Observations on the Themes of International Youth Year '85 Part 3

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PEACE

is both an international and local issue which

....should also confront basic problems in society like inequality, unemployment, homelessness and racial discrimination.

....requires society to be tolerant and flexible so people can be at peace with one another. (IYY 85 Brochure)

PEACE the Pocket Oxford Dictionary refers to peace as being freedom from or cessation of war; civil order as secured by law; quiet, calm, harmonious relations. To be at peace is to be untroubled. For the present generation of young people issues relating to peace are of critical importance. International brinkmanship and possession of arsenals with destructive power unprecedented underscore age old questions of human relations concerning aggression and the management of competition and conflict. The daily news almost inevitably dreaws attention to conflict between individuals, between large groups of people and between nations. The slogan "Peace in our time" carries a note of urgency yet the daily experience of human conflict both real and simulated on TV screens points to the possibility that potential for conflict is deeply rooted in human nature.

From time to time philosophers, psychologists and sociologists give attention to these questions as no one can doubt the catastrophic outcomes of extreme conflict for the losers. On the international scene the worry is that only Pyrrhic victories may remain if nuclear salvos or the product of sophisticated conventional weaponry are unleashed.

It is highly likely that most, if not all, human beings are capable of aggressive conduct where the need for self defence arises. When under threat, "fright", "flight" or "fight" responses form part of the personal human repertoire. It is also apparent that aggressive behaviour in humans takes froms other than physical and that physical and non-physical aggression are woven into the fabric of daily life in a wide variety of ways. Konrad Lorenz (1969) suggested three positive functions of aggression in relation to the preservation of the species - the balanced distribution of animals of the same species over the available environment; selection of the

strongest by rival fights; and defence of the young. These functions apply to humans as they do to other species and are, it is suggested, deeply ingrained in our inherited make-up through the long process of evolution and natural selection. The acting out of aggressive instinct for these purposes is somewhat confounded by the rapidity with which human intellect has wrought change in the physical and social circmstances in which people now live. Urbanised, industrialised and economically organised society has deviated considerably from the hunting gathering origins in relatively recent evolutionary history.

One interesting point made by ethologists such as Lorenz and Ardrev, is the relative lack in humans of strong instinctive mechanisms involving inhibition of the aggressive drive of the attacker of the same species. Other animals will signal submission through display, such as exposin vulnerable parts of their body to the attacker, resulting in cessation of aggression. Similar functions for humans probably to exist but have also been cast in their power over language and communication and embodied in social norms and rituals. The inhibition of physically aggressive action certainly exists but debate still rages over the degree to which inhibition and aggression are instinctive or learned. Internal controls on aggression appear more related to responses within social groups and suffer somewhat from the human capacity to use weapons which at close quarters can do more harm than intended and which from a great distance can wreak havoc before ⁴ and social intercourse can take place. One must note, however, that small emotionally intense social groups e.g. couples, families, can become dangerous places. It seems likely that the human mental capacity to brook, fantasise and rationalise can militate against submission and convert functional dominance into grandiose schemes.

The capacity and drive for aggression appears to the writer to be woven into the behaviour of modern humankind in a varied and complex way. It may appear in the form of destructive activity toward others or self. It may appear in a similar way in the form of constructive activity on behalf of others or self. In general most aggression in modern times appears to relate firstly to the pursuit of goals in accord with ambition; secondly to frustration of progress toward some goal; and thirdly to any event which the individual believes legitimates an aggressive act.

Ambition is generally valued in modern society and particularly in Western cultures as an individual trait. Goaldirected behaviour and achievement holds out the promise of personal reward and in the prevailing economic theory, is tied in altruistically to the good of all. It is not hard to find examples, however, where the ambitions of an individual or group provide ready justification to override the needs, wishes or well being of others.

Frustration in a similar way may relate to goal-directed activity, the prospect of failure due to the presence of an obstacle can result in an aggressive attack on the obstacle. Many instances can be observed, however, where the attack may be indirect or event totally displaced, serving primarily to allow for the discharge of the energy of anger. Perhaps this is a reversion to the tantrum of the two or three year-old whose object is to have Mum or Dad remove the obstacle or source of frustration.

