SOCIALIZATION EXPERIENCES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN NEGROES AS RELATED TO USE OF SELECTED SOUTHERN FOODS AND MEDICAL REMEDIES

> Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D. MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY Rose Toomer Brunson 1962



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ABSTRACT

SOCIALIZATION EXPERIENCES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN NEGROES AS RELATED TO USE OF SELECTED SOUTHERN FOODS AND MEDICAL REMEDIES

by Rose Toomer Brunson

This study attempts to investigate a narrowly defined problem within the general area of social change. It focuses upon the problem of "survivals" in a rapidly changing society. Among the dramatic transformations in American Society has been the shift from a rural, folkoriented social order to an urban, industrialized one. One of the many facets of this change has been the movement of the Negro from the rural South to the industrial North. The present study seeks to explore one aspect of change growing out of the massive change just outlined; namely, the survival of Southern Foods and medical remedies on the part of urban Negro migrants now living in the North.

A sample of 151 Negro women were randomly selected from the total Negro population in Lansing, Michigan. The sample consisted of married Negro females only, those primarily responsible for food preparation and health care.

Two general hypotheses were investigated. First, the more complete the contact with and socialization in the rural South, the higher will be the survival of Southern food and medical practices among informants. A corollary to this states that the more complete the contact with and socialization in the rural South, the lower will be the generational change in food and medical practices between the informant and her mother. Second, the higher the socio-economic level, the lower will be the survival of Southern food and medical practices among informants. A corollary to this states that the higher the socio-economic level, the higher will be the generational change in food and medical practices between the informant and her mother.

With only minor refinements, the findings of this study support the hypotheses in regard to the relationship between previous residence and socialization experiences and soci-economic status and the survival of Southern foods and medical remedies. The hypotheses bearing upon generational change in the use of Southern foods and medical remedies were much less frequently supported by the findings.

Numerous conclusions emerge from the present study. Several of them will be enumerated below:

1. Despite conditions radically different from those in the rural South, urban Negroes retain much of their Southern foodways and folkways concerning medical remedies. The extent to which they survive in an urban setting is closely related to socio-economic level and to rurality of origin. Generational decline has occurred but the remarkable finding is that the decline has been of relatively small magnitude.

2. The findings suggest that the Southern food and medical practices of urban Negroes will gradually disappear as Negroes rise in the socioeconomic scale. Length of exposure to urban life in itself, however, seems to be sufficient for the disappearance of these Southern practices.

3. In view of the strong attachment of urban Negroes to Southern foods and remedies and the accompanying dietary and medical inadequacies it would seem urgent that migrant Negroes are made aware of the rudiments of diet and medical care. Action agencies interested in such problems ·

are faced with a dilemma in providing scientific knowledge without destroying all elements of the total cultural past. This study suggests the delicacy with which any action agency must proceed if it wishes to succeed.

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By

Rose Toomer Brunson

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ii

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAP TE	R	PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
	The Movement of Negroes to the North	2
	Formulation of Hypotheses	6
	Methods and Procedures	10
	Informants	10
	The Interview Situation	11
	Data Processing and Tests for Significance	12
	Order of Presentation	14
II.	REVIEW OF LITERATURE	15
	The Racial Differential in Food Habits	20 20 24 25
	The Racial Differential in Medical Practices	29
	Summary	33
III.	THE NEGRO SUB-CULTURE OF LANSING	34
	Introduction	34
	Origin	35
	Finding a Place to Live	41
	The World of Work	44
	Contact with the South and other Communities	48
	Food and Medical Practices	53

TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont.)

CHAP TER

IV.	THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIALIZATION EXPERIENCES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS TO THE USE OF SOUTHERN	
	FOODS AND MEDICAL REMEDIES	69
	Measures of Previous Residence and Socialization State in Which Mother Grew Up	69 69 72
	Grade School	74
	High School	75 79 81 82 84
	Measures of Socio-Economic Level	86 88 91 93 94 98 100
	Summary	101
V.	THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIALIZATION EXPERIENCES AND SOCIO- ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS TO GENERATIONAL CHANGE IN THE USE OF SOUTHERN FOODS AND MEDICAL REMEDIES	104
	Use of Individual Foods and Medical Remedies	105
	Generational Change in Relation to Socialization Experiences and Socio-Economic Characteristics Socialization Measures	109 109 114
VI.	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	120
	BIBLICGRAPHY	125
	APPENDIX I	129
	APPENDIX II	143

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
I.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to Where the Mother Grew Up	71
II.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Place of Origin of the Informant	73
III.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to Their Place of Residence when Attending Grade School	76
IV.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to Their Place of Residence when Attending High School	78
۷.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Number of Years Informant Lived in the South	80
VI.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Pro- portion of Informant's Life in the South	83
VII.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Number of Years in Lansing	85
VIII.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Number of Residence Changes Since 1940	87
IX.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Informant's Age	89
Х .	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Highest Grade Completed by the Informant	90
XI.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Employ- ment Status of the Informant	92

LIST OF TABLES (cont.)

TABLE		PAGE
XII.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Husband's Occupation	95
XIII.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Highest Grade Completed by the Husband	97
XIV.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Husband's Monthly Pay	99
XV.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Monthly Payments on Mortgage or for Rent	102
XVI.	Summary of the Direction of Findings Concerning Frequency of Use of Southern Foods and Medical Remedies	103
XVII.	Frequency of Use by Informant and Mother's Use in Relation to the Informant of the 18 Selected Foods .	106
XVIII.	Frequency of Use by Informant and Mother's Use in Relation to the Informant of the 21 Selected Medical Remedies	108
XIX.	Index of Gmanerational Change, 18 Foods and 21 Medical Remedies by Residence and Socialization Measures	111
XX.	Index of Generational Change, 18 Foods and 21 Medical Remedies by Socio-Economic Measures	116
XXI.	Summary of the Direction of Findings Concerning Generational Change in the Use of Southern Foods and Medical Remedies	119

APPENDIX II

XXII.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods	
	and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to Where the	
	Mother Grew Up	1 44

•

LIST OF TABLES (cont.)

TABLE		PAGE
XXIII.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Place of Origin of the Informant	145
XXIV.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to Their Place of Residence when Attending Grade School	146
XXV.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to Their Place of Residence when Attending High School	147
XXVI.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Number of Years Informant Lived in the South	148
XXVII.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Propor- tion of Informant's Life in the South	149
XXVIII.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Number of Years in Lansing	150
XXIX.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Number of Residence Changes Since 1940	151
XXX.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Informant's Age	152
XXXI.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Highest Grade Completed by the Informant	153
XXXII.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Employment Status of the Informant	1 54
XXXIII.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Husband's Occupation	155
XXXIV.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Highest Grade Completed by the Husband	156

LIST OF TABLES (cont.)

TABLE		PAGE
XXXV.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Husband's Monthly Pay	157
XXXVI.	Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Monthly Payments on Mortgage or for Rent	1 58

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is concerned with the general problem of social change and the forces which retard and accelerate it. More explicitly, this study focuses upon "survivals"--those practices or beliefs which were once adapted to previous conditions of life but have become obsolete under existing conditions. In any rapidly changing society, a very large part of the culture may be expected to consist of survivals.

American society has changed rapidly from a predominantly rural, folk oriented society to an urbanized, industrialized society. Under conditions of such rapid change, it is expected that many rural traits and practices will persist in urban areas. In American society, one of the most dramatic transformations in style and condition of life has been the instance of Southern Negroes in migrating to the industrial North. This study is concerned with the problem of rural survivals in an urban setting and the forces which are associated with such survivals on the part of urban Negroes.

The focus of this dissertation is upon survival of southern foods and southern medical remedies among northern, urban Negroes and thus does not attempt to investigate the entire gamut of practices and beliefs. The study attempts to measure the frequency of use of southern foods and medical remedies as reported by Negro women as well as the frequency of use by informants in relation to that of their mothers. In addition, frequency of use is related to the character of socialization experiences and to socio-economic attributes.

The Movement of Negroes to the North

Negro migration began when Negroes were brought to the United States as slaves. The concentration of slaves, of course, was in the South for the Northern states early abolished what slavery existed. The South came to regard slavery as an essential part of its economy and Negroes were brought in as long as it was legally possible to do so. Part of the frontier was then in the Southeast and Negroes were taken along in a great southward and westward movement of the plantation economy. The restriction of slavery to the South, among many other factors, limited the forced migration of the Negroes to this new region.¹

Up to 1860 there was only a scattering of Negroes in the North and practically none in the West.² Of the Negroes in the United States at this time 94.9 percent lived in the South. Only one-tenth of one percent lived in non-southern states west of the Mississippi River, and the remaining 5 percent lived in Northern states.³

The first great migration of Negroes from the South started in 1915⁴. It is estimated that 400,000 Negroes moved North during the years 1916, 1917 and 1918. The movement embraced Negroes of all classes and from every state south of Delaware and largely east of, but including Texas. Generally dissatisfied with the conditions of the South, Negroes were ready to abandon it for the first opening elsewhere.

¹Gunnar Myrdal, <u>American Dilemma</u> (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishing Co.), p. 182.

²Ibid.

³U.S. Bureau of the Census, <u>Eighth Census of the United States 1860</u>, Vol. 1, p. xiii, Washington, D.C.

⁴Emmett J. Scott, <u>Negro Migration During the War</u> (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1920), p. 5.

Foreign immigrants had always been influential in keeping Negroes out of the northern labor market. But World War I cut off European labor at a time when orders were most pressing and labor most needed. The industries of the North were forced to turn to Negroes as the only immediately available supply of labor. As an inducement to come north, industrial employment offered the antithesis of many of the conditions which made Negroes desirous of leaving the South. Of the four hundred thousand Negroes in the first great migration who took advantage of the opportunity to move North, the greatest number settled in the large industrial centers of the Northeast, such as New York and Philadelphia.⁵

The second period of great Negro migration was induced by World War II. The most recent trend in the movement of Negro population has been migration to the West and Midwest, more specifically to the larger cities. Up until 1940 few Negroes lived in the West. In 1940 Negroes comprised 1.2 percent of the total population of the West, but labor demands of World War II in the West Coast industrial plants stimulated a westward movement.⁶ Between 1940 and 1950 the estimated net migration of Negroes to the western states, primarily California, was over 300,000.⁷ By 1960 Los Angeles alone had a Negro population of over 200,000.⁸

⁵Sadie Tanner Mossell, <u>The Standard of Living Among One Hundred</u> <u>Negro Migrant Families in Philadelphia</u>. (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1921).

• ⁶Charles F. Marden, <u>Minorities in American Society</u> (New York: American Book Company), 1952, p. 206.

⁷Conrad Taeuber and Irene B. Taeuber, <u>The Changing Population of</u> the United States (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958), p. 110.

⁸Conrad Taeuber, <u>Some Recent Changes in the Negro Population</u> (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1961), p. 3.

In the decade 1940-1950 the proportion of the total Negro population living in the South dropped from 77 percent in 1940 to 68 percent in 1950⁹, and by 1960 it had decreased to 60 percent.¹⁰ The Negro population in the Northeast increased 44.2 percent during the 1940-1950 period and in the North Central Region it increased 50.2 percent. In the West the Negro population increased 237.4 percent during this decade.¹¹

By 1950 about one fifth of all Negroes born in the South were living in other parts of the country. The number of Negroes born in the South and living elsewhere was approximately 2.6 million, but the number living in the South, who had been born outside that region, was only about 100,000. This outward migration of Negroes from the South has been largely to urban areas. In 1950 the New York-Northeastern New Jersey Standard Metropolitan Area had a larger Negro population than any state except North Carolina and Georgia.¹² By 1960 New York City alone had a population of more than one million Negroes, which is larger than any other city in the world.¹³

According to the 1960 Census three-fourths of the Negro population now lives in urban areas. These urban Negroes live chiefly in the larger cities of 50,000 or over. Nearly all of the Negroes in rural areas live in the South. In the Northern states such as Illinois, New York and

⁹Conrad Taeuber and Irene Taeuber, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 110.
¹⁰Conrad Taeuber, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 2.
¹¹Charles Marden, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 208.
¹²Conrad Taeuber and Irene Taeuber, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 110.
¹³Conrad Taeuber, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 3.

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Michigan less than 5 percent of the Negro population is rural.¹⁴

In the Midwest World War II migration brought many changes. Between Pearl Harbor and D-Day some 60,000 Negroes came to Chicago. In 1944 there were 337,000 Negroes--almost one person in every ten--living in the midwest metropolis at that time.¹⁵ By 1960 this figure had increased to 812,637.¹⁶

In 1940 in Michigan there were 208,345 Negroes. In 1950 the number had increased to 440,335 and by 1960 it had increased to 717,581, or more than three times the 1940 figure. In Detroit alone the population of Negroes increased from 169,892 in 1940 to 300,506 in 1950 and to 482,223 in 1960, or three times the 1940 figure.¹⁷

In Lansing between 1940 and 1950 the Negro population tripled, increasing from 1,638 in 1940 to 3,290 in 1950. In the decade 1950-1960 the Negro population again doubled, totaling 6,745.¹⁸ The reason for this migration was in the main economic. The Negroes were generally dissatisfied with the regime of the South: low wages, failure of crops, increase in farm machinery resulting in unemployment, tenant farming

¹⁴Conrad Taeuber, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 3.

¹⁵St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Clayton, <u>Black Metropolis</u>, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.) 1945, p. 8.

¹⁶U.S. Bureau of the Census, <u>U.S. Census Population of Illinois</u>, 1960, 15B, Table 21, p. 107.

17U.S. Bureau of the Census, <u>1950 Michigan Census Population</u>, P.C.
22, Table 53, p. 8, and U.S. Bureau of the Census, <u>1960 Michigan Census</u> <u>Population</u>, 24B, Table 21, p. 79.

¹⁸U.S. Bureau of the Census, <u>1950 United States Census of Population</u>: <u>Michigan Detailed Characteristics</u>, Report P-C22, p. 22-172. Also, <u>1960</u> <u>Michigan Census Population</u>, 24B, Table 21, p. 79.

and the sharecropping system. They were ready to abandon agriculture for openings in the Northern labor market.¹⁹

Formulation of Hypotheses

The usual position adopted in general studies of social change is that cultural traits gradually are dropped when they no longer are adapted or integrated with the total mode of life. These studies usually show that lower status, and lower socio-economic groups drop traits rapidly when they come into contact with higher status groups. Nonetheless, it is well known, as is pointed out by Tomars²⁰, that "survivals" often persist along with the process of adoption of new practices and beliefs. It is Tomars who points out that rural survivals in American life permeate the daily behavior of urbanized living, including our habits of food, housing, dress, manners and our basic values of human personality. He regards these survivals not as isolated practices and beliefs but as covering large areas of social life.²¹

A group of urban Negroes residing in a Northern city represents a sub-cultural group of relatively recent migrants from the most rural region in the nation. Furthermore, it represents a low income group moving into a dominantly white, middle class population of the city. For the most part, socialization occurred in a highly rural, agricultural environment and few of the adults spent their early life in urban areas.

¹⁹Rose T. Brunson, <u>A Study of the Migrant Negro Population in Lansing</u>, <u>Michigan, During and Since World War II</u>, (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Michigan State College, 1955, p. 9.

²⁰Adolph S. Tomars, "Rural Survivals in American Urban Life," <u>Soc-iological Analysis</u>, Robert K. Merton and Other, (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co.) 1949, pp. 371-378.

²¹Ibid.

It seems clear, therefore, that this group which has changed so swiftly from a rural to an urban style of life will exhibit survivals from its rural past.

The literature suggests that food habits as well as medical remedies of a folk character are especially resistant to change. Margaret Mead, for instance, argues that knowledge of existing food habits of the population is needed since each generation of children is reared and influenced by the two preceding generations.²² While she did not mention medical practices, it would seem that the same statement could be made. Despite the relative persistancy of food and medical habits and practices, $\frac{1}{2}h$ they do change. Much literature exists, especially in reference to immigrant groups, to show that old cultural traits disappear in the process of social advancement and especially in the first generation.

It is from this sociological background that the major interests of this thesis emerged. Stated in explicit terms, this study examines the following:

1) The extent to which Southern food and medical practices survive among Negroes in an urban, industrial setting;

2) The extent of change in these practices as measured against the mother's usage. Thus the extent of change in food and medical practices attempted is in terms of a single generation.

²²Margaret Mead, "The Problem of Changing Food Habits", <u>National</u> <u>Research Council Bulletin</u>, National Academy of Sciences, No. 108, Oct. 1943, p. 20, Washington, D.C., P. 3. According to Mead there are two sides to the study of the nutrition with equal standing. One deals with the psychological and cultural pattern. Little is known of how some nutrients function in the body and even less progress has been made in the study of food habits. This is particularly true concerning the food habits of some of the migratory Negroes.

3) The extent to which selected social and economic characteristics are related to high and low usage of southern foods and medical remedies.

We now turn to the problem of formulating the major hypotheses guiding the analytical portions of the dissertation. It is assumed that folk traits persist most effectively in a homogeneous, rural environment and that changes in this environment will bring about gradual loss of these traits. The extent of survival of southern foods and medical remedies among urban Negroes is expected to be clearly related to early socialization and to socio-economic forces. Thus, two general hypotheses may be stated:

First, the more complete the contact with and socialization in the $A \notin WG \notin G$ rural south, the higher will be the survival of food and medical practices among informants. As a corallary, the more complete the contact with and socialization in the rural south, the lower will be the generational change in food and medical practices between the informant and her mother. Second, the higher the socio-economic level, the lower will be the survival of southern food and medical practices among informants. As a corollary, the higher the socio-economic level, the higher will be the generational change in food and medical practices between the informant and her mother.

The nature of previous residence and socialization experiences, hypothesis 1, was measured in the following ways:

1) State in which mother grew up. Responses were grouped as follows: Deep South, Border South, and Other States.

2) State in which informant attended grade school. Responses were grouped as in (1) above.

3) Rural-urban residence of informant when attending grade school. Responses were categorized as: Farm-South, City-South, and City-Outside South.

4) Rural-urban residence of informant when attending high school. Responses were grouped as: Farm-South (same as grade school), City-South (same as grade school), and City-Outside South (different from grade school).

5) Number of years informant lived in South. Responses were grouped as follows: 0 to 10 years, 11 to 19 years, 20 to 29 years, 30 or more years.

6) Proportion of informant's life in the South. Responses were grouped as: Less than one-half, One-half to three-fourths, Three-fourths to all.

7) Number of years informant lived in Lansing: Responses were categorized as follows: 0-4 years, 5-9 years, 10-14 years and 15 or more years.

8) Number of residence changes by informant since 1940. Responses were: Once, Twice, Three times, and Four or more times.

The socio-economic characteristics, second hypothesis, were measured in the following ways:

1) Stage of life cycle or informant's age. The age groupings used were: 20-24, 25-34, 35-44, and 45 and over.

2) Highest grade of school completed by informant. The groupings were: 6th or less, 7th to 9th, 10th to 12th, and College.

3) Employment status of informant. The groupings used were as follows: Employed, Never employed since 1940, and Not now employed.

4) Husband's occupation. The categories were: Professional, Technical and Self-employed, Manual (skilled), Manual (unskilled), and Unemployed.

5) Highest grade of school completed by husband. The categories used were identical with number (2).

6) Husband's monthly pay. The groupings were: Up to \$300, \$301 to \$400, \$401 or more.

7) Monthly payments for rent (or on mortgage). The groups were:
\$60 or less, \$61 to \$90, and \$91 or more.

While the expected direction for each of the measures enumerated above is implied by the general hypotheses, stated previously, an explicit statement for each will appear in Chapters IV and V when treated in more detail.

Methods and Procedures

Establishing the Universe and Selecting the Informants.- For reasons of accessibility and prior knowledge of the City of Lansing, it was decided to study food and medical practices among Negroes in Lansing, Michigan. The first problem encountered was that of establishing the numbers and location of Negro households. Hence, the first step was to prepare a map showing all Negro households in the City.

The techniques used in systematically determining the Negro households and sample were as follows: All of the four largest areas in Lansing where Negroes live were well known by the writer. If certain streets were not known definitely, in each block where a Negro occupant lived an adult was questioned as to the Negro families in the block. Each house number and street was listed, thus providing a map of all Negro households in Lansing. (See Appendix I) In this manner, 1499

Negro households in Lansing were located. From this universe, one hundred fifty informants were drawn at random for intensive interviewing. Of the 150 cases first drawn, 21 did not meet the requirements of the sample. Fifty additional cases were then drawn to replace any which did not meet the requirements. Of these fifty, six did not qualify.

Informants in this study were married Negro females, those who are primarily responsible for preparing food and for taking care of the health of their families. Women who had children and whose husbands' were living elsewhere, or were deceased, were considered eligible as informants. Older women who had children living in or outside their home were eligible, but working girls who lived alone were not considered eligible. It was reasoned that those women who were rearing or had reared children would be the most experienced and knowledgeable concerning the preparation of food and caring for the sick of the family. No attempt was made to interview an informant who was not a mother, nor who had lived in Lansing prior to 1940.

The Interview Situation.- Although a schedule interview was followed, the writer tried to keep the interviews as "open-ended" as possible, leaving plenty of chance for free association of ideas. (See Appendix I for the interview schedule). At times the whole interview situation became informal. In this way the writer gained a wide range and depth of material which could not have been gathered in any other way. Chapter III is based upon this supplementary data and provides some insight into the social and cultural milieu of the migrant Negro.

In the interviewing situation no special problems were encountered. Although the schedule was relatively long and time consuming, no informant refused to be interviewed. However, it was necessary to make

several trips in some cases. When an interviewee was too busy, an appointment time was scheduled to suit the informant. In some cases it was necessary to make several trips to find the informant home. In six cases four trips were made, in eleven cases three trips were made, and in thirty-one cases two trips were made. In all other cases the informants were interviewed on the first visit.

While there was some difficulty in guiding the informant to respond to the questions on the schedule, it cannot be regarded as a major problem. Success in meeting this situation depended to a large extent on the skill of the interviewer, who through years of family counseling generally was able to enter a stranger's house and establish the kind of rapport that would allow the interviewee to talk freely about the different aspects of her life and still follow the schedule.

Determining Typical Southern Foods and Remedies. - Among the difficult problems in formulating the present study was that of selecting typical and representative Southern Negro foods and medical practices. This was true because of regional variations in the South regarding local availability of given foods and herb sources as well as differences in modes of preparation. Many foods and medical remedies are identified with the South but are shared by whites and Negroes alike.

