SEXUALITY, SPACE AND POWER IN BÓDÌJÀ MARKET, ÌBÀDÀN NIGERIA

MOFEYIṢARA OLUWATOYIN ỌMỌBỌWALE

MATRIC NO: 107131

B.A (HONS.), M.A. ANTHROPOLOGY (IBADAN)

A Thesis in the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology,

Submitted to the Faculty of Arts

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPY

of the

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

IBADAN

JUNE, 2014

ABSTRACT

Sexuality influences power and human relations in the market space. In spite of this role, previous studies, though abundant on the market as a space of economic transactions, have not clearly indicated the possible impact of sexuality as an element of power and human relations in the market. This study, therefore, examined how sexuality as a power relational tool and an element in social networking, affects the administration, spatial organisation, and economic transactions at Bodija market, with the aim of establishing its significance as an influential determinant of market processes.

The study was guided by Foucault's Theory of Sexuality-Power Relations. Ethnographic data were collected from purposively selected organised economic–groups (EGs) in Bodija market, through qualitative methods of Participant Observation (PO), Informant interviews (IIs), Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Life-Histories (LHs). Among Foodstuff-sellers -200IIs, 4FGDs, and 6LHs; Butchers -20IIs, 2FGDs, 2LHs; Grinders-Miller-100IIs, 2FGDs, 2LHs Soup-ingredients-traders,-10IIs, 1FGDs, 1LH, Cattle-traders -20IIs, 1FGD and the Saw-millers 30IIs, 2FGDs, 2LHs were conducted with purposively selected informants and discussants. Four KIIs were conducted with purposively selected market leaders. A total of 4 KII, 380IIs, 12FGDs and 11LHs were conducted. Data were subjected to descriptive content analysis.

Four levels of hierarchical power relations were observed in Bodija market: gender, political, charismatic and persuasive. Gender, charismatic and persuasive powers cut across social networking, administration, spatial organisation and economic transactions; political power was a feature only of administration, spatial organisations and economic transaction. In social networking, Bodija market's sexuality norm accommodated paramour culture. The woman could have one "extra" sexual partner per time, while the man could have many. In both cases, paramours served as material and/or emotional support and status symbols. Women subverted male power through the manipulation of sexuality, their attractiveness, and sexuality coded speeches; some negotiated space sometimes by the offer of sex or manipulative refusal of same. In the administration, the male dominated market's power-structure, with all main EGs' executives led by male, except Soup-ingredients traders with a female leader. The male controlled market space administration, space allocation and management. Many females negotiated administrative and space concessions from males through sexual attractions. Spatial organisation was mainly controlled by male dominated leadership of EGs in collaborations with male-constituted care taker groups of the market. The market was compartmentalised along goods sold and services rendered, but several pockets of hawkers and illegal sales/transactional spaces have surfaced in different parts of the market through undue sexualised favour of the care-takers. As a built-up space, the market was continually restructured, thus giving the impression of being both organised and disorganised. In economic transactions, sexualised metaphors served as persuasive power. Economic transactions were indicated not only by the arrangement of stores for visibility, but also by accolades and nicknames.

Four levels of hierarchical power relations in Bodija market revealed male dominance in administration and spatial organisation, female dominance in social networking and power fluidity in economic transaction. Thus, sexuality manifesting in differential expression of power, plays significant role in Bodija market space discourse.

Key words: Sexuality in market space, power-relations in Bodija market, social networking and economic transactions.

Word count: 498

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Writing this thesis is an incredibly enriching and joyous experience that would have been impossible to complete without the support and commitment of my unrelenting supervisor, Professor Olatunde Bayo Lawuyi. His enthusiastic responses to this study from inception have been incredible. I am forever, deeply, grateful to him for all the fatherly love and kindness I enjoyed under his supervision.

