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# *The Family Cycle in a Coastal Peruvian Slum and Village*<sup>1</sup>

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## INTRODUCTION

One of the more important problems facing students of Latin America concerns the nature of socio-cultural process in urban and rural mestizo communities of that area. This paper is an attempt to approach the problem in terms of the static kinds of information generally available in census materials and standard ethnographic reports. (See Hammel n.d.-a, for a statement of static differences between urban slum and rural village populations.)

The data on which this study is based consist chiefly of two censuses. One of them deals with the slum (pop. ca. 1,000) of the city of Ica (population ca. 33,000), located about 300 kms. south of Lima. The other deals with the village of San Juan Bautista (population ca. 700), about 13 kms. from the city. Both censuses give information on age, sex, occupation, household composition, and sanitation practices. The first was designed and carried out by the local sanitation service (Ica n.d.); the second was designed and implemented by the author in cooperation with the sanitation service (Hammel n.d.-b) and is wider in scope than the first. The censuses are supplemented by the results of a year's ethnographic observation which, although not providing the same statistical breadth, present material in much greater depth (Hammel n.d.-c). The combination of these sources, subjected to an analysis which infers developmental sequences from static information, yields some hypotheses on the nature of particular cultural processes in the communities considered.

## PROCEDURE

The investigation of cyclic processes in any society, and the relationship between the design of such investigation and the nature of the available data, deserve a thorough discussion of the methodological problems involved. Unfortunately, the exigencies of publication do not permit extended discussion of these matters here. I will therefore touch on them only briefly and trust that the reader will understand that the meagerness of discussion is a function not of lack of awareness but of lack of space for adequate exposition.

1) The social organization of the communities investigated and the nature of the information available are such that only one legitimate question on cyclic developmental processes may be asked here: Does the composition of individual households change in some direction during the span of their existence?

2) The lack of information about such processes in these and similar communities makes it advisable to conduct the investigation in an inductive

fashion, rather than attempt the deductive testing of any general hypothesis.

3) Selection of a problem relating to process makes specification of some chronological referent necessary. The nature of the data restricts the choice of referent to the ages of persons included in such households; for a variety of additional reasons, the chronological referent here consists of the ages of women who have had children and/or have lived in some coresident alliance with a spouse. There are no difficulties in matching household composition against the age of a woman in a conjugal relationship when that woman is the only one in the household who qualifies (as stated) as an "age-marker." If there are more, as in an extended family, with whose age shall the household composition be matched? Several choices are possible, but the one made here is to match the composition of the entire household, *referent to each woman*, against her *own* age. The result of such matching is a table of correspondences between the ages of women and the network of kinship affiliations referent to them within their residence groups. For want of a better term, these ego-centered networks of affiliation will be called *families* here.

Since recognized and exclusive social aggregates based on kinship but larger than the household (such as lineages) do not occur in these communities, the kinship affiliations of the persons included in a household, referent to an individual woman, must be phrased in terms of kin types. The variety of such inclusions, however, is sufficiently complex to necessitate some classificatory arrangement of the data, even if such a classification is arbitrary and not inherent in the information (as it would be in the case of a society with lineage organization). The following classification of ego-centered families has been employed here:

- 1) *Nuclear* (N). A nuclear family consists of a woman and spouse, with or without children. Any children present must be those of one or the other—or of both—spouses or must have been adopted. If grandchildren or the children of siblings or other children have been taken to raise in the absence of their parents and without recognition of adoption, the family is not classed as a nuclear one. (See Type 2, below.)
- 2) *More-than-nuclear superordinate* ( $>N_{sup}$ ). These are families in which the woman concerned has a coresident spouse but in which the nuclear base is extended by the addition of persons of the first or second descending generation. If a woman's child and child's spouse or child's child are coresident with her, her status is called *parental*. If only a grandchild is present, but that child's parent (woman's own child) is not, her status is called *lineal-grandparental*. If the extensions to the family consist of persons of the first descending generation not lineally related to the woman being considered, her status is called *lateral-grandparental*. (HuCh may be substituted for Ch in these definitions above.) The term *grandparental* is used in the third category because the social relationships in Ica between the adult and child concerned are more like those between grandparent and grandchild than those between parent and

child. The essence of all these relationships is that the family is more-than-nuclear and that the woman is in a nominally superordinate position to the extensions in the household.

- 3) *More-than-nuclear lateral* ( $>N_1$ ). These are families in which the woman concerned has a coresident spouse, but in which the extensions to the nuclear base are achieved by adding an adult or another family to the household of the woman concerned. The essence of this category is that the woman under consideration is nominally a peer of the other adult or adults who constitute the extensions to her own nuclear family. Joint families are distinguished from those in which an adult without spouse constitutes the lateral extension.
- 4) *More-than-nuclear subordinate* ( $>N_{sub}$ ). These are families in which the woman concerned has a coresident spouse but is in a nominally subordinate position in a larger family, that of her parents or of her husband's parents.
- 5) *Less-than-nuclear nondependent* ( $<N_{non-dep}$ ). These are families in which the woman concerned does not have a spouse and is not in a subordinate or dependent position in a household, although she may be living with another woman as a peer, or with her own grandchildren, children, or other subordinate persons. Widowed and nonwidowed women are distinguished in this category.
- 6) *Less-than-nuclear dependent* ( $<N_{dep}$ ). These are families in which the women concerned have offspring but no coresident spouse and are in nominally dependent positions in the home of their parents or grandparents. Since these women are the subordinates in an extended family, it is clear that their own ego-centered family groups are more-than-nuclear in some respects. As in Type 5, however, the crucial feature for their classification is the absence of a spouse, and here, their dependent position.

