Colonisation, Neoliberalism, Māori Education and the Illusion of Treaty Partnership

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E nga mana
E nga reo
E nga karangatanga maha
Tena koutou,

E tika ana me mihi ki te arikinui a Kingi Tuheitia e noho ana i runga i te ahurewa tapu o ona Matua Tupuna, me Te Makau Ariki Atawhai me o rāua Tamariki mokopuna, puta noa ki te whare Ariki nui tonu,
Pai marire ki a ratou.

He mihi mutunga kore tēnei ki te hau kainga
Ko Ngati Wairere, Ko Ngati Haua,
E manaaki mai a matou katoa e mahi ana, e rangahau ana, e ako ana i roto i tenei whare wananga, i runga i o koutou whenua,
ten a koutou, koutou katoa, tene tatou katoa.

Ka huri ngā mihi ki o tātou tini mate o te motu,
ki ngā mate o te wiki, o te mārama o te tau
Huri noa i te motu, haere ngā mate
Haere, haere, haere atu rā.

Ka hoki mai ki a tatou te hunga ora,
He mihi nui ki nga manuhiri kua tae tawhitī mai, tena koutou.
He mihi maioha ki a koutou manawanui ki te kaupapa nei, tena koutou.
Kei te mihi matakuikui tenei ki a koutou o te kura o Kia Aroha kua tae mai kia whakapuaki ki te hui i o koutou mahi rangahau, nā mātou te honore kua tae mai koutou.
Ki nga kaihautu o tēnei waka rangahau, ko te kaunihera o NZARE,
me ngā nga kaiawhina, nga kaitautoko,
Na koutou tenei honore i homai ki ahau e tenei rangi kia tu hei kaikorero mo te kauhau Herbison, tena koutou
Ki a tatou nga hunga rangahau mātauranga, e hui tahi nei i runga i te karanga o nga kupu o Te Puea Herangi. Ko te tumanako he te noho tahi i enei ra e toru. No reira, huri noa i te whare, ki nga whanaunga, ki nga hoa, ki nga kaimahi katoa o nga kura, o nga wananga, o nga whare ako, Tena koutou, tena koutou tena tatou katoa.

Ko wai tenei e tu ake
Ko Taranaki ko Karioi ngā maunga
Ko Waitara, ko Waikato ngā awa
Ko Te Atiawa, ko Ngati Mahanga, ko Nga Mahanga a Tairi nga iwi
Ko Ngati Rahiri te hapū.
E tu ana tetahi mokopuna o te maunga titohea i mua i o koutou aroaro i tenei ahiahi mutunga o te hui nei.
Ko Leonie Pihama tōku ingoa.
Ko ahau te kaiwhakahaere o te whare rangahau o Te Matapunenga o Te Kotahi.

I want to acknowledge firstly Kingi Tuheitia, Te Makau Ariki Atawhai and the whānau ariki tonu.

To all of those gathered in this room, in particular all of our tupuna/ancestors that are gathered here with us.

To those manuhiri, guests that have travelled to be here with us from Turtle Island and from Aboriginal lands, Professor Cynthia E. Coburn and Professor Bob Lingard, for your generosity of sharing over the past two days, and to all others in the room that have travelled to Aotearoa for this gathering

I want to congratulate all of the award recipients this year and note that in line with the theme of the conference we all share in the joy of your achievements.

And I want to acknowledge the them of the conference Partnership: Promise to Praxis.

At the opening of the first keynote session Margie and Bronwyn spoke about the tongi that is the theme for this conference.
It is from one of the great leaders of Waikato Tainui, Te Puea Herangi.

Te Puea left us with many inspirational, motivational and clearly instructional sayings including that which this conference is informed by

Mehemea ka moemoeā ahau, ko ahau anake
Mehemea ka moemoeā tātou, ka taea e tātou,
If I dream alone only I benefit
If we all dream together we can all succeed together

Te Puea embodied the idea of from Promise to Praxis. She worked tirelessly for her people, she dreamt, she worked for the benefit of the iwi.

In this saying she provides many learnings,

1. Firstly as its most simplistic level it reminds us to dream.
For Indigenous Peoples dreaming is important.
Dreaming is life. Dreaming is knowledge. Dreaming is vision.
Dreaming is methodology. Dreaming is pedagogy.

