Faculty of Arts and Sciences University of Pennsylvania March 1980 A Supplement to Almanac



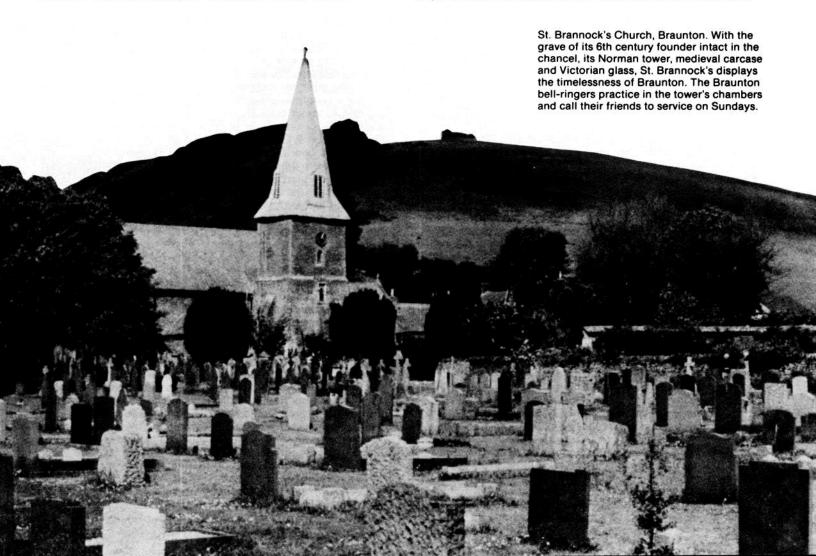
The Allure of Braunton, England

"I am a folklorist," Henry Glassie, Chairman and Professor of Folklore and Folklife, explains, "and what a folklorist does, like any scholar, is to challenge the way things are and question the values the larger society accepts without question." Glassie spent last summer living in a society doing just that. He found in the small English town of Braunton a people with a lifestyle set by medieval values who seem to be enjoying all the benefits of the twentieth century without suffering from all of its problems.

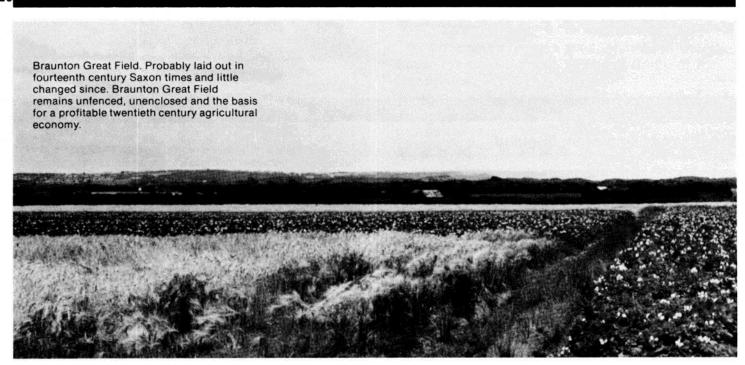
Braunton is one of the three surviving medieval agricultural villages in rural England. Seven years ago Glassie visited all three and elected to study Braunton. It is the only one of the three "open field villages" as they are called, that is

successful. "In an open field village the people live very close together in an almost urban way," Glassie explains, "yet, they are farmers." They live in towns and walk the four to eight miles to their fields which are scattered outside the village. The fields are divided into long, narrow strips, without fences between properties. Everyone has a little upland, a little lowland, some good soil, and some bad.

A farm has come to be thought of as an individually owned and managed circle of fenced land with the farmhouse at the center. This concept, however, is quite new to the history of agriculture. Centuries ago, the traditional European farm looked like a farm in Braunton. It was not until such major shifts as the settlement of America, for example, that







American farmers replaced the centuries-old tradition with the single family farm. Glassie notes that when Brauntonians are asked why they still function in the medieval way, they respond by asking in turn, "why did anyone leave it?" The clustering of their homes allows the children to walk to school, the women can walk to the stores, and social groups can be formed more spontaneously.

Braunton offered Glassie a unique opportunity to witness a cooperative society that, unlike the intentional communities and communes of the 1960s, is multi-generational and has lasted over time. There have been other communal societies in history, but very few were successful. Those that were successful, were almost all based on a shared religious doctrine as well as generally divorced from the rest of society. Braunton has no binding doctrine and the people are very much a part of the twentieth century. According to Glassie, "They all have televisions and cars, and many have done a great deal of traveling. They have seen Europe and America and chose Braunton.