It should be clear from the foregoing that, even though each "family" is ego-centered (and must be because of the individual nature of the chronological referent), and that even though highly complicated household structures are simplified by this classificatory procedure, some overlapping of types may still occur. Similarly, some of the types given are capable of further subdivision by the application of additional criteria. Recognition of further subdivisions and cross-classifications (which are themselves subdivisions) may lend greater accuracy to analysis but has one unfortunate effect; it divides the sample into smaller and smaller groups. As the number of units included in any subdivision approaches one, the classification loses its utility. The size of the populations considered here is sufficiently small so that that danger is a real one, and some balance must be struck between overly broad categories and those which are unique. The limits of subdivision of the six family types have been stated in the list above, and cross-classification was avoided by giving some types arbitrary but consistently applied priority over others in the assignment of

families to categories. It is also apparent that a household may retain a permanent structural character over time and still be the locus of ego-centered familial development of a cyclic nature. For example, a given household may remain a matrilocal extended family over a long period, but the women in it may begin their reproductive and conjugal lives as centers of a Type 6 family, pass to Type 4, to Type 2, and eventually to Type 5, if they have children, acquire a coresident spouse, have grandchildren, and are then deserted by their husbands or widowed, in that order. It is with this kind of cyclic change that we are here concerned.

Having sketched these definitions and explanations, we may proceed with the analysis of the data which are presented in Tables 1 to 6 and Charts 1 and 2. (Sample sizes are given in the tables.) The major premise of the analysis is that the rate of occurrence of a family type in a particular age range suggests the probability that a woman will live in that type of family as she reaches that stage in her life. (The age ranges employed are the 5 decades over age 15 and the period from age 65 until death). In general, we assume that a woman will move from the family type of major probability in one age range to the family type of major probability in the next, as she herself passes through these age ranges, although some qualifications to this suggestion will be noted below. That *all* women do not move through the series of family types of major probability in the several age ranges is evident from the fact that the correspondence between age and type is not a perfect one. We also assume here that neither of the populations considered is expanding or contracting so rapidly or so selectively within particular age ranges as to make such an inference suspect.

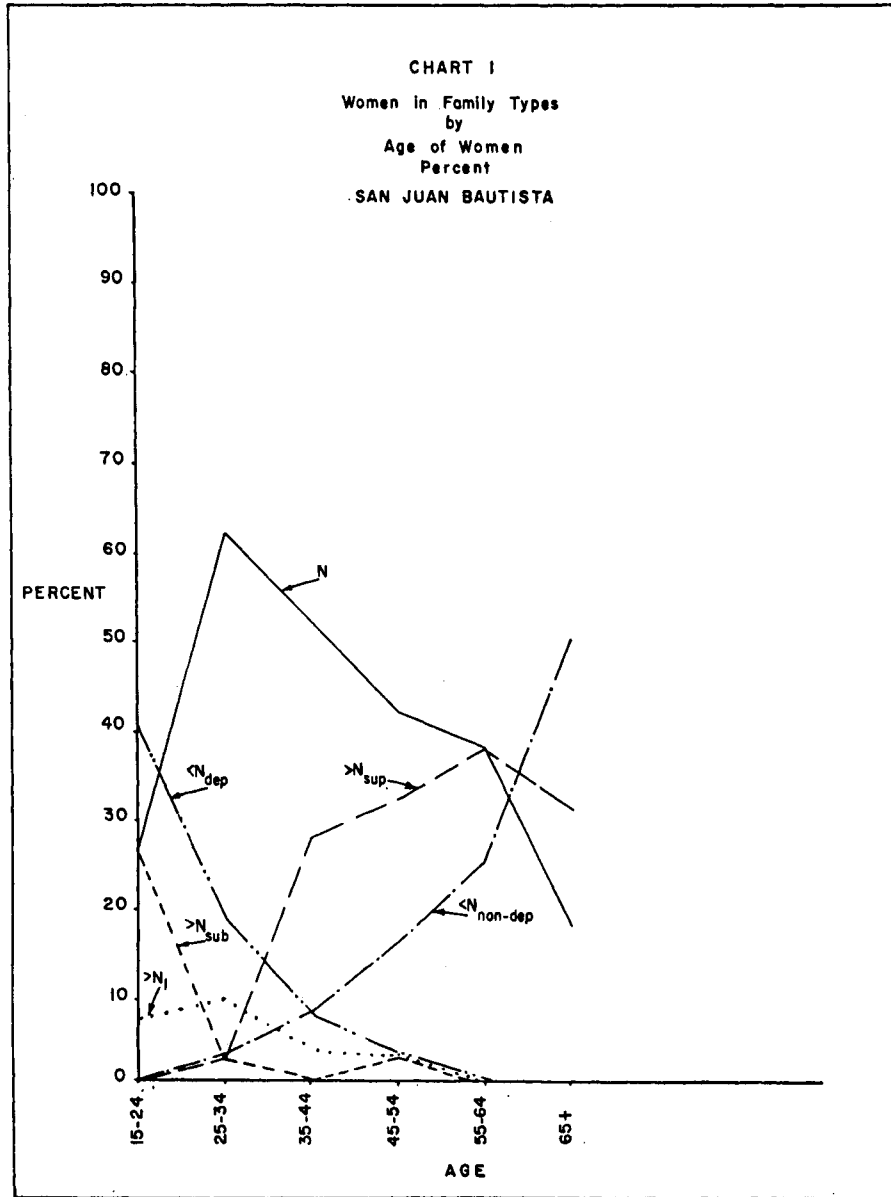
Since the developmental cycle inferred is different for the two communities studied, they will be considered separately, with the village of San Juan Bautista first in order, because it presents the simplest patterns.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY TYPES, BY AGE OF FEMALE, IN SAN JUAN BAUTISTA

