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CULTURAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT

THE NORTHERN NGAI TE RANGI
HAPU OF
TE REREA TUKAHIA,
TUAPIRO,
OTAWHIWHI

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TIMATANGA KORERO: INTRODUCTION

KARAKIA

TUKUA TE WAIRUA KIA RERE KI NGA TAUMATA	<i>ALLOW ONE'S SPIRIT TO EXERCISE ITS</i>
HAI ARAHI I A TATOU MAHI	<i>POTENTIAL</i>
ME TA TATOU WHAI I NGA TIKANGA A RATOU	<i>TO GUIDE US IN OUR WORK AS WELL AS IN</i>
MA	<i>OUR PURSUIT OF OUR ANCESTRAL TRADITIONS</i>
KIA MAU KIA ITA	<i>TAKE HOLD AND PRESERVE IT</i>
KIA KORE AI E NGARO	<i>ENSURE IT IS NEVER LOST</i>
KIA PUPURI	<i>HOLD FAST.</i>
KIA WHAKAMAUA	<i>SECURE IT.</i>
KIA TINA! TINA! HUI E! TAIKI E!	<i>DRAW TOGETHER! AFFIRM!</i>

WHAKATAUKI: PROVERB

"Haere Ki Katikati Ki Te Kowha Pipi"

"Go to Katikati and shell the pipi"

A statement that indicates the abundance of kaimoana, the manaakitanga and the mana whenua of the Hapu of the Northern Ngai Te Rangi area, it also indicates that warfare would result if resources were taken without permission.

The Cosmological Origins of Our Maori View of the World

WHY START WITH COSMOLOGY?

Some readers of explanations of 'things Maori' often find a range of values and concepts that are not fully understood, let alone accepted by the sensibilities of a Eurocentric mind-set. Maori move forward into the future secure in the knowledge that the ancient values and concepts of our ancestors remain valid, are timeless, and can continue to support and nurture the wellbeing of generations to come.

The essence of Maori culture has ancient beginnings that are continually referenced in contemporary daily life. Pre European contact, Maori were in control of all things concerning the view of the world they occupied. Today the culture of Maori is continuing to be impacted by the effects of European colonization of this land, and unfortunately we are continuously required to provide explanation and justification as to why our cultural values should be considered valid.

The following is a necessarily abbreviated journey through our values to assist readers to understand Maori opposition to dumping sewage into the ocean. Namely the Katikati wastewater treatment system with effluent outflow piped across Matakana Island to the open ocean.

To help readers understand we will start at the beginning...

IO – THE SUPREME GOD OF MAORI

Io was the supreme god of Maori, the creator of all things in the universe. He had many names, including;

Io nui, greater than the other gods

Io matua, the parent

Io matua te kore, the parentless one, and also

Io matangaro, Io of the hidden face, his face hidden by a veil of secrecy.

There are many names for the Supreme Being, all valid depending on perspective and context. Io is the beginning of understanding Maori culture. From Io came movement to The Void, to The Darkness, to The Light. This is the beginning of some commonly heard concepts such as **Mauri**, (the Life Force that started movement and flow into the future), and **Whakapapa** (generational layers of events over time). It is often truncated and thought of today as human genealogy only, it is more akin to the evolution of all things.

It is easy to understand these concepts in time context as they do parallel western theology's creation as well as western science's 'Big Bang' creation narratives.

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RANGINUI AND PAPATUANUKU – SKY-FATHER AND EARTH MOTHER

The next step in creation after the universe, is creation of the world we live in. Our world's 'father' Ranginui is the sky above us, our world's 'mother' Papatuanuku is the planet we cling to. Rangi and Papa, locked in an eternal embrace produced 70 children or Atua.

WHAT ARE ATUA?

There are many atua, and they occupy many levels. The most important are the departmental atua representing divisions of phenomena observable in the natural world of Maori. The atua are personifications of these phenomena, they are deified, and they are all male.

At this stage in the creation narrative, the earth is still in its formative stages.

