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1

Introduction

Graham Allan and Gill Jones

Dances to the music of time

In the course of our lives, we follow, in Anthony Powell’s phrase, a continuous ‘dance to the music of time’. The steps and the music may change as we proceed, and sometimes we dance with a partner, sometimes in a group, and sometimes alone. Yet, the dancing continues. In a sense, this volume of essays is concerned with the choreography of family, household and generational dances in contemporary Britain. Each of the eleven essays focuses on different aspects of the steps and movements within these familial and household relationships – how they currently develop and change as time passes and circumstances alter. Through the chapters we can follow the individual’s life course as it merges with others and diverges from them again, as family relationships alter with age and over time.

The papers were all originally given at the British Sociological Association’s Annual Conference in April 2000. The over-arching theme of this conference was Making Time/Marking Time – appropriate for the Millennium Year. From the variety of papers given at the conference, we have selected for this volume ones which focus on the dynamic patterning of informal relationships that people sustain over diachronic time, that is, at different points in their life course. Its companion volume (Crow and Heath 2002) draws together papers which focus mainly on the synchronic organization of time.

It is easy to see that different relationships do have their own dynamic; over time, they develop, flourish, mature and eventually end. However they do not always do so in an orderly fashion, nor within a predetermined time-scale. Certainly at times, those involved may not see any clear pattern or rhythm in the relational dances they are performing; indeed they may at times feel that they are being swept along to music they no longer understand. From the outside though, it might be recognized that a new dance, with new rhythms and new steps, is emerging from the ashes of the old.
While the essays included in this volume fit into the broad realm of family sociology, they are not concerned exclusively with family ties. Some focus on relationships based on solidarities other than kinship, in particular household membership and community involvement. Like community studies, family sociology has long been concerned with time and change, even though it has not always been explicitly expressed in this way. Thus, much family sociology is, for example, concerned with intergenerational aspects of family relationships. Similarly, it is recognized that people have different family responsibilities and obligations at different times in their life course; that the nature and range of their family solidarities are liable to change over time; and that family behaviour alters across generations. Equally, some of the most seminal family studies in the UK have been concerned with the ways family systems as a whole have altered under the impact of external social and economic transformations. Consider, for example, the many debates there have been about the changing structure of family solidarity and household demographics as industrialization developed.

As this suggests, time affects family relationships at a number of levels. In particular, it is important to distinguish age, cohort and period effects. It is easy to conflate these, as empirically they frequently merge with one another. Put simply, in seeking to understand the changes that are occurring in patterns of family behaviour and domestic organization, it is necessary to distinguish between changes which result from people's changing life course positions; those consequent on the specific and peculiar experiences which people born in different cohorts have; and those which result from systemic change in the wider social and economic formation. Within family sociology, Tamara Hareven's (1982) writing has been particularly influential in signalling these different temporal influences on family relationships.

**Historical change**

To begin with, there are large-scale historical shifts in the ways in which family life is patterned. The emergence of new divisions of labour within households and families as industrialization developed provides a classic example of this level of change. Encouraged by shifts in material well-being, in gender ideology, in employment structure, in understandings of childhood needs, and in new constructions of domesticity, the establishment of married women as full-time housewives represented a significant change in the balance of marital and domestic dependencies. The complexities of such historical transformations in family patterns have long been debated within sociology, sometimes with subtlety, sometimes not. (See for example, Harris 1983; Cheal 1991; Gillis 1997.) The key point, though, is that family organization is not historically constant, either in its structure or content. In Medick's (1976) terms, as relationships of
production, consumption and reproduction alter within the wider social and economic formation, so the organization of domestic, family and community life is in turn re-patterned, sometimes quite profoundly. While culturally such change is regularly portrayed as pathological – involving the decline in family and community life – the reality is generally quite different, though the transformations involved are not experienced uniformly by different groups or across family solidarities.