It is a learning space.
It is an ancestral teaching place.
It is a spiritual and cultural based learning centre.

2. Secondly, it reminds us of the collective reciprocal relationships within which we exist.

It is in one form a korero whakatupato, a cautionary reminder that as an individual we may dream, but if we dream alone the benefits will be limited.

In an educational research context of today, that can be related to many things.

It can be a reminder that individualism as encapsulated in a schooling system driven by national standards, market driven privatisation, systemic racism and hierarchies of knowledge, languages and achievement that privilege some individuals over others.
It can be that reminder from the ‘Graham Smith voice’ cautioning us about our role as academics and the need to be wary of the neoliberal agenda that is the privatised academic.

The privatised individual that seeks only self gain and does not contribute to the wider agenda of collective wellbeing.

3. Thirdly, this saying brings forward the strength of the collective.

Te Puea highlights our collective responsibilities, our collective obligations, our collective accountabilities and our collective power of working for a common cause, the wellbeing of the people.

So when I think about the idea of Partnerships from Promise to Praxis within a context of education and educational research in Aotearoa, there are a number of key question that are foremost in my mind.

*He aha te moemoeā?*
What is the dream?

*Ko wai tātou e moemoeā ana?*
Who are the ‘we’ that are dreaming?

*Who are ‘we’ in the Partnerships?*
What is the Promise?
*Who defines the Promise?*
And who benefits from taking it to Praxis?

Within the teachings and learnings of Te Puea, we are clear that she was seeking wellbeing for our iwi, for Waikato Tainui, and in the context of the Kingitanga as a National movement, of which Waikato are guardians, she had aspirations for Māori as a whole.

Te Puea like many great leaders in our history, was as much about praxis as she was about dreaming.
As was noted in the opening of the conference, Te Puea has also left us the saying ‘Mahia te mahi’ ‘Do the work’ but the fullness of that message was;

‘Mahia te mahi, hei painga mō te iwi.
Do the work for the wellbeing of the people.’

The Pākehā Education system in this country, has never been based within an aspiration for the wellbeing for Māori. We just need to look at the origins of this education system to know that.

We have many educational historians that have provided us with research evidence that the education system in this country has for 200 years been grounded upon visions, dreams and promises that have been imported from elsewhere and have been imposed on the dreams and aspirations of our people.

The history of schooling in Aotearoa is one that many in this room know. But it remains a history that many within this country continue to ignore and are supported in that by an education system that fails to teach the history of this land in any depth or with any commitment to meaningful relationships with whānau, hapū and iwi.

The history of schooling in Aotearoa is a history of schooling as a tool of colonization, as a mechanism of assimilation, as a process of indoctrination in colonial Christian belief systems as an instrument of domestication of Indigenous Peoples globally.

Where colonial schooling was established in 1816 the foundations were set for the imposition of colonial systems well before the first Mission school opened its doors in Rangihoua in the north.

This first school began the infiltration of colonial thinking, attitudes, practices, knowledge and systems into Māori communities. Assimilation was not limited to a missionary intent but was part of wider native policy developed by colonial settler governments.
Colonial schooling was also a vehicle for a wider agenda of the dispossession of Indigenous nations from our lands. It supported a process that was first and foremost focused on the Indigenous lands and resources that imperialism sought to possess.

Early engagement by Māori with Mission Schools and the colonial administration was undertaken through a belief that our people could benefit from the inclusion of new technologies. Interest in schools was not merely located in a desire to read and write but also to gain access and knowledge of key instruments that our people believed would support the overall interests of the hapū and iwi.

Hapū and iwi, operating from a position that schooling would add to rather than replace Māori knowledge, language and culture, engaged in what may be considered an early form of educational partnership with the State. In 1816 our ancestors were the majority. In 1816 we held most of our lands. In 1816 we were fluent in te reo and tikanga a hapū, a iwi.

In 1816 those things were not under threat. As such the early engagements were from a place of strength in terms of rangatiratanga, population, with embedded and intergenerational cultural knowledge and practices. It is well documented that the speed at which our people gained expertise in the written word was attributed to literacy being conducted in te reo Māori (Jahnke and Warren 2011).

However any belief in partnership was soon lost as disease, population decimation and a hunger for lands increased exponentially. By 1840 of many of our people considered that Te Tiriti o Waitangi was a necessary covenant that would be enabling of the formation of new future relationships in a context where significant changes were happening.

