

BOOK REVIEWS

Retreat from Apartheid: New Zealand's Sporting Contacts with South Africa by Richard Thompson. Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1975. 102 pp.

When a South African rugby team toured New Zealand in 1921 they encountered for the first time, in any white South African's experience, direct sporting contact with non-whites. Their match against a Maori team was seemingly traumatic, for it drew this comment from a South African columnist: "It was bad enough having to play a team officially designated 'New Zealand Natives', but the spectacle of thousands of Europeans frantically cheering on a band of coloured men to defeat members of their own race was too much for the Springboks, who were frankly disgusted".

The irony of New Zealand co-operating with South Africa in sport is not lost on Richard Thompson in his slim volume, which is based on a content analysis of newspaper reports and which deals with a social history spanning half a century. He refers to an 'improbable alliance' between the two countries, one devoted to racial equality and the other to racial segregation and subjugation. As one might expect, rugby contacts dominate attention in this book. The code is seen as the national sport in each country, one which carries considerable prestige, and has always been a focus for each to test out its particular racial policies. There are, however, interesting chapters devoted to cricket and athletics. The last contact in cricket took place in 1964, though we are not told why further exchanges ceased. The treatment of athletic contacts is particularly illuminating. A New Zealand Olympic champion toured South Africa in 1964, meeting opposition to this decision from churchmen in New Zealand and from a "non-racial Olympic Committee" in South Africa. After being excluded from the Mexico Olympics, an all-white Games was held in South Africa in 1969 as a compensation for her athletes. New Zealand's participation was the only foreign one, after other countries withdrew, and this brought bitter comment from I.O.C. African delegates. Possible reprisals against the 1974 Commonwealth Games in Christchurch became an issue consequently, and resulted in the N.Z.A.A.A. cancelling a tour by South African athletes in 1970. Two interesting points are bound up in this episode:

(a) The manner in which New Zealand sporting organizations can make an expedient rather than a 'moral' decision when external pressure is severe enough. (The same comment is seen to apply to various New Zealand governments as well in different parts of the book).

(b) The African boycott of the 1976 Olympics, which took place after this book was published, did not come out of the blue. From an African viewpoint, New Zealand 'provocation' has been going on for years.

It is clearly Rugby contacts, however, which have been the trigger of national and international disputes about New Zealanders in South Africa and South Africans in New Zealand. Possible dimensions of analysis are numerous, though the author prefers mainly to chronicle events. One interesting avenue which could have been more explicitly ordered is the variation in demands made by various groups, both in South Africa and New Zealand. When two Maori *non*-players visited South Africa for celebrations in 1964 this was viewed by some as an achievement. A further breakthrough occurred in 1970 with the inclusion of Maoris in the touring All Black team of that year. By this time, New Zealand protest groups were more demanding, however, and wanted South Africa to hold mixed trials. Even concessions of playing against Coloureds or blacks as separate teams were not viewed as satisfactory. At the book's end, Richard Thompson rightly queries whether even equality for blacks in sport in South Africa can be enough. Events in 1976 in that country suggest that only total change in the social structure will satisfy modern critics.

The book is a mine of information for students concerned with social issues: (a) the continuous intrusion of politics into sport by *all* parties at various points in time (one example: Canterbury athletes protested against the proposed 1970 tour by South African athletes for fear of jeopardizing the 1974 Commonwealth games in their home city). (b) Political double-talk by various government and sporting figures, especially in the '60s and '70s. (c) Financial inducements by South Africa to encourage tours by New Zealanders in minor sports, and to allow South Africans over here. (d) The distinction in tactics between H.A.R.T. and C.A.R.E. (e) The role of protest groups in South Africa, and their harassment by the South African government. (f) The fascinating parade of Honours bestowed on New Zealand sporting figures in uncanny temporal contiguity with sporting encounters against South Africa. (g) The effects of trade considerations in continuing sporting contacts between the two countries. Any one of these points, and others as well, could be treated as a distinct issue by the interested reader and explored in more detail.

For this reviewer, a fault in the book is a lack of connection between data and theory. No mention is made of the notion of minority identity, or of the sociology or social psychology of intergroup relations. The canvas on which the author depicts some 50 years of sporting events is a very appropriate one for such an analysis. Occasionally, an insight of this nature does come through, as when the tactics of one particular protest-group chairman are briefly dissected. In this sense, the book is not a social science document, and perhaps the author did not intend it to be so.