*First Decade.* In San Juan Bautista 41 percent of the women in the first decade (15-24) who show some evidence of having engaged in sexual relationships have children but do not have coresident spouses and live in less-than-nuclear dependent families. This circumstance confirms the allegations by young men of the village that a relatively great number of village girls have sexual experience before arranging some coresident alliance with a man. These early sexual experiences are often fruitful, perhaps because of the rarity of contraceptive devices, and young girls with offspring but no husband remain in their parental households. Every effort is made to force a marriage if the father of the child is acceptable to the girl's parents, but in many cases he is not, or is simply unidentifiable.

Twenty-six percent of the women in this same age group do have husbands but live in more-than-nuclear subordinate families, dependent on their own or their husband's parents. The comments of informants indicated that the way

in which these girls had achieved their status was not very different from that of girls with children but without spouses; many of them living in *uxorilocal* more-than-nuclear subordinate families had had their children without making prior arrangements for marriage, and the coresidence and partial support of their spouses was often an arrangement forced by the girl's parents. It seems likely that these "accidental" alliances, in which the husband is forced into coresidence, are more closely correlated with *uxorilocal* than with *virilocal*



residence (within the more-than-nuclear subordinate family type), but the case history data necessary to prove the point are lacking.

Another 26 percent of the women in this age range live in nuclear families; these are women who have either made arrangements for coresidence prior to the birth of a child or those whose lovers were economically capable of and willing to enter into an independent conjugal alliance on the birth of a child. The remaining 7 percent of the women in the first decade live in more-than-nuclear lateral families; the extensions here are all of unmarried adults. There appears to be no statistically significant preference for lateral extension via the husband or the wife.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF FAMILY TYPES BY AGE OF WOMEN, SAN JUAN BAUTISTA

Age	N		>N <sub>sup</sub>		>N <sub>I</sub>		>N <sub>sub</sub>		<N <sub>non-dep</sub>		<N <sub>dep</sub>		T <sub>1</sub> *		T <sub>2</sub> *	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15-24	7	25.93	0	.00	2	7.41	7	25.93	0	.00	11	40.74	27	44.26	61	
25-34	23	62.16	1	2.70	4	9.76	1	2.70	1	2.70	7	18.92	37	90.24	41	
35-44	13	52.00	7	28.00	1	4.00	0	.00	2	8.00	2	8.00	25	100.00	25	
45-54	13	41.94	10	32.26	1	3.23	1	3.23	5	16.13	1	3.23	31	100.00	31	
55-64	6	37.50	6	37.50	0	.00	0	.00	4	25.00	0	.00	16	100.00	16	
65-	3	18.75	5	31.25	0	.00	0	.00	8	50.00	0	.00	16	100.00	16	
Total	65	42.76	29	19.08	8	5.26	9	5.92	20	13.16	21	13.82	152	80.00	190	

\* T<sub>1</sub> = total number of women offering evidence of prior or current sexual relationship. T<sub>2</sub> = total number of women in this age range. Percentages in the first six columns are percentages of T<sub>1</sub> for that row; the percentage in column T<sub>1</sub> is the percentage T<sub>1</sub> is of T<sub>2</sub> in that row.

*Second Decade.* In the second decade (25-34) the proportion of women living in less-than-nuclear dependent families drops to 19 percent. That decrease continues regularly until the frequency of such families strikes zero in the fifth decade and may be attributed in part to the eventual success of spouseless mothers in finding husbands and establishing independent nuclear households. That they do not simply acquire husbands and remain in subordinate status in their parental households is indicated by the decrease of more-than-nuclear subordinate families to 3 percent in the same period. Additionally, women over the age of 24 seem to be more cautious about entering into sexual relationships without some prospect of coresidence. It may also be the case that they are less fertile than their younger sisters and that the results of their sexual experiences do not place them in a less-than-nuclear dependent family with as great a frequency; at least the more fertile of the young women in the village would tend to be in that family category by the time they reached the age of 24. Thus, the general increase in the number of women with identifiable conjugal experience (from 44 percent to 90 percent of all women in the age range) which occurs in the second decade no longer results in the formation of many less-than-

nuclear dependent families, and the relative frequency of such families in the population consequently declines.

