

THE HOUSEHOLD DEVELOPMENT CYCLE IN TZINTZUNTZAN

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In the summer of 1967, when I made my first field trip to Tzintzuntzan, George Foster arranged for my wife and myself to reside in the relatively poor, territorially discrete barrio of Yaguaro, located in the northeastern part of town. Yaguaro, he thought, would provide the ideal setting for field training. Situated in the spacious outskirts of the main population center and separated from the rest of the village by a two-lane national highway, Yaguaro is the only section of Tzintzuntzan which retains its pre-Conquest, Tarascan name (Foster, 1948:55). It is also one of the only barrios to maintain a discrete identity, despite its complete administrative and social integration within the village as a whole. Foster believed that Yaguaro had a special, still-undefined flavor, setting it apart from the rest of the community. He himself had never had the opportunity to live there or develop close contacts with its inhabitants, and thus hoped that we could help discover what gave Yaguaro its distinctive aura.

Over time, we came to realize that Yaguaro's special flavor derived, at least in part, from its residential structure, particularly from the relative importance of the extended family household in this barrio as compared with Tzintzuntzan as a whole. In this paper, I would like to take the belated opportunity to relate my research findings of a decade ago with respect to household organization in Yaguaro. I am especially interested in analyzing the developmental cycle of the domestic group, that is, the regular, patterned changes which take place in household composition through time. In the period since carrying out my research, a number of excellent studies have appeared concerning kinship and domestic organization in Mexico, especially a collection of essays edited by Nutini, Carrasco, and Taggart (1976). Here I focus specifically on data from Tzintzuntzan—particularly Yaguaro, which I know best—though I shall attempt to illuminate my own information with that reported for other Mexican communities. The ethnographic present tense which I employ in this article should be interpreted as referring to the period 1967-68.

To students of Latin America or peasant society generally, Tzintzuntzan hardly needs introduction. This is a predominantly mestizo, Spanish-speaking community of some 2400 inhabitants, located 230 miles west of Mexico City on the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro (Foster, 1948, 1967). About half of the villagers are potters, though about one fourth of Tzintzuntzan families earn at least part of their income from farming as well. Village society is basically egalitarian, with no one possessing disproportionate economic or political power. There exist, however, significant differences in wealth; farmers, in general, tend to be less poor than potters. The relative poverty of Yaguaro in comparison with the community as a whole may be explained in part by the overwhelming preponderance of potters and day laborers, and the corresponding absence of agriculturists, in the barrio.

When examining household structure, whether in Mexico or anywhere else, we have come to recognize that census data, if used alone, are insufficient to impart full understanding. A household census, however complete and accurate, is simply like a photograph of residential arrangements at a single point in time. It tells us the relative proportions of one type of domestic unit to another, as well as the number of people who reside under the various residential plans. But it can only provide a static view of domestic arrangements, which ignores the crucial processes of fission and fusion that households in any society undergo. These repetitive, recurrent changes—precisely because they are usually regular and predictable—have come to be known as the developmental cycle. Anthropologists working in small-scale, non-literate societies, with kinship and marriage systems very different from our own, have long considered the developmental cycle to be of critical importance in any description of domestic organization (e.g., Fortes, 1949; Goody, 1958). The awareness of this phenomenon as meriting study in and of itself has come relatively late to the investigation of contemporary peasant populations. (A notable exception to this generalization is provided in Hammel, 1961.)

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For purposes of discussion, let us temporarily designate a household to include those people who share a discrete house site, bounded from other similar units by walls and/or cultivated fields. Using this criterion, there is no doubt that, for contemporary rural Mexicans as a whole, the nuclear family household is the prevalent form of domestic organization. At least one comprehensive survey has shown that the incidence of nuclear family households is "invariably greater than that of any other residential family group" (Nutini, 1967:388). This pattern certainly applies to Tzintzuntzan, where during the 1960's, when I carried out my study, only 13 percent of the households could be considered to be made up of joint families (Foster, 1967:57). Yet, despite this seeming preponderance of nuclear family households, nearly all Tzintzuntzeños—then as now—spend a good portion of their lives in joint domestic units; in fact, "it is a rare individual who has not, at some time in his life, been a member of a joint family" (Ibid.:57).

