

HE KŌRERO WHĀITI: MĀORI ENTERPRISE PERSPECTIVES ON A NEW ZEALAND-UNITED KINGDOM FREE TRADE AGREEMENT





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Format: PDF

Publication Date: March 2022

ISBN: 978-0-477-10260-5

This report should be cited as:

Mika, J. P. (2022). *He kōrero whāiti – Māori enterprise perspectives on the New Zealand-United Kingdom free trade agreement*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

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CONTENTS

Contacts	ii		
He whakarāpopototanga – Summary	3		
He whakatakinga – Introduction	5		
Kaupapa: Purpose.....	5		
Ko te pūtakeanga: Why study Māori enterprise perspectives	5		
Ngā mahi rangahau: What we did	6		
Ko wai ngā kaikōrero i kōrerohia ai: Who did we talk to?	6		
He kōrero-ā-pukapuka kē – What has been written about Māori enterprise and trade.....	6		
I tauhokohoko ai te Māori mai rānō: Māori have always traded	6		
He oranga tō te tauhokohoko: Trade sustains people and relations between people.....	8		
Ko te tino rangatiratanga te mea nui: Trade governed by Māori aspirations to be self-determining.....	9		
He kirimana tauhokohoko – What we know about Māori and free trade agreements	10		
Me whai hua mō te iwi whānui: Free trade agreements must be inclusive, fair, and beneficial	10		
He rerekē ngā whakaaro e pehea ai te tiakina i ngā tika a te Māori: Māori and the Crown differ on how best to protect Māori rights in trade policy	10		
Ka rere pea ngā tika a te Māori ki te katoa o ngā upoko: Māori interests are likely across all chapters of the NZ-UK FTA.....	11		
He mea nui te hui tahi ai i te Māori: Engaging Māori critical to the success of the NZ-UK FTA.....	11		
He mea nui te māmā noa atu o te tuku taputapu ki tāwāhi: Improved access to the UK market critical for trade in Māori goods and services	12		
		Ko te mana whakairo hinengaro he mea nui: Intellectual property a major concern for Māori	12
		Me kōrero ki te Māori mō te wāhanga o te tiriti: Engaging with Māori on treaty clause needed	13
		He whakaaro o ngā pakihi Māori – What we found from talking to Māori enterprise.....	14
		Ko te kirimana tauhokohoko i ahu mai ai i te tiriti: NZ-UK FTA viewed as an extension of the treaty	14
		Ko ngā rakahinonga Māori: Identifying as Māori entrepreneurs	14
		He kaupapa anō tō te whakahaere pakihi Māori: A Māori way of doing business	15
		Ko ngā pakihi Māori: Identifying as Māori enterprise	15
		Ko ngā pūtake o te tauhokohoko ki Peretānia: Rationale for trade with the UK	17
		Ko ngā piki me ngā heke: Challenges and opportunities of trade for Māori enterprise	18
		Ko te Tiriti o Waitangi me te kaupapa tauhokohoko: Treaty of Waitangi and trade policy	18
		Ko te tauhokohoko i waenganui i ngā tāngata taketake: Inter-Indigenous trade.....	19
		Ko ngā hua o te kirimana tauhokohoko: Success, benefits and risks of the NZ-UK FTA	19
		Ko ngā kaupapa Māori: Māori rights, interests, and priorities in the NZ-UK FTA.....	20
		He whakamāramatanga – What this means for the NZ-UK FTA?.....	20
		He rārangi pukapuka – References.....	21



HE WHAKARĀPOPOTOTANGA – SUMMARY

He kōrero whāiti is an extended summary of independent research into Māori enterprise perspectives on the New Zealand-United Kingdom free trade agreement (NZ-UK FTA) completed in June 2021 for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT). The information is intended for those with an interest in Māori perspectives on the NZ-UK FTA.

In the research, Māori enterprise is defined as firms that identify as Māori, with 50 percent or more Māori ownership, who enact kaupapa Māori values, and contribute to the wellbeing of others. Tribal aspirations and the values of business owners influence Māori enterprise. Māori entrepreneurs hold multiple roles including as Māori enterprise owners and operators, company directors of iwi and pan-iwi enterprises and non-Māori enterprises with significant Māori engagement, as governors and executives of Māori health and social service providers, and Māori authorities. Māori assets span the tourism, agribusiness, viticulture, horticulture, technology, digital and creative sectors, and science and innovation, fisheries, and forestry.

A Māori way of doing business is the philosophy and practice of Māori enterprise. This encompasses te ao Māori (Māori world view), tikanga Māori (Māori culture), te reo Māori (Māori language), and mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), which influence Māori methods of engaging in trade. A Māori way of doing business appears in purpose-driven, values-based enterprises that opt into being part of the Māori economy and engage in trade with a clear sense of their identity and the obligations they have as Māori to whānau (family) and whenua (land).