The number of women living in more-than-nuclear subordinate families in this decade also declines, as noted, probably as a result of the attainment of independent, nuclear status. The statements of informants indicated that the nuclear family was preferred, at least by young couples, to all other types and should be achieved as soon as a young couple could afford to set up independent housekeeping. Their opinions are borne out by the sharp rise in the frequency of nuclear families from 26 percent to 62 percent in the second decade, a time when married couples are economically more self-sufficient than formerly.

The three remaining types of families increase slightly in the second decade; none of the increases are particularly significant here, although some presage significant increases in later decades. It is worth noting at this point that the 4 more-than-nuclear lateral families found in this decade (10 percent) consist of two joint households, both of which held extremely low positions in the social hierarchy of the village. Joint families are regarded as an inferior kind of family organization, particularly when none of the adults involved are siblings, as is the case in one of the households mentioned. The addition of a coresident but unmarried sibling or close friend to a household, however, is not as poorly regarded, although the arrangement is thought to be far from ideal.

*Third Decade.* In the third decade (35-44) the frequency of nuclear families declines from 62 percent to 52 percent, and that decline continues in later decades as a result of two major factors. First, the older children in these families are beginning to have sexual relations. Some of the daughters will have children but will acquire no spouses; other daughters or sons will bring spouses home to live. The young women involved will then be the centers of some kind of dependent family, but the parents in the households will find themselves at the center of more-than-nuclear superordinate families. This interpretation is supported by the increase of more-than-nuclear superordinate families to 28 percent in this decade; 4 of the 7 cases conform to the suggested interpretation, since the adults in them are in parental status. The remaining 3 cases furnish examples of lateral-grandparental status, in which the adults have taken the children of siblings, compadres, or friends to raise, usually to locate the children near a school.

The second major factor involved in the decline of nuclear families is the gradually increasing incidence of less-than-nuclear nondependent families as death and desertion take their toll of husbands, leaving women spouseless. Spouseless women in a nondependent position reach a frequency of 8 percent in this decade, and the frequency increases sharply in later periods. Table 5 indicates that the percentage of widows in this category tends to increase with age, while the percentage of deserted women consequently decreases. Young widows or deserted women establish a new conjugal alliance as soon as possible; thus, very few of either category actually appear in the census as independent spouseless women. As women grow older and less physically desirable, the frequency of second marriages declines, and as their spouses grow older,



death of the spouse takes precedence over desertion as an agent in the creation of less-than-nuclear nondependent families.

*Fourth Decade to Final Period.* The general trends in the frequency of nuclear families, more-than-nuclear superordinate families, and less-than-nuclear nondependent families continue without marked change through the fourth and into the fifth decade. All other types of family structure are of residual occurrence by this time as a result of the transfer of women to the major categories. In the sixth and final period (over age 64) these continuing trends result in a reversal of earlier frequencies of occurrence. Nuclear families account for only 19 percent of the total, more-than-nuclear superordinate families for 31 percent, and less-than-nuclear nondependent for 50 percent. The total sample of women considered has, of course, diminished with age as the death rate has increased, but we cannot attribute changes in the frequencies of family types to a selective death rate among them. It is apparent, then, that the accelerated decline in the frequency of nuclear families, the decline from a peak frequency of more-than-nuclear superordinate families, and the accelerated increase of less-than-nuclear nondependent families must be attributed to the death of and desertion by spouses.

#### FAMILY DEVELOPMENT IN THE ICA SLUM

The problem of inferring the developmental cycle of the family in the Ica slum is complicated by demographic variations which are vaguely known or are themselves inferred (Hammel n.d.-a). The slum is characterized by a very high concentration of persons aged 20-24 and a very sharp decrease in population over age 44, when compared to the age distribution of a rural Iquenian village like San Juan Bautista. The high proportion of young adults must be attributed to a concentration of immigration in that age range, since there are no indications that the death rate for persons over 44 is higher in the slum than in the village. Further, the rate of population increase in the slum does not seem to be much greater than the rate of increase for relatively large villages near the city like San Juan Bautista, which are themselves undergoing a kind of suburban expansion made possible by increased motor transport facilities. One would then expect that the marked lack of persons in the slum over age 44 would decrease after 20 or 30 years from the original establishment of the slum population, since the surviving original immigrants would then be 35-54. The low frequencies at the upper end of the age range in the slum would be augmented even if immigration continued to be concentrated at the same rate in the 15-24 age range. Since the Ica slum is at least 20 or 30 years old, it seems reasonable to infer that many immigrants to the slum leave it as they grow older. Their departure seems to be concentrated after age 44, since the difference between the age distributions of slum and village increases at that point (see Tables 1 and 2, column T<sub>2</sub>).

#### DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY TYPES, BY AGE OF FEMALE, IN THE ICA SLUM

*First Decade.* In the first decade in the slum relatively fewer women show

evidence of past or current sexual experience than in the village (40 percent of all women 15-24 vs. 44 percent), but more of these live with a spouse (87 percent vs. 59 percent). About 36 percent live in nuclear families and 33 percent in more-than-nuclear lateral families. Only 18 percent are women with spouses but dependent on and coresident with a parent, and only 10 percent are spouseless dependents with offspring in a parental household. The remaining categories are residual at this point. Sexual experience is more closely linked with coresidence of spouse in the slum, where, because of the high frequency of young immigrants and lack of elders, many young women have no parents in whose homes they might live after the birth of a child. The early establishment of coresident alliances is also attributable to the mutual advantages gained in a social situation of high mobility where few other kin are present.

Another feature of interest in the configuration of family types in the first decade in the slum is the high number (33 percent) of more-than-nuclear lateral families. About one-quarter of these in the early years are parts of joint families, and many of the others include friends or *compadres* as extensions to the nuclear base rather than siblings. The relatively high frequency of joint families is itself an indication of lower-class status, as noted above, and the frequent inclusion of nonkin is probably an adaptation to the difficult economic conditions under which slum inhabitants live. Since the slum economy is based almost entirely on cash, the addition of other adult wage-earners to the household is advantageous. The same kinds of economic pressure which force compromise of the ideal nuclear family type in the village do so in the slum, but here, where young adults have few established older kin with whom they might live, the households are extended laterally. There are no significant differences in the frequency of lateral extensions via the husband or the wife.

*Second Decade.* The general trends of the developmental cycle in the second decade are similar to those in the village. More-than-nuclear subordinate families decline to 9 percent and less-than-nuclear dependent families to 4 percent, while nuclear families increase to 38 percent and more-than-nuclear lateral to 40 percent. The same trend toward establishment of independent households is discernible here, although it is not as marked as in the village since there were more independent households to begin with, and it differs in the greater frequency of laterally extended households. More-than-nuclear superordinate families begin to increase in frequency in this decade (6 percent), in anticipation of a marked rise later.

*Third Decade.* In the third decade, the trends continue to follow the general pattern known from the village. Dependent families of both types continue to decrease, the more-than-nuclear subordinate to 6 percent and the less-than-nuclear dependent to zero, and the major types of young independent families begin to decrease, nuclear families declining to 33 percent and more-than-nuclear lateral to 8 percent. At the same time, more-than-nuclear superordinate families increase to 33 percent and less-than-nuclear nondependent families to 19 percent.

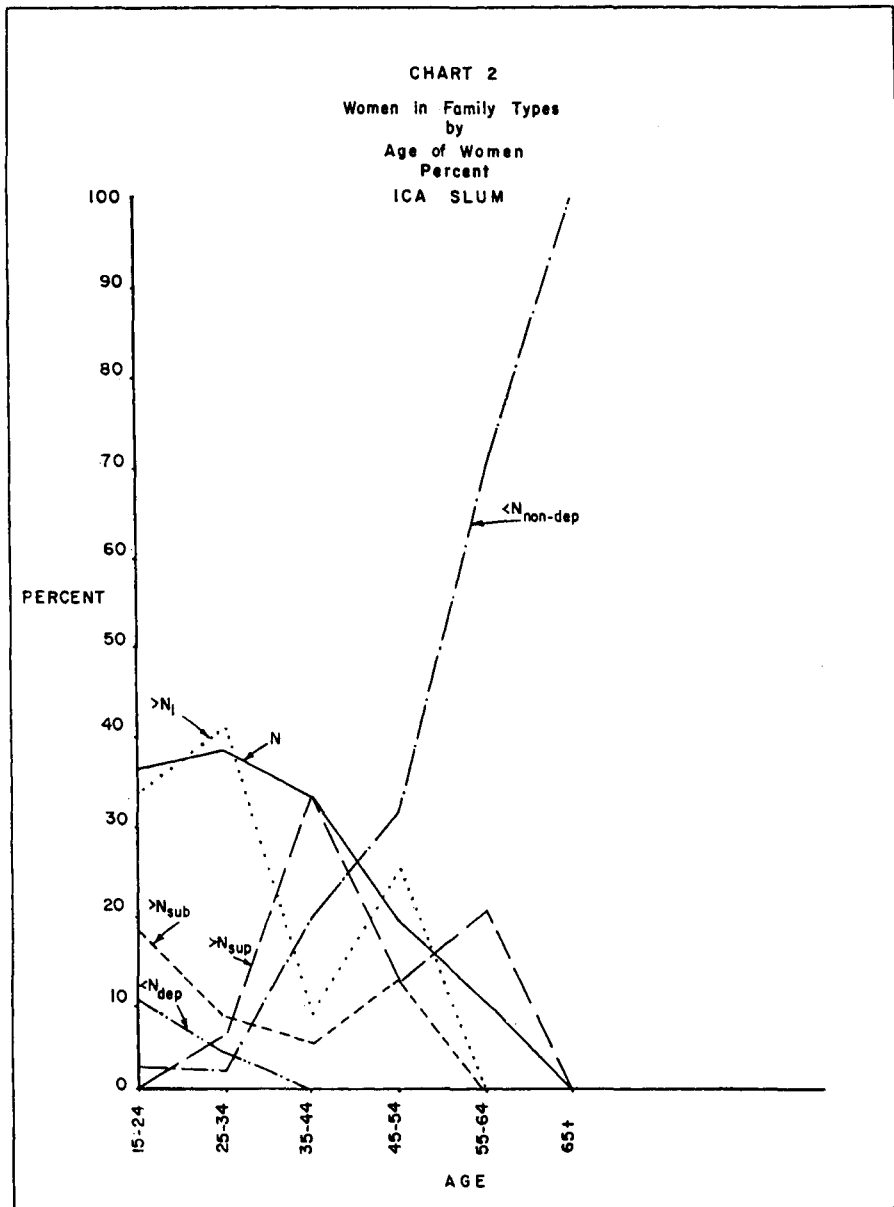
The rates of these changes are themselves interesting. First, the rate of

