

**MONEY, SEX AND COOKING:  
MANIPULATION OF THE PAID/UNPAID BOUNDARY BY  
ASANTE MARKET WOMEN**

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**Introduction**

Asante market women face heavy and conflicting pressures both to fulfill their responsibilities for cooking, childcare and cleaning, and to earn income to help support themselves, their children and other relatives.<sup>1</sup> Cultural values and rules affect more than the decision whether or not to forgo money income and put more time into unpaid activities, such as cooking. They also construct the task which the actor chooses to perform or not. These values affect not only the amount but the timing and kind of labor Asante women need to perform domestic tasks. Each of these variables contributes to determining the degree and type of contradictions between domestic work and trading (or other occupations).

Domestic work, as unpaid production for immediate consumption, is dominated by the rules and values associated with the consumption of the goods and services it produces. The relations of production of this type of work are closely related, if not identical, to those in which the goods and services are consumed. Rules and values apply not only to the product of domestic labor, but to the relations in which it is produced. Cultural rules place values, for example, not only on the dishes produced by cooking, but on when to cook, who should cook for whom, and the consequences of specific deviations from these stipulations.

Asante domestic relations present attractive complexities in the dovetailing of paid and unpaid working relations. Women provide use values in their domestic work, but expect a financial return. Relations of childbearing oblige women to provide as well as receive money. Flexible residence patterns provide cases of nearly every imaginable combination or absence of coresidence, domestic work, financial assistance and kin or marriage tie. Commercial arrangements for the provision of domestic needs, including cooked food, are varied and popular, but also a focus of tension and controversy. Women's ability to transfer tasks across the boundary between paid and unpaid work, or between various noncommercial relations, is an important facet of their ability to preserve independent incomes and influence in their families and communities.

This paper focusses on cooking because it creates sharper conflicts for women traders in Kumasi Central Market than childcare or cleaning. Guyer suggests that cooking often overshadows childcare as a constraint on women's working lives (1981). She points out the extent to which cultural and technological definitions of meal schedules and dishes vary the length and frequency of meal preparation. She also draws attention to the timing of meals as

a key source of conflict with the daily productive cycle. For Asante women, domestic cooking is closely linked to the marital relationship, which can be threatened by significant variations in meal timing and content, or delegation of preparation. The degree and kind of power women have in marriage, compared to kin relations, affect both the degree and kind of compromises women make on domestic work issues.

## Social context of cooking and trading

### *Lineage and marital obligations*

Asante cultural patterns presume lineage loyalty and individual achievement for both men and women. Matrilineal traditions remain strong for Asantes, even for urban residents not using lineage land, houses or other property. Women have a secure position in their own lineages, as daughters, sisters and the mothers of its heirs. Their brothers and mothers' brothers take more of the leadership positions, but there are female positions at each lineage and community level. Women retain rights of access to lineage housing and land, administered by lineage elders, before, during and after marriage. Asantes see a major dichotomy between the enduring nature of lineage relations, including motherhood, and the inherently unstable, transitory relations of marriage. They use a proverb to indicate this: "You can get a new husband (or wife), but not a new brother."

Asante couples may continue living separately in their family houses after marriage. In these cases, children live with their mothers but visit their fathers frequently. Married or unmarried, a woman can live and cooperate economically with her mother, brother, maternal uncle, father, or any of a range of female relatives without losing respectability. Couples more often live together when they migrate to a new area, such as the city of Kumasi, where they may not have family-owned housing available. Of the 65% of Asante market women surveyed who were currently married, 59% live with their husbands (38% of the total). Although duolocality, matrilineal on women's part, is certainly compatible with matrilineal organisation, it is also practiced by Ga women in Accra, the national capital (Robertson 1984, p.57).

Living apart gives Asante women more control over domestic task allocation. Married women living separately have more freedom to invite relatives to live with them, or to go live with them. They can also substitute others' labor in cooking and housework with fewer repercussions, or without the husband's knowledge, and more frequently do so (Clark 1984).

Asantes who openly prefer duolocal marriage, both men and women, claim that the social distance it creates makes for a more peaceful, longer-lasting marriage, with greater mutual respect. Specifically, they believe it "prevents quarrels" over use of money, time, and personal movements. Wives are expected

to be submissive and deferential in interactions with their husbands. The ideal is easier to maintain when such interaction is minimised. Virtual ignorance of the spouse's amount and sources of income is not uncommon, and sometimes openly recommended.

Market traders' independent incomes and budgets do not set them apart from Asante women in other occupations. As in much of West Africa, Asantes expect spouses to have separate finances and interests. Each pays for certain expenses related to their marriage and children, and both retain allegiance to their own lineages and help support relatives with labor and money.

Asante cultural values reward both men and women for financial success, but also make considerable demands on women for unpaid work. They provide domestic services not only to their husbands, within marriage, but within lineage relations, to their children, mothers and elderly relatives. Women are encouraged to earn as much money as possible, but expected to earn less than men, on average, because of their domestic responsibilities. Women put time into raising children, which reduces their earning ability, and also put money into raising children, which further reduces their capital accumulation.

Asante proverbs and other folk models acknowledge the conflict between unpaid domestic work and income-generating work for women and analyse it in terms compatible with the production/reproduction and exchange/use value dichotomies. For example, men pay twice the assessment of women towards town and lineage expenses. Asantes explained this practice in terms of each gender's responsibility to the lineage: "Men bring money and women bring children to make the lineage strong." This proverb displays the paid/unpaid dichotomy as a division in gender roles, not primarily marital roles, since it also divides brothers and sisters.

Traditional maternal and paternal roles show a parallel division, with mothers providing use values and fathers exchange values. Both parents contribute to the support of the children, but the mother contributes vegetable foodstuffs, usually homegrown until recently, while the father contributes meat, fish and salt, all widely traded in precolonial times. While not necessarily historical, these ideals were reported by Rattray (1923) and Fortes (1970) and confirmed as oral history in recent interviews (Clark 1984).

Contemporary urban Asantes normally purchase both genders' food contributions. As vegetable food prices rise precipitously, consumption of meat and fish, which men traditionally provided, has dropped sharply. An urban Asante woman's maternal responsibility for growing vegetable foods has now become a financial responsibility for a major proportion of family expenses.

Duolocality also reduces the proportion of paternal contributions. Parents living with the children, usually the mother, often end up contributing more towards their medical bills, clothing and school supplies, according to informants.

