then go back to me country.. We enjoy the holidays and travelling around New Zealand.. They

[Kiwis] want to save money and go overseas. They making money and then going to Europe or America to work make money then come back to New Zealand and buy a farm.” (Interviewee # 3, interview 2, pp. 2, 3, 7 & 8)

“Here is another country and we can study farming.. I think we come to New Zealand as well for the language, to learn another language and see another culture. (Interviewee # 4, interview 2, pp. 1 & 8)

“In Chile it’s hard to take the money that we take here. For example we take here \$40, 000 now. For dairy money in Chile it’s so hard, you have to work so many years. (Interviewee #5, interview 2, pp.7)

The most predominant reason Filipino interviewees decided to leave their home country was to be able to earn more money. All, apart from one, of the Filipinos I spoke to sent remittances home. Other reasons for choosing to emigrate were factors limiting the quality of their lifestyle in the Philippines. Interviewee #9 recognised that although they come here to earn money to support their families, for him it is also like a working holiday. This could be because he and interviewee #10 are single, unlike the other Filipinos I spoke with who all have their families with them in New Zealand, and therefore do not have the same level of responsibility and commitment of others depending on them.

“Basically to find work. Back in the Philippines there’s not much work and if you’re lucky enough to find a good job its usually just enough for a single person. Basically just to find good work, it doesn’t matter where or what sort of job as long as its work and it pays well.. You can get jobs [in the Philippines] but if you’re married it won’t be enough, especially when you have kids. So it won’t be enough, it’s barely enough for one person. There’s some other guys lucky enough to find a decent job with decent pay but most of the time no. When I was working at the ply wood factory I was only making 3000 pesos per month, at the exchange rate at the moment it’s almost \$NZ1000/month so it’s enough for a single guy but if you’re married it won’t be enough. Basically that’s the reason why most Filipinos go abroad to find work. And those that are lucky enough go somewhere in Europe or America with good exchange rate and then every month send money, \$500, back home for their family members. Your mother, your parents, your brothers...Most Filipinos here send money back home, either here or somewhere else in the world, they always send money back home.. we always support our family. The mentality back home, especially for parents or relatives, is if your abroad your wealthy already. (Interviewee #6, interview 3, pp. 1, 3, 4 & 5)

“Basically for a change, including lifestyle and the environment. I want to experience a different environment because some areas in my country are polluted, they are crowded, so noisy..because in the Philippines there’s a lot of traffic... I give allowance to my mother because she’s 64 years old so I support her. I give monthly allowance to my daughter also she is studying so also give her financial support. (Interviewee #7, interview 4, pp. 1, 4 & 5)

“The crime rate. In the Philippines there’s not enough jobs there..Our country’s very poor and there’s civil war. So there’s damaged property and

killings and things like that... No for me it's not [sending remittances] because they have enough there so they can survive [his family] Sometimes if there's an occasion I send money. (Interviewee # 8, interview 5, pp. 1,3 & 5)

"You get a bigger salary compared to the Philippines.. our country's so crowded.. we need money..we came here for money... Those people that are successful in the Philippines support people.. For us it's like a working holiday here, it's good... we still have some money for ourselves and our family. (Interviewee #9, interview 6, pp. 2, 4, 5 & 6)

6.2 Why New Zealand, Dairy Farming and Canterbury

A large majority of the interviewees came to New Zealand with the intention of working on a dairy farm. The exception was interviewee's # 1 and 2 who learnt about the opportunities for growth in the dairy industry once they were in the country. An explanation to why most of the interviewees had the intention of working on a dairy farm prior to coming to New Zealand is due to the nature of the New Zealand Immigration policies because to qualify for a temporary work permit in New Zealand you must have proof of an employment offer prior to arriving in the country.

The Chilean interviewees' choose to come to New Zealand because they considered it the best in the world for dairy farming. Most of them had some connection to dairy farming in Chile. The decision to work on dairy farms in Canterbury differed for the two groups of Chileans I interviewed.

Interviewees # 1 and 2 came to New Zealand because they wanted their own business and for it to grow fast. Interviewee # 1 decided to come to New Zealand after it was taking too long for him to be granted a work visa in Australia because the building company he was working for in Chile to set up a new office in there. They decided to go dairying because they saw it as a good opportunity to grow and Canterbury was where most of that growth was happening, due to the increasing popularity of conversions at that time. Interviewee # 2's grandfather had owned a dairy farm near Osorno.

"The Chilean company, where I was working, had another company in Australia. The guy offered me to go there and carry on.. in Perth..But was quite hard because before wasn't so easy to get the work permit..I carry on because I know the owner of the company, the guy tried to get me into the Australian job. They were thinking waiting six months or maybe one year for the paper..I didn't want to carry on in my country. I didn't want to wait in Chile for one year and have to jump to Australia, so I said 'Hey I'm going to New Zealand!'..I saw milking cows and start to see potential here. At the time, nine years ago, it's a big change because you can see the boom came five or seven years ago...Not many people with the qualification, the skill. They were only looking for the skill, I went into the business [farm] and saw the owner. He saw in myself potential and started giving me more responsibility. I started to improve a little bit at the job and go up quite quickly...Five years ago, if I was still in the same position, like herd manager, and I didn't see any growth I probably would have gone back to my country." (Interviewee # 1, interview 1, pp. 1, 2 & 9)

Interviewees # 3, 4 and 5 came to New Zealand to learn and get experience about dairy farming here. They had studied Agriculture at high school and all have a parent or close relative who works on a dairy farm in Chile. They were told about a three month agriculture course, in Christchurch, by the manager of Agency A which runs the courses. They then used Agency B, a specialist agriculture agency for the Canterbury region, to find them a full time job.

