BEFORE THE COMMISSIONERS ON BEHALF OF THE OTAGO REGIONAL COUNCIL

IN THE MATTER	of the Resource
	Management Act
	1991
AND	
IN THE MATTER	Proposed Otago
	Regional Policy

Statement 2021

STATEMENT OF EVIDENCE OF DAVID HIGGINS ON BEHALF OF TE RŪNANGA O MOERAKI KĀTI HUIRAPA RŪNAKA KI PUKETERAKI TE RŪNANGA O ŌTĀKOU HOKONUI RŪNANGA 23 November 2022

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INTRODUCTION

WHAKAPAPA

Na Te Pō, ko Te Ao Na Te Ao, ko Te Ao Mārama Na Te Ao Mārama, ko Te Ao Tūroa Na Te Ao Tūroa, ko Te Kore Tē Whiwhia Na Te Kore Tē Whiwhia, ko Te Kore Tē Rawea Na Te Kore Tē Rawea, ko Te Kore Te Taumaua Na Te Kore Te Taumaua, ko Te Kore Matua Na Te Kore Matua, ko Te Mākū Na Te Mākū, ka noho ia Mahoranuiātea

From eternity came the Universe From the Universe, the bright clear light From the bright clear light, the enduring light From the enduring light, the void unattainable From the void unattainable, the void intangible From the void intangible, the void unstable From the void unstable, the void endowed with paternity From the void of paternity, came moisture From moisture, came limitless thought

Ka puta ki waho ko Raki Nā Raki, ka noho ia Pokoharuatepō Ko Aoraki, ko Rakamaomao, Ko Tawhirimatea Ko Tū Te Rakiwhānoa Ui rā ki Te Mahaanui ā Maui Ko Te Ao Takata! Tihei mauri ora!

Then came the visible heavens The visible heavens combined with the great abyss to produce the numberless sorceries and the ultimate calamity!!! Thence to Aoraki and the winds and weather To the creator of the land And the canoe of Maui And finally, to people! I cough the breath of life!

To the cloak that covers the mountains of Mt Ko te kākahu ō te Mauka o Tititea me Pikirakatahi Aspiring and Mt Earnslaw. Ki te whānau Ka Tiritiri o Te Moana To the family of the Southern Alps Mai i te Mauka Ari me Haehaeata Over to Mt Alfred and Leaning Rock ki te Awa Whakatipu To the Dart River ki te Roto ō Whakatipu Wai Māori And onto the lake Whakatipu Wai Māori Then to the mountains of Cecil and Walter Mai i te mauka Kamu me Hākitekura Tū mai te kaika ō Tāhuna Huri noa ki te Awa tapu o Kawarau, To the settlement of Queenstown ki Mata-au And down to the Kawarau and Clutha Rivers Ko kā wai tapu o Wānaka me Hāwea

Peaks

Huri ki te Kaika ō Takekarara,	And onto the sacred lakes of Wānaka and
Manuhaea me Turihuka	Hāwea
Te Papa i waihotia mai e ka tūpuna	And up to the settlements at the Lakes
e whakanohia nei e te Iwi te tinana o	The land left to us by our ancestors ascended
Papatūānuku	here by the people in the body of
	Papatūānuku
Tihei mauri ora!	I cough the breath of life!

мініміні

Ko Kāti Huirapa,

Ko Kāti Wairaki, Ko Kāti Kuri,

Ko Kāi Tuhaitara,

Ko Te Aotaumarewa,

Ko Te Rapuwai, Ko Waitaha, Ko Kāti	These are my tribal affiliations
Mamoe me Kāi Tahu ōku iwi	

These are some of my sub tribal affiliations

Ko Kāti Hāteatea,	
Ko Kāi Te Rakitāmau,	
Ko Kāi Te Rakiamoa,	
me Kāi Tahumata ōku hapū	
Ko Moeraki, ko Awarua, ko Manuhaea āku tūrakakawaewae	These are my most important places
He mokopuna ahau nā kā tōhuka rakatira o tēnei rohe a Te Mamaru rāua ko Te Rehe.	I descend from these important chiefs
Ko Rawiri Higgins ahau	David Higgins is my name
Tēnei te mihi maioha ki a koutou	Warm greetings to you all