Despite this reservation, we are better off by having this book available. Richard Thompson is to be commended for the care with which

he has documented his account and for the inexorable manner in which he destroys the argument that sports and politics can be separated: they never have been, and never will be.

Graham Vaughan.

Adolescence in New Zealand: A Book of Readings. Volume I: Basic Development Influences, edited by R. A. C. Stewart. Auckland: Heinemann Educational Books, 1976.

Courses in New Zealand on the psychology of adolescence will not be able to neglect this book. There has long been a need for an editor and publisher with the courage and foresight to bring together existing research in this area. Society needs to monitor sensitively the effects it is having on its next cohort of young adults. On the other hand lecturers of such courses may have a problem in deciding how best to use the book because it will not provide a sound foundation for understanding the New Zealand adolescent in 1977 nor will it provide more than one or two models of good research design.

This book is the first of two volumes reporting "research-based material" a term which leaves the editor some latitude for the inclusion of the opinions of authorities like Ausubel, for preliminary announcements of research data yet to be analysed, for sketchy accounts of student viewpoints, or for "portraits" of young people. Its content is drawn from studies of certain influences on adolescent development—the home, school, socio-emotional and sexual influences. Many of the contributing authors live overseas. Some came to New Zealand to study us (Mercurio, Ausubel, Stewart, Aukerman) and others went to study or work abroad (Boshier, Baldock, Irwin, Broadley).

I would endorse the editor's rationale: "New Zealanders are very interested in their young people but too often unfortunately they have had to rely on discursive and impressionistic comment. Also, much of it has been based on overseas material, which although often illuminating does need to be tested for applicability in New Zealand. For wise national and personal decisions to be made such concrete factual material as is available in New Zealand must be marshalled and made more accessible. This is the goal of these volumes." There was a need for this and accessibility is now assured although I seriously question whether wise decisions could arise from the majority of the articles. One would hope that this publication will startle us into the realization that we know very little at the descriptive level and almost nothing at the explanatory level about the factors influencing our young New Zealanders in that cultural finishing school of adolescent experience.

In a recent survey of adolescent psychology L'Abate (1971) claimed that the field contained few satisfactory research projects, few publications and few specialists compared with other periods of childhood.

In New Zealand we have almost carried that trend to an extreme of neglect. The comments that follow reflect more upon the lack of local research than on the publication.

The most valuable chapter is the review of research since 1950 (Broadley, McMorland, Stewart) and it will undoubtedly be used as an annotated reference source.

There are only three reports on home influences. We are told that among applicants for Volunteer Service Abroad sons had introjected the conservative/liberal attitudes of fathers and daughters those of their mothers, and that a communication gap existed in VSA's between parents and youth. A replication of Peter Wilmott's Adolescent Boys in East London tells us that the 50 Dunedin boys aged 13-19 years in 1971 had less meaningful relationships with their homes than the London boys in 1959-64. That is all that can be reported on family influences—eleven pages. It is time to take up a collection for a vast programme directed towards knowing ourselves.

Several studies on school influences make a useful contribution in my opinion. The comparison of Day Boys and Hostel Boys and their spare time activities supports the argument that Diploma research of good quality can add to our information base. The boys' lives differed in ways that controlled their opportunities and interests over four years at school and in the careful reporting of results it is easy to see what is lost upon the roundabouts and what is gained upon the swings. Mercurio's work on corporal punishment is well-known by now, an example of a different but effective approach to research with careful observation of the complex variables operating within one school.

Under the heading social and emotional influences Ausubel is allowed to raise his 1958 complaints on conformity and individuality charging us with intolerance of heterodoxy, authoritarian discipline, cultural institutions from Victorian England, and highly formal relationships between children and adult authority figures. Holding a mirror to New Zealanders in this way may have some value if it sets us thinking, but unfortunately this extract must be set in the historical perspective of its time—"bodgieism is a cult of exhibitionistic non-conformity, out-of-bounds loutishness and of studiously laboured rejection of adult respectability". Ausubel's perception of emphases befits his scholarship but the orchestration of these in interpretive pronouncements never did seem sensitive to New Zealand values. He seems to me to say, "Why can't New Zealanders be more like Americans?"