**Cohort change**

A second type of change occurs at the cohort level. Here the focus is on the temporal specificities which shape the experiences of those who are born in a particular period, or what Ryder (1965) terms the relationship between chronological time and physical age. (We use the term ‘cohort’ in preference to ‘generation’, reserving this latter for use in a kinship context.) Each age cohort is to some degree embedded in sets of social, political and economic relationships which are different from those of previous cohorts and which mark it off as distinct. Obvious, though extreme, examples are the ways in which major historical events, such as a war or an economic recession, influence the expectations and social relationships of the cohort directly involved in them, but not the cohort before, and less directly the one after. Nevertheless time-specific conditions will affect different sections of a cohort to differing degrees. Not everyone, for example, is affected by prolonged periods of high unemployment to the same extent; those with fewest qualifications living in areas of most rapid economic decline will experience unemployment differently from those with scarce skills living in more buoyant localities. Importantly too, historical change may initially be observed as a cohort effect. For example, rural out-migration may be a short-term consequence of cyclical rural depression and thus a reversible cohort-level change, or it may be the start of a longer-term historical process of urbanization. So too, while the radical demographic shifts which have been evident in Britain and other western countries over the last 30 years provide a clear example of a cohort change, some theorists argue that they also mark a longer-term historical transformation in nature of partnership commitment (see below).

**Life course change**

The third level of change, the individual life course level, refers to the ways family relationships alter as individuals construct their personal biographies over their lives. In part, this is simply a consequence of people having different levels of dependence, responsibility and freedom, in different family and household situations, at different ages – the child becomes an adult, the grandparent a widow, the lover a cohabitee. So too, other individual changes, such as geographical mobility or retirement, will pattern the forms family relationships take, as will the various ways people
'negotiate' different family solidarities and commitments (Finch and Mason 1993). Yet while life course changes focus on each individual's decisions and experiences, they are nonetheless structured by historical and cohort circumstances. For example, among many other factors, the development of new employment patterns, the extension and expansion of post-school education, developments in IT and communications, the vagaries of the housing market, and changing modes of consumption all impact on the individual life course and thus on the character of people's family lives. In particular, as well as reflecting changed behaviour, shifts in the demographic ordering of family relationships over the last 30 years have led to fresh understandings of 'normal' family development, with continuing consequences for the ways in which family ties are constructed over the life course.

The changing choreography

The chapters in this book are concerned with all three of these levels of change: historical, cohort and life course, but especially the latter two. More specifically, most are concerned with understanding the ways in which 'family practices' (Morgan 1996) have been altering. To draw on the same analogy as before, they seek to map out how the movements and rhythms of family, household and community ‘dances’ have changed. The demographic shifts referred to above provide a clear indication of the changes that have been occurring. Included among the more important changes are: higher levels of cohabitation; increased mean ages at first marriage and first child-bearing; lower marriage rates; higher rates of divorce; increased births outside marriage; more lone-parent households; an increased number of stepfamilies; and more non-familial households (Allan and Crow 2001; McRae 1999). These changes reflect the substantially different family and household experiences of current age cohorts compared with previous ones. Family and domestic relationships are not ordered as they once were; what Cheal (1991, 3) termed the ‘standard theory of the family’, with its neat and uniform demographic progressions, no longer applies. Overall, contemporary life courses have become far more varied and heterogeneous than was the case for most of the twentieth century.

These demographic changes are not the only type of change affecting family and household behaviour. Indeed in some regards the demographic changes are themselves just reflections of broader processes which are shaping contemporary domestic and relational organization. In particular, it can be argued that the growth of life course diversity and heterogeneity is linked to the growth of individualism within western cultures and the greater freedoms there are in all aspects of personal life. Individuals are now far freer than they were in previous generations to make life-style choices that in some sense reflect their own desires and wishes rather than
following a pre-set conventional or normative order (Giddens 1991). The first indications could be seen in the growing acceptance of divorce as a solution to marital disharmony in the 1960s, along with increased pre-marital sexual freedom. However, since then the growth in lone parenthood, births outside marriage and cohabitation, including, importantly, gay and lesbian cohabitation, all highlight the increased freedom individuals now have to exercise choice over the ordering of their personal lives. This is not to say that these matters are now wholly individual, with external control totally absent. As some of the following chapters suggest, issues of parental control, peer pressure and social stigma are still of consequence. The point, though, is that there is now far greater acceptance of heterogeneity, and more scope for alternative modes of life course ordering, than in even the relatively recent past.