As budgets contract, bills cannot always be assigned as planned. Parents not physically present are less available when urgent financial crises must be met. Claims on other paternal and maternal male relatives, a traditional alternative, are weakened by deepening poverty and increased geographical mobility.

Asante women's financial duties towards children and other lineage kin shape the conflict between work and home in different directions than for western, middle-class women. Asantes do not experience a direct conflict between income-generating work, on the one hand, and husband and family, on the other. Within motherhood, they see their financial responsibilities as much more primary and inalienable than physical care of their children. Within marriage, financial support, fidelity and marital stability depend more heavily on the wife's own participation in cooking. Children conversely provide a woman's main source of domestic help to eventually release her from cooking and childcare and enable her to continue working full time. To some extent, this situation creates a contradiction between motherhood and wifehood.

The financial aspect of the Asante motherly role drives a mother to ensure a steady, high personal income, rather than discouraging her participation in paid work. Although a mother also has the responsibility to provide physical care of her child, including meals, her financial responsibility takes precedence. As one mother explained to me, "Everyone likes children, so they will not let them stay hungry or hurt themselves, but no one would work for them the way I do." An Asante child needs not a mother's care as such but reliable care from a competent person. Less exacting standards of care combine with less emotional significance assigned to physical care to encourage delegation. Personal preparation of food, in contrast, is an essential part of the social purpose food fulfills in marriage.

### *Cooking and marriage*

The important role of personal cooking in establishing and maintaining a marriage means that departures from ideal standards of performance can have severe consequences to the relationship. These dangers tend to compress the gap between ideal, expected and actual meals. This effect, however, appears almost entirely in the evening meal, because the sexual and financial associations of cooking focus heavily on the evening meal.

In the classic Asante duolocal marriage, a wife cooks the evening meal in her own house as a preliminary to visiting her husband for the night at his house. In farm villages and Kumasi alike, dusk still brings a noticeable traffic in children and young to middle-aged women carrying large covered dishes. In polygamous Asante marriages (never coresidential), even-handed rotation in cooking schedules removes the necessity to discuss sex directly.

The sexual connotation of cooking is so strong that Asantes use it as a euphemism as well as a symbol for sex. The ubiquitous street comments from young men of "my wife, my wife" change to "ah, you are bringing me food" for

girls carrying even the smallest dish. An older woman trader with a new boyfriend made a great show of departing early to cook for him, complete with bawdy gestures. Another trader denied accepting goods on credit from a male farmer (a type of transaction associated in jokes with sex), by loudly maintaining, "I am not cooking for anyone!" As in many languages, Asante Twi uses the same verb (di) for eating and sex, which has many other meanings of possession, taking, inheriting, etc. It must be reduplicated (didi) to unambiguously mean eating.

"Cooking for" a man seems to take the place that "living with" a man occupies in contemporary United States society, as a trial or quasi-marital relationship. For some Asante couples, it will turn out to be a stage of courtship, formalised eventually through lineage, church and legal rituals. Other similar relationships will be broken off due to incompatibility, or remain informal, with less family and public support. Couples in a relationship including daily cooking accept some degree of public recognition of the relationship and also recognise mutual responsibilities similar to marital roles, although less binding.

Cooking can express either positive or negative sexual feelings. Preparing prompt, attractive, large meals for a husband symbolises respect for conservative standards in other aspects of the relationship. Wives express their satisfaction with a warm relationship by extra care in cooking, just as husbands enjoy giving beloved wives extra gifts. One trader described with gusto how a wife chooses her finest bowl, puts a beautiful fufu in it and arranges the fish to look big and plump. Then she bathes carefully, rubs herself with cream and puts on her good cloth to take the dinner to her husband.

Women also express anger and defiance by persistent carelessness in cooking, or by refusing to cook altogether. This expresses the threat or intention of breaking off the relationship. One group of traders sympathised with a middle-aged friend who had stopped cooking for her husband because of his continual adultery. Since he no longer came home to eat dinner, they argued, it would simply waste the food. Although not endorsing it as ideal wifely behavior, they considered it more appropriate and respectable than taking several lovers, her other reaction. Robertson reports that Ga women similarly stop cooking to signal imminent separation (Robertson 1984, p.183).

This sexual charge means that women not intending separation compete sexually with the evening meal, with hypothetical rivals when none exist. A wife becomes extremely suspicious if her husband loses his appetite, especially in the evening. She will accuse him of eating somewhere else (with someone else), or of not liking her food. She will be more reluctant to delegate cooking to potential sexual rivals, such as housemaids, in case the association proves too strong.

The sexual connotation of cooking also applies to commercial sources of the type of food served at evening meals. Informal restaurants serving these heavy meals to patrons of ordinary incomes are called chop bars. Many are

perfectly respectable, but the suspicion persists that the chop bar proprietor or her assistant provides sexual services along with the evening meal, as a wife does. Some chop bars serve alcoholic drinks and are indeed neighborhood centers of partying and/or prostitution. If a man goes for dinner to the chop bar, he may "eat" more than food before he comes home.

Cooking the evening meal is not only linked firmly to sex within marriage, but to the main financial contribution from husbands to wives. The man's regular payment, usually weekly, of a specific sum for buying foodstuffs, called "chop money," distinguishes a steady relationship leading to marriage from a casual affair marked by irregular gifts. Chop money is often the only money a husband gives directly to his wife, to cover his obligation to feed his children and help her. A man should pay rent or school fees, but he does so directly, and gives money or clothes to the children themselves. In poor families, where up to 90% of total income goes on food, chop money is the only money he gives to either wife or children.

The wife must pay for any expense related to cooking from this chop money, or supplement it with her own earnings. Several traders emphasized that their chop money was not enough to buy food for the family meal, as it should, or even for their husbands' own food. Robertson remarks on the prevalence of inadequate chop money for Ga women as well (Robertson 1984, p.192). Asante traders mentioned that either sexual competition or pride could lead women to provide higher quality, more ample meals to husbands at their own expense. Low or irregular chop money may reflect the husband's sexual disinterest, which a wife may prefer to conceal (see also Robertson 1984, p.190).

A wife also bears the cost of any substitution for her own unpaid labor in cooking. If she buys more expensive semi-processed foods, she makes up the difference. If a relative or maid does the cooking, any food, clothing, gifts or wages received comes from the wife's pocket. If her own daughter does the cooking, the father is already supporting this child. Her chop money remains intact, although the family may be forgoing income from the child's possible employment.

