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A, you mean where I was born? (yes).  
History. I was born, my mother says she bore me at a village (Is that so?) Yes. Therefore it was there that I grew up and reached puberty age. I reached puberty age. And I bore two children there, at the village and left there and came to marry here. At the time that I was at the village, my life that I led was different and that of today too, is different. And when I came here, I bore the one that Monica follows, and I have given birth to Monica, and I have given birth to Nana Poku and I have come to stay in Kumasi. When I first came, I did sell cloth, beside the water by the fence, beside the railway line, at where children hire bicycles to ride (Kobokobo). It was there I used to sell cloth. At that time, Kwame Nkrumah's money, how much was it? Eight shillings and four pence, at Kwame Nkrumah's time (Yes) Yes, his money, at that time, I used to sell cloth. So when I sold cloth for a while, I stopped and went to sell children's dresses at the reduction ~~sale~~ section at the market. I sold that for some time and I stopped and went to sell yam. I went to start to sell yams when Monica was born. So it is the yam that I am at the market stall selling little by little. At first I had a stall at where Ama Serwee and others are; there that I was. So I left there and came back later to where I used to stay where you left there. So it ~~turned out~~ that the market was no good. And I say, Nana Poku had not been born; After Nana Poku has been born, I said I would go

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on the road a bit. So at first I was going to Ejura. When I go, maybe I spend three days and I come back. I go to Techiman, I go to Kintampo, I go to Atebuba bit by bit and then I stopped to look for a loan to go to the North and I am on it bit by bit. So when I go and it improves, then it becomes bad again, and because of money, I stay away again. So you know that when you came last time, I said that this time I don't have money with which I will go again and I am at home; for if someone gives you money, she will control you; when you go and come back, she will come and stand by you; she will take all the yards and sell; all that you will gain from it, she will take it and you will be worried; I am on it; I go a bit by bit; when I went and came, I got sick and I have not been able to go again, for I am there with children. I gave birth to Monica at this place. There is a midwife at, what is the name of that place? - Santos. A midwife is there (yes) from there going down, she is called Auntie Lucy; Monica was born there. Felicia too was born there; the one that Monica follows (yes) Yes; as for her, you don't know her (Mm. I don't know her) Mm. She is the one that Monica follows (She has two children) She has two children. (Now, she is pregnant again and she will have three children) Therefore, my children who are adults - this one is my child's child. They are two brothers/sisters. Their mother is the senior and one follows before the one that Monica follows comes.)

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The females are four. Nana Poku is — (only one)  
 And I am much concerned about him. For the  
 North (Northern Ghana), if you have money to go  
 and come, it is better than staying at the market.  
 (And the North is better than Ejura and E, —)  
 Yes, the Northern <sup>is</sup> better than ~~the~~ Ejura one. (Is that  
 so?) Yes. (Why?) At Ejura, they have  
 gone to the North to buy and they have  
 brought them to Ejura to sell to us and  
 you also buy to bring them and the price  
 becomes expensive. And as for the North, when  
 you go, if Akua, you own the farm and you  
 have made the farm, so when I come, I  
 come to you, you have not sold them to anyone  
 and I have come to buy and have put them  
 in a lorry to bring them here. So if I come to  
 buy them from you, the price is better than buying  
 them from Ejura to bring them here. It has made  
 the price expensive; when I come to sell, I will not  
 make profit (Yes, I have understood) You understand?  
 (And when you lived at the village, did you work  
 there?) Yes, at the village, we made a farm.  
 (Ah, only farm work did you do) Yes, we  
 grew cassava, pepper, tomatoes, okra, plantain.  
 (True; at where?) At this place. My brother  
 that I follow is in Accra. He has come recently  
 and I have forgotten at all; I was coming to call  
 you and go there with you to greet him and  
 go to my town. We are going to pass through  
 Mpankorono. (Mpankorono, yes, I know there) When  
 you reach Mpankorono, and you go forward a bit,  
 you see that there is a road on the left. (Yes)

Atimatin, yes. My town is five miles from Mpankorono. (O, it is not far at all.) NO, it is not far. So, when my mother was there, we made a farm like that gradually. (Were you selling things there?) No, when we harvested the cassava, we brought it to Kumasi. When you grow pepper and tomatoes and they mature, you bring them in a lorry to this place to sell. When you get money, you use it to buy things and you return to the village. You use it to buy meat that you will eat and other things and soap you will use to bathe and you return to the village (So your mother, does not do any work in addition?) My mother, she was doing the same thing but now, my mother is not there any more (O, Mm. She died about three years ago. (Aa) Yes. (But the time that you were living with her at the village, didn't she have extra work?) Farming only. (Only farming did she do) Only that did she do. So when I left her there and came here, farming only did she do all the time. She grew plantain, cassava, cocoyam, pepper, tomatoes, okra, garden eggs; only these did she grow little by little. When they mature, she will harvest them and bring them to Kumasi here. (Aa, and she sold them) She sold them. When she sells and gets money, we go to buy meat and other things with it and she again takes a lorry and saves some of the money and she goes back. (Yes) That is it. (And in the village, what good work is there that if you live at the village and you want to make little money, what work is there that you will do?) Mm. at the

