

PUPIL'S ATTITUDES IN THE COOK ISLANDS TO THE EXTENT OF BILINGUALISM

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INTRODUCTION

The extent to which there is consensus or conflict in attitudes towards particular languages or dialects has been shown to influence the efficacy with which two or more languages, or dialects, are learned or cease to be acquired. Thus, in some cases two or more languages have been well maintained because of general social approval; in other cases minority languages have been undermined and collapsed from competition of a majority language given greater status by the many.¹

One form of positive attitude found by W.E. Lambert and his associates in Quebec to be beneficial to speakers of English in learning French was termed 'integrative'. The integrative learner has a favourable attitude to speakers of the language being learned and wishes to identify with them and take part with them in their way of life. In contrast, those with 'instrumental' motivation serving other aims, such as to attain an educational qualification or get a good job, have been found to learn less well. In confirmation, Spolsky found significantly better performance by those learners of English as a foreign language who tended to wish to have characteristics attributed to the English-speaking population as compared with those of their own people, the speakers of their mother tongue².

In contrast to acquiring in Montreal an additional language of similar status, as in French for speakers of English, Polynesian languages in the South Pacific have been in competition with one or other of these European languages to which for many years higher status has been claimed and accorded. Thus, the Maori language in New Zealand is in such serious decline that there are few native speakers of it among the young. In the past there has been denigration of the Maori language as not merely useless but even harmful to Maori children for their advancement in New Zealand society for which English has been accepted as essential. Many Maori people adopted this view of the majority Pakeha, the bringer of 'civilisation'.³ However, by the 1970s a strong transformation of attitudes among Maori people was evident with a campaign to save Maori as a living language⁴. The recommendations concerning the language by a mainly Maori committee, the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education, in their recent report, *He Huarahi*, reflect this urgent concern over the serious degree of language loss⁵. This change in attitude has of recent years been receiving support in policies of the Department of Education to foster the language in schools but the severe harm associated with previous

attitudes will require a supreme effort to counter. An effect of attitudes may also be inferred by the greater degree to which Samoan is flourishing in Western Samoa compared with American Samoa where it is relatively less valued than English⁶.

In the Cook Islands as early as 1891 during the British Protectorate, the British resident, Moss, attempted to initiate a public school system using English and prohibiting Maori in school hours thereby supplanting missionary education conducted in Maori. However, this attempt failed apart from the survival of the publicly subsidized Tereora and Araura Schools which taught exclusively in English. The desire for an English education drew to the former Maori pupils from leading families from many of the islands⁷.

In the public schools system set up by New Zealand English as the medium of instruction was advocated in 1929 by Apirana Ngata as Minister for the Cook Islands and in 1934 he directed that Maori should not be used during school hours⁸. In 1937 D.G. Ball, Inspector of New Zealand Native Schools, reported adversely on an over-emphasis on teaching English. So much time was being spent on this that other subjects were being neglected. In 1945 a Commission of Enquiry, headed by C.E. Beeby, the Director of Education in New Zealand, found that in Rarotonga and Aitutaki schooling, geared to 'Europeanisation', was in English which was of a poor standard while the pupils were not learning to express themselves in the vernacular. It was recommended that Maori be the sole medium of instruction during the first two or three years of primary school and thereafter English be introduced gradually as a second medium of instruction⁹.

It is apparent that Cook Islanders tended to approve the emphasis on learning English that developed in the schools in the first half of the nineteenth century. When in 1904 the London Missionary Society proposed that the New Zealand Government take over their school buildings and provide instruction in English as far as possible, Gudgeon, the Resident Commissioner of the Cook Islands, then recently annexed by New Zealand, noted that, though the number of jobs was so few that Tereora was sufficient, the people wanted an English curriculum to enable their children to obtain jobs with the Administration or in the trading companies¹⁰. When in 1914 Pomare gave his approval that some primary schools should be taken over by the Government and the instruction should be in English with Maori being used only to introduced this language, one reason given for the use of English was that the Islanders wanted this. It was also considered that new ideas could be communicated better in English¹¹. When the policy was changed to reintroduce Maori in the late 1940s there was widespread resistance of the Islanders to this and by 1950, though there was some use of the vernacular, some English was still being taught in the infant classes in accordance with the people's wishes: oral English in the first year of schooling, reading in the second year and writing in the third year¹².