The connection between cooking and financial support is so strict that any interruption in cooking duties usually stops it. This contradicts the husband's ideal responsibility to support his children, since they obviously continue to eat. In several cases, men who married a second wife simply paid the previous amount of weekly chop money alternately to the wife cooking that week. Men often suspend payment of chop money completely when they travel or migrate abroad, contributing only occasional gifts or clothing.

The tight connection between cooking, sex and finances also links sexual and economic conflicts. A suspicious wife experiences economic and sexual jealousy simultaneously. She fears sexual rivals will be spending money she would otherwise receive for her children. In itself no trivial complaint, the

expression of economic outrage on behalf of the children is considered to show more self-respect and propriety than voicing sexual jealousy. Robertson reports similar attitudes among Ga women (Robertson 1984, p.189). A man likewise complains more publicly of his wife's laziness in cooking than of her infidelity or dissatisfaction, that may have motivated it.

In order to enjoy the full sexual and economic benefits of marriage, Asante women must adjust their cooking practices. Marriage does not require new ideal cooking patterns, even for the evening meal, but makes widely accepted ones more rigid. Inflexibility in itself, however, creates conflicts with trading for married women that others can avoid. Higher preparation standards eliminate marginally qualified substitute cooks and increase total labor time. Using semi-processed foods like sliced and powdered vegetables in a husband's meals reduces the distinction between home cooking and the dreaded chop bar. Preparing lighter meals or fufu substitutes also weakens the contrast, since these items are often purchased for lunch or snacks. Meal timing, a critical point in the conflict between trading and cooking, is also a critical quality standard in the context of marital fidelity (see also Robertson 1984, p.183). If the evening meal is late, the waiting husband may be tempted to visit the nearby chop bar out of hunger alone.

Women still cook outside marriage, but the gap between ideal and actual meals can widen without serious repercussions. When women feed themselves or their children, they can pay less attention to correct preparation and timing and resort more to quick dishes or snack foods. One exhausted young mother never cooked when her husband travelled, since "we eat anything."

Marriage means wives cook more carefully, not more often. Cooking rates remain at about 60% before and after marriage age, until middle age, when children take over. During this same period, however, women steadily reduce their personal performance of other domestic chores (Clark 1984). Women traders delegate cooking less often than childcare, partly because maids old enough to cook present more of a sexual threat.

## Problems with the ideal

### *Interference with trading*

Cooking close to ideal standards not only subtracts more hours from the working day, but limits the kind of trading women can do. In Kumasi Central Market, three major categories of traders were found selling most commodities. The *nkwansufo*, or travelling buyers, spend most of their working time on the road. They bring goods from distant supply areas to wholesalers working full time in Kumasi, receiving and reselling their goods. The largest number of market traders retail goods bought from wholesalers or other sources inside or

outside the market. They generally have lower capital and income levels than the other types of trader within their commodity groups.

Personal performance of cooking chores is only compatible with retailing, and appreciably hampers even this trading role. Travellers obviously must delegate daily cooking when they are out of town. Specialist travellers are only supported on routes to the more distant supply areas. To compete effectively, they must spend one or two weeks on a trip to fill a truck and reduce transport costs.

The most lucrative trading position in Kumasi Central Market is that of the local wholesalers, who sell to retailers and institutional suppliers. Their whole position rests on their availability in the market during all normal working hours, to receive travellers' goods on arrival and to have supplies available at times more convenient for buyers. While price control and tax enforcement measures made direct enquiries on income levels impossible, business hours could be readily observed. The full complement of wholesalers in any yard arrived before other traders and remained until business had stopped for the day. They showed great haste to return to the yard if they left for any reason. Wholesalers who frequently left early to cook would lose valuable shipments and customers to more reliable colleagues.

Meal timing intensifies the interference between cooking and trading. Ideal meal times conflict directly with the daily rhythm of the market. At breakfast time, traders need to be at the market already, buying their supplies when prices are lowest, as the villagers and travelling traders arrive from the supply areas. The wholesale yards open officially after 6am, but villagers arrive with supplies in peripheral areas well before this. Lunch comes at the peak of rush hour in the market. Traders count on their highest volume of sales from 10am to 2pm, and rarely leave their stalls for any reason. The trading day continues until 5 or 6pm, when the market officially closes. Serving fufu by 6pm means arriving home by 3 or 4pm, and leaving the market at 2pm, after shopping, to stand in line for transport. Fufu substitutes delay this schedule by one or two hours only.

Among food retailers, those who cook buy less goods, even if they have the capital to buy more, to be sure of clearing perishable stocks before they leave. Observed cases of temporary or long-term restriction were confirmed by traders' generalisations. One woman left a buying area with a smaller stock of cassava than her colleagues. They explained, "she can't buy as much because she has to sell quickly to go home and cook, because no one is at home." One young yam trader frequently reduced her prices below the prevailing rate in early afternoon. Market neighbors who did not know her personally commented that "she probably has to go home and cook, so she has to sell quickly." Another trader described the normal working hours in two categories. "Some women have to leave early because they have to go home and cook dinner. Others have children at home, so they can stay until the market closes." Traders openly and frequently attributed their own or others' restricted trading to conflicts with cooking,

specifically to the need to leave early. They only rarely mentioned any other domestic task as a reason.

Traders could not resolve such conflicts by doing their cooking in the market. Kumasi Central Market is a highly desirable business location and hence extremely crowded. If a trader had the space food preparation requires in her stall, she would almost certainly sublet it to another trader. Trading requires fairly constant attention, which does not leave time for cooking, especially of a full meal. Family members would not be willing to travel to the market for meals, often requiring costly public transport, and eat in such noisy, public surroundings. In addition, cooking or other fires in the market proper were prohibited after a disastrous fire several years ago.

Women traders also face conflicts with their other major domestic task, physical child care. Like cooking, childcare is not particularly compatible with market trading. Contrary to the pattern suggested by Brown (1970), Bohannon and Dalton (1962) and others, less than half of the Kumasi traders with young children brought them to market (Clark 1984). Traders do not consider the market a safe place for young children, citing evident dangers from disease, accidents and exposure in most market locations. Traders who bring their young children to market under these adverse conditions regret that economic pressures force them to compromise their children's health. Childcare also interferes quite directly with trading. The mother must watch her child constantly and stop to wash or feed it, even at her busiest times, when she needs full attention to maximise sales.