This, however, was not the underlying intention of missionaries or the colonial government.

This was also the case across Indigenous territories globally.

Schooling served as a formalised colonial structure serves as a vehicle for wider imperialist ideological objectives.
The mechanisms through which schooling contributed to the broader colonial agenda differed across Indigenous nations.

Those mechanisms ranged from the facilitation of the civilising intent on Turtle Island and on Aboriginal lands through the forced removal of Native and Aboriginal children from their nations.

Where generations of Indigenous children were forcibly removed and placed into Residential Boarding schools or Missions that operated in the same way that prisons and detention centres, which hold a disproportionate number of Indigenous peoples, continue to operate today.

Through to the establishment of Mission or Native schooling systems in tribal communities operating, as Linda Smith notes, as ‘trojan horses’.

Two hundred years later and we are still waiting for meaningful partnership with the Crown.

The education system within Aotearoa continues to be grounded upon flawed assumptions that schooling will ‘prepare’ Māori children to ‘fit’ within the existing dominant system. The system continues to operate in breach of its Treaty obligations.

Over the past 40 years since the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal we have been actively engaged in the Treaty claims and negotiation processes, hapū and iwi have sought meaningful partnerships with the Crown in the establishment of schooling options for our people.

What we continue to see in education is the Crown relationship with Māori be positioned within the same power relationships where we struggle for change, and the kinds of governmental defined accountabilities that Bob spoke about yesterday are imposed upon our people.

As we are well aware, a key Crown articulation of partnership is that of Charter Schools. The system of Charter schools in Aotearoa has solid analysis from many in this room and has been ongoing since earlier critique of neoliberal impositions such as vouchers up to the research and analysis of the imposition of National standards.
There is strong critique in Aotearoa of Charter schooling and the past few weeks with the election of a new Labour-Greens-NZ First may see some movement in this area, so I am not going to discuss in depth the charter system – but I do want to indicate that a key way of promoting Charter schooling has been in the construction of educational crisis.

The kind of educational crisis positioning used to rationalize the implementation of neoliberal systems of corporatization is seen globally. Naomi Klein in her book Shock Doctrine highlight the process of privatization models moving rapidly into areas that experience extreme levels of disaster. She notes

*One of those who saw opportunity in the floodwaters of New Orleans was Milton Friedman, grand guru of the movement for unfettered capitalism and the man credited with writing the rule-book for the contemporary, hyper-mobile global economy.*

*In* an op-ed for the Wall Street Journal three months after the levees broke.

“Most New Orleans schools are in ruins,” Friedman observed, “as are the homes of the children who have attended them. The children are now scattered all over the country. This is a tragedy. It is also an opportunity to radically reform the educational system.”

*I call these orchestrated raids on the public sphere in the wake of catastrophic events, combined with the treatment of disasters as exciting market opportunities, “disaster capitalism.”*¹

The treatment of disasters as ‘opportunities’ is equally applicable to Aotearoa. The ‘disaster’ advocated here is that of the education ‘crisis’ for Māori, Pacific and low decile communities. Charter Schooling in Aotearoa is described by the government as “a new way of delivering public education. Their specific purpose is to enable New Zealand’s most disadvantaged students to achieve greater educational success.”

These types of descriptions place Māori and Pacific students achievement or

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¹ Before Hurricane Katrina, the school board had run 123 public schools; now it ran just 4. Before that storm, there had been 7 charter schools in the city; now there were 31.
underachievement as the ‘educational crisis’ that Charter schools are to address. The Ministry clearly articulated this focus in the naming of the systems as Kura Hourua stating:

‘Kura’ in Te Reo means ‘school’, and ‘Hourua’ stems from ‘Waka Hourua’, the Māori name for the traditional sea voyaging double-hulled canoes used on expeditions where great distances needed to be travelled. The two hulls joined together created a stronger and more versatile vessel better able to cope with all of challenges of the vast Pacific Ocean. This is an apt metaphor for the journey of partnership the Government and community are embarking on with Partnership Schools | Kura Hourua.