While the author is well acquainted with southern foods and medical remedies among Negroes, the problem of preparing a minimum list of highly characteristic foods and medicines was difficult. Finally, two dissertations written at Radcliffe²³ provided the necessary empirical

²³Margaret T. Cussler, "Cultural Sanctions of the Food Pattern in The Rural Southeast" (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Radcliffe College, 1943); Mary L. DeGive, "Social Interrelations and Food Habits in the Rural Southeast" (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Radcliffe College, 1943).

verification of the author's impressions and lists were prepared. Among the 18 Southern foods and 21 medical practices appearing on the questionnaire (See Appendix I), all were known and used by some Lansing Negro Women. These foods and medical remedies will be discussed in Chapter V.

Data Processing and Tests for Significance.- One of the early decisions regarding the summarization of data was to total responses or frequency of use for the 18 foods and 21 medical remedies rather than to prepare separate tables for each food and remedy. If the latter course had been followed for the fifteen dependent variables, Chapter IV and V each would have contained approximately 585 tables. Furthermore, the focus of this study is such that different frequencies of use of the explicit southern foods and remedies was not a major concern.

The decision to summarize responses or frequency for all foods and for all medical remedies means that each respondent appears eighteen times in each of the tables and has implications for the test of significance of differences. The Statistics Department staff was consulted on this problem. While differences in percentage distribution for most tables were so great that testing for significance was unnecessary, it was decided to carry out a Chi-square test on the tables despite the fact that the totals represent 18 and 21 times the total number of individuals responding. It was decided that the level of significance of the Chi-square value computed in this way would be used to support and/or to modify conclusions drawn from the percentage distributions shown in the tables.

In addition to the Chi-square test, and "index of generational decline" has been used in Chapter V. This index is a simple relationship

expressing quantitatively the greater use of southern foods and medicines by the informant's mothers. It is computed as follows: The number of informants reporting that the mother used the selected foods or medicines "more often" divided by the number of informants reporting use "often" plus "occasionally".

Order of Presentation

This thesis is divided into six chapters as follows:

Chapter II is devoted to a selected review of literature, relevant to the problems of survival of traits under changed conditions and to foods and medical practices of Southern Negroes.

Chapter III is concerned with a description of the social situation of Negroes in Lansing. It draws heavily upon the rich materials emanating from the interviews beyond the confines of the prepared schedule.

Chapter IV reports the extent to which Southern foods and medicines are still used by urban Negroes. The relative frequency of reported use is related to past residence, socialization experience, and socioeconomic levels.

Chapter V considers the problem of generational change and the forces related to decline in usage of Southern foods and medical remedies.

Chapter VI contains a summary and the conclusions.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Due to the vast literature in the general areas of social change and assimilation, the scope of this review had to be severely limited. While the decision as to where the line should be drawn was difficult, it was decided to adopt an extremely exclusive line of separation. Hence, this review is limited to a handful of studies which provided the most inspiration and explicit guidance for this study. In addition, the present review includes a distillation from sources concerned with African origins as well as Southern Negro foods and remedies.

In many respects, the primary impetus for this study stems from Tomars' paper entitled "Rural Survivals in American Urban Life."¹ In addition, Mead's work entitled, "Problems of Changing Food Habits",² Cussler's thesis entitled "Cultural Sanctions of the Food Pattern in the Rural Southeast"³ and DeGive's thesis entitled "Social Inter-relations and Food Habits in the Rural Southeast"⁴, were extremely useful. The latter two studies were combined in a book by Cussler and DeGive

¹Adolph S. Tomars, "Rural Survivals in American Urban Life," <u>Socio-</u> <u>logical Analysis</u>, Robert K. Merton and Others. (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1949) pp. 371-378.

²Margaret Mead, "Problems of Changing Food Habits," <u>National Research</u> <u>Council Bulletin, No. 108, Oct. 1943, p. 20.</u>

³Margaret Cussler, "Cultural Sanctions of the Food Pattern in the Rural Southesst" (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Radcliffe College, 1943).

⁴Mary L. DeGive, "Social Interrelations and Food Habits in the Rural Southeast" (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Radcliffe College, 1943).

entitled <u>'Twixt the Cup and the Lip</u>⁵, which is a very useful reference source. Each of these studies will be reviewed in the following pages.

According to Tomars, implicit in any cultural change is the retention of past cultural elements, side by side with the present culture. It is axiomatic that there are rural folkways and mores and urban folkways and mores, each responsive to rural or urban environmental conditions. Any society which has shifted so rapidly from rural to urban residence, as the American society has, must be regarded as composed of a mixture of rural and urban practices. The persistance of older practices and beliefs in a changing society is usually studied under the guise of "survivals", and we should expect to find rural survivals in urban society.

Survivals are not isolated practices and beliefs; they cover large areas of social life. In any changing society at any given time, a very large part of the culture, perhaps the largest part, is made up of survivals. This is a fact inherent in the nature of social change. The study of this important body of survivals ranging through our society is essential to any realistic understanding of the ethos of the culture.⁶

Margaret Mead, in her capacity as Executive Secretary of the Committee on Food Habits (1941-1943) of the National Research Council, set forth the following ideas concerning the changing of food habits. Food habits are seen as a culturally standardized set of behaviors in regard

⁶Tomars, op. cit.

⁵Margaret Cussler and Mary L. DeGive. <u>'Twixt the Cup and the Lip</u> (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1952).

to food demonstrated by people who have been brought up in a given cultural tradition. These behaviors are systematically interrelated with other standardized behaviors in the same culture. In considering methods of change, of innovation or alteration in existing patterns, recourse is had not only to traditional psychological pronouncements on learning, but also to the habits of learning of Americans.

It is possible to identify various important social psychological characteristics of the American food pattern such as: The role of European peasant conceptions of status which have given importance to white bread, much sugar, meat every day, etc.; and the definite Southeastern food pattern in which emphasis is not upon health but upon personal taste and a personal relationship between the consumer and his food.

In any study of food habits it is important to define the patterns into which the available foods are arranged, such as number and form of meals, and the cultural--as opposed to nutritional--equivalences which can be invoked within these patterns.

The long-time task, according to Mead, is to alter American food habits so that they are based upon tradition which embodies science and do so in such a way that food habits are sufficiently flexible to yield readily to new scientific findings. Further, the application of science to improve eating habits may become meaningless if it is not accompanied by efforts to apply science to increase the supply and the adequate distribution of food. However, efforts to better world nutrition simply by altered production and distribution will fall short of their goals unless corresponding changes are made in the patterns of consumption.⁷

⁷Margaret Mead, <u>op. cit</u>.

Margaret Cussler and Mary DeGive set forth the following ideas on the transmission of foodways in the Southeast. The transmission of foodways is a dynamic process. Although the rate of change in food habits varies in accordance with disaster and prosperity, the primary concern is how it takes place under normal conditions. Just as all parts of any culture are in the constant process of changing, so are food habits. Signs of the changing pattern as well as traditional stability may be seen. Science introduces new foods and provides means for distributing them. These changes are adopted by various individuals, then by groups whose contact outside their home communities have taught them new ways of doing things. In the rural South, changes in foodways appear to be most quickly adopted by the whites, particularly owners and long-term sharecroppers. Lower social classes in turn tend to look to the white owners as bearers of the new methods and standards. Individuals tend to reflect the foodways of the groups of which they are, or aspire to be, members, more than their own tastes in deciding whether or not to try new foods.⁸

Margaret Cussler's study centered on the questions of class and racial deviation from the basic dietary as well as an analysis and interpretation of the relations between the social structure and the food patterns. She came to the conclusion that the food pattern is affected much less by physiological and economic factors than has been generally supposed and much more by the factors of social relations and cultural values.

⁸Cussler and DeGive, op. cit., pp. 92-93.

It is probable that even within a single integrated culture, changes in the social relations will be followed by changes in food habits. For example: the general dietary of slavery days in the South was very similar to that of the present. The abolition of slavery, however, and the freer use of money by Negroes have made new food items accessible to them.

A change in family structure which would make the Southern housewife the "bread-winner" would affect the character of the bread. These interrelations between food and society appear to be more complex in the South than in a primitive culture where food-getting activities form so large a proportion of all activity, and less complex than in an urban culture where food-getting activities are subordinated to an intricate complex of other goals. The basic dietary is a composite of home-raised food and purchased food so constituted that the home-raised food forms a much larger proportion than that of an urban basic dietary but a smaller proportion in respect to previous food habits.

The basic food pattern of a family, according to Cussler, is affected by: (1) the mother, because of her activities in the care of the garden, livestock, preparation of meals and canning, as well as her cultural concepts about food; (2) the father, because of his decisions regarding gardens, livestock, and cash crops, his expenditures at the store and his food preferences supported by his patriarchal authority; (3) the children to a smaller degree because of their introduction of learned food habits from school activities; (4) kinfolk and neighbors, who share in food supplies and transmit information and attitudes about food; (5) interracial transmission of food habits by the association of Negro

women serving as cooks in a white household; (6) the doctor, extension workers, and urban residents who introduce changes in the basic dietary and affect the current ideas about food.⁹

Mary DeGive in her study of "Social Interrelations and Food Habits in the Rural Southeast," asserts that because of the strong caste system existing in this region there are many taboos imposed on the Negroes which have implications for food habits. They have less freedom of movement, less freedom in spending their money, acquiring an education, and less freedom of political participation. Among the taboos which are significant are those preventing intermingling with the whites: Negroes may not intermarry with whites, may not eat, drink, dance or play games with the whites. Under these circumstances DeGive points out that food habits as social and cultural phenomena gain an importance out of proportion to the physical importance. Significance also extends to such peripheral aspects as to the way in which the food is prepared and eaten.¹⁰

The Racial Differential in Food Habits

Examination of the Negro heritage should indicate whether there are pecularities in the Negro diet that may be said to be of long standing, either in his African background or in slavery days.

<u>African Dietary Antecedents</u>.- It has been established that agriculture was independently developed by the Negroes of West Africa approximately 5000 B.C. The assemblage of cultivated plants developed from

⁹Cussler, op. cit.

¹⁰DeGive, <u>op. cit</u>.
wild forms in Negro Africa ranks as one of the four major agricultural complexes evolved in the entire course of human history. Among these plants were cereal grains such as, Fonio (or hungry rice), pearl millet, and sorghum; legumes such as cow pea, kafir potato, earth pea and geocarpa bean (similar to peanuts), guinea yam and yam bean; leaf and stalk vegetables, okra or gumbo; vine and ground fruits; tree fruits, akee apple, and tamarind; condiments and indulgents, kola (source of a major ingredient in modern "cola" drinks), and roselle or red sorrel. There were numerous other plants whose leaves were used like spinach and for medicinal herbs.¹¹

In a food and nutrition survey of Liberia, West Africa, Flemmie Kittrell¹² found that the Liberians use a wide variety of foods. However, when the diet of individuals and small groups in the hinterlands is examined, one finds that at times the number of foods is very limited.

The following are among the foods used in Liberia:

Fruits: Banana, Bread fruit, Guava, Lemon juice, limes, oranges, papaya, pears (avacado), persimmon, pineapple, mango, plums, watermelon.

Vegetables: String, kidney and soy beans, cabbage, cassava, celery, collards, white and yellow corn, egg plant, endive, kale, mustard greens, okra, green peas, green pepper, sweet potatoes, rutabaga, tomatoes, turnips, yams.

Dry foods: Fresh coconut, cola nut, cow peas, field beans, black eyed peas, red beans (dried), soy beans, peanuts.

¹¹George Peter Murdock, <u>Africa</u>. (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1959), pp. 64-70.

¹²Flemmie P. Kittrell. ^aA Preliminary Food and Nutrition Survey of Liberia, West Africa^a (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Howard University, Washington, D.C., 1945).

The staple foods for Liberians in general are: Rice, cassava, eddoes, palm oil, yams, potatoes, various vegetable greens, and occasionally fish. Rice and Cassava are the two foods available to nearly everyone.

It has been hotly debated whether the present Negro culture is mainly African, or mainly Europe-American. Proponents of the view that the Negro has retained much of his African culture, such as Herskovits, point to such American Negro characteristics as:

A common language structure similar to that of the African tribes in spite of the difference in dialects which is discernible in present speech habits. The unilineal, patrilocal, polygynous social organization, stress on secret societies, the political domination by a king or tribal chief, the religious identity of God with nature and stress on magic, the multiplicity of cult, and aesthetics, the stress on song, dance and oral literature.¹³ In respect to food, Herskovits suggests that food eccentricities among Negroes are of a totemic origin.¹⁴

The coincidences which can be cited are striking but not, it seems, conclusive. Many of them are characteristic of the whole society including whites as well as Negroes, and are to be found in other regions and cultures. The social organization of wage laborer, sharecropper, and owner seems more allied to that of the English village and rural society of the thirteenth century.

¹³Melville J. Herskovits, <u>The Myth of the Negro Past</u> (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941), Chapter III.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 184.

First hand inquiry among Negroes has brought to light a surprising number of cases where a certain kind of meat--veal, pork, and lamb among others, is not eaten by a given person. Inquiry usually elicits the response, "It doesn't agree with me", and only in one or two instances did the inhibition seem to extend to relatives. Yet the fact that violation of a personal food taboo derived from the totemic animals in West Africa and Dutch Guiana is held to bring on illness, especially skin eruptions, strikes one immediately as at least an interesting coincidence and perhaps a hint toward a survival deriving from this element in African social organization since it is so completely foreign to European patterns.¹⁵

The totemic theory of food eccentricities seems particularly questionable since there are as many found among the whites as the Negroes. Furthermore, food items disliked or preferred were not confined to one individual; instead there were reiterated statements made expressing aversion to certain general food items like sweet milk, yellow corn meal, onions, whole wheat flour and English peas. Some of these aversions were found in the widely separated communities of Bath, North Carolina; Dutch, South Carolina, and Nuberg-Flat Rock, South Carolina. Others, like the aversion for English peas, while observed in only one community (Nuberg-Flat Rock) was as general among whites as Negroes. The existence of food eccentricties seems more consistent with the stress on individuality seen in Southern politics, etiquette, legal procedures, and in the plantation systems. In the family relations, especially, we have seen how

¹⁵Ibid., p. 184.

frequently catering to individual food preferences and aversions is sanctioned and practiced. Such a theory, rather than the totemic interpretation, would account for the frequency of preference as well as of aversions, and for their trans-racial nature.¹⁶

<u>Slavery and Food</u>.- There is little doubt that slavery customs set the pattern for the present Negro dietary. The weekly issue of a peck of meal and three pounds of salt pork formed the staple features of the diet furnished by the slave owner, as, at present, meal or flour and fat back are staples of the type the landlords furnished. Such a diet cost the slave owner very little; both food and clothing came to only \$17.64 for each slave annually on the Sea Islands.¹⁷

The precedent for the tenant finding his own supplement to the diet was set by the slave owner's approving gardens, hunting, fishing and livestock keeping as aids to self-maintenance. This sometimes resulted in a better dietary, as a former slave testified.¹⁸

The custom of selling chickens, eggs and vegetables also was encouraged by slave owners, since they found slaves were more amenable who had small sources of cash. Some owners paid slaves for providing the "big house" with such products, or encouraged communal gardens from

¹⁶Cussler, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 243.

¹⁷Guion Griffis Johnson, <u>A Social History of the Sea Islands</u> (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930), p. 88.

¹⁸In slavery days, he reminisced. "We et peas, onions, hog head, liver, cow's milk, butter, Irish potatoes, and everything what grows in gardens. That's why I'm here now, I am just living on the strenk of that." Quoted by Charles S. Johnson in <u>Shadow of the Plantation</u> (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 19.

which some cash income could be secured.¹⁹

The Negro Dietary Pattern. DeGive²⁰ found that the dietary pattern of the Southern Negro in its basic aspects is the same as that of the Southern Whites. The same staples form the bulk of the diet: cornmeal, white self-rising flour, fat back, salt pork, molasses, collards, and cabbage and sweet potatoes. Seasonal and class differentials account for the main departures from the basic dietary pattern, for both whites and Negroes.

Those items which were found to be in the diets of all classes and both races in the summer diet in the two south-eastern communities, Nuberg and Flat Rock, where Negroes were a part of the study, were: hot breads at least once a day--corn bread or white biscuits; fat meat, cooked with vegetables to season them; ham, several times a week, if there is any left from the winter hog-killing; chicken, sometimes two or three times a week, fried chicken nearly every Sunday; eggs; canned fish several times a week--salmon or mackerel; buttermilk and sweet milk, if it can be drunk before it sours; butter; rice or grits; cabbage; English peas, beans, squash, corn, salad greens which are always eaten cooked; turnip or wild poke; Irish potatoes; peaches and apples; ice tea

²⁰DeGive, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 253.

¹⁹James Hamilton Cooper "Set apart a field for the benefit of twentyfive picked men and allowed them half of their Saturday's labor in which to work it. He required all to work faithfully in the common field during the first year, and at the end of that time divided the \$1500 arising from the sale of the crop equally among them." Ibid., p. 141.

and coffee.²¹ The chief way in which the majority of Negro family diet deviates from this basic summer diet is in quantity and variety, due mainly to the socio-economic factor.

In a study of a farm family diet in South Carolina, Moser found that among Negroes the average number of energy units as well as the average number of persons per household, decreased with rising dietary costs. The demand upon money resources and food supplies in the large Negro families was apparently so great that the dietary standard was lowered. Among white families the quantity of **cereal** foods declined as diet costs increased. At corresponding levels the Negro families ate more cereals than did the white families but they used less sugar.²²

Another more recent study by Moser and others, provides information on the characteristic food consumption patterns of families in different areas of the South and on the nutritive quality of their diets. It was found that in the cotton and tobacco areas the white families used more table fats and more salad oils and dressings than did Negro families; and that pork fat and lard and other shortenings formed a very high proportion of the total fats and oils used by both white and Negro families.²³

²²Ada M. Moser, "Farm Family Diets in the Lower Coastal Plains of South Carolina", South Carolina Agri. Exper. Sta. of Clemson Agricultural College, Bulletin 319, June, 1939, p. 22.

²³Ada M. Moser, William T. Dean, Beulah Gillaspie, Dorothy Dickins, Josephine Staab, Esther F. Phipard and R. L. Anderson, "Family Food Consumption in Three Types of Farming Areas of the South, II. An Analysis of Weekly Food Records, Late Winter and Early Spring, 1948". Agricultural Exp. Sta. of Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia, Southern Cooperative Series Bulletin 20, November, 1951, p. 29.

²¹This does not mean that every family eats all of these things, but that these items were found to have a general distribution in the summer diets of each class and race, and not to be exclusively characteristic of the diet of any one group. Relative deviations from this general basic diet are shown.

Since most Negro families find themselves at the lower end of the tenant sharecropper or wage-laborer classes, they generally have poorer gardens both in variety, number of plantings, and number of months duration per year. They also have poorer orchards, if they have any at all. They have a more restricted diet than do whites of the same agricultural class. There are some notable exceptions depending upon individual initiative and the attitude of the landlord.

While the whites in general resist Negro food tastes, the Negroes mainly accommodate to the white food tastes. At the request of his landlord a Negro, who would be satisfied with collards, would be willing to raise ten varieties of vegetables. Once staple foods have been secured, extra cash, if it is spent on food, is spent on those foods which he observed seem most desirable to the local landlords, or the nationally advertised brands which acquire the prestige of association with urban whites. There is no food item which is refused on the ground that it is specifically a "white man's food."

The Negro diet usually consists of the coarser foods, such as dark flour, yellow corn meal, black molasses. But as the Negro improves his economic position, he also tends to take on the white man's food habits and to replace the traditional foods with white, self-rising flour, white corn meal, and corn syrup--none of which is good nutritionally.

The Negro exploits the wild food supply-game, fish, berries, nuts-more than the whites. The Negro baby is often given a pacifier of fat meat when he cries. This may entrench in him early the taste for fat meat. Negro babies are also fed "a streak of fat and a streak of lean" (hog-meat, a kind of bacon, but not crisped).

The foregoing review of the Negro dietary raised the question whether or not there is real racial differential in food habits, as so many people believe. Is the Negro diet **ess**entially different in content from the white diet? Can differences be said to be based on physiological differences, or on social, economic, and other cultural factors? DeGive says: "It is true, as has been stated, that certain foods are designated by some whites as Negro foods, but Negroes did not feel that there were any particular foods that they should eat as distinguished from the whites."²⁴

It is apparent that the dietary of the Negro is not markedly different from the white dietary either on physiological grounds or because of a greatly diverse cultural heritage.²⁵ The similarities to the white dietary are more pronounced than the differences. Those limitations of quantity and variety which are found are consistent with the social and economic limitations of the Negro's lower class position rather than evidence of any basic differences. White and Negro wage laborers eat much the same dietary and there is less difference in their dietary than between the dietaries of Negro wage laborer and Negro landowner.

DeGive said,²⁶ what differences there were in diet were economically conditioned rather than racially conditioned. Cultural differences in diet which have come to be associated with the Negro, such as eating the more inferior parts of the hog, or eating more greasy foods, are results of economic circumstances of long standing. The Negro's whole

24DeGive, op. cit., p. 249.

²⁵Ibid., p. 253.

²⁶Ibid.

attitude of indifference, laziness, thriftlessness, when it is found, is largely a reflection of the hopelessness of economic position. A whole behavior of mind and personality is thus engendered which lasts over for several generations, perhaps as a cultural inheritance. Swift changes in economic circumstances cannot sweep away this cultural heritage all at once.

The Racial Differential in Medical Practices

Whereas there have been numerous studies on the dietary practices of the Southern people and Negroes, there have been practically none on the medical practices of this same group. For this reason it was necessary to go a little farther afield to try to determine the origin of some of the medical practices commonly used by them.

Folk medicine is a very ancient practice of man. Primitive man depended upon nature's stock of plants and herbs to avoid disease. Wherever in the world man or beast was sick, the fields could supply the medicines for cure, and materials for curative herbal teas and ointments.