Traders look for a different type of solution to their childcare problems. Working shorter hours or choosing less demanding trading roles does not resolve the conflict, since children need continuous care. Instead, traders go to considerable lengths to arrange for caretakers at home. Even nursing babies are brought to nurse several times daily. When substitute caretakers are unavailable, mothers will move to be near relatives or leave market trading altogether. Actual conflict between childcare and trading is reduced by cultural norms making it much less risky for women to delegate childcare than cooking.

#### *Cultural construction of cooking as a task*

To understand the choices facing Asante cooks, not only the relationships and associations of cooking but the tasks themselves must be considered in detail. The traditional Asante meal schedule centers around an evening meal of fufu and soup. For fufu, plantains or tubers are peeled, boiled and then pounded to an elastic lump in a large wooden mortar with a pestle up to six feet long. The elaborate preparation process typically takes two or three hours, depending on skill and the quantity, from peeling to serving. The least elaborate of the soups served with fufu can be prepared while the tubers boil.

Asantes consider fufu not only their favorite and most characteristic food, but the only completely satisfying food. Accustomed to this extremely heavy, slow-digesting dish, many say they cannot sleep properly without eating fufu. Funeral attenders consider themselves to be fasting as long as they refuse fufu, taking only rice or lighter dishes. The only acceptable reason for avoiding fufu is a claim of weak digestion, or doctor's orders for such conditions as ulcers. Although young married women may make fufu to please their husbands, divorced and widowed women with sufficient income and household help also prepare fufu for their own enjoyment.

Asantes' fierce attachment to fufu seems not to have much spiritual basis. Yams, the ritually significant food for harvest festivals and offerings, can be used for fufu, but the rituals use other yam dishes. Yam is rarely used for fufu outside of yam producing areas (not near Kumasi) because of its high cost compared to other starchy staples. In Kumasi and most of Ashanti Region, the usual fufu consists of roughly equal parts of plantain and cassava, adjusted to make the fufu harder or softer, as desired.

Fufu makes significantly more labor demands than other dishes. Traders who substitute flour-based porridge dishes for fufu during the work week explain that they do so to save time. Although these dishes also require about an hour of hard stirring, this is less than half the time for fufu. Grinding vegetables to the fine paste desired for the soups accompanying these starchy staples also takes considerable labor time and energy. This naturally depends on skill and the quantity prepared, but rarely exceeds one-half hour. Only palm-nut soup requires a multistep process of boiling, pounding and squeezing comparable to the fufu process.

The proper Asante diet does include ideal home-cooked dishes for breakfast and lunch, but these are much simpler. The same boiled yams, cocoyams or plantain pounded for fufu are eaten unpounded with stew as *ampesie*, or mashed for *eto*. Neither of these dishes takes more than half an hour to prepare, *ampesie* being proverbial as fast and cheap. Even ideal standards are very flexible for the noon meal, to the extent that it can be difficult to get respondents to specify what the classic farm family eats. Farm families observed to eat fufu daily eat leftovers, snack on fruit, or roast plantain at their farms during the day.

The ideal Asante meal pattern specifies the time as well as the content of morning and evening meals. Women should rise well before dawn to clean the house, bathe and prepare *ampesie* before family members leave for the farm. Fufu should be served before dark (6 to 6:30pm), when they return. Technical considerations reinforce the cultural value on prompt evening mealtimes. Preparing a fufu-type meal after dark in a typical compound kitchen with no light or one bulb presents considerable practical problems.

Cooking up to ideal Asante standards requires only a moderate amount of skill and training. The limited repertoire of preferred dishes means that a daughter can master them within a year or two of acquiring the needed dexterity and strength. Girls begin grinding vegetables for the family soup at age 6 or 8, although they take longer than older children. The ability to judge proper cooking times and ingredient quantities comes at age 10 or 12, with a year or two of experience. Pounding the fufu requires more strength, and the ability to coordinate closely with another person, turning the lump between each stroke of the five-foot pestle. Care and some skill are needed to achieve the desired smoothness and elasticity. A girl can take charge of the entire process by age 12 or 15, depending on aptitude and interest, but she will need a partner to help pound the fufu.

Without any gourmet traditions, there is little motivation for an adult woman to continue improving her cooking skills beyond this point. Grinding to the desired smoothness and pounding thoroughly depend on conscientiousness more than skill. Maids are considered as skillful as daughters, but expected to take less personal interest in preparing ingredients carefully and economically.

For an urban Asante family, good cooking begins with shopping for the ingredients. Lack of refrigeration makes shopping part of the daily routine of cooking. One shops primarily for the evening meal, since other meals often consist of leftovers or purchased snacks. Depending on the distance between home and market and the degree of transport shortage, the shopping trip can take two or three hours, the same labor time spent cooking. Lower quality, higher priced ingredients can be obtained in less time by patronising small neighborhood markets, streetside stands and passing hawkers.

Shopping makes an important contribution to the final quality of the meal. Considering the limited budget of most traders, the quality and quantity of ingredients bought for the money available determine the taste of the meal as much or more than methods of preparation. Shopping well takes more judgment and perseverance than food preparation. Experience, motivation and personal contacts all improve results, so a shopper may continue to improve in efficiency for many years.

Cooking properly requires more skill and motivation than child care, by Asante standards. Mothers can leave their children in the hands of substitutes with little anxiety, because they are concerned mainly with physical safety, including prevention of accidents, adequate water and food, and cleanliness. Once a toddler can walk and eat, another child of eight or nine can look after it. As long as one child is old enough, the arrangement requires no comment other than "there are children at home."

Childcare, like cooking, requires attention, not mature judgment. Asantes consider older siblings the natural caretakers because of their concern for a child's welfare. They fear a maid may be careless, rather than unskilled, letting the child

remain thirsty or hungry or fall into the fire while she falls asleep or gossips with friends. Adult relatives or neighbors in the compound can give advice or take action in an emergency.

In contrast to middle-class US families, Asantes do not consider full day interaction with the mother or another adult essential to normal intellectual and psychological growth. Mothers feel they can ensure the child's moral development by making rules and training it at night and weekends. There is no perceived threat to the maternal relationship, as this centers on the more onerous burdens of financial support and sponsorship, as distinguished by Esther Goody (1982).