Organisations such as Save our Schools\(^2\) and educational researchers such as Martin Thrupp, Graham Smith, Linda Smith, Michael Peters and other have provided solid critique of the Charter School system. The point I make here is that as the Crown continues to fail in its partnership role in Māori education it is simultaneously using a Māori educational crisis, that is has created and reproduced for 200 years as justification for its neoliberal agenda.

Māori achievement and underachievement has been debated for many generations with little enduring systemic change and an ongoing denial of the existence of institutional racism and the continued reproduction of a fundamentally monocultural focus of schooling systems and curriculum.

Last year was the 200\(^{th}\) anniversary of the establishment of colonial schooling systems here on Māori land, and yet it went virtually unrecognized.

Like most historical events in Aotearoa that are challenged in terms of the colonial intention or agenda there is an ongoing silence.

Why is this important?

\(^2\) https://saveourschoolsnz.com/2017/09/01/new-zealand-charter-schools-failing-to-meet-targets/
Because for 200 years we have yet to see the history of this land privileged within state schooling systems.

The recent re-emergence of the debate over the teaching of Māori history in schools is a clear example of the continued lack of commitment to facing the impact of the colonial land wars, the denial of te reo, tikanga and mātauranga Māori in this country.

In 2014 a group of students from near here, led by Leah Bell and Waimarama Anderson, at Ōtorohanga College began a petition calling for statutory recognition of the land wars and the need for a great understanding of our history. In talking about their intent in creating the petition Leah Bell stated;

“*We are fighting for justice, it is not blatant in the struggle, but there has been so much grief and pain buried in the unspoken history of our land wars, within our beautiful country.*”

This was supported by the Māori Select committee who noted

*While we received evidence from the Ministry of Education about the scope for including local historical content, we found little evidence that this was being actively pursued at a local school level. We recommend that the Education and Science Select Committee better promote a way in which curriculum content provides for the teaching of local Maori history in relation to the New Zealand Wars.* (p.8)

Joanna Kidman provided some insights in the silences that are a part of denying the historical information about this country within Aotearoa and highlighted the need for these stories to be heard and taught within our schooling system noting “*Difficult as they are to hear, the stories need to be told.*”

We continue to live with a selective memory in this country that denies the historical events that underpin Māori experiences and lived realities today.

We continue to experience that denial through the rationale that leaves the

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3 https://www.newsroom.co.nz/@future-learning/2017/08/16/42900/young-kiwis-shatter-silence-about-our-difficult-past
teaching of our histories to the choice of schools and teachers.

This is a key reason given by the National government over the past few years for not making the history of the land wars compulsory in the curriculum.

The Ministry response highlighted that their refusal to include the colonial land wars in the curriculum is grounded upon a view that such a change would "erode the autonomy" of schools to determine their own specific content.4

The problem with notions of school choice of what is taught as Huia Jahnke (2007) highlights that Māori language and culture are maintained as the add ons within the curriculum.

The term mainstream is a euphemism or code word for schools that privilege a western/Euro-centric education tradition. Mainstream schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand are controlled by those who have political, economic and cultural power and where western values, knowledge, culture and the English language are the central focus of the school habitus. Schools incorporate aspects of Māori language and culture as additions rather than core components of the curriculum or school knowledge. (Jahnke 2007 pp. 6, 7)

While the Ministry is unwilling to make changes to curriculum to include discussion of this history there remains compulsion in other areas of the curriculum. As such the refusal again raises issues of the failure of the Crown to operate in ways that would be expected from a Treaty partner.

A key process of colonialism is the undermining and fragmentation of existing Indigenous ways of knowing. Such an analysis highlights the insidious ways in which colonisation and capitalism, more recently in the form of neoliberalism, collude to marginalise Māori knowledge within conventional schooling systems. In this context the neoliberal concept of ‘individual’ school choice provides the rationale for the denial of the inclusion of a

particular form of Māori knowledge.

You may ask why I have framed this keynote in such a way. Well, we may like to think that after 30 years of critique of colonial patriarchal class systems that we as educational researchers have come a long way.

That the assertions of educational philosophy based within kaupapa Māori would in 2017 be seen as not only valid and legitimate as a critical part of the Indigenous culture of this land but also that for Māori achievement and experience of success, all robust research evidence indicates that kaupapa Māori works.

We have in this conference heard many exciting presentations across sectors that have highlighted commitment to provide innovative ways to meet the needs of Māori and Pacific nations learners.