I am also indebted to the Postgraduate School for granting me the University of Ibadan Postgraduate School Scholarship (2011-2012), which was immensely helpful for this doctoral work. In the same vein, I want to thank the American Council of Learned Society-African Humanities Program, for granting me the Dissertation Completion Fellowship (2012-2013). The fellowship contributed hugely to the success of this study and my future endenvours. I also like to appreciate the Brown International Advanced Research Institute (BIARI), Brown University, Providence, United State of America, for granting me Short-Term scholarship to participate in its Theater and Civil Society Institute in June 2013. Participation in the BIARI institute has also immensely enriched the completion of this thesis. I also acknowledge the Department of African Studies and Anthropology University of Birmingham, United Kingdom, for granting me the Cadbury Residency Fellowship for Doctoral students in Africa (2014).

I must also acknowledge the entire staff of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology for their support in the course of my studentship right from my undergraduate days till this moment. To Professor Oyelaran, Prof. Folorunso, Prof. Aremu, Prof. Ogundele, Prof. Aleru, Mr Akinsete, Dr Ololajulo, Dr Ukpokolo, Dr Orijeme, Mr Ajekigbe, Mr, Adekola, Mr Emmanuel, Mr Umba, Mr Akinlalu, Mr Yemi, Mr Gbenga, and Mrs Biola, Mrs Iyabo, Mrs Abe, and Mummy Abigel, I say thank you. I must also appreciate the effort of Dr A.S. Ajala, and his wife, Aunty Toyin, for the motivation and courage I received from him right from the time he supervised my B.A and M.A dissertations, till this moment, Sir I am thankful. I also want to express my gratitude to Late Mr. Omosehin and his family. He was my first supervisor and the first anthropologist that introduced me to the act and art of fieldwork, though he is no more but those lessons he thought me lingers on in my memory, *Adieu* Omosehin.

I must also extend my heart of gratitude to Professor P.A. Ogundeji, Prof. Dasylva, Prof. Olutayo Adeshina, Drs (Mrs.) Akinjobi, Dr (Mrs) Dasylva, and Dr

Ayantayo for all the support I received from them. Likewise I am grateful to the family of Professor and Dr (Mrs.) Olutayo, and their children - Pamilerin, Tunminínú, Seyi and Semire, their labour of love contributed immensely to the success of this work, I say thank you so much. I also appreciate Adebisi Adetutu Ogungbesan 'my friend', for her labour of love during the fieldwork. Dr Yomi Ogunsanya, I am grateful for your encouragement as always. Alfa Mukadam, Mr Fanibe, Mama Ajoke and Mr Faribido all at Bodija market, I am grateful for your cooperation that gave the period of data collection in the market an interesting sail.

Mama Oluyemi Ojoawo, is a rear gem, a guardian that never tired, and a true mother, though seeing me through the first and second degrees were to her, huge tasks; but she always encouraged me to move on, even when she had to sell her belongings, she kept motivating me to be strong. Words are not enough to express my gratitude but I am sure she is my hero, thank you Maami. Likewise, I appreciate my father Retired Police Inspector Sunday Ojoawo for everything, thank you, Sir. To my siblings and my sister in-law and nephew, Joke, Segun and Deola his wife, Soji and Tobi, and my nephew David Ojoawo, I thank them for the inspiring life we have spent together as family. I am grateful to my in-laws Prof. Babatunde, Dr Tayo, Dr. Engineer Yimika, their wives. (Mrs) Bukola Omobowale, Mrs Folashade Omobowale, and Mrs. Eyitayo Omobowale and their children Nifemi, Surefunmi, Babafemi, Babasola, Jesutooni, Babamodupe, Jesulooni, Babatamilore and Jesunimoni. Likewise to my sister in-law and her family, Barrister Ayo and Mrs Tope Alao (Big Daddy and Mummy America), Damilola, Oyinkansola and Ayotunde Alao, for motivation, love, support, prayer and kindness I received from them all, over the years and during the period of my stay with them in the USA. I am grateful to my jewels of inestimable value, (my parents in-law) Pastor Ebenezer and Mama Modupe Omobowale, who took me in as their daughter since the day I married their son, they have showered me with an unfading and incalculable love, for caring for me, my husband and my children, and other support they lovingly rendered in prayer, cash and kind, while I was writing this thesis and away in the foreign land pursuing knowledge. They are deeply appreciated, and words are too short to express my sincere appreciations to them, Baba and Mama *ese pupo*.