The discrepancy between static census figures, on the one hand, and actual domestic arrangements as revealed over time, on the other, is particularly evident in Yaguaro. In 1968, its 304 inhabitants were clustered into 45 separate house sites. Table 1 gives the social composition of these domestic units.

Twenty-nine of the 45 house sites were occupied by a nuclear family, i.e. a married couple and their children, or any group or individual of which this unit is comprised. Sixteen house sites, or just over a third of the total, were occupied by representatives of more than one nuclear family, yielding what I shall call a joint family household. To put this in other terms, 149 persons in the barrio, or 49 percent of Yaguaro's total population, lived at a joint family house site. This figure is high when compared with Tzintzuntzan as a whole, which in this period housed only about 22 percent of its population in joint family households. But it is low when we consider that in Yaguaro virtually all adults, married and widowed, had at some time lived in an extended domestic unit, regardless of whether they were part of such a unit at the time of my household census. By considering the domestic cycle we can understand why the proportion of barrio inhabitants living in extended residences seems to be so underrepresented in the census. Using this method we can also explain the difference between the residential arrangements in Yaguaro and Tzintzuntzan as a whole.

To understand the domestic cycle, it is useful to distinguish four sequential phases through which each household characteristically passes: 1) the nuclear household, 2) the joint household with unified hearth, 3) the joint household with divided hearth, and 4) one or more nuclear households. I shall analyze these phases as ideal types. Like Berreman, who has used a similar method to describe Himalayan domestic organization (1975), I do not propose that all known cases conform to this scheme. Nonetheless, many households in Yaguaro, and in Tzintzuntzan generally, follow this overall pattern, and most people in the barrio, as in the town as a whole, recognize it as a standard, predictable feature of village life.

PHASE 1: THE NUCLEAR HOUSEHOLD

In Yaguaro, the nuclear household conforms to the familiar pattern of peasant households throughout Latin America and Southern Europe, where nuclear families are domestic isolates, structurally opposed to other similar units. Husband, wife, and children sleep in a single dwelling, located at a physically discrete house site. They share a single food budget, and cook and eat together at one hearth. The father directs the family economy, always doing his best to avoid relying on outsiders for assistance in production. Guided by the prevailing age and sex-based rules for the division of labor, family members make pottery and/or engage in agriculture for their common sustenance. In childrearing and socialization, too, the parents and elder siblings, particularly the females, have complete responsibility, though young children may periodically make short daytime visits to other relatives. A simple hierarchy of dominance defines ideal behavior within the nuclear family: The husband has authority over the wife, the parents over the children, and, depending on age differences, male siblings over female. In reality, of course, the women often hold *de facto* power within the family, controlling the purse and making decisions without consulting their husbands.

In Yaguaro, as in Tzintzuntzan generally, the nuclear family household* is clearly the most desired domestic unit. All families strive to implement this ideal, and, even if it takes years of financial struggle, almost every family eventually succeeds.

Table 1. Household Composition in Yaguaro, 1968*

Household Structure	No. Persons	%	No. Households	%
I. Nuclear Households				
A. Woman alone	3	.99	3	6.66
B. Widow and children	9	2.96	2	4.44
C. Man and wife	8	2.63	4	8.88
D. Man, wife and children	135	44.41	20	44.44
Sub total	135	50.99	29	64.44
II. Joint Households				
A. Man, wife, children, with married son(s) and his (their) wife (wives) and children	61	20.07	6	13.33
B. Type II.A. with unmarried sister of household head	11	3.62	1	2.22
C. Widow, married son(s) and son's (sons') family	23	7.57	2	4.44
D. Two married brothers and their families	15	4.93	2	4.44
E. Man, wife, daughter and daughter's children	34	11.18	4	8.88
F. Widow, daughter and daughter's children	5	1.64	1	2.22
Sub Total	149	49.01	16	35.55
Total	304	100.00	45	100.00

*Figures are derived from the author's census data.

PHASE 2: THE JOINT HOUSEHOLD WITH UNIFIED HEARTH

The primary symbol of family unity is the hearth. Two or more nuclear families that share a single food budget and that cook and eat jointly are said to "live together" (*vivir juntos*); those that do not are said to "live apart" (*vivir aparte*), even though they may share a single residential structure. Thus, if we were to accord primacy to the folk typology, food and eating arrangements—so important everywhere in the life of rural Mexicans—determine whether a family should be considered truly nuclear or joint.