However we have also been presented with yet another version of the Rata/Openshaw anti-Māori tirades that have raged around Māori education for many years.

Where for some time I have chosen to not engage those works as I and others in this room have made conscious decisions to continue as Te Puea advocated to ‘Mahia te mahi hei oranga mo te iwi’.

However, it seems that with the global conservatism that we see with Brexit and Trump it has become more necessary to directly respond to the right wing assimilationist approach taken by these authors.

So today I have some comment to make given two extremely problematic presentations that have caused concern for many working in Māori education and which serve to reinforce the notion that Māori language, culture and knowledge has no place within schooling.

Over the past 20 years these authors have vented unevidenced attacks on Māori educational initiatives, Māori scholars and allies which have been disguised as some form of neutral academic critique.

Māori educational developments have been described through terms such as ethnic fundamentalism, secular religion, politicised ethnicity.
Terms that not only have no actual definitional substance but they have been constructed to not only undermine any Indigenous attempts to create and sustain kaupapa Māori contexts that work for our children, but more particularly these terms and their reductionist racist underpinnings have been constructed to benefit and reinforce these authors own positioning of white privilege.

White privilege and failure to not name schoolings contribution to the maintenance of white privilege and construction of white spaces has been highlighted by Dr Ann Milne.

To “name the white spaces” in our schools we have to have to talk about white privilege and white supremacy without taking these terms personally. We have to ask the hard questions about the purpose of schools, whose knowledge counts, who decides on the norms we expect our youth to strive to achieve, who decides on literacy and numeracy as the holy grail and almost sole indicator of achievement and success? (Milne 2013, 19)

The supposed critique they offer has no grounding in any actual fact or any research and would be more correctly be viewed as opinion pieces rather than be considered as serious academic articles.

Claims that kaupapa Māori is not robust, that epistemic knowledge is more beneficial that cultural knowledge for Māori, that ethnic essentialism is the basis of Māori identity, that Māori are taking over the world and denying democracy are not only fundamentally flawed as the basis for an argument but are just wrong.

These are similar arguments that are advocated by Don Brash and the Hobson pledge group that seeks to remove all references to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and advocate a colonial assimilatory approach to all education in this country.

Even more disturbing is the claim that the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori has caused Māori achievement rates to decline. The evidence shows that this can not be further from the truth, and that to advocate such a position is dishonest and unethical.
We need to question why we as researchers and why NZARE as an organisation continues to validate presentations that are not grounded upon any legitimate evidence and the so-called ‘findings’ of which many in this room know are wrong. These are questions that are often raised in regards to how we as Māori deal with discourses and assertions that are deliberately misleading or just plain wrong.

I recall a conversation a few years ago with Matua Tipene O’Regan when his was asked what his thoughts were on an organisation that solicited thousands of copied letters that stated the Treaty was null and void. His response was very clear, he asked

“If thousands of people sent letters saying the world was flat, what would we do with those letters? ... We would say no you are wrong”.

It is that simple.

We can look at some very general references to Māori achievement in relation to kura kaupapa Māori to see that such statements are deliberately made to deceive.

*When looking at ethnicity, in 2016, Asian students had the highest proportion of school leavers attaining at least NCEA Level 2 or equivalent, followed by European/Pākehā. Pasifika and Māori were found to have the lowest rates of attainment.*

*Years 11 – 13 candidates at Maori-medium schools were more likely to gain a typical level or higher NCEA qualification than their Maori peers at English-medium schools*5

*At NCEA level one, Māori students at Māori schools, had an 86 percent achievement rate, compared to 73 percent for Māori students at mainstream schools.*The gap widens at level two, or Year 12, and by

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level three, the achievement rate at Māori schools is almost twice that at mainstream schools

The underpinnings of these colonising discourses are not based as we may be led to believe on any actual evidence or researched informed basis. A number of authors have solidly critiqued the false claims made by Rata and Openshaw.

Rather these discourses are grounded in what I would call a politics of resentment or a politics of disgruntledness. We need to be clear that using some distorted idea of academic scrutiny to enable constant attacks on Māori initiatives and to undermine Māori educational movements and all that support those movements is not acceptable.