QUALIFICATIONS AND EXPERIENCE

- 1. My name is David Higgins. I grew up on the Pā at Moeraki, on the North Otago coast, where my whānau have lived for generations. The whakapapa included at the beginning of this evidence are the words of my great great great grandfather, Rawiri Te Mamaru of Moeraki, who was the rakatira there in the mid-1800s, following the death of the famous Kāi Tahu leader, Matiaha Tiramorehu. My tūpuna are of Te Rapuwai, Waitaha, Kāti Mamoe and Kāi Tahu descent, with hapū affiliations that extend across all of Te Waipounamu (the South Island).
- I give my evidence on behalf of Te Rūnanga o Moeraki, Kāti Huirapa Rūnaka ki Puketeraki, Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou and Hokonui Rūnanga (collectively mana whenua).
- 3. I am the Upoko of Te Rūnanga o Moeraki. I inherited the position of Upoko in the 1980s upon the death of my Poua, Rawiri Mamaru Renata, and have maintained the position ever since. Traditionally, the Upoko were the rakatira and tohuka of our people. The role of Upoko is generally a lifetime position. I am also a past board member of the former Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board and gave evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal as part of the Kāi Tahu Claim (Wai 27) in the 1980s.
- 4. In preparing my evidence I have reviewed:
 - a) The Ngāi Tahu Report 1991, Waitangi Tribunal WAI 27
 - b) The Ngāi Tahu Sea Fisheries Report 1992

SCOPE OF EVIDENCE

- 5. My evidence explains the relationship that my whānau has with lands, coasts, and waters within our takiwā.
- 6. My evidence addresses the following matters:
 - The roles and responsibilities of mana whenua and mana moana kaitiaki, including the protection of mauri.
 - Our relationship with the moana, and importance of Te Kereme and the fisheries settlement.
 - My personal experiences with mahika kai, and the degradation of mahika kai that I have experienced in my lifetime.
 - Our Kāi Tahu relationships with wāhi tūpuna, and why we must protect these places from destruction.

ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF MANA WHENUA AS KAITIAKI

- 7. According to Kāi Tahu tradition, the very first people to arrive in the South Island were the Waitaha. They arrived in the South Island on a great canoe called Uruao, captained by Rākaihautū, the son-in-law of the chief Matiti. At every island that he made landfall, Rākaihautū discovered inhabitants until he reached Te Waipounamu.
- 8. Tradition tells us that Rākaihautū dug the lakes of Te Waipounamu with his kō (digging stick), Tuwhakarōria. The proverb associated with Rākaihautū is "Ko Rākaihautū te takata, nāna i timata te ahi ki tenei motu." *it was Rākaihautū who lit the first fires on this island.* The Waitaha were real people and not mythical even though their deeds often live in the realm of mythology. The genealogies of the Waitaha people can be traced from Rākaihautu through to the living descendants who are the modern day Kāi Tahu.
- 9. As my whakapapa shows, I am descended from these people. As such, I hold the rights and responsibilities of mana whenua. Kāi Tahu whānui as mana whenua are kaitiaki for the Otago region and have an obligation handed down from our tūpuna to ensure that our values and the healthy resources that support them are passed on to future generations. Kaitiakitaka is fundamental to our relationship with the environment.
- 10. As kaitiaki, we are aiming for optimum habitat for our mahika kai and taoka species rather than a habitat that supports mere survival. It is very distressing to think that our mahika kai and taoka species are struggling, and in some cases failing, to survive in our current environmental conditions. There is a real sense of loss when we go to places and have to show our tamariki and mokopuna that despite our kaitiaki role, this is what has happened to our culturally significant spaces and taoka.
- 11. Kāi Tahu think of resource management in a holistic way. This concept is called 'ki uta ki tai', which recognises that rivers flow from their source in the mountains to the sea, and that things are connected. For Kāi Tahu, the entire catchment is greater than the sum of its parts. Land, surface water, groundwater, and coastal marine environments need to be considered within an integrated management framework. With this in mind, Kāi Tahu expect to see environmental management approaches that prioritise the mauri of the entire catchment not just individual sections or resources.