"I have some family that lives on the farm so I was.. one week in the city, one week on the farm.. He [manager of Agency A] says he has an option to bring Chilean to come and study in New Zealand for three months and get some experience about New Zealand dairy farm. And then we can work for one year here in New Zealand. So we thought it was a good idea to get more experience and we know New Zealand is the best. (Interviewee # 3, interview 2, pp. 1)

The Filipino's I interviewed left the Philippines to earn better money abroad. They chose to come to New Zealand and work on dairy farms because they have the skill sets required, by New Zealand Immigration, to be granted a temporary work visa for working on a dairy farm here under the Intermediate Skills Shortage List. They were found job placements by their agencies which were mainly in Canterbury. Two were originally placed in Southland but moved to Canterbury to be closer to family or for a warmer climate. Many of them had previously worked on dairy farms in the Philippines or Saudi Arabia before coming to New Zealand. One of the interviewees that had worked in Saudi Arabia mentioned how he had specifically taken employment on a dairy farm in Saudi Arabia so he had his minimum of two years dairy experience, required by New Zealand Immigration, with the intention of then coming to New Zealand. Other factors that were involved in the Filipinos interviewees' decision to work on dairy farms in Canterbury, New Zealand, included; provided with a house, New Zealand's 'clean green' image, freedom, and they can bring their families.

"I think that's the mentality of other Filipinos here, not just here even back home they'll get a chance to go and find work, they will choose whatever job as long as pays good, decent job, the salary's good, and the treatment is good..It doesn't matter if it's dairy or factory. It just when we came here it was dairy the most easy thing to find so look for a dairy job.. Basically I moved to Canterbury to be closer to my family. Instead of driving six to seven hours to visit.. I have no problem working on a dairy farm as long as the pays is good. My partner doesn't want me to work on dairy already, once we get residency she wants me to work somewhere else. But I like working on a farm, free house, except for the power, if I went somewhere else I would have to rent an apartment and it's very expensive."
(Interviewee # 6, interview 3, pp. 1, 3, 4 & 5)

"I am wanting to change my life in this kind of country because New Zealand is very lovely, it's not polluted..I did four years in Saudi Arabia, I been working on dairy also. I saw on internet that New Zealand is hiring a farmer or dairy farmer so I think I'd like life as a dairy farmer here in New Zealand.. I like New Zealand because it's a free country because Saudi

Arabia is a very controlled country.. That's why I choose New Zealand. You can bring your family here but in Saudi Arabia you could never do that. I did four years there, and I never do what I'm doing now in New Zealand.. It was very cold [Southland]. I don't like the cold. I like the warm because my country is warm. So I was just using my computer to find a job in Canterbury.. I want to stay my lifetime in New Zealand because it's not crowded, there's no traffic." (Interviewee # 7, interview 4, pp. 1, 2, 3 & 4)

"Just took my chance here because I heard they were hiring for dairy...because I heard there was a shortage in dairy workers... I heard that dairying was good so I changed to farming.. Back in the Philippines I was also dairy there.. I like that my family is here with me working.. I like it here. It's peaceful, no crimes, it's very ok for me to be here to stay." (Interviewee # 8, interview 5, pp. 1, 2, 3 & 5)

"The requirements of the New Zealand Immigration is that you need to have at least two years experience on dairy. We have opportunity before in Saudi Arabia so we went there, got an experience, then came here. But our main goal is to come here.. If you are an agricultural student or an agriculture based person you will think that New Zealand's got a good dairy industry. That's why you are compelled to come here, and you know that dairy here is good so it's all about money.. you get a bigger salary compared to the Philippines, a lot bigger, maybe three times bigger. So we were convinced to come here.. I think New Zealand's got more opportunities working here compared to our country." (Interviewee # 9, interview 6, pp. 1, & 2)

"I am also working on a dairy farm before New Zealand. The dairy industry in the Philippines is not very successful because they don't have, they have limited facilities. When I was working there I was aiming to come to New Zealand. Before we came here we need an experience of dairy, not only in the Philippines, it's the requirement of immigration here. We go to Saudi Arabia to have an additional working experience in dairy. Just to come here.. Good money! .. Better opportunities." (Interviewee # 10, interview 6, pp. 1 & 2)

6.3 Chain Migration

MacDonald and MacDonald (1964) define chain migration as a "movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants".

Many of the Filipino interviewees had heard about the New Zealand dairy industry and the job opportunities in dairy from a relative or a friend, but they are using agencies rather than these primary connections to find employment on New Zealand dairy farms. These agencies also organise the transportation from the airport to the farm, where the farmer has provided accommodation. Almost all dairy farm positions in New Zealand require the staff to live on-farm in accommodation that is provided by the farm owners. Interviewee # 10 stated the reason why they favoured agencies to find them employment, transportation and accommodation was "because we are assured an

employer, were safe and we can trust the agents to get the worker to come here. We spend a lot of money. It's easy." (Interviewee # 10, interview 6, pp. 2).

Interviewee # 6 had a brother who was working on a dairy farm in Canterbury and when his brother told him there were opportunities available for work on New Zealand dairy farms, his brother rang his agency to arrange for them to find interviewee # 6 a position. Already having his brother in the country working in the dairy industry would have been the perfect opportunity for chain migration to occur independent of an agency, yet it did not. Their cousin has also travelled to Canterbury, New Zealand to work on a dairy farm.