These right wing attacks have gone underanswered in a range of academic fora and conferences however if we are truly seeking to create enduring and meaningful Treaty based relationships then it is time to speak out against the privileging of conservative, assimilatory discourses that are being reproduced by researchers working against that promise.

This is not an easy thing to do. Māori whānau, including academics, have often been marginalised for challenging discourses that continue to marginalise our dreams and aspirations for te reo, tikanga and mātauranga Māori.

We are referred to as angry, aggressive and told to be polite, and nice, all in the face of racist discourses that are not only marginalising to our people but which evidence shows are destructive.

What is equally disturbing about these assimilationist agendas reappearing is that we have ample evidence that continues to highlight that

1. Institutional racism continues to impact on Māori
2. For many years the State has made it difficult for the establishment of new kura
3. That Māori educational movements are inclusive of anyone that is committed to the kaupapa of te reo and tikanga Māori learning
4. That Kura Kaupapa Māori have contributed significantly to increased
achievements for Māori students

5. That meaningful and inclusive educational options enhance Māori whānau involvement across sectors


So for over 30 years we have as Māori been in struggle for the development, establishment, sustaining of and validation of Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wharekura. We have worked across the education sector to create spaces where our children can, as Mason Durie says “Live as Māori”.

This is the political context and nature of the work we do as educational researchers. As Jenny Lee-Morgan states:

_Our work is never only intellectual or cultural, but political. It cannot be divorced from the broader struggle to assert the legitimacy of kaupapa Māori, matauranga Māori, tino rangatiratanga and the redistribution of resources. Māori pedagogues require a political clarity that understands the non-neutrality of schooling and educational institutions, as well as the nexus of culture, knowledge and power._ (Jenny Lee Morgan)\(^6\)

So when we speak of Partnership: Promise to Praxis, one of those key components in education is for Pakeha researchers, academics, scholars to challenge directly those discourses that seek to deny Māori rights to Māori language, culture and knowledge. Again, Ann Milne has called on Pakeha researchers, scholars and teachers to take on this role,

_We have to name racism, prejudice, stereotyping, deficit thinking, policy and decision making, power, curriculum, funding, community, school structure, timetabling, choice, equity instead of equality, enrolment procedures, disciplinary processes, poverty, and social justice. We have to reject framing culture as problematic and stop negating cultural identity within assimilationist terms such as_

\(^6\) Jenny Lee Morgan (2012) _Mehemea ka moemoea tatou, ka taea e tatou_ Set 2, 2012
multiculturalism and diversity. We have to challenge Eurocentric solutions that perpetuate the myth that “white is right,” and come from the perspective Stovall (2006, p.108) calls, “giving those poor people of color what they so desperately need. (p. 19)

It should not only be Māori educators that stand and challenge assertions that Māori language and culture are socio-cultural knowledge forms that have no place in schooling, and that schooling is only for the reproduction of epistemic and ‘rational’ knowledges, by which is meant western, pakeha, colonial imposed knowledge forms.

In order for Māori education to move fully into the praxis, to be fully affirmed and legitimated we need all educators to take on the issues of the marginalisation of our language, our culture and our knowledge.

It is also necessary to consider what is meant by partnership. In relation to Te Tiriti o Waitangi the idea of partnership as a frame came from the Crown. However, Partnership does not necessarily embody the kinds of relationships that Māori and Indigenous nations are seeking. Many partnerships are not enduring, some separate, some end with contractual arrangements. Not all partnerships create equitable relationships, or even happy ones.

In our work within Te Kotahi we have focused more on collaborations, on hoa haere, walking with people, on hoa mahi, working with people, developing meaningful relationships that are enduring and that are built upon strong, equitable, affirming relationships.

For Māori education our aspirations, dreams can only be fully realised through a true honouring of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The existing paradigm of Treaty Settlements as defined by the Crown is focused upon notions of settlement and symbolic compensation. The future of Aotearoa is dependent not solely on notions of settlement, but as Moana Jackson has stated consistently;

“Treaties are not made to be settled, Treaties are made to be honoured.”

The essence of making a difference within education for Māori lies in the
need for Te Tiriti o Waitangi to be honoured. It is only then that the collective dream and vision for this country, for current and future generations can be realised.

I want to close with more words from Te Puea:

“Te ohonga ake i taku moemoeā, ko te puāwaitanga o te whakaaro”

“Dreams become reality when we take action”