Ngā Toki Whakarururanga Establishment Group



### TIRITI O WAITANGI ASSESSMENT OF NZ UK FTA:

MĀORI BUSINESS, KAIMAHI AND WĀHINE MĀORI

\*This analysis is as accurate as possible within the time available

## SPECULATIVE GAINS FOR MĀORI EXPORTERS

### There are no direct gains in the FTA for Māori exporters.

- They would take a share of general gains in sectors where Māori businesses are strong.
- Those gains for NZ are already minimal according to the modelling: 0.1% of GDP by the time the FTA is fully in force in 15 years.

#### Even that's an over-estimate because:

- NZ exports to UK may be redirected from other markets eg China, meaning no new production or jobs;
- UK middle-men may pocket tariff cuts, so UK consumer aren't enticed to more NZ products;
- UK supermarkets are promising to support local products and UK consumers may "buy British".



#### Gains to Māori business are expected to come from:

- removing UK taxes on imports from NZ (tariffs)
  - for goods like fish, forestry, wine, kiwifruit, Manuka honey immediately
  - for beef, sheep, butter, cheese over between 6 and 16 years,
- reducing red tape, making exporting easier.

A study quoted on Te Taumata's website says the UK FTA could result in "hundreds of new jobs and more than \$13 million of additional GDP" for Māori.

- If correct it would only be a \$13 million increase, after costs, for a Māori asset base of \$68 billion - 0.0002%.
- \$13 million today would buy about 9 houses in Auckland ...

### THERE ARE DOWNSIDES TO INCREASING PRODUCTION

#### Increasing production needs to be balanced with its known downsides, eg.

- more carbon emissions and climate impacts, and more irrigation and polluted waterways, from more agricultural production;
- more incentives for overfishing and dumping lower-value fish;
- environmental damage from forestry debris.
- The Environment Chapter 22 says UK and NZ will cooperate on addressing such issues, but allows them to continue business as usual
  - Cabinet's mandate to negotiators is usually that NZ doesn't have to change anything,
  - eg exemption for agriculture from the ETS,
  - the property rights-based ITQ system for fish,
  - forest owners not made responsible for waste that harms the whenua, awa and communities, (see the separate Tiriti assessment on Te Taiao)



### SMALL PROMISES FOR SMALL BUSINESSES

Both wāhine Māori and rangatahi Māori are usually small businesses (called small and medium enterprises or SMEs).

- The soft and unenforceable Chapter 24 on SMEs says the UK and NZ will
  - help them with online information,
  - cooperate to facilitate various programmes, and
  - "promote the participation in international trade of SMEs owned by under-represented groups, such as women, youth, Māori and minority groups".

Less red tape and support programmes may help some SMEs, but they will still have to compete with corporations that are the main beneficiaries of the FTA.



## IMPACTS ON MÃORI JOBS

- The Taumata said its research shows the UK FTA will create "hundreds of new jobs"
  - Again, there's no guarantee new jobs from any increased exports would go to Māori.
  - The FTA may make it easier for professionals to work in UK, and vice versa, (Annex 9-A) but that won't benefit a lot of Māori.
- There are lots of other rules that can impact on NZ jobs:
  - UK contractors can bring offshore workers to fulfill contracts in NZ (Ch 13)
  - British investments can't be made to hire local labour (Art 14.8.1(i))
  - British investors can't be made to process their products (eg logs) here (Art 14.1(b))
  - British firms can bid for more NZ government contracts and perform them offshore (Ch 16)
  - More services can be delivered into NZ from the UK (Art 9.7)
- NZ firms could do the same, but economic reality means this will mainly benefit UK firms, and it's not obvious if or how Māori workers would benefit.





- The FTA has a labour chapter (Ch 23) that is mainly rhetorical
  - confirming UK and NZ's existing international obligations (Art 23.5)
  - supporting good labour practices (Arts 23.4.2, 23.6).
- Businesses will be encouraged to adopt voluntary corporate responsibility initiatives. (Art 23.10)



The UK and NZ promise to cooperate on labour issues (Art 23.11).

- Each will implement policies "it considers appropriate" to ensure equal opportunities and inclusive labour market, protect against discrimination, reduce pay gaps,
- and develop cooperation activities on nondiscrimination and gender equality to "improve capacity and conditions for women in trade and the workplace". (Art 23.8)

Although the chapter is "soft", it is enforceable through a special process (Arts 23.18-22).

However, complaints about breaches of labour rights have to show the breach was aiming to encourage trade or investment (23.5 fn 1, 23.6.4)

# KAIMAHI MĀORI ARE INVISIBLE

Kaimahi Māori are<br/>invisible<br/>throughout the<br/>Labour chapter.There is no<br/>reference to them<br/>anywhere.There will be an<br/>independentThere is a sub-<br/>remutities to the sub-<br/>the sub-<br/>sub-<br/>the sub-<br/>the sub-<br/>sub-<br/>the sub-<br/>sub-<br/>the sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>the sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/>sub-<br/

advisory group of

workers,

employers and

experts – but no

reference to Māori

(Art 23.14).

There is a subcommittee to oversee the chapter, but no guaranteed voice for kaimahi Māori (Art 23.17).



#### Chapter 25 on Trade and Gender Equality

- refers to wāhine Māori (Art 25.1)
- There is a lot of rhetoric about the importance of "gender-responsive policies" and inclusion and eliminating all forms of gender discrimination *in trade*.

#### The chapter aims to "advance women's economic empowerment and promote gender equality" (Art 25.2) by

- implementing existing international obligations (which they have to do anyway);
- identifying barriers to women's participation (presumably not from the rules in the FTA);
- cooperating to help women in business to benefit from the FTA, and
- providing opportunities for wāhine Māori to engage in trade activities, including with a Te Ao Māori framework (but this is only "for NZ" so it's unclear how that involves cooperation).

### NO GOVERNANCE ROLE FOR WĀHINE MĀORI

#### The Trade and Gender chapter is soft in its promises and unenforceable.

- It is overseen by an "Inclusive Trade Sub-committee" alongside the chapters on Māori, small businesses and development. (Arts 25.6, 30.8.2(e))
- The Sub-committee's functions include facilitating communication with and participation in its activities of many civil society, workers, business owners, entrepreneurs, and "in the case of NZ wāhine Māori".
- The sub-committee is made up of officials.
- There is no representation for wahine Maori.
- Although there is some (undefined) Māori representation on the Māori Trade chapter, that isn't required to include wāhine Māori.



# WHAT THE GENDER CHAPTER DOESN'T

- Chapters like this are often described as "pink-washing" because
  - they focus only on women in business, and
  - ignore the structural impact of FTAs on women's lives, eg;
    - increased power of foreign multinationals (not known for being gender friendly)
    - big tech's control of data and platforms (infamous for gender bias)
    - intellectual property rights over taonga (eg kaitiakitanga of wāhine Māori over Rongoa)