I say a 'very big thank you' to my bundles of joy- Babafemipojú and his sister Babafeyikemi for your presence and love that gave my life a balance. My profound

gratitude goes to my husband Dr. Ayokunle Olumuyiwa Omobowale. This doctoral study would have remained a beggar's wish, but for the unbending support he gave to me on all sides, all the times he stood by me, he lifted my hands and I touched the sky, gave me wings and I flew, saw the best that was in me, for all the love I found in him, right from the time I first met him in my 300 level as an undergraduate in this University and for his continuous support, love and encouragement, I am thankful. He is an epitome love and selflessness, I have never seen this type of unfailing love before, yours is exemplary, I am grateful for each day I have spent and will still spend with him. I thank him for the chance he gave me to prove my worth.

Finally, my sincere appreciation goes to all my numerous resource persons and informants at Bodija Market. To my friends Mrs Ajibola Alao, Miss Elizabeth Otivhia, Mrs Oluranti Shittu, Ope Ojúrola, Gbenga Falase, ASEC Choir, WORDOC librarian, Mrs Ajegbomogun and late Olufunminiyi Alaba (a.k.a *Arúgbó)*, who passed away after pressurizing me to enroll for JAMB with which I gained admission into University of Ibadan, *Arúgbó, Sunre o o.* To many who have contributed to the success of this study, but are not mentioned for lack of space, they are all appreciated.

Mofèyisará Olúwatóyin Omóbòwálé
University of Ibadan
June,2014

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this research was carried out by Mofeyisara Oluwatoyin Omobowale in the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria,

…… ……

Supervisor *Date*

O. B. LAWUYI
B.Sc. (Ife), M.Phil (Jos)
M.A, Ph.D (Illinois)
Professor of Anthropology
Department of Archaeology and Anthropology
University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.

DEDICATION

To JESUS my exceeding JOY

The ultimate AYOMI

TABLE OF CONTENT

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF PLATES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Power, either overtly or covertly, influences sexuality and sexuality equally affects power, even though in this dialectics:

> Sexuality is not the most intractable element in power relation, but rather one of those endowed with the greatest instrumentality: useful for the greatest number of manoeuvres and capable of serving as a point of support, as a linchpin, for the most varied strategies
>
> (Michel Foucault, 1978 p103).

The pattern and usage of this power-sexuality relation differ from culture to culture (Ridgeway, 2009; Wilkins, 2004; Dowset, 2003; Foucault, 1980 and Ritzer, 2008), because it is informed by culturally constructed expectations and beliefs about how people should express their desires and feelings on sex related presentations and representations. Contextually therefore, both power and sexuality cannot be divorced from spatial considerations, geographically and symbolically. In fact, the concept of space, the other important instrumentality of this study, is usually extended to all considerations of sexuality (Nagel, 2000), be it as natural, intellectual, social, or cultural expressions. As a matter of fact, space has been a subject of interrogation by scholars such as (Ritzer, 2008) and what gives it an intellectual and anthropological/sociological flavour is the consideration of the interactions of people within it (Gill, 2009). It is well acknowledged in literature that, there are norms and values that guide issues and discourse of space, (Kokot, 2006; Low and Ruhne, 2009; Spronk, 2005 and Ojoade, 1983); and they are all related to interactions. For instance, the discourse of power within a space can be linked with sexuality, though sexuality is "not an innate, unchanging 'drive' or instinct immune to the shifts that characterize other aspects of society'' (Freedman and D'Emilio, 1990:481). There is a cultural dimension to both space and sexuality, which is learnt, shared and expressed in line with the dictates of spatial organization, culture and development. Hence, sexuality is rarely discussed without due emphasis on norms and values[1] of space (Foucault, 1978; Freedman and D'Emilio, 1990; Gill, 2009) and of power.

[1] Norms and values in this respect represent the level of expected behaviour of people in line with existing sexuality.