decline of more-than-nuclear lateral families is more rapid than that of nuclear families, suggesting that even slum inhabitants do not regard laterally extended organization as ideal but abandon it for another voluntarily. Some women transfer from the more-than-nuclear lateral category as a result of the death of or abandonment by spouses, or the inclusion of a dependent family or younger individual in the same household. There is no reason to assume that such events affect them with greater frequency than they do women in nuclear families, and the difference in rate of decline between the two must be attributed to at least a partially voluntary abandonment of laterally extended organization. It is interesting to note that all the joint families in the urban sample have broken up by this time and that the only more-than-nuclear lateral families are those which include single adults as extensions. Evidently joint families are not stable when the constituent nuclear families become older and larger, even if the heads are siblings. The retarded decrease of frequency of nuclear families, compared to that of the more-than-nuclear lateral, may also be attributable to the breakup of joint families in some degree; if women in joint families transferred to nuclear ones but women in nuclear families did not transfer to joint ones, the relative rates of decline of the two would show the same general relationship as that observed above.

As in the village, more-than-nuclear superordinate families increase in frequency faster than do less-than-nuclear nondependent families, since the inclusion of dependent families and individuals in households is occurring at a more rapid rate than desertion or the death of spouses. However, the more-than-nuclear superordinate families reach their peak here, rather than in the fifth decade as in the village. The early peak of these families seems to be a "false" one, a function of their surprising decrease later. The decrease itself will be considered below.

There are also some differences between slum and village in the relative importance of desertion in the third decade as a creator of less-than-nuclear nondependent families: desertion accounts for 86 percent of such families in the slum as against 50 percent in the village. Further evidence for the greater agency of desertion as an agent in creating such families is to be found in the greater rate of over-all increase of less-than-nuclear nondependent families in the slum. Since the death rate for men in the slum cannot be shown to be greater than that for men in the village, more frequent abandonment must be a partial cause for the higher over-all rate of increase in the slum.

*Fourth Decade to Final Period.* By the fourth decade the pattern of occurrence of family types has changed markedly. Nuclear families still continue their long, regular decline to a final frequency of zero, but some reversals have occurred. The frequency of more-than-nuclear lateral families has increased from 8 percent to 25 percent, and that of more-than-nuclear subordinate families from 6 percent to 13 percent. The frequency of more-than-nuclear superordinate families has declined from its peak of 33 percent to 13 percent, and the number of less-than-nuclear nondependent families has increased to 31 percent.



These unusual features all deserve consideration. We are dealing here with that period just after age 44, the period in which we suggested that there occurred an emigration from the slum. Now, it is agreed by all inhabitants of the Ica Valley that the slum is an undesirable place to live, and that people only live there because of economic necessity. If some people do leave the slum, particularly if they leave at an age when they may be assumed to be at the peak

of their wage-earning power, it follows that it should be the economically successful people who leave the slum, and that the continually unsuccessful ones remain behind. If this be granted, even though the correlation suggested may not be absolute, some reasons for the changes in patterns of occurrence of family types may be offered.

Only two kinds of family structure in the slum can be said to be typical of economically successful households: the independent nuclear family and the more-than-nuclear superordinate family. The latter is not only independent but able to support additional dependents, many of whom in this sample do not contribute to household income. All the other family types present in the fourth decade may be regarded as compromises of the ideal nuclear family type under economic pressure. The addition of a contributing adult wage-earner to the household to form a more-than-nuclear lateral family is one such compromise; all the more-than-nuclear lateral families in this and later age ranges are of this nonjoint subtype. The more-than-nuclear subordinate family is another example of adaptation in most cases, unless the younger family is supporting the aged parents. (The last possibility is particularly unlikely in the slum, where few individuals are so old that they are incapable of some economic contribution to the household.) Finally, the position of spouseless women in less-than-nuclear nondependent families is usually economically disadvantageous. If the emigration from the slum is selective, on grounds of economic pressure, and thus results in a proportionally greater departure of nuclear and more-than-nuclear superordinate families, it is clear that the remaining types of families will rise in proportional strength. Reference to Table 2 will indicate that the increase in proportional strength of more-than-nuclear subordinate families is not accompanied by any change in absolute frequency but is attributable to selective decreases in other segments of the population, and that the proportional increase of more-than-nuclear lateral families is accompanied by an absolute increase of only one family.