Māori enterprise rationalise trade as a reflection of what Māori have always done – traded within one another and with the outside world, which has spiritual and practical value. In this view, trade acts as an extension of relationships that sustain whanaungatanga – cultural and social ties among Māori and manaakitanga – how these ties ensure the wellbeing of whānau and whenua. Māori enterprise recognise trade with the UK offers economic, social, cultural, historical, political, and entrepreneurial value, but expect recognition as treaty partners in this process, and an equitable share of the benefits of trade compared with others.

Māori enterprise express concern about the economic cost of trade with the UK and the need for protection of Māori rights and interests. Making

trade accessible to and beneficial for flax roots Māori, their enterprises, and communities are other expectations. They see advantages beyond the primary sector to technology and trade in services as growth areas for Māori.

Māori enterprise see the Treaty of Waitangi as fundamental to the success of the NZ-UK FTA. A partnership-based approach between Māori and the Crown is suggested to manage challenges and opportunities for Māori enterprise from the NZ-UK FTA and influence trade policy. This includes, for example, Māori representation at the negotiating table, in the implementation of the FTA, leading Māori trade development, and developing of Māori enterprise capability to upscale and engage in trade. The treaty clause was seen offering insufficient provision for this more expansive view of the Māori-Crown relationship and an untested level of protection. The success of the NZ-UK FTA is how well it upholds the treaty. For instance, firms and people doing business under the FTA should be doing so in ways that protect Māori rights and ensure Māori equitably benefit from trade with the UK.

Māori enterprise see potential in inter-Indigenous trade but not with the UK because of the absence of a recognised Indigenous people. In other contexts, inter-Indigenous trade makes sense because of shared identities, values, traditions, and world views as Indigenous peoples, and similar colonial histories and experiences. Indigenous trade could be given expression through enterprise collaborations between Māori and other Indigenous peoples to trade into the UK market via the NZ-UK FTA. Inter-Indigenous trade remains an underdeveloped opportunity.

Māori enterprise suggest priorities for the FTA negotiators include ensuring a greater degree of inclusion, representation, provision for, understanding of, and support for Māori in the FTA negotiations process, its implementation, monitoring, and effect. Māori want to participate, and to be supported to do so as tangata whenua with significant potential to contribute and benefit. The NZ-UK FTA is about more than trade; its significance relates to the history and contemporary relationship between Māori and the Crown, and trade and its benefits flow from this foundation.

HE WHAKATAKINGA – INTRODUCTION

Kaupapa: Purpose

This report is an extended summary of the full report entitled *Te ao pakihi: Māori enterprise perspectives on a New Zealand-United Kingdom free trade agreement* published on the MFAT website on 20 October 2021, which can be viewed here under “Māori interests”.

Ko te pūtakekanga: Why study Māori enterprise perspectives

Two main reasons stand out for asking about Māori enterprise perspectives on the NZ-UK FTA. First, the Crown recognises Māori as *tangata whenua* and treaty partners who retain treaty rights and interests. As such, officials must assist the Crown to honour its treaty obligations to Māori. Second, Māori firms – enterprises owned by Māori – represent a growing feature of the New Zealand and Māori economies, contributing to prosperity through trade. Our goal in the research was, therefore, simple – find out what Māori enterprises thought and felt about the NZ-UK FTA and relay these insights to the negotiators during rather than after negotiations.

While MFAT had identified Māori interests in the NZ-UK FTA at a high-level through earlier engagement with organisations like Te Taumata, Ngā Toki Whakarururanga, and Federation of Māori Authorities (FOMA), officials wanted specific insights from Māori enterprise. For instance, negotiators wanted to know what Māori enterprises thought about (1) barriers to goods and services exports; (2) investment; (3) access to UK government contracts; (4) digital trade; (5) intellectual property; (6) sustainable development; (7) offshore *taonga*, cultural tourism, language revitalisation, and broadcasting; and (8) preserving space for future policy. The research was intended to add to the Te Taumata research (Meade & Rice, 2021).

Ngā mahi rangahau: What we did

We did three main things to achieve the goal of this research. First, we reviewed published writings to understand what was already known about Māori trade. Second, we interviewed 50 Māori enterprises which were exporting to the UK, other markets, or intending to do so. Third, we briefed officials on the findings as reports were produced. This approach allowed the focus of the research to be shifted and new issues of interest addressed during the research.

Ko wai ngā kaikōrero i kōrerohia ai: Who did we talk to?

Among the participants, we interviewed Māori entrepreneurs, Māori managers, and Māori businesspeople from Māori small and medium enterprise (SMEs), post-settlement governance entities (PSGEs), Māori corporates, and Māori health and social service providers, using kaupapa Māori research methods. Such methods involve Māori leading and carrying out research using *tikanga Māori* (Māori culture), *te reo Māori* (Māori language), and *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge) to produce research that is culturally safe, ethical, and beneficial. We generally contacted people with whom we had existing relationships, using the principle of *whanaungatanga* (relationship forming), which was effective in facilitating access to firms. Participants were provided with an information sheet and asked to provide written or verbal consent to proceed. Recordings of interviews were transcribed, or notes taken, or both.