Many studies had been conducted on issues around sexuality, space and power in different cultural settings. One of them is the study of the "Alternative Hard Rockers" by Schippers (2000), which reflects how sexual culture among the rock and roll singers is regulated and how the deviants are socially sanctioned through stigmatisation, ostracisation and mockery. For instance, those who touch females' sensitive organs without their consent, in the frenzy of rock music, are subjected to instant beating by co-rockers. In this sub-culture, women enjoy contact and overt expressions of sexual desire that their male counterparts are somewhat denied. The rock and roll women folk win sexual power to themselves, subjecting men to their dictates, which is contrary to what is obtained in the larger culture. Furthermore, Nagel (2000), in the examination of the US army photographers' documents on Liberation of France from German Nazi occupation by allied forces in August 1944, shows how women who were sexual collaborators of the Nazis during the Second World War were prosecuted for violating sexual contact rules. Sanders (2002), in her own reflections on rain making among the Ihanzu of North-central Tanzania, discovered the importance of sexuality and gender in the ritual process of rain making, from the symbolic representations of Two Sticks, representing male and female, as the two important elements of rain making rituals, without which the ritual is bootless. Cupples (2002), on his own part, called for greater attention to be paid to how issues of sex and sexuality impact on the reflexivity of researcher in geographical fieldwork.

Wilkins (2004), in his analysis of a local Goth scene, recorded that the Goth was a 'created' space where women were allowed a greater freedom to express and celebrate active sexuality, as a resource to resist mainstream notion of passive feminity. It was an avenue for women to utilize their sexuality as a tool for negotiation of gender egalitarianism. Spronk (2005) has also studied female sexuality in Nairobi and how it impacts on self-identifications among young professional women, who protect their sexual and gender images by playing hard to get by men. Tambiah, (2005) in Sri Lanka, studied how gender behaviour and sexuality are constructed and controlled in the interest of militarized, nationalist projects. Gill (2009), talking about sexuality and advertising, examined different adverts in the United Kingdom and how these adverts mobilize sexual meaning in a vivid and explicit manner. He concluded that 'sexualization does not operate outside of

processes of gendering, radicalization and classing, and works within a visual economy that remains profoundly ageist and heteronormative', (Gill, 2009:154). These are but a few among several studies conducted around sexuality within and among different cultures all over the world. Because they are less directed to market space, this study became necessary as it was designed to examine the culture of sexuality in the market. The market space among the Yorùbá of Southwestern Nigeria is not only a space of economic transactions, but also an essential context for socio-cultural relations within and between the patron groups. The "world" is a residential space; but in Yoruba worldview it could also be linked to a 'market' and that is, because, it is where all people are expected to conform to the norms and values of the space as platform for negotiation, transactional and phenomenal, before they depart to the world beyond. A market, thus, serves as a space where different people of diverse world views and cultures can and do meet to deliberate on a common goal. By and large, the essentiality of a market space lies in its relational value (Lawuyi, 2005; Ogundeji, 2006) and its possibility for genderization and sexuality.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Historically, the 19th century heralded a new understanding and use of sexuality as a conceptual and critical category. It was an era when the relevance of the concept, sexuality, moved away from the fostering and preserving of group alliance, in order to legitimize and extend paternal sovereignty, to a demand for power for the maintenance of healthy and stable relations between genders, and for economic growth. The responsibility of developing and defining an ideal sexuality became inevitable for the state (Freedman and D'Emilio, 1990; Dean, 1994) and for individuals. For instance, up till the late 20th century, in the US, print media showing overt or explicit sexual contents were prohibited from public viewing, in the name of positive social and personal development (Stern and Handel, 2001). Likewise, in many African societies, sexuality was central to societal well being and was regulated by the power of the kings (Ojoade, 1983). Against this background of a narrow sense of sexuality, several scholars have called for a review of the concept and practice of sex in order to situate the discourse in a larger context of rights, space and power. The discourse around space moved away from being arbitrary to gradually assuming some definite transformative agenda. It ceased to be arbitrary when space did not

necessarily imply physical/geographical land mass, but connotes socio-cultural acts and formulation of relationships. But now, it could be definite, as when it is associated with certain phenomenon within some cultural groups. The consideration of sexuality in relation to space, then, could be any of the expressions, repressions or symbolic limitations, of sexuality within that space (Hernton, 1974: Gill, 2009). For instance, among the Yoruba of south-western Nigeria, there are many sexual proverbs used to convey serious but coded messages of sex relationships in specific contexts, in a frank and stark manner, to a subject. These proverbs basically promote heterosexuality and may be regarded by some as obscene. They are, however, geared towards the expression of specific values and ethical precepts, which are fully accepted and culturally esteemed (Ojoade, 1983; Fakeye, 2006) in their defined contexts.