A comparison of the Baldock and Ballard articles is interesting. From a sociological framework Baldock concludes that the New Zealand school system is unable to erase the social class background of the students with the implication that we ought to, and have therefore failed or that we are inconsistent if we claim to believe in equality of educational opportunity. Ballard makes a psychological analysis of

parent, teacher and peer expectation and their effects on student aspiration. He sketches an interaction between achievement, abilities, and aspiration which approaches closer to explanatory interpretation of some of the variables in Baldock's problem, than her research design could hope to do.

Keeling and Nuthall's study of values, sound in sample, technique and interpretation, reports age, sex and ability differences among 682 third and fifth formers, from ten high schools and from cross-sectional data it suggests some directions of change in the personal value structure of adolescents as they get older. There is a particular value in such careful research because it provides a base from which further research can be generated.

The section on sexual influences reflects a concern in this area in recent years and has coverage if not profound insights.

In such a volume the editor carries the responsibility of pointing up the value of such a questionable range of material and evaluating its contribution and forward reference. His final chapter could make or mar the publication, so I will place some weight on his concluding remarks.

My thinking stumbles at the thought of La Scala opera seats 24 hours wide, ponders on the term "undependence" and dwells on the thought that Kinsey has changed his name. I conclude that the proof-reading of the last chapter was as hurried as its composition.

Probably the best set of data on New Zealand children that we have is of physical growth changes, so the editor's claim that data on the onset of puberty are lacking is plainly wrong. Much can be inferred from excellent data on height and weight, growth spurts and the latest report collected data on menstruation and genital and pubic hair development.

In the section on sex his comments seem to me to be not consistent with the reports. The comments on authoritarian control, sitting on the sex urge, denying sexual expression to the young are curious conclusions from five chapters on sex life which do not reflect Victorian austerity. When Irwin reports that only 14% of University or Teachers' College students who were sexually experienced were currently practising sex this seems an easy kind of "take it or leave it" attitude. In today's climate of the sexism debate there is a curiously masculine ring in the complaints that New Zealand society hampers the development of its adolescents by denial of sexual expression, the procrustean bed of compulsory sport, and the use of corporal punishment.

Because there have been so few studies undertaken an editor is bound to take some leaps of interpretation in cross-relating results but I would expect this to be attempted with all due care. There is often what can be called a one-tailed search for relationships in Stewart's editorial comment. It is suggested that single-sex schools bear a causative relationship to the fact that Youthline has many calls about boy/girl relationships! Isn't it possible that this emphasis arises because these

are a focal adolescent concern? Stewart claims that qualities of critical thought, imaginative leadership and willingness to live with change are not the products of authoritarianism. Firstly they could be, in reactive adjustment, which adolescents achieve rather easily. It is unwise to underestimate the flexibility and the search for change that swells in the heart of the young. Secondly, hypotheses in adolescent research must not be generated in pop psychology or sociology like "the facile ideas which sweep through a selfconscious culture from time to time" (Adelson, 1970). Although the family and school may emphasize control in duet, the wider community and the events of the times are crucial in shaping the fledgling's identity at 16-20 years (Keeling & Nuthall's report suggests this). For example the morality and value systems of today's youth will more probably be shaped by and, sharpened on, the issues of the All Black Tour, the Olympic Boycott, the Muldoon image, and the economic climate than by the family and school atmospheres which they have learned to live with or to ignore. This is not a defense of authoritarian ways. It is a plea against false, oversimplified hypotheses about young people and what effects them. It expresses my preference for the Ballard over the Baldock approach, and for Havighurst's understanding that the New Zealand family could at the one time be more authoritarian and yet have warmer interpersonal relationships than the American families he studied. The sensitivity of adolescent behaviour to cultural change and contemporary emphases almost defeats the psychologist because before he gets his research designed or his data analysed the adolescent trend has branched off in a new direction responding to signals in current events that are barely detectable (Nesselroad and Baltes, 1974).

We needed this publication to show us the status of adolescent research in this country and I suspect that we can look forward to Volume 2 to sketch a little more of what might be called a charcoal draft. Already the conclusion is obvious. We need a massive urge of descriptive research which plots the various states of adolescence in New Zealand today with sound research design and sampling. If this is kept free of popular cliches, sentimental notions, and causation clangers, then competent *New Zealand researchers* may be able to relate some of the solo themes to the orchestrated whole of young people in the process of developmental change in this society. We could begin to generate hypotheses about what influences what, independent of cross-cultural proselytising. After all if judging New Zealand adolescents by the yardstick of American or British research findings is false, interpretations of their behaviour by overseas visitors to this country may be only slightly less so.