Indeed, to a degree, freedom, diversity and change are themselves becoming institutionalized within the normal framing of life course trajectories. This can be illustrated by considering three issues, all integral to family and household organization. First, there is the heterogeneity now evident in the routes by which young people become independent of their parents. While social class and gender have long influenced this, in the past most young people became independent through leaving home to marry. This pattern has been changing, and the extension of education and loss of the youth labour market have, among many other factors, greatly affected young people’s achievement of independence and definitions of adulthood (Jones 2002). Leaving home and forming households have become more complex processes. Many of those who leave the parental home return later, for example when they have finished their higher education or when, for whatever reason, a cohabitation ends (Jones 1995). The result of these changes is far more diversity and less predictability about the processes through which young people achieve independence and, indeed, about what ‘adult independence’ actually entails.

Second, there has been a very significant shift in the relationship between sex, marriage and child-bearing, a point highlighted by Kiernan, Land and Lewis (1998). As they argue, until the last part of the twentieth century sex, marriage and child-bearing were normatively tightly bound together in popular consciousness. Sexual activity outside marriage was not encouraged to any degree; in turn pregnancy and childbirth outside marriage were highly stigmatized. Allowing for ethnic and religious variation, this is no longer the case to anything like the same extent. Not only is sexual activity outside marriage now viewed as normal rather than morally questionable, but marriage itself no longer carries the moral force it once did. To quite a large degree, it now represents a life-style choice as much as the only proper way to organize sexual and domestic commitment. Consonant with these changes, childbirth outside marriage is now socially accepted far more than it was even a generation ago. It too has become a
life-style issue rather than one of moral culpability. There are however exceptions to this argument, as the moral panics which overlie genuine concerns surrounding teenage pregnancy still testify.

And third, there are the changes occurring in partnership behaviour. In particular, understandings of ‘commitment’ have undoubtedly altered over the last 30 years with significant consequences for the patterning of life course trajectories. Obviously, the rise in divorce is one indication of this. No longer is it seen as reasonable for people to remain bound together simply because of a promise made, albeit in good faith, in an earlier phase of life. What takes priority is the quality of the relationship and the happiness it generates. The rise of cohabitation can also be understood as a prioritizing of relationship quality over formal commitment. Whether an alternative or a precursor to marriage, as a form of personal intimacy and domestic and sexual organization, cohabitation does not represent a ‘once-and-for-all’ contract as much as a contingent commitment premised on the continuing emotional, sexual and domestic satisfactions derived. As Giddens (1992) amongst others has suggested, these changes represent new modes of organizing sexual and emotional intimacy, modes which permit ‘serial commitment’ to a degree unacceptable in previous generations. Although as Jamieson (1999) argues, there is a danger of underestimating the strength of the ‘ties which bind’ couples in longer-term relationships, whether formalized through marriage or not, the overall outcome of these changing conceptions of commitment is a far greater diversity in people’s household and family experiences over the life course.

At one level, and for some people, these matters can be recognized as life-style choices which are shaping individual life courses. However, it is now clear that they are more than this: they represent overall change at a cohort level as well as at a life course one. Moreover, as mentioned above, these changes are becoming institutionalized. They are being accepted as routine and ‘normal’, indeed often as appropriate and proper. In particular, at an individual level, change in partnership commitment and consequently in household constitution has become an accepted pattern, even though some of the consequences are seen as unfortunate especially for any dependant children involved. Collectively there is now a degree of heterogeneity and diversity within individual life courses quite distinct to the dominant patterns of previous eras. It seems feasible that these types of change will continue into the future, eventually becoming understood as a historical transformation in family and household patterns. Certainly some theorists, especially Giddens (1992) and Beck (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1995), have been arguing this, linking diversity in family formation and dissolution with wider socio-economic changes affecting gender dependency. While it is perhaps too early to judge this, there can be no doubt that these aspects of family and household order have been altering radically over the last 30 years, with significant consequences for those involved.
Organization of the book

The overall theme of the book, social relationships over the life course, is focused on the constructions and reconstructions which occur in family life, often associated with major life course events such as leaving home, partnership formation and dissolution, migration, or retirement. In identifying the complexity underlying each, it seems we have moved a long way from taking a standardized ‘life cycle’ approach to individual and family biographies. While some of the chapters which follow focus on the meaning of time within different relational settings, most are concerned with the personal and social consequences of the changing ways in which relationships within the domestic and familial domain are being constructed. They address newly emergent life course and relational topics, consequent upon the different family and household ‘dances’ which are now being fashioned. Among the topics examined in the chapters are the ways in which biographies originate and are constructed in early family experience, young adults’ constructions of partnership and home, and the reconstructions of social relationships which occur later in the life course. However, though the focus is on new patterns and evidence of overall change, the chapters do not lose sight of the possibility that for some people, individual choice remains an impossible dream, and that structural inequalities, or family background, or social pressure, still play a large part in framing what individuals do.