PROTECTING MAURI

- 12. We often focus on protecting the mauri of a place or resource. Mauri represents the essence that binds the physical and spiritual elements of all things together, generating and upholding all life. All elements of the natural environment possess a life force, and all forms of life are related. Mauri is a critical element of the spiritual relationship of Kāi Tahu with the taiao. When mauri becomes depleted, tapu is exposed. When the mauri is strong, everything else is strong.
- 13. The loss of values and degradation of the mauri of whenua and water is deeply upsetting. Continued environmental degradation dramatically affects the ability of Kāi Tahu whānau to uphold our traditional responsibilities as kaitiaki, a responsibility handed down from our tūpuna.
- 14. We cannot have a meaningful relationship and association with a river that is not flowing, or water or land that is unhealthy. Maintaining and restoring this relationship is important to us as kaitiaki. A healthy mauri allows people to continue the traditions and histories within the landscape.
- 15. In some areas, we are seeing rivers dry up. The drying reaches of rivers have a significant impact on our associations and values. We are concerned that some rivers cannot flow to their regular confluences with other waterbodies, as this impacts the mauri of both waterbodies. If a river dries up, it severs the flow of wai māori ki uta ki tai. It is especially frustrating when this is a situation exacerbated by abstraction. The mauri of the river is being intentionally controlled and damaged.
- 16. I provided evidence for the hearing on the Lindis River minimum flow where I emphasised the importance of maintaining a continuity of flow to the confluence with the Mata-au. There is often no water at the confluence of the Lindis River and the Mata-au over summer due to losses to groundwater and over-abstraction.

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE COASTAL AND MARINE ENVIRONMENT

- 17. The sea is my first love. As a child I had a real interest in going fishing with my Poua. That's where I learnt my seamanship skills over many years, and it kept my brother and I in fine form as we developed our own fishing company. Through my association with the moana in and around Moeraki, I have an extensive knowledge of our fishery and the way our people interact with it.
- 18. To understand the patterns and kinds of fishing practices which have developed within our iwi, its essential to understand the habits of the fish themselves. The South Island fishery can be divided into three zones, in each of which the fish display

particular patterns of behaviours, and between which there are some differences of species. The close inshore zone runs from the edge of the sea out to the range of a rowing boat, about half a mile to one mile offshore. This was the Kāi Tahu traditional (pre-1850) fishery.

- 19. Shellfish, especially pāua and mussels, are found on rocks around the coast. The main reef species are moki, butterfish, trumpeter, ling, sea perch, and blue cod. Their normal habitat is reef; better described as rocky bottom, and they can be found at depth ranging between 1 and 100 fathoms. Traditionally, these fish could be found in the inshore zone at any time of the year if the right kind of rock bottom is present.
- 20. The continental shelf zone covers the area from very close inshore out to the edge of the continental shelf. The shelf varies in distance from the coastline. Until the advent of deep-sea fishing in the 1970's, this was the fishing ground used by Māori commercial fishermen.
- 21. The main pelagic species are red cod, barracouta, grouper, and blue cod. These all migrate between shelf zone and the inshore zone. They were traditionally found in the inshore zone from early December to the beginning of May; for the rest of the year, they were typically found in the continental shelf zone. When in the inshore zone, hāpuku go to particular places within the zone. On the other hand, when they are in the inshore zone, red cod and barracouta migrate constantly throughout the zone. The hāpuku come inshore in early summer and form large schools, almost as if they were having a family reunion. That done, they separate into groups and each group goes to its own special place almost as if particular places were reserved for particular families. Red cod and barracouta come inshore at the same time as hāpuku, but do not settle into territorial areas; rather, they wander all over the inshore fishery.
- 22. Our research strongly suggests that in the 1950s and 60s the Kāi Tahu fishery extended as far as 20-30 miles from the shore. This evidence comes from the Marks Books belonging to Kāi Tahu families with a long history of involvement in fishing. This distance was limited by the horizon. The problem with trying to fish over the horizon is that you cannot see the land any longer, and the land was the trick. It was the one thing that actually held us close to the coast because landmarks are needed for triangulation of marks for fishing grounds. The accuracy of some of the Mark Books was astonishing. They were so accurate that the best ones would enable a fisher to place their boat right on top of a patch which was only 30 feet across at a distance of up to 20 miles from shore.