"I heard about New Zealand dairy industry from my brother and he told me I should come here.. My brother, he research everything, he did it first.. He left a year before me so one year later I followed, my cousin and me followed.. So my brother contacted them [Agency C] and told them he had a brother looking for a job in New Zealand. So I contacted them and they said they had a job for me here.. They gave me instructions when I arrive at the airport to take the bus to the backpackers, and from the backpackers someone from the agency picked me up to take me to sign the paperwork, contracts and everything.. two day later they flew me over and my employer in Southland picks me up from the airport.. it was in the contract that they [the employers] would provide accommodation, free accommodation, free everything, and free wet gears and stuff, gumboots and overalls, from the airport we stop at RD1 or PGG Wrightsons." (Interviewee # 6, interview 3, pp.1, & 2)

Interviewee # 8 used Agency D to find his employment in New Zealand but originally heard about the opportunities in the New Zealand dairy industry from friends who were already working on dairy farms here. These friends also arranged his transport from the airport to the farm he was to work on. His accommodation was provided by his employer.

"Some of my mates have already come here and they told me they are still hiring here in New Zealand for dairy workers.. [When I first arrived in New Zealand] I contacted my mate, so my mate picked me up from the airport and take me there [the farm] and I meet my employer.. they provided me with everything, my bedding, all my stuff because I only had brought my clothes with me." (Interviewee # 8, interview 5, pp. 1)

Chain migration did not exist to the same extent with the Chilean interviewees. The only Chilean case of chain migration was with interviewee # 2, who came to New Zealand to be with interviewee # 1. He organised the dairy position for them in North Canterbury. Since becoming low order sharemilkers, they have hired both his and her brothers from Chile at some stage.

"He just said to me one day 'ahh Australia taking so long, I've rung them 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 times already, it's not going to happen, I have to wait for so long. I'm going to New Zealand'. What? New Zealand? Ok. He said 'yes I have ticket next week'... I waved goodbye, he said 'you're not coming with me,

forget about it, were not carrying on' I said ok well see and after I miss him, after three months, I came to New Zealand. As soon as I arrived he started to work on dairy farm and the same day I started to work, together... We employed two more guys on the farm, actually one time was my brother and another time was his brother working on the farm." (Interviewee # 2, interview 1, pp.1 & 2)

6.4 Recruitment and Retention

Most interviewee's used some form of agency to come to New Zealand and find employment on dairy farms. These results are similar to those found by Rawlinson & Tipples (2012) who reported that the most common way for Filipinos members of the FDWNZ Inc to find employment on New Zealand dairy farms was through an agency. They also found that it was possible for Filipinos to find work on a New Zealand dairy farm themselves but this is very uncommon. To qualify for a temporary work visa in New Zealand you need to be able to prove you have an offer of employment here before arriving in the country.

"The reason why we came with an agency is because we are assured an employer, were safe and we can trust the agents to get the work to come here." (Interviewee # 10, interview 6, pp. 2)

Interviewee's # 1 and 2 found themselves positions on a dairy farm in Amuri in 2003. This was prior to the dairy boom in 2005/6 and the Aumri district was known to have problems recruiting and retaining staff (Edkins & Tipples, 2003). Also they were already in New Zealand, making finding the job and dealing with immigration to obtain the correct visas much easier. Interviewees' # 1 and 2 can be distinguished from the other interviewees' because they are in a position where they employ their own staff. This offered a unique insight of New Zealand dairy farmers' issues with recruiting and retaining staff.

"We advertise and we tried to get New Zealander's or anybody really and nobody wanted to come and work on a farm with 800 cows in a herringbone. And in Culverden it's tough to get people..That's one of the biggest problems of the industry, staff management. That's one of the biggest issues if you go to 2000 or 1500 cows, they will tell you big issue staff. How to keep them, how to retain them, how to work with them" (Interviewee # 2, interview 1, pp. 6 & 8)

"One of the skills we have is people management. The kiwis, the farm owner and manager, don't have these skills to organise and manage people. They are not good at dealing with people, not all of them but most of them. They think 'hey if I can milk 600 cows I can milk 2000' ... The kiwi's need to start to learn this sort of skill of milking cows on big scale or big herd.. it's management skill A) I have a roster, B) I have to keep them motivated... We are good at that one. My staff stay for about three years, I know how to keep them motivated...They must have an education. Year one herd assistant, second year maybe 2IC and the third year herd manager and the owners not going to have the problems employing people, the same guys

can grow, and the problems of induction. Induction is how it's going to cost you to get a new person. For example, to me it's a cost to put a new person in my farm. Why? Because they don't know this farm and they're going to make a mistake and every single mistake I have to pay for. " (Interviewee # 1, Interview 1, pp. 6 & 9)

Interviewee's # 3, 4 and 5 all commented that one thing they enjoyed about working on a dairy farm in New Zealand was the variety of on-farm activities they were involved with on a daily basis. Interviewee's # 3 and 4 have had the same employer since they began working on dairy farms, and have even shifted farms to stay working for him. They have had the opportunity to advance their position with this employer. Interviewee # 5 only left his position on a dairy farm in Ashburton because he wanted to work with his fiancé, which wasn't possible on that farm, so found employment where he could. He also mentioned he liked the roster system in New Zealand in comparison to the system in Chile. And talked about the difference between pay for dairy work between New Zealand and Chile and the reason for this being the length of time it takes to advance in Chile.