The first chapter in this volume is Sara Arber’s Presidential Address to the BSA Conference 2000. In this, Arber illustrates how relationships across genders and generations have altered over time using pension provision as an exemplar. Given the increases in life expectancy, and the tendency towards earlier retirement, pension entitlement has become crucial for the quality of life of increasing proportions of the population. Yet people tend not to plan for their pensions, and by the time they come to recognize the need to do so, it is often too late, especially given the growing importance of occupational and private pensions for income adequacy in later life. Pension rights are built up over a working lifetime and reflect individuals’ employment and investment experiences over this period.

Built into this are historical and generational changes in pension opportunities and legislation, but equally crucial are the differential opportunities different social groups have to contribute to pension schemes. As Arber points out, currently some women with high qualifications and well-paid posts receive comparatively good pensions, but the majority of women do not. Although women who will be retiring over the next 20 years have had quite different experiences to their mothers and grandmothers, they still tend to have substantially less occupational pension entitlement than men do. Because their employment career has often contained periods of part-time employment, and probably periods
out of the labour force, these women have made reduced pension contribu-
tions and have therefore accrued fewer pension rights. Overall the chapter
highlights the importance of the interplay of historical and generational
time in shaping people’s life course experiences.

The remaining chapters of the book divide into three sections, addressing
in turn: the relationship between children and their parents, patterns of
family/household formation, and finally family/household re-formulations.
These three sections reflect individual and family life courses, from being a
child in relationships with parents, to negotiation of independent living, to
formation of new families or non-familial households, and to re-formula-
tions of these as the life course progresses. Emerging from the chapters and
linking them are sub-texts, such as the relationship between biography and
memory, and the barriers presented by social inequality and prejudice to
the capacity of individuals to construct their own biographies.

Three chapters focus on the experiences of family life of children and
young people. In the first of these, Val Gillies, Janet Holland and Jane
Ribbens McCarthy address the generational relationship between parents
and children, discussing time and the meaning of change as children (in a
generational sense) grow up, comparing the perspectives of young people
and parents. The research on which the chapter is based deliberately set out
to explore parent-child relationships in ‘conventional’ families, rather than
‘problem’ ones (Gillies et al. 2000). A central strand in their analysis is the
social ‘connectedness’ of the young people in their study, to their parents
in particular, but also to the others in their family and friendship networks.
The young people were aware that the commitment and support derived
through these social networks were important in enabling them to develop
autonomy, individuality and independence. The authors also note that
even though adolescents and their parents emphasized different strands of
continuity and change in their accounts, nevertheless constructions of
past, present and future time were produced collectively.

In the second chapter in this section on children and parents, Jean
Duncombe and Dennis Marsden examine some of the unresolved issues
that parental divorce can leave for children. At one level their analysis is
quite straightforward. Despite the advice that is frequently given by
professionals and in guidance books, parents often find it extremely
difficult to explain to their children why they are separating. This is partly
because the causes of marital break-up are normally complex, involving
different levels of explanation. Moreover, the two parents usually construct
distinct accounts which highlight different aspects of their marital
relationship as the reasons for their separation. They often want to protect
their children from the harsher realities of the separation as well as to
protect their own reputation(s). The authors found that while affairs often
play a part in marital separation, this is not always acknowledged – and
sometimes deliberately hidden – in the accounts of the separation provided
to their children by the parents. However one result of parents’ account constructions is that their children are frequently left in a state of ‘unknowing’ – finding it difficult to make sense, in their own terms, of why this highly significant event in their lives has occurred. As Duncombe and Marsden argue, this ‘unknowing’ can continue for many years, making it difficult for some children to understand their own biographies. Over time, the children may be able to ‘piece together’ an explanation that satisfies them, but doing so is often a more complex and dynamic procedure than is commonly acknowledged.