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF FAMILY TYPES BY AGE OF WOMAN, ICA SLUM

Age	N		>N <sub>sup</sub>		>N <sub>l</sub>		>N <sub>sub</sub>		<N <sub>non-dep</sub>		<N <sub>dep</sub>		T <sub>1</sub> *		T <sub>2</sub> *
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
15-24	14	35.90	0	.00	13	33.33	7	17.95	1	2.56	4	10.26	39	39.80	98
25-34	18	38.30	3	6.38	19	40.43	4	8.51	1	2.13	2	4.26	47	79.66	59
35-44	12	33.33	12	33.33	3	8.33	2	5.56	7	19.44	0	.00	36	76.60	47
45-54	3	18.75	2	12.50	4	25.00	2	12.50	5	31.25	0	.00	16	88.89	18
55-64	1	10.00	2	20.00	0	.00	0	.00	7	70.00	0	.00	10	83.33	12
65-	0	.00	0	.00	0	.00	0	.00	3	100.00	0	.00	3	100.00	3
Total	48	31.79	19	12.58	39	25.83	15	9.93	24	15.89	6	3.97	151	63.71	237

\* See Table 1.

The rapid increase of less-than-nuclear nondependent families in the slum deserves particular comment. That increase is attributable to two processes: first, the selective departure of other types from the population, as suggested above, and second, the continuing agency of desertion and the death of spouses. As noted before, death of spouse becomes increasingly important as such an agent as the age of the woman (and thus of her spouse) increases. Reference to Table 5, however, will show that death of spouse seems more important than desertion in the slum than it does in the village for the upper age ranges. In the fifth decade, for example, widows account for 86 percent of the slum women in less-than-nuclear nondependent families, while in the village they account for only 75 percent. It should be pointed out here that the absolute frequencies in these higher age ranges are so small that the minor percentage differences between slum and village are unreliable. Further, the percentages cited contradict all other data relating to the relative importance of desertion in slum and village, including the frequencies in earlier age ranges in the same table and the argument based on the death rates for males in slum and village. Informants' statements, and tabulations of the frequency of uxorilateral stepchildren (WiCh where WiCh is not HuCh) which yield a  $\chi^2$  of 5.79 with a  $p$  value between .02 and .01 (Hammel n.d.-a) indicate that the incidence of consensual marriage is probably higher and the conjugal bond certainly more brittle in the slum than in the village. A larger sample for the higher age ranges might reveal the expected differences between slum and village, as shown for the earlier ranges.

In the fifth decade, the increase in frequency of less-than-nuclear nondependent families continues at the expense of all other types except the more-than-nuclear superordinate family, the fluctuations of which have already been discussed. By the final period, all women showing evidence of sexual experience are without spouses.

#### DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SLUM AND VILLAGE

Young adults in both populations regard the independent nuclear family as the ideal type of household organization and tend to achieve it as rapidly as possible. Young families in the slum establish independent families earlier than in the village because the lack of established and economically self-sufficient kin in the slum makes coresidence of a spouse a crucial factor in the survival of women with young children. The same economic pressure which forces coresidence of a spouse, however, makes the establishment of a nuclear household difficult. A large number of the young independent families in the slum, therefore, are not nuclear, but are laterally extended, including other wage-earning adults who can relieve those economic burdens which are relatively constant for a household group, regardless of its size (rent, water, fuel) and who can occasionally care for children so that mothers of young children can themselves earn extra income.

As young families grow older, they shift to other categories in both popula-

TABLE 3. MORE-THAN-NUCLEAR LATERAL FAMILIES

Age	Ica Slum					San Juan Bautista				
	Joint		Nonjoint		Total	Joint		Nonjoint		Total
	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	
15-24	4	30.77	9	69.23	13	0	.00	2	100.00	2
25-34	4	21.05	15	78.95	19	4	100.00	0	.00	4
35-44	0	.00	3	100.00	3	1	100.00	0	.00	1
45-54	0	.00	4	100.00	4	0	.00	1	100.00	1
55-64	0	—	0	—	0	0	—	0	—	0
65-	0	—	0	—	0	0	—	0	—	0
Total	8	20.51	31	79.48	39	5	62.50	3	37.50	8

TABLE 4. MORE-THAN-NUCLEAR SUPERORDINATE FAMILIES

Age	Ica Slum						San Juan Bautista							
	Parental		Lineal Grand-parent	Lateral Grand-parent		Total	Parental		Lineal Grand-parent	Lateral Grand-parent		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.		%	No.	%	No.	%			
15-24	0	—	0	—	0	—	0	—	0	—	0	0		
25-34	0	.00	0	.00	3	100.00	3	0	.00	1	100.00	1		
35-44	8	66.67	0	.00	4	33.33	12	4	57.14	0	.00	3	42.86	7
45-54	0	.00	0	.00	2	100.00	2	10	100.00	0	.00	0	.00	10
55-64	1	50.00	0	.00	1	50.00	2	5	83.33	0	.00	1	16.67	6
65-	0	—	0	—	0	—	0	2	40.00	2	40.00	1	20.00	5
Total	9	47.37	0	.00	10	52.63	19	21	72.41	2	6.90	6	20.69	29

tions, but in different ways. Desertion plays a greater role in these shifts in the slum, and many women shift back and forth between coresident and spouseless status for some time before they finally settle in one category or the other. The addition of other dependents to the household takes a somewhat different course in the slum than in the village. The lack of generational depth of kindreds in the slum makes simple extended families rarer than in the village and precludes the appearance of any more-than-nuclear superordinate families in which the women are in lineal-grandparental status. The same rarity of lineal kinsmen, however, makes the proportion of women in lateral-grandparental status in Type 2 families much greater than in the rural area. The addition of siblings' children or friends' children to the household, moreover, has a somewhat different function in the slum. Here, one of the major activities of such