In a study of the customs of the Malogasy tribe of Africa, Ruud found that there are very important taboos regarding color. The colors are highly symbolic and different colors are assigned for different days. Ill health may come about if a family does not carefully consider the color of the animals it raises, such as chickens and cows. Certain colors of animals are used in certain forms when healing people suffering from certain diseases. When a member of a family suffers from a disease called <u>tromb</u>, the whole family walks out into the field to the cattle herd where they select one cow or ox. Relatives and neighbors are

called in in order to assist in the curing of the possessed person. This is done by means of a great feast, the people dance and drink. If the sick person is cured by this, the ceremony is repeated and he bathes in a river. A great feast of thanksgiving follows.²⁷

In a study of the Liberian Hinterland, Schwab discovered that the idea of preventive medicine is well established in the minds of the people.²⁸ His study was primarily of the Mandingo tribe. The Mandingos were a Hamitic tribe of the western Sudan. They are distinctly not Negroes; however, they were lumped with the true Negroes and enslaved when the slavers were able to acquire them. They commanded a premium in the slave market because of their strength, vigor, beauty, delicacy, and intelligence. Only a few Mandingoes were brought to the mainland of North America.²⁹

The fact that the medical measures of the Mandingoes take the form of amulets and charms does not negate the essential idea of prevention. The following antidotes give a general understanding of some of their practices.³⁰

Malaria: Asafetida rubbed on the head, tobacco blown into the mouth and aromatic herbs rubbed on the face.

For general pain of unknown character a steam bath is used. The

²⁷Jorgen Ruud, Taboo, <u>A Study of Malogasy Customs and Beliefs</u> (New York: Humanities Press, 1960), p. 81.

²⁸George Schwab, <u>Tribes of the Liberian Hinterland</u> (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1947), p. 403.

²⁹Kyle Onstott, <u>Mandingo</u> (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, Inc., A Crest Reprint, 1958), Fly page.

³⁰Schwab, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 387-389.

procedure is as follows: Take a potful of bark of a tree called poplar by the Americo-Liberian; scrape off the outer layer and beat up the inner part in small pieces. Boil with sufficient water to cover. Let the patient inhale the fumes and cover patient, pot and all, with a blanket. Let patient steam until the water has cooled.

For tired muscles and for aching bones the leaves of flila (Christmas Bush) are beaten up with an equal amount of leaves from the lime tree and mixed with sufficient white clay to form a mass. This is dried slowly in the shade. The clay or chalk mass is typical of many remedies used to rub on the skin.

For a "dizzy chill", a branch of lolo gbea (Vismia Leonensis) is put in a pot and covered with water and boiled until the liquid turns red. While it is still warm the fumes are inhaled and body bathed in its entirety. This is repeated morning and evening.

For back pain, beat up the rolled buds of dua di (a spicy plant resembling pepper) with white clay and add four black pepper grains, powdered. Then rub down the back four times. This medicine may also be used for headache or convulsions. It may be used as a poultice applied to the forehead. Or sometimes the juice is crushed from the leaves and smeared all over the face.

For coughs and sore throats in children or adults drink the juice of bitter oranges with a mixture of salt. Other remedies are teas from different plants one of which is ginger root.

Fruits such as figs and bark from fruit and spice trees are commonly made into teas used for diarrhea, or as pain killer, indigestion, vomiting, nausea, and constipation.

Remedies for Gonorrhea include teas from cottonwood tree, lime juice tea, rice and hen eggs tea with the leaves of flida, and African pine teas, the resin from which is eaten in small amounts. This also is used for rheumatic and other pains.

Cussler and DeGive found in their study of the Southeastern states that the process of digestion was a source of anxiety.³¹ That a food is said to have laxative qualities is more likely to secure acceptance for it than if it is considered an aphrodisiac. In the rural South, many aversions and preferences also appear to be founded upon a given item's possible hazard or help to the blood. This concern is similarly found in many primitive societies. Some food items "make the blood thick" or "thin the blood", "clear the blood" if you have "bad blood", make your "blood go up" and give you "high blood".

The following patent medicines were found to be those most frequently purchased in the area studied:

For malaria: Quinine, Grove's chill tonic, 666, Vinotone. For colds: Vicks Vatronol, 4-Way pills, Mustarole. For indigestion: Black Draught, Feenamint, Simmon's Liver Regulator, Bisodol, C.R.C.

For blood tonic: S.S.S., Iodized yeast, Sassaparilla compound, Peruna.

For Pellagra: Iodized yeast, Nicotinic acid.

Other Patent medicines: Dr. W. S. Caldwell's Syrup of Pepsin, Grover Syrup for Roundworms, Laxated King of Herb Tonic, Dr. DeWitt's Eclectic Remedy.

³¹Cussler and DeGive, op. cit., pp. 144-149.

It was also found that although the county in question had an ordinance requiring blood tests for cooks, it was not enforced. There was no active county medical officer. There was no inspection for stores handling food, nor was there much public feeling that there should be. Apparently food and disease were not very closely associated in the public mind.

Summary

This brief review of literature serves to draw attention to the existence of "survivals", especially under conditions of massive migration, from a simple rural environment to a complex urban industrial one. The exploration of literature focusing upon the general question of the relative dominance of African versus European cultural impact upon Southern Negro life was largely negative. That is, there is supporting evidence for both views. Food and medical practices appear to be strikingly similar to those practiced by some African tribes. At the same time, dietary practices seem to be influenced more by socio-economic level than by color. In fact, the dietary practices of Negross and whites of the same economic status were more similar than those of educated Negro landowners and Negro sharecroppers. Thus, the existing literature suggests that it is impossible to identify particular foods or medical remedies that can be identified exclusively with Negroes. At the same time, the Southern Negro diet, and perhaps medical remedies, became established by slave owners who drew upon locally available foodstuffs when rations were meted out. Even later, the low economic status of Negroes in the South meant heavy reliance upon local foods adapted to local conditions. Low economic status combined with low educational level meant reliance upon traditional remedies of "safe" concoctions available through local druggists.

CHAPTER III

THE NEGRO SUB-CULTURE OF LANSING

Introduction

This chapter is devoted to a description of the Negro sub-culture of Lansing, Michigan. It attempts to report an intimate picture of the uprooting of Southern Negroes and the process of adjustment to the urban scene. The following pages are based upon two kinds of data. The first and most important is personal observation, as a member of the community and as a professional social worker.¹ The second kind of observation is derived from the 150 informants whose stories and anecdotes accompanied the responses to questions on the interview form.

The observations recorded here bring into focus the cultural setting in which the study was made, including the strong emotional involvement with certain food and medical habits. To the best knowledge of the writer, there is no known recorded collection of data on such subjects as food and medical practices of the migrant Negro, especially in a northern or western urban setting. Therefore, it seemed to be a responsibility of the writer, while exploring the problem, to record relevant data which have been collected as a participant observer in the community as well as during the formal interviews.

¹Six years as a Family Social Caseworker in the Family Service Agency, Lansing, Michigan, 1956-1962.

Origin

The movement of the Negro to urban centers was greatly accelerated during World War II. In 1940 more than half of all Negroes lived in rural areas. By 1950 the Negro population was predominantly urban, with 60 percent living in urban areas. By the end of 1947, 14 percent (1.8 million) of all Negroes born on or before April 1940 were living in a different state from the one in which they lived in 1940. This shift resulted in a decline in the number and proportion of Negroes in the population of West Virginia, Georgia, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. The Middle Atlantic, East, North, Central and Pacific States had the most appreciable increases in their Negro populations and the percentage increased for Negroes far exceeded those of the white population. Michigan's Negro population more than doubled, whereas its white population increased only 17 percent.²

In Lansing a swift change began in 1941.³ Hundreds of newly arrived Negroes walked the streets looking for places to live. Many were seen at the bus and train stations. Early one morning in 1943 the writer's telephone rang, a Negro cab driver asked if she would come to the bus station. There I found three small children who said they had lost their parents' address. They had come to Chicago from Georgia with an aunt, changed buses there and were given an address, but the oldest,

²Negroes in the United States: Their Employment and Economic <u>Status</u>, Bulletin No. 1119, United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, Dec. 10, 1952), p. 5.

³Ro**se** T. Brunson, "A Study of the Migrant Negro Population in Lansing, Michigan, During and Since World War II," (unpublished Master's Thesis, Michigan State University, 1955), Table 1, p. 4.

a ten year-old, had lost it. The only information they could give me, other than their names, was that they had lived on a big farm where lots of other colored people worked for a white man. They had attended a Baptist Church in the country, had never been to a city before, and their mother and father and lots of other people from their home worked at a factory that made Oldsmobile cars. I immediately reached their parents at the Oldsmobile factory and kept the three children until the parents came home. The children were right; there were 45 people who had come to Lansing from the same area and who had belonged to the same Baptist Church in Georgia.

Data collected in this study show that the vast majority of Negro migrants into Lansing were from the Southern states. The majority of informants when asked why they came to Lansing said that they found their chances in the South particularly bad economically. Selected comments and anecdotes concerning life in the South follow.

One of those interviewed commented that the family had hated to leave the South. The family had worked on sharecropper farms, about four different ones, trying to save enough money each year to buy Sunday clothing for themselves and their children. The five children were getting to be teenagers and wanted things like the city children had. They never could afford them; every year when they figured up the expenses they broke even or were in debt. The husband got a letter from his brother telling him that he had made \$80.00 to \$90.00 a week for four months and that he could get the husband a job at once. If any of the other brothers wanted to come up they could also come at once. Neither the husband nor his three brothers, on sharecropper farms in Georgia, could get enough money to leave. Besides they all had debts. One brother

gave the landlord all his growing crop of cotton, which was almost ready to pick, and left. He had only two children and could do this, but the respondent had five children. When they had gathered the cotton they cleared \$98.00 in cash and owed a \$150.00 doctor bill. The brotherin-law came to Georgia in a truck and moved the whole family to Lansing. When they arrived at Macon, Georgia, there were six men standing at a crossroad who begged the brother-in-law to bring them to Lansing. The truck was too crowded to bring all, but two who could help drive were brought along. The brother-in-law returned the following Saturday and brought sixteen men, all of whom went to work the same day they arrived in Lansing.

Another of the respondents commented that when her uncle came back home on a visit in 1943, he announced in the country church that he could take five men to Lansing to work in the factory. They could make from \$75.00 to \$95.00 a week. They could come to his house and talk about it with him. Twenty-one men came on a Sunday afternoon to see her uncle. Although he could bring only five, he sent back for all the other men. He had to lend them the money, but the uncle said that they all paid him back. These men went right to work in the Oldsmobile, Motor Wheel, and Fisher Body factories.

Another mother said that they came to work in Lansing when her cousin told them that her husband could get a job immediately and make money. They "sharecropped" 50 acres of farm land and rented 25 acres of land with a three-room house where they lived. They had four small children. According to the informant, they had to borrow money each year until they gathered the crops; then since they had no money left, they

had to start each year in debt. Her husband sent her and the children to her parents in South Carolina, gave the landlord all the crops, despite the fact the cotton was in bloom and there was no other work to be done except the picking of the cotton, and came to Lansing. They had left their sharecrop farm without notifying the landlord. When her husband sent for her he had a down payment on a house. She was very excited to know that she would own her own home. At this time all her family and her husband's family are living here. According to the informant, they long for the South as the climate is so nice there, but there is no money for the hard work they do.

In another case the informant's father had bought a large truck and made two trips a week to Arkansas to bring people to work in the plants. This woman and her three brothers worked in the Olds plant. They gave the money to her father and he bought a large house. Her mother cooked two meals a day for 30 to 40 people. When her father brought the people to the house, they accommodated as many as they could and secured rooms for the others. Often, they would end up with 10 to 15 people in their house sleeping on army cots that "a man got for them who was a boss man at the Oldsmobile factory." Her father also bought two other houses to rent on a similar basis.

Another mother with six children had slipped away from a sharecropper farm in Mississippi. When her husband had told the landlord he was going to work in Lansing, the landlord told him that he owed about \$500.00 and he would have him put in jail. The husband had wanted to sign papers to pay the landlord by the month but the landlord still did not want him to leave. The tenant house was about a mile back of

the landlord's house. About twelve o'clock one night they walked with their six children to meet a bus that came along about two o'clock in the morning. They went to her father-in-law's house and got some money that her husband's uncle had sent for the fare to Lansing. Her husband got a job at once and sent back for the rest of the family. They then paid the landlord the \$500.00 and gave him the crop too, because they wanted to visit home some day without the fear of being jailed.

According to another respondent, she and her husband had heard about people making \$70.00 a week and over in Lansing, and that the women could work too. The pastor of a Baptist Church had clipped the information out of a newspaper and read it in the church. The woman's father had borrowed the money from the pastor to finance his own trip and then later sent for her mother and grandmother and his five children to come to Lansing. While they were still in the South, people had come to their house at all hours asking for her father's address so they could come to Lansing and find work. Her father had gone back to the church and loaned money to other men to come to Lansing. The moman noted that when she had taken a trip back home in 1959 the old church had been closed. There were not enough people left to run a church. Those who were left had moved their membership to another church. Most of the people from there had now moved to Lansing, she said, and belonged to the same Baptist church in Lansing. Her father was now a deacon of this church.

Another informant told of her husband's going to the small town near their home where he happened to purchase the Negro newspaper published at Columbia, South Carolina. This newspaper had information

concerning employment opportunities. They had first moved to Detroit, but it was too big a city and she did not like it. Hearing that some people from their home lived in Lansing and that jobs were plentiful they came here. Lansing was more like the country to her. Since that time, her husband had bought two acres of land on Abbott Road and built a house. Her husband's family and most of her relatives had also moved to Lansing.

In another case the housewife who was from Arkansas, told of her father's meeting an agent in a corner store. The agent had asked him if he could get 30 men to work at once. This man paid the woman's father to look for men who wanted to come to Michigan. In about two months her father had come back from Michigan for more men. He bought the tickets for all of the men and their families and some friends.

The comment of another informant was that she knew as many people who came from her home community in Lansing as she had known back home. All of the families have moved here now.

There were a great many additional comments that have not been included here. It appears that what actually happened to a great number of Negroes was that they were economically unsettled. This gave impetus to the migration of 1940, as they could find no solution in the South. At the same time, they heard news of openings in the North. Negroes in the North wrote letters back home to relatives and friends. Information was passed around in the community through labor agents, the press, and the church. Thus, the chief motive for their migration was apparently a desire to improve themselves economically. Interviewees brought out specific amounts of income per week and specific job opportunities which

were advertised. Many had friends whom they felt had become well-to-do.

Finding a Place to Live

When the migrant Negroes reached Lansing they found crowded living conditions. Often they had to live with families and other migrant friends, even after marriage. The temporary doubling up of families could be readily understood at the beginning because there was little or no housing available to them. The over-crowded conditions reached a peak in 1955, when there were 10 to 17 persons living in a single dwelling of seven or eight rooms.⁴ The Northern Negroes who owned or were buying their own homes did not welcome the migrant Negroes nor did they readily rent rooms to them. In one instance, an educated Negro man came to Lansing, bought houses, rented apartments, and made housing available for a large number of Negro, Mexican, and white migrants. He did a lucrative business. He also arranged for Negroes to buy available houses. However, in general, the migrant Negroes were forced to buy houses at inflated prices in order to get a place to live. Respondents gave indication of disliking the living situations as they found them in Lansing and they particularly disliked the necessity of doubling up.

One mother brought out the fact that she and her seven children had had to return home to South Carolina until her husband could make a down payment on a house. She had lived in filthy basements with her children until finally, she could not stand it any longer. No one would rent a house or apartment to anyone with seven children.

4Ibid., p. 24.

Another informant felt that she was being mistreated when her landlady asked her not to use the living room to rock and sing her children to sleep. (A cultural trait of the Southern Negro is to sing Negro spirituals and rock children to sleep.)

Some of the interviewees were accustomed to boiling clothes in a pot outdoors. One said she became angry when her landlady would not let her boil her baby's diapers on a cooking stove. Her comment was "White clothes are not clean unless they can be boiled with soap and water."

One grandmother was proud that she and her husband were among the first Negroes to buy a house in Lansing. As a matter of fact, they were forced to buy a house. When she arrived in Lansing to get a job at the Olds factory her husband was sleeping on a basement floor. There was no trouble after they got the down payment for a house. Her two sisters and their husbands were waiting for them to get a place for them to stay. All four of them got jobs the first day they were here. Her husband's two brothers were staying there at the time. She and her husband slept in the living room and gave the bedrooms to the others. They helped to pay for the furniture and bought food in exchange for a place to live. When asked about charging rent, she said that nobody on the farms in Mississippi ever charged anybody rent. People just came to pick the cotton, stayed until the farm crops were gathered, and went home. Her parents divided the meat and other crops as pay. She further said that it was just trading now, as all of their relatives had their own homes, and she kept her grandchildren while her children worked in the factory. She also took care of her mother. Her mother gave her a

lot of worry as she did not like living in Lansing--as a matter of fact, she herself did not like it much either. She still liked walking across the fields and watching the farm crops grow. She had never gotten used to the people in Lansing. She said she meant that the Northerners (Negroes) felt they were better than the people who came from the South. Her neighbors had always lived in the North and she felt proud of her home because she painted her house every two years and kept her lawn and flowers looking good, and that was more than she could say for some of the Northerners.

Similarly, another commented that she had sold the first house she had bought in Lansing because she wanted to get away from certain neighbors, a Negro family who were Northerners, because she felt also that Northerners thought that they were better than Southerners.

Still another said that she had cried to go back to her home in Georgia because she had had to live in an apartment with a shared kitchen for six months. She seemed to feel that she was not wanted.

One mother commented, "City life was exciting to me at first, even when I lived in one room with my three small children. But since we bought this house with lots of room I still feel we would be more happy at home in Arkansas on the farm. Money is what keeps us here." It is evident then, that problems of not being able to adjust to city life as well as inadequate housing were sources of distress.

The writer, for a period of twenty years, has observed the growth of the Negro migration to Lansing, Michigan. Different areas, especially a community on the west side have changed from all white communities to almost completely Negro communities. Before 1941 this was virtually unknown to Lansing; the city had long possessed a fairly small Negro population.

The relatively few Negroes had always enjoyed the same social and educational facilities and received courteous treatment from the white citizens. These old colored citizens of Lansing resented and stood aloof from the incoming migrant Negroes. Negro ministers invited the new arrivals into the church, but many of the congregation made them know that they were not wanted. In some cases the church split over the matter and the migrants and their sympathizers withdrew and formed new churches for themselves.

Of course, the Negro migrants were not absolutely blameless for the attitude taken toward them by the white and Northern Negro public. While crime and immorality among them never developed beyond control, there was a definite increase in incidents of this type among the uneducated migrants.

The World of Work

Prior to 1940 the Negroes in Lansing were mainly employed as cooks, waiters, maids, servants, and clerical workers in the state buildings. There were no Negro school teachers, doctors, dentists, lawyers, nor professional social workers.

The first Negro factory workers in Lansing were hired as janitors before World War II.⁵ With the advent of World War II and the opening of the factories to Negro labor, the influx from the South began. Then migrants obtained, for the most part, unskilled factory jobs at Oldsmobile, Motor Wheel, and Fisher Body, among other places.

⁵One informant's husband was hired as a mail truck driver in 1920 at Oldsmobile factory and another informant's husband was hired as a janitor in 1936 at the Oldsmobile.

Since that time there has been some upgrading of Negro labor in Lansing, especially during the past decade. These gains, it is believed, resulted from the expansion of employment opportunities for Negroes during the years following the war.

The most dramatic shift in Negro employment, of course, had been out of agriculture. But there also appeared to be a shift in Negro employment from domestic service to factory work. There had been a significant gain in Negroes as clerical and sales workers, school teachers, doctors, dentists, professional social workers, et cetera, among Negro migrants.

One informant was the sister of one of the men first hired as a janitor at Oldsmobile. She boasted a little as she said her brother was one of the first Negro men to work at the Olds factory. He was retired now. He sent to their home in Tennessee for nine relatives to work at the Olds factory and he brought many more. The informant felt that Negroes got better jobs now than when her brother got his job about 25 years ago. He had started as a sweeper; but when other Negroes were hired, her brother was made a policeman at the factory. The writer discovered he was actually a plant policeman who arranged the car parking areas at the plant--a light job for his last ten years of work.

Another disliked Lansing because she had worked in the factory until they paid for their home. She said, "My children are married and my husband still works; I feel lonesome. If we had bought land in the country we could raise chickens and pigs, and maybe a calf. Living in a closed up house all winter does not make me happy. The high wage people get in the North is very satisfying but when you get to be

sixty-five there is nothing left." She had made up her mind, she said "When my husband retires in four years we will go South. I have never sold my ten acres of land there, and my husband can build us a house."

There were several comments on the importance of jobs. One woman could not understand why some Negro women worked as domestic workers, scrubbing floors, when they could have gone into the factory and made good money. She was put on a machine the third week after she started at Oldsmobile. She still worked on it, and she had brought her aunt north to take care of her house. She could not look up to women who had to work for a living and make only \$20.00 to \$35.00 a week when they could have made up to \$80.00 and \$98.00 a week. She would not go back to the South to live, but planned to buy about five acres of land when she and her husband retired because they wanted to raise chickens, hogs, and turkeys, and she longed for a garden. She thought that perhaps she could sell some of the things she raised.

Another woman emphasized the fact that she was glad when her husband went to work at Oldsmobile. She had heard so much about the Oldsmobile factory and how much money they paid from her husband's brother. They had waited three weeks for him to come to get them in Mississippi. He came on a weekend and they arrived in Lansing at 4:00 a.m. on a Monday morning in 1943; her husband went to work at 8:30 a.m. the next day and she went to work the following day. Her husband had worked at Oldsmobile for 17 years and she herself, had worked for nine years, but now stayed home with her children. Her two brothers and her husband's three brothers still worked at Oldsmobile. Because she had had no job training she had begun sweeping the floors; but after one week the foreman put her to work on a small screw and bolt machine. She made about

<u>1</u>6

\$85.00 a week plus over time and had sometimes made as much as \$110.00. She said she had never seen a hundred dollars in her life until she came here.

Another informant told of her father borrowing money from the minister to come to Lansing. He went to work, then came back with another man to get other workers. Finally, her father sent back for the whole family. Her father had always worked for the Fisher Body. Her two brothers worked at the Olds Forge plant. Her husband came from South Carolina where he had heard a broadcast over the radio to come to Lansing to work in the automobile factory.