KEY EVENTS IN THE MAORI CREATION NARRATIVE

The Separation of Rangi and Papa [Sky Father and Earth Mother]

The children of Rangi and Papa were born within their close embrace, and for aeons writhed around in the darkness and cramped oppressiveness. These Atua were not happy with their imprisonment between their parents and tried fruitlessly to separate them, until Tane succeeded by placing his shoulders on mother earth and lifting the sky father with his feet. This let in the light and gave space for the Atua to develop their attributes and potentials (**mana** and **tapu**) for their natural domains

Tawhirimatea however was not happy with the separation and fled to the side of Rangi.

Tu Matauenga who initially wanted to slay his parents, was the atua that cut the bonds between Sky and Earth and the blood that spilled into the earth is now Red Ochre.

The Division of the Atua (deities personified)

All of nature's attributes as viewed by Maori required an Atua so the natural phenomenon as observed by Maori were divided into realms and a deity personifying those particular attributes was assigned. These (listed below) are the most important seven of the seventy directly descended from Rangi and Papa. There are many more that have specific roles and connections with various waka, iwi, hapu and whanau. It is not difficult to see that there are a myriad of viewpoints relative to Maori perceptions depending on one's connection to various atua. Notwithstanding that, there are some fundamental values and concepts common to all Maori perceptions. Specifically, **mauri, mana, tapu/noa, kaitiakitanga and whakapapa**. These will be explained further below, along with their significance with this cultural assessment.

Tumatauenga:	Atua of war and man
Tawhirimatea:	Atua of the elements (storms, rain, wind etc.)
Haumiatiketike:	Atua of the fern root and uncultivated or natural foods
Rongo-ma-Tane:	Atua of the kumara and cultivated foods, peace and balance

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Ruaumoko:	Atua of Volcanoes, Earthquakes, Earth movements, and the unborn child
Tangaroa:	Atua of the sea and its creatures
Tane Mahuta:	Atua of man and forests, and all which inhabits the forests.

THE SEARCH FOR IRA TANGATA AND THE CREATION OF THE FIRST HUMAN

The life principal (today, genes are an accurate analogue) of mankind (Ira Tangata) was a subject of thought and discussion and much debate for the male children of Ranginui. How could they make a human as distinct from Ira Atua, or Supernatural beings?

As all of the Atua were male beings it was decided that they would search for the female element. This was without success, nevertheless many experimental mating conducted by Tane produced many products of the forest realm... from trees and bracken fern, to birds and lizards.

Eventually it was decided by the Atua that the female element would have to be created. Tane fashioned an earth formed maid from the red earth from Kurawaka. The task of giving life to this inanimate form was given to Tane... he breathed into its nostrils. The object drew a breath, sneezed, and came to life. The first female; Hineahuone was created.

Tane mated with Hineahuone and begat Hinetitama who also became Tane's wife... on discovering this incestuous relationship Hinetitama fled to Rarohenga and became the guardian of the underworld, known a Hine-nui-te-po.

This stage in the Maori Creation Narrative arrives at a familiar western theological viewpoint with respect to the creation of the first human.

- In the context of time the Maori creation narrative is similar to Christian theological narratives.
- In the context of **Whakapapa** Humans are the product of the cosmos, the stars and the earth over aeons of time.
- In the context of current western science, humans are composed of the elements of the cosmos, the stars and the earth over aeons of time.

Maori cultural norms hold that humans ultimately have a whakapapa that connects them through their tupuna, to atua, to Papatuanuku and Ranginui.

Put in its simplest terms Maori have a genealogical connection to the earth. With this connection comes a duty of care and guardianship... **Kaitiakitanga**.

MANA ATUA

Mana has its origin in the attributes of the atua. These attributes are both physical and metaphysical.

Mana is often reduced to single word meanings such as power, prestige, or authority. This is only a part of the truth of its meaning, as the single words do not carry context and holistic coverage. As the Ocean is the

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subject of this document, it is appropriate to look at Mana from the perspective of Tangaroa, Atua of the Oceans and Seas and all within.

Increasingly science is looking at the earth as a system, greater understanding is coming from the observation and study of the physical, chemical, and biological interaction between the atmosphere, oceans, land, ice, and the earth's interior. For example behaviour of the oceans cannot be fully understood until the influences of the coupling of the other system components are understood.

This greater more meaningful understanding is coming from observations from a very wide look (satellite sensing and imagery).