I have found the opportunity to weigh seriously the contribution of this volume helpful for my own thinking about youth in this country.

To the extent that it becomes a basis for critical evaluation and discussion in Teachers' College and University courses it will be a contribution.

Adelson, J. What Generation Gap? *New York Times*, 1970.

L'Abate, L. The state of adolescent psychology. *Developmental Psychology*, 1971, 201-205.

Nesselroade, J. R., and Baltes, P. B. Adolescent personality development and historical change: 1970-72. *Monograph Soc. Res. Child Dev.* 39, 1, 1974.

Marie M. Clay.

Origins of Intelligence: Infancy and Early Childhood, edited by Michael Lewis. New York and London: Plenum Press 1976. 413 pp., cloth \$21.00.

The editor, Michael Lewis, says that the intention of this book is to look at infant intelligence from a wide variety of perspectives, biological, social, cognitive, and affective, in order to clarify the construct "infant intelligence". The book consists of thirteen specially written chapters by eighteen authors from different parts of the U.S.A., most are strongly influenced by Piaget's views of development, particularly during the sensorimotor period.

Six of the chapters are broadly historical and deal with definitions of childhood intelligence, the construction of infant tests and their subsequent poor correlation with tests of childhood I.Q. Many authors make the same points in different chapters so that one wishes that the editor had done more to synthesise and condense this material.

The parts of the book which I found most interesting were the provocative chapter on evolutionary aspects of infant intelligence by Sandra Scarr-Salapatek, a good review by Golden and Birns on various environmental enrichment programmes (intended to stimulate infants and young children to do better at school) and a single case-study of a child's use of the word "why", by Blank and Allen.

Golden and Birns (Ch. 11) seem to have resolved the question of why infant sensorimotor tests correlate so badly with childhood tests of intelligence. They devised a verbal inventory for two-year-olds and found a high correlation ($r=0.86$, $p<0.01$) between this test and the Binet taken six months later. The conclusion seems to be that there is a qualitative difference between the pre-language skills measured by the usual infant tests and childhood intelligence tests which rely so heavily on understanding and using language.

The cover and format of the book are likely to attract non-specialists, but I cannot agree with the remark by Kagan on the dust jacket that the book will be of "enormous value and interest to citizens who wish to bone up on what we have learned about the first exciting phases in human psychological development". The book is not written for the lay-public, it is written for professionals. It will be most valuable to

those who use infant tests, and parts will interest developmental psychologists, educationalists, and paediatricians.

Pauline Nye.

Intrinsic Motivation by Edward L. Deci. New York and London: Plenum Press, 1975. Cloth N.Z. \$17.94.

I do not want to provide an incentive for you to read this book. My recommendation may decrease your intrinsic motivations to learn something about motivation and extrinsic rewards.

Intrinsically motivated behaviours are ones "which a person engages in so that he may feel competent and self-determining in relation to his environment," (p.v.) and "for which there is no apparent reward except the activity itself" (p. 23). There tends to be a negative relationship between the amount of extrinsic reward a person receives for engaging in an activity and the amount of intrinsic motivation for that activity. Although punishment, negative reinforcement, and rewards are related to behaviour in this manner, positive verbal reinforcement tends to have the opposite effect for men. It increases the intrinsic motivation of men, but it decreases the intrinsic motivation of women, regardless of the sex of the experimenter.

Deci takes an organismic approach to the topic. He builds on the theoretical perspectives of Robert W. White, utilizes information processing theories, and examines the theory and research of Berlyne, Hebb, Hunt, Piaget, Maslow, Elkind, Atkinson, McClelland, De Charms, Heider, Helson, and Vroom. (I have "dropped" some names for those academics reinforced by status, to provide an incentive to purchase the book so that someone else will read it out of curiosity.) His supporting research is quite clearly documented, and it controls for factors such as experimenter bias, demand characteristics, and sex differences of experimenters and subjects.

Approximately one quarter of the book relates intrinsic motivation to theories of cognitive evaluation, cognitive dissonance, and attribution of motivation. To me, Deci has provided a major conceptual advance for the theories. For example, he shows that in addition to Festinger's initial proposal, people also seek out incongruity.

Deci's style of writing and organisation make this book very readable. He provides timely summaries both in paragraph and tabular form. His charts and diagrams are few but simple and easy to understand. Implications and applications in the areas of education, organisational motivation, and attitude research are very pertinent.