A file clerk for the state said she was a high school graduate. Her husband made \$90.00 a week in the factory, but they had to buy a house and wanted furniture. So she had taken the file clerk examination and passed. Many of their friends had told her she should go to work in the factory, but, after several calls to the civil service office, she had been called for an interview. She had gotten the job and had worked as a file clerk for eight years. She remarked that there were more Negroes working for the state as secretaries and file clerks than there used to be. "It is nicer work but we are not paid as well as factory workers, but with both incomes we make out quite well."

During another interesting interview the woman stated that she had worked in the factory for two and one-half years. She liked the money but her mother, who baby sat for her, could not stand the cold weather here and wanted to go back south. This woman did not see too much difference here from the South (Mississippi). "You had to always watch out for the **boss**. The safety man and the plant manager snooped around at

times." Co-workers told her to always do what the boss said, even if it was wrong. "I was supposed to make friends and get along with everybody I worked with." She further said, with some hostility, that the situation was the same in the South, "Always watching out for some boss man." Now she is a beauty operator with her own shop, and she doesn't have to watch out for the boss. She apparently thought about what she had said, and remarked, "There are state health inspectors, but they don't give any trouble." She owned a nice beauty shop with all modern conveniences near her home.

The opinions expressed by one woman were quite emphatic. They had better jobs here than they had ever had. Her husband and three sons had plowed in the fields from 7:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. for \$3.00 a day in Mississippi. Now they--and she--worked at the Fisher Body. "We could hardly eat anything bought from the stores in Mississippi, but now we have money to buy what we want."

Contact with the South and Other Communities

The continued contacts which the migrant Negroes kept with the South and other communities appeared, in the majority of cases, to be based upon kinship. Sometimes they included an interesting system of old-fashioned barter. Visiting usually occurred during holiday seasons and at vacation time and during these visits there was often a ceremonial exchange of gifts. Comments follow which illustrate the development of contacts.

The comment of one interviewee was that she had not liked it here when she first came. When her mother had written that the watermelon

Ъ8

and cataloupes were ripe and the crops were very good, she said, "I was so lonesome." The people here were cold toward her. She got sick, her head and her whole body ached. Her husband had said he would drive her to Arkansas over the weekend. She had taken her four children and stayed for a month and had felt better the whole time she was there.

Since that time she had gone home each Christmas, the time she liked back home the most. Her husband had been laid off from work in July and had bought a truck to do light trucking. This summer he had gone South twice and brought up loads of watermelons which he then sold from house to house. Last Christmas he had brought back a truck load of sweet potatoes and vegetables because people from Arkansas, who lived in Lansing, were eager to receive Southern farm products. She took gifts to her cousins and friends. The woman bought gifts every few weeks during the year to take home for her people. In return she got molasses, sweet potatoes, ham, et cetera which she often gave to her Lansing friends.

A cook at a girl's sorority house at Michigan State University reported that she made delicious cakes. She took small fruit cakes for Christmas gifts to Georgia, and in return she received gifts from her friends in her home state. Another woman's husband took apples to Arkansas to trade for sweet potatoes and watermelons. He was observed by the writer selling watermelons from his porch.

One informant replied that she traveled back to Alabama every year at the time of her church (Baptist) revival meeting. She had tried to attend church in Lansing, but the church people were unfriendly. "You don't feel close to God in the Northern churches. People make you feel

that you are not good enough, especially if there are Northern people around." She remarked that it was lonely living in a city; her extra money was spent trying to get back to Alabama, "Where you know you are wanted in church."

Of those interviewed a large number commented that they had changed church membership from Methodist to Baptist and to the Church of God and Christ. Church of God and Christ churches were often casually mentioned in connection with the question of where they came from. They had church dinners often, and could take the food they would eat. Except for a few women who appeared hostile toward the South, others talked long about what it was like back home. Lansing's newly developed Negro church membership was made up of a majority of recent Negro migrants. Dinner and sometimes breakfast were served each Sunday of the month, and food was often served during the weekly meetings.

One 57 year old mother made a special trip in the Fall of the year to dig Sassafras, Horehound, Polk greens, Life Everlasting, and other herbs for her children and grandchildren, and herself, for tea. Other informants told of receiving packages of tea roots through the mail to make tea.

Another told that her church in South Carolina had a campground where, each year, they camped in tents for one week. She and her husband had built a wooden tent and each year three cars full of relatives and friends drove down for a vacation to attend the camp meeting.

In another case the informant said that her brother drove to Tennessee to bring her parents to Lansing for Thanksgiving. Her sister and family came from Chicago and together with about twelve other

relatives in Lansing, they celebrated. Her mother brought almost all the food from her garden. The next year her brother-in-law from Chicago would drive down for her parents and they would all go to Chicago to celebrate.

Many of those interviewed mentioned exchanging visits with friends and relatives in Flint, Detroit, and Albion. These exchange visits were often with migrants from the same Southern state. It was often mentioned that Northern Negroes were unfriendly and that frequent contacts were made with friends and relatives in the South.

One such incident involved a Methodist Church guild. They were to have an Easter church breakfast to be held at the church Easter Sunday morning. This woman suggested bacon, eggs, grits and biscuits. A few of the Northern women laughed about her idea of grits. They were sure the grits would not be eaten. The woman was very angry because most Northerners felt they were better than Southerners and they laughed at the Southern ways of eating. Her sister was married to a Northern man, and when they came from Battle Creek to eat dinner she said she had to be very careful of the food she served. She had to cook Northern foods, buttered vegetables and roast meat. She did not enjoy her own cooking when they visited. When they returned the visit, they tried to go at night or after dinner. The informant's sister told her that when she cooked chitterlings, pigs feet or grits, she ate them alone or asked a Southern neighbor to have lunch while her husband was at work.

In another case the woman never took a dish to a church picnic where many Northerners were coming; she arranged to take coffee or sugar. She would prepare food only for a Church of God in Christ, "where all

Southern people go and you feel at home. There you do not hear people talking about Southern ways of cooking."

Holt Packing Company provided an interesting situation for food buying. Two and three days a week hogs and cows and other animals were butchered. It was commonly known in the community that people sought rides to the Holt Packing Company on those days to buy meat. Some customers had regular rides on Tuesdays and Thursdays to Holt. The manager at the Holt Packing Company reported; "When Negroes first began coming to the butchering day, along with their purchased items they were given pigs feet, chitterlings, and parts of hog heads that were partly cleaned because they would be bruised most times." These frequent visits kept up until "soupbones, pig's feet, chitterlings, cracklins, pig hocks, and such, were sold at low prices." One interesting fact was brought out--that the Negro customers appeared to enjoy watching the butchering and waited patiently for hours until the meat was ready. This appeared strange behavior to the manager. Many informants mentioned the Holt Slaughter House in answer to the question asking where food was bought.

One commented that she and her family enjoyed going to the Holt Packing Company to buy their meat because it was very fresh, just like back home at hog-killing time. Her parents who lived in the South, butchered two cows a year and some hogs, enough for meat the year around. They took their meat to the ice house near their town and then they hickory smoked a good portion of the meat. She spent more time comparing the differences in curing meat. They did not always buy fresh meat when they drove to the Holt slaughter pens; but she liked to be there

when they brought the meat out. As a little girl, she said, she used to watch her father and uncle kill hogs and her mother make sausage and liver pudding.

From the writer's observation, it appears that there is some satisfaction derived from identifying with deep-seated Southern values, including those concerning food. Frequently in the area of food connected with church picnics or public eating places, the people showed deep emotions concerning Northern and Southern foods. This appeared to be an inferiority expression. Frequently visits were made to the packing company in Charlotte, Michigan, where chitterlings could be bought in large amounts. One woman stated that in the winter time she bought large amounts for supper parties. They invited guests who liked chitterlings, cornbread, and sweet potatoes.

Food and Medical Practices

Aside from the specific items listed in the schedule as Southern foods and medical remedies, the whole food and medical patterns were observed to be associated with consumption, storage, and preparation choices.

One corner grocery store in the Lansing area where Negroes predominated was owned by a Negro, while other stores serving Negroes were owned by whites who had run them before there were many Negroes living in the community. One chain store had employed some Negro help, there was also one Negro employed at another larger grocery store in the neighborhood. The food items in these stores were a mixture of Northern and Southern food. In 1940 grits could seldom be purchased in a community

store, neither could hog's heads, neck bones, spare-ribs, pig hocks, chitterlings, rutabagas, salt pork, or collard greens, and very few Southern watermelons or sweet potatoes.

One grocery owner commented that around 1943 he began getting so many calls for grits and white corn meal, salt pork, and rice that he had started ordering them in small portions. The first shipment that came was sold out in a couple of days. Another grocery had changed its advertising to almost entirely Southern foods on the store windows.

A druggist commented that he had added many patent medicines to his stock: Quinine, 666, Vicks Vatronol, Epsom salts, castor oil, 4-Way Cold Tablets, Musterole, Black Draught, Feenamint, senna leaf, Unguentine, Lydia Pinkham's, S.S.S., Exlax and liniments.

Another druggist commented that it was difficult selling to Negroes. At first he did not understand because they would come in sick, asking him for medicine for their ailments. He would tell them to go to a doctor, and they would not understand why he wouldn't give them medicine. He was amazed to find that many Southern drug stores gave out many medicines without prescriptions. Drug stores were used many times instead of a physician in most Southern states for diseases which should have been treated by a doctor.

Another druggist told of customers becoming angry when he would not sell paregoric or potassium iodide without a prescription. There were several mentions by informants of bringing back supplies of this nature from the South when they went there. They often shopped for all their neighbors and friends for such things as paregoric, spirits of ammonia, potash, et cetera.
One mother from Mississippi said she and her five children had had malaria fever. She went to the drug store and told the man that she wanted some medicine for malaria fever. He told her that she needed a doctor's examination. She told him she had had the fever for three years and knew when it started. The druggist insisted that she get a doctor's examination. This made the woman angry because in the South all you had to do was ask the druggist, and tell him what the doctor told you and he would give you medicine. She finally asked if the druggist could sell her a bottle of 666. He could, so she bought two bottles. For colds the majority of informants frequently used Vick's Vatronol, 4-Way Cold Tablets, and Musterole, but one woman faid she used peach leaf tea, pine resin pills (resin is taken from the tree, rolled in white flour on molasses and taken three times a day). Turpentine was also taken, five drops in a teaspoonful of sugar or water.

One informant, who had just returned from her vacation in South Carolina, said she made the trip each year to gather herbs for teas. She was getting her herbs sorted. She brought back pieces for relatives and some Southern friends who could not go to get them. She showed me sassasfras roots, long leaf pine needle, life everlasting (a straw-like plant), elderberry roots, catnip, and horehound roots. These roots were used for high blood pressure, flu, common colds, fever, rheumatism, neuritis, and as a tonic during menopause. Once she could not get enough money for her round trip ticket and the people from South Carolina who lived here paid her fare one way and also paid her for making teas for them. She had been a midwife in the South and knew all about the art of making teas for sick people.

Several respondents reported buying two to twenty-five acres of land in the rural areas for vegetable gardening. One informant commented that she could not get used to going to the store to buy all the food for the family. She had six children and she and her husband liked farming. She had sent to Georgia for her widowed mother to take care of her children while she went to work in the factory. They had bought five acres of land outside Lansing. She no longer worked in the factory, but produced all the vegetables the family could use. They also had chickens, ducks, geese, and a few turkeys, and they raised two or three hogs each year. She and her mother canned all their food for the winter except the meat. This they stored in a freezer locker. Back home her parents had stored their meat in an ice house.

Another housewife was churning butter while talking to the writer. She said she bought whole milk from the dairy and let it stand until the cream rose to the top. Sometimes she mixed half and half with cream. She did not like store butter and she preferred to make her own. She also made homemade butter for her married children and a friend from Alabama.

The wife of a Lansing school teacher said that they had twenty acres of farm land. As a side line her husband grew vegetables to sell during the summer months. This family stored all their vegetables for the winter months and sold to stores and other families. Turnips, collards, cabbage, tomatoes, potatoes, okra, string beans and peppers were grown for the home and market. The informant said that they grew mostly Southern vegetables. Buyers came to the garden on Saturdays and Sundays, or called on the telephone to see if her husband would be at the garden

Her husband had also bought a small tractor and had made it available to other families who had garden land.

One other family had raised two calves and had them butchered for Christmas. The family had invited fifteen people for an all-day Christmas feast at which they served stewed beef, roast beef and barbequed beef. In addition, a small package of beef was given to each of the guests to take home. This was the kind of feast that the mother's parents had prepared in the South. Several of these people mentioned buying a deep freeze to store food for winter.

Another woman let her peas and string beans dry in the garden, then picked and shelled them to store for cooking in the winter months along with smoked pig hocks. In the South, they had smoked meat after hogkilling time and boiled the ham and shoulder--all the boney parts were boiled with dried beans and peas and other vegetables.

Still another was soaking garden seeds, peanuts, pumpkin seeds, and peas and beans in glass jars. She said the time to prepare for the winter time was in the summer time. Her parents had taught her this. Since soaking seeds before planting gave them a quick start for growth, her garden was always earlier than many other of her friends! gardens.

Another housewife kept going to her kitchen as she talked with the writer. She said that she did not want her soap to cake to the pot. She did not throw away the fat from bacon or small pieces of soap but saved them to make her own soap in the way she had learned from her mother in Georgia, and therefore, she did not buy **s**oap or soap powder.

The strength of tradition in food ways is illustrated by the informant who said her husband had to have corn bread every day. She

would not mind if she could add eggs, sugar and fat to the mixture but he wanted it cooked like his mother cooked it, hot water, meal and salt. She did not mind her home friends from Georgia, but her sister-in-law, a Northerner, was different since she wanted white bread only. She could change enough to eat what other people ate when she had company, but her husband asked for cornbread at all times.

Preparing for a family church picnic, another migrant appeared to feel quite strongly about the food which she was to bring. She said that when people get in an old rut you cannot get them to eat anything except what they are used to. She liked to prepare a mixture of Northern and Southern foods to take to picnics because everything was passed and the Northerners would pass the Southern dishes right by. She would take food her mother and father liked; then, she would make one dish of a Northern food and a Northern cake. As an assistant cook for a sorority house she had learned how to cook both ways and said if she could get her husband and mother to eat some Northern food she would be happier. However, it was interesting that when this woman was sick for two weeks she wanted her old way of eating--grits, gravy and fried chicken.

Several interesting comments in the area of hotel, restaurant, and private home contacts showed that traditional attitudes showed in cultural values and had their counterparts in the food pattern.

The different choices of food in different parts of the United States was brought out when one informant said that she cooked the food they liked because "We were reared to like it when we lived in Georgia." She remarked if she had been born and raised in Michigan she would like the food here. She had a friend from Oklahoma who ate entirely differently--she made hot tamales out of cornmeal. The informant had worked with

a Michigan girl who had never made anything out of cornmeal. She said that they got along because she ate what she wanted to eat and let others eat what they wanted. She tried to eat the other kinds of food but she did not really like them. Her children ate at her friend's home and they didn't mind because when they were hungry they would eat almost anything.

An interviewee from Arkansas remarked that there were about five groups who had formed social clubs and served old Southern food. Sometimes the children didn't like the Southern food, especially the ones who had Northern friends. When she prepared food for her sixteen year old daughter's friends she had to have more Northern foods. She had learned how to follow a few recipes but meither she nor her husband enjoyed the "fancy" foods.

One interesting comment by one woman was that when she was a child in the South, a friend from the city had come to visit her mother. They had had ice cream from a country store every day the lady was there. There were two large apple trees with apples lying on the ground--they were tired of apple dumplings and pie. She said they would be glad to get Southern foods now, like sweet potatoes. She liked store bought food too, but longed for the Southern foods right from the fields. She said even the chickens here did not taste like the chickens at home in Alabama, the ones they raised themselves and killed.

One interviewee was greasing her three year old son's chest with turpentine and "tallor" ("tallor", she said, was fried fat beef). The butcher at Holt's slaughter house had given her some large pieces of fat which she had asked him to save for her. She fried out the fat, let

it get cold, and sliced it into chunks; it was used for colds and pains. The formula she gave me was, two tablespoons of melted beef fat and one teaspoon of turpentine. Rub every night and morning; at night put a piece of flannel material, heated, on the parts of the body where there is pain. This was also good for rheumatism. A large majority of those interviewed reported searching in drugstores all over Lansing and in other neighboring towns when they visited trying to buy patent medicine. All the examples cannot be mentioned here. One of the women, however, was very angry about not being able to buy potassium iodide for her rheumatism. Her doctor back in Arkansas had told her to buy ten cents worth of potassium iodide from a drugstore and mix it with a quart of red wine; take three tablespoons full three times a day for three weeks and then stop, she would not have to come back to him but once in two months, or if she felt worse to come and see him. That saved her a great deal of money. She had had her children check just about every drugstore in and around Lansing to buy potassium iodide for her. "Druggists just won't sell it," she said, "they want you to go to the doctor for every pain and get a prescription." She could not afford it when her sons took care of her and she could not get old age assistance because she was only sixty. The doctor's office call was five dollars. When she was a child her mother had doctored the whole family with medicines and teas she made. The doctor only came when someone was really sick or when the druggist would advise that it would be better to see a doctor.

At the time of the writer's visit, one mother was cooking pine needles and lemon tea. She showed the writer a limb from a pine tree

and said that her mother had always made tea for coughs and colds. The woman's five children had coughs and colds and her husband had gone to a friend's farm and gotten a pine limb. She stewed the pine needles for one hour in a covered pot, added kemon and then gave each child a cup of hot tea. This was her usual treatment, she said, and she seldom had to take her children to a doctor. They were buying their home, a car, and paying for the furnishings. They had been in Lansing for nine-years--with such a large family she had to use all the remedies she knew about to save doctor bills. She felt she managed pretty well. Her mother had raised nine children and she remembered the doctor only coming to her father before he died. The herb medicines, teas, and instructions from older people in the community and the druggist had sufficed. They had not had the money to pay a doctor. Although she said, "We make more money now, my husband works at Motor Wheel factory, we still don't have money for a doctor, but we carry hospital insurance. The food bill is high; we did not have a garden this year but we plan to have one next year. I can work it myself and the children will help. This will help out with expenses."

One Parent Teacher's Association member was baking cookies for a meeting that night. She said she was nervous trying to make cookies by a recipe. The P.T.A. mothers were middle class women, a mixture of Northern and Southern whites and Negroes. She felt she could make cookies much better by not using a recipe, but the women usually asked about food recipes and she wanted to be able to tell them the kind of recipe she had used. She further said many of her friends from the South had started using recipes for cooking. Eleven years ago, down

South in Mississippi, she never thought she would use recipes for cooking, nor did her friends. But when you had children going to school and had to mix with other people, you had to be up to date--the children made you. Her daughter had told her that she should be very careful about the cookies and make them just right. She had recently visited her home in the South and things were different for her. She would not want to live there again. They were still making molasses in a kettle, smoking meat in the smokehouse with hickory wood. Her three children. teen-agers, did not want to stay two weeks. It was nine miles from any town. Her husband came from a town in Tennessee, and he never liked the country. Once when they visited Mississippi he got pneumonia. Her grandmother had to give him whisky, lemon tea, castor oil, and a mustard plaster, and had taken care of him until the doctor could get there the next day. They had to pay the doctor \$15.00 to tell her husband that if it had not been for her grandmother's doctoring he would have been seriously ill with pneumonia. He had given her husband one bottle of red medicine and told him not to return to Lansing for at least one week.

Of those answering the questions in the North Lansing section, eleven came to the west side to shop at the community stores that sold chitterlings and collard greens, as well as salt pork, each day in the week. They felt that there was a better variety of choices. One of those interviewed commented that she had saved money for six months to buy a deep freeze in which she could put things like chitterlings, pig's feet, turnip greens, collard greens, okra, and sweet potatoes. She had even frozen watermelons. The interviewee said she derived much happiness when her friends and cousins came from Inkster, Michigan, and

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she could cook them a whole dinner of Southern food. They enjoyed coming to visit her because they could usually find some foods that they used to have at home on the farm in Mississippi. She could not buy red peas from the stores here in Lansing though she had shopped in them all. Since it was near Thanksgiving, she wanted to make "hopping John" for a party and she also wanted to save some red peas for New Year's Day. Eating red peas on Thanksgiving and New Year's day brought good luck the whole year. Her grantmother and mother always had had red peas, hogs head, and rice for Thanksgiving day and New Year's day.

Another woman was cooking and invited the interviewer into the kitchen. She was baking sweet potato pies and said they were going to a church dinner on Sunday. The congregation would be invited to stay for a harvest dinner. There would be no charges but a donation would be accepted and could be left on a tray. She was happy to be able to be a part of this dinner. This was the first time she had had a chance, in the seven years she had been in Lansing, to be chairman of any committee. She had made a mistake by joining a church where the majority of the people were Northerners and Negro professional people. They ran things like they wanted you to prepare a menu for every eating affair. A Northerner or a professional person, like a school teacher, had to be chairman and they told you what to cook and how to make it. She had always been a Methodist back in Georgia, a member of a large church too, and most of the people had liked her foods when they had church dinners. The Negro Methodist church in Lansing she had joined asked her only to furnish sugar, coffee, or a good item one did not have to cook. Many others were treated in the same manner.

She finally left this church and joined a small Baptist church. The ninety-five members of the Baptist church she had recently joined were all Southern. At their feast occasions they brought Southern foods, any dish they liked to cook. The pastor was also a Southerner. This informant felt that the school teachers were trying to measure up to the Northerners. They ate differently. They didn't associate with the people who worked in the factories. She felt that the reason they ate differently now was that their educational training had something to do with it.

Many comments centered around being tired of "store bought" food. One mother remarked that canned goods were no good for her baby; she cooked fresh vegetables and mashed them for her children.

In an interview with Dr. William Harrison⁶, a Negro doctor in Lansing, he brought out that the majority of the migrant Negroes with whom he had come in contact still followed the food and medical practices of the rural South. Balanced diets were almost unheard of among these people. The majority ate mostly starchy foods and fat meats, they ate very few fresh raw vegetables or fruits. If the doctor put them on a diet, they very rarely followed it because they were not used to the type of food.

As to their medical practices, the same problem existed. By the time they sought the aid of a doctor they had exhausted every patent medicine and home remedy of which they had any knowledge. One extreme example was a mother who brought in her small son. Upon examining the

⁶Dr. William Harrison opened his office in Lansing in the spring of 1946, on the West side of Lansing.

child the doctor found that she had tied a bag of herbs around his neck to keep him from having colds and catching diseases from other people. She said that her mother and gradmother had always made the children wear them.