Maori Culture has always observed nature in this way, holistically. All things on earth are related, Tangaroa (Oceans) is the brother of Tawhirimatea, (the winds and elements of the atmosphere), and Ruaumoko, (volcanoes and earthquakes) is the youngest (unborn brother) still residing in the interior of Papatuanuku (Earth Mother). As brothers there are connections. Papatuanuku is a system, each of the atua is a system. And every one of those systems has a multitude of systems, and they are all related, as revealed in their whakapapa.

However, more than current and emerging scientific thinking, Maori view these 'Earth Systems' as living... they have a Mauri, and Mauri must be nurtured protected and nourished. They also possess Wairua (Spirit).

So when a Maori observes the ocean it is never simply a thing of convenience for waste disposal.

It is a living thing with many attributes, to which we have a deep and ancient connection. It is the Mana of the ocean that we see.

Here is a short list of the oceans attributes to help illustrate the concept of Mana:

Just a very tiny amount of the physical and tangible attributes:

There are fish of thousands of species, animals from seals, to whales to penguins, dolphins, crayfish and shrimps, plankton, turtles, algae, seaweed, food webs, and a multitude of various ecosystems and food webs, abundance of living things, ocean currents and upwelling of nutrients, jellyfish and seahorses, wave action and ocean travel... This list completed is really very large.

Some of the metaphysical and intangible attributes:

Awe, beauty, danger, fear, fun, greatness, vastness, exhilaration, adventure, loneliness, desperation, contemplation, wellbeing, safety, spirit, pathway, navigation, enablement, joy, frustration, life ... and more.

The oceans contain all of the attributes listed and inferred above, Maori see these Physical and Spiritual (metaphysical) attributes, as the **Mana** of Tangaroa.

It is then easy to see the origins of all Mana, it starts with any of the many Atua... for man it starts with Tane and/or Tumatauenga, depending on the perspectives and traditions of particular iwi hapu and whanau.

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Maori also see a duty of care to protect those parts in their sphere of control and influence. This duty is **Kaitiakitanga**.

TAPU: WHAT IS IT?

Tapu, like Mana is also an often misunderstood concept, they are however directly related concepts, and one affects the other. In practice these concepts can be very complex with variation across the many iwi, hapu, and whanau. However the fundamentals are common to all.

Tapu firstly is a metaphysical or intellectual and spiritual concept, often described in a single word; 'sacred' and for some, belonging to the supernatural. Once again it is more than that and is very wide ranging and holistic.

Conceptually, **Tapu** is the time and space **set aside** for the **Mana** of the Atua to flow into the future. For example, all of the attributes (illustrated above) of Tangaroa both physical and metaphysical (spiritual) need to flourish and regenerate.

Mauri (that quintessential spark of life) is the enabler of regeneration. **Whakapapa** therefore is the record of anything generated or regenerated through time.

As Tapu is the space into the future for the Mana of the Atua to flow into and occupy it is quite simple to understand that; perspective only, makes the differentiation, they ultimately are the same thing. Mana inexorably will arrive in the space of Tapu, and Tapu is always that latent energised expectation of the potential of Mana.

Instantly one can see that Tapu is a concept that is readily termed sacred, it is also a concept that has inherent power and control over life, people and their actions, and it is a concept to be controlled and shaped by only a few select people... in Maoridom they are always in three classes of chieftainship; Tohunga, Ariki, and Rangatira.

An example of the control and shaping of Tapu is the Rahui, a ritualised imposition of restrictions, often put in place for conservation of environmental and culturally significant resources, such as the protection of fishing rounds, or the protection of shellfish beds.

Tapu is often restrictive in nature and is deliberately so for the stewardship of the benefits resulting from Mana Atua.

These concepts are very culturally significant to Maori, in the past no daily activity was too far from the enhancement of Mana and Tapu. Today Maori still operate within these confines, albeit to a lesser extent.

They are as valid as some of the Christian commandments, 'though shalt not... with the punishment for transgression delivered in hell's afterlife for eternity'. For Maori, the punishment for transgression was delivered in this life, if not immediately.

