Tax Justice and Feminist Movements in Asia Pacific

APWLD
30 YEARS OF ADVOCACY and ACTIVISM for WOMEN’S HUMAN RIGHTS
About APWLD

APWLD is Asia and Pacific’s feminist, membership driven network.

- 200 members in 26 Asia Pacific countries
- We work to advance women’s movements claim and strengthen women’s human rights and achieve development justice
- APWLD situates itself as part of broader peoples’ movements. We support movement building through
  - Capacity Building,
  - Building local expertise, evidence and tools
  - Facilitating Advocacy at local, national, regional and international fora
  - Strengthen movement architecture, networks and links
Our Analysis

- Globalisation
- Patriarchy
- Militarisation
- Fundamentalism
A model of Development Justice should be framed by five foundational shifts:

- Redistributive Justice
- Accountability to Peoples
- Economic Justice
- Social Justice
- Environmental Justice
Neoliberal Patriarchy

Productivity and Growth

Ignores and devalues reproductive

Take Risks – Debt

Recalcitrant States must obey Authority

Austerity

Sacrifice ‘soft’ policies
## Direct to Indirect Tax Ratio, 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>OECD</th>
<th>Asia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>2.52</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tax to GDP ratio average is 14.8% of GDP in Asia Pac.
World Bank Business vs Gender Equality

Rankings tax data

Aisle Title

Pakist an 171 17 10 10 8 28 67 1 1 157 11 12 16 14 18 31 128 121 16 148 132 140 168 47 178 86 138 70 127 5 154 18 91 170 139 53 104 177 26 72 19 126 6 48 156 85 37 36
Saudi Arabi a 142 140 136 134 132 129 128 127 126 125 124 120 119 117 116 110 109 99 91 88 87 83 81 79 73 72 71 70 69 68 67 66 65 64 63 62 61 60 59 58 57 56 55 54 53 52 51 50 49 48 47 46 45 44 43 42 41 40 39 38 37 36 35 34 33 32 31 30 29 28 27 26 25 24 23 22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Qatar rankings

United Arab Emer tes

Indie *

Kuwait *

Nepal

Cambodia

Malaysia

Moldova

Japan

Brunei Darussalam

Indonesia

China

Vietnam

Russian Federation

Brazil

Bangladesh

Kong

Thailand

Lao PDR

Singapore

Slovakia

Kazahstan

Mongolia

Argentina

Ecuador

United States

South Africa

France

Netherlands

Germany

Switzerland

Philippines

Ireland

Romania

Nicaragua

Demar c

Sweden

1

Ranking 0
“has forced countries to adopt an economic and regulatory environment that favors big agribusinesses and foreign corporations. How the Bank usurped the authority to rank nations—dictating national policies in sovereign nations, which are most harmful to the working poor, the indigenous, pastoralists, and smallholder farmers—remains a puzzle. (We are) rejecting the Doing Business Rankings practice for which the Bank has no mandate nor authority,”

Similar processes with regional banks – ADB https://aric.adb.org/taxincentives
Tax Havens

- 45% of illicit financial flows from Asia
- HSBC leaks alone include $4.1 billion from India
- Asia loses at least $34 billion in tax revenue from tax havens

- Tax havens enabled the largest theft in History - Former President Marcos held approx up to $13.2 billion in Swiss tax havens.
- Privatisation on a huge scale, tax breaks, removal of minimum wage, torture and extortion allowed the funds to be accrued.
- 1.8 billion recovered
Proportion of wealth managers that expect HNW demand for tax advice to increase over the next 12 months

Source: Verdict Financial’s 2015 Global Wealth Managers Survey
Mega Trade deals and Tax

- TPP and RCEP
- US claims to have reduced 18,000 taxes through the TPP
- 24 Countries have faced ISDS tax suits. (i.e. India vs Vodaphone on 11bn deal)
- Regulatory Coherence poses The rules of the road are up for grabs in Asia. If we don't pass this agreement and write those rules, competitors will set weak rules of the road, threatening American jobs and workers while undermining U.S. leadership in Asia.
## Export Processing Zones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Land Size (hectares)</th>
<th>Total Export Trade Volume (US$)</th>
<th>Number of Companies</th>
<th>Notable Companies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chittagong Export Processing Zone</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>2,095,121,000 (2012/13)</td>
<td>Over 500 industrial plots</td>
<td>Nike, Reebok, H&amp;M, Walmart, Tommy Hilfiger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras Export Processing Zone</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>408,000,000 (2006/07)</td>
<td>Over 200 companies, 110 SME units</td>
<td>HTC Global, Cognizant Technology Solutions, Computer Sciences Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanjung Emas Export Processing Zone</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12,000 employees</td>
<td>Sumitomo Corporation, Kubota, Essilor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Klang Free Zone</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>700 companies expected by 2016</td>
<td>Aker Solutions, Cargill, Baker Hughes, CWT, London Metal Exchange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thilawa Special Economic Zone</td>
<td>Myanmar</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>*SEZ to finish construction in 2015</td>
<td></td>
<td>Investments from Mitsubishi corporation, Marubeni corporation, Sumitomo Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bataan Export Processing Zone</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Over 50 manufacturing &quot;locators&quot;</td>
<td>FCF Manufacturing (Coach, Inc.), Ford Body Stamping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batam Free Trade Zone</td>
<td>Singapore - Indonesia</td>
<td>71,500</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Over 1,000 companies</td>
<td>Panasonic, Casio, Sumitomo Corporation, Japan Servo, Epson, Nippon Steel, Halliburton, Philips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Regional Industrial Estate</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16 industrial enterprises</td>
<td>Michelin Siam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tan Thuan Export Processing Zone</td>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>2,800,000,000 (2011)</td>
<td>150 companies</td>
<td>FPT Telecom, Pepperl + Fuchs Vietnam, Innovative Technology Development Corporation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Export Processing Zones

- 80-90% of employees estimated women (particularly young), particularly in the lowest paid work.
- Tax holidays or permanently exempt
- Labour laws often reduced or not applicable
- Unions prohibited
- Favour export over domestic production
- Separate workers from community
- Trade mispricing used to justify zones
Opportunities

- Asia Pacific Tax Body
- Rising People’s Movements against Trade Agreements
- Trade and Corporate Power Working Groups (RCEM, WMG and WITCH)
- UNCTAD
- GLOBAL STRIKE!!