"Here we are doing everything..so you get more experience... so every day I learn a little bit more. I think this is a good thing in New Zealand because in Chile if he is a tractor driver then he is a tractor driver every day. Here is different, everyday you are doing different jobs so you are learning more." (Interviewee # 3, interview 2, pp. 3 & 4)

"In Chile its different because if you are working on a dairy farm and milking cows, your just milking cows, and you start at 4am and finish at 8am and have a big break [before afternoon milking] but here you have to work maybe 12 hours per day... In Chile every person is doing one job. The tractor driver drives tractors, here we are doing everything... And here it's very easy to go up and up and up every year. Every year better money, better money, depends on your experience. The boss I'm with gives a lot of opportunity to the staff..We are lucky [to work for him] but he is lucky [to have us] too." (Interviewee # 4, interview 2, pp. 3 & 9)

"In Chile if you milk, you finish milking then you go home then come back in the afternoon..here your milking then you carry on and do other stuff.. If you were on a dairy farm in Chile you would have just one day a week off but here you work 11/3 or 8/2 or 9/3 so I think the rosters here are really good... In Chile it's hard to take the money that we take here, for example we take here \$40, 000 now. For dairy money in Chile it's so hard, you have to work so many years." (Interviewee # 5, interview 2, pp. 3, 4 & 7)

The two Filipinos I interviewed, that had originally been found a job in Southland by their agencies, both choose to leave that employment and move to Canterbury, although for different reasons. Interviewee # 6 wanted to be closer to his family who lived in Canterbury. Interviewee # 7 disliked the climate of Southland because it was too cold and unfortunately was so offended by the language his employer used it caused him to seek employment elsewhere. Also there was no opportunity to advance his career on that property so he shifted to a farm where there was.

“My first employer was only one month..because my boss in Southland was racist.. maybe communication was one part of the misunderstanding, because the way he talked, he used those words.. maybe one thing that we are not on good terms is the way he talk. He’s always saying the ‘s, f, b’.. it’s very bad to say the ‘s, f, and b’, the Filipinos never, ever do...The agency put me on the other farm, I been there nine months then I found another farm.. I found the neighbour farm, the farm next door, that they give me the opportunity to step up.. I don’t like the cold. I like the warm because my country’s warm, so I was just using my computer to find a job in Canterbury” (Interviewee #7, interview 4, pp. 3 & 4).

Another Filipino I interviewed had also left his job because of the language his employer used. He also mentioned he liked the roster system on New Zealand dairy farms.

“To be honest, I didn’t like the boss. He’s too wild. Too hard for us. We really don’t like those bad words. It’s annoying, it’s embarrassing, it’s everything. I know it’s a normal expression for kiwis but for us it matters. It hurts the feelings of Filipino because all of us working here are professionals... We are used to hard work from Saudi Arabia because we working more there, spending more time on the farm, sometimes only two hours break a day. The roster was we worked for 15 days then just one day off. Sometimes you wished you were still in bed, it was hard work. To me the factor of stress, body stress, everything, that’s why we were convinced to come to New Zealand. Here we are just 6 days then two off...That matters because you are refreshed.” (Interviewee # 9, interview 6, pp.3 & 4)

6.5 Family and Community

Family was very important to all of the interviewees. The majority of them were married or engaged, and had their family living with them on farm. The difference between the two ethnicities was that the Chileans partners were also working on the farm whereas the Filipinos partners stayed at home and looked after the children. Interviewee # 2 spoke about the implications of working on the farm full time and having a young family and why they chose to do it:

“It’s good to have the kids because you have the house on your workplace, so you can see them anytime, I can be with my husband all the time, but all the time means all the time. When I have to go and get the cows in at 4am in the morning sometimes I have to go with my baby because no one was around. For us there have been more sacrifices because we wanted to grow and we made those sacrifices. Maybe I could have stayed home with baby and doing housework but we wanted to carry on growing and we managed to get around it and I really enjoy farming life, its good.” (Interviewee # 2, interview 1, pp.4)

Another difference between the ethnicities was how the family back home viewed their decision to come to New Zealand and work on dairy farms. The Filipino interviewees who had family back in the Philippines spoke of their culture of how Filipinos working abroad who support their family back home through remittances were looked up to.

"I think our families and job make our life a little bit easier, especially for the family back home that's left behind. Most Filipinos here, not just us, I think other Filipinos working anywhere send money back home either here or somewhere else in the world, they always send money back home. Most the Filipinos do that, we always support our family. The mentality back home, especially for parents or relatives, is if your abroad your wealthy already but they don't know what sort of experience your doing here, what kind of work, is it very hard or is it very simple work. Dairy is physically hard work, waking up early..To them it doesn't matter as long as you're sending money back home." (Interviewee # 6, interview 3, pp. 5)

Whereas Chilean interviewees # 1 and 2 spoke about how their parents were disappointed that they chose dairy farming as a career option. This was largely due to the differences in the societal view of dairy farming as a career choice between Chile and New Zealand. The choice of New Zealanders to climb the dairy ladder is viewed positively as a career choice. In contrast, the Chilean interviewees spoke about how only milking cows or driving a tractor is seen as a menial job and it takes many years work doing this to be able to earn the same money in New Zealand. Interviewee # 2's grandfather owned a farm near Osorno and her father grew up on the farm, but their view was that in Chile if you own the farm you don't do the day to day tasks like milking, you employ someone else to do that for you. Most of the disappointment felt by interviewees # 1 and 2 parents was they did not understand how starting at the bottom, in a dairy assistant role in New Zealand could quickly progress to management and sharemilking positions and later farm ownership.