HE KŌRERO-Ā-PUKAPUKA KĒ – WHAT HAS BEEN WRITTEN ABOUT MĀORI ENTERPRISE AND TRADE

I tauhokohoko ai te Māori mai rānō: Māori have always traded

Between 1250 and 1769, a domestic system of trade and exchange existed across tribal territories as tribes gathered, hunted, fished, and harvested natural resources, crafted taonga (treasured objects), and also traded skill or labour (Petrie, 2006). From Captain Cook's arrival in 1769, Māori were eager to trade with the new arrivals (traders, sealers, whalers, and missionaries) quickly adopting new products, technologies and languages (Davis, 2006; Petrie, 2006). As cited in Reid and Rout (2016), Head concluded that trade was the first civil relationship Māori established with foreigners. The cultural practice of trade meant that Māori understood supply and demand, which was a necessary precondition in supporting Māori commerce and, in turn, economic growth following European contact (Reid & Rout, 2016).

As a result, the Māori economy changed profoundly (Coleman et al., 2005; Petrie, 2006), experiencing economic growth and implementing a market-based system (Davis, 2006) that included supplying Australian and Pacific Island markets with surplus goods using Māori owned ships, flourmills, and tribally organised labour (Petrie, 2006). By 1840, Māori had captured a considerable volume of trade, and a healthy surplus of exports over imports (Petrie, 2006). After the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, however, Māori trade decreased significantly and the Māori economy imploded as settler hunger for land (Frederick & Henry, 2004) and Māori resistance to land sales led to warfare and land confiscations (Boast & Hill, 2009).

In the 1930s, collectively owned Māori land assets were developed into farming units, providing jobs and incomes, and satisfying, to some extent, Māori aspirations for control of economic opportunities (Coleman et al., 2005). In the 1980s and 1990s, Treaty of Waitangi settlements have allowed some iwi to develop large enterprises (Barry et al., 2020), while the growth of Māori small and medium enterprises that rely less on traditional assets like Māori land grew together with the rapid migration of Māori from rural to urban centres (Haami, 2018).

Within a growing Māori economy, estimated to be worth \$68.7 billion in 2018 (Nana et al., 2021), Māori enterprises are increasingly engaging in international trade, including Māori authorities Māori small and

medium enterprises, and iwi organisations (Stats NZ, 2021). In terms of the value of Māori exports, BERL estimated this to be around \$3.4 billion, or 5.6 percent of New Zealand's total exports in 2012 (Schulze & Reid, 2019). The Māori economy derives much of its income from trade, and changes in trade policy will affect Māori enterprise.

He oranga tō te tauhokohoko: Trade sustains people and relations between people

Historically, in te ao Māori, trade policy was not defined in terms of trade. Instead, trade was bound up in a system of Māori principles or tikanga Māori, which governed Māori relations, including trade. Māori followed customary patterns (Petrie, 2006), where principles of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), kaitiakitanga (stewardship), and tikanga (culture) were paramount (Mead, 2003). For Māori, trade had its origins in life (Orbell, 1985), with self-sufficiency in food production not only important for sustaining communities, but to mana (power, authority, prestige) in terms of tribal reputation for hospitality.

The arrival of Europeans impacted traditional lifeways (Petrie, 2006). Trade was impacted by key historical events such as colonisation, land loss, assimilation (Harris & Tipene, 2006), and the challenges of settler survival and prosperity (McCreanor et al., 2011). Māori were urged to join the market economy to enrich New Zealand, which they did (Paterson, 2006). According to Petrie (2006), Māori economic success provoked settler determination to thwart Māori commerce, adversely affecting the colony's economic viability. Māori chiefs demonstrated a business-like approach, albeit in ways that accommodated their own world view. The political power of Māori leaders depended on the extent of their resources, which, ultimately, were their people, their land, and their mana whenua (authority over land) (Petrie, 2006).

Today, for Māori, some of these principles are still advocated through, for example, the 'Trade for All' agenda (Trade for All Advisory Board, 2019). These include the interconnectedness of productivity, sustainability, and inclusiveness; the transformation required to meet social and environmental challenges; and an emphasis on partnerships with Māori under te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi). There has been a resurgence of cultural

wealth, with unique opportunities to transmit new messages about our people to the global market (Davis, 2006). The major part of the Māori asset base, however, remains in the physical assets, land and sea (Callaghan, 2009; Frederick & Henry, 2004), with meat and dairy exports leading the Māori export economy as of 2018 (Schulze & Sanderson, 2018). Although the Māori economy is export-dependent because of the predominance in commodities (Mika & Ross, 2019), the Māori asset base is continually diversifying (Nana et al., 2021; Schulze & Sanderson, 2018).