In the realm of legitimising agression the emphasis is on the issue of self justification. Men wage war for causes which in the hindsight of history have questionable justification. Moral causes, national causes, ideological and political causes of many kinds come to the fore. In dealing with young people in trouble with the law the writer frequently hears stories of economic justification, the need to meet expectations of peers, to prove one's prowess or courage, to satisfy a powerful craving like a drug habit, to punish an outgroup - roll a dero - bash a poofter. The more questionable justifications are often further justified by a lack of appreciation at the time brought on by over-indulgence in alcohol or some other substance. The Milgram experiments (1963) clearly indicate the lengths to which ordinary law abiding individuals will go in punishing others when an apparently legitimate excuse is provided. Students were told that they had to administer electric shocks to subjects to preserve the integrity of the experiment. With the sanction of the experimenters they were able to override any tendency to disquiet through the power of the approval of their masters. Similar justification is seen in the commission of war time atrocities and great cruelty is readily enacted in the name of justice when right is on our side.

With such capacity and propensity for aggression what place exists for peace in human relations? Paradoxically, harmony, interdependance, co-operation and selfsacrifice reach high levels in human groups when they cohere to meet an external threat. Ardrey suggests that these two sets of attributes i.e. the set giving humans skill in aggression and the set giving skill in co-operative relationships developed side by side in the human hunting band. To provide for and preserve the well-being of the ingroup coherence and trust mobilised collective skill and energy against outsiders or prey. If both these innate capacities exist side by side it within the physical, intellectual, is emotional and social capacity of people to find a safe arena for the discharge of aggressive potential and sufficient skill in co-operation to deal with the tasks now facing the human race as a whole.

is it possible to manage the intensely populated local environments in which people live and work and the global social environment as it shrinks under the influence of rapid transport. communications and migration? The writer suggests that it needs to be so if the future of succeeding generations is an important goal and that it is reasonable to seek peace as a right for all people. Because of our human nature the peace envisaged is unlikely to be entirely untroubled or free of tension. Some would say that such a state would be boring quite apart from the fact that co-operation and harmonious relationships at close guarters entail risk-taking, discovery and effort to establish and maintain. As well the modern world is not devoid of natural calamity and challenge which from time to time will tax the strength of those involved. It does seem, however, that a need exists for people to develop outlets for the physical components of their aggressive drives and to turn their intellect in the direction of meeting the challenge presented by the ingenious way the human penchant for gadgets and weaponry has painted the human race and its ecosystem into a somewhat dangerous and for some debilitating and depriving corner.

In the first two articles in this series an effort was made to redirect thinking in the direction of some personal and environmental attributes of the human condition according to a social ecological perspective of youth in todays's society. In Figure 1 - The TRANSACTIONAL Sphere

ENVIRONMENTAL SPHERE AVOIDANCE/ WITHDRAWAL AUTONOMOUS CO-OPERATION EXCHANGE PRIORITY FREQUENCY DURATION INTENSITY STIGMATISATION COERCIVE MANIPUL-ATION COERCIVE CONFRON-TATION REJECTION PERSONAL SPHERE MODES OF INTERACTION **REGULATIONS OF BELATIONSHIPS**

the interests of peace and a reasonable degree of tranquility in the long term attention is now drawn to a third sphere of influence. This rests between the personal sphere and the environmental sphere and sets out to focus on some concepts of value in understanding the interaction between the two. It is termed the transaction sphere and contains two bands (see Fig. 1). One band lists various modes of interaction or stances the individual may take toward the people and things present in the immediate environment. The other band, called regulators of relationships, provides some which affect the concepts wav relationships develop and are maintained.

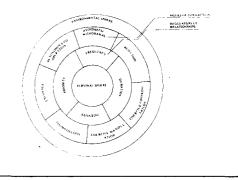
Modes of Interaction

A social encounter involves the parties to it adopting a particular attitude or stance toward each other which is then likely to be translated into subsequent behaviour. The stance adopted is likely to vary with the perceptions, purposes and power of the individuals or groups involved. Recognising the stance and where necessary doing things to change it, can have a significant bearing on the outcome of the encounter and subsequent events. The writer believes that such understanding would be of benefit to young people seeking positive outcomes from their interaction with the social environment in which they live. The modes of interaction located on this first transactional band are named as follows: coercive confrontation, coercive manipulation, stigmatisation, exchange, autonomous co-operation, avoidance/ withdrawal and finally rejection. There are undoubtedly many other ways of

Two groups of concepts in the transactional sphere affecting the quality and outcomes of interaction between person and environment.

MODES OF INTERACTION represent the approach adopted by parties involved in the interaction.