The attitude of particularly valuing English that has developed over the years continues today. In the words of the Cook Islands Secretary of Education, T.A. Short, in a seminar paper in 1980:¹³

'To date we are in a state of quandary. Parents and teachers feel that English is the key to passing examinations and there is pressure on the Department and schools to give more emphasis to the teaching of English at the expense of Maori language.'

He goes on to say that with the exception of one primary school in Rarotonga (to which must be added provision for some pupils in another), the teaching in the first three years at school is in Maori and that 'from Grade 4 upwards, the language of instruction is English'. His paper affirms that bilingualism in Maori and English is an important objective of education. It is added that:

'Maori is now an examination subject for the Cook Islands School Certificate. The heart is in earnest to make Maori a compulsory subject for this certificate but the realities of today, the public opinion is yet to be sampled.'

Further, many Cook Island parents have been sending their children in Rarotonga to Avatea Primary School (which has grown from Nikao Side School) where instruction is entirely in English. An apparent advantage of so doing is born out by the fact, as related to the author by the Principal, P. Etches, in 1980, that of the intake of 42 to Tereora College from Avatea in that year, 40 were placed in the 'top' two form 3 streams. A contributing factor in this achievement is the likelihood that many of the pupils at Avatea come from well-to-do educated families. Under the Government that come to power under Dr Tom Davis a further opportunity for education in English in Rarotonga, for pupils from the Takitumu District, has been the introduction of an entirely English instruction sequence of classes from the start of schooling as a part of Ngatangia Primary School.

If, then, bilingualism is Cook Island policy and attitudes to a language influence its future, it is relevant to investigate views indicate of the relative importance of Maori and English in these Islands. Language preference is an aspect of an investigation carried out in 1980 planned by the Summer Institute of Linguistics and was further probed by the writer in an enquiry carried out later that year.

THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS INVESTIGATION

In a report to the Cook Islands Secretary of Education by the Summer Institute of Linguistics¹⁴ an account is given of a language survey carried out in March 1980 among pupils in Cook Island schools in Rarotonga and four other islands of the Southern Group, Aitutaki, Atiu, Mangaia and Mauke. The pupils

investigated were in Form 1 and 4, with the exclusion of those both of whose parents were *papaa* (European/foreigner). As part of the survey 'more than 600' pupils answered a 'general questionnaire' which sought such information as the language they believed they 'speak best' and which languages should be spoken in the Cook Islands in the future.

The results of the pupils' perceptions of what language they speak best is shown in Table 1 (page 13). It will be noted that only some 14 per cent consider they speak English best at form 1 level but by form 4 this has risen to 21 per cent.

As reported by the pupils of both forms combined, the languages spoken by the parents were, in percentages:

(a)	both spoke Maori and English	7.7
(b)	both Maori only	70.4
(c)	one Maori, the other Maori and English	5.5
(d)	both English only	8.4
(e)	one English, the other Maori and English	2.8
(f)	one English, the other Maori	5.2

It may be noted that in so far as the pupils have reported accurately, the addition of the last three of these categories (d, e, and f) shows the percentage of pupils who would need to speak English to at least one of the parents, that is some 16 per cent. Most of the cases where both parents spoke only English were on Rarotonga (56 per cent) and Aitutaki (25 per cent).

The pupils' answers as to 'What language do you think the children in the Cook Islands should all learn in the future' are shown within Table 2 (page 14) as a comparison with findings from the author's similar preferred language enquiry which will be described later. The wording quoted for this question, not stated verbatim in the Report, is from a copy obtained of the General Questionnaire which is set out to be given as an interview in either Maori or English individually which informants confirmed to be the procedure that was to be followed. The report, however, refers to 'hinderances' to data collection caused for example by 'inadequate public relations and briefing of school administrations, misunderstanding of instructions by key interviewers in survey locations' in carrying out the investigation in 'a very tightly scheduled three week period.'