#### *Limits to dependence on marriage*

The emphasis on maintaining something approaching the ideal meal pattern within marriage seems difficult to reconcile with Asante women traders' frequent departure from those standards, until one remembers the limited dependence Asante women have on marriage itself. Although cooking may be essential for Asante women to secure income from their husbands, they do not ordinarily respond by structuring their lives to attract the maximum chop money. Asante marriage does not create a permanent unit determining the control of resources, so women cannot afford to depend on it. Women who depend on their husbands' incomes are not only "soft" or unambitious, according to women traders, but bad mothers, since they do not take care to provide a secure future for their children.

Market women refer constantly to the possibility of divorce or widowhood when advising financial independence. Children do not inherit from their fathers, if any property exists, and in case of sudden death a man may not have made the customary premortem gifts to them. Paternal relatives ideally should take over the father's financial and moral responsibilities, but they may be hard pressed to support their own children. Paternal support usually dwindles in case of divorce, or even when the father travels temporarily to another town or country, to occasional gifts or payment of school fees.

Illness, bankruptcy, or simple poverty can prevent a father from adequately supporting children even when he lives with them. A contracting economy in Ghana means most families cannot survive on a single income in any case. Men acknowledge this and value their wives' contribution. A wife feels justified in resisting demands for domestic services which threaten her earning power and will challenge her husband to replace the lost income. A good father would also feel ashamed to satisfy his vanity and convenience by keeping his wife at home at the expense of his children's food or higher education. Both men and women admit that economic independence gives wives more say in family decisions. Women consider this a positive and men a negative effect. It does not give women more control over their husbands' actions or income, because of their separate budgets. Instead, women get more autonomy to take decisions

unilaterally, with their own money. Many Asantes feel strict financial separation strengthens or protects marriages by "preventing quarrels" over how to spend money.

Asante women do not depend on marriage ties for access to their children, as in some strongly patrilineal societies. Children belong to their mother's lineage, so women do not fear losing them at divorce. Children also have strong ties to their father and his immediate family, who should support them until adulthood, but these are more personal and spiritual. Lineage relations arise from the fact of birth, not the choice of marital partners.

On the other hand, marriage is still an important part of an individual's life condition. Women expect to be married for most of their adult lives, and value the companionship and sexual satisfaction to be found in marriage, as well as financial support. Like Ga women, Asante women traders referred first to economic reliability in discussing good husbands in general (Robertson 1984, p.182). However, an older woman referred to "coming during the day to sit and talk with you," the same woman who continued feeding her aged husband because he had been generous when he was earning. Another described an early marriage in which "we were like twins. We went everywhere together, even to the same church." It seems that Asante women value intimacy in marriage, but do not necessarily expect it. This could be related to the fact that young girls are not expected to be virgins at marriage, but to enjoy several years of pre-marital freedom partly used to attract and test a worthy spouse. Several informants commented that they had heard that US women commonly married at 18 or 19, which they considered cut this period of enjoyment too short.

A long-lasting marriage, not necessarily the first, carries considerable prestige. It reflects credit on both husband and wife, who presumably had the good sense to pick a suitable partner, behaved well enough to satisfy them, and were themselves desirable enough to motivate good behavior. Women also realize that they have a better chance within marriage to have many children and get substantial support for them. However, having children, rather than marriage, is the social and spiritual necessity. A bad marriage, which is not providing money, companionship or sex (and therefore children) is worse than no marriage at all. Asante market women often consciously debate and decide how to balance competing claims from husband, children and personal ambition. One onion trader, recently divorced, declared "onions are my husband." She had committed herself to trading as an alternative to remarriage, considering it a more reliable source of support for herself and her children. The majority, with more confidence in their husbands or less in their trading success, negotiate compromises which balance financial and domestic pressures. Success in their womanly roles both requires and is demonstrated by such negotiations.

## Compromises between trading and cooking

### *Commercially prepared food*

The variety and sheer quantity of commercially prepared foods available testifies to the willingness of substantial numbers of women to compromise on ideal standards, despite the consequences. Women traders use a variety of commercial relations to resolve the conflict between trading and cooking. Women buy ready-to-eat food consumed at meals, or buy semi-processed foods. They also provide subsistence and wages for maids or foster children. These strategies use the woman's money to substitute for her labor time. Clearly, women are not only willing to compromise, but able to use the time saved to earn the necessary money.

A large amount of ready-to-eat food is sold in markets, residential areas, and at worksites such as office and industrial districts. These mainly substitute for the meals to which the loosest ideal standards apply. Bread, gruel, kenkey (a steamed dumpling) and other light snack meals are the most common breakfast and noon meals. Both farm and urban families rarely prepare these meals at home. Even when family members remain at home all day, they purchase lunch from roadside vendors or wandering hawkers.

For the evening meal, labor time can be reduced by purchasing semi-processed foodstuffs. Sliced and powdered vegetables sold in the market short-cut the most laborious steps of popular Asante soups and stews. These lack the fresh flavor of home-prepared vegetables, and may conceal substandard produce or outright adulteration. Either fresh or dry vegetables can be machine ground on order for a small fee, although not to the optimal smoothness. Women also substitute other dishes for fufu as a labor-saving strategy, although this is difficult for actively married women. The amount of flours and pre-mixed doughs for such dishes carried in the market is in itself evidence of some degree of compromise.

Purchases of cooked food by themselves and their families allow women to work a full day in many occupations, including farming and trading. Women can make the early start essential to make the day worthwhile, or catch the low prices. Husbands and older children can buy lunch at school or work, instead of returning home. Children five or seven years old, too young to cook for themselves, can be left alone at home with lunch money to buy from trusted vendors. Toddlers and young children accompanying their mothers can find appropriate snacks throughout the day, as she can. They may benefit from more frequent snacks, which they need, than their mother would cook herself, if she were at home.

Market traders themselves depend on cooked food sellers for their noon meal in the market. Providing snacks and meals for the 20,000 traders attending Kumasi Central Market daily is a small industry in itself, supporting hundreds of

hawkers and chop bar workers. Travelling traders depend even more heavily on cooked food sellers in markets and village roadsides, while on the road. The sexual connotations of cooking to order make it difficult for women travellers to patronise chop bars or make arrangements for meals with local women as male travellers do.