REGULATORS OF RELATIONSHIPS are factors effecting the probability of an influential outcome resulting from the interaction.



categorising human behaviour but the writer has found considerable utility in this model when trying to understand and influence the outcome of events involving inmates and staff in residential institutions dealing with children and young people. Coercive Confrontation:

This concept refers to overt and direct coercion. A conflict stance is adopted and one or both parties adopt a stance intended to make self winner and the other loser. It involves "do this or I will do that" and making it clear that power of one form or another will be applied to achieve this end. It involves the overt display or use of power to coerce the other party to conform to the wishes of the power holder. It contains the unequivocal intention to deprive, damage or destroy the person or some cathected part or extension of the person. It presents a clear threat of damage to identity, deprivation of stimulation, painful stimulation, loss of security or combinations of these punishments.

Its success as a means of achieving ends depends on the desire, willingness and capacity of the threatened person or group to avoid these negative consequences and the willingness and ability of the power holder to carry out the threatened consequences. Should the threatened party fight back conflict occurs until a winner emerges or until another stance is adopted. Much has been written for the benefit of the serious student of conflict. From the writer's point of view it is of fundamental importance to acknowledge that continued conflict does result in winners and losers and sometimes the ultimate winner incurs great loss as well. There are occasions when coercion may

be justified but its potential short term and long term risks must be recognised. Losers may harbour bitterness and a felt need for ultimate revenge, innocent parties may often become involved and suffer loss, behaviour may be modelled for subsequent repitition and losers often pass their anger and frustration on to more vulnerable others. The ability to deescalate and achieve satisfactory resolution of conflict is a much needed skill to place in the hands of coming generations.

If submission is not acceptable and the threat cannot be ignored, the potential success of a counter attack depends on the counter attacker's access to cover or his or her ability to outwit the aggressor. In confrontative many situations the experienced by the writer with angry young people and with adults in the industrial arena, the most productive events in the long term, appear to be those where parties refrain from using more power than is needed to create a climate of equality in the relationship, and where parties can conclude that the outcome is a fair and just result. This often involves the need to display some mercy, to find means to break tension such as humour or attempts to reverse roles to the point where empathetic exchange can take place in a co-operative mode.

Coercive Manipulation:

This concept involves the use of techniques to induce compliance or achieve the goals of the manipulator. whilst attempting to keep the coercive element covert. It is the covert use of power or the attempt to gain advantage when sufficient power to achieve ends overtly is lacking or where the process of open conflict might be painful even for the potential victor. Such actions are usually designed to reduce the risk of open conflict, particularly where the power differential is low or where overt coercion could result in a switch to another type of action where the power differential is reversed. Examples of this form of behaviour are coaxing, lying, use of partial truths (masking), flattering, evaluating, some grades of threatening, postponing or procrastinating.

Depending on the skill of the manipulator and the vulnerability or gullibility of the manipulated, attempts to control may be more or less successful. Depending on the purposes of the manipulator and the means used, the losses for the victim may be more or less. If exposed or unskillfully attempted any sense of trust in the relationship is likely to be destroyed and the relationship embittered. There is also a strong probability that relationships built on manipulation will be shallow and prone to subsequent rejection.

The use of manipulation may be legitimate in some situations such as coaxing a child

to eat or by diverting attention away from a risky situation. It may be necessary to handle a dangerous situation where negotiation is not possible and where the use of restraining power carries unacceptable risk as well. if the manipulation is unmasked and confronted, however, ground will be lost for further negotiation and escalation of the conflict is probable.

Skilled manipulation is frequently used in today's society, often backed by great economic, political or military power. Salesmanship, propaganda and media advertising are examples. Technology has provided a medium par excellence in radio and television, further accentuated by the one way flow of communication, the inability of the receiver to question the sender and the fact that the originator of the message is often hidden behind a bevy of creative writers, actors and theatrical effects.

Discovered manipulation breeds mistrust, cynicism and often hostility. Peace built on it, is likely to be restless and uneasy peace if there is any possibility of truth or another point of view breaking through. The vulnerable and the vain are the most likely victims of manipulation and from time to time ordinary people are mobilised to support bad causes through skilful manipulation.

Journalists recognise the danger when they refer to fair and balanced reporting; regrettably bias sometimes sells more news but can leave many victims, including including future good relationships.