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Noa, is the converse of **Tapu**, it is the profane, ordinary, relaxed, unrestricted, not special, and not set aside space of everyday existence. People and objects can often fluctuate through states of Tapu and Noa, sometimes for natural events, sometimes for political advantage.

The following is an extract (for information) from the on-line Maori Dictionary explaining Mana and Tapu, this is referenced to the Mana of a person and of course reflecting the Mana of the appropriate Atua.

Prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma - mana is a supernatural force in a person, place or object. Mana goes hand in hand with tapu, one affecting the other. The more prestigious the event, person or object, the more it is surrounded by tapu and mana. Mana is the enduring, indestructible power of the atua and is inherited at birth, the more senior the descent, the greater the mana. The authority of mana and tapu is inherited and delegated through the senior line from the atua as their human agent to act on revealed will. Since authority is a spiritual gift delegated by the atua, man remains the agent, never the source of mana. This divine choice is confirmed by the elders, initiated by the tohunga under traditional consecratory rites (tohi). Mana gives a person the authority to lead, organise and regulate communal expeditions and activities, to make decisions regarding social and political matters. A person or tribe's mana can increase from successful ventures or decrease through the lack of success. The tribe give mana to their chief and empower him/her and in turn the mana of an ariki or rangatira spreads to his/her people and their land, water and resources. Almost every activity has a link with the maintenance and enhancement of mana and tapu. Animate and inanimate objects can also have mana as they also derive from the atua and because of their own association with people imbued with mana or because they are used in significant events. There is also an element of stewardship, or kaitiakitanga, associated with the term when it is used in relation to resources, including land and water.

HOW IS THIS COSMOLOGICAL ACCOUNT RELEVANT?

The Maori world view will always need to be expressed in terms of Maori values, most of them are of course universal value sets, but how they are expressed and how they are linked into holistic formats is uniquely Maori.

When that is understood our expressions of what we consider the correct ways (**tikanga**) to engage with nature is more easily understood too. Our view of the world (**Te Ao Maori**) and its natural order is not wrong, it is based on thousands of years of accumulated intergenerational observation and knowledge. It does differ in many ways to the Eurocentric view in force today, our view is holistic, and it is increasingly being accepted as a more valid approach in western earth science as a system of systems.

COSMOLOGY - MAATAI TUARANGI

As this document is a "Cultural Impact Assessment" on the continuation of dumping sewage into the Ocean, it is necessary to explain the impact in terms of our cultural view. The impact is explained next, and will be expressed in our values explained above.

THE MAORI VIEW ON POLLUTION

Pollution from a Maori Cultural Perspective

The view of the local Maori is that sewage should not be dumped into the ocean. Sewage does not belong in that environment as a matter of convenience. It is damaging.

- It is harmful to the course of nature
- It is harmful to natural resources
- It is harmful to people
- It is offensive to our culture

What are the negative effects of dumping sewage in the ocean?

- It affects Mauri, life forces are put out of balance
- It affects Mana, the attributes of the ocean are abused
- It affects Tapu, that space that is set aside and reserved for the ocean to flourish is reduced
- It affects kaitiakitanga, the ocean is not nurtured appropriately

The result is a detrimental effect on Maori wellbeing:

- The first and immediately obvious detrimental effect is environmental
- Secondly, traditional harvesting of ocean resources is affected, the abundance of only a few decades ago is depleted, thus negatively modifying Maori social practices and economic capability.
- Finally, cultural practices become limited, ignored, trampled and destroyed over time.

An example:

The mana of oceanside dwelling hapu is inextricably linked to its resource (economic) base, the ocean. Society gatherings such as funerals (tangihanga), were catered for by the resources immediately at hand from the ocean. Abundant and diverse seafood (kai moana) were always presented to visitors (manuhiri), and the hapu became renowned for their hospitality (manaakitanga).

As the resource fades due to pollution (of which sewage is but one concern), the rich culture supporting the resource also fades. Guardianship (kaitiakitanga) of cultural practices and the environment becomes increasingly difficult. Typically, if a resource was depleted, a tapu extension (rahui) would be put in place to ensure a recovery. These controls were exercised by Maori leadership, ultimately for the benefit for all.