Purchasing meals or snacks relieves time pressures, but increases pressure on a women's income. However, some consumers maintain that street food is less expensive than home cooked meals, partly because they usually purchase less elaborate dishes than they cook. Economies of scale can be considerable for commercial food preparation, in expensive fuel as well as labor time. In addition, men and working children pay for their own lunches bought away from home, when a home-cooked meal would come from the mother's chop money. In these cases, a woman can substitute someone else's money for her unpaid labor.

Commercial food preparation not only allows the consumer to transfer her time to paid labor instead of unpaid, but allows the producer to turn that unpaid task into a paid one. The cooked food industry provides full-time employment for women who cannot find substitute child caretakers and therefore can only leave home for a few hours at a time. They can use their home location, utensils, and family labor to generate income they control, turning consumption resources into production assets.

Although cooked food preparation is distinct from market trading, in many cases the option of cooked food sales reproduces women as market traders. Traders who cannot find or afford domestic substitutes may leave the market temporarily for home-based occupations such as this. They can earn sufficient income to provide basic family needs while unable to trade, instead of consuming their capital. When circumstances improve, their trading capital still exists. If successful, they can preserve their capital against inflation or even increase it. Cooked food sellers also develop relationships with foodstuffs suppliers in the market, who extend them goods on short-term credit. Such clientships and credit reputations can be used in retail trade when they return to the market.

The advantages to Asante market women of using commercially prepared food seem substantial, and they do make substantial use of it. The process has stopped short of taking over the evening meal, however, despite the range of commercial alternatives available and used for other meals. This is because the cultural constraints on using both short-cuts and substitutes in meal preparation are especially strong for that meal. The sexual and financial significance of cooking the evening meal personally within marriage effectively inhibits women from using the available options.

### *Substitute cooks*

Instead of purchasing foodstuffs prepared or processed elsewhere, women can use their income to support dependents to cook for them at home.

This reduces or eliminates losses in quality of ingredients, preparation, or meal timing. Mothers may keep daughters home for cooking who might otherwise be gainfully employed, as hawkers, for example. Foster children or adult relatives living in the same household may cook, in return for subsistence, gifts and future assistance (often unspecified). Market traders also hire unrelated, usually live-in, helpers, referred to as maids. The wages, clothing, and parting gifts these young or adolescent girls receive are usually so small compared to food prices that subsistence support is again the main expense.

Women get most of their assistance in both cooking and childcare from their own children, especially daughters. Adult kin give surprisingly low levels of aid in these urban families. Tables 1 and 2 show that children steadily but gradually take over tasks as women grow older. Age of the mother proved a more reliable indicator of personal task performance than number of children, although the two were closely correlated, as expected (Clark 1984). This confirms observations and interviews indicating that the age of the oldest child was the critical factor, whether later births were frequent, delayed, or the children died.

Daughters represent no sexual threat to their mothers, because of incest rules, but still represent a minor compromise on quality. No daughter will prepare food for her father quite as carefully as for her husband, although she may be a better cook than her mother by age 16. Women living separately from their husbands can even conceal the extent to which children cook. As women turn over cooking to their daughters, they also gradually reduce their emphasis on further childbearing and sexuality. Eventually, many "retire" from marriage by ceasing to visit their husbands and cook for them.

One middle-aged trader had fulfilled the ideal that children take complete charge of the household. Her nine children, aged 3 to 26, lived with other relatives in a house built by her deceased maternal uncle. The oldest, a daughter, had left home to live with her husband. When she became pregnant, her mother convinced her to quit her white-collar job and move back in. Younger sisters and a maid did most of the physical work and cared for the baby, who never came to market. The mother said proudly that she did nothing at all at home, and spent most of her non-trading time at her husband's apartment. Of course, relations between parents and children extend far beyond the exchange of domestic services. Asantes value their children highly for the lasting respect, affection, obedience and ritual support they give, both in childhood and as adults. Parents expect financial support in later life, just as financial support is an important part of their parental responsibilities. But they expect short-term as well as long-term reciprocity. Boys as well as girls help with cleaning and errands, and boys will cook and care for younger siblings if no girls are old enough.

Helping with domestic tasks brings children in closer contact with adults, which may bring them more food and financial sponsorship in much the same way as closer domestic ties gain more support from husbands for wives.

Helpfulness is an important criterion for judging a child's good character and intelligence, and also his likelihood of long-term reciprocation of investments like school fees. There is little assumption of equal treatment of siblings of differently perceived character or capacity.

Children can affect decisions about their future by showing more aptitude and interest in trading compared to cooking, for example. They can also transfer their attentions to neighbors, teachers, or other adults offering higher potential or immediate rewards. Conversely, parents who conspicuously neglect their children face a kind of retribution when they ask for help in old age.

Just as children are not completely dependent on the good faith and resources of their birth parents, women are not completely dependent for assistance on their own childbearing experience. Among Asantes, fostering the children of relatives is acceptable and common. This often involves exchanging children between related households so that each has enough resident older children to take care of the young ones and handle cooking and cleaning. Many Kumasi Central Market traders themselves came to live with relatives in Kumasi or elsewhere during their own childhoods. Such foster children make ideal substitute cooks. Fostered girls are rarely potential sexual rivals, since the extensive Asante incest prohibitions rule out intercourse with any known relative of wife or husband.

Kumasi traders foster in useful children, particularly girls, much more often than they foster out their own. Traders had sent only 10% of their children to stay with relatives for any reason. They find it relatively easy to attract school leavers or uneducated girls from rural homes with the excitement and job prospects of city life. Sex ratios at young ages for Kumasi in the 1960 and 1970 censuses show a considerable excess of girls, who probably came to do domestic work. Traders today show relatively little use of trading assistants compared to domestic help (Clark 1984).

The foster parent of such a girl provides short-term reciprocity in the form of living expenses, pocket money and some clothing. Foster children frequently do not attend school when own children do so, or attend less prestigious schools. However, the foster parent should sponsor the child with training and/or capital for eventual employment when she reaches maturity. A foster child also develops bonds of reciprocity with her young cousins, as if they were her own young siblings. The level of reciprocity depends on the closeness of the relationship and the goodwill of the foster parent. The treatment given to distant, poor relatives can be difficult to distinguish from that given well-treated maids. When the child has no living parents or the foster mother no living children, intense bonds may be formed.