A MULTIPLE QUESTION ATTITUDE ENQUIRY

Items and Procedure

Since in the Summer Institute investigation interview schedule 'language' was in the singular in the future learning item and there was no indication that

more than one language might be preferred it is not surprising that in some schools not a great many pupils expressed a desire for both Maori and English to be taught. Further, where only English is preferred, does the pupil, as New Zealand Maori people once believed, assume that Maori even if not taught in schools, will remain a generally spoken language in the Cooks and wish this to be so? Again, except for two primary schools in Rarotonga, the respondents were attending secondary schools where Maori is no longer a medium of instruction and has become merely one subject. Thus, was the question thought of in a secondary rather than a primary school context? Because of these considerations three questions were framed for a follow-up enquiry, the first to be asked being:

- (1) What is best? All Cook Island people speak:
- (a) only Maori,
 - (b) only English,
 - (c) Maori and English

With the same three choices as to 'What is best?', two further questions asked as to which of these options:

- (2) 'children at primary schools of the Cook Islands should learn in the future' and
(3) 'pupils at secondary schools of the Cook Islands should learn in the future'.

Each of the questions was given to school classes as a whole in both English and Maori (for which see the Appendix) as also were oral introductory instructions in which it was emphasised: 'That is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers. You are being asked what you want — what you think is best.' A Maori person was always present to give the instructions and read through the questions aloud in Maori while the writer, a papaa (of European stock), did the same in English. In introducing himself he had explained that his involvement with the teachers of Cook Island pupils in New Zealand had made him interested to learn the views of Cook Island people and so of the pupils. The pupils were instructed to write their form, sex, age and time spent in the Cook Islands but not their names. After answering the third question they were asked to give a reason for this answer: because/ no te mea
.....

Sample. Excluding 6 pupils with answers not communicated or with sex not given and 12 boys and 6 girls who had lived less than 5 years in the Cook Islands and therefore were liable to be temporary, not Cook Islander, residents, the sample was made up of 358 pupils, 11 to 16 years old, of whom 77 boys and 86 girls were in Form 1 (114 being aged 12 years) and 88 boys and 107 girls in Form 4 (154 of 15 years). The sampling as to schools and classes in them, shown in Table 2, was the same as for the Summer Institute study with the exceptions that the language preference results for Tereora College were

omitted from their Report while Aitutaki and Mangaia were not able to be visited in this follow-up enquiry. The Tereora College pupils were from Form 4 and the pupils of Arorangi and Avarua primary schools which feed in to this College were from Form 1. Otherwise Forms 1 and 4 were from the same secondary schools which begin at Form 1, except that on Mauke those pupils who remained at the Catholic primary school for Form 1 were also included. The sample was made up of those pupils present in class during visits to the schools in October and November 1980.

Results. The results of the three language choice questions are given in Table 2 where, for comparison, the results of the Summer Institute language preference question given earlier in the year are also shown. In contrast to the earlier findings where the tendency is shown in only two cases (Titikaveka and Mauke), the high percentage choice of both Maori and English on all three questions in the follow-up study is noteworthy. On Question (3) relating to secondary school the percentage wanting English only is at its maximum (12.6 per cent) but somewhat offset by the Question (1) numbers wanting only Maori in the Cook Islands (9.2 per cent).

A break-down into form and sex gives not much variation from the nine total sample percentages shown in the table, only in one case more than a 6 per cent difference: for Form 1 girls the percentage choice of both languages on Question (2), the primary school question, was rather lower at 82.6 per cent (their other responses on this question being 9.3 and 8.1 per cent respectively for only Maori and only English).

It is noteworthy that of the 19 pupils who had attended the English medium primary school, Avatea, and were included in the sample because of not less than 5 years residence in the Cook Islands, only one of them thought it best that in the primary schools English only be learned. While 4 of them also chose only English at secondary school, the remaining responses on all three questions were for both languages. Further, of the 7 ex-Avatea pupils excluded from the sample because of less than 5 years in the Cook Islands, all but one response over the three questions were for both languages, the one exception relating to secondary schooling.

The pupils' reasons for their answers to Question (3) were, if written in Maori, translated by a teacher for whom it is the mother-tongue so that the writer could analyse them. The percentage justification of only Maori and of only English, which might occur even when the two languages option was chosen, were for Form 1 pupils respectively 6.5 and 16.5 and for Form 4 pupils respectively 6.0 and 22.0. Both languages were explicitly justified by 44.6 of Form 1 and 50.0 per cent of Form 4 pupils. In addition some answers were circular, not clear or incomplete: 32.4 per cent of the Form 1 and 22.0 per cent of the Form 4 answers.