It is, also, important to point out the fact that from time immemorial the main-stream form of sexuality has been heterosexuality. This position is now being challenged by some other sexual blocs (lesbians, gays and bi-sexual) that have been given more space by social agencies to speak more openly and gain wider social acceptance, especially in the West (Muehlenhard, 2000; Sherkat, 2002). It has been argued in the West that public sexual representations will not be balanced if these other sexual blocs are not accepted to exist. Hutchins and Kaahumanu (1991) thus submitted that:

> Heterosexuality needs homosexuality, to be reassured that it is different. It also needs the illusion of dichotomy between the orientations to maintain the idea of fence, a fence that has a right (normal, good) and a wrong (abnormal, evil) side to be on, or fall from. To the extent that we collaborate in seeing homosexuality as opposite polarity (not part of a diverse range of human sexuality), we perpetuate this unhealthy, unrealistic, hierarchical dichotomy (1991: xxii).

In other words, new ideas of sexuality have opened up new debates on cultural and intellectual fronts and it is of utmost importance to note the arguments as stated above, and also consider their applicability to African societies where homosexuality is still largely an anathema.

Sexuality in Africa has not, of course, always been considered from a rigid perspective and through a singular voice. There are, usually, a variety of positions

(Fakeye, 2006) taken by the constitutive and constituted publics. The Ngulu of East Africa, for instance, have well organized sexualized symbols that serve as value operatives in their initiation ceremonies (Beidelman, 1964). In the same tone, as reported by Sanders (2002) in her study of Ihanzu of North Central Tanzania, sexuality is marked by symbolism of two sexualized sticks, to explain the deep relationship between the cultural construction of (hetero) sexuality and rain making rites and beliefs in Ihanzu's ways of life (Sanders, 2002).

Set now in modern Africa, the media have provided the public space that has equally experienced tremendous influence of sexuality discourses through the debates about it, written or spoken (Gill, 2009). The media, paradoxically, construct and deconstruct sexuality in the public space as a medium which promotes sexual norms and values, and also as that which presents ideas which violate these norms and values (Brown, 2002). So Stern and Handel (2001), in their submissions, have argued that the expression of sexuality in the mass media, especially on the Internet, is to promote sexuality in new reversible dimensions. They point to the presence of pornography, the erotica, and (freer) expression of sexuality on the internet as a sign of a liberated sexuality. In line with this argument, Brown (2002) noted that the mainstream mass media, [2] through increasing and frequent portrayal of sexuality, have seriously affected the formations and formulation of new sexual beliefs and behaviours for people, especially for adolescents.

The point to note is that worldwide, and not only in Africa, as Nagel (2000) observed, the challenge of normative heterosexuality as social and political power cannot be underestimated in nationalists' and modernizers' ideologies. Indeed, the study of US Army photographers revealed the documented sexuality discourse at the liberation of France in August 1844, and pointed to approved and accepted sexual identities and behaviours that cut through racial, ethnic and nationalist regimes. Likewise, Tambia (2005) showed that sexuality, as a marked culture and practice, constructs and controls the interest of militarized nationalist projects in Sri Lanka, as women were used both as agents and sexualized objects of and for political control. The women who refused to comply with this power play were faced with negative acceptance by the ruling elite. Spronk (2005) has also examined how female sexual strictness in Nairobi has encouraged some elite females' reputation, respect and

[2] Mainstream mass media are television, magazine, movies, music, and the internet.

control over the male sex (and resources). He observed that the females who played hard to get escaped social criticisms and charges of impropriety and thus of being relegated in status compared to other females. To these women strict sexuality control was the power behind their existence in the middle class, and in recent time, behind the acquisition of power to sustain their class, status, and identity even in economic terms. The economic issue was taken up by Farr and Guenther (2008) and Tunc (2008), both of who focused on the influence of sexual imagery in marketing. Their position is that producers need to wisely associate with other sexual groups, apart from the heterosexuals, in order to increase their purchasing power , particularly, in the United States of America. Companies need, thus, to modify their advertisement styles to reflect the acceptance of their products by lesbians and gays.