Stigmatisation:

The act of labelling or evaluating a person in a way designed to facilitate their control. It refers to the employment of mechanisms for affixing a negative identity, which is normatively devalued. Most commonly the labels used are forms of sickness, madness, badness, sadness (implying dependency), incompetence or inferiority. The practice ranges from calling people names to making formal judgements about them.

Usually it has the covert aim and the effect of rendering the person powerless through an accommodated self concept and the legitimizing of coercive control mechanisms by agents of normative social control.

As its extreme, consensus is achieved between the labelled person and others, that the state, and its accompanying status is a reality. Autonomy is lost to dependency. Depending on the nature of the status, power over possessions, information, communication and decision making may also be totally lost.

Persistence of the state or the status would appear to increase the probability of a negative prognosis. It must be accepted that often such labels are fixed after the appearance of real organic conditions, behavioural phenomena and problems in performance or functioning. It also cannot be denied that in many instances there is a need to identify the problem and described it with a view to containment. management, treatment, amelioration or compensation. Often, however, the effects of affixing the label do not stop there and there are wider destructive consequences for the individual. The process can easily extend out of proporation to the actual condition of the behavioural event which gave rise to the label. There is also the danger of labels being incorrectly or unjustly applied with consequent loss of self esteem or credibility in the eyes of others.

Persistent stigma can be regarded as the social transformation of identity leading to a moral career (Goffman, 1964) as a deviant, until the individual so defined can shake off the label and rejoin the mainstream. Environmental perceptions and pressures may so contrain opportunity and define pathways along stereotyped lines that the condition becomes self-fulfilling and certain features of personality and lifestyle are permanently distorted. The rituals and ceremonies attached to fixing labels are often powerful events, e.g. certification, court cases and performance appraisals. Processes to convert people back to normality are often not as powerful and emphatic and the business of regaining credibility, trust and normality in the eyes of others can take time and testing to a level beyond the level usually encountered in everyday mainstream life. This may not be unreasonable given the negative consequences of some forms of behaviour breakdown but it can present enormous difficulty for the stigmatised person.

Self-help groups, support networks and community education around certain conditions provide some means of overcoming negative consequences which exceed the reality of the situation. Workers with many handicapped groups are often surprised by the human potential unlocked, when, in the context of a nonjudgemental approach and a positive relationship, barriers are broken down. A wider perspective of human functioning. some risk taking optimism in relationships, flexibility and a tolerance of diversity, can also help to overcome the negative consequences of stigma, notwithstanding the need to be aware, that the problems to which stigma is attached are often not imaginary and one can be let down. A recognition that many behavioural problems are a product of both personal and environment circumstances, that a personal adjustment, change of scene or both can make the difference required to or compensate eliminate of the handicapped underlying the stigma.

It is to be hoped that young people will not be trapped by stereotypical viewpoints. That they will look beyond the labels to the point where more positive modes of interaction can apply, where the positive potential which resides in the majority of people will be found and those attributes less conducive to peace which reside in all are less likely to be expressed. Exchange:

Includes the use of a variety of techniques such as bargaining, collaborating, cooperating and competing within some form of compact or contract based on reciprocal giving and receiving. Mechanisms of this sort often appear to be institutionalized as conflict regulators and are more likely to occur when power differentials are low or when power differentials are less visible.

They are essentially based on self-interest and may contain elements of threat to withhold and possibly resort to more coercive techniques to enforce the contract. Concimitant degrees of mistrust will also develop. During interaction of this type one is likely to find the means of discharging or reducing tension, e.g. adversary legal counsel, systems of arbitration and appeal, and other means of referral to a third party; rules, as in sporting competitions; the use of humour or joking. It is of interest to note that mechanisms of this type form the basis of much of the economic order and entrepreneurial skill tends to be viewed as a desirable attribute when it comes to making money, winning games and getting things done.

Presuming that the self-interest of both parties is adequately served in the transaction then positive outcomes are probable. Power differentials, however, increase the probability of exploitation. Failure to meet needs increases the probability of conflict or cessation of the relationship. Being ripped off is viewed with distaste and leaves the victim feeling hurt, angry and sometimes poorer if he or she knows what has happened. Often, however, the entrepreneur recognises the risk of biting the hand which feeds it and exacts only the price which "the market can stand".