In Lambert's terms most by far of the justifications might be described as 'instrumental' in that the reasons were mostly usefulness for life in the Cook Islands and elsewhere. Thus, English was seen as useful for speaking to tourists, for progress in schooling and generally for advancement in life. As to the use of English for future life beyond the Cook Islands which on occasion referred to future education, New Zealand was mentioned by 5.0 per cent of Form 1 and 8.7 per cent of Form 4 pupils.

As employed by Lambert the contrasting term of 'integrative' referred to a language other than the mother tongue. Among the pupils sampled non-instrumental reasons could be detected only in the different context of loyalty to one's own language, culture and people: 'integrative' towards one's own. This was shown in a concern that the Maori language should not be lost, expressed by only 4.3 per cent of Form 1 pupils but by considerably more, 14.8 per cent, at Form 4 level. Thus, in the words of two fifteen-year old fourth form pupils in a secondary school on Rarotonga:

'Because we don't want to loose our Maori language and sometimes we do want to learn English. For your own sake to learn the English better rather than Maori.'

'Because in the future, there is only papaa ideas coming in, we should learn their language and also not to forget our real language in the Cook Islands.'

Again, two answers translated from Maori by other fourth form pupils on the island of Atiu, aged 14 and 15 years respectively:

'Because when we want to go to New Zealand and work for money if you don't know how to speak English what will happen to you? And the other thing is our Maori speaking, we don't want that to be lost.'

'Because Maori is our ancestors' language and as for the English language it is useful for us to learn it and when a European person asks us an English question then we shall answer it quickly.'

Though most of the pupils would consider Maori their best spoken language (Table 1), Maori and English were fairly evenly used for the responses in this enquiry, the latter being the usual medium at school by Form 1. As might be expected, there was a somewhat increased use of English by Form 4 and by Rarotongan pupils⁵.

DISCUSSION

The English language is tending to be dominant in a number of ways in the Cook Islands. In Rarotonga, being a centre of commerce, tourism and

administration, English is widely used, and not only in business. Extending its use beyond the cinema it has been the sole language used in the recently established private F/M radio station in competition with the Government station which has sessions in Maori. The English medium primary school, Avatea, has become a prestige school and recently an English medium stream for all grades has been established at Ngatangia primary school. Moreover, for all the other primary school pupils there is the policy that instruction from the fourth year should be in English. Further, on the Summer Institute evidence some 16 per cent of the children sampled had at least one parent who was monolingual in English. In addition, on the 1976 Census figures there were approximately the same number of Cook Islanders in New Zealand as in their islands of origin. With so many relatives and acquaintances in New Zealand there is the pervading prospect for the young of living in this English speaking country. For such reasons it may be contended that the Maori language in the Cook Islands is under some threat. There is perhaps a lesson to be learned from the rapid decline in the use of the Maori language in New Zealand.

However, there is a high degree of approval for learning Maori as well as English in the three item language preference enquiry which thus contrasts with the Summer Institute findings. Which is the more valid? It is widely recognised that valid measuring of attitudes is difficult where one invalidating tendency is to give the answer thought to be wanted by the person posing the question. This is likely to apply especially to an interview as used in the Summer Institute survey. On the other hand in the three question language preference enquiry not only was it impressed that the pupils' choices were to be 'what you want — what you think is best', but also the answering was anonymous. Moreover, to equalise the conditions for the two languages the enquiry was conducted in both Maori and English speaking person of European origin both taking an equal part. Further, there was not a possible implication that only one language might be chosen: all three possible choices were offered. Overall, too, greater reliability can be claimed for three questions as compared with one. There are, therefore, a number of reasons for believing that the high degree of choice of both languages truly showed the views of the pupils. That the former pupils of the English language medium primary school, Avatea, so largely held the same view in spite of their lack of Maori when previously at primary school bolsters the support for Maori as well as English. So, too, does the concern of the proportion, some 15 per cent, of Form 4 pupils that Maori might be lost as a language in the Cook Islands.

This concern was the one theme in the justification of answers that was clearly not 'instrumental'. It is possible that some of the pupils did want to be like a 'papaa' and enter 'integratively' into his way of life but the one open-ended question asking for the explanation of the third answer choice failed to elicit this attitude, if it did exist.