As in other parts of rural Mexico (e.g., Diaz, 1966:69; Lewis, 1963:61; Romney and Romney, 1966:43), post-marital residence in Yaguaro, and Tzintzuntzan generally, is patrilocal. The nuclear family becomes extended when a son marries and brings his wife into his parents' home. The new couple initially shares the dwelling hearth and food budget with the husband's parents, and the mother and daughter-in-law prepare meals together. As in the highland community studied by Slade (1976:170), "There is always a degree of privacy for nuclear families at least in sleeping arrangements, and older generations usually sleep apart from young couples." Carrasco's investigations (1964, 1976), indicate that the economically unified joint household was a common feature of pre-Conquest society in central Mexico: thus, contemporary post-marital domestic arrangements have a long tradition in the region.

Parents and children alike, in Tzintzuntzan, view the formation of the extended household as a compromise. Although many parents would like to establish their married sons in independent households immediately after marriage, most cannot afford to do so. Because of the small margin of security in the village, even a father who is well-to-do by village standards is either unwilling or unable to divide his estate with his married children. Thus, both agricultural and residential lands remain the property of the parents until their death.

By maintaining tight control over their property, parents not only protect their own economic interests, but also retain power over their newly married children, who, at least temporarily, remain dependent on them (cf. Potter, 1976:121-124). A recently married son usually has no choice but to move in with his parents. Since young unmarried men enjoy little opportunity to accumulate private resources, they are generally unable to establish a separate food account upon marriage, let alone build an independent dwelling or buy a private houseplot. In fact, they are initially so reliant upon their parents that they not only live and eat with them but also work for them, whether at pottery production or agriculture. The newly established extended household thus forms a single production and consumption unit.

The young couple almost inevitably becomes dissatisfied with the domestic arrangement which has been forced on them by uncontrollable economic circumstances, and interpersonal tension within the household steadily mounts. Although any worthy son knows that he owes his father unquestioned obedience, as head of his own family, he feels increasingly restricted by parental control and eager to escape by establishing a separate household. Restrictions can, over the years, become enormously burdensome. For example, regardless of a man's age or marital status, it is considered disrespectful for him to smoke or drink in his father's presence. Informal rules which are at first merely irritating can readily become intolerable.

The daughter-in-law feels similarly constrained in her relationship with her husband's mother. Though the two women are from different families, with distinct tastes and habits, they are forced to spend a good deal of time in one another's company, preparing food and caring for the house. The new daughter-in-law—unable to control the family diet, coerced into meeting the demands of her mother-in-law, afraid to rest for even a few minutes for fear of criticism from her husband's family—is an object of pity within society. Life in the joint family increases the young couple's conviction that a nuclear household is not only preferable, but essential.

PHASE 3: THE JOINT HOUSEHOLD WITH DIVIDED HEARTH

Depending on the economic situation of the family, married sons may hope to establish a modicum of domestic independence from their parents within six to eighteen months after bringing their wives into the home. The initial step toward family division is generally the establishment of separate food budgets and

cooking and eating arrangements. In most households, this is brought on by the birth of the young couple's first child, or when the young husband can begin to produce and sell a portion of his total pottery output independent of his father. The manufacturing materials for pottery are relatively inexpensive, and the father lends his son molds, pack animals to carry clay, and the use of a kiln, thereby permitting a moderate accumulation of capital. After the child's birth, income earned from the daughter-in-law's pottery goes entirely to the new couple, thereby assuring them some independent means of support. In primarily agricultural families, sons begin to earn their own income by receiving a share of the family's crops, in the form of the entire produce from a single field or a portion of the produce from several fields. Here, however, the father retains title to the property and maintains joint labor on it among all the adult members of his family.

The joint domestic arrangement, however irritating to the young couple, works initially to their financial advantage. A son generally lives with his parents during the early years of his marriage, when he is likely to have several small children closely spaced in age. It would be nearly impossible for his wife to accomplish necessary household chores and remain economically productive by making pottery if they lived independently. In an extended household, however, the woman is partially relieved of the burden of childcare, by sharing the task with her mother-in-law or unmarried sisters-in-law. The child, as Diaz reports for Tonalá (1966:72), "comes to have many mothers," thus giving his or her biological mother the time to add to the family income.