"For example Interviewee # 2 family will never milk a cow, well maybe once or twice, but that is not full time job. The owner is a step up, is management or the big picture but the day to day on the farm you get somebody else to do.. Another thing that was difficult for us at the start, we really didn't tell our family what we were doing..because we felt [parents would say] 'ahh your working on dairy farm ahh your the manager yes? Your just looking at what's happening you're not milking cows'. Because it was hard for my mother and I guess for Chilean people to understand the New Zealand system. My mother was disappointed 'why would you change doing your good job to milk cows,' she didn't understand. She's come to New Zealand, she understands a little more but they really don't understand why I am here." (Interviewee #1, interview 1, pp. 3)

"It's different management, different system. When I said to my mum the first year I'm milking cows 'what!! You spend five years in University, you finish a degree, you're the best of the best and your milking cows!'. At first we really had to grade down, so we were daily people, a farm worker, and that mean we have to do everything on farm, long hours, not much time for self and it tough. But now, a year ago when they [parents] came back, they see all the growing. They see we brought the cows but it's still in their minds that we are coming from university, we have a degree, why are we working on the farm. We should be owning the farm or having people to work for us more than ourselves working hands on the farm but it's just the thinking, it's a concept. There's nothing wrong with it. (Interviewee # 2, interview 1, pp. 3)

There were also differences between the two groups when it came to the New Zealand community. But both groups recognised their ability, or lack of it, to speak the Kiwi English language as a hindrance to communicating with the rural community, including their employers. Many of the Chilean interviewees spoke of the difficulties of meeting and getting to know the rural communities.

“In Culverden its all the same families owning the land and they are quite close between them and when new people arrive they are not too open to them because they think maybe they will move after, they will not stay for whatever reason. We’ve been there for nine years, we know everybody and everybody knows us now but it wasn’t that easy to start off.. Actually since we arrived to now, it’s been changing a lot. I am part of a community, Amuri Welcome or whatever it is now, but the idea was about three years ago to start something in Culverden. We can give the welcome to all the people that come to the area, because they don’t know what to do, where to go, what to say. When we arrived in Culverden we didn’t know where to ask.” (Interviewee # 2, interview 1, pp. 5)

“In Chile the people are more friendly than New Zealand... Cause of the language.. we speak no English [when they first arrived] .. so was very hard for us to communicate with the boss but after three months it was ok.” (Interviewee # 4, interview 2, pp. 3 & 6)

“In New Zealand you just walk in the street and in Chile you say hello to everyone and here it’s not like that. The first day in New Zealand I say ‘hello, hello, hello,’ but then some people say ‘oh hello,’ and most people just go straight past” (Interviewee # 3, interview 2, pp. 3)

In contrast, a number of the Filipino interviewees stated that they were not concerned with the rural community or the New Zealand lifestyle and when they arrived they were looking to meet the other Filipinos in the area and continue with their culture.

“When I came to new Zealand, when I arrived at my accommodation there was a few Filipinos already, from there we hung out and it feels like home. Be working with other Filipinos.. There’s a lot of Filipinos in a dairy farm right now. I feel at home straight away. When I first arrived there’s a lot of Filipinos drinking beer, ah hi feel at home already! I didn’t miss home.. Oh to be honest, I didn’t think much about the New Zealand lifestyle, because as I said there’s lots of Filipinos here, we still follow our lifestyle back home here in New Zealand.” (Interviewee # 6, interview 3, pp.3)

“The first time I arrived here in New Zealand I just found the Filipinos. I’m just looking for the Filipino community. That’s the first thing I am thinking when I arrive in New Zealand, I just want to find Filipinos. And when I found the Filipino I am just happy. Because our culture is, even though we don’t know each other, once you are Filipino they accommodate you. That is our culture, even though we are in a different area once they are staring at us and you are loved, I know you are Filipino. Because all of us are communicating by eyes and they know our skin, and they know ‘oh he is Filipino’ or they are Filipino, and then they say hi and we say hi in our national language.. I didn’t really meet the kiwi community, only my boss.” (Interviewee # 7, interview 4, pp 3 & 4)

"When I arrived it was hard because our English in the Philippines is different to your English. You're using American English here, it was hard the first time to understand but I get used to it now." (Interviewee # 8, interview 5, pp.3)

"He came to my former farm because most the Filipinos in Ashburton know if there is a new guy. If you are new here, it's very hard to meet new people. It's very hard because you don't have a car, you don't have everything. What to use if you go to market, it not like the Philippines where if you just walk outside your house there's already a store. Here you need to go to the town." Interviewee # 9, interview 6, pp. 4)

6.6 Education, Job Titles and Visas

Prior to immigrating, a number of the interviewees' had achieved a Bachelors degree in their country of origin (Table A.1). Only one of these was related to agriculture, indicating that although the interviewees may use skills here that they learnt in the process of studying they did not actually use their qualifications to gain employment in the specific area in which they trained. Interviewee # 6 offered some insight as to why this may be:

"I got a computer science degree, but I find the computers here, if I wanted to work in IT or something I would have to go back to school again because I think now days the technology back home compared to here there is a big gap. So I think if I applied for an IT job here I don't think I can go work because I think some of the technology back home is really obsolete. That's why I don't have the luxury of choosing jobs, as long as I can find a good job, decent pay then that's fine." (Interviewee # 6, interview 3, pp.4)

Education post migration in New Zealand saw differences emerge between the two groups of interviewees (Table #). The Chilean interviewees were very active in participating in Ag ITO courses, with two of the interviewees gaining all the levels of qualification available. These two interviewees also mentioned the desire to continue to study.