Ko te tino rangatiratanga te mea nui: Trade governed by Māori aspirations to be self-determining

With Māori cultural heritage recognised as an economic asset, Indigenous peoples want some form of self-determination over such trade (Lai, 2010). Treaty settlements represent an important economic variable through which iwi can restore their economies as a basis for trade (McCreanor et al., 2011; Mika et al., 2019). Although the post-settlement phase has coincided with a cultural renaissance, material change among Māori has been elusive (Webster, 2002). The value of the Māori asset base lies in its ability to generate higher incomes, more jobs, better outcomes, and ultimately improved wellbeing for Māori (Nana et al., 2021). Māori enterprises can expect to play an increasingly important role in trade (Schulze & Sanderson, 2018) and Māori wellbeing (Nana et al., 2021).

Māori enterprise face the challenge of balancing financial imperatives with broader social, cultural, and environmental goals. While Māori entrepreneurs attempt to achieve both through a resurgence of traditional business practice that acknowledges spirituality (Foley, 2008; Harris & Tipene, 2006), free trade is not risk-free, with taonga (treasures), for instance, vulnerable to exploitation (Hudson et al., 2021; Reihana et al., 2006). Yet, the ability for Māori to utilise new knowledge becomes critical when economic and social development are increasingly linked to the trade in ideas rather than merely the trade in goods and services (Frederick & Henry, 2004; Sautet, 2008).

Māori understood the Treaty of Waitangi to be a treaty of partnership, reciprocal obligation, and mutual benefit, with the guarantee of rangatiratanga ensuring Māori autonomy over their own affairs (Petrie, 2002). The economic benefits predicted from that arrangement were short-lived and resulted in a cautious approach to trade and business. The loss of land had a detrimental impact on the Māori economy and would prove significant as the rate and extent of loss escalated (Petrie, 2006). At the heart of business lies a progressive move by Māori to achieve economic prosperity and self-determination (Harmsworth, 2009). Finally, as Dell et al. (2018) conclude, enhancing our understanding of where Māori want to go will ultimately support the development of alternative economies that will better provide for Māori aspirations in cultural, social, and economic realms.



HE KIRIMANA TAUHOKOHOKO – WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT MĀORI AND FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS

Me whai hua mō te iwi whānui: Free trade agreements must be inclusive, fair, and beneficial

Free trade agreements are used when two or more countries wish to strike better terms for the trade in goods and services between them. FTAs hold the promise of achieving better market access, reduced barriers to trade, and a fairer share of trade. For the firms involved, this translates into opportunities for growth, jobs, wealth creation, and innovation. Economic benefits are, however, insufficient reason on their own to enter into FTAs. In the case of Aotearoa New Zealand, FTAs must also be inclusive and fair, with benefits available to society generally, consistent with the government's Trade for All agenda (Trade for All Advisory Board, 2019). Moreover, trade policy, like all policy in Aotearoa New Zealand, must find ways to honour the Crown's obligations to Māori under the treaty, realise Māori development aspirations, and ensure Māori are included in policy development, and benefit equitably from policies that affect them (Webster, 2019).

He rerekē ngā whakaaro e pehea ai te tiakina i ngā tika a te Māori: Māori and the Crown differ on how best to protect Māori rights in trade policy

An example of the differences between Māori and the Crown on protecting Māori rights and interests is the inclusion of treaty exception clauses in free trade agreements since 2001. While the Waitangi Tribunal has commended this practice, Māori argue that the protection does not go far enough (Waitangi Tribunal, 2016). Moreover, Māori engagement in the FTA process has been described as inadequate (Waitangi Tribunal, 2016). Since then, MFAT has increasingly strengthened its relationships with Māori.

Five years after the Wai 2522 claim was lodged outlining issues with the TPPA, both the Waitangi Tribunal Claimants and Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2020) issued a press release announcing an agreed outcome to address Māori engagement on trade negotiations. As a result of this outcome, an interim Māori establishment body, Ngā Toki Whakarururanga, was created whose role is to develop a process of engagement, conduct or commission independent Tiriti impact assessments, proactively identify matters with taonga and rights, develop relationships, and promote mutual

education (Waitangi Tribunal Claimants & Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2020). Te Taumata, a group of recognised leaders in Māori socioeconomic and cultural development, are chosen by Māori to engage with MFAT on trade policy and related matters (Te Taumata & Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2019).

Ka rere pea ngā tika a te Māori ki te katoa o ngā upoko: Māori interests are likely across all chapters of the NZ-UK FTA

A NZ-UK FTA is an important but imperfect means to try to reconcile Māori economic, social, cultural, and environmental interests with possibilities offered by closer relations with the UK (Meade & Rice, 2021). Meade and Rice (2021) continue that Māori interests in an FTA with the UK might arise in specific areas or chapters of the FTA but might also arise across much or all of the FTA. MFAT (2020a), however, expected that the most difficult issues in the negotiations are likely to be market access, including for New Zealand's most important agricultural exports, intellectual property issues, geographical indications, and government procurement.