Adult kin naturally cooperate most often when they live in the same house, either in the lineage house or by deliberately moving in together. Adult sisters most frequently share childcare when one has to stay home to take care of her

own children. It takes relatively little effort to care for extra children with one's own. The working sister contributes extra food, the labor of her older children, or sometimes supports a maid. Adult sisters or cousins usually cook separately, even when they live in the same house. They borrow ingredients or watch the pot for each other, but reciprocate with the same type of help. Adult daughters sometimes cook for their fathers or mothers, but under different conditions than as a child. They receive more explicit reciprocity in property or housing rights than child helpers.

Mothers give very little domestic help to their mature daughters, in either cooking or child care. Asante society gives relatively high prestige to elderly women, and relatively little to physical childcare or cooking. Older women still capable of trading or community leadership will devote their time to this. The short period during which a grandmother is too feeble to go to market, but strong enough to pound fufu or look after young children, is not likely to coincide with the domestic labor shortage of more than one of her daughters. Grandmothers are more likely to take a child into their household to be cared for by other residents, or to receive an older child to take care of their own domestic needs.

As an alternative to foster children and adult relatives, traders can seek commercial domestic help from maids. Some women traders say they prefer not to incur the long-term, indeterminate obligations associated with accepting help from kin. They also complain that kin have their own ideas about how to raise children and take more authority over them.

Unrelated maids are recruited through hometown connections, friends, and sometimes near-strangers. Short and long-term remuneration vary drastically at the employer's discretion, but commonly include both monthly payments and the promise of some kind of training or capital at maturity. Maids very rarely attend school, since their main work is to attend to childcare or other chores which cannot be postponed until after school hours. Older own children or foster children still contribute to cooking and cleaning after school.

The sexual conflicts surrounding cooking come to a head with maids. Unlike fostered relatives, maids have no incest prohibitions on sexual relations with the husband. Popular comic books and women's magazines present the recurrent theme of the unfortunate career woman who leaves the maid at home alone with her husband, to provide a hot meal. One might expect maids to be more common when spouses live separately, reducing contact between maid and husband. In fact, women living with their husbands use maids more often, perhaps because they cannot so freely invite kin to live with them (Clark 1984).

Some women try to eliminate the problem by taking very young maids, as young as seven years old. The child is expected to be more obedient and loyal to the family and learn its ways. On the other hand, a teenage maid is more useful, and can handle more responsibility and skilled tasks such as cooking. The maid's family also wants her at home as she matures, to prevent sexual victimization by

employers, or making bad friends in the street. The occupation is considered unsuitable for an adult, and especially for a married woman.

### *Cycles of compromise*

The overwhelming reliance on own children for assistance makes the developmental cycle an appropriate explanatory framework for domestic strategies. Assistance from the extended family is available primarily to unmarried and younger women, who have fewer children. Maids become most important in the 35-44 age group, when women have the most small children. They are also critical to the woman wishing to send her own daughters to school. Women over 45 for the first time begin reporting leisure time at home (Clark 1984). At this age women may be withdrawing from their marriages, as they have completed childbearing. They may stop visiting and cooking for their husbands altogether, or may be more willing to share these duties with a co-wife.

Competition between trading and domestic work intensifies because peak demands in both areas come at nearly the same point in the developmental cycle. Around age thirty, a typical Asante woman would have four or five children. The oldest, if a girl, cannot yet take major responsibility for domestic work at age eight or ten (assuming two-year spacing). At the same stage, a woman maintains a close relationship with her husband because she still wants several more children. She maintains higher standards of cooking and cleaning at this time to cement the relationship. She more often lives with him now than earlier or later in the marriage, reducing her access to help from her own kin.

Financial pressures also peak for mothers in their thirties, as children grow and progress in school. These motivate women to work even more in the market, not to withdraw under domestic pressures. The age group 25-34 is the largest among women traders in Kumasi Central Market (Clark 1984). Rising expenses leave even less money to support dependent kin or maids.

The extended family gives surprisingly little help to this age group, when women need it most. Adult kin primarily help older and younger women. Young women can often add their first child to their mother's childcare arrangements at weaning, and continue eating with her. Middle-aged or older women can support an adult daughter or niece to cook for them, while she looks after her own children. This relationship naturally removes the younger woman from the traders' sample, but allows the older woman to expand her trading operations.

The domestic bottleneck halfway through the childbearing years defines a kind of dual career structure for Asante women traders. The two ideal types following are well represented in case studies, while other traders fall in between. The ambitious young woman begins trading energetically as early as age ten or twelve. She takes advantage of her early childlessness to prepare for later responsibilities. Less ambitious women avoid strenuous trading as long as their carefree condition allows.

As a teenager, a serious young woman concentrates on trading instead of seeking gifts from boyfriends. She aims to acquire enough experience and build enough capital by the time she marries and has her second or third child that she can afford to take in extra dependents to care for them. This enables her to intensify trading as her financial pressures mount, and perhaps send her own daughters to school.

But young girls have few immediate financial needs to force them to settle down to regular work. Many do so only after the birth of their first or second child, in response to the financial demands of motherhood. These demands grow quickly, so they can save little from their limited starting incomes to finance any domestic help. This limits their careers to small-scale retailing or home-based trading, such as cooked food sales. Their standard of living depends more on their husbands' contribution. If lucky in their choice of husband, their personal domestic commitment increases this income.

Cooked food purchase and maids enable women in between these ideal types to bridge dangerous gaps in the daily routine or developmental cycle which might otherwise disrupt their trading careers. Purchased breakfasts and lunches give women traders the flexibility to fit their daily schedule to their trading needs. Traders know they can buy food occasionally for the evening meal if an emergency delays their return from the market or a trading trip. Maids also provide a kind of social insurance in case women temporarily lack sufficient resident kin and daughters, even though only a small minority of households include maids at any given time. Commercial domestic services used in low overall amounts play an important part in maintaining women's businesses because they provide crucial flexibility. Independent incomes thus become even more important to women, in preserving these strategies as viable options.

The small amount of support given by adult kin and neighbors likewise provides disproportionate benefit by adding another degree of flexibility. Without formal or steady arrangements, kin help out in emergencies such as illness or distant funerals. Neighbors provide similar informal help, to a lesser extent than kin. Only a few women had made arrangements to leave children with a neighbor, and these involved stricter financial reciprocity than with kin. However, emergency backup from neighbors permits women to leave children as young as seven home alone. This mutual aid gives Asante traders an advantage over, for example, Yoruba traders in Nigeria, who live with co-wives they do not trust to feed their children during the day (Sudarkasa 1964).