Whatever the underlying reasons the major outcome of this enquiry is an overwhelming choice for Maori and English to co-exist in the Cook Islands and be learned in the schools in the future. This outlook supports the fostering of bilingualism which is the official policy as stated by the Secretary of Education. So do the Summer Institute results in that among those who did not express preference for both languages the Total Sample choices for only Maori and for only English were fairly evenly balanced. The important question remains as to how this bilingual goal may best be promoted.

Without going fully into this question a few words on the early years of schooling will be offered. In the Secretary of Education's paper referred to earlier it is stated that English becomes the medium of instruction in the fourth year at school on the basis of the preceding three years' preparation by the Tate oral method. This does not indicate when the reading and writing of English should start and it may be questioned whether some teachers have been starting this inadvicably before reading the writing of Maori have been sufficiently mastered, for example, during the second year of schooling. The learning of English reading using the Fiafia Readers which was so successful in Niue commenced with the third year of schooling¹⁶. This followed two years when English was taught orally using the Tate method while reading and writing were learned in the mother tongue with its familiar structures, meanings built up since infancy and, in contrast to the irregularities of English, its regular relationships between sound and written form. In a country with similar conditions, including teaching expertise, a similar policy would seem appropriate.

Though it has been found that pupils in Fiji who have had English as the medium of instruction from class 1 have tended to be ahead of others in class 6 it is pointed out that they have generally been selected for this 'on the basis of their ability to handle English in Class One'¹⁷. There is no dispute about English being introduced as soon as possible but it is questioned: Should this not be kept oral in the first two years of schooling as a general rule in the Cook Islands? The same contention would apply to other similar Pacific Island states such as Western Samoa and Tonga. English can be used in these years in giving instructions but orally. Further, if the aim be bilingualism, it would seem unreasonable to rule out the indigenous language as a medium of instruction in these early years. Indeed, with this aim it may be queried whether the indigenous language should be so fully displaced as a medium of instruction as early as at present. In the Cook Islands the mother tongue is taught as a subject up to the first year fifth form. However, if the language is to flourish as a versatile means of communication beyond everyday and traditional uses, should not some time be set aside in the school week for some use of Maori in teaching a range of schools subjects. As schools tend to direct their teaching towards examinations perhaps some place could be found for requiring the

use of Maori for some questions over a range of suitable school subjects in the Cook Island School Certificate Examination taken at the end of the first year fifth form.

While such a suggestion as this might require a considerable amount of public persuasion to allow its implementation, it should be less difficult to persuade schools that in general English be kept oral in the first two years of schooling. Readers with both Maori and English versions on adjacent pages with common illustrations have been recently in preparation. It may be found that these can be quite satisfactorily used in grade 2 for many pupils. However, it might be found that their introduction would be generally more beneficial in the third year. Pressures to advance in English have been present throughout this century on Cook Island schools. Some restraints on impatience deriving from this attitude may be helpful towards advancement in both this language and Maori.

What would make such restraint much more beneficial would be sufficient good quality material for promoting reading in the vernacular. There is a dearth of this, particularly in some Pacific Island countries. Thus there is a strong inducement to start using too soon what is available in English such as the South Pacific Commission reading material associated with the Tate programme. A good way of assisting Pacific Island states towards their chosen goal of bilingualism would be the giving of generous foreign aid to promote progress in the vernacular in schools both for junior classes and for those older.¹⁸

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8. Coppell, op. cit., pp. 101-2, Gilson, op. cit., p. 177.
9. Coppell, op. cit., pp. 102-3; Gilson, op. cit., pp. 213-4.
10. Gilson, op. cit., p. 169.
11. Ibid. p. 172.
12. Ibid., p. 214.
13. Short, T.A., 'Education Curricula', paper for the Seminar on Culture and Development for the 1980s, Department of Education, Rarotonga, 1980.
14. Summer Institute of Linguistics, 'Cook Islands Language Survey', Report to the Cook Islands Department of Education. Pacific Area Office, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1980. Tables 1 and 2 include amended Report figures by R. Early of the Institute.
15. The following percentages give the use of Maori and English respectively (with Rarotongan figures in brackets): for boys of Form 1, 60.5 (45.5) and 35.5 (49.1) and of Form 4, 46.6 (38.2) and 51.1 (59.2); for girls of Form 1, 57.0 (36.2) and 40.7 (60.3) and of Form 4, 52.3 (40.0) and 45.8 (57.6). In each of these 8 (including the Rarotongan) categories small percentages used both languages (ranging from 1.9 to 5.5).
16. Eiley, W.B., 'A Comparison of 'Content-Interest' and 'Structuralist' Reading Programmes in Niue Primary Schools', **New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies**, Vol. 15, 1980, pp. 39-53.
17. Eiley, W.B. and Mangubhai, F., 'Research Project on Reading in Fiji', **Fiji English Teachers' Journal**, Vol. 15, 1979, pp. 1-7.
18. If this goal of bilingualism were rejected, bitter might be the fruits as for the New Zealand Maori. Though mainly monolingual in English, Maori pupils on the one hand are tending to perform relatively less well than average on school achievement criteria and on the other hand suffering loss in cultural heritage and in self esteem (see e.g. National Advisory Council on Maori Education op. cit). The situation is complex e.g. the minority status of the Maori ethnic group.