there may be some people who will grow tomatoes on a large scale, so she gets a lot and she harvests and brings them to Kumasi and gets a lot of money; in this way, maybe if she will like to find some work to do, she can do with it (yes) Yes. So my sister, my mother's child that falls on (10), my mother had ten children, even yesterday, that sister came here. If she had come today, she would have come to see you. She is a woman so now she is at the village, she sells drinks, this drinks, (Palm wine) No, Apetehye (local gin) (Apetehye?) Yes. So she comes to buy meat, maybe beef or pork; she goes to cook the meat and add it to the drinks and she buys cigarette in addition; so the men buy it all the time and it let her get money gradually. So the tomatoes too, she grows tomatoes; now she grows tomatoes where my mother used to grow them when she was living there. When they mature, she brings them here to sell and buys meat to cook to sell with the drinks and the men buy it. That is it. (All right, I have heard it I understand. And as for you, when you were a child, you didn't like to live at the village. Did you like to come to Kumasi?) Mom. I stayed at the village a bit and I came back to Kumasi here. I lived at the village and when I finished having my children, the mother of these ones, I and the man I married divorced. (Is that so? At the village?) At the village. So when I divorced, I came and married again and had the rest of the children. And I didn't like to live at the

village again. (Why don't you like a village?)  
As. I came here, my mother was there; occasionally, I went to see her and returned. At times when I go, I stay over night and come the next day. And funeral too, when someone dies I can attend the funeral. When the funeral is over, I come back. (So you were not happy at the village that you would go back to stay there) No. It is not pleasant for me (Why? There is somebody who likes a village. There is someone too who likes town) Yes, there is someone who has lived there for a long time, so there is someone who likes a village. So because I came here long, long ago, I am not happy over there again. (Yes) Yes, so I have to stay in Kumasi. (And why did you leave the village? When you were a child, you married, you divorced your husband at the village, and how did you think that I, I, myself will go to Kumasi?) He did certain things to me which were not good; he treated me roughly, he didn't look after me well (true?) and I divorced him. So when I divorced him, I said that I will not stay in the village again. If I stay there, somebody will say that he will again marry me. (True) Yes; so I will come to Kumasi and marry again, and I moved from there and came to Kumasi (Yes, I have understood it, you don't like to see his face; true.) And you came, did your mother come to you at this place? Did you stay with someone here?)

E, when I came, my cousin, my senior mother, my mother's sister, her daughter's husband was at Dekyemso, and her husband's friends came to tell him that he was looking for a woman to marry her and her husband came to tell me that his male friend says he is looking for a woman to marry her. (Ou) Yes, and my cousin's husband came to take me. And because of my cousin, when I came, I stay at Dekyemso. So when I get up, I go to sleep at the man's house. So it was later that the man let me stay in his house. (Yes) Yes. So he called you that your cousin is from the village and you married him) Mm, mm. (Is he a good person?) Yes. (Better than your first husband. He is better than the other one? Yes. (laughter) Ei' Akua o! This one stays at one place. (Do you marry him now?)

As for now, I have divorced him (Ou!) The one I am staying with in the house here, he who owns the house, is my husband. (Yes) Yes, he is the one I have married right now. He has made ~~the~~ a room for us, for me and they are moving me from here and he says I should stop and he will make a room for me and he has done it for me. (And when you came to Kumasi, you said you were selling cloth, was your brother's wife selling cloth?) No. as for him, my brother, my father's child, (O, your father's child) we are from one father; his wife was selling cloth. And that time, at Kobokobo, by the railway line, was where we were looking for land and

and the madam said, 'let us go and find some, and I went and got some of the stall land and we sold the cloth bit by bit and we built a kiosk. And the madam, it was the madam who advised me that I should sell the cloth. So, as for the madam, she treated me very nicely. (Is that so?) Yes, my brother's wife. So it was her who advised me that I should sell the cloth. So when I sold the cloth for a while, and it was during that time that I stopped and went to sell yams. (Yes, And you said she treated you nicely. What did she do that you know that she has treated you nicely?) Ah! I would not have got the stall. So she did it to make me get some of the stalls, so I knew that she liked me. (Yes) She let me get a stall so we made the stall nicely. We used plywood to roof the whole kiosk. So later, they said the land was for the railways so they would come and pull down the stalls and the madam said that for them to come and pull it down for nothing, then we should sell it.