Many exchange activities allow people to test and find out about the goals, expectations, needs and values of others whilst avoiding excessive exposure of vulnerability until sufficient trust develops. A much respected local practitioner and consultant in industrial relations, Don Maling, points out that achieving conflict resolution is more likely when bargaining activities are concentrated on dealing with goals and expectations rather than needs and values.

Hopefully the youth of today and the future will learn entrepreneurial skills. They are often essential in the managing of conflict as a stage to go through on the way to achieving compromise or co-operation relationships. They are frequently an important means of getting needs met and avoiding exploitation.

Hopefully those who gain them will use them in the pursuit of pro-social goals and where they are used for obtaining profit, reliable conventions and ethics will apply to prevent exploitation of the vulnerable and the creation of unnecessary risk for future generations.



Autonomous Co-operation:

Characterized by trust, mutual respect, reciprocity and a significant degree of openness in the relationship. It frequently involves the suspension of critical faculties (suspicion, scepticism. judgement); mutual acceptance; and selfdisclosure between parties. It contains a desire on the part of both ego and alter to see the needs of each other met. It inevitably involves efforts to reduce tension and achieve mutual understanding.

Actions are likely to be based on the preservation of the needs of the other party without denying one's own needs. It involves both giving and taking in the pursuit of common goals and permitting the pursuit of individual goals, confident that there is no intent to cause or permit harm to encroach on the needs of the other without full awareness.

An autonomously co-operative action might be described in the following way. It may be seen as a process in which the degree of genuineness, trust and commitment will effect the probability of each party investing effort in each step of the probability of satisfaction being the end result.

- STEP 1 Mutual agreement concerning goals
- STEP 2 Acceptance of other
- STEP 3 Input of self
- STEP 4 Investment in other and investment in self
- STEP 5 Satisfaction of individual and sense of progress toward

mutual goals and mutual recognition and support for progress toward individual needs and goals.

The development and maintenance of autonomous co-operation requires, from time to time, resort to efforts to reduce tension and to maintain mutual understanding, e.g. humour, display of sympathy, referral to arbitration, controlled conflict or rituals to displace or manage extreme emotional arousal.

Autonomous co-operation is often seen as an ideal state and when achieved has high potential to be both emotionally rewarding and a powerful basis for task achievement.

It means, however, exposure and vulnerability. When breakdown occurs there is a high potential for bitter recrimination and dangerous coercive action and reaction. Such reaction may be directed at self or others.

Examples of relationships based predominantly on autonomous cooperation are those between close friends, close kin, good social casework relationships and in some task-oriented and group relationships.

Within such relationships many of the most meaningful events in life occur. Robert Corkhuff studied relationships which purported to be helping or enabling relationshps and concluded that those in which people felt most helped were those characterised by empathy, genuineness, respect, immediacy, correctedness, and confrontation. The writer believes that this is one important variety of relationship in which autonomous co-operation is important as a goal in the process.

Hopefully young people will have enough experiences of autonomously cooperative relationships as they grow, to learn well the skills of developing them and maintaining them in later and wider spheres of activity. The writer strongly suspects that a major task facing human society in the pursuit of peace is to learn how to apply these skills across present social and cultural boundaries. Avoidance/Withdrawal:

Avoidance or withdrawal may be active or passive responses to presenting circumstances. Common responses in the presence of stimuli perceived as noxious, threatening or damaging, they are frequently encountered. Generally aimed at reducing or ceasing the possibility of further interaction they assume additional importance when they entail the omission of important life tasks or the missing of growth-producing opportunities and neglecting obligations. Another effect commonly encountered in the residential care field is the trouble many people may encounter whilst avoiding or running away from something they perceive as the greater evil.

One observed example was a child unable

to actively seek help from his teacher because of his fear of exposing his school work inadequacy to peers. Lewin's field theory and his concept of approach avoidance behaviour is also of relevance to this mode of interaction. From a distance a goal may appear desirable and nonthreatening, on approach its negative characteristics may grow in the perception of the approacher to the point where the negative attributes outweigh the positive. withdrawal ensues but as the distance increases the negative aspects are deemphasized and the positives again assume greater value. This may reach a point where avoidance behaviour ceases and approach is recommenced. Such a mechanism appears to be behind frequently observed ambivalent and vacillating behaviour.

It is an important stance to adopt when further interaction means escalating trouble. Sometimes a cooling-off period is critical to the constructive resolution of a conflict. At other times, when relations are of embittered. avoidance further interaction solidifies the bitterness and impedes subsequent resolution of the conflict, it may lead to scheming for counter attack and revenge at another time when the opposite party is vulnerable. As a rule the writer believes that early resolution of conflict is a desirable objective.