Continuous piping of sewage into the ocean has a broad ranging effect, it is not only injurious to the ocean, but destructive of cultural heritage, and those unique cultural practices of protection and control have been removed from Maori. Our views have been disregarded, our significant ability of guardianship of natural things bypassed, and our view of nurturing the future found to be inconvenient.

This need not be so, there are alternatives.

THE ENVIRONMENT COURT ORDER DIRECTING COUNCIL TO FIND AN ALTERNATIVE

The History of Council Sewage Disposal

- Prior to the 1960's Katikati properties dealt with sewage by individual septic tanks.
- In 1965 the Tauranga County Council planned for the reticulation of Katikati. 1965 also saw the granting of a permit to the Katikati Cooperative Dairy Company to discharge waste from its factory to the Tauranga Harbour, resulting in significant adverse impacts on the Harbour.
- Sewage reticulation and treatment plants were completed in late 1968.
- In 1972 the Council applied to build oxidation ponds and an outfall to the harbour, but that did not proceed.
- The Dairy Company constructed the existing pipeline across the Harbour and Matakana Island and out to the ocean in 1979. Effluent from the Dairy Company flowed into the ocean off Matakana Island, until 1982 when the dairy factory was closed.
- In 1984 the ocean outfall was purchased from the Dairy Company, with full ownership transferring to the Council in 1986.
- Affected Maori were not involved or properly partnered with, in the planning and consenting of the pipeline, the development of sewage treatment options, or the monitoring associated with the discharge. All affected Maori (not only the hapu of Matakana and Rangiwaea but also the hapu centred at Otawhiwhi, Tuapiro and Te Rereatukahia) have always opposed the dumping of effluent/sewage into the ocean and harbour.
- The Bay of Plenty Regional Council granted the extant consent for the discharge of sewage (No 24895) in August 1999.
- At the time of the consent application there was considerable opposition to the discharge of sewage into an ocean outflow (from Maori and the wider community) resulting in an Environment Court Order placing conditions on the resource consent.

THE ENVIRONMENT COURT ORDER DIRECTING COUNCIL TO FIND AN ALTERNATIVE

The Environment Court Direction to Seek an Alternative

The Environment Court ordered a condition to be placed in the Resource Consent (Condition 12). It required the Consent holder (Western Bay of Plenty District Council), to investigate alternatives to the discharge of sewage into the ocean "with a view to ceasing discharge from the outfall at the expiry of the consent (30 November 2016) or such earlier time as determined by the Consent holder..

That is a quite succinct order by the environment court. The WBOPDC has effectively ignored the Environment Court, and is currently seeking to do more of the same with the 2016 resource consent application. In our discussions with WBOPDC officials and their consultants, they seem to think another 20 years of consent is appropriate.

We find that the WBOPDC approach as unacceptable insolence of office.

The negative impact on Maori cultural values continue. Our views are continuing to be ignored.

An alternative to sewage discharge into the ocean is still urgently required.

A resource consent renewal will logically be inevitable (as an alternative has not yet been selected and initiated).

We would prefer a **term of five years maximum**. It results in of course, a requirement to go through the consent renewal process again, but it brings into focus the requirement to properly engage with Maori in partnership, and the requirement to seek an alternative to piping sewage into the ocean.

THE EFFECTS ON MAORI OF COUNCIL SEWAGE DISPOSAL INTO THE OCEAN

The Impact on Us

Dumping sewage into the ocean (and all other waterways) is abhorrent to Maori. It negatively affects the Mauri, Mana, Tapu, Ihi (excitement, power, charm, magnetism) and Wehi (awe, fear, dread) of the ocean. It also negatively affects our duty of care as kaitiaki and our cultural practices are eroded and damaged as a result.

PRINCIPLES OF THE TREATY OF WAITANGI

Take Into Account Principles of:	Are these principles impacted by the proposed application, and if so, how?
The obligation to act reasonably, in utmost good faith and in a manner that is consistent with partnership.	The obligation to act reasonably in utmost good faith has not been evident during the 20 year duration of the last resource consent. The environment court decision was ignored. Maori were ignored.
The requirement for all decisions to be made from an informed basis	All decisions for the past 20 years have been made without substantive Maori participation. Ergo the council cannot have made fully informed decisions.
The obligation to actively protect Maori interests.	Dumping sewage into the ocean actively defies Maori cultural interests.
The obligation on the Crown to not unduly impede or diminish its capacity to provide redress where a valid Treaty grievance is established.	If the Environment Court represents the Crown, then the decision to order an alternative by 2016 or earlier, is a good decision. The WBOPDC has not fulfilled this obligation, especially as it is a statute and legislation driven entity.