The third chapter in the section is also concerned with processes of biographical construction. Authored by Rachel Thomson, Janet Holland, Sheila Henderson, Sheena McGrellis and Sue Sharpe, it looks explicitly at the role of memory and time in children’s understandings of moral order. By obtaining children’s accounts of incidents in their past behaviour which they now regard as morally good or bad, the authors show the roles of memory in maintaining the past as relevant to the present, and incorporating the present with the past into an understandable biography. As the chapter demonstrates, memories are shaped through social interaction, and moral biographies are not constructed alone. Parents and others play their part in the routine re-telling of some of the events that the children remember. In the process, they put their own gloss on the events and signify the moralities – good or bad – involved. Thus the paper highlights the role of memory, the passage of time and the reconstruction of significant actions in the child’s life in the formation of their current social and moral identities. The chapter implicitly highlights the problems experienced by individuals such as ‘looked after’ children who are unable to develop a collective memory of their earlier lives.

The second section of the book, Family and household formation, is concerned with early adulthood, with an emphasis on transitional statuses, which may be ambiguous and problematic. Young people’s patterns of transition to adult independence, including patterns of household and family formation, have undergone considerable change and are now dramatically different from those of their parents’ generation. Partly as a result of these changes, the construction of adulthood has become more complex, with success and failure in these transitions being more difficult to define. Certainly there are different strands in transitions to adulthood, which, though connected, represent different aspects of the move to independence. The chapters in this section focus specifically on family and household formation: teenage parenthood, peer-shared households, gay and lesbian identities, and remaining single. Each presents a challenge to the concept of normative transitions, and reflects an important element of social change. Some chapters make us question the transitional nature of some of the statuses now associated with youth. For example, though peer-shared households and periods of ‘singlehood’ are traditionally perceived as
just transitional phases, both are now coming to be understood as valued and viable alternatives to a partnership home.

In the first of these chapters, Sarah Cheesbrough tests evidence of the intergenerational transmission of young motherhood and examines whether family disruption is also a predictor of an early birth. While the trend generally is towards later childbirth, or even childlessness, it is of concern that rates of teenage pregnancy in the UK remain high. Given the association between teenage motherhood and social exclusion, it is important that the causes are understood. Cheesbrough’s study is based on the 1970 Birth Cohort Study. The detail of family and household change collected in this study allows fuller analyses of the association between family disruption and young motherhood among the cohort than is the case with earlier British cohort studies. As previously observed, there is a clear tendency for young mothers to be born to women who were themselves young mothers, suggesting a form of intergenerational transmission of patterns. However, women who experienced parental separation in childhood are not found to be more likely to become young mothers than those whose parents stayed together. It is those born to single (never-married) mothers and those who experienced a number of family transitions, especially into a stepfamily with stepsiblings, who are somewhat more likely to become young mothers themselves. Cheesbrough’s analysis emphasizes the diversity of types of transition and outcomes among the increasing numbers of children experiencing family disruption and raises significant issues concerning policy responses to parental separation and stepfamily formation in the UK today.

The second chapter in this section, written by Elizabeth Kenyon, focuses on an aspect of household formation which is becoming increasingly common – peer-shared households among young, unrelated adults. The small but significant growth of this type of non-familial household, alongside single-person households, is a correlation of other changes occurring in the process of ‘becoming adult’. In previous generations, most people living in independent households would have been married and ‘settled’ into a family home. With many young adults now delaying family formation, and with more single young people leaving home, this form of shared housing is becoming increasingly popular as a means of achieving independence prior to living with a partner. This is the case especially in urban areas where housing costs are high and can best be borne if shared. Kenyon’s chapter describes the first qualitative study to examine how households such as these are formed, how they organize their domestic economies and what pleasures and dissatisfactions they entail. Focusing on her respondents’ constructions of these households as ‘home’, she points out that they are not described as ‘short-term’ or ‘stop-gap’ solutions to immediate housing problems. In tying her findings in with Beck’s (1992) theories of individualization, she shows
how they may represent a preferred form of housing for a particular, contemporarily emergent, life course phase.