What does Braunton offer that has kept its lifestyle almost intact for centuries? Glassie found the beginnings of an answer during his summer pilot study. He approached Braunton with the definite objective to see how cooperative farming affected their social and cultural life. He discovered that their cooperation with respect to livelihood meant social cooperation as well. Everybody belonged to several clubs so there was a network of overlapping membership. Clubs joined together to put on dances and other social functions. "There were more organizations, drives, clubs, fairs, and dances to make money, ostensibly for charity," Glassie says, "yet it was the time spent in preparation that made up the Brauntonians' social life." This preference for communal activity is reflected in the Brauntonian family life as well. "Although family ties are still of great importance, the emphasis," Glassie feels, "seemed to be less on the individual family unit than on the social unit." Birthday parties, for example, were often given in one of the many pubs in Braunton-not in a private home.

The cultural, or aesthetic expression of their culture is also very much affected by their cooperative lifestyle. Folklorists generally use some art form, such as ballads or folktunes, to try to understand a society. However, as Glassie explains, "a folklorist must choose whatever medium presents the richest, most meaningful picture of the culture being studied." For example, in an earlier study of the Pennsylvania-German people, Glassie was forced to change his approach. Prepared to hear countless ballads, he soon discovered that buildings were their most important art form. In a later study of Northern Ireland, he found folktales to be the most revealing cultural expression. Glassie went to Braunton expecting to hear folktales, but he says, "they didn't tell stories. Nor were their homes unique." He discovered that the ringing of the church bells was the major art form in Braunton. They practiced every Tuesday night, rang the bells on Sunday, and met as a club socially. Glassie points out, "Bell-ringing is not simple; it is an extremely skillful and exciting endeavor, and one that is entirely in keeping with the Brauntonians' materially and socially cooperative culture. To achieve the sound they do, the ringers must function in a complete state of synchronization.

Why has Braunton alone survived? Glassie feels the answer, at least in part, lies in its prosperity. Braunton's location on an estuary makes it an excellent port for trade. This sea trade gives them a second, back-up source of income to augment the sometimes meager and unreliable existence that agriculture affords. The Brauntonians had the means, therefore, to enjoy the comforts of the modern world-if they chose to. Because they don't live in the past and because they are not removed from the present, the benefits of modern society haven't the attraction of the unknown or the forbidden. Community members seem to have actively chosen Braunton's lifestyle and have elected to work to keep it as it is. And they are, according to Glassie, "the happiest, most gregarious human beings I have ever

spent time with."



Studies in Criminology

The Center for Studies in Criminology and Criminal Law has been responsible for several major research projects in the past twenty years. Some of these studies have had a significant impact on the country's criminal justice system.

One study, conducted in the mid-1960s, investigated the possibility of a link between racial discrimination and the death penalty. Thirty students spent ten weeks, throughout twelve southern states, collecting data from court transcripts, district attorney files and prison files of randomly selected counties.

Data were collected on every case in which a person had been convicted of rape over a twenty year period, from the mid 1940s to the mid 1960s. Rape was selected because at that time it was a capital crime in the South. "It was our impression," Marvin Wolfgang, Director of the Center and Professor of Sociology and Law, says, "that only black people were sentenced to death." Wolfgang and his colleagues hoped to prove that an institutional custom (defined by the Supreme Court as an action reoccurring over a period of at least twenty years) had been set that violated the Fourteenth Amendment, the "due process" amendment. Such evidence would prove that discrimination had occurred. According to Wolfgang, that was shown beyond any shadow of a doubt. Although more blacks committed rape than whites, the data revealed that a disproportionately small number of whites was

one, such as disruption of the peace or truancy. As Wolfgang says, "If any social policy is to emerge from this study, it is that until the third offense, it probably is dysfunctional for society to take any major action because forty-seven percent of the first offenders never commit another crime."

In 1970 and again in 1975, the Center did follow-up studies on ten percent of the original 10,000 Philadelphia boys—who were now twenty-five and thirty years old. "In both cases," Wolfgang explains, "we were looking for any clues about social history that would help us to determine why some people who had criminal records stopped committing crimes. Do they get married or is it a new job that gives them the stake in society that makes them lawabiding?" Among other things, they found that fourteen percent were now involved in serious crime instead of the six percent when they were eighteen. In addition, by the time the men were thirty, the likelihood of having an arrest record was up from thirty-five percent to forty-seven percent.