The doctor cited many cases centered around both food and medical practices of these people. He repeatedly brought out that there was great need for social education for these people. There should be more social work practiced and more home economics education, not only among the Negroes but also the Mexicans and whites who had migrated from the South. The doctor said he would gladly take time to give more information to any educators who could make use of it to help these people.

One woman said that where she came from in rural South Carolina there was no doctor for twenty miles. She had been the midwife for the whole community. She was kept busy going from house to house not only caring for pregnant women but for the whole family. Often she would spend the night until the doctor could get to the home the next day. One interesting experience she related concerned a family in which the father had high blood pressure and had ploughed too hard in the fields that week, the children had colds and the mother was about ready to deliver her baby. The midwife put the father to bed to rest and prescribed epsom salts and cream of tarter for cooling the blood, bed rest and soft cooked foods--no heavy foods. For the children she prescribed horehound tea and 666 tonic.

This woman would sometimes live in the home for two or three days at a time waiting for the mother to deliver her baby. She would spend weeks in a home if she felt needed when there was serious illness. She

had ministered to some of the white families also. Her mother and grandmother had also been excellent midwives. She would normally receive from \$10.00 to \$25.00 for delivering the babies but sometimes she only got \$5.00, because the poorer families could not afford any more than that. The people always paid her \$5.00 as a down payment and when they gathered the crops they paid her in full.

Since she has been in Lansing she has been called to many homes when people were ill. She usually gives them remedies for aches and pains. Since she dislikes the drug stores in the North for not selling some of the medicines, she sends South to have them bought for her

Castor oil was another remedy frequently mentioned by the people questioned. It is used as a cathartic, to soften the skin, oil the skin of new babies, as a hair oil, and two tablespoons in corn whiskey as a cold remedy.

Horehound tea with molasses or honey or sugar was mentioned several times as being used for chronic headaches, stomach pain, hay fever, sinuses and kidney trouble. One woman kept chewing and she said she ate about a box of starch every week. She had started chewing starch when she had indigestion or gas, now she had acquired a taste for it. Corn whiskey and camphor tea sweetened with honey or molasses was mentioned frequently as being used to calm down the nerves or for arthritis.

Another sixty-one year old midwife called herself a home nurse in the rural South. She said she served as the medical adviser in her community, and had advised hundreds of people how to make their own medicine from roots from the earth, although some had to be bought from the drug store. Quinine was one of the medicines that she kept in her

nursing bag because people knocked at her door anytime of the day or night when members of their family became ill. Many times she would go with them, sometimes ten or twelve miles in a horse and buggy or wagon. In the spring of the year the majority of illnesses were malarial fever and the winter time brought on colds and flu. She used quinine from the druggist in large quantities. She uses five grain capsules, which she refilled herself when the capsules gave out. She would make quinine balls and roll them in white flour and a little sugar for children and adults. The children would usually take them without a fuss. Teas made from wild cherry bark or heart leaf, horehound, and pine needles are excellent for pain and fever as well as colds and flu. "666" can be used for colds and malarial fever, but its price is much higher than quinine. In the case of a chest cold, peach leaves were made into a poultice along with a mixture of flax seeds, mustard and a little corn meal. This mixture was put in a woolen cloth and used to cover the chest. This midwife said she had advised many families since she had been in Lansing. Although the women have their babies in the hospitals, they often call her if they don't get along well after they are home. She usually returns to Georgia for two or three months every year and stays longer if she is needed. Last year the medical doctor sent for her since nine babies were due and the doctor had been ill. He felt that he needed a midwife on call in the rural community which was twenty-one miles from the town. This time she stayed for six months. She brought home a large supply of all kinds of herbs for teas. She had been dividing them with people and keeping some for her own use. Among the things she mentioned were: paregoric (the druggist in Lansing

requires a prescription from a M.D.), resin from pine trees, horehound roots, large quantities of quinine, elderberry wine, sassafrass and camphor, also potash for rheumatism.

This woman spoke several times of biliousness and did say that if dizziness in the head continued she called a doctor. Biliousness and dizziness in the head were often mentioned by informants concerning the use of quinine or 666.

One informant was smoking at the time of the interview. She mentioned she had had a toothache for the past two days. She was holding tobacco smoke on her tooth and had put some of the tobacco into the cavity. This is what her parents and many others had done for toothaches back home (Tennessee).

Resin pills from the pine tree was another frequent cure or help for toothache, another was an asafetida ball, a small piece of asafetida pushed into a cavity. This woman had grown up in the hills of Tennessee where her grandmother had been a midwife and always carried a black bag full of all the remedies used in the hills. Some of these were herbs for making teas, black pepper, mint, horehound for aching backs and aching muscles; epsom salts, black root for constipation; lemon and corn whiskey for flu; baking soda for the stomach; and cream of tarter, black molasses and honey for the blood. They could not get a doctor at all times and never at night. Her grandmother had to spend nights when someone was very ill. The grandmother would put the mother on a soft food diet for a few weeks before the baby arrived. The mothers to be could eat hard food up until about two weeks before the baby was due if they felt well. The soft diet consisted of milk, mush, chicken soup, and other soft foods.

CHAPTER IV

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIALIZATION EXPERIENCES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS TO THE USE OF SOUTHERN FOODS AND MEDICAL REMEDIES

This chapter is devoted to an exploration of the relationship between the reported frequency of use of Southern foods and medical remedies to past socialization experiences and to present socio-economic characteristics. It was reasoned that the more firmly Southern cultural traits (including foods and remedies) were internalized prior to migration, the greater would be the reported use of Southern foods and remedies in the urban North. It was also reasoned that the higher the position attained in the North, the more rapidly would Negroes be able to drop Southern traits and to adopt the patterns of life in the city.

The two general hypotheses explored in this chapter, therefore, are as follows:

- General Hypothesis 1 -- The more complete the contact with and socialization in the rural South, the higher will be the survival of food and medical practices.
- General Hypothesis 2 -- The higher the socio-economic level, the lower will be the survival of Southern food and medical practices.

Measures of Previous Residence and Socialization

1. <u>State in which Mother Grew Up</u>.-In keeping with the general hypothesis, it is expected that mothers who grew up in the deep South

would impart more permanently and effectively Southern food and medical patterns than mothers who grew up elsewhere. It was assumed that an environment which was remote, isolated, and homogeneous racially would be more effective than other environments in the transmission of cultural patterns. Mothers who grew up in such Southern states as Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia were grouped and referred to as "Deep South"; those who grew up in such Southern states as Tennessee, Kentucky and Oklahoma were grouped in "Border States"; and those who grew up in all non-Southern states were grouped as "Other States".

The hypothesis regarding the mother's origin as related to the informant's use of foods and remedies may be stated as follows: The frequency of use of Southern foods and medical remedies will be greatest when mothers grew up in the Deep South, lesser when mothers grew up in the Border South, and least when mothers grew up outside the South.

Table I provides the evidence relating to this hypothesis (for original data see Appendix II). Only 24 of the informant's mothers grew up outside the South, while 127 grew up in the South. Of the 127 mothers growing up in the South, 93 grew up in the Deep South and 34 grew up in the Border South. The distribution shown in this table supports our hypothesis. A higher percentage of informants whose mothers grew up in the Deep South make use of the Southern foods and medical remedies "often" and "occasionally", and fewer never use them than did those whose mothers came from the Border South. Those who said that their mothers came from the Border South use the foods and medicines more often than those whose mothers came from "Other States". Conversely a higher percentage of the informants whose mothers came from "Other

Informant's Mother	10+0 10+0	ر نا	A11 18	B Foods*	ß	All	21 Medic	al Remedic	* * * * *
	Number OF Resp.	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	% Never	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- 10 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	% Never
Total	151	100.0	68.3	22.1	9•6	100.0	68.6	23.5	7.7
Deep South	93	100.0	85.6	14.1	0.3	100.0	84.5	14.4	1.1
Border South	34	100.0	66.2	29.5	4.3	100.0	71.4	18.9	9.7
Other States	24	100.0	3.7	42.6	53.7	100.0	4.2	65.3	30.5

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Informant	Grew Up.
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Table I.	

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*Chi-square significant at the .01 level. **Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

States" never use the Southern foods and remedies than do the informants whose mothers came from the "Border States", and a higher percentage of those from the Border South never use the Southern foods and remedies than those whose mothers came from the "Deep South". The differences between the three groups are very large, in the expected direction, and significant at the .01 level.

2. <u>Place of Origin of the Informant</u>. - In keeping with the general hypothesis, it is expected that informants who grew up in the "Deep South" would have the Southern food and medical habits more firmly imbedded than would informants who grew up elsewhere. The reasoning here parallels that of the previous measure, namely, area in which mother grew up.

The hypothesis regarding the place of origin of the informant as related to the use of Southern foods and remedies may be stated as follows: The frequency of use of Southern foods and medical remedies will be greatest among the informants who grew up in the "Deep South", lesser when they grew up in the "Border South", and least when they grew up in "Other States".

Table II provides the evidence relating to this hypothesis. Of the informants 36 grew up outside the South, 27 grew up in the "Border South" and the largest group,88, grew up in the "Deep South". The results shown in this table agree with the hypothesis. For example, the data show that a higher percentage of informants from the "Deep South" used Southern foods and remedies "often" than did the informants from the "Border South"; also that a higher percentage of those from the "Border South" used Southern foods and remedies "often" than did those

Origin of Informant Where Attended	Total	R. C.	A11 18	Foods* of lise in	Pa	A11 Fr	21 Medic	al Remedic of Use in	** S &
Grade School	Number of Resp.	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never
Total	151	100.00	68.2	22.1	7.9	100.0	68.8	23.5	7.7
Deep South	88	100.0	85.1	14.7	0.2	100.0	84.8	15.1	0.1
Border South	27	100.0	75.6	23.4	1.0	100.0	78.5	16.5	5•0
Other States	36	100.0	21.5	39.2	39.3	100.0	22.4	49.2	28.4

*Chi-square significant at the..01 level.

**Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to the Place of Origin of the Informant. Table II.

from the "Other States". The data in Table II also show that a higher percentage of informants from "Other States" never used Southern foods and remedies than those from the "Border South". Those from the "Border South" showed a higher percentage of not using the foods and medicines than those coming from the "Deep South".

The distribution shown in Table II, both food use and medical remedy use, are significantly different and in the anticipated direction. Hence, we conclude that use of Southern foods and medical remedies is closely related to the area in which informants attended grade school.

3. Informant's Place of Residence when Attending Grade School.-It is expected that informants who resided in the farm areas of the South when attending Grade School would be more deeply instilled with the use of Southern foods and medical remedies than those who resided in the city, either in the South or elsewhere. Many of the foods and remedies represent a response to a rural rather than urban economy. Hence it is expected that those residing in rural areas will preserve food and medical practices in larger proportions.

The great majority of the informants resided in the Farm-South when attending Grade School. Out of 151 informants, 130 resided in the Farm-South when attending Grade School, only 9 in a city in the South, and 12 in a city outside of the South.

The hypothesis regarding the informant's place of residence when attending Grade School as related to the use of Southern foods and remedies may be stated as follows: The frequency of use of Southern foods and medical remedies will be greatest among the informants who resided in the "Farm-South" while attending Grade School, lesser when they resided in the "City-South" while attending Grade School. and least when they resided in a "City-Outside the South" when attending Grade School.

Table III indicates that this hypothesis is correct. The table indicates that a higher percentage of the informants who resided in the farm areas of the South when attending Grade School use the Southern foods and remedies "often" than those who resided in the "City-South". Those who resided in a city in the South, in turn, gave a higher proportion of "often" responses to the use of Southern foods and medical remedies than did the informants who resided in a city outside of the South when attending Grade School.

The group of informants who attended grade school in the farm regions of the South indicated that they made use of all the foods and remedies mentioned as there were no "never" answers in either category. As would be expected the group which attended grade school outside the South had a very high "never" response rate.

Thus, since differences shown in Table III are very large, in the anticipated **d**irection, and are statistically significant, we conclude that present use of Southern foods and remedies is related to the kind of area in which informants attended Grade School.

4. <u>Informant's Place of Residence when Attending High School</u>.-In keeping with the general hypothesis, it is expected that informants who resided in the farm areas of the South (same as Grade School) when attending High School would be more apt to use the Southern foods and medical remedies than those who resided elsewhere when attending High School. It is also expected that those who moved between Grade School

Informant's Place of Residence	Tota1	F1	A11 18 requency	8 Foods of Use in	P6	A11 Fr	21 Medic equency	al Remedio of Use in	** **
When Attending Grade School	Number of Resp.	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never
Total	151	100.0	68.2	22.1	9.7	100.0	68.8	23.5	7.7
Farm-South	130	100.0	75.5	24.5	0.0	100.0	76.5	23.5	0.0
City-South	6	100.0	48.4	0•7	1,11.6	100.0	140 • 0	32.4	27.6
Ci ty-Outside South	12	100.0	۳. س	7.0	89.7	100.0	4.9	16.7	78.4

Table III. Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation

'n 5 ** Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

and High School would use the Southern foods and medical remedies the least. We assume that the influence of secondary education is weakened when residence is a rural environment. We also assume that it is maximized if it occurs in the city, especially if a residence move is involved.

Of the 86 informants who attended High School 55 resided in the Rural South-same as grade school-when attending High School; 18 resided in the City-South when attending High School; and 13 resided in the city (different from grade school) when attending High School.

The hypothesis regarding the informant's place of residence when attending High School as related to the use of Southern foods and remedies may be stated as follows: The frequency of use of Southern foods and medical remedies will be greatest among the informants who resided in the "Farm-South-same as Grade School" when attending High School; lesser when they resided in the "City South-same as Grade School" when attending High School; and least when they resided in the "City-Different from Grade School" when attending High School.

The data found in Table IV support this hypothesis. The highest percentage of "often" answers was given by the group which resided in the Farm South when attending both grade and High School; the smallest percentage of "often" answers was given by the group which resided in a city different from where they had attended Grade School when attending High School. In the responses for both the use of foods and medicines, the group which attended both Grade and High School in the farm South gave no "never" responses. There were a high percentage of "never" responses from the group which had attended High School in a city different from where they had attended School.

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Informant's Place of Residence	Tota1	FI	A11 16 equency	} Foods of Use in	₽€	A11 Fr	21 Medic equency	al Remedic of Use in	* *
When Attending High School	Number of Resp.	Total Resp.	Often	Oc cas- ionally	Never	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never
Tota1	86	100.0	52.6	31.3	16.1	100.0	52.2	34.8	13.0
Farm South- Same as Grade S	chool 55	100.0	70.2	29.8	0.0	100.0	20•3	29.7	0.0
City South- Same as Grade S	chool 18	100.0	33 . 8	53.1	13.7	100.0	31.1	55 •3	13.6
City-Different from Grade Scho	01 13	100.0	3.9	7.7	88.4	100.0	4.4	27.8	67.8
*									

Freemiency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to Table IV.

Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

**Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

As can be seen from Table IV, large differences exist in the frequency of use of Southern foods and remedies between the three groups. The responses between the three groups for both foods and medical remedies were significantly different at the .01 level. While the evidence supports the hypothesis as stated, the extremely large percentage reporting no use of the foods and remedies in the group which had moved between Grade and High School was not anticipated.

5. <u>Number of Years Informant Lived in the South</u>.- It is expected that informants who had lived a greater number of years in the South would be more highly indoctrinated with the use of Southern foods and medicines than those who had lived a comparatively short time in the South. The actual number of years informants lived in the South is used in this instance.

Of the 151 informants, 39 had lived in the South for 30 years or more, 50 had lived in the South between 20 and 29 years, 39 had lived in the South 10 to 19 years, and 5 had lived in the South 9 years or less.

The hypothesis regarding the number of years the informant had lived in the South as related to the frequency of use of Southern food and medical remedies may be stated as follows: The longer the informants had lived in the South the greater would be their use of Southern foods and medical remedies.

Table V contains data which, in general, confirm the hypothesis as stated. (For original uncondensed data see Appendix II.) The frequent users of Southern foods and remedies increases with length of time in the South, except for the group which spent 30 years or more in the South.

Informant Lived In The South	Total	FI	A11 16 equency	8 Foods of Use in	P6	A11 Fr	21 Medic equency	al Remedic of Use in	** ** %
No. of Years	Number of Resp.	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never
Total	143	100.0	68.2	22.1	9.7	100.0	68.8	23.5	7.7
6 - 0	м	100.0	9.1	26.1	64.8	100.0	3.9	23.3	72.8
10 - 19	39	100.0	49.6	42.4	8.0	100.0	55.2	41.3	ۍ ۳
20 - 29	60	100.0	82.5	16.1	1.4	100.0	79.8	19.4	0.8
30 and over	39	100.0	71.6	12.5	15.9	100.0	72.7	13.9	13.4

Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation Table V.

*Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

**Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

The percentage of "often" responses for the group which lived in the South 30 years or more is substantially below that of the 20 - 29 year group. A possible explanation of this discrepancy could be the following: The group which resided 30 years or more in the South would include most of the older people of the sample. Quite a few of this older age group are suffering from disabilities such as, heart disease, diabeties, etc., and have been placed on very strict diets and medical prescriptions by their doctors. In these cases a great number of the typically Southern foods and remedies would be forbidden to them.¹

The differences between the groups in frequency of use of Southern foods and remedies, when grouped by number of years respondents lived in the South, are large and statistically significant. The direction, as predicted in the hypothesis, holds true except for those residing the greatest number of years in the South.

6. <u>Proportion of Informant's Life spent in the South</u>.- This measure related to the previous one, represents an attempt to control for age. It is expected that informants who have lived a large proportion of their lives in the South would make greater use of the Southern foods and medical remedies than those who have lived a smaller proportion of their lives in the South.

Of the 143 informants responding to this question, 38 had lived over three-fourths of their lives in the South, 82 had lived one-half to three-fourths of their lives in the South, and 23 had lived less than one-half of their lives in the South.

¹Interview with Dr. William H. Harrison, Negro doctor in Lansing, Michigan.

The hypothesis regarding the proportion of the informant's life spent in the South in relation to the frequency of use of Southern foods and medical remedies may be stated as follows: The greater the proportion of the informant's life which was spent in the South, the greater will be the use of Southern foods and medical remedies.

Table VI supports the hypothesis with respect to use of Southern foods and medical remedies, and proportion of life spent in the South. Those informants who had lived more than one-half of their lives in the South showed a greater use of the Southern foods and remedies than those who had lived less than one-half of their lives in the South. Those who had lived over three-fourths of their lives in the South use the foods and remedies more than those who had lived one-half to threefourths of their lives in the South.

The data from Table VI support our hypothesis that frequency of use of Southern foods and remedies is directly related to the proportion of life spent in the South. The distributions are significantly different at the .01 level.

7. <u>Number of Years in Lansing</u>.- It is expected that informants who have lived a longer time in Lansing would have grown away from the Southern traditions and thus would make less use of the Southern foods and medical remedies than those informants who had arrived in Lansing more recently. It should be remembered, however, that a large majority of Negroes have lived in Lansing a relatively short time.

Of the 151 informants, 34 had lived in Lansing 15 years or more, 51 had lived in Lansing 10 to 14 years, 46 had lived in Lansing 5 to 9 years, and 20 had lived in Lansing 4 years or less.

Proportion of			A11 18	Foods*		A11	21 Medic	al Remedie	** 53
Informant's Life	Tota1	Fr	equency	of Use in	%	Fr	equency	of Use in	R
in the South	Number of Resp.	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never
Total	143	100.0	71.9	23.0	5.1	100.0	72.4	23.8	3.8
Less than one-half	23	100.0	51.5	34.2	14.5	100.0	60.6	26.3	13.1
One-half to three-fourths	82	100.0	74.6	21.3	4.1	100.0	68.8	28.75	2.4
Three-fourths to all	38	100.0	78.4	19.8	1.8	100.0	87.3	11.7	1.0

Fremiency of lise by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation Tahle W.

*Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

** Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

The hypothesis regarding the length of time the informant had lived in Lansing in relation to the frequency of use of Southern foods and remedies may be stated as follows: The longer the informants have lived in Lansing the less use they will make of Southern foods and medical remedies.

The data shown in Table VII substantiate our hypothesis: frequency of use of Southern foods and remedies is inversely related to the length of time informants resided in Lansing. While frequency of use dropped with each successive "length of time in Lansing" groups, the greatest difference is between those residing 10 to 14 years and 15 years or more. Statistical tests on both parts of Table VII were significant at the .01 level. Thus, the differences predicted in our hypothesis were supported.

8. <u>Number of Residence Changes Since 1940</u>.- It was reasoned that those informants who had experienced many residency moves would come in contact with more outside forces and thus would tend to draw away from the traditions of the South. Informants were placed in categories in accord with the number of residence changes made since 1940.

Of the 151 informants, 29 had made four or more moves since 1940; 38 had made three moves; 70 had made two moves and 14 had made only one move.

The hypothesis regarding the number of residence changes since 1940 in relation to the frequency of use of Southern foods and remedies may be stated as follows: The more changes in residence the lesser will be the use made of the Southern foods and remedies.

Number of Years in Lansing	Tota1	F F	A11 18 equency) Foods of Use in	₽¢	A11 Fr	21 Medic equency	al Remedio of Use in	× *
1	Number of Resp.	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never
Total	151	100.0	68.2	22.1	7.9	100.0	68.8	23.5	7.7
0 - 14	20	100.0	91.1	8.1	0.8	100.0	91.4	6.9	1.7
5 - 9	· 146	100.0	87.4	9.3	3•3	100.0	.87.9	9.1	3•0
10 –14	51	100.0	69.5	24.6	5 . 9	100.0	70.5	23.0	6 • J
15 and over	34	100.0	26.9	43.8	29.3	100.0	27.0	53.6	19.4

*Chi-square significant at the .01 level. **Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

The data bearing upon this hypothesis, shown in Table VIII (for uncondensed data see Appendix II), lend support to the predicted inverse relationship between number of residence changes and use of Southern foods and medical remedies. To state somewhat differently: The group making only one residence change had the highest percentage of "often" responses and the smallest percentage of "never" responses; the group making four or more residence changes had the smallest percentage of "often" responses and the highest percentage of "never" responses.

Statistical tests of significance indicated that the distributions were not due to chance. Therefore, the inverse relationship predicted in the hypothesis is supported.