THE THREE LANGUAGE PREFERENCE QUESTIONS

(1) What is best?

Ko teea te mea meitaki rava atu?

All Cook Island people speak:

- (a) only Maori
- (b) only English
- (c) Maori and English

Ko te au tangata Kuki Airani katoatoa kia tuatua:

- (a) Maori ua
- (b) Papaa ua
- (c) Maori e te Papaa

(2) What is best

Ko teea te mea meitaki rava atu?

Children at Primary schools of the Cook Islands should learn in the future:

- (a) only the Maori language
- (b) only the English language
- (c) both Maori and English languages

E mea tau no te tuatau ki mua te au tamariki apii rikiriki o te Kuku Airani kia apii ia:

- (a) i te reo Maori ua
- (b) i te reo Papaa ua
- (c) i te reo Maori e te Papaa

(3) What is best?

Ko teea te mea meitaki rava atu?

Pupils at Secondary schools of the Cook Islands should learn in the future:

- (a) only the Maori language
- (b) only the English language
- (c) both Maori and English languages

E mea tau no te tuatua ki mua te au tamariki apii teitei o te Kuki Airani kia apii ia:

- (a) i te reo Maori ua
- (b) i te reo Papaa ua
- (c) i te reo Maori e te Papaa

TABLE 1

Self Perceptions of 'Best' Spoken Language (Percentages)
 (from Summer Institute of Linguistics Report)

	Form 1		Form 4	
	Maori	English	Maori	English
RAROTONGA:				
Rarotonga North*	86.9	13.1	69.2	30.8
Titikaveka	75.7	24.3	73.4	26.6
OTHER ISLANDS:				
Aitutaki	86.4	13.6	86.5	13.5
Atiu	83.9	16.1	78.8	21.2
Mangaia	97.9	2.1	97.7	2.3
Mauke	100.0	0.0	94.1	5.9
Total Sample	86.4	13.6	78.8	21.2

* 'Rarotonga North' refers to Tereora College and Arorangi and Avarua Schools which feed into it.

TABLE 2
Language Preferences (Percentages)

ISLANDS: Schools	Three Questions Enquiry									Summer Institute			
	N	Only Maori			Only English			Both Languages			Maori	English	Both
		Q.1	Q.2	Q.3	Q.1	Q.2	Q.3	Q.1	Q.2	Q.3			
RAROTONGA													
Arorangi (F.1)	29	10.3	3.4	3.4	—	6.9	17.2	89.7	89.7	79.3	33.3	38.1	28.6
Avarua (F.1)	25	8.0	4.0	4.2	—	—	16.7	92.0	96.0	79.2	33.3	51.9	14.8
Tereora (F.4)	123	9.0	1.5	.8	—	—	7.3	91.0	98.4	91.9			
Titikaveka	98	5.1	—	—	2.0	5.1	6.1	92.9	94.8	93.9	10.7	21.4	67.9
OTHER ISLANDS													
Aitutaki											61.8	32.7	5.5
Atiu	46	13.0	10.9	6.5	—	4.3	23.9	87.0	84.8	69.6	13.8	55.2	31.0
Mangaia											38.1	42.9	19.0
Mauke	37	16.2	8.1	—	—	10.8	27.8	83.8	81.1	72.2	2.9	14.2	82.9
Total Sample	358	9.2	3.4	1.7	.6	3.7	12.6	90.2	93.0	85.7	27.7	36.3	36.0