"Its [dairy] a more physical job than an intellectual job..You need to carry on learning something to step up. It was hard for us from the change from this kind of work from study, university then carrying on with the job, to milking cows. You feel hungry for knowledge." (Interviewee # 1, interview 1, pp. 7)

"We felt we needed to us our brains a little bit after the first year. We came from different backgrounds, we study we done all the brain and intellectual things, and we said na na nah this is not working we need to start to use our brains. We start to study all the AgITO courses, level 4, 5. We've done all the courses.. I want to study something else now." (Interviewee # 2, interview 1, pp.7)

The other Chilean interviewees have also completed many of the level courses offered by AgITO. This is not surprising considering they came to New Zealand with the specific purpose to attend an agricultural course offered by Agency A and to gain experience in the New Zealand dairy industry. Interestingly one of the interviewees mentioned how expensive studying at a University in Chile is, so perhaps this is why they decided to take advantage of the opportunity to learn and gain qualifications while working on dairy farms in New Zealand at the same time. Upon returning home, one of the interviewees plans to study a veterinarian degree. She wants to study in Chile because it will be easier for her to learn in Spanish.

“University in Chile is very expensive, just the intelligent and rich people [go]. It’s very expensive..It was National Trade Academy Level 1. Then I started working on dairy farm then I do the Level 2 AgITO and now I’m going to study Level 3.” (Interviewee # 3, interview 2, pp. 7 & 8)

“Here is another country and you can study farming.. I want to go to University at home. Because I see its similar money to buy here and buying in Chile. But it’s more difficult because of the language, I want to study in Spanish. (Interviewee # 4, interview 2, pp. 1 & 8)

“I’ve done Level 3 animal health and I want to carry on with AgITO, I have to do the milk quality stuff. I think it’s a good possibility to study here, work and study. For example, it’s just one day every two weeks when you have to go there from 9am till 2pm.” (Interviewee # 5, interview 2, pp. 8)

Education post migration for the Filipino interviewees on the other hand appears to be linked to their visa status and job title. All of the Filipinos interviewees were working in New Zealand on temporary work visas (Table A.3) and were in either assistant herd manager or herd manager positions (Table A.2). This finding is not surprising given that both positions are listed on the Intermediate Skills Shortage List under the Essential Skills category for a temporary work visa. To be eligible for one of these positions there are qualifications and experience requirements; an assistant herd manager must have National Certificate in Agriculture (level 2 or above) AND/OR two years relevant experience, and a herd manager requires National Certificate in Agriculture (level 2 or above) and at least two years relevant experience. Consequently, all of the Filipino interviewees had taken an AgITO course Level 2 or higher. One of the reasons Interviewee # 8 gave for taking an AgITO course was:

“To step it up, to learn about dairy and step up my career.” (Interviewee # 8, interview 5, pp. 4)

To move up the dairy career ladder and gain a higher position, not only do they need to have the skills and ability but they need to meet the requirements outlined above by New Zealand Immigration. For example, Interviewee # 9 was granted a temporary work visa for an assistant herd managers position because he had two years relevant experience from the four years he spent on dairy farms in Saudi Arabia. For him to be able to progress to a herd manager’s position he needs to have a National Certificate in Agriculture level 2 or above in addition to his two years experience, to meet requirements of immigration. This is why he is currently taking AgITO Level 2.

“Yes, dairy assistant. We are not qualified for a higher position in the immigration.. on the farm we don’t care, we are still working and doing our jobs but it’s for the visa.” (Interviewee # 9, interview 6, pp. 5)

Chapter 7

Discussion and Conclusion

7.1 Discussion

A common theme in the decision to immigrate, identified by both ethnicities of interviewees, was an improved style of life. Other reasons for immigrating differed between the two groups, with Chilean interviewee's wanting to use the New Zealand dairy industry to grow their business or to gain experience before returning home, whereas Filipinos interviewees' were looking for employment opportunities abroad, not necessarily dairy farming, to earn more money. Alquezar Sabadie *et al.* (2010) reported similar findings when more than 50 percent of potential migrants, regardless of their country, stated that their reason for leaving their country of origin was to improve their standard of living or because they had no job. These findings are in line with wage differential and relative deprivation theories.

Relative deprivation theory was developed through consideration of well situated professionals in their country of origin and similarly trained professionals' abroad (Alquezar Sabadie *et al.*, 2010). These well situated professionals develop their careers in relatively good, middle class conditions in their country of origin. It is the inability to access remuneration to make the desired standard of living possible, particularly in their local community, which is the motivation to leave their country of origin rather than the comparison of salaries to those abroad (Stark and Taylor, 1991). The key source of relative deprivation is not salary differentials but working conditions and opportunities for self development (Castles and Delgado Wise, 2008). The experiences of Interviewee # 1 and 2 can be linked to this theory. Due to their goals of wanting to grow their own business, they were very career focused and travelling for great lengths of time each day in the commute to work. This left little time available for themselves and they only saw each other once a week. Consequently their relationship dissolved when interviewee # 1 left Chile to work abroad. Upon having discovered the potential for business growth in the New Zealand dairy industry while being able to live and work together, they reunited and began a family, fulfilling the lifestyle they desired and had been unable to achieve in their home country.