Once the son and his family have a separate income, and can maintain their own food budget, arrangements for cooking and eating vary according to available space at the house site. In crowded conditions, the mother and daughter-in-law share the same hearth, but prepare and consume meals at different times of day. Under more favorable circumstances, the two families use different hearths attached either to the same dwelling or to different dwellings at the same house site. Whatever the situation, dividing the hearth and/or food budget reduces intrafamily conflicts considerably. By gaining complete control over matters of consumption, the son and his wife find temporary residence at the parental home easier. As in the highland community described by Slade (1976:170), once the family hearth and budget are divided, "the rest follows, but an independent entranceway may take years to establish."

Spatial considerations become paramount in this final household division. To understand the problem of space, we must recall that between 1940 and 1965 Tzintzuntzan's population literally doubled (Foster, 1967:264-265). Thus, by the 1960s, house sites in town, because of progressive subdivision, could accommodate at most two—in rare cases three—nuclear families. The substantial reduction in infant mortality over the past generation, coupled with the villagers' high fertility rate, has exacerbated the space problem to the point where it has become of crucial importance in the timing of extended family fission.

If parents reside at a small, single-dwelling house site incapable of division, sons take turns living there in the order in which they marry. This creates a continual process of replacement such that the first son to marry lives patrilocally until his brother marries, at which time the first moves out and is replaced by the newlyweds. This sequence is repeated for the second and third sons, until the youngest marries and establishes permanent residence at the parental home. Traditionally, the youngest son inherits the parental home and continues to live with his parents and care for them into their old age.

Rarely is the timing as neat as this sequence suggests. Already-resident sons may move out before a brother's marriage, in anticipation of the event; or, when elopement (Brandes, 1968) makes long-range anticipation impossible, the two married brothers and their families may briefly reside together at the parent's house. The main point is that when a family has to provide for several married sons, the rate at which they marry normally determines the rapidity with which they will establish separate homes. Because of the serial fashion in which married brothers occupy the parental house, the house may retain its joint residential form over a considerable period of time, despite changes in its membership.

When there is room at the parents' house site for the permanent residence of two or more married sons—exceptional in Tzintzuntzan today because of excessive subdivision—the original dwelling is reserved for the youngest son. As many additional dwellings as space and finances allow are then constructed to provide

permanent residences for the new families. Parents want to settle as many sons as possible on the family house site, since it is more economical than buying plots elsewhere or converting agricultural land into residential property. This is the situation that still prevails in Yaguaro.

PHASE 4: PARTITION INTO ONE OR MORE NUCLEAR HOUSEHOLDS

Definitive partition of a household into nuclear units usually occurs when both parents die, or when only one parent dies and the other remarries. Generally, when both parents die the household automatically reverts to its original nucleated form. Older sons will have probably married and moved out to their own residences, leaving the youngest married son and his family permanent heirs to the house. In Yaguaro, though, several married sons are likely to be living together at the parental house site—albeit in separate buildings. In this circumstance, the property is divided by walls (*bardas*), and independent entrances to the street are built, to create several distinct house sites, each occupied by a nuclear family. Because of this process of division, it is common for related household heads, all bearing the same surname, to live in adjacent homes. In Yaguaro, uncles often live next door to married nephews or brothers occupy contiguous house sites, bearing witness to the residential history of families; they are the result of the progressive subdivision of house sites among male heirs practicing patrilocal postmarital residence.

Once the parents die, there no longer exists any good justification for married brothers to prevent implementation of nuclear family ideals. There is, to begin, the problem created by poor interpersonal relations within the extended household. Likely as not, the co-resident sisters-in-law manage to cooperate only with great difficulty. I have known cases in which these women argue incessantly about cooking and childrearing, where they are easily aroused by the encroachments and mischief of the other's children and farm animals, and where they gossip against one another mercilessly and openly to their neighbors and kin. The fragility of the fraternal joint household is familiar to anyone acquainted with peasant social structure in other parts of the world as well (e.g., Dube, 1967:134, 153; Friedl, 1964:55; Goldschmidt and Kunkel, 1971:1066; Spiro, 1970:137; E. Wolf, 1966:68-69). Frequently, the main source of the friction is the incompatibility of the brothers themselves. As elsewhere (e.g., Berreman, 1963:174-175), however, quarrels between brothers, who are supposed to remain unified in sentiment if not domestic arrangements, are conveniently blamed on their wives.