Wolfgang and the Center have again attracted national attention for their most recent project on national crime severity. According to Wolfgang, "The way the FBI currently collects criminal statistics gives a faulty picture of the amount, type, and severity of crime in America." The amount of crime is a crude statistic that simply counts up the numbers of crimes committed and divides that figure by the total population in the United States. Each offense, Wolfgang explains, is given equal weight and thus a bicycle theft, for example, is on a par with the crime of rape.



"If any social policy is to emerge from this study, it is that until the third offense, it probably is dysfunctional for society to take any major action because forty-seven percent of the first offenders never commit another crime."

-Marvin Wolfgang

sentenced to death while an overwhelmingly high proportion of blacks received the death penalty.

The Criminology Center was simultaneously involved with another major study in the mid-1960s. This second project is an on-going study of 10,000 boys born in 1945 who lived most of their lives in Philadelphia. The objective, Wolfgang says, was to find the answer to a simple question, "What are the chances of a boy having a police record by the time he reaches eighteen?"

Data were collected from school records and the police juvenile aid division. Wolfgang and his colleagues found a surprisingly large percentage of the boys, thirty-five percent, had a police record by age eighteen. Even more dramatic is that most of the serious, violent crimes, were committed by a very small number, 627 (six percent). These six percent are what sociologists call "chronic offenders;" they were the ones arrested five times or more by the age of eighteen. In the press, Wolfgang jokes, "the six percent became known as Wolfgang's Dirty Six."

One of the most important facts emerging from the statistics is that almost half of the 3,500 who had some contact with the police by the age of eighteen, had only that one arrest. Furthermore, that first crime was typically a minor

What Wolfgang aims to do is set up a scale of crime severity that weighs each crime according to public opinion. To develop this scale that demands such subjective data, Wolfgang and his colleagues conducted a national survey of 60,000 people in order to determine how the American population felt about the gravity of certain crimes. In Wolfgang's study, an offense is described and each individual is asked to rate the seriousness of that crime in relation to another crime that is given an assigned number. Thus if bicycle theft is assigned a ten and the individual feels a burglary is ten times as serious, he would give burglary a score of 100. The score that emerges from these data will be a more finely tuned and more current assessment of the nation's views on crime severity.

This study is particularly noteworthy because of the nation's current shift in feeling about criminals and their punishment. As Wolfgang explains, "We are moving closer and closer to a revival of the eighteenth century philosophy that says that people should be punished primarily, if not totally, on the basis of the gravity of the crime committed." According to this theory, the punishment should be commensurate with the seriousness of the crime rather than involving social factors such as personality or economic status.



4 s

Beyond the Issue of Supply: Energy and the Social Sciences

I. The Politics of Energy

Energy policy in this country has always been treated as simply the other end of industrial or transportation policy. Ernest Wilson, Assistant Professor of Political Science, broke new ground last summer when he traveled to Moscow to present a paper on the politics of energy. In that paper he treated energy as a network of interlocking disciplines and as an international issue, requiring an analysis of the policies in a number of different countries.

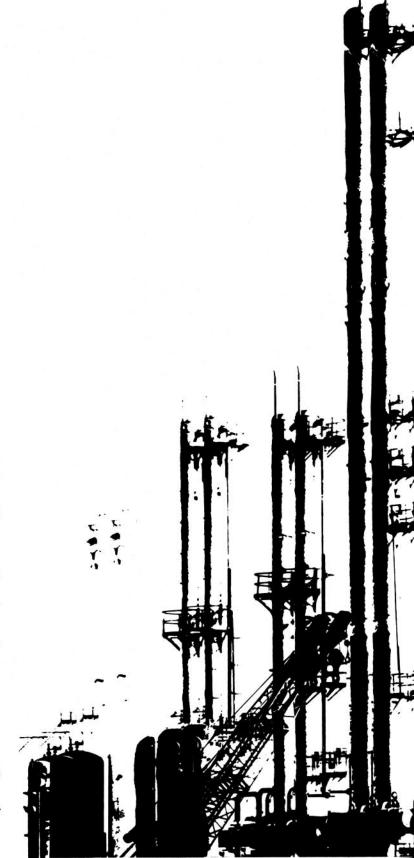
At the time of the energy crisis of 1973, it became clear that within the developed world, different countries had different notions of what energy policy was. Wilson explains, "West Germany and the United States, for example, were more under the policy of let the market—supply and demand—operate. To the French and others, energy policy meant state intervention on matters such as productivity and distribution."