TABLE 5. LESS-THAN-NUCLEAR NONDEPENDENT FAMILIES

Age	Ica Slum					San Juan Bautista				
	Widowed		Nonwidowed		Total	Widowed		Nonwidowed		Total
	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	
15-24	0	.00	1	100.00	1	0	—	0	—	0
25-34	0	.00	1	100.00	1	0	.00	1	100.00	1
35-44	1	14.29	6	85.71	7	1	50.00	1	50.00	2
45-54	3	60.00	2	40.00	5	2	40.00	3	60.00	5
55-64	6	85.71	1	14.29	7	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
65-	3	100.00	0	.00	3	6	75.00	2	25.00	8
Total	13	54.17	11	45.83	24	12	60.00	8	40.00	20

TABLE 6. LESS-THAN-NUCLEAR DEPENDENT FAMILIES

Age	Ica Slum					San Juan Bautista				
	Widowed		Nonwidowed		Total	Widowed		Nonwidowed		Total
	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	
15-24	0	.00	4	100.00	4	1	9.09	10	90.91	11
25-34	0	.00	2	100.00	2	1	14.29	6	85.71	7
35-44	0	—	0	—	0	1	50.00	1	50.00	2
45-54	0	—	0	—	0	1	100.00	0	.00	1
55-64	0	—	0	—	0	0	—	0	—	0
65-	0	—	0	—	0	0	—	0	—	0
Total	0	.00	6	100.00	6	4	19.05	17	80.95	21

additions, when they are of adolescent and pre-adolescent age, is as baby-sitters who enable both parents of the family to work as wage earners. It is significant that the absolute frequency of women in lateral-grandparental status reaches its peak earlier and is generally higher in the earlier decades in the slum than in the village, illustrating the greater economic pressure on young families in the urban environment.

The selective departure of particular family types which plays such an important role in the developmental cycle of the slum is not found in the village. Most emigration from the village is of single individuals, sometimes, although more rarely, of young nuclear families. Thus, the fluctuations in frequencies of some family types which characterize the slum are not found in the village.

It is apparent that the ideal cultural patterns of both communities have



much in common, but that differences between them in observable behavior arise from two major factors: the mobility and lack of lineal depth of the slum population and the more severe economic pressures placed upon it. The departures in the slum from the pattern of the village may be regarded as compromises under these conditions. Even the greater frequency of desertion in the slum may be attributed to the flexibility of its economic system and the lack of real property which, in the village, may often act as a stabilizing influence on conjugal unions. It is of interest in this regard that coresidence of a husband is regarded as ideal by *women* in *both* populations, but not necessarily by men; men are simply more restrained in their mobility in the village by responsibilities for real and productive property and by the pressure of opinion from a wider range of female kin and affines.

One further point is of interest here—the apparent lack of any organizational principle universally favoring uxorilaterality, combined with a clearly matricentric orientation. The matricentric character of household organization is a function of the greater mobility of males, particularly in the slum, and it is apparent only in the absence of the husband. When a husband is coresident, his relatives may be included in the household with the same frequency as the woman's; when he is absent, usually only the wife's relatives will be included. The same observation may be made with respect to residence with the husband's or with the wife's parents; no significant preference is apparent here unless particular conditions, such as forced coresidence of the husband, intervene. The most important solidary group in these households is that of mother and children. Beyond that, siblings manifest a degree of solidarity, as shown by the fact that a husband's coresident siblings will usually leave with him when he deserts his wife. Sibling solidarity may be more evident in the slum, where the sibling group is the only kin group for many immigrants. Occasionally, sympathy between women will override sibling solidarity, as on the rare occasions when HuSi remains with Wi, after she has been deserted. The solidary groups within the household in these communities, then, seem to be created and maintained in large measure by personal factors and the exigencies of the moment.

These general conclusions and the specific inferences suggested for slum and village are of course hypotheses based on data which can only suggest the significance of the processes noted. Statistical tests of significance might be employed to confirm or reject some of these hypotheses, but that procedure does not seem profitable here. First, the sample size of many categories is too small, and the tests for confirmation would best be made on larger populations. Second, the amount and importance of contingent ethnographic data for *individual* families in a final analysis of the developmental cycle are such that confirmation or rejection of the hypotheses based on the censuses and on the generalized ethnographic information would best be achieved by collecting case histories from a stratified sample of these populations. The research leads obtained here by cross-sectional analysis, with their advantage of breadth of coverage, could then be examined in depth. Such additional investigation

would go far toward enlarging our knowledge of the lower class mestizo family and of the process of urbanization in Latin America.

## NOTE

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