A meaningful conclusion to reach, from our observation, is that sexuality permeates various aspects of discourses and spaces and determines their nature and form by newly emergent considerations. One of such spaces is that of the market. In Nigeria, the market space is not only known for its economic value but also for its relational essence that cuts across boundaries and social classes. On that space are the manifestations of sexualized and economical relationships, within and between the groups of people on it, in forms of the organization of wares, the allocation of stores, the call-and-response verbal relations, and the linguistic and extra linguistic expressions of intimacy. The atmosphere in and around the market is usually sexualized either in words, images or actions. Hence, as a discourse and practice, sexuality has become significant not only to the market administrators but also to the peaceful co-existence of marketers in the market. The market unwittingly becomes a space of culturally constructed expectations about how people should publicly express their desires and feelings on sexual relationships. And, considering the fact that a market is a melting pot of cultures of different patrons, there is bound to be conflicting sexual views and orientations. This, of course, would have effect on marketing and profit, on order and the dynamics of change, and serve gradually as one of the important tools of and for the struggles for the control of the market space; particularly more so because “the essentiality of the market [space] is not placed on the goods sold on it but on relationships created, sustained, modified or rejected, forming the basis of meaning” (Lawuyi, 2005:134; Hopkins, 1973). The market

culture, such as that of Bódìjà in Ìbàdàn, raises some salient questions that must now be addressed:

1.3 Research Questions

These relevant questions here are:

1. What are the patterns of expression of sexuality in Bodija market?
2. What is the influence of sexuality on socio-cultural networking in Bodija market?
3. What is the relationship between sexuality, power structure and negotiation in Bodija market?

1.4 Aim and Objectives

The principal aim of this study is to examine, from an anthropological point of view, the sexuality-power relations in the market space; and the specific objectives of this work are:

(i) to gather data on the influence of sexuality on space organization in Bódìjà market;

(ii) to examine the influence of sexuality on social relations/ networking in Bódìjà market;

(iii) to identify norms and values of sexuality in Bódìjà market, and

(iv) to study the possible impacts of sexuality on power relations and negotiations within Bódìjà market.

1.5 Scope of the Study

This study examines the questions raised above and aims to generate public awareness to, and for an understanding of the market-space as a complex socio-cultural phenomenon. Sexuality and power are intertwined perspectives, which on the market space could be separate but are, nevertheless, interconnected on issues of public morality. The relationships of the duo serve as critical determinant for some other issues (for instance, ethical ones) that shape and control identity, social boundaries, justice, morality and standards on any space, private or public. Between them, they can and do positively or negatively serve as yardsticks for individual and

group representation and mobility in the society. The study is limited to the study of sexuality, space and power relations and expression in Bódìjà market.

To achieve these objectives, the researcher studied the pattern of sexual culture in Bódìjà market through the dimension of social networking in the market, either for space, position, profit relations, and so on. This is of importance to the study to have an in-depth understanding of the market transactions by knowing the written and the unwritten rules guiding relationships in the market. Basically, this study considers sexuality as a socio-cultural phenomenon in the market and notes the influence on the progress and development of the economy and culture in Ìbàdàn. The study relies mostly on data gathered through qualitative methods on beliefs, habits, language and some other socio- cultural practices of the study population.