Measures of Socio-Economic Level

This part of the chapter is devoted to the socio-economic variables, those measures concerned with income level, education, and other characteristics which reveal life style. The data presented in this portion of the chapter are related to the second general hypothesis: The higher the soico-economic level, the lower will be the survival of Southern food and medical practices.

1. <u>Informant's Age</u>.- In keeping with this general hypothesis, it is expected that the older the informant the more contact she will have had with the traditional foods and medicines of the South and, therefore, she would more likely make use of them in her daily life. The younger informants would be more susceptible to new ideas and change than the older ones so would likely make lesser use of the Southern

to t	he Number of	kesidence	: Change:	s Since 191	• <u>•</u>				
Residence Changes Since 1940	Total	1 1 1	A11 16	3 Foods* of Use in	₽6	A11 Fr	21 Medic equency	al Remedie of Use in	* *
	Number of Resp.	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never
Tota1	151	100.0	68.2	22.1	7•2	, 100.0	68.8	23.5	7.7
One	14	100.0	94.8	у . 2	0.0	100.0	92.5	6. 5	1.0
Two	02	100.0	73.4	18.5	8.9	100.0	81.4	16.8	1.8
Three	38	100.0	70.5	24.5	с . Г	100.0	70.4	25.5	4.1
Four or more	29	100.0	40.1	36.0	23.9	100.0	24.7	45.4	29.9
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significant
*Chi-square

** Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

foods and medicines.

The hypothesis regarding the informant's age in relation to the frequency of use of Southern foods and medical remedies may be stated as follows: The older the informant, the more use will be made of Southern foods and medical remedies.

Table IX shows that the informants are predominantly younger adults, doubtless a reflection of the characteristic youthfulness of migrants. Out of 151 informants, 103 were between 25 and 44 years of age. Only 13 were between 20 and 24 and 35 were 45 years old and over. Table IX supports our hypothesis in that the age group of 45 and older has a much greater percentage of "often" answers and a lower percentage of "never" answers than the other groups. Conversely the 20 to 24 age group had the greatest percentage of "never" answers and the smallest percentage of "often" answers as would be expected from the hypothesis.

2. <u>Highest Grade Completed by the Informant</u>. - In keeping with the general hypothesis, it is expected that the more education the informant possesses the more she would be open to new ideas and new trends. Thus it would be expected that the more educated the infromant the less she would use the Southern foods and medicines.

The hypothesis regarding the informant's education in relation to the frequency of use of Southern foods and medical remedies may be stated as follows: The higher the level of schooling, the smaller will be the use made of Southern foods and medical remedies.

Table X shows that of the 151 informants, 37 had completed the 6th grade or less, 50 had completed the 7th, 8th or 9th grade, 57 had completed the 10th, 11th, or 12th grade, and only 7 had attended college.

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of Use by Informant c	formant's Age
Frequency	to the In
Table IX.	

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	Total	Fr	A11 18 equency) Foods of Use in	R	A11 Fr	21 Medic equency	al Remedic of Use in	*** **
Informant's Age	Number of Resp.	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never
Total	151	100.0	68.2	22.1	9•7	100.0	68.8	23.5	7.7
20 - 24	13	100.0	1/+.1	62.0	23.9	100.0	22.7	0 • 44	33.3
25 - 34	47	100.0	47.6	35.2	17.2	100.0	46.9	40.6	12.5
35 - 44	56	100.0	84.2	11.0	4.8	100.0	84.6	12.9	2. 5
45 and over	35	100.0	90.7	7.2	2.1	100.0	90.0	9.8	0.2

*Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

**Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

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completed by	Total	F	A11 16 requency	} Foods* of Use in	<i>P6</i>	A11 Fr	21 Medic	al Remedie of Use in	* * *
Informant	Number of Resp.	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never
Total	151	100.0	68.2	22.1	7.9	100.0	68 . 8	23.5	7.7
6th or less	37	100.0	82.3	17.5	0.2	100.0	87.9	11.9	0.2
7th,8th,and 9t	.ћ 50	100.0	74.7	22.4	2.9	100.0	75.1	22.3	2.6
10th,11th, and	1 12th 57	100.0	60.2	24.9	14.7	100.0	58.3	31.1	11.6
College	7	100.0	13.5	20.6	65.9	100.0	8.2	31.3	60.5
10th,11th, and College	1 12th 57 7	100.0 100.0	60.2 13.5	24.9 20.6	14.7 65.9	100.0	58 . 3		31.1 31.3

** Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

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Table X. Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation

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The data contained in this table support our hypothesis of an inverse relation between educational level and use of Southern foods and remedies. The percentage of "often" responses decreases as the amount of education increases and the number of "never" responses increases as the amount of education increases. The Chi-square test results on the two distributions are significant at the .01 level. Thus it would seem that education has a definite bearing upon the informant's use of the Southern foods and remedies.

3. <u>Employment Status of the Informant</u>.- It is assumed that those informants who are gainfully employed would have more contacts with the urban ways of life through factory lunch programs and etc., than those not employed so that they would tend to change more readily from the traditions of Southern foods and medicines. The groupings of informants include three, namely, "Employed", "Never Employed", and "Not Now Employed".

The hypothesis regarding the employment status of the informant in relation to the frequency of use of Southern foods and remedies may be stated as follows: Employment is associated with low frequency of use of Southern foods and remedies. That is, those who are now employed will make the least use of the Southern foods and remedies, those not now employed will make greater use; and those who have never been employed will make the greatest use.

The data in Table XI indicate that this hypothesis is correct only in part. The data indicate that those who are now employed make the least use of the Southern foods and remedies as evidenced by the low percentage of "often" responses. The informants who were never employed,

Informant's Employment	Tota1	μ. Γ	A11 16	Foods Foods	Ba	A11 Fr	21 Medic	al Remedic	** S B
Status	Number of Resp.	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never
Total	151	100.0	68.2	22.1	7.9	100.0	68.8	23.5	7.7
Employed	57	100.0	40.0	50.1	9.9	100.0	44.44	45.3	10.3
Never Emp loye d i.e. since 1940	18	100.0	79.3	9.9	10.8	100.0	75.1	12.7	12.2
Not now Employed	76	100.0	86.8	3.9	9.3	100.0	85.6	9.7	4.7

Fremiency of lise by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation Tahle XT

**Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

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however, make more sue of the Southern foods and remedies than the employed group, but lesser usage than the "Not now Employed" group. The highest usage of the Southern foods and remedies was found in the group of informants not now employed. This could be explained by the fact that the group which is not now employed are those in the lower wage bracket who were laid off after the war and never rehired. Those in the group which have never been employed may consist largely of wives of men who hold good jobs and it has not been necessary for them to work, or their husband's held two jobs to make sufficient income so that it was not necessary for them to work. Thus they had more time to read, watch television, or were more highly educated in the first place and changed more rapidly to urban ways. This shows up in that this "Never Employed" group had a higher percentage of "never" responses in regard to both foods and medicines than did the employed group.

Both distributions are statistically significant when subjected to the Chi-square test. While the prediction of the hypothesis is supported for the employed versus non-employed, it failed to predict the level of usage as between the "Never Employed" and the "Not now Employed".

4. <u>Husband's Occupation</u>. - The general hypothesis predicts an inverse relationship between occupation level and frequency of use of Southern foods and remedies. It is expected, therefore, that those informants whose husband's were more successfully employed would have more contacts with other urban people, and more money to spend in experimenting with new foods and money for regular medical care.

The hypothesis regarding the occupation of the informant's husband in relation to the frequency of use of Southern foods and medicines

may be stated as follows: The higher the level of the husband's employment the less use would be made of Southern foods and remedies.

The occupational range of urban Negroes, of course, is not great. Only seven informants reported their husbands to be in the professional, technical and self-employed group. Eighty-five were grouped as "Manualskilled", and 47 as "Manual-unskilled". The remainder, or 12, were "Unemployed".

Table XII contains data which indicate that our hypothesis is correct. The highest percentage of "often" answers were from the group in which the husbands were unemployed and the lowest percentage of "often" answers were from the group in which the husbands were professional, technical, or self-employed. The two levels of manual occupations and the unemployed groups are relatively close in their use of Southern foods and remedies. The big difference is between the professional, technical and self-employed as compared with all others.

Hence, we conclude that the survival of Southern foods and remedies is closely associated with the occupational level of the husband. This conclusion is supported by the tests of significance.

5. <u>Highest Grade Completed by the Husband</u>.- It is predicted that those informants whose husband's had more education would be more apt to adjust rapidly to the urban ways and hence would make less use of the Southern foods and remedies. Of the 134 husbands for which there is information, 54 had 6 grades or less, 38 had 7, 8 or 9 grades, 37 had 10, 11 or 12 grades, and only 5 had some college education.

The hypothesis regarding the education of the informant's husband in relation to the frequency of use of Southern foods and remedies may

Table XII.	Frequency (to the Hu s)	of Use by band's Oc	r Informau scupation	nt of 18	Selected	Foods ar	ld 21 Med	ical Rem	edies in F	le la ti on
Husband's Occupation	Tot	al	Fr	A11 18 aquency	Foods* of Use in	₽%	A11 Fr	21 Medic equency	al Remedie of Use in	* *
1	Num of 1	ber Resp.	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	Tota1 Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never
Total		151	100.0	68.2	22.1	7.6	100.0	68.8	23.5	7.7
Professi Technica Self-emp	onal, 1 and 10yed	2	100.0	11.3	29.8	58.9	100.0	9 . 6	34.2	56.2
Manual (skilled)	85	100.0	63.0	27.5	9.5	100.0	64.9	30.7	4.4
Manual (1	unskilled)	47	100.0	80.5	14.3	5. N	100.0	79.5	12.2	8.3
Unemp1oy(¢đ	12	100.0	90.7	9.3	0.0	100.0	88.4	10.8	0.8
* Chi-	square sign	ificant a	it the .0	1 level.						

**Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

be stated as follows: The more education acquired by the informant's husband the less use will be made of Southern foods and remedies.

In regards to the use of Southern foods the data in Table XIII support our hypothesis. The highest percentage of "often" answers was given by the group whose husbands had the least education, and as the amount of education increased the percentage of "often" responses decreased. Conversely, the highest percentage of "never" responses was received from the group whose husband's had a College education, and the lowest percentage of "never" answers was received from the group whose husband's had the least education.

An interesting inconsistency exists with respect to medical remedies. The use of Southern medical remedies, percentage wise, was greater among the group whose husbands had a College education than among the group whose husbands had completed the 10th, 11th, or 12th grade. This could possibly be accounted for by the small number of informants in the College level group. Another explanation could be that although the husband is well educated the wife might not be and she would be treating the family for illness while the husband was away at work so that he would have little influence upon the type of treatment. Also according to Dr. William Harrison, a Negro physician in Lansing, this group uses these remedies but often consults the doctor to see if it is all right to use them at the time. Another factor of importance is that this group contains some of the most recent migrants to the North. The laboring group came to the North during the war while the more educated group came to Lansing as school teachers etc. after a need for them was established in the school system, and more advanced employment was open to Negroes.

lable XLLL. Frequency to the High	of Use b gh es t Gra	y Informi de Comple	ant of 1 sted by	0 Selected the Husbar	i roods a id.	nd 21 Me	dical Ke	medies in	Kelation
Highest Grade Completed by T	ota1	Fr	All 18 squency	Foods* of Use in	26	A11 Fre	21 Medic equency	al Remedie of Use in	* \$? \$~
Husband N.	umber f Resp.	Total Resp.	Often	Occa s- ionally	Never	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never
Total	134	100.0	68.3	21.7	10.0	100.0	71.1	23.8	5.1
6th or less	54	100.0	86.3	12.3	1.4	100.0	84.0	16.0	0.0
7th,8th, and 9th	38	100.0	78.1	17.3	4.6	100.0	73.8	24.7	1.5
10th,11th, and 12th	37	100.0	45.6	34.5	19.9	100.0	54.4	30.4	15.2
College	ъ	100.0	4.4	140 . 0	55.6	100.0	64.7	34.2	1.1

*Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

** Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

The distributions in both sections of Table XIII are statistically significant and not due to chance. While the use of Southern foods in relation to the husband's schooling was correctly predicted in the hypothesis, the use of Southern medical remedies was not predicted as between the High School and College group.

6. <u>Husband's Monthly Pay</u>.- In keeping with the general hypothesis, it is expected that those informants whose husbands make little money would tend to adhere to the traditional foods and remedies with which they are most familiar; they cannot afford to experiment with the more costly urban ways. Those whose husband's make more money would probably be among the more highly educated group and having the money available would be more willing to experiment with new foods and would be more apt to consult a physician in case of illness.

Considering the narrow occupational distribution reported earlier, it is not surprising that most of the husbands fall into the \$301 to \$400 class. Only 19 received less and 13 received more.

The hypothesis regarding the amount of the informant's husband's monthly pay in relation to the frequency of use of Southern foods and remedies may be stated as follows: The use of Southern foods and medical remedies will be inversely related to the amount of the husband' income, or the higher the husband's income the lesser will be the use made of the Southern foods and remedies.

Table XIV contains data which agree with the hypothesis as stated. The greatest percentage of "often" responses was given by the group with the lowest income and the smallest percentage of "often" answers was given by the group with the largest income. Also the group with

taute tve trequent	usband's Mor	thly Pay		Determent		TDAL TZ T	ALLA LALLA	n in setu	11017
The Husband's Monthly Pay	Total	Fr	A11 18 equency	} Foods of Use in	R	A11 Fr	21 Medic equency	al Remedie of Use in	* s &
	Number of Resp.	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never
Total	139	100.0	66.6	23.3	10.1	100.0	67.4	24.7	7.9
0 - 300	19	100.0	81.4	15.1	ы С	100.0	76.3	21.4	2.3
301 - 400	107	100.0	71.0	22.7	6.3	100.0	72.9	23.3	3. 8
401 and over	13	100.0	9•0	39.9	51.1	100.0	9 . 7	10.7	49.8

Fremionar of lise by Informant of 18 Colorted Foods and 21 Medical Demodies in Delation Table IV.

*Chi-square significant at the .01 level. ** Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

the lowest income and the smallest percentage of "often" answers was given by the group with the largest income. Also the group with the highest income gave the greatest percentage of "never" answers and the group with the lowest income gave the lowest percentage of "never" answers. It is interesting to note that there was not too great a percentage difference in the behavior of the two lower income groups (0-300 and 301-400). There was a large percentage drop, however, in the "often" responses by the group making \$401 or more and a great increase in the percentage of "never" responses.

Therefore, we conclude that the use of Southern foods and remedies is inversely related to husband's income level. This conclusion is in conformity with the prediction of the hypothesis and is supported by significant Chi-square values.

7. Monthly Payments on Mortgage or for Rent.- It is expected that those informants who pay more for housing will be higher on the socioeconomic scale, more urbanized, and less influenced by Southern culture than the group paying less for housing. Rentals fall with an extremely narrow range. Out of a total of 136, 40 reported rentals of \$60 or less, 85 reported rentals of \$61 to \$90, and only 11 reported rentals of \$91 and over.

The hypothesis regarding the amount of the monthly payments for mortgage or rent in relation to the frequency of use of Southern foods and medical remedies may be stated as follows: The use of Southern foods and remedies will be inversely related to the amount of rent or mortgage payments, or the higher the monthly payments the lower will be the use of Southern foods and remedies.

The data in Table XV support this hypothesis. The percentage of "often" answers was greatest for the group paying the least rent or mortgage payments and least for those paying the most forment or mortgage. Also the highest percentage of "never" answers was given by the group having the highest rent or mortgage payments and the lowest percentage of "never" answers was given by the group making the lowest payments. As in the previous table the difference in percentage between the two lower groups was much less than between the middle group and the group paying the most in mortgage or rental payments.

Thus, the frequency of use of Southern foods and remedies is inversely related to the amount paid in rent or on a mortgage. The Chisquare values are significant for both parts of the table.

Summary

Table XVI provides a summary of the previous residence and socialization measures and the present socio-economic measures as related to the frequency of use of Southern foods and medical remedies on the part of urban Negroes. The weight of the evidence is overwhelming that past residence and socialization are important in explaining the survival of Southern foods and medical remedies on the part of urban Negroes. Similarly, the socio-economic level at present is important in explaining the survival of Southern foods and medical remedies. Table XVI serves to summarize the direction of findings in relation to the hypothesis concerning each measure. Only in five instances does some minor revision of the hypotheses seem to be warranted.

Monthly Payments on Mortgage or	Tota1	F	A11 16 equency	} Foods of Use in;	Po	A11 Fr	21 Medic equency	al Remedie of Use in	* * *
for Rent	Number of Resp.	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	Total Resp.	Often	Occas- ionally	Never
Tota1	136	100.0	65.7	23.9	10.4	100.0	67.3	24.3	8.4
60 or under	70	100.0	82.9	15.7	1.4	100.0	84.2	14.7	1.1
61 - 90	85	100.0	62.5	28.1	9.4	100.0	65.8	24.4	9.8
91 and over	11	100.0	27.1	21.4	51.5	100.0	17.4	58.4	24.2

Fremency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation Table XV.

*Uni-square significant at the .UI revel.

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** Chi-square significant at the .01 level.

			Direction of	Fi	ndings
]	Foods		Remedies
Mea Res (Ge	sures Related to Nature of Previous sidence and Socialization Experiences eneral Hypothesis 1)				
1.	State in Which Mother Grew Up	As	hypothesized	As	hypothesize
2.	State in Which Informant Attended Grade School	As	hypothesized	As	hypothesize
3.	Rural-Urban Residence of Informant when Attending Grade School	As	hypothesized	As	hypothesi <i>z</i> e
4.	Rural-Urban Residence of Informant when Ate nding High School	As	hypothesized	As	hypothesize
5.	Number of Years Informant Lived in the South	as	Partly hypothesized	as	Partly hypothesize
6.	Proportion of Informant's Life in the South	As	hypoth esize d	As	hypothesize
7.	Number of years Informant Lived in Lansing	As	hypothesized	As	hypothe s ize
8.	Number of Residence Changes Since 1940	As	hypothesized	As	hypothesize
Mea of	sures Related to Socio-Economic Chara Informant (General Hypothesis 2)	acto	eristics		
1.	Stage of Life Cycle(Informant's age)	As	hypothesized	As	hypothesize
2.	Highest grade completed by Informant	As	hypothesized	As	hypothesize
3.	Employment Status of Informant	as	Partly hypothesized	as	Partly hypothesize
4.	Husband's Occupation	As	hypothesized	As	hypothesize
5.	Highest Grade Completed by Husband	As	hypoth esi zed	as	Part1y hypothesize
6.	Husband's Monthly Pay	As	hypothesized	As	hypothesize
7•	Monthly Payment for Rent or Mortgage	As	hypothesized	As	hypothesize

Table XVI. Summary of the Direction of Findings Concerning Frequency of Use of Southern Foods and Medical Remedies

CHAPTER V

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIALIZATION EXPERIENCES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS TO GENERATIONAL CHANGE IN THE USE OF SOUTHERN FOODS AND MEDICAL REMEDIES

This chapter is devoted to an exploration of generational change in the use of Southern foods and medical remedies. The first section of this chapter reports the frequency of use of the 18 individual foods and 21 individual medical remedies by the informant as well as the informant's estimate of her mother's usage in relation to her own. Differences in the use of foods and remedies, as between the two generations, will be treated in this section. The second section of this chapter explores the forces related to generational change in the use of Southern foods and remedies.

Consistent with the position outlined in Chapter IV, it is reasoned that socialization experiences and socio-economic position are closely related to the rate at which such culturally-rooted phenomena as food and medical practices are dropped. Two general hypotheses, stated in Chapter I, are examined here:

General Hypothesis1 - The more complete the contact with the socialization in the rural South, the less will be the generational change in food and medical practices between the informant and her mother.

General hypothesis 2 - The higher the socio-economic level, the greater will be the generational change in food and medical practices between the informant and her mother.

As in Chpater IV, eight measures of previous residence and socialization experience are used in testing the first hypothesis; seven measures of socio-economic character are used in testing the second hypothesis. A simple ratio, referred to as an "index of generational change", was calculated. This index is the relationship between two sets of responses by the informant. The number of times mothers are reported to use the foods and medicines "more often" than the informant is divided by the number of times the informant reports using those foods and medicines "often" plus "occasionally". If the resulting index is below 1.0, it is interpreted to reflect relatively little generational change; if above 1.0 relatively great generational change.

Use of Individual Foods and Medical Remedies

As indicated in Table XVII, each of the Southern foods is used by a substantial proportion of the informants. Only for five foods (pot likker, souse, perlo, cracklings, and hopping john) did as many as 15 percent of the informants report that they never used them. For only three foods (hoecake, pot likker, and spoon bread) did less than 50 percent of the informants report using them often. More than 80 percent of the informants reported using the following foods often: grits, sweet potatoes, blackeye peas, corn bread, biscuits and turnip greens.

There were only four foods which were reported as not being used by a few of the informant's mothers (cracklin bread, pot likker, cracklings, and souse), and these in very small percentages. In only two instances were foods reported as being used less often by the mother than by the informant (spoon bread and souse), and in each case there was only one response in the column. For only four foods did as

18	
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of	
s Informant	
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in Relatior	
Use	
Informant and Mother's	
by	
Use	s.
of	Food
Frequency	Selected
Table XVII.	