Sara McNamee, Gill Valentine, Tracey Skelton and Ruth Butler’s chapter examines the transition to adulthood of gay and lesbian young people. They highlight the dilemmas and difficulties many face as a consequence of their sexuality. In particular, many feel marginalized and stigmatized, at odds with their peers in school and frequently finding it difficult to discuss their emerging sexuality with their parents and other family members. They highlight how ‘coming out’ as gay or lesbian can be a complex process for the young people concerned, involving periods of experimenting with their sexuality and attempts to test how news of a gay/lesbian identity might be received by family and friends. The study helps to challenge the notion of ‘standard’ pathways to adulthood and illustrates some of the complexities which can arise in defining adult identity.

The final chapter of this section focuses on single people in their 20s. Written by Lynn Jamieson, Robert Stewart, Yaojun Li, Michael Anderson, Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone, it explores people’s understandings of their current single status, and their aspirations for their future partnership behaviour. In Britain, as elsewhere in much of Northern Europe, we have observed a lengthening of the time period before ‘settling down’ in a partnership home. The study found that while this period of singlehood was not expected by participants in the research to be prolonged, it was nonetheless highly valued. As a stage in the life course which is relatively unencumbered by social responsibilities, it is seen by women especially as a time for experimentation, for personal growth, for career development and for enjoyment. In some regards, it is understood as a ‘selfish’ phase, literally a time for the self before family and other social commitments take over.

The chapters in last section of the book, Re–formulations, explore how relationships in adulthood continue to shift and be renegotiated as a result of life course changes. The first two chapters focus on the restructuring of personal relations with migration, examining the impact this has on social participation and belonging. The last two chapters are concerned with different aspects of ‘endings’. The first of these focuses on retirement and the ending of paid work, while the second addresses the topic of relational endings, a subject which has received very little attention from sociologists.

In her chapter, Catherine Maclean analyzes migration to a parish in a remote rural area of Scotland, exploring the success people have in establishing their home in the parish. She is particularly concerned with the ways in which some migrants come to be accepted as part of the community and are able to develop a firm sense of belonging, while others remain at best marginal. Rather than relying on simple notions of ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’, Maclean highlights aspects of time and the life course in her analysis. In doing so, she develops the concept of ‘belonging trajectories’ to
explore these differences and to explain why some people are more able to establish integrative bonds than others.

The question of socio-spatial dislocation is also considered in the chapter by Fiona Devine, Nadia Joanne Britton, Peter Halfpenny and Rosemary Mellor, which examines the family and community ties of the middle class. The study, which was based on research into young middle-class professionals in Manchester, examines the routes used for in- and out-migration. While recognizing the diversity of geographical mobility, the authors demonstrate the continuing significance of family and friends for the migration decisions their respondents made. Indicating a degree of convergence between middle- and working-class family patterns, the authors suggest that at certain times in the life course – in particular those associated with child-rearing – family and friends represent important resources which can act as significant ‘pull’ factors in the migration process.

Eileen Fairhurst’s chapter focuses on a later life course transition – that from paid work into retirement. Like the earlier chapters on transitions in youth and young adulthood, it identifies retirement as a more complex process than is commonly assumed, frequently involving a range of linked transitions rather than a straightforward movement from ‘work’ to ‘non-work’. In addition though, the chapter also explores the different ways in which people speak about and conceptualize time in discussing retirement. In the process, the chapter shows the extent to which the rhythm of work influences our social lives before retirement, and highlights our consequent search for a new rhythm (involving new or renewed social relationships) to structure our post-retirement lives. Like the two chapters on migration which precede it, this chapter shows how loss, and endings, can be mitigated by new beginnings, as part of a continual process of construction and reconstruction.

In the last of these chapters, David Morgan develops a highly original perspective on relational endings, using the example of marital affairs to illustrate his arguments. As he points out, sociologists have not only paid relatively little attention to affairs, but, with the exception of divorce, have also ignored the ending of close relationships. Yet, if theorists like Giddens (1992) are right in suggesting that new modes of intimacy are developing, then the endings of intimate partnerships are likely to become as significant as their beginnings. In his analysis, Morgan considers the ending of a fictional affair – that enacted between Celia Johnson and Trevor Howard in the classic film *Brief Encounter* – and in so doing constructs a fascinating account of the nature of relational time. He explores how time is used as a metaphor in the film, constantly infiltrating this temporally uncertain, though ultimately short-term, relationship. Though based on a fictional account, the chapter opens up possibilities for exploring how individuals employ time in structuring their relationships, and forms a fitting conclusion for our collection of ‘dances to the music of time’.
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