- 23. The importance of mana whenua, mana moana, and the ability to fish in our own backyard was the basis of our Ngāi Tahu fisheries settlement. When I did the count up during the Fisheries claim proceedings, a huge majority of Southern fishers happened to be Kāi Tahu, and to this day, that has not changed.
- 24. As I said, a lot of our people are fishermen, and fisherwoman, and fishers of fish. Fisheries were so important to us, however when the Quota Management System was first introduced, it eroded the ability of our whānau to support themselves through fishing, using the skills and knowledge passed down to us from our tūpuna. It is important to remember that the Land Sales that occurred between Kāi Tahu and the Crown did not cover the coastal or marine parts of our takiwā. The moana was still our customary fishery that we were to control and sustain our families from as we had always done. When Pākehā settlers started moving into the area though, they began to fish these waters, and impose regulations on them that impinged on our customary rights under the Treaty of Waitangi.
- 25. This regulation eventually culminated in the Quota Management System (QMS), which in itself was a response to irresponsible fishing by those whose right to fish in our moana was already questionable. As we said in the Ngāi Tahu Fisheries Report, the formation of the QMS was "based on an assumed right of the Crown to dispose of Māori fisheries without Māori consent as if they were the property of the Crown". It locked many of our Kāi Tahu whānau fishing businesses out of the industry by imposing bureaucracy and costs on our whānau who had a birth right to fish in our moana.
- 26. As a result of the Waitangi Tribunal Claim that was lodged in response to the QMS, a range of redress mechanisms were offered, such as a quota allocation, and customary fishery management tools like mātaitai and taiāpure. These tools gave us back control over some of our fisheries, although we still find ourselves having to compromise on our preferred management practices to placate some corners of the wider community. The Tribunal decision also recognised and confirmed that Kāi Tahu have rakatirataka over our fisheries. This quota became extremely important to Kāi Tahu, and almost single-handedly kept the tribe afloat financially during our early years.

MAHIKA KAI

27. Kāi Tahu describe mahika kai as the gathering of foods and other resources, and management of the places where they are gathered. The concept of mahika kai also embodies the traditions, customs, and collection methods involved with harvesting and processing the resources. Over many generations, Kāi Tahu developed food gathering patterns based on the seasons and lifecycles of various birds, animals and plants. The coasts, rivers and lakes, and their associated reefs, valleys, and tributaries were a fundamental component of these systematic seasonal food gathering patterns.

- 28. Kāi Tahu used an ancient and complex series of trails throughout Te Waipounamu that connected settlements with one another, and settlements to resource gathering areas. Trails followed food resources so foods could be gathered and consumed to sustain people on their journeys. People never travelled inland and back to the coast by the same route, they would always travel back a different way so that there would be enough food to sustain the next party who would travel along the trails.
- 29. The ancient mahika kai and nohoaka sites that were established by our tūpuna of Te Rapuwai, Kāti Hawea, Waitaha and Kāti Mamoe on their journeys through the interior are located by significant food gathering areas such as lakes, lagoons, wetlands, streams, and coastal areas.
- 30. These nohoaka sites were used by Kāi Tahu families during their mahika kai travels, in which foods such as weka, tuna, wai kōura and all other birds were harvested. Resources such as supplejack were gathered to build fish traps, raupō was harvested to build mōkihi and taramea to make a form of perfume. Because of this, all nohoaka were also food-gathering sites.
- 31. My whānau lived on the coast at Moeraki and at the mouth of the Waitaki River. We still, however, made seasonal journeys inland to gather resources and mahika kai following ara tawhito along major rivers. Travel inland in pursuit of resources followed these ara tawhito alongside river and streams. The resources gathered inland could then be transported easily along rivers in mōkihi. These trails became the arteries of economic and social relationships for Kāi Tahu whānui and are now followed by most of today's main transportation routes.