		Frequenc	y of Infc	irmant's	use	Mothe	er's Use	in Relat	cion to 1	nformant	
Southern Foods	Total	Often	Occas- fonally	Never	NA	Tota1	More Often	Less Often	About	Didn ⁱ t [.] Have	NA
		К	8	6	6 %		170 TO	200	8	R	R
Grits	151	87.4	6.6	6. 0	I	151	90.0	1	10.0	1	I
Sweet Potatoes	151	83.4	15.4	0.6	0.6	151	86.0	I	12.7	I	1.3
Blackeye peas	151	90.7	7.4	1.9	1	151	97.3	ı	2.7	I	I
Corn bread	151	87.4	8 . 0	ი. ო	1.3	151	93.4	ı	6 .0	ı	0.5
Biscuits	151	92.7	7.3	ı	ı	151	96.0	ı	4•0	ı	I
Hoecake	151	39.0	55 . 8	4. 6	0.6	151	91.4	1	8.4	ı	0.6
Spoon Bread	151	45.0	41.7	13.J	ı	151	0.06	0.6	9.4	ı	ı
Crack l in bread	151	68.8	15.8	14.8	0.6	151	87.4	ł	10.0	1.3	1.3
Hopping John	151	50.3	33.2	16.5	ı	151	89.4	I	10.6	ı	ı
Perlo	151	61.0	19.9	17.8	1.3	151	82.1	I	17.3	ı	0.6
Potato pudding	151	74.8	16.0	9.2	ı	151	87.4	ı	12.6	ı	I
Pot likker	151	41.0	34.5	24.5	I	151	69.5	I	29.9	0.6	I
Cracklings	151	66.8	14.4	17.8	I	151	91.4	ı	6 •0	1.9	1.3
Chitter1ings	151	64.2	25.2	10.0	0.6	151	64.9	ı	34.5	I	0 •0
Souse	151	52.3	27.2	20 20	I	151	80.1=	0.6	18.7	0.6	1
Hog jow1	151	57.6	31.1	10.0	1.3	151	88 . 0	ı	11.4	ı	0.6
Turnip Greens	151	81.4	15.3	0•0	I	151	89.4	ı	6 •3	ı	1.
Mustard Greens	151	76.8	21.3	1.9	1	151	85.4	I	14.6	1	1
Grand Total	2718	67.9	22.0	9.8	0.3	2718	86.6	0.1	12.7	0.2	0.4

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Frequency of Use by Informant and Mother's Use in Relation to the Informant of 21 selected Medical Remedies Table XVIII.

0.6 1.4 2.0 - 0 - - 0 . . 0 0.4 m. T 1.3 T I I I NA Ъб in Relation to Informant Didn't 2.02 2.02 2.3 Have 6.9 4.0 2.0 2.8 4.0 6.6 1.3 с. . T 59 121-00 15.6 About Same % Often Less 0.1 0.6 0.6 1 1 1 R T ١ I. ł I Т 1 T I I T 1 1 Mother's Use 81.6 Often 77.4 90.0 778.8 86.0 886.0 78.8 86.0 76.8 86.0 76.8 91.3 75.4 69.5 86.0 0.0 94.7 85.4 84.1 80.7 90.7 More ÞC Tota1 3171 <u>NNNNN</u> 111111 с. О 0.6 0.6 0.6 0.6 1.3 Frequency of Informant's Use T 1 NA Ь6 7.8 ionally Never 7.9 6.6 6.0 11.2 10.0 11.2 5.02 0.0 0.0 0.0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 6.7 Ь6 Occas-32.4 R 68.5 0.8577 0.8577 0.8577 0.8577 0.8577 0.8577 0.8577 0.8577 0.8577 72.2 Often ы Tota1 3171 Camphor&Corn Whiskey Sulphur & Molasses Whiskey&Rock Candy Wild Cherry Bark Sloans' Liniment Pine Needle Tea Elderberry Tea Sassafras Tea Horehound Tea Senna Leaves Epsom salts 666 Resin Pills Mustard Tea Grand Total Ginger Tea Heart leaf Paregoric Horehound Sage Tea Medicines Calome1 Duinine

many as 15 percent of the informants say they used them as often as their mothers (perlo, pot likker, chitterlings and souse). For all the foods over 60 percent of the informants reported that their mothers used them more, and there were only two foods (pot likker, and chitterlings) that less than 80 percent of the informants reported were used more by their mothers. From these observations it can be seen that in most cases there was less use of the foods by the daughters than by their mothers.

As indicated in Table XVIII, each of the 21 medical remedies is used by a substantial proportion of the informants. Only for five medicines (epsom salts, whiskey and rock candy, senna leaves, wild cherry bark, camphor and corn whiskey) did as many as 10 percent of the informants report that they never used them. In all cases at least 60 percent of the informants reported using the remedies often.

There were 11 remedies reported as never having been used by some of the mothers' of the informants (quinine, epsom salts, sloans' liniment, horehound, calomel, whiskey and rock candy, sulphur and molasses, senna leaves, camphor and corn whiskey, sassafras tea, and pine needle tea). There were nine remedies which more than 15 percent of the informants reported using about the same as their mothers (horehound, calomel, sulphur and molasses, senna leaves, resin pills, sassafras tea, ginger tea, elderberry tea, and pine needle tea). For all but one of the medical remedies (pine needle tea) more than 70 percent of the informants reported that their mother had used them more often. From these observations it can be seen that in most cases there was less use of the medicines by the daughters than by their mothers.

Generational Change in Relation to Socialization Experiences and Socio-economic Characteristics

<u>Socialization Measures</u>.- In keeping with the general hypotheses, the more completely rural the background of the informant, the longer she lived in the South prior to migrating, and the less exposure to urban life, the lesser will be the generational change in the use of Southern foods and medicines. Thus, following the development of the same measures as in Chapter IV, we may state the expected relationships as follows:

1. Generational change will be least for informants whose mothers grew up in the Deep South, greater for those whose mothers grew up in the Border South, and greatest for those whose mothers grew up in Other States.

2. Generational change will be least for informants who attended Grade School in the Deep South, greater for those who attended Grade School in the Border South, and greatest for those who attended Grade School in Other States.

3. Generational change will be least for informants who resided in the Farm South when attending Grade School, greater for those who resided in the City South when attending Grade School, and greatest for those who resided in a City Outside the South when attending Grade School.

4. Generational change will be least for informants who resided in the Farm South (same as Grade School) when attending High School, greater for those who resided in the City South (same as Grade School) when attending High School, and greatest for those who resided in a City (different from Grade School) when attending High School. 5. Generational change will be least for informants who lived in the South the greatest number of years and greatest for those who had lived in the South the least number of years.

6. Generational change will be least for informants who lived the greatest proportion of their lives in the South and greatest for those who had lived the smallest proportion of their lives in the South.

7. Generational change will be least for informants who had lived the shortest period of time in Lansing and greatest for the informants who had lived the longest period of time in Lansing.

8. Generational change will be least for the informants who had made the least number of residence changes since 1940 and the greatest for those who had made the largest number of residence changes since 1940.

The indexes of generational change related to the eight hypotheses listed above are summarized in Table XIX.

Upon inspecting this Table we find that there are relatively few generational change figures which are greater than 1.0. While there has been a change in the frequency of use as between the mothers and daughters, by and large the changes have not been great. Of the 54 generational change indexes there are only 12 which are greater than 1.0. Of these nine are in the use of foods and only three are in the use of medicines. Hence, it would seem that there is a greater tendency to retain the medical practices of the South than the food practices. As would be expected from the hypotheses, all the higher generational change figures were among the groups which had the least contact with the South as far as residence and socialization measures were concerned.

	Measures	No. of Informants	Index of (Cha 18 Foods	Generational ange 21 Remedies
1.	State in which Mother Grew Up Deep South Border South Other States	93 34 24	•95 •78 1•14	•95 •99 •31
2.	Place of Origin of the Informar Deep South Border South Other States	nt 88 27 36	.89 .85 1.34	.86 .95 .90
3.	Informant's Place of Residence Farm South City South City Outside South	when Attendin 130 9 12	ng Grade Sch .88 1.51 7.31	.86 .92 2.15
4.	Informant's Place of Residence Farm South (same as grade) City South (same as grade) City(different from grade)	when Attendir 55 18 13	ng High Scho .85 .86 6.48	.95 .61 1.51
5.	Number of Years Informant Lived 0 - 10 11 - 19 20 - 29 30 and over	l in the South 5 39 60 47	2.41 1.00 .86 1.00	2.74 .84 .81 1.00
6.	Proportion of Informant's Life Less than one-half One-half to three-fourths Three-fourths to all	23 82 38	e South 1.16 .93 .90	.90 .83 .89
7.	Number of Years in Lansing 0 - 4 5 - 9 10 - 14 15 and over	20 46 51 34	.99 .89 .91 1.16	•94 •87 •88 •87
8.	Number of Residence Changes si One Two three Four or more	nce 1940 14 70 38 29	.87 .92 .95 1.12	•98 •85 •86 •97

Table XIX. Index of Generational Change, 18 Foods and 21 Medical Remedies by Residence and Socialization Measures.

In the food practices the high changes were recorded for those who grew up in Other States, for those who attended Grade School in Other States, those who lived in the city while attending Grade School, those who attended High School in a city different from Grade School, those who lived in the South 0-10 years, those who lived less than one-half of their life in the South, those who had lived in Lansing 15 or more years, and those who had made four or more residence changes since 1940. In respect to the 21 medical remedies the largest changes were found in the groups which attended Grade School in a city outside the South, those who lived in the South 0-10 years, and those who attended High School in a city different from where they attended Grade School.

Only in part do the indexes of generational change coincide with the expected direction of the hypotheses. The change indexes for medical remedies frequently do not move in the same direction as those for the foods. In general, it may be said that the change indexes for the Southern foods conform to the anticipated direction better than those for medicines.

Of the eight measures of past residence and socialization experience found in Table XIX, the hypotheses moderately successfully predicted the rate of change for the Southern foods. (For original uncondensed data see Appendix II). In four of the measures, residence when attending Grade School, residence when attending High School, proportion of life lived in the South, and number of residence changes, the hypotheses predicted the change index of all categories for foods. In the four instances mentioned, generational change increased from the group attending Grade School in the Farm South, to those attending in the City

South, to those attending in City Outside South. A similar increase in generational change occurred for the residence groups when attending High School. As hypothesized, the index of change was greatest for those spending the smallest proportion of their life in the South and least for those spending the largest proportion of their life in the South. Finally, the index of generational change increased with an increasing number of residence changes. In the remaining four measures, the indexes conformed with the general expectation of the hypotheses but not with the detail. The group whose mothers' grew up in the Border South and informants who attended Grade School in the Border South, for example, had lower indexes of change than comparable groups from the Deep South. Both Southern groups, however, had lower indexes of generational change than the groups from Other States. The same general condition applies for indexes computed for number of years informant lived in the South as well as the number of years informant lived in Lansing.

Of the eight measures of past residence and socialization experiences, the hypotheses predicted change in use of medical remedies in only one instance and the general direction in only two more. Change in the use of medical remedies, as predicted, was lowest for the group residing in the Farm South when attending Grade School, higher for those residing in the City South, and highest for those residing in a City Outside the South. The general direction of change was predicted for groups classified as to residence when attending High School and for groups classified by number of years lived in the South. The indexes of change for the remaining measures were either contrary to the

hypothesized direction, as in the case of the State in which Mother grew up, or indeterminate. The latter situation applies to the following: state in which informant attended Grade School, proportion of informant's life in the South, number of years in Lansing, and residence changes since 1940.

<u>Socio-Economic Variables.</u>- The relationships for the socio-economic variables may be stated as follows:

1. Generational change will be least for the oldest informants and most for the youngest informants.

2. Generational change will be least for the informants with the least education, greater for those who had an intermediate education, and greatest for those who had attended College.

3. Generational change will be least for those informants who are not now employed, greater for those who had never been employed, and greatest for those now employed.

4. Generational change will be least for those whose husband's are unemployed, greater for those whose husbands are manual laborers, and greatest for those whose husbands are professional or technical or self-employed workers.

5. Generational change will be least for those whose husband's had the least education, greater for those whose husband's had an intermediate education and greatest for those whose husbands had a College education.

6. Generational change will be least for those whose husbands monthly pay is the lowest, and greatest for those whose husband's monthly pay is the greatest. 7. Generational change will be least for those who pay the least for rent or mortgage payments and greatest for those who pay the most for rent or mortgage payments.

In keeping with the general hypothesis the greatest generational change would take place among the group highest on the socio-economic scale.

Upon inspection of Table XX we find that here again there are relatively few generational change figures which are greater than 1.0. (For original uncondensed data see Appendix II.) Of the 50 change figures in this section only ten are greater than one. Of this number, six were for the foods and four were for the medical remedies. The greatest changes were, as expected, among the groups highest in socio-economic level. The largest changes in the use of foods were: those informants who had attended High School or College, those whose husband's are professional, technical or self-employed, those whose husband's had attended College, those whose husband's monthly pay was over \$401, and those whose rent or mortgage payments were over \$90. In the use of medical remedies the largest generational changes were found among those informants who were between 20-24 years of age, those informants who had attended College, those whose husband's monthly pay was over \$401.

Only in part do the indexes of generational change coincide with the expected direction of the hypotheses as related to socio-economic measures. The change indexes for medical remedies frequently do not move in the same direction as those for the foods. In general it may be said that the change indexes for the Southern foods conform to the anticipated direction better than those for medicines.

	Measures	No. of Informants	Index of (Cha 18 Foods	Generational ange 21 Remedies
1.	Informant's Age 20 - 24 25 - 34 35 - 44 45 and over	13 47 56 35	•98 •92 •97 •97	1.06 .84 .87 .92
2.	Highest Grade Completed by I 6th or less 7th, 8th, and 9th 10th, 11th, and 12th College	nformant 37 50 57 7	.93 .86 1.02 2.06	1.00 .86 .80 2.25
3.	Employment Status of Informa Employed Never employed (since 1940) Not now employed	nts 57 18 76	•95 1.00 •95	.86 .89 .90
4.	Husband's Occupation Prof ess ional, Technical or Self-employed Manual (skilled) Manual (unskilled) Unemployed	7 85 47 12	1.90 .92 .96 .98	1.78 .79 .99 .89
5.	Highest Grade Completed by H 6th or less 7th, 8th, and 9th 10th, 11th, and 12th College	lusband 54 38 37 5	.95 .91 .97 1.77	.91 .88 .83 .38
6.	Husband's Monthly Pay 0 - 300 301 - 400 401 and over	19 107 13	.92 .92 1.64	.84 .85 1.51
7.	Monthly payment for Mortgage 60 or under 61 - 90 91 and over	: or Rent 40 85 11	.90 .94 1.75	•95 •87 •64

Table XX.	Index of	Generational	Change, 1	18 Foods	and 21	Medical
	Remedies	by Socio-Ecor	nomic Meas	sures		

Of the seven measures of socio-economic level found in Table XX, the hypotheses are partly successful in predicting the amount of change in the use of the Southern foods. In only one instance, monthly payment for mortgage or rent, did the hypotheses predict the change index of all categories for foods. In the instance mentioned, generational change increased from the group paying under \$60 per month, to those paying \$61 to \$90 per month to those paying \$91 and over. In four of the measures, highest grade completed by informant, husband's occupation, highest grade completed by husband and husband's monthly pay the generational change agreed in general with the hypotheses but not in detail. In the other two measures, informant's age and informant's employment status, the data was indeterminant, that is, there was not sufficient difference between the indexes to be significant.

Of the seven measures of socio-economic level, the hypotheses predicted change in the use of medical remedies with precision in only one instance, and the general direction in only two more. Change in the use of medical remedies, as predicted, was lowest for the group whose husband's monthly pay was the lowest, higher for the group whose husbands' pay was intermediate and greatest for the group whose husbands' pay was the highest. The general direction of change was predicted for groups classified as to highest grade completed by the informant, and husband's occupation. The indexes of change for the remaining measures were either contrary to the hypothesized direction, as in the case of highest grade completed by husband and monthly payment for mortgage or rent, or indeterminate. The latter applies to the following: informant's age, and informant's employment status.

A summary of the direction of findings concerning generational change is contained in Table XXI.

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			Direction Foods	of .	Findings Remedies
Me: So	asures Related to Nature of Previou cialization Experiences (General Hy	s Ro poti	esidence and hesis 1)		
1.	State in Which Mother Grew Up	as	Part1y hypothesi <i>z</i> ed	of	Reverse hypothesis
2.	State in Which Informant Attended Grade School	as	Part1y hypothesized	In	determinate
3.	Rural-urban Residence of Informan when Attending Grade School	t As	hypothesized	as	Partly hypothesized
4.	Rural-urban Residence of Informant when Attending High School	As	hypothesized	As	hypothesized
5.	Number of Years Informant Lived in the South	as	Part1y hypothesi <i>z</i> ed	as	Part1y hypothesized
6.	Proportion of Informant's Life in the South	As	hypothesized	In	determinate
7.	Number of Years Informant Lived in Lansing	as	Partly hypothesized	In	determinate
8.	Number of Residence Changes Since 1940	As	hypoth esi zed	In	determinate
Mea of	asures Related to Socio-Economic Cha Informant (General Hypothesis 2).	ara	cteristic s		
1.	Stage of Life Cycle(informant's ag	e)Iı	ndeterminate	In	determinate
2.	Highest Grade Completed by Informa	nt as	Part1y hypothesi <i>z</i> ed	as	Part1y hypothesi <i>z</i> ed
3.	Employment Status of Informant	In	determinate	In	determinate
4.	Husband's Occupation	as	Part1y hypothesi <i>z</i> ed	as	Partly hypothesized
5.	Highest Grade Completed by Husband	as	Partly hypothesi <i>z</i> ed	as	Reverse hypothesi <i>z</i> ed
6.	Husband's Monthly Pay	as	Partly hypothesized	As	hypothesized
7.	Monthly Payment for Rent or Mortgage	As	hypothesized	of	Reverse hypothesis

Table XXI. Summary of the Direction of Findings Concerning Generational Change in the Use of Southern Foods and Medical Remedies.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study attempts to investigate a narrowly defined problem within the general area of social change. It focuses upon the problem of "survivals" in a rapidly changing society. Among the dramatic transformations in American Society has been the shift from a rural, folkoriented social order to an urban, industrialized one. Among the many facets of this change has been the movement of the Negro from the rural South to the industrial North. The present study seeks to explore one aspect of change growing out of the massive change just outlined: namely, the survival of Southern foods and medical remedies on the part of urban Negroes now living in the North who migrated from the rural South.

A sample of 151 Negro women residing in Lansing, Michigan was interviewed. Informants for this study were selected randomly from the total Negro population and consisted of married Negro females only, those primarily responsible for food preparation and health care.

Two general hypotheses were investigated. First, the more complete the contact with and socialization in the rural South, the higher will be the survival of Southern food and medical practices among informants. A corollary to this states that the more complete the contact with and socialization in the rural South, the lower will be the generational change in food and medical practices between the informant and her mother. Second, the higher the socio-economic level, the lower will be the survival of Southern food and medical practices among informants. A corollary to this states that the higher the socio-economic level, the higher will be the generational change in food and medical practices between the informant and her mother. Eight measures of previous residence and socialization experiences and seven measures of current socioeconomic status of informants were used to relate to present use and to generational change in the use of Southern foods and medical remedies.

With only minor refinements, the findings of this study support the hypotheses in regard to the relationship between previous residence and socialization experiences and socio-economic status and the survival of Southern foods and medical remedies. The hypotheses bearing upon generational change in the use of Southern foods and medical remedies were much less frequently supported by the findings.

The findings of this study show that the frequency of the use of Southern foods and medical remedies by Negro women in Lansing is directly related to rurality of background, exposure to the South, level of schooling and various income measures. Significantly different use patterns were obtained when informants were grouped as follows:

1. By state in which mother grew up. That is, Deep South, Border South, and Other States.

2. By state in which informant attended Grade School. That is, Deep South, Border South, and Other States.

3. By rural-urban residence of informant when attending Grade School. That is, Farm-South, City-South, and City-Outside the South.

4. By rural-urban residence of informant when attending High School. That is, Farm-South (same as Grade School), City-South (same

as Grade School), and City-Outside the South (different from Grade School).

5. By number of years informant lived in the South. That is, 0 to 10 years 11 to 19 years. 20 to 29 years, and 30 or more years.

6. By proportion of informant's life spent in the South. That is, less than one-half, one-half to three-fourths, and three-fourths to all.

By number of years informant lived in Lansing. That is, 0 - 4
years, 5 - 9 years, 10 - 14 years, and 15 or more years.

8. By number of residence changes by informant since 1940. That is, one, two, three, and four or more times.

By stage of life cycle or informant's age. That is, 20 - 24,
25 - 34, 35 - 44, and 45 and over.

10. By highest grade of school completed by informant. That is, 6th or less, 7th to 9th, 10th to 12th, and College.

11. By employment status of informant. That is, employed, never employed since 1940, and not now employed.

12. By husband's occupation. That is, professional, technical and self-employed; manual (skilled); manual (unskilled); and unemployed.

13. By highest grade of school completed by husband. That is, 6th or less, 7th to 9th, 10 to 12th, and College.

14. By husband's monthly pay. That is, up to \$300, \$301 to \$400, and \$401 or more.

15. By monthly payments for rent (or on mortgage). That is, \$60 of less, \$61 to \$90, and \$91 or more.

The findings in regard to generational change in relation to the same background and socio-economic factors are generally inconclusive.

Generational decline in the use of Southern foods and medical remedies is supported by the findings. Furthermore, the findings support the general proposition that the same set of influences do not work equally with respect to the survival of foods and medicines. While the extent of generational change, as measured by the index, was found to be as hypothesized (or in the anticipated direction) in all except one of the fifteen groupings of foods, and the same was true of only six of the fifteen groupings for medical remedies.

For both foods and medical remedies, generational decline is much greater for those who resided in a City Outside the South when attending Grade School than for those residing in the City South or Farm South. The same difference applied for similar groupings when attending High School. With minor exceptions, the smaller the number of years informants lived in the South, the greater the index of generational change in the use of Southern foods and medical remedies. Furthermore, indexes of generational decline in the use of Southern foods and remedies increase with increasing education of the informant, increasing rank of husband's occupation, and with increasing monthly pay of the husband.

Some of the unanticipated results with respect to generational change in the use of Southern foods and remedies may be due to several factors. First, it is possible that the index of change is insufficiently sensitive and that measurement more explicit than relative frequency of use by the two generations is required. Second, it is possible and even probable, that proper medical care cannot compete with daily necessities such as food and clothing for the limited dollars in the family budget. If this is true, it is not surprising that many of the
families resort to traditional herbs, teas, and patent medicines known in the South.

Numerous conclusions emerge from the present study. Several of them will be enumerated below:

1. Despite conditions radically different from those in the rural South, urban Negroes retain much of their Southern foodways and folkways concerning medical remedies. The extent to which they survive in an urban setting is closely related to socio-economic level and to rurality of origin. Generational decline has occurred but the remarkable finding is that the decline has been of relatively small magnitude.

2. The findings suggest that the Southern food and medical practices of urban Negroes will gradually disappear as Negroes rise in the socio-economic scale. Length of exposure to urban life in itself, however, appears to be sufficient for the disappearance of these Southern practices.