1.6 Significance of the Study

A significant amount of researches and scholarly writings had no doubt been done on the issue of sexuality and power, and several scholars, in search of perspectives on sexuality, have not only looked at the subject from a psychological angle, but have also done so from the stance of other disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology, sociology, politics, and ethnic/racial views (Neubardt, 1971; Lawrence, 1971; Hernton, 1974 and La Barre, 1971). Sexuality and power, in these discourses, seem inseparable (Foulcault, 1978, 1980 and 1985). From the psychological dimension, scholars ventured into the study of group attitudes, sexual behaviours, sexual negotiations, types of sexual relations and identity, to clarify the import of sexuality and its significance to human development. Scholars such as Pollis (1985), have looked at the way value judgment and negative worldviews of sexuality educators have contributed negatively to sexual policy and sexual liberation of people. Scales (1986) equally examined paradigm shift in sexuality education among families and youth in the United States, noting in particular how, through the application of paradigm concept of Kuhn, the society can help family and youth develop interest in social change and enjoy positive sexuality. Timberlake and Carpenter (1990) looked at sexuality attitudes of black adults and noted that their sexuality has affected mode of communication regarding sex, use of contraception, adolescent pregnancy, non-marital intercourse, abortion, pornography, masturbation and responsibility for contraception and pregnancy. The study further revealed that the middle class black

adults in the United States are well informed about these issues and have over the years created their own culture of sexuality in response to social change. To Schippers (2000), sexuality is, in fact, that which dictates gender role and constitutes distinct form of culture. Omigbodun and Omigbodun (2004) lent their own views suggesting that in Southwest Nigeria girls of 7-11 years of age seem to be totally ignorant of their body parts, while different myths and misconceptions about menstruations, sex, sexual relationships, and coping with sexual demands were identified in all ages. They recommended adequate sexuality education for girls in Southwest Nigeria. Porfido (2009) joined the recent debate in sexuality study exploring the issue of sex, qua relationships and how this category of sexual relationship has shaped the media and citizenship debates despite the narrow acceptance in the larger society of heterosexuality. Overall, as Gill (2009) has highlighted, sexualization does not operate outside the processes of gendering, radicalization and classing. In fact, it works within a visual economy that remains profoundly ageist, heteronormative and hierarchical.

Generally, sexuality has become a sensitive issue that has the power to strengthen or destroy any human society (Foucault, 1980). It has the capacity to directly or indirectly order and dictate patterns of relationships and existence. Therefore, this study is significant and timely, considering the fact it focuses on the market as a space which plays crucial role in the sustenance of socio-cultural and socio-economic development. It is, therefore, a study of utmost importance to policy, which must consider the effects of sexuality on local economy and social order.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Literature Review

2.1.1 Introduction to the Review

Several scholars, especially from Africa and beyond, have written on the effects and significance of sex and sexuality in everyday socio-cultural interactions in different societies. They have severally studied sexuality in the culture of various groups and noted how the changes, conceptually, ideologically and practically, that have emerged over the years have affected the socio-cultural development of different societies (Beidelman, 1964; La Barre, 1971; Lawrence, 1971; Foucault, 1978; 1980, Timberlake and Carpenter, 1990, Lawuyi, 1987, 1990; Schippers, 2000; Rosen and Venkatesh, 2008 and Gill, 2009). So diverse are their views that the literature review in this work is organized into five sections, in order to situate the study in specific trends of the debate and be able to position new ideas within a set of original propositions. The five sections are:

a) The concept of Space
b) Space and Sexuality
c) Sexuality and Power
d) Power and Spatiality
e) The market space

2.1.2 The Concept of Space

In the last two centuries or so, anthropologists have produced plenty of evidence to justify the assertion that space is socially constructed. But despite this, until the last decade, there has been surprisingly little effort to analyze space critically (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). Referring to the long-standing devaluation of space in favour of time, Foucault notes that social scientists have treated space as "the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile" (1980:70) in contrast to the rich, fecund, vibrant dimension of time. Moreover, he notes that spatial terms seem to have "the air of anti-history" (1980:70). Space, in large part, remains "a kind of neutral grid" (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992:7) of historicity and practicality isomorphic with place and culture, to such an extent that even though it functions as a central organizing principle in the social sciences, it "simultaneously disappear[s] from analytical

purview" (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992:7). In postmodernist theory, postcolonial studies, and the new wave of feminist theory, however, the convenient isomorphism of space with history, place, culture, or nation has promoted more critical understanding of the nature of social production and reproduction of experience of social space (Baudrillard, 1988; Flynn, 1997; Foucault, 1978; Jameson, 1984; Ong, 1987; Pellow, 1991; Pred and Watts, 1992). The multiple ways in which space simultaneously connects and disconnects people, places, and things have proven especially relevant to contemporary analyses of production of violence and modernity (Aretxaga, 1997; Feldman, 1991). The spaces within the public, for example, roads and parks, predictably occupy an important place in some of these analyses because their arrival in previously roadless or parkless regions often become the turning point in the history of the communities and an index of their progress, at least from the stand point of some analysts (Giles-Vernick, 1996; Hunt, 1999; Roseman, 1996).