Alquezar Sabadie *et al.* (2010) cited that traditional economic theory identifies universal wage differentials between labour supplying and labour demanding countries as the main reason for migration. This was true for the Filipino interviewee's. Gubert and Nordman (2008) found that pull factors were more significant on average than push factors for potential migration from developing countries. In accordance with the wage differential theory, pull factors were mainly high wages in the

receiving country. Other pull factors were the social security systems and political stability in the receiving country, as well as a potential past colonial relationship or common culture between host and origin countries. Important push factors included population growth and the corresponding unemployment rates, poverty and political instability. Reasons that were mentioned by Filipino interviewees for immigrating that can be linked to these push factors included; crowding, high unemployment, inability to earn sufficient income on one wage to support a family, high crime rates and civil war in the Philippines. Pull factors for Filipino interviewees to New Zealand were higher rates of pay and freedom.

Migrants have an impact on the development of their countries of origin in two main ways; by sending remittances home and by rejoining the labour market upon return (Alquezar Sabadie *et al.*, 2010). This statement can clearly be linked to the different reasons between the two ethnic groups of interviewees of why they chose to immigrate to work on dairy farms in New Zealand. The main reason the Chilean interviewees, on temporary work visas, came to New Zealand was to gain knowledge and experience on dairy farms before returning to Chile to either begin a veterinarian degree or to work on dairy farms. The key reason Filipino interviewees came to work on dairy farms in New Zealand was to earn a higher wage so they could provide for and support their families. The majority of the Filipinos interviewees had their immediate families living with them in New Zealand and all, except for one, sent remittances to their family in the Philippines on a regular basis. Remittances from migrants play an important role in the economy of the Philippines. In 2008, they represented almost 10 percent of GDP for the Philippines, according to the World Bank (2008). However, most of the money migrants send home is used for immediate consumption, only a small proportion is channelled into income generating activities (Alquezar Sabadie *et al.*, 2010). Most of the money sent home by migrants was used for living expenses with this equating to 84 percent and just over 95 percent in Albania and Moldova, respectively.

It has also been found that recipients of remittances are more like to consider migrating than non-recipients (van Dalen *et al.*, 2005). Dimova and Wolff (2009) argue that not only do remittances improve the economy of the immigrants' country of origin but they can also lead to chain migration by providing the necessary capital. This is because a certain threshold of wealth is necessary to enable people to assume the costs and risks of migrating (Martin and Taylor, 1996). Gubert and Nordman (2008) found that network connections in the destination country, linking migrants to their home country, reduced the costs and uncertainty for future migrants. The study by van Dalen *et al.* (2005) also stated that the actual result of chain migration through remittances tends to be variable but is increased due to the pull factors of family ties and the possibility for success. This relates to the experiences of the Filipino interviewees. We can assume Interviewee # 7's has been the recipient of remittances as his father was one of the first Filipinos to work on a dairy farm in Saudi Arabia. And in

accordance with findings by van Dalen *et al.* (2005) he and his brother have both migrated, both travelled to Saudi Arabia to work on dairy farms owned by the same company their father worked for and interviewee # 7 has then come to New Zealand. However, the findings of Dimova and Wolff (2009) were not in agreement with what the Filipinos interviewees reported, as most of them had saved or borrowed the money, from agencies, to fund the costs of migrating to New Zealand, rather than having received it as a remittance. Although, once in stable employment on dairy farms in Canterbury, the majority of the Filipino interviewees had sent money home for their immediate families to join them. However, they have not entered the labour force in New Zealand, as they have young families who they stay home to look after, and therefore cannot be considered chain migration in accordance to its definition. In contrast, all of the Chilean interviewees work fulltime on the same dairy farm as their partners.

Another different that emerged from the two ethnic groups of interviewees was attitudes of their families in response to them choosing to immigrate to work on dairy farms in New Zealand. There was further division between the two groups of Chilean interviewees. The three younger interviewees all had a parent that worked on a dairy farm in Chile so we can assume their family would be supportive of their career choice. They also mentioned how expensive university in Chile is and that it is only for the very intelligent or wealthy. From this we can assume they are lower middle class. In contrast, interviewee's # 1 and 2 had high middle class jobs and were well educated at University. They spoke of their parents' disappointment of their decision to give that life up to take up what they considered menial work in the dairy industry in New Zealand. To their families the decision to milk cows was a considerably down grade in their status.

In comparison, migrant workers are seen as heroes in the Philippines (Alvin, 2009). Frazer (2011) reported that having a migrant worker in the family adds social status back in the Philippines. This is largely due to the remittances sent to family members back home. Alayon (2009) reported that receiving remittances no matter the size or how often, is a source of pride for the family back home and how the family is admired by Philippine society. It was also reported that once abroad, they are motivated to send money back, on a regular basis, to ensure the wellbeing of their families due to a pressure felt to meet the expectations of the local community. Almost all of the Filipinos interviewees' sent remittances home on a regular basis so we can assume that this resulted in an increase in the social status of their family.

I found what interviewees reported about recruitment and retention ties in with findings from Nettle *et al.* (2011) study looking at retention in the Australian dairy industry. From the nine case study farms and the thirty one employee interviews the reasons that employees gave which influenced them to stay included:

- higher than average pay rates in the industry for their position,
- flexible work hours,
- limited weekend hours and very long shifts,
- training and development opportunities,
- feedback and appreciation for a job well done,
- individual attention to career development and mentoring,
- an enjoyable work environment with good facilities,
- and varied work.