THE EFFECTS ON MAORI OF COUNCIL SEWAGE DISPOSAL INTO THE OCEAN

The following chart highlights the **significant negative effects** of sewage dumped in the ocean. The impacts are charted as 'Well Beings vs. Effects.

Effects		Temporary	Permanent	Past	Present	Future	Cumulative	Acute	Chronic
Well Beings									
Environmental	The productivity and life-sustaining quantity and quality of:								
	• Mahinga mataitai/hi ika	MM	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
	• Nga taonga koiora, (life)	MM	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
	• Nga taonga tuku iho, (heritage)	MM	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
	• Te whenua	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
	• Te moana	MM	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
	• Te hau	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
	• Habitats and ecosystems	MM	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
• Other natural values	M	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	
Cultural	The potential adverse or beneficial effect on the kaitiakitanga role of Maori, including the protection and enhancement of mauri, mana and tapu of:								
	• Te tangata whenua,	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
	• Nga taonga koiora,	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
	• Nga taonga tuku iho,	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
	• Te whenua	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
	• Te moana	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
	• Te hau	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
	• Tikanga	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
• Matauranga Maori	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	
Social	The protection and enhancement of:								
	• Taha wairua,	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
	• Taha whanaunga,	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
	• Taha hinengaro,	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
• Taha tinana	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	
Economic	• The ongoing capacity and capability of Maori to develop economically,	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM
	• The ongoing participation of Maori in the generation of economic benefit, and the burden of economic cost	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM
Key	Effects are scored as minor (M), moderate (MM), or significant (S) Note: all effects are adverse								

THE EFFECTS ON MAORI OF COUNCIL SEWAGE DISPOSAL INTO THE OCEAN

Can the Effects on Us be Avoided, Remedied, or Mitigated?

Yes, it is possible to avoid the effects of dumping sewage in the ocean... do something different.

Yes, there are a range of land based options to be investigated to remedy the effects of dumping sewage in the ocean.

It is not possible to mitigate the effects of the cultural impact whilst continuing to dump sewage in the ocean. All of the effects are negative and continuous.

- It is appropriate to encompass Maori as guardians and stewards (**kaitiaki**) of resources. Maori express an integrated and holistic view of the environment, and recognise the relationship between all things.
- Maori hold a large body of knowledge (**Matauranga Maori**) based on multi-generational observation and customary practice, and an inherited duty as kaitiaki to nurture the present and future environments.
- Maori seek assurance that waste is disposed of appropriately in balance with long held values without damaging the environment that sustains us all.
- Maori seek to maintain (at the least) and recover, food gathering areas (mahinga kai), the resources need to be large enough, and healthy enough, with vitality and balance. Maori have traditionally harvested a wide range of species and contamination of just a single species has detrimental effects within the wider food webs in the ecosystem.
- Maori will inevitably drive improvements in sewage treatment and disposal to the benefit of all.

THE EFFECTS ON MAORI OF COUNCIL SEWAGE DISPOSAL INTO THE OCEAN

Our Recommendations

- Limit the resource consent to five years, and if required, to explain to the Regional Council, kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) why, prior to granting any resource consent.
- Engage Maori in partnership, to decide on an appropriate alternative to dumping sewage in the ocean
 - Specifically to include representatives of the hapu of the Tangata Whenua of the Northern Reaches of the Tauranga Moana Harbour (centred on Te Rereatukahia, Tuapiro and Otawhiwhi)
- Engage with Maori in partnership for ongoing monitoring of performance of any sewage disposal
 - Specifically to include representatives of the Tangata Whenua of the Northern Reaches of the Tauranga Moana Harbour (centred on Te Rereatukahia, Tuapiro and Otawhiwhi)

NB. Engagement in this context means meaningful collaboration, communication, building and maintaining positive relationships and participation in Council decision-making.