Such differences have led to anger and frustration on both sides of the Atlantic. Most Europeans feel that Americans are wasting a precious resource, and that this wastefulness will ultimately hurt Europe more than America. "If the United States continues to consume such a disproportionately large amount of energy," Wilson explains, "then this means that West Europeans must go out into the world market, thus increasing demand and driving the price up. If Americans reduced their consumption, then the world market would be that much more flexible and accessible. To date, cooperation between oil consuming nations has been largely rhetoric, because each has such dissimilar needs."

It is Wilson's belief, that there are some very important strategic reasons why the consuming nations must cooperate and become involved with comparative energy policy. "It is imperative because they [other consuming nations] are operating in the same market we are, and we have to know how Japan, for example, makes its decisions about quantities of oil to import before we can bargain effectively for our own oil supplies."

In addition to the interdependence between consuming countries, there is the obvious interdependence between consumers and producers. Although Saudi Arabia, for example, now has a great influx of dollars and a new, sophisticated, and technologically advanced elite, the vast majority of its people are still poor and uneducated. The Saudis are dependent on foreign powers for automobiles, hospitals, and modern technology to help raise the standard of living in the entire country. Wilson claims that "On all levels these interdependencies will only increase in importance."

A second important feature of energy is its ubiquity.
Wilson explains, "It isn't possible to speak of an energy sector



Ernest Wilson (right) and Terrence O'Rourke, Special Council to Alfred Kahn, White

House Staff on Energy Issues.



as you can an agricultural sector. Its products are used in almost every aspect of American life." Furthermore, energy is multi-dimensional. "You can't talk about energy without talking about technology and institutions. We're in an energy crisis now, but it is not because we're running out of resources," Wilson says. He explains that the Japanese have been only marginally hurt by the energy crunch, yet they import over ninety-nine percent of their oil. "It is not so much the absolute cost of energy, but the way that the economy compensates for the increased cost of its energy needs, for example, through greater efficiency, productivity, and export performance." Theoretically, if oil went to \$100 per barrel- from approximately \$20 per barrel-and the United States produced and exported five times as many goods and services, then the sharp price increase need not be a problem. However, Wilson says, it was the suddenness of the jump in 1973 that presented such difficulties for the consuming nations.

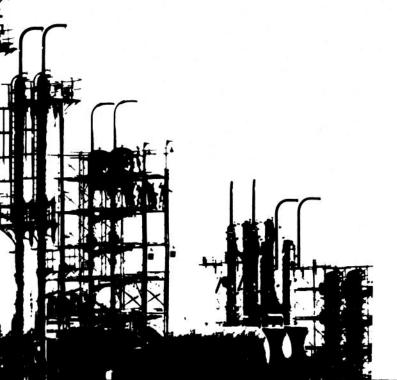
What occurred in the early 1970s to make the price suddenly jump? Wilson explains, "Until that time, the people in the oil-producing countries had not been technically trained in the oil industry to deal with the quantities being demanded. Second, there was growing nationalism in Algeria, Iraq, and Libya. And third, the big oil companies such as Mobil, EXXON, and TEXACO, began to lose some of their power." These companies found themselves suddenly being challenged by smaller, independent companies like Occidental or Hess. Whereas the big companies might not give in to new pressures from OPEC, the newer companies did, and helped undermine what strength the big companies had in unity.

Scarcity and rising demand have made energy increasingly political. As Wilson says, "There is some point at which governments have to step in and decide who gets what." In a report put out by the Department of Energy it clearly states, "all across the world, the common thread that runs through these accounts is an increase in the governmental role in the production process."

Prior to 1973, energy policy, according to Wilson, was essentially executed by decision makers in small, fairly closed associations. There was a triangular power structure consisting of the oil companies at one point, the executive agencies, such as the Department of the Interior, at another point of the triangle, and at the third point, were the private corporations. "Essentially," Wilson says, "it was the private actors who called the shots."