He mea nui te hui tahi ai i te Māori: Engaging Māori critical to the success of the NZ-UK FTA

MFAT (2020b) agrees with Schulze and Reid (2019) that Māori engagement is fundamental for the NZ-UK FTA, where Trade for All principles and Māori interests are reflected in the FTA. Meade and Rice (2021) go further, asserting that New Zealand will work to achieve outcomes with the UK that operationalise aspects of New Zealand's Trade for All agenda that are important for Māori, such as cooperating with the UK in ways that support Māori economic development and Māori engagement in international trade.

He mea nui te māmā noa atu o te tuku taputapu ki tāwāhi: Improved access to the UK market critical for trade in Māori goods and services

Improved market access for Māori products and services, including tariff and subsidy removal, are important (Meade & Rice, 2021). Additionally, partnerships and investments for research and development, manufacturing, and other expertise

needed for the sustainability of the Māori primary sector and other assets are also needed (Meade & Rice, 2021). For example, tariffs on primary industries are generally 10–50 percent higher than those applied to manufactured products. While non-tariff barriers are less visible; they exert pressure on trade especially in the primary sector (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2017). Other barriers include discriminatory licensing arrangements and quantitative restrictions on access (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2017). While larger Māori businesses are positive about the potential for tariff and access improvements, and are capable of executing that, further support is needed for Māori small and medium enterprises (Schulze & Reid, 2019).

Ko te mana whakairo hinengaro he mea nui: Intellectual property a major concern for Māori

Intellectual property rights include geographical indications, mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), including artistic and cultural expressions, taonga works, and the use of, and rights to, taonga species, and general intellectual property protections where trademarks or patents may have a Māori cultural or design element (Schulze & Reid, 2019). Meade and Rice (2021) identified speeding up the return of taonga as an opportunity within an FTA with the UK. While Māori intellectual property has the potential to add value to Māori goods and services, it lacks recognition and legal protection, hindering its use (Meade & Rice, 2021). Despite this, as part of the review of the Copyright Act 1994, the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment is consulting on how the government should work with Māori in developing a legal framework for the protection of taonga works and mātauranga Māori. Legislative change is, however, years away (Schulze & Reid,

2019). The issue of intellectual property is further complicated by the lack of domestic policy for protection of taonga species and mātauranga Māori, for example, the ownership of key resources such as water (Meade & Rice, 2021). Meade and Rice (2021) highlight the potential for a two-tier approach, offering Māori either specific or general preferences in recognition of the relative socioeconomic position of Māori, and also of the specific historical contributions made by Māori to the wealth and wellbeing of the UK.

Me kōrero ki te Māori mō te wāhanga o te tiriti: Engaging with Māori on treaty clause needed

A key issue is the treaty clause, but specifically the special place of the Treaty of Waitangi in an FTA with the UK. New Zealand cannot assume that the European Union (EU), or even the UK, will be fully informed on how well developed the Māori economy is and how embedded it is in the overall New Zealand economy (Schulze & Reid, 2019). The special place and contribution of Māori must be evident in the NZ-UK FTA. MFAT (2020b) have stated that an FTA with the UK must not only include New Zealand's standard Treaty of Waitangi provision, but must also include fulfilment of the Crown's obligations under the treaty. This was further emphasised in the second round of negotiations as part of the Indigenous working group, in which MFAT (2020a) argued that the FTA must ensure that its benefits extend to Māori. Looking to the future, as the Waitangi Tribunal suggests, the Crown must engage in constructive dialogue with Māori regarding the template for the treaty exception, particularly given that modified EU-style approaches to dispute resolution may require adjustment to that template (Kawharu, 2016).



HE WHAKAARO O NGĀ PAKIHI MĀORI – WHAT WE FOUND FROM TALKING TO MĀORI ENTERPRISE

Ko te kirimana tauhokohoko i ahu mai ai i te tiriti: NZ-UK FTA viewed as an extension of the treaty

Māori enterprises see trade as more than an economic opportunity; they see an FTA with the UK as embodying a treaty relationship that has significance because it is one with the original treaty partner – the British Monarch. This relationship provides much cause for optimism among Māori about the potential for trade; however, it also provides cause for caution because of the historical trauma of colonisation, the dangers of misappropriating Māori cultural and intellectual property, and the risks to treaty and other rights. Māori enterprise believe that these concerns can be addressed by ensuring Māori are at the negotiating table with the Crown, and that Māori are involved in the implementation and evaluation of the NZ-UK FTA. Māori enterprises also expect to be supported to build their capability to trade with the UK in ways that respect their identity as Māori and in accordance with a Māori way of doing business.

Ko ngā rakahinonga Māori: Identifying as Māori entrepreneurs

Almost all participants identify as Māori (98%). Of the participants, 70% were male and 30% female. Identifying as Māori has a bearing on how Māori see the world, do business, and engage in trade. Māori identity is a distinctive characteristic of Māori entrepreneurship, Māori enterprise, and the Māori economy – three interrelated and dynamic elements of te ao pakihi – the business world for Māori. Self-identifying as Māori by way of whakapapa (Māori ancestry) is the most common way participants express Māori identity. In this approach, Māori emphasise tribal affiliation, being raised in and around the Māori language and culture, and accessing aspects of te ao Māori like marae, whānau, hapū, iwi, and whenua Māori (Rangihau, 1992). What it means to be Māori varies as Māori identity is also deeply personal. Being Māori means “he taonga te ao Māori me ōna tikanga” [“the Māori world and its culture is a treasure”]. “Tu rangatira”

[“Standing as leaders”]. “Mana motuhake” [“Our own identity and autonomy”]. “It’s who we are” (Participants 19 and 20).