The study estimated direct cost, including hiring and training expenses and loss of productivity, of staff turnover to range from 50 – 150 percent of an employee’s annual salary, depending on their position. Similar findings are reported by Gubert and Nordman (2008) who suggest that is desirable, from an economic point of view, to allow migrants in permanent jobs to stay in the country long term as it allows both the employer and the migrant to invest in training and human capital, and it saves the employers the cost of hiring and training a new staff member. These are both examples of the cost of induction interviewee # 1 referred to. The flexible work hours and limited weekend hours and very long shifts relates to the importance of a roster system mentioned by interviewee # 1.

Interviewee # 5 and 9 also commented on how they enjoyed the roster system in New Zealand. Training and development opportunities and individual attention to career development and mentoring are expressed by interviewee # 1 as the ability of the employee to step up in job position each year and interviewee # 4 also made reference to the ability of being able to step up in her career each year. Interviewee # 4 and 7 both mentioned the importance of having an employer who offered these opportunities. Interviewee # 5 also highlighted an important fact for retention was the higher than average pay rates for their position in the industry compared with a similar position in Chile.

Over half of all the interviewees had achieved a bachelor’s degree or completed some form of training in their country of origin prior to immigrating. Only two of the interviewees’ are directly using their qualifications, as they are in the agricultural field. Lewin *et al.* (2011) study had similar findings for Indian immigrants living in Auckland. Just over sixty percent of all participants had a bachelor’s degrees or higher qualifications, and only forty five percent said that their current jobs made good use of their qualifications. Many reported taking lower status jobs, than their

qualification, due to issues with credential recognition, no suitable job opportunities and a lack of business networks. This can be linked to experiences of both Chilean and Filipino interviewees in New Zealand. Interviewee # 1 could not find a suitable job in Auckland or Dunedin to match his civil engineering qualifications. Interviewee # 6 believes his IT qualifications from the Philippines would not be recognised in New Zealand and he would have to retrain to be able to apply for a similar job in New Zealand, due to the large gap in technology between the two countries.

Both Chilean and Filipino interviewees have all undertaken at least one AgITO course since arriving in New Zealand. The AgITO courses are popular with Chilean interviewees because it offered an opportunity to build knowledge and experience of the New Zealand dairy industry while achieving a qualification. AgITO is popular with Filipinos interviewees because it allows them to up skill while on-farm and is related to their job title through visa regulations. Interestingly, Heather and Thwaite (2011) found that migrant workers from non-English speaking background (NESB) struggled with AgITO, which was shown in below average course and qualification completion rates especially at Level 3 and 4, lower participation and understanding in class, and more difficulty understanding instructions and tasks on-farm than their English speaking counterparts. It was also identified that the South Island tutors of these courses did not have the necessary skills or expertise required for the support of NESB students. These findings are particularly alarming when you consider that the level of relevant qualifications and job title of the interviewees is linked to their temporary work visa. Despite this, not one of the interviewees mentioned having difficulties understanding or their ability to complete AgITO courses, other than time restrictions during the busy periods of calving.

7.2 Conclusion

This research originated from my experiences of dairy farm labour in the North Island being largely family or owner/operator sourced labour to noticing the increasingly popular use of migrant labour on South Island dairy farms when I shifted to Canterbury to study at Lincoln University. The purpose of this research was to identify if there was any differences between Chilean, as a representation of South America, and Filipino backgrounds and experiences which resulted in their decision to find employment on dairy farms in Canterbury. It was discovered that the main motivation for Chilean interviewees was to gain knowledge and experience of the New Zealand dairy farming systems and then return to Chile. Whereas, the Filipinos interviewees motivation for migrating to work on New Zealand dairy farms was primarily to earn more money than is currently possible in the Philippines. A common reason for both ethnic groups for choosing New Zealand was that they felt they could have an improved lifestyle here.

Due to the exploratory nature of this research, the time restrictions, and small sample size, the key findings specifically apply to the interviewees of this study, not to the two ethnic groups as a whole. I have tried to ground the findings by triangulating them to previous research.

The key findings from this report may be used as a point of triangulation for other exploratory research in the area to build a clearer picture of migrant labour in the New Zealand dairy industry.

Appendix A

Key Themes

A.1 Education

Table A 1 Interviewees qualifications

	Pre - Migration	Post - Migration			
	Bachelor Degree	AgITO			
		Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5
Interviewee # 1	*	*	*	*	*
Interviewee # 2	*	*	*	*	*
Interviewee # 3		*	*		
Interviewee # 4		*	*		
Interviewee # 5		*	*		
Interviewee # 6	*			*	
Interviewee # 7				*	
Interviewee # 8	*			*	
Interviewee # 9	*	*			
Interviewee # 10	*	*			

A.2 Occupation

Table A 2 Interviewees current occupation

	Job Title			
	Assistant Herd Manager	Herd Manager	2IC	Lower order Sharemilker
Interviewee # 1				*
Interviewee # 2				*
Interviewee # 3			*	
Interviewee # 4		*		
Interviewee # 5		*		
Interviewee # 6		*		
Interviewee # 7		*		
Interviewee # 8		*		
Interviewee # 9	*			
Interviewee # 10	*			

A.3 Visa Status

Table A 3 Interviewees current visa status

	Visa Status		
	Temporary Work Visa	Resident	Intend to Apply for Residency
Interviewee # 1		*	
Interviewee # 2		*	
Interviewee # 3	*		
Interviewee # 4	*		
Interviewee # 5	*		
Interviewee # 6	*		*
Interviewee # 7	*		*
Interviewee # 8	*		*
Interviewee # 9	*		
Interviewee # 10	*		

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