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When that happened, many people also said, if that was the case they would buy the stall. And the mother said, then her share is in it; she is selling. So I should also sell mine. For them to come and pull it down for us to incur debt, I should sell it and use the money to find a job; and we gave it to somebody. But even, they didn't come to pull it down, so now, somebody has taken it (True. It is because of that, that you stopped selling cloth.) Yes. (Can't you go and sell cloth at a new place?) If there is money, I can arrange and carry them and walk through the market to sell. I can sell (But there is no money) There is no money. (True) There is no money. (And children's dresses won't require as much money as cloth?) The children's dresses need as much money as that (Mm. what do you do to get money to sell?) Now it is like the yam; the money for it has become big. (Is that so?) Yes, so, now the yam; as for me, if I were to get money, it will be the yam that I will sell. For the yam, when I go and come back, I will get some for the children to eat. If a friend is passing by, I will present some to her, for it appears that all these are blessings (Yes) Yes. But the money that I don't get it much. If I get a big amount of money and I have been able to go and bring a full load to 'Bode' (a wholesale section of the market), by the time I finish selling, I will get much profit. So today, if you don't have about 500 or 600 thousand for yams, you cannot buy much. Yes. For cloth.)

too, if you don't have<sup>a</sup> big amount like that, for today, because of the budget they have made, the price of cloth also ~~has become~~ expensive. The children who are in a room and have arranged the cloth in the stalls are given a lot of money. (Tone) Yes. Therefore, as for the yams, now, if I get about 300,000 at all, I can use it to go and buy a little. If someone goes, and I buy mine, I and all of them can take one lorry and bring it to 'Bode' to unload them and I take mine and you take yours and everyone sells hers and collects her money. (So if you have money, which is profitable, selling of cloth or yam?) Yam. (There is more profit on yam than cloth) Yes. (Is that so?) Yes. (But which is more tiring?) The yam is more tiring, but as for me, <sup>because</sup> when I go and come, I will get some for the children, ~~it~~ doesn't bother me that I get tired when I go into bush. (Yes) For the way to the farm is not far. There may be that the one taking you to the farm may have a bicycle and he may give you a ride so you don't get tired too much. (You don't get tired too much) Yes. (And the cloth selling, will you get tired?) Cloth, the cloth, you don't get tired. As for the cloth, <sup>when</sup> those who go to Tema or Accra to bring them, arrive, you go immediately to buy some and you arrange them and carry them around. If even you don't have a stall at the market, you arrange them and walk around in the market, the yam section, meat section, anywhere; someone may call you, Afia, cloth seller.)

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and you turn your eyes; bring it. When you take them off your head and put it down, ei I like this one; this is how much? Then you tell her the price. What she wants, she buys, and she gives you your money, and you carry it and off you go like that. They will be calling you like that. (That is tiring) Yes, for that, there is not much tiredness (Yes) Yes. Money matters, money matters, and as for money matters, but for me, the yam is good. (Yes) Yes. For when you come, today food has become very scarce. Price of plantain is high. (True) Price of rice is expensive. Price of everything is expensive. Therefore, for the yam, when you go and you get some back, you put some there (at home). When you come home, these children, when she boils it and even put in some salt, when she eats and drinks water, she becomes full (True) Yes. When I am going and some are left over, when I am not there, they will cook and eat it. That is so. When I see someone I like, at the market when she is passing, I say, come for some yam. "Ei, thank you. May God bless you." It is fine (Yes) Yes. So, if I get money, it is the yam that I will sell. (Yes) Yes. (Yes, If you don't have money, maybe you will stop, you will not go to buy cloth but you will buy food to eat.) Yes. If you don't have money, you will get cloth to put on, you will not get food to eat. That means that you become miserable. Therefore if you have a small amount of money and someone is going, you go with her to the North. When you go,

maybe you may spend two weeks (Yes)  
Sometimes at all when you go, even if some of the yams are there at all, the longest time you spend will be one week only, and you will finish buying all the yams and you come to take a lorry to come back.

If you have the money, as soon as you arrive, someone will say, let us go to the farm to have a look at mine, let us go to have a look at mine. Also, as soon as you go, you can buy Tomorrow, you go to this person, you can buy. If the amount of money is much, it will not last a week; you will be able to buy a lorry full to come here. (Yes) Because of the money which is not there. (Yes. Before we had conversation, you said, there is somebody who has money and he/she is a bad person. But there may be someone who has money and he/she is a good person.) Yes (Mr. What will show you that someone is a good person or a bad person?) Yes. There may be someone who gives you the money that you should go to the North to buy yam to come, it may be that I went with you and you may get your things and return before me. As soon as you arrive, she will come saying "Akua, did you see Afia?" You will say, "O no, I didn't see her." She will say, "And she has gone with my money to stay there, and she is spending the money. She doesn't know how to do the business. You went with her and)

you have come before her." She has let all people who are there know that I have taken her money. (Yes) Yes. There may be someone too, she will not say to let somebody know at all that you have given your money to me.. All is that, even if you bring the things, she will not come near to it. When you finish selling, you give some of the money to her and she buys food with it to eat and you give her some yards to take it home.