Further, the economic benefits of extended residence usually disappear after parental death. By this time, the older children of the household have matured and can be productive at pottery or farming, and at the very least are responsible caretakers of their younger siblings (Brandes, 1974:75). Assistance from outside the nuclear family is therefore no longer essential for the smooth functioning and maximum financial benefit of the household. With the critical economic functions of the extended unit obsolete, partition of the unit becomes all the more reasonable.

In Tzintzuntzan siblings experience little pressure to maintain what they and their society consider to be an inherently undesirable domestic arrangement. The contrast with rural Taiwan is instructive. There, where prestige and economic benefits accrue to the extended household, and where people believe that extended residential units are proper and desirable, married brothers may struggle for years to overcome internal dissension between their separate families in order to retain a unified residential group (see e.g., M. Wolf, 1968). This is decidedly not the case throughout most of rural Mexico, including Tzintzuntzan, where nuclear households are highly valued, and where any other domestic form is considered a compromise. In Tzintzuntzan, brothers need offer no elaborate rationalization for dividing their common property. To the contrary, it would be thought unusual and strange if they decided to remain together.

Finally, household division upon the remarriage of a widow or widower provides an instance of "status incongruence" (Peterson, 1970), in which a person occupies two social positions simultaneously, one low in prestige, the other high. The inferior position of the in-marrying spouse as a new member of the household is at variance with his or her elevated position as an established, adult member of the community. When a young

son marries and brings a wife into his parents' household, the woman's youth generally enables her to adapt smoothly to life with her in-laws. Even if she encounters personal difficulties in the transition from one household to another, she is young and pliable, and can be made to conform to her in-law's and husband's desires. In contrast, the remarriage of a widow or widower brings into the household a person automatically endowed with a position of authority because of age. Married children, already accustomed to a degree of independence, understandably resent the abrupt insertion of such a prestigious and powerful step-parent, who should rightfully be low in status as a newcomer to the home. Almost invariably, serious conflict develops between the two generations of married adults within the household, and division takes place as soon as finances permit. According to the size of the house site, the separate families partition their property with a wall or buy property to which either nuclear unit moves.

Very few house sites are divided prior to parental death or remarriage, and only the pressure of extreme interpersonal tensions and rivalries within the home force such "premature" partitions. In one Yaguaro family, for example, a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law found life together intolerable. Daily they would fight, tearing at each other's hair, and occasionally locking one another out in the street. The situation became scandalous, so that the father reluctantly divided the house site, giving his son and daughter-in-law their own residence long before such property division would ordinarily take place. In instances like this, fathers place emotional well-being of the family above considerations of economic security when deciding to partition their property.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The evidence from Yaguaro, and Tzintzuntzan generally, confirms the view that the extended household is in no way "attractive, prescribed, or valued; it is chiefly a matter of sharing limited resources" (Romanucci-Ross, 1973:52). The precise kinds of resources important may vary from one community to another. In Tzintzuntzan, space and family income are the main determinants of division; on the basis of these two criteria we can best explain the difference between household figures for Yaguaro and Tzintzuntzan in general. Yaguaro, as I have said, is located on the periphery of the village, removed from the centrally-located, prestigious parts of town, which cluster around the church, plaza, and main highway. Yaguaro, though very old, is less densely settled than most barrios, and thus house site subdivision is not yet a major problem.

Yaguaro is also poorer than the rest of the community. In this barrio only two or three family heads earn their main income from agriculture, as contrasted with nearly a quarter of the families in the village as a whole. The people of Yaguaro are potters, and, in the main, potters of utilitarian ware, which is considerably less lucrative than the decorative ware sold at higher prices to the tourist market.

The people of Yaguaro are thus in an anomalous position: they are poorer than most Tzintzuntzeños, but have more living space. This explains why a much higher proportion of Yaguaro households are joint, and why, proportionately, many more residents of Yaguaro live under such domestic arrangements.

Further light on the special case of Yaguaro may be shed by examining "hearth units" in Yaguaro. Table 2 lists the composition of family groups in the barrio who have a separate food budget and independent cooking and eating arrangements, whether they share a house site or not.

Of the eight types of unit, only the last three—F, G, and H—may be considered joint families. This means that in Yaguaro only 8 of the 55 hearth units—as I call these groups with independent hearth and budget—are joint. Putting the matter another way, joint hearth units account for only 15 percent of the total. And within these units are grouped just 23 percent of the barrio inhabitants.