THE DEGRADATION OF OUR MAHIKA KAI SITES

- 32. Mahika kai practices are central to traditional Kāi Tahu culture, as much of the environmental knowledge that was built up during the occupation of the region centres on food-gathering. Seasonal migrations to important food-gathering areas and areas of important resources (for example, greenstone) are an important aspect of Kāi Tahu culture and still survive through to modern times. However, much of the mahika kai activity that once occurred locally has ceased as traditional gathering areas and resources have been destroyed or altered.
- 33. My involvement with mahika kai began as a child, whilst accompanying my Poua and uncles on numerous gathering expeditions to the Waitaki river. These expeditions were usually to harvest tuna, wai koura and on many occasions, supplejack vine which grew prolifically in the bush covered valleys. Supplejack was traditionally used by my whanau from Moeraki to build crayfish pots.
- 34. As a boy, I was also taken out to the Kākaunui River with my Poua. I was first told where the best places to catch kanakana - or nainai - were found on the Kākaunui when I was about 10 years old, and I well remember my first experience of gathering these delicate lamprey with my cousins Kelly Davis, John Tipa, and Michael Te Maiharoa. As young boys, we apparently did not feel the cold, and we were expected to remain in the river until our elders were satisfied that they had enough nainai to take home.
- 35. In my opinion, the development of the dairying industry has changed these rivers forever. As the river flows have diminished through overuse and heavier water extraction levels, the water quality has suffered. This means that these rivers are no longer teeming with the mahika kai species that were there when I was a boy. For example, I am unsure as to whether the nainai still travel up the river today.
- 36. My whānau also used the Waihemo as a source for gathering kai. My Poua told me one day whilst sitting on the riverbank that when he first went baiting down at the river, there were only Māori on the river. Back then, Pākehā scorned them for eating what they considered to be 'rubbish' food from the river. Sometime later, the local County Council decided to place their sewage plant near the Waihemo at the Palmerston/Trotters Gorge bridge. This polluted the river, and since then we have been unable to practice mahika kai here in the ways we used to.
- 37. The knowledge of how and where to gather mahika kai resources is a gift passed down from our tūpuna. It is crucial to our cultural wellbeing that we are able to

continue these traditions and teach them to our children, and for them to be passed on down the generations. The Council has a role to play to make sure these kinds of losses do not continue into the future, and that Kāi Tahu whānau can continue to live our cultural practices without hindrance.

RELATIONSHIP WITH WĀHI TŪPUNA

- 38. The locations of ancient settlements deemed significant in Kāi Tahu traditions and stories are still used, and the place names and whakapapa that are entrenched in the landscape endure to this day. Many of the European landowners in these areas know the stories of our tūpuna, but while they refer to them as nursery rhymes and myths, those places and the importance of those traditions are how we link back and connect to that land. Kāi Tahu as the descendants of the first people of Te Waipounamu seek to preserve these historical and spiritual sites and areas of mahika kai mō tatou ā mō kā uri ā muri ake nei (for us and our children after us).
- 39. Kāi Tahu whānau keep our traditions alive by visiting the places of our old people and passing on the traditional practices and stories associated with those places. We often take our tamariki along the trails of our ancestors and tell them the stories of those places. Teaching these stories and placenames, keeping the traditions alive and passing them to our children is important to maintaining our sense of identity as Kāi Tahu, and instilling in our children who they are, where they come from, and what it means to be Kāi Tahu.
- 40. Although our main settlements are on the Coast, Kāi Tahu also have strong relationships throughout Otago into the Whakatipu basin. The Mata-au was a significant ara tawhito. The mouth of Mata-au was heavily populated with many permanent and temporary kāika located throughout the lower stretches of the river. Murikauhaka, a kāika near the mouth of the Mata-au, was at one stage home to an estimated two hundred people. The river itself was an important trail, providing direct access home from Lakes Wānaka, Hāwea and Whakātipu-wai-māori (Lake Wakatipu) to coastal Otago.
- 41. My involvement with the Whakatipu began as a child whilst accompanying my Poua and Taua on holiday to the family crib at Tāhuna (Queenstown) in the 1950s and 1960s. One of the reasons why we had a crib was because Whakatipu-wai-māori was a place where our tūpuna traditionally went for solace and peace.
- 42. Kāi Tahu whānui still go to Whakatipu-wai-māori for these reasons today. Many of our whānau travel into remote parts of the Whakatipu basin to connect and

experience what life might have been like for our tūpuna. Many travel there on specifically arranged hīkoi to learn about our whakapapa and associations with these areas, and some of our Kāi Tahu families today have even gone through a pilgrimage of sorts and endured the journey to Te Tai o Poutini through the Red Hills behind Queenstown to get to Haast.