In 1973, people were suddenly faced with higher prices and increasing scarcity that made energy, overnight, a top priority. This new priority status in the public sector, Wilson says, forced energy to become a political issue. Significant parts of the population, such as consumer groups and envrionmentalists, began demanding more popular participation and increased information. They wanted to know who determines the price and supply of oil; who decides the location of refineries and nuclear plants; and who sets the priorities of either OPEC-supplied oil, coal, solar or nuclear power. "In part," Wilson says, "these issues are economic and technological in nature, but because so many people are directly concerned, it is politics that dominate."

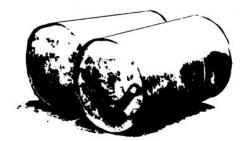
The next step in the politicization of energy is to treat it as a necessity. Wilson believes this critical change is already beginning to happen. Once it does, he says, the oil companies will start moving away from their retail store reputation and move towards the more federally controlled status of a public utility.



Diane Feltoon







Samuel Z. Klausner



II. Energy's Impact on Society

The issue of energy involves experts from almost every discipline. Manfred Altman, the late nuclear engineer from the Moore School of Electrical Engineering, recognized this fact and was responsible for getting a National Science Foundation energy grant to cover work done by philosophers, sociologists and psychologists as well as physicists and engineers. The Energy Center, established in 1972, was the result.

Energy research in the social sciences has not, however, grown steadily since that time. The Energy Center was one of the few such organizations in the country to consider the social aspect of energy. It was operating in a climate where the majority believed that once the supply problem was solved, the psychological and social difficulties would disappear.

At least one member of the Energy Center did not hold this predominant view. Samuel Z. Klausner, Professor of Sociology, wrote a book, *Man and His Environment* in 1971—before energy was publicly considered a "crisis"—which deals with the relationship between society and its physical setting. In 1972, he wrote an article on rationing and conservation in which he recognized that "rationing is not just a matter of allocation of resources, like turning a faucet on and off. It has to be thought of in terms of the activities being sacrificed—in essence, turning social activities, like visiting and shopping, on and off."

Klausner has helped keep the social sciences' involvement with energy issues alive. In 1973, Klausner and Robert H. Edelstein, Professor of Finance in the Wharton School, began work on a modelling exercise that included equations expressing, for example, the positive relationship between energy consumption and unemployment. "This is the opposite of what one might initially think," Klausner explains. "The general feeling is that if someone is working, they are consuming energy in their work, transportation, etc., or if you cut energy, more people will be out of jobs." Instead, they found that energy expands the limits of human capacity which means fewer people are needed to accomplish the same results. Automation in industry is an example of this situation where high energy concentration leads to low labor use. A true transition to a low energy society would mean one of high labor intensity, such as what might be found in China.

In another energy-related project, Klausner and his colleagues found that the more complex the roles in the household, the higher the energy consumption. As Klausner explains, "Energy use is not a function of how many people in

the home use it, but a matter of how many roles—or series of behaviors—there are." If energy were consumed on a per capita basis, then as the number of children increased, so would energy consumption. Klausner found that this is not what happened. "Instead," he says, "there is a big jump in the amount of energy being consumed when the first child is born because you have transformed a two-role household to a three-role one." According to this theory, the addition of a second child does not cause a large increase in consumption because no new roles have been added—in the short run. Of course, there are additional factors such as where the energy is being consumed and how one's lifestyle alters when, for example, both husband and wife are gainfully employed. However, as Klausner concludes, "It is the social stucture, or organization, that is the key issue in energy consumption."

Energy consumption is also a function of the number of household units. A population can be made up of five families of ten each, ten families of five each, or fifty singles. Each step towards increased sub-division, Klausner says, causes an increase in energy consumption because each unit has a fully equipped kitchen, bathrooms, etc. Klausner predicts that as our society moves towards smaller families and an increased number of single person households, our energy use will also increase.

Although the timing of Klausner's involvement with energy concerns coincided with skyrocketing gasoline prices and long lines at the pumps, he says that these studies are affected little by any one period of panic. He describes the winter of 1973 or the summer of 1979 as "just bumps on the total energy scale. Both consumption and outrage level off, and although there will always be repercussions, they will be gradual."