Hopefully by the time maturity is reached young people, through their previous social encounters, will have become discerning, confident, competent and assertive enough to appraise the situations facing then. To know when to withdraw, when to persist and when to confront with some change of a safe and constructive outcome.

Rejection:

Clearly aimed at ceasing interaction or signalling energy to negative modes of interaction from anticipated positive modes. It is a frequently observed phenomena in residential care. Rejection of child by parents or parents by child generally has resounding effects and many implications. Sometimes positive and sometimes necessary when its intention is temporary, or necessary to avoid overload, or when the rejected party is a damaging influence. It entails, however, losing all the attributes of that interaction including any positive ones. As it intends cessation of positive interaction it also carries considerable potential for misunderstanding and non-resolution of important issues.

A general rule which has application in parenting, youth work and child care fields is the idea of rejecting behaviour rather than the person. When a child does something which is annoying, destructive or dangerous, it is common for the child to be told "You are stupid" or "You are bad". If it happens often enough, or the event is serious, the child may attach the label to his or her identity. An alternative apporach is to specify the behaviour and indicate its consequences and potential consequences, perhaps invoking a punishment for it but making it clear that the child is a valued person who is capable of not indulging in that specific behaviour.

Rejection and expulsion are common ways of eliminating problems. They often simply transfer the problem to another piece of territory and they often make the problem worse. Temporary suspension or time out are likely to be more productive if reasons are made clear and return under better conditions is held out as an expectation.

Much of the writer's work has occurred in institutions for offending and troubled children and young people. These institutions had generally no capacity to govern the intake of their clientele and very limited capacity to transfer out or expel people for negative reasons. In such a climate it was not unusual to meet young people who had been rejected from many previous situations begin to come to grips with the problems which had been interfering with their functioning up to that point. It is also easy to see how one significant rejection can compound situations. Rejection from home can feed into rejection from school and people can be moved around from one situation to another without coming to grips with the reason why.

Rejection often leaves a residue of bitterness of great magnitude and in common with other negative modes of interaction can set the scene for counter attack or revenge. Hopefully young people will grow up in environments powerful enough to cope with their need to test their autonomy and manage their dependency without resorting to rejection. It is generally a comfort for all people to know that there is a safe and accepting haven somewhere they are valued for being who they are.

The above modes of interaction may occur, as momentary presentations or reactions to another person, as a sustained attitude or stance toward a particular person or members of particular group; or they may be habituated into a person's characteristic way of operating towards others. It is important to recognise that all people have some capacity to operate or respond in each of these ways as they interact with their social environment. Different situations may demand different approaches but some carry more risks than others. In the writer's opinion it is generally preferable to operate as much as possible in exchange and co-operative modes. Some situations may require the use of others for the sake of survival, but where this is the case, effort should be directed to moving toward cooperation if greater losses for one or both parties are to be avoided.

These modes of interaction have been built up from the work of John Spiegel (1957) who analysed role conflict within families. He referred to certain actions as role induction techniques and others as role modification techniques.

When the complementarity of а relationship is threatened, these actions are brought into play in an attempt to restore equilibrium and complementarity, to permit the relationship to continue. Role inductions are unilateral attempts to get the other party to change. They are coercing, coaxing, evaluating, masking and postponing. For each the other party can counter the attempt with what Spiegel calls a specific neutralising technique. These are respectively defying, refusing (or withholding), denying, unmasking and provoking. Midway between role induction and role modification he places a process of role reversal where each party seeks to see things from the other's point of view. He then suggests that role modification techniques occur with efforts by both parties to restore or achieve a new basis for complementarity. These role modification techniques are joking (to reduce tension), referral to a third party, exploring (testing to find a novel situation), compromising and consolidating (accepting and internalising new roles).

Regulators of Relationships

The final band of concepts in the transactional sphere are termed regulators of relationships and denote certain factors which the writer has found useful in achieving changes of attitude and behaviour between people. These ideas derive support from three sources which have influenced the writer's thinking and which the reader may choose to explore further.

Firstly, the social psychologist Shibutani (1961) points out that "Whenever people are in a sustained association with each other they enter into a highly personalised relationship with each other which imposes special claims and obligations on them that are independent of their respective conventional roles.