PROTECTING WĀHI TŪPUNA

- 43. Over time, the Otago region has undergone significant change and modification. This has adversely affected our cultural values, beliefs, and uses in the taiao. Some catchments have been so modified that most of the Kāi Tahu values it once sustained have disappeared. Taking the younger generation on heke to learn about our culture and histories no longer produces the visual images that accompany the traditional stories and uses of the area, it is hard to imagine the stories of river taniwha when you are looking at a dry riverbed.
- 44. Development in places such as Whakatipu has made it difficult for us to fully express our traditional stories in a deep and meaningful way. As an example, we visit Moke Lake every now and then with our whānau, or with a few guests. We try explaining the story of the Lake and the importance of the valley but when we look back to Whakatipu-wai-māori, the many holiday homes that have popped up on the hillside end up detracting from the experience and overshadowing the traditions that once covered the landscape.
- 45. The knowledge of wāhi tūpuna, including our wāhi tapu, nohoaka sites, ara tawhito and the wāhi mahika kai are a taoka that we still hold dear today, and which we hope to pass on to our tamariki and mokopuna. It is imperative that the values of these places are recognised to ensure that decision-makers know and understand the importance of those places and the role they all played in enabling our people to traverse across the wide expanse of this whenua. Teaching these stories and place names, keeping the traditions alive, and passing this knowledge to our children is important to maintaining our sense of identity as Kāi Tahu whānau.
- 46. We at Moeraki are open to working with everyone in the community to protect our wāhi tūpuna sites and the mauri of the taiao. For example, if we have a burial ground of one of our rakataira on a private farm, or for any other reason a site is wāhi tapu, and the farmer is going to go and put an effluent pond right beside our wāhi tapu and have effluent and other contaminants running through it that will directly diminish the mauri and the tapu of that space, that would be of huge concern to us.

47. We understand that landowners who do not understand the concept of wāhi tūpuna may think that we are trying to ensure they cannot do anything on their properties. However, we choose to see it as a partnership approach to managing wāhi tūpuna with landowners as custodians of those areas. Many landowners that I know have over the years grown more comfortable with the concept of wāhi tūpuna and love hearing about the history and traditions of the places in which they live - it is all a matter of understanding the meaning and purpose behind wāhi tūpuna.

CONCLUSION

48. It is the responsibility of this generation to continue the work of our tūpuna to ensure that the cultural and historical association that Kāi Tahu holds for our wāhi tūpuna and our cultural practices of mahika kai are protected and preserved for our future generations – mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri ā muri ake nei (for us and our children after us). This means working with us as kaitiaki to manage the taiao in a holistic way that protects and strengthens mauri. It also means halting the degradation that I have seen just in my lifetime so that our tamariki and mokopuna can continue to learn and pass on our identity through mahika kai and relationships with their ancestral whenua.

DAVID HIGGINS ONZM

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23 NOVEMBER 2022

Appendix 1: Glossar	y of Maori words and phrases
Ara tawhito	Trails and travel routes
Нарū	Sub-tribe
Hīkoi	Journey
lwi	Tribe
Kāika/ Kāik	Settlement
Kāi Tahu/ Kāi Tahu whānui	the collective of the individuals who descend from one or more of the five primary hapū of Hāwea, Rapuwai, Waitaha, Kāti Mamoe and Kāi Tahu. Kāi Tahu hold mana whenua status across large tracts of Te Waipounamu
Kaitiakitaka, kaitiaki	The exercise of guardianship over natural and physical resources, as an expression of rakatirataka and mana; a person undertaking roles as an expression of kaitiakitaka
Mana whenua / mana moana	Customary authority exercised by an iwi or hapū in an identified area, iwi that hold this customary authority in a specific location
Mauri	Essential life force or principle, a metaphysical quality inherent in all things both animate and inanimate
Moana	Ocean
Mōkihi	Raft used by Kāi Tahu to travel down rivers
Mokopuna	Grandchildren
Nohoaka	Seasonal occupation sites
Pā	Permanent settlement
Poua	Grandfather
Rakatira	Chief
Taiao	natural environment/ nature
Tamariki	Children
Taniwha	Guardian spirits
Taoka	Treasured resources that are highly valued by Kāi Tahu, derived from the atua (gods), linked to the people through whakapapa, and left by tūpuna to provide for and sustain life.
Тари	To be in a state of restriction
Taua	Grandmother
Te Kerēme	The Kāi Tahu fight for redress from The Crown for Tiriti o Waitangi and land sale deed breaches
Te Waipounamu	The south island of New Zealand

Appendix 1: Glossary of Māori words and phrases

Tūpuna / tupuna	Ancestors/ ancestor
Tohuka	High priest/cultural expert
Upoko	Appointed traditional leader
Wāhi tapu	Sacred place/place with cultural restrictions upon it
Wāhi Tūpuna	Landscapes and places that embody the relationship of mana whenua and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, wāhi tapu, and other taoka
Wai māori	Freshwater
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whānau	Family
Whenua	Land