As outlined in the Preface, the work is definitely a source book on intrinsic motivation. With over 375 references, it brings together from many areas of psychology all of the available literature related to intrinsic motivation. It is appropriate for upper-level courses in human motivation, social cognition, and social psychology. But do not make it required reading!

Dave Clarke.

Experiencing the Environment edited by S. Wapner, S. B. Cohen, and B. Kaplan. New York: Plenum Press, 1976. vii + 244 pp. \$19.14.

The ecological crisis and problems of modern urbanisation demand a careful study of the man-environment relation. Clear statements of current research directions and methods in environmental psychology are therefore desirable. Unfortunately, the nine papers (presented at a Clark University conference in 1975) collected in *Experiencing the Environment* contribute little to clarifying or developing research in environmental psychology, although some of the material may be of interest to those researching the area. While the data described are hardly archival, they represent the current efforts of the various contributors and are used to illustrate otherwise unclearly or incompletely formulated theorizing. More unfortunately, the editors have not assisted the reader in suggesting some theme common to the papers, either by way of an integrative editorial statement, or by useful sequencing of the papers (the sequence seemed arbitrary). The title of the collection suggests an emphasis on "experience" (whatever that is) but in no paper is there a clear discussion of what is meant by environmental experience.

An obvious discussion point concerns how one might conceptualize or define the "environment". Indeed, such a question might well be construed as a major aim of a volume such as this. Ittleson, Franck, and O'Hanlon argue strongly that the environment cannot be specified independently of human experience; the individual is part of the system he is experiencing. Anecdotal evidence for this view is that a person can imagine himself in entirely different situations while in the one physical setting. The same kind of evidence is cited by Lowenthal and Prince to show that man can "transcend" his environment. Similarly, Kaplan, Wapner and Cohen conclude that "A personal environment is a constellation of 'meanings', some of them exemplified in actual objects, places, and persons; of expectancies, of internalized constraints and possibilities of movement all reflected for the individual in the objects, persons, and places surrounding him/her" (p. 217). Presumably, these arguments are meant to demonstrate the importance of experience, but whatever their usefulness, they remain ineffective as ways of directing empirical analysis of the man-environment relation. For example, in a chapter on the environment as hazard, Kates suggests without explanation that "so all-pervasive is environment that in its totality it escapes our comprehension, at least in this mode of consciousness" (p. 133). Perhaps Kates' research into the incomprehensible will give random meaning to unknown events.

Ittleson's notion of environment as surrounding "sheath" contrasts with the functionalist view presented by Wohlwill and Kohn in an earlier chapter. Wohlwill and Kohn sensibly suggest that like the con-

cept of "the person"; that of "the environment" is too broad to be useful. Instead, the environment is seen as "a source of diverse kinds of stimulation" impinging on the individual. Thus the task of the environmental psychologist is to specify functional relationships between given attributes or dimensional variables of the physical environment and relevant aspects of behaviour.

Wohlwill and Kohn's approach has generated some useful research showing how judgements of various environmental attributes of cities vary with city size and with the prior city-size experience of the observer. These and other studies are typified by explicit manipulation of an environmental dimension, thus enabling specification of possible *interactions* between person and environmental variables. The importance of the person-environment (or person-setting) interaction is emphasised by Craik in an informative discussion of personology and the interaction between dispositional and situational variables in the determination of behaviour. The person-setting interaction is illustrated by Russell and Mehrabian's research in the first chapter of the volume.

The weakness of the volume as a whole can be attributed to the generally phenomenological approach taken by Little, Lowenthal and Prince, Kates, Wicker and Kermeyer, Ittleson and his colleagues, and Kaplan, Wapner and Cohen. The problem with the approach is that the "independent variables" studied by these researchers are variables descriptive of the person, rather than of the physical environment. Thus Little develops a terminologically elaborate yet conceptually incoherent classification of people according to their "specializations" in perceiving things or persons. Wicker and Kermeyer's behaviour settings are social variables such as group size or constitution. Kaplan, Wapner, and Cohen studied verbal or pictorial descriptions of a single environmental situation as a function of race, articulate ability, and audience for whom the description was intended. By not including variables of the physical environment, these studies afforded no way of examining the person-setting interaction and cannot therefore be regarded as useful contributions to the study of man-environment relationships.

Students of environmental psychology may find the papers by Wohlwill and Kohn, and Craik of some use, but at its price the volume can only expect to adorn the shelves of the local library.

K. Geoffrey White.