When a person likes someone he feels constrained to be considerate, to overlook shortcomings and to rush to his assistance when needed. But he feels no particular obligations to do such things for someone he dislikes, indeed he may feel much better if he goes out of his way to spite him".

Secondly, Sutherland and Cressey, in their theory of differential association (Sutherland 1939, 1947 Cressey 1974) drew attention to four concepts (frequency, duration, intensity and priority) which related to the way in which variable associations between people could be criminogenic. In the writer's view they are equally as applicable to other forms of culturally and subculturally induced behaviour.

Duration and Frequency:

These two concepts are simply measures of the time people spend associating with each other. The more time spent in contact the greater the probability that either a positive or negative relationship will develop.

There are variables which can often be consciously changed by the parties to the interactions as they seek to achieve their particular purposes. The ability to control these factors may be in the hands of one or both parties or someone outside the immediate relationship but with an interest in the outcome. When parties are thrown together with some kind of mutual objective or facing some external threat, progress through the group process of storming, forming, norming and performing and the developing of bonds proceeds with surprising strength and rapidity.

Intensity:

The probability of an outcome is also likely to increase if the association or encounter occurs within a context or in a way which emotionally arouses one or both parties. Situations involving aggression, fear or sensual arousal are more likely to have a significant and lasting impact. The meaning given to the event and the feelings generated are sometimes manipulated by motivators and propagandists to get people working together for a purpose.

If one party to the relationship occupies a valued or feared status or one party poses a significant threat or promise of reward the intensity of the situation increases with these factors and so does the probability of an outcome.

Priority:

Sutherland used this term to mean the extent to which the present association is connected with prior experiences. Such a connection is likely to evoke responses conditioned by past events. Responses include thoughts, feelings and behaviour related to these past events.

An encounter with a new person who is similar in appearance or manner to someone of significance in the past may evoke feelings of affinity or discomfort. In seeking out partners for an intimate relationship it is likely that those having characteristics in common with past intimate relationships are likely to be selected.

Encounters which present as tasks to be performed are more readily accepted if success has been a previous outcome of similar tasks. Where prior experience amounted to failure the task is likely to be rejected, avoided or ignored unless it is viewed as a challenge or some change in circumstances has occurred in the intervening time.

Generally people narrow their choice of associations to those in which there is some sense of familiarity or affinity.

Concluding Remarks

Human beings as individuals are capable of being aggressive toward each other and loving, protective and co-operative with each other. As they transact their daily affairs in an environmental context they acquire individual and group values, needs, expectations and goals. These give further meaning to the events and associations which occur between individuals and groups. If peace is to be a goal for present and future generations it will be necessary for human intellect to find ways of channelling ambition, managing frustration and altering the way in which violent conflict is legitimised. Violence in the past appears to have had significant legitimacy for human groups and apart from its dysfunction for victims it may have served positive purposes in the development and continuation of human groups and the success of the species in populating the globe and turning many natural resources to its advantage.

It is now apparent that success in exploring much of the social and natural phenomenon and success with weapons poses a major threat to the well being of both individuals and the species as a whole.

To avoid such calamity and to improve the lot of those who even now are in suffering groups or are suffering within groups attention must be drawn to our ways of relating with each other and the need to find safer outlets for our aggressive urges and capabilities. Intelligence and effort must be applied to harnessing our cooperative capabilities and propensity for organising to meet challenges. We have changed the world so much that the hunting band mentality no longer fits unless it can be applied to the recovery and maintenance of a viable physical and social environment of global proporations. Science fiction writers may see the fittest escaping into space from a polluted plant or a holocaust. Hopefully our capacity for understanding human relations and the sensitivities of the world we live in will meet this challenge with better alternatives and a sufficiently peaceful legacy to hand from one generation to the next.

The values, needs, expectations, goals and skills of young people are critical for such a task. Their development, their participation, their contribution and the social responsibility of the present generation are vital factors if humanity is to be equal to this challenge.

Kenneth Boulding was quoted by Elizabeth Hollins in 1966 in a book of readings titled "Peace is Possible" saying "If the human race is to survive it will have to change its ways of thinking more in the next 25 years than in the last 25,000". One might ask how we are doing in that a large part of that 25 years has elapsed.

In these three articles on the themes of International Youth Year some contributions have been drawn together in the form of social ecological ways of thinking. It is the writer's belief after many years of working with young people that there is hope for a future based on cooperation, justice and social responsibility.

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