He kaupapa anō tō te whakahaere pakihi Māori: A Māori way of doing business

A Māori way of doing business is an expression of Māori identity in the process of starting, managing, and developing enterprises; in other words, it relates to Māori entrepreneurship. According to participants, a Māori way of doing business is how enterprises give expression to their values in practice, where profit-making is about creating and sharing value and expressing manaakitanga. A Māori way of doing business is about working in a non-extractive mode, where impacts on the environment in all its dimensions – the physical world, the digital world, and the scientific world – are considered. A Māori way of doing business is about having kaupapa Māori values in enterprise, a commitment to engaging in te ao Māori. Being Māori, and being a Māori enterprise, are an outward source of pride, but implicit bias and explicit racism still exist and must be addressed.

Ko ngā pakihi Māori: Identifying as Māori enterprise

When asked what a Māori business is several participants suggested 50 percent or more Māori ownership was required, with one suggesting 51 percent because it gives Māori a greater measure of control. Most entities were Māori enterprises (68%), while non-Māori (mainstream) enterprise is the least common entity (6%) among participants. Ninety-five percent of entities are Māori small and medium enterprises (0-99 employees) (Stats NZ, 2020), while 5 percent are large entities. Figure 1 shows that not-for-profit entities, who were mainly health, social service, business and education providers were the largest group of entities (31%). Pan-iwi and iwi related entities combined to make up 25 percent of the enterprises, which was the same as Māori authorities (25%). Māori companies comprised 19% of entities.

FIGURE 1 ENTERPRISE TYPES

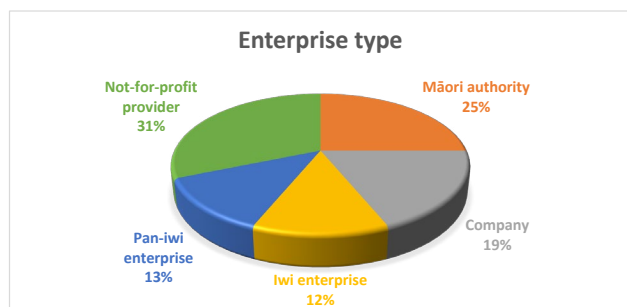


Figure 2 shows that most enterprises in the research provide services (56%), followed by primary industries (31%), and secondary industries (13%).

FIGURE 2 MĀORI ENTERPRISE INDUSTRY TYPES

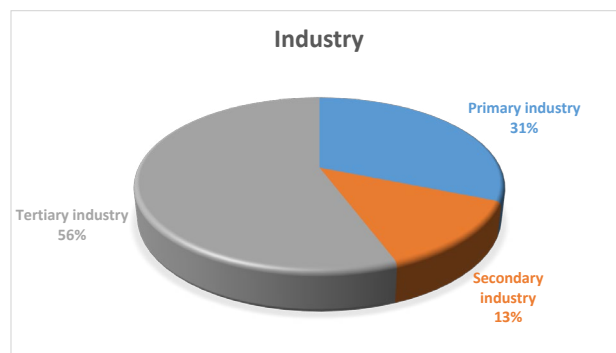


Table 1 shows the Māori enterprises perform a diverse range of activity, with advisory services most common (24%), followed by farmers and growers (16%) when combined.

TABLE 1 SECTOR ACTIVITY OF MĀORI ENTERPRISES

SECTOR ACTIVITY	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Advisory services	14	24%
Media services	5	9%
Farming	5	9%
Horticulture	4	7%
Tourism services	4	7%
Fisheries	4	7%
Accounting	3	5%
Digital services	3	5%
Iwi development	3	5%
Health services	2	3%
Education	2	3%
Energy	2	3%
Forestry	2	3%
Wine	1	2%
Sports	1	2%
Research services	1	2%
Housing provider	1	2%
Chemicals	1	2%
	58	100%

Ko ngā pūtake o te tauhokohoko ki Peretānia: Rationale for trade with the UK

Aside from the usual economic reasons (market access, lower cost, certainty), political and cultural reasons were also expected from Māori enterprise about why trade with the UK should be expanded. We found that trade extends the capacity of Māori enterprise to express manaakitanga among whānau, hapū and marae through growth and to prioritise which markets offered firms stability, growth, profit, and innovation. Trade with the UK would expose Māori enterprise to the possibility of entering international supply chains and lucrative markets whose consumers had appetites for and capacity to purchase premium goods and services. Trade with the UK also held the potential to export Māori culture, but in ways determined by Māori.