That is why I am saying that there may be someone who is a good person, and some too are bad people. (As she will insult you) Yes, she will insult you. There may be someone, when you go for her money, it may not be good money. (Is that so?) Yes. When you work with it for a short time, you lose the money (Is that so?) Yes (It means that it is not good,

it is not good money) Yes (Where is it from?) I can't know what makes it happen like that. The money that she gives to you, you don't know what sort of money it is. You go and come with it one time. You incur a debt by the time you will come and all the money has become a debt on you. She will demand it from you all the time. She may even bring a police that you owe her, and she is coming to collect her money. You have none, ~~then in a public house~~, she comes to insult you for all people to hear that you have gone for her money and they have come to worry you. So, if you don't get a good person to take her money, then it is a problem. (Yes) Yes.)

(And if you are a good person and you have a little amount of money, and you want to get profit, what will you do? Will you give it to someone or you will trade with it?) Ah, if you have money and you are a good person, you will give, — you give it to someone, and you are a good person, and you get a good person also to give it to her, she will work with the money gradually; if there is profit, when she comes, maybe you gave her 100,000, she may say, I made 20,000 profit. She says to you "O, add it to the money and go and come again." (Yes) Yes, that is it.

If she is one who is not a good person too, even if you tell her that, she becomes angry.

"I have given you an amount of 100,000 and you have come with 20,000 profit. It is small. Then, bring me my money." (Is that so?) Yes. She is angry. And she has disgraced you. Many people are there. So, you too will be angry. You will say, "Tomorrow, I will bring you your money"; and you give her her money and you go in peace.

If you get a good person and by her grace, she says, Afia, take 200 or 300 to go, if she is a good person, then nobody at all will not know that you have given me money and that your money is with me. (Ah, you don't tell anybody) She will not tell anybody. When you go and come, as for her, she stays somewhere. When you finish selling, maybe you take an amount about 2000 or 4000, "Madam, take this for your market shopping and you take a yam, and tell a child, take it)

to madam, and she goes to give it to her and she goes away. When you finish collecting the money, then you go again like that. But if she is not good, all the people at Bode will know that you have given me your money. (Yes) And, she will say, "Ei! I have given my money to Afia, I have given money to Afia. When she says that too, the money can't stay and it gets lost.

As for the yams, if I get money, Akua, that is what I will sell everyday. It is because I don't have money. As for my leg, by the grace of God; As for now, I have got all the money, so even tomorrow I can go to the North; I can wear shoes.

Akua, is your child fine? The girl who cooks for you; is she fine? (Yes, she is very fine; she says, she greets you. I have told her that your leg is a bit fine and she is happy. I told her that you were sick and she was very sorry.) As for her brother/sister, he/she goes to school. (Yes, he/she goes to school.) Mm.

So, perhaps, this Easter, my brother/sister may come here. The one that comes before me. He is in Accra. When he comes here, I will come and tell you and I will go with you to our town for you to greet them. (Your town —) Very small (Yes) The town is not big; very small. And the other day, did you know that I was saying that if there would be chance, Nana Poku, when you are going, you may go with him (Nana Poku) to America for me, and you said, your

government, those of you who are from there, the government doesn't like you at all. (Is that so?) You, you said, your town government, (AA) Yes, and there too, Europe or America too, it has become very difficult if you are going with somebody. (True) So I would like that when my brother comes, you and I would go there for you to see him. For he says that if I get someone who will help me to go with him (Nene Poku) for him (the brother); then we tell my brothers the way we are passing on and all matters about it. (Yes, but as for me, if he has some relatives over there, I can write a letter in addition that it may help.) Yes, yes, that is what I mean. (If he has one brother there and I am among, perhaps —) Yes, so my brother who comes before me, so that day he came, the child said that the uncle should go with him and he said that now, it is a question of money and if you don't get a good person, and you do it, someone may take the money and it becomes a waste. But if you get really a good person and they bring him, then we see to it how ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~teach~~ <sup>teach</sup> him the ways that we can use to let him go. And I said, he said he may come to our town at Easter. He will come from Accra. Therefore, when he comes, I will come and tell you and you and us will go to my brother and the procedure we use, about embassy and other things, you will tell him and that will draw my brother's attention to it.)



that, Ei, is ~~to~~ not a person who can do something to help us to enable him to go? Yes, that is what I am saying. (That is good. In two weeks time, I will go to Accra.) Is that so, you see? (Yes, so if you write your brother's address for me, what will I do to find his house?)