The social conflicts that will, and have, arisen from current energy shortages, Klausner says, become visible through the responses of populations that are the most energy dependent. Last July this population was the independent truckers; at another time it might be salesmen, or independent pilots. Less obvious, however, is the longrange impact energy reduction will have on the general issue of how Americans use their free time. According to Klausner, the scarcity of energy will force us to give up spontaneity. Perhaps there won't be fewer people going to Las Vegas, for example, but more will be going on charter flights or in prearranged groups. Klausner put it this way, "We buy freedom with energy. The propensity of Americans for the instant will have to give way to a more planned and organized lifestyle."



Black English on Trial

Last summer a trial took place in Ann Arbor, Michigan that set an important precedent for school systems throughout the country. For the first time, black English—or any language based on past racial, religious, or ethnic segregation—was acknowledged as a different form of language that hindered the "equal participation in instructional programs."

William Labov, Professor of Linguistics and specialist in non-standard English, was a major figure at this trial. The suit was made on behalf of eleven black children in the Martin Luther King Jr. Elementary School in Ann Arbor. The Ann Arbor school system is considered to be an elite system, having a reputation for high quality instruction. Yet, the eleven students involved in the lawsuit consistently did work of a much lower quality than that of the rest of their classmates. Because of this, many were labeled mentally handicapped.

The plaintiff's case, according to Labov, was based on the fact that "the children were not receiving an equal education because of the Ann Arbor Board of Education's neglect of the children's social, economic and cultural deprivation." The judge dismissed all of the plaintiff's claims except one—the one that dealt with language barriers. The judge recognized that the Board had neglected to take into account the fact that a language barrier existed in the classroom. "This one issue, a language barrier, gave the case its legitimacy," Labov explains, "because behind it is the Supreme Court's ruling that 'no state shall fail to give a child an equal education as part of the equal opportunity act—by reason of race, color, sex or national origin."

The plaintiff presented the testimony of a number of specialists in linguistics and psychology, as well as recordings of the speech of the children concerned. The judge decided in favor of the plaintiff, against the Board of Education of Ann Arbor. Without prescribing specific solutions, he simply ruled that the schools of Ann Arbor must "take into account the fact that the children speak a dialect of English that is significantly different from the English being taught." Because the case was tried in a federal court, it set a precedent that now applies to all school systems throughout the United States.

There has been a great deal of confusion and misunderstanding, Labov feels, about what actually was decided in Michigan. Labov explains,

The decision was *not* that teachers are now going to be required to learn black English. The judge's decision acknowledged that there is no problem of communication in the classroom; he did not say that black English was a foreign language, nor did he suggest that teachers should incorporate black English into classroom texts. What the decision did say is that teachers must learn to take into account the fact that some children speak a different variety of language, as a matter of course, at home and in their community. It asked that appropriate measures be taken to teach those speaking black English to read and write the standard English used in America's academic, cultural, professional and commercial arenas.

The law does not apply indiscriminately to anyone speaking a different dialect. The case and the precedent it sets, applies only to those language differences that are a result of historical racial segregation. Thus, a student with a midwestern drawl having difficulties in a Massachusetts school would not, for example, be affected by this new law. A Puerto Rican or Vietnamese student, however, would be affected.

The court also recognized that the differences in language were not strictly mechanical. As important as proper subject-verb agreement, is the psychological effect a language difference has on children. Labov explains, "Teachers see and treat a child speaking black English as inferior. Up until recently people considered black English a bastardization of standard English, spoken by uneducated people. This kind of thinking resulted in the label 'mentally handicapped' for these black children."

In Philadelphia, where sixty percent of the school children are black and the instances of reading failure are growing rapidly, the Ann Arbor decision has particular significance. The court's decision was not a mandate. However, it can be used under local initiative to legally request that schools develop language programs for children and instruction programs for educators that "take black English into account."

There are many characteristic features found in "black English" but some of the principal ones identified by the testifying experts as being significant are:

- 1. The use of the verb "be" to indicate a reality that is recurring or continuous over time.
- 2. The deletion of some form of the verb "to be."
- 3. The use of the third person singular verbs without adding the "s" or "z" sound.
- 4. The use of the "f" sound for the "th" sound at the end or in the middle of a word.
- 5. The use of an additional word to denote plurals rather than adding an "s" to the noun.
- 6. Non-use of "s" to indicate possessives.
- 7. The elimination of "l" or "r" sounds in words.
- 8. The use of words with different meanings.
- The lack of emphasis on the use of tense in verbs.
- 10. The deletion of final consonants.
- 11. The use of double subjects.
- 12. The use of "it" instead of "there."