Ko ngā piki me ngā heke: Challenges and opportunities of trade for Māori enterprise

Distance, time, cost, uncertainty, and long term absence from the UK market suggest a cautious approach to trade for Māori enterprise. Getting to the UK and staying there can be expensive, and mistakes or unexpected delays can be costly. Rather than generic facilitation, one entrepreneur suggests building a customised support system to generate a Māori export pipeline. Another challenge was how to ensure Māori are represented in the NZ-UK FTA negotiations as treaty partners with the Crown, and that grassroots Māori are among the Māori voices to be heard alongside national entities. The UK market provides an opportunity for post-settlement enterprise and Māori authorities to diversify their products, industries, and markets, particularly in relation to new technologies. Support and models for scaling up Māori enterprise to meet demand will be a challenge, but exemplars of collaborative business models do exist (Mika et al., 2021). Stronger protection of Māori cultural capital in the NZ-UK FTA was a clear expectation, as was improved access to finance and knowledge of the market. The appropriation of Māori knowledge was seen as a risk because of the normalisation of te ao Māori concepts in mainstream business.

Opportunities for Māori enterprise include accessing global summits on new technologies; owning or controlling 'end-to-end' supply chains for Māori goods and services; injecting Māori culture into products so customers experience an Indigenous narrative and values; and the combination of tourism and goods exports.

Ko te Tiriti o Waitangi me te kaupapa tauhokohoko: Treaty of Waitangi and trade policy

A legacy of broken promises, removal of Māori land, and the transfer of rights and interests to non-Māori through colonisation is a worry for Māori enterprise. For some, the Treaty of Waitangi provides a framework for trade policy, where Māori rights and interests are protected, enabling Māori to participate in and benefit from trade. For others, the NZ-UK FTA is not a protection mechanism; its function is economic. Some of the expectations Māori have of trade with the UK include equitable access to opportunities, a strategic Māori view on trade, and capability development for Māori trade, treaty rights are upheld, Māori are involved as trade officials, and the continuation of social procurement.

Ko te tauhokohoko i waenganui i ngā tāngata taketake: Inter-Indigenous trade

Inter-Indigenous trade is about the capacity and intentionality among Māori to trade with other Indigenous peoples. This relies on recognition of Indigenous peoples' status and rights, and the UK's understanding about the impact of colonisation and the Māori economy. Inter-Indigenous trade was not considered a direct opportunity because the UK does not appear to have Indigenous people.

Ko ngā hua o te kirimana tauhokohoko: Success, benefits and risks of the NZ-UK FTA

Defining the success of the NZ-UK FTA provides a way to evaluate the agreement against Māori aspirations. Success looks like the ease of transacting, a growing Māori economy, free movement of goods and people, quality relationships, environmental sustainability, upholding Indigenous rights, Māori business is synonymous with good business, the Māori voice is at the negotiating table, sharing knowledge of te taiao (the environment), recognition of New Zealand's colonial past and its ongoing effects, and protection of Māori cultural and intellectual property.

Some of the benefits Māori enterprise would expect to see from the NZ-UK FTA are access to larger and new markets, offsetting seasonal differences, offering a stepping-stone to other markets, access to new industries and knowledge, protection of taonga species, and dealing with a market that speaks the same language and has similar institutions. Māori enterprise also see the UK as offering access to world class distribution infrastructure.

Some of the risks Māori enterprise assess from the NZ-UK FTA include unfamiliarity with the UK market, finding the right partner, compromising rangatiratanga and mātauranga, uncertainty about what happens when the treaty clause in the FTA is breached, and unauthorised use of Māori cultural and intellectual property. Further risks are the underrepresentation of Māori on industry and trade organisations in the UK and the inordinate power of UK supermarket chains and interest groups on New Zealand suppliers.

Ko ngā kaupapa Māori: Māori rights, interests, and priorities in the NZ-UK FTA

Māori enterprise identify a range of rights and interests in the NZ-UK FTA. They include upholding treaty rights through co-governance of the FTA, setting a clear process for dealing with breaches of the treaty in the FTA, protecting Māori cultural and intellectual property rights, including the biological

resources of taonga species, associated branding, mātauranga, language, culture, and artefacts. Māori enterprise suggest entities like Te Taumata must have a role in leading the protection of Māori rights and interests and a process worked out to verify the indigeneity of enterprises and products and services.

Māori priorities in the NZ-UK FTA vary between context, process, people and business outcomes. At the context level, a framework for treaty-based relationships between Māori and Crown agencies is desired to ensure Māori engagement is genuine and effective. Utilising Māori-to-Māori networks is a suggested strategy to facilitate entry to the UK market. Māori enterprise capability building to secure trade opportunities is a significant need. Protection mechanisms for intellectual property, access to finance, and reduced compliance costs and tariffs are other priorities.