It appears, then, that joint hearth units are less predominant than joint residential units in Yaguaro, indicating that in this barrio economic pressure and available space produce a situation in which families live together much longer than they maintain a single budget and hearth. Throughout most of the village, financial resources and small house sites assure that married sons will be resettled on independent property within a short time after marriage. Not so in Yaguaro, where it is more likely that married sons will continue to reside with their parents for a long time, while maintaining a separate hearth and budget.

Table 2. Hearth Units in Yaguaro, 1968*

Structure of Hearth Unit	No. Persons	%	No. Units	%
I. Nuclear Hearth Units				
A. Woman alone	3	.99	3	5.45
B. Widow and children	9	2.96	2	3.64
C. Man and wife	10	3.29	5	9.09
D. Widower and child	2	.66	1	1.82
E. Man, wife, and children	211	69.41	36	65.45
Sub total	235	77.31	47	85.45
II. Joint Hearth Units				
F. Man, wife, and children, with married son and his wife and children	43	14.14	5	9.09
G. Man, wife, and children, with married daughter and her children	17	5.59	2	3.64
H. Widow with unmarried daughter and daughter's children	9	2.96	1	1.82
Sub total	69	22.69	8	14.55
Total	304	100.00	55	100.00

* Figures are derived from the author's census data.

A young married couple thus achieves domestic independence only in specified circumstances. Whenever financial conditions permit and spatial limitations require them to move to a separate house site, they do so, thereby realizing their society's domestic ideal. If, however, there is room for them at the parent's house site, and their finances are strained, they will remain in a joint residential arrangement with divided hearth, until other conditions allow partition of the household into several nuclear units.

Though the precise histories of particular households may vary, all domestic units undergo a full domestic cycle. Nuclear households become residentially joint, experience the economic transformations represented by division of the hearth and budget, and finally partition themselves into nuclear households which are structural replicas of the original. Household division may or may not entail partition of the actual house site; recently, numerous sites have been subdivided, however, as evidenced by the fact that agnatically related kin often are found clustered in adjacent or nearby residences. As house sites decrease in size, site subdivision occurs less frequently, accelerating the pace at which married sons are forced out of the parental home. This, in part, explains the difference in residence distribution between Yaguaro and Tzintzuntzan generally. We may predict that as economic opportunities for migration from the village increase, new husbands will not only locate away from the parental home soon after marriage, but will leave the village, a trend already well established (Kemper, 1977; Kemper and Foster, 1975).

Each domestic cycle, no matter what the variant, is the result of a series of compromises forced on families by economic scarcity. Married sons perceive the joint household as a temporary arrangement, in which they either accumulate the resources necessary to move or wait until parental death or remarriage allows them to establish households of their own. For parents, the joint household is an economic device which binds their children to them and assures their security in old age. Almost all nuclear families eventually gain complete domestic independence, though this depends on the size of the parental house site, the number of male siblings, and the financial status of the family.

Whatever the variations, scarcity of money and land virtually assures that everyone will spend at least part of his or her life in a joint household, making this residential form more pervasive than either village ideals or census figures would indicate. To be sure, the precise amount of time that each individual actually resides in a joint residence depends on a multitude of factors, which may never be duplicated in any other family setting. More than the actual number of years which a person spends in an extended household, it is the coincidence of this residential situation with certain stages in the life cycle of the individual that may have critical importance. For example, some students of Mexico (Brandes, 1974; Bushnell, 1958:263; Lewis, 1963:333; Nelson, 1963:142; Ramirez and Parres, 1957:21; Romney and Romney, 1966:103) explain the adult personality—including machismo, separation anxieties, and other psychological syndromes—as developing in part from the fact that parents emotionally abandon or physically separate themselves from the young child. However, if a child lives in a joint household, he or she is likely to be surrounded by doting grandparents and unmarried aunts, who operate as parental surrogates. Whether these women can actually replace the parents in the emotional life of the child is still uncertain; nonetheless, it is just one of many instances in which the investigation of the life cycle of the individual in light of the household developmental cycle may prove fruitful. The domestic cycle, in Yaguaro and Tzintzuntzan, as elsewhere, is an all-pervasive, continuous process which impinges on every aspect of life.

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