Such emergency and short-term resources reduce the potential impact of personal crises on a trader's business. A short illness, the illness of a close relative or a sudden collapse of childcare arrangements need not result in rupture of business relations and loss of capital. Risky business ventures also need not create a domestic crisis, if the mother is called away. By reducing total risk levels significantly, these options make worthwhile the heavier investment of time and

money essential to profitable wholesale enterprises. They contribute equally to the survival of very low-capital enterprises, for whom a small loss can easily bring complete bankruptcy.

## Conclusion

The types of compromise Asante market women make between the demands of cooking and trading can be traced to the nature of the social relations in which the task is imbedded. In the first place, the type and cost of accepted compromises emerge as critical items in the ideal and pragmatic cultural rules defining the task. Flexibility in timing, menu and the person cooking is a particularly influential factor in determining the degree of effective conflict between cooking and trading. The cost, both monetary and social, of deviating from the preferred pattern provides another measure of effective flexibility in cooking patterns. Social costs vary markedly for married and unmarried women, because cooking takes place in different relationships for them. The type and degree of power women have in the relevant relationships is the major determinant both of directions of compromise available and their cost.

As expected, quality standards are important to the task definition and its compromises. Since meal timing is a prime source of conflict, one would expect compromises on the issue. As a quality standard, however, it is relatively rigid because of its marital context. Menu choices and the level of skill in preparation they require also involve quality evaluations. They do not simply set the number of hours the woman or her substitute must put in, but limit or expand the number of qualified substitutes.

Compromises using substitute cooks, however, raise additional questions. Even when preparation skills and time are equivalent (and therefore the resulting meal), the imbedding relationship may be threatened or changed. Rules concerning substitutes do not just say yes or no, but who can be used, and when. The cultural rules discouraging Asante women from using substitutes for husbands' meals specify the consequences, in loss of sexual and financial fidelity. These consequences can be avoided or minimised by choosing substitutes in appropriate kin and age categories, and by developing alternative sources of income. This kind of pragmatic rule has a strong impact on women's behavior, whether in obeying or compensating for it, but results in a large proportion of cases deviating from the pattern of first preference.

It is not always obvious which social relationship has this position of governing the compromises made on a specific task or issue. With cooking, the meal consumers include children, adult kin, friends and women themselves, as well as husbands. Consideration of the costs or consequences of stopping task performance or exercising other available options is needed to uncover the limiting factors. For Asante women, compromises in cooking have consequences mainly to marital, not maternal relations. The degree of autonomy women have in the

marital relationship thus defines their effective options with respect to the task itself.

When levels of flexibility in domestic work patterns are high, women can choose arrangements for domestic task performance that eliminate or dramatically reduce conflicts with trading. Cleaning tasks, including laundry, offer an extreme example of flexibility, for comparison with cooking. They take up, in total, an equivalent amount of time to cooking, but were omitted from this analysis because they interfere so little with income-generating work. Cleaning tasks come in small units and can usually be done at any time. The value structure related to them allows women to involve a wide range of helpers, including boys and girls of various ages. This enables women to minimise both financial and social costs, by using relationships within which they have a good deal of control.

Cooking, the most difficult task for women traders to manage, is associated closely with marriage, a relationship within which Asante women have relatively little control. Their matrilineal position mainly enables them to consider leaving a marriage, rather than to modify relations within it. They can minimize their relations with their husbands, through duolocal marriage and financial independence, but those relations remaining are still characterised by deference and subordination. Asante men continue to earn higher incomes than women, on average, motivating women to seek access to a male income, even at some cost.

Asante women's independent social and economic resources enable many to avoid the domestic demands of marriage, either by financing compromises or by leaving the marriage. Since divorce is not catastrophic, they can risk damaging the marital relationship in favor of their commitment to trading. Access to kin and commercial cooking aid also increases their ability to meet these demands without destroying the labor/finance budget. Individual women's strategies depend on the balance between the estimated size and reliability of all three kinds of resources: from the husband, lineage kin or children, and the trader's enterprise.

## Note

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1. This paper is based primarily on 16 months of field work with market traders in Kumasi Central Market, from 1978-80. Kumasi is the second largest city in Ghana, with a population of about a million. Observations and interviews with traders, male and female, and their neighbors and relatives covered the interaction of trading and domestic responsibilities.

A 600-case sample survey of the market also included questions on domestic work and residence patterns.

The traders studied do not strictly represent all Asante women and certainly have chosen specific strategies for domestic work to accommodate their trading, but data on traders' family backgrounds analysed elsewhere (Clark 1984) shows that they are not from special trading families, or from an unusual economic or social position. It is unlikely that they have unusual ideas about ideal and acceptable practices in domestic duties and finances. Their ideas accord with marital and kin roles described much more fully by earlier ethnographers (Rattray 1923, 1927, 1929; Fortes 1969, 1970; Bleek 1975, 1976). Interviews then and later with Akan farmers and food processors confirmed these ideas as widely accepted models.

Figure 1

ASANTE MEAL PATTERN  
NATURE AND RIGIDITY OF IDEALS

	breakfast	lunch	dinner
ideal dishes	ampesie and kontommere stew	eto or ampesie leftover	fufu and soup
actual dishes	kenkey and fish, tea and bread, porridge, rice	wide variety of snacks or dishes	fufu or starchy substitute
acceptable times	5-10am	11am-3pm	6-7pm
timing flexibility	moderate, tied to work schedule	high	low, tied to sex
labor time	low	none	high 2-3 hours
interference with trading	low	minimal	high
social context	co-residence or street vendor	workplace	husband, if married, otherwise kin
risks of substitution	low	none	high, if married
commercial food relations	high	total	low

Table 1

## COOKING

Usual Cook for Household (Percentages)  
by Age of Respondent

	Age of Trader					
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	Over 54
Cook						
Self	57	70	69	45	33	25
Adult Kin	29	16	4	0	6	19
Child	14	11	21	45	58	50
Maid	0	1	5	10	3	6
Purchased	0	1	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 2

## CHILDCARE

Primary Child Minder in Household (Percentages)  
by Age of Respondent

	Age of Trader					
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	Over 54
Minder						
Self	0	30	24	26	9	0
None	25	17	13	30	30	0
Child	0	13	21	13	44	50
Own Kin	25	28	6	0	9	25
Maid	0	2	11	17	0	0
Other	50	9	25	14	9	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

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