3. In view of the strong attachment of urban Negroes to Southern foods and remedies and the accompanying dietary and medical inadequacies it would seem urgent that migrant Negroes are made aware of the rudiments of diet and medical care. Action agencies interested in such problems are faced with a dilemma in providing scientific knowledge without destroying all elements of the total cultural past. This study suggests the delicacy with which any action agency must proceed if it wishes to succeed.

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APPENDIX I

MAPS AND INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

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PERCENT OF POPULATION IN LANSING WHO ARE NEGROES, BY CENSUS TRACTS: 1960



Red = Less than 0.2% Negro population. Blue = 9.0% and more Negro population. White = 0.2 to 8.9% Negro Population. (a) White without percent, are census tracts laying partially in the City of Lansing and partially in Lansing Township and not considered here. Census tract 17 also lies in both the City of Lansing and Lansing Township but was considered.

A STUDY OF THE

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MIGRATION AND CHANGES IN FOOD AND REMEDY PRACTICES

OF NEGROES IN LANSING

by

Rose Bronson

In cooperation with

J. Allan Beegle, Department of Sociology Michigan State University

and

The Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station

*Open-country (far) **Prob for complai	(7)	(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2) Previous addresses	(1) Present address	Residence - (start with present and go back to 1940) or time of marriage, if after 1940.
m), vill nts: 1) 2)								Year moved here?
age, city (; Space or dr Neighborho					,			Kind of locality and size*
and size). welling unit design od								What is/was your husband's work? (Be as specific as possible)
L) Land								Do/did you do any work? Yes No
other								If yes, what kind of work? Is it part-time? or full-time?
								Why did you leave the previous place of residence? (Probe)**

RESIDENTIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL CHANGES (19μ0 to present or since marriage if after 'μ0)

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10 (Relationship) household Others in 100 • 15 • • 15 sex) youngest & Children (oldest to Husband (if living) Informant J 14 Household Members birth-Age last day when child, was born?* Where living Does he/she pay rent? Yes No Grade School Where did you/he XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXXX go to High School XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX Highest grade pleted? Open-country (farm), village, city (and size). comat home living If not XXXX XXXX check Age left home X X Where now How did he/! living? XXXX XXXX she happen to go there? XXXX XXXX Occupation (If housewife, husband's occ.?) XXXX XXXX

II.

FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION (All persons regularly living in this household)

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ц, Spoon bread Hoe cake Corn bread Piscuit Blackeye peas Grits Sweet potatoes Rice Hominy VEG.& CEREALS BREADS FOODS (cont. In season, about how often do you eat ? Often Occ. Never If often or How do you prepare it? 0000 your mother Is this the way prepared it? Yes No When a young girl, did your mother prepare it? More often than you now Less often than you now About same the . Didn't have it

° • Use of selected foods typical of food ways among Southern Negroes. (continued)

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Cracklin bread Pot likker Perlo Sweet potato Hopping john pudding COMBINATIONS FOODS In season, about how often do you eat_? Often Occ. Never If <u>often</u> or <u>occ.</u>, How do you pre-pare it? way your mother pre-pared it? Yes No Is this the When a young girl, did your mother prepare it? More often than you now Less often than you now About the same Didn't have j.t

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Use of selected foods typical of food ways among Southern Negroes. (continued)

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- 1. What did you have for meals yesterday?
- a) Breakfast:
- b) Lunch:
- c) Supper:
- 2. Use of selected foods typical of food ways among Southern Negroes.

	In season, about	If often or occ.	Is this the	When a young	z girl. did you	r mother	prepare it?
FOODS	how often do you eat?	How do you prepare it?	way your mother pre- pared it?	More often than you	Less often than you	About	Didn't have
	Often Occ. Never		Yes No	now	now	same	it
MEATS							
Cracklings							
Chitterlings							
Souse							
Hog jowls							
VEG.& CEREALS Turnip greens		•					
Mustard greens					•		
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, a) What foods do you think are "bad for you?" Why?

- b) What foods do you think are bad for pregnant women? Why?
- c) What foods do you think are bad for infants? Why?
- 4. What is your idea of a nice meal for company dinner?
- 5. a) What do you customarily have for Christmas dinner?
 - b) If born in South, what did you customarily have for Christmas dinner?

5.	What remedies (medicines) do you usually or customarily use for the following:
	a) Colds
	b) To purify blood
	c) Constipation
	d) Spring tonic
	e) Rheumatism

Sassafras van Camphor and corn whiskey Wild cherry bark Senna leaves Sulphur and Sage tea Heart leaf in syrup candy Pine resin pills Calomel Sloan's liniment 999 Sperom salts Paregoric Quinine Whiskey in Horehound molasses rock candy in whiskey REMEDY how often do you use_ When need arises, about Often Occasionally Never I asionally, what do you use it If often or occfor? When a young girl, did your mother use it More often than you now Less often than you now About same the Didn't use it

?

Use of remedies typical of medical practices among Southern Negroes.



7. Use of remedies typical of medical practices among Southern Negroes. (continued)

REMEDY	When need arises, about how often do you use ?	If often or occ-	When a your	g girl, did ;	your mothe	r use it
	Often Occas- Never ionally	do you use it for?	More often than you now	Less often than you now	About the same	Didn't use it
Horehound tea						
Ginger tea		•				
Elderberry tea						
Pine needle tea						
fustard tea						
OTHER						







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SOCIO	ECONOMIC	STATUS
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Do you own or r	ent your home:	0wn	Rent	Don't know
If paying on mo	rtgage or renti	ng, how much	n do you pay	per month?
Number of rooms	?			
How many family	members worked	last month	for pay?	
Would you pleas	e estimate how :	much each re	eceived last	month?
From wages:	a. (husb.)		\$	per mo.
,	b. <u>(wife)</u>		\$\$	per mo.
	C.		\$	per mo.
	d		\$\$	per mo.
From Social Security:	e	· ····································	\$	per mo.
From other "Welfare":	f		\$	per mo.
From rent:	g		\$	per mo.
	TOTAL FAMIL	Y INCOME	\$	per mo.
Considering you lived in the fo	r (and husband' llowing places:	s) whole lif	fe, about how	w many years have you
	Do you own or r If paying on mo Number of rooms How many family Would you pleas From wages: From wages: From other "Welfare": From other "Welfare": From rent:	Do you own or rent your home: If paying on mortgage or renti Number of rooms? How many family members worked Would you please estimate how From wages: a. (husb.) b. (wife) c d From Social Security: e From other "Welfare": f From rent: g TOTAL FAMIL Considering your (and husband' lived in the following places:	Do you own or rent your home: Own If paying on mortgage or renting, how much Number of rooms? How many family members worked last month Would you please estimate how much each re From wages: a. (husb.) b. (wife) c d From Social Security: e From other "Welfare": f From rent: g TOTAL FAMILY INCOME Considering your (and husband's) whole life lived in the following places:	Do you own or rent your home: Own Rent If paying on mortgage or renting, how much do you pay Number of rooms? How many family members worked last month for pay? Would you please estimate how much each received last From wages: a. (husb.) \$\$ b. (wife) \$\$ c\$ d\$ From Social Security: e\$ From other "Welfare": f\$ From rent: g\$ TOTAL FAMILY INCOME \$ Considering your (and husband's) whole life, about how lived in the following places:

	Rural So Urban So Rural No Urban No Rural ot Urban ot	Duth Douth Dorth Dorth ther places ther places Total (Age)		Husband
5.	Where was your Mother (w	whoever "raised" you) bor	'n?	
	Where did she grow up?			

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en en anticipation de la company de la co La company de 6. Considering the total Negro Community in Lansing, make three appraisals of the home: External condition, internal condition, and furnishings, including TV, refrigerator, furniture, etc.

	Check		Above Average	Average	Below Average
	External cond	lition:			
	Internal cond	lition:			
	Furnishings:				
7.	Do you have a garden?	Yes No	-		
		If yes, what do yo	ou usually	grow?	
8.	Do you do any canning,	drying or preservi	ing of food	1? Yes	No
		If yes, what do yo	ou usually	do?	
9.	Where do you do most of	f your grocery shop	oping?		

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APPENDIX II

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ORIGINAL DATA TABLES FOR CHAPTERS IV AND V

												ł
Informant ¹ s		Ч	formant l	Used A11 1	8 Foods		In	formant	Uses A11	21 Medici	nes	1
Mother Grew up in:	Tota1	Tota1	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	
Alabama	77	252	216	30	ъ	ы	294	247	77			,
Tennessee	14	252	165	74	11	2	294	210	53	29	2	
Ok lahoma	ъ	6	68	18	4	I	105	75	19	10	-1	
Georgia	16	288	254	32	I	N	3 3 6	296	14O	ı	ı	
N. Carolina	6	162	101	53	8	I	189	151	18	19	7	
S. Carolina	16	288	230	57	I	1	336	275	61	I	I	
Mississippi	25	450	1400	50	I	I	525	429	72	21	ς	
Arkansas	22	396	328	66	I	2	462	399	63	I	ı	
Kentucky	9	108	70	35	ę	I	126	71	777	11	ı	
Other States	21	432	16	183	231	2	504	21	328	153	2	
Grand Total	151	2718	1848	598	262	10	3171	2174	734	244	10	ł

Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation to Where the Mother Grew Up. Table XXII.

	o rue	r lace o	urigin	UT AUN IO	I OFMANU.							1
Origin of Infor	mant	In	formant l	Jses A11 1	8 Foods		In	formant	Jses A11	21 Medici	nes	1
Where Attended Grade School	Total	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	Tota1	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	
Alabama	77	252	224	27	I	1	294	265	29	I	I	
Tennessee	12	216	164	50	2	ı	252	201	35	14	N	
Ok lahoma	ъ	6	71	18	I	Ч	105	86	9	12	Ч	
Georgia	10	180	140	36	m	1	210	191	19	I	ı	
N. Carolina	6	162	116	141	m	2	189	141	146	5	ı	
S. Carolina	17	306	244	59	ı	Μ	357	284	71	ı	N	
Mississippi	25	450	405	772	I	I	525	1,48	73	5	N	
Arkansas	22	396	331	65	ı	ı	462	374	87	ı	Ч	
Kentucky	Ч	18	114	4	I	I	21	15	9	I	I	
Other States except Mich.=	29	522	134	213	173	N	609	156	363	88	ы	
Michigan	2	126	м	7 [†] O	81	2	147	13	80	126	t	
G ra nd Total	151	2718	1848	598	262	10	3171	2174	743	244	10	

Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation Table XXIII.

Table XXIV. Fr tc	equenc	y of Use Place c	e by Infc of Reside	ormant of ince when	18 Selec Attendin	ted Foor g Grade	ds and 21 School	Medical	Remedies	in Rela	tion	ł
Informant's Pla	ice	Inf	formant U	Ises A11 1	8 Foods		In	uformant	Uses A11	21 Medic	ines	
of Residence When Attending Grade School	Tota1	Tota1	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	Tota1	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	
Farm - South	130	2340	1765	572	Į	m	2730	2088	642	I	I	
City - South	6	162	76	11	02	м	189	74	60	51	77	
City - Outside South	12	216	7	15	192	ŝ	252	12	41	193	9	
Grand Total	151	2718	1848	598	262	10	3171	2174	743	244	10	l

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Table XXV. Fre	quency Th eir	· of Use Place of	by Infor Residen	rmant of 1 ice When A	8 Select ttending	ed Food: High So	s and 21 chool	Medical R	kemedies i	n Relati	ио
Informant's Pla	8 0	Inf	ormant U	Jses All 1	8 Foods		In	formant U	Ises A11 2	1 Medici	nes
or restaence When Attending High School	Total	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	Tota1	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA
Farm - South Same as Grade School	55	066	693	294	0	 	1155	808	342	, ,	м
City - South Same as Grade School	18	324	109	171	42	5	378	117	208	51	N
City - Differen From Grade School	t 13	234	σ	18	206	Ч	273	12	75	183	m
Did not Attend	65	1170	1037	115	14	†	1365	1237	118	10	I
Grand Total	151	2718	1848	598	262	10	3171	2174	743	244	10

	o the N	umber o	f Years 1	nformant	Lived in	the Sou	ith				
Informant Live	ġ.	Int	formant l	Jses All 1	8 Foods		Inf	Cormant U	ses A11 2	1 Medici	nes
In the South No. of Years	Total	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA
0 - 9	М	8	8	23	57	N	105	71	24	75	2
10 - 19	39	702	348	297	56	ы	819	452	338	28	I
20 - 29	60	1080	889	173	15	m	1260	1004	244	10	N
30 - 39	31	558	475	78	m	2	651	575	75	ı	Ч
40 – 49 and over	8	144	124	19	I	Ч	168	134	32	I	2
Has not lived in South	8	144	4	Ø	131	н	168	у	30	131	2
Grand Total	151	2718	1848	598	262	10	3171	2174	743	21,14	10

Table XXVI. Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation

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Table XXVII.	Frequer to the	ncy of U: P r oporti	se by Inf ion of In	ormant of formant's	· 18 Selec Life in	cted Foo the Sou	ds and 21 th	l Medica.	l Remedies	in Rela	tion	1
Proportion of		Π Ln	formant U	ses A11 1	.8 Foods		Inf	Cormant l	Jses A11 2	1 Medici	nes	
Informant's Li in the South	f f otal	Tota1	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	
Less than one-fourth	Ч	18	e	e	12	1	21	e	ſ	15	I	
One-fourth to one-half	22	396	209	138	47	2	462	288	123	48	m	
One-half to three-fourths	82	1476	1098	314	60	4	1722	1182	1494	42	4	149
Three-fourths to all	38	684	534	135	12	m	798	696	93	8	1	
Did not live in South	8	1411	4	8	131	1	168	м	30	131	2	
Grand Total	151	2718	1848	598	262	10	3171	2,74	743	2111	10	1
Table XXVIII.	Freque to the	ency of l Number	Use by Ir of Years	uformant o : in Lansi	f 18 Sel ng	ected Fo	oods and 2	21 Medica	ıl Remedie	s in Hel	ation	
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Number of		ID	formant U	ises All 1	8 Foods		Inf	formant l	Jses all 2	1 Medici	nes	1
Years in Lansing	Total	Total	Often	Occa s- ionally	Never	NA	Tota1	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	
0 - 4	20	360	326	29	ſ	2	l420	382	29	L .	N	
5 - 9	4 6	828	722	77	27	2	996	845	87	29	м	
10 - 1l ₄	51	918	636	225	54	m	1071	755	246	20	I	
15 - 19	29	522	156	229	134	Μ	609	182	365	59	ε	
20 or more	Ъ	8	ø,	38	1 11	I	105	10	16	62	ł	
Grand Total	151	2718	1848	598	262	10	3171	2174	743	244	10	

VIV allel	to the N	lumber of	Resider	ice Change	s Since	1940	17 DIE CT	Teutuat	Cathallavi	107 AVI 117	1101	
Residence		Inf	ormant l	Jses All 1	8 Foods		Ini	formant l	Jses A11 2	21 Medici	nes	
Changes Since 1940	Tota1	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	
One	77	252	238	13	1	1	294	271	19	m	7	
Two	20	1260	921	233	102	4	11,70	1193	247	27	m	
Three	38	684	481	165	36	2	798	561	203	33	1	
Four	17	306	151	95	59	1	357	109	221	25	2	
Five	8	11,14	51	62	29	2	168	33	43	89	m	-
Six or more	4	72	9	30	36	I	84	7	10	67	I	
Grand Total	151	2718	1848	598	262	10	3171	2174	743	21/1	10	

Fremmency of Ilse by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Belation Table XXTX.

Relation
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Remedies
. Medical
1 21
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Foods
Selected
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of
Frequency of Use by Informant to the Informant's Age
XXX.
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Tofosmoot la		In	formant l	Jses A11 1	8 Foods		In	formant l	Uses A11 ?	21 Medici	nes
Age	Tota1	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA
20 - 24	13	234	33	145	56	I	273	62	120	91	ı
25 - 29	31	558	257	189	111	7	651	226	340	82	m
30 - 34	16	288	144	108	34	2	336	234	59	41	N
35 - 39	39	702	566	88	448	I	819	706	6	22	Ч
1 ⁴⁰ - 1 ¹¹	17	306	279	23	I	†	357	286	62	7	2
45 - 49	20	360	326	21	11	2	420	368	50	7	1
50 and over	15	270	243	24	2	1	315	292	22	ı	Ч
irand Total	151	2718	1848	598	262	5	3171	2174	743	244	10

Ţ	o the H	lighest (Grade Com	pleted by	the Inf	ormant						
Highest Grade		InI	formant U	ses A11 1	8 Foods		Inf	ormant (Jses A11 2	1 Medici	nes	
Completed by Informant	Total	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	
0-4th	m	77	48	6	I	I	63	59	7	1	I	
5th	12	216	181	34	ı	1	252	229	22	I	1	
6th	22	396	317	76	Ч	2	462	392	66	2	2	
7th	17	306	242	60	ς	7	357	285	67	л	I	
8th	10	180	134	36	10	I	210	159	777	9	1	
9th	53	414	293	105	13	m	483	342	123	16	2	
10th	21	378	243	88	47	I	144	295	122	23	1	
11 th or 12th	36	648	373	167	105	ς	756	, 401	249	103	Μ	
College	7	126	17	26	83	I	147	12	146	89	ł	
Grand Total	151	2718	1848	598	262	10	3171	2174	743	244	10	1

and 21 Modical Remedies in Relation of 18 Solortod Fonds hv Tnformant of Ilco ĩ ł Hr0 TANJe XXXT

	to the	Emp loyme	ent Statu	is of the	Informant					5400		1
Informant's		Inf	formant U	ses A11 1	8 Foods		Inf	Cormant U	Ises All 2	1 Medici:	nes	1
Employment Status	Tota1	Tota1	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	
Employed	57	1026	1,09	513	101	ς	1197	531	541	123	N	
Never Employe i.e. since 19	d 40 18	325	256	32	35	2	378	283	148	146	1	1
Not now Emplo	yed 76	1367	1183	53	126	л	1596	1360	154	75	7	54
Grand Total	151	2718	1848	598	262	10	3171	2174	743	244	5	ł

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Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation Table XXXII.

Table XXXIII.	Freque to the	ncy of l Husband	Jse by In 1's Occup	uformant o ation	f 18 Sel	ected Fo	ods and 2	21 Medica	ıl Remedie	s in Rel	ation	
U chood 1 a		Inf	Cormant U	Ises All 1	8 Foods		Inf	Cormant l	Jses All 2	1 Medici	nes	
Occupation (Tota1	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	Tota1	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	
Professional and Technical	t-	72	ω	16	48	1	84	6	26	52	1	
Self-Employed	ო	54	9	21	25	N	63	8	24	30	Ч	
Manual(skilled)	85	1530	961	420	145	4	1785	1156	546	78	м	
Manual(unskille	1)46	828	664	118	111	2	966	765	120	79	0	
Service, Dom.	Ч	18	15	Μ	ı	ı	21	18	1	m	ı	
Unemployed	12	216	194	50	1	N	252	221	27	2	N	
Grand Total	151	2718	1848	598	262	10	3171	2174	743	244	10	

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Highest Grade		Inf	formant l	Jses A11 1	18 Foods		In	formant	Uses A11 2	1 Medici	nes
Completed by Husband	Total	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA
0-3rd	7	72	67	4	1	I	84	75	6	1	I
l _t th	6	162	142	18	1	2	189	164	25	I	ı
5th	20	360	309	43	8	I	420	352	66	I	2
6th	21	378	317	53	9	2	1441	359	81	I	1
7 th	20	360	299	51	6	Ч	420	327	93	I	I
8th	12	216	156	146	14	I	252	178	73	ı	1
9th	9	108	77	21	10	ı	126	83	31	12	I
10th	13	234	139	58	36	Ч	273	166	87	19	1
11th or 12th	32	576	228	220	124	4	672	346	199	124	m
College	м	8	4	36	50	I	105	m	15	87	I
Not ascertaina	tble 9	162	110	47	м	ł	189	121	64	2	N
Grand Total	151	2718	1848	598	262	10	3171	2174	743	244	10

Table XXXIV. Frequency of Use by Informant of 18 Selected Foods and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation

Table XXXV.	Frequenc to the H	y of Us lusband ¹	e by Info s Monthly	ormant of r Pay	18 Select	ted Food	ls and 21	Medica1	Remedies	in Relat	lon	łı
Husband ¹ s		In	formant l	Jses A11	18 Foods		Inf	cormant U	ses A11 2	1 Medici	nes	
Monthly Pay	Tota1	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	1
0 - 200	S	36	32	4	I	I	42	36	9	ı	I	
210 - 300	17	306	244	47	12	ς	357	267	79	6	0	
301 - 1,00	107	1926	1363	437	121	м	2247	1633	522	86	9	
401 – 500 and over	13	234	21	93	119	Ч	273	26	111	136	ı	157
Not Employed	12	216	188	17	10	Ч	252	212	25	13	2	
Grand Total	151	2718	184,8	598	262	10	3171	2174	743	2414	10	

and 21 Medical Remedies in Relation	
f 18 Selected Foods	
Frequency of Use by Informant of	to the Husband's Monthly Pay
le XXV.	

Table XXXVI.	Frequen to the	tcy of U; Monthly	se by Ini Payments	formant of s on Mortg	' 18 Sele age or f	cted Foc or Rent	ds and 21	l Medical	Remedies	in Rela	tion	ł
Monthly Payme	nts	Ini	formant l	Jses All 1	8 Foods		Inf	Cormant l	Jses A11 2	1 Medici	nes	L
on Mortgage or for Rent	Total	Total	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA	Tota1	Often	Occas- ionally	Never	NA .	
0 - 50	50	360	313	43	ę	1	420	357	58	7	1	
51 - 60	20	360	283	70	7	I	420	348	65	м	2	
61 - 70	37	666	1,41	199	23	m	777	598	135	41	m	
71 - 80	31	558	334	151	72	1	651	1442	160	47	2	
81 - 90	17	306	177	79	48	2	357	130	139	87	7	
91 - 100	8	1441	44	24	74	2	168	33	109	26	ı	
101 – 125 and over	Μ	54	6	18	27	I	63	2	26	30	1	
Not ascertain	able15	270	247	14	8	Ч	315	259	51	4	4	
Grand Total	151	2718	1848	598	262	10	3171	2174	743	21,14	10	

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