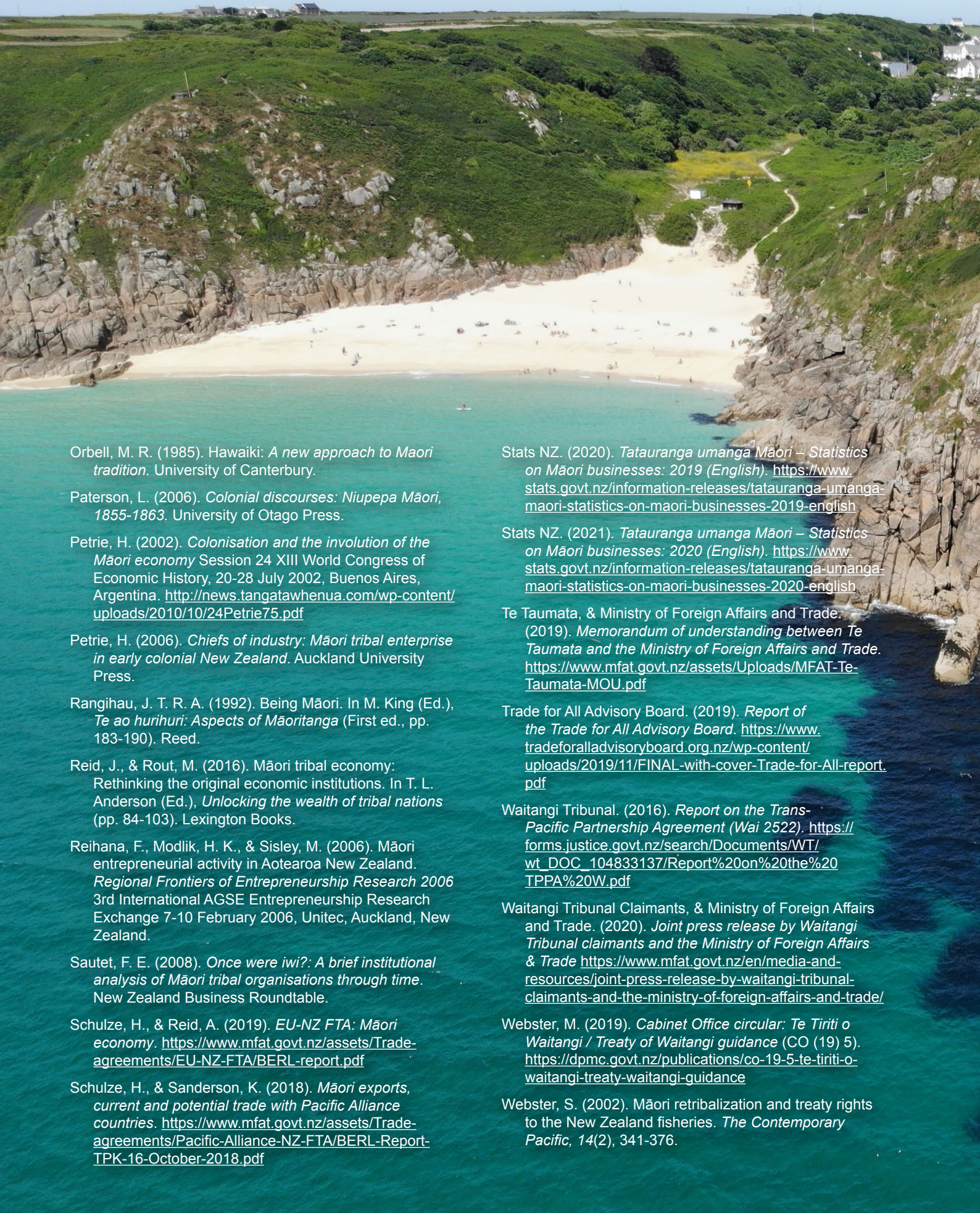
HE WHAKAMĀRAMATANGA – WHAT THIS MEANS FOR THE NZ-UK FTA?

There are four main implications of this research for the NZ-UK FTA. First, the research is intended to support the Indigenous chapter in the NZ-UK FTA and other chapters where Māori concepts, rights and interests are addressed. The research shows Māori enterprise are passionate about trade, provided it aligns with their values, aspirations, capabilities, and offerings. They are equally concerned about protecting their rights and interests as Māori. Second, the research encourages provision for Māori to be at the negotiating table. This recognises their role as tangata whenua and treaty partners. This is a challenging procedural change requiring political agreement, but it represents a sign of good faith and genuine partnership. Third, the research encourages MFAT to continue building its Māori

cultural capability to engage with Māori and Māori perspectives in ways that uphold the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and the Crown's obligations to Māori. Fourth, the research supports the work of national Māori organisations with interests in trade, including Te Taumata, Ngā Toki Whakarururanga, FOMA, the Iwi Chairs Forum, among others. According to officials, the research has contributed to their negotiations, which culminated in an agreement in principle with the UK on 20 October 2021 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2021). While key elements of the NZ-UK FTA were revealed, there is much work to be done to achieve a finalised agreement, and therefore, further opportunity for Māori to engage in this process.

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24 MARCH 2022