—from the transcript of the U.S. District Court Eastern District of Michigan Southern Division: Martin Luther King Jr. Elementary School Children, et al., v. Ann Arbor School District Bd.

8

Recycling the Family: A Study of Remarriage

If you are over thirty years old and unmarried, or under eighteen and married, you might be feeling a little "off schedule." There is a certain time when people are expected to be married; for most, it is in the mid-20s. Frank Furstenberg, Professor of Sociology, is interested in those people who depart from the normal, socially prescribed scheduling of events. He did a study a few years ago on teenage childbearing and is now involved in a study on remarriage, or as he calls it, "a study of recycling the family." He is seeking answers to such questions as: How does the nature of marriage change when people have already experienced it? How is the experience of a second marriage at thirty-five years of age different from a first marriage at twenty-five? Is an earlier marriage a benefit or liability to the success of a later marriage?

Little research has been done on remarriage. The studies that do exist treat remarriage as if it were simply a repeat of a first marriage. "Yet," Furstenberg insists, "remarriage is patently not the same as first marriage because it involves the existence of a former family. New kinship ties are formed in a second marriage. It is a family network extended not just by generations but also by marriage in a marriage chain."

People deal with this new extended family in a number of ways. At one extreme are those people who have virtually no contact with the former spouse. They deny the existence of the ex-husband or ex-wife and any children from that marriage. At the other extreme are people who are living in what might be called "sequential polygamy," where former spouses and current spouses have a great deal of contact and elect to raise their children jointly.

The relationship between step-parents and natural parents is largely an uncharted area. Furstenberg explains, "It is almost as though we've put blinders on and said, there are only two parents in any family. In reality, if you talk to children growing up in families where there has been a remarriage after divorce, it is likely that they will say that they have two fathers, or two mothers. Some have even more and call one by his first name, another "daddy" and perhaps another by some pet name to distinguish one relationship from the other."

Divorce first became prevalent during World War II, and although it declined after the war, it never again dropped to pre-war levels. Since the early 1960s, the number of divorces has been rising sharply and steadily. Between forty and fifty percent of all marriages now end in divorce and seventy-five percent of the people who have been divorced remarry. This means that more than one out of four marriages is a second marriage and one out of four children of the current generation will have more than two parents. Only half of America's children will spend their first eighteen years with the same two parents.

As the statistics indicate, Furstenberg is dealing with an enormous population of people. To limit and define his study, he is using sample populations and has organized the research into four different stages. The first was a series of clinical interviews of over three hours each, with approximately twenty-five couples. This was the planning stage where Furstenberg says he learned what issues to include and questions to ask for the later interviews. The second stage was completed two years ago as part of another project on divorce by Graham Spanier of Pennsylvania State University. It involved a structured interview with all the

"We are experiencing a great change in the family, what some call 'the breakdown of the family unit."

Only half of America's children will spend their first eighteen years with the same two parents.



divorced or separated people willing to cooperate in such a study in Chester County, Pennsylvania. The sample population of 210 people is now being re-interviewed in the third stage of research. According to his data, Furstenberg expects that over one hundred members of the original sample of divorced people will now have remarried. The interviews are being done by fifteen trained interviewers who ask questions ranging from household job delineation to extramarital relationships. A final phase will include a second clinical interview that follows up on those few who have been involved with the study from the outset.

"We are experiencing a great change in the family, what some call 'the breakdown of the family unit,'" Furstenberg says. He questions, however, if these changes are an indication of breakdown or simply a restructuring of existing kinship ties where a sequence of marriages might be more commonplace than "till death do us part." As Furstenberg explains, "If you ask a class how many think they wili get married, approximately three-quarters will say yes. Eut if you ask how many think they will get divorced, only one or two hands are raised." The ideal still seems to be one marriage per lifetime. "Yet," Furstenberg says, "it would surprise me a great deal if in my lifetime, or even in my children's, we saw a reverse in the high rate of divorce. Possibly in another twenty years attitudes will catch up to reality and we will more readily view divorce and remarriage, not as a failure, but as a fact of human behavior."

FAS Reports: A Supplement to Almanac

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