By linking peasant communities to the outside world, paved roads and parks also symbolize an opening onto what de Pina-Cabral calls "the Future (to History) that is, to a cosmological condition characterized by permanent instability, irreversibility, and movement" (1987:731). For some communities, such instability and movement have provided the very possibility for new identities. Shabe border Landers, for instance, has embraced their life on the edges of Nigeria and Benin by claiming the border as their own and turning it into "a corridor of opportunity for them rather than a barrier to opportunity" (Flynn, 1997:326). Roseman (1996) similarly reports how Galician villagers in north-western Spain actively assert their control over the meaning of local events by insisting, in direct contradiction with official versions of their history, that they were the ones who lobbied for a paved road and volunteered their labour for its construction. In local residents' contestation of the conventional idea that development projects are delivered to local communities from the outside, the construction of the road became central to their understanding of modernity and of their changing identity in it. In East Madagascar, the road built by French colonials to make way for a new order was later subsumed into older forms of community integration that enabled local residents to "rework the way the outside world figure[d] in local memory" (Cole, 1998:p621).

Space is, indeed, a seemingly complex term, in the sense that it is difficult to reduce it analytically to a single social or cultural definition; especially, when it has to

do with man's cultural environment. It is, indeed, a dynamic and multidimensional, phenomenon that is problematic in form and application. The nature and usage of space are, however, determined by cultural norms and values because space and culture are not totally separate cultural entities. They interact dynamically, informing and shaping each other because culture determines the nature and usage of space and space determines what to do and what not to do within it (Matebeni, 2011). The way space is patterned and perceived draws significance through the perimeters of the categories that are made available in order to codify and confront the worlds we, as humans, create, and the manner we then live and cope with several challenges that arise from the existence of spatial boundaries (Ardener, 1981). Different spaces such as theatre, club, or nation-state have different sets of rules that determine how and when their boundaries shall be crossed and who shall access them. Those who access them must possess certain defining features of membership that allow them to fit into and shape the space to their own use. Appreciation of space in its physicality is totally dependent on the social perception of it, its coordinates and features. The division of space and its social formations are intimately associated. The association, in turn, affects the division and social hierarchy of social structure, through the use of small scale spatial metaphors (Goffman, 1979). Furthermore, Ardener (1981) suggests that environment imposes certain restraints on our mobility, and in turn that our perceptions of space are shaped by our capacity to move about whether by foot, mechanical, or other means. In the long run, he concludes that behaviour and space are mutually dependent. Skar (1981), from her study among the Quechua Indians, learnt that space and time are integrated in a local concept of *pacha*- which means that time is neither past, present, nor future. The physical/cultural realm is in the state of *pacha*. Skar (1981) then suggests that male and female activities in a given space can be 'integrated with and become an expression of something all embracing'. This forms the basis of the evolution of critical signifiers and signified in which sex and sexuality, from a background of space, can be understood (Slavin, 2004).

A differentiation in spatial type does, for instance, produce two broad categories of space; namely, the private and public spaces. Both categories of spaces are created and regulated by people to allow various levels of freedom and chances for self expression (Chiu, 2009). They operate singularly and collectively as neutral grid on which cultural differences, historical memories, symbolic interpretations and

social organizations are inscribed (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992 and Sweely, 1998). While private space, for instance, is normally considered for sex, public space is out of bounds for such matter (Lawuyi, 2012). The reason is, probably, that private space creates a sense of individuality and limitations, of a sense of boundary and intimacy. It allows for expression of certain behaviours that are not permitted in the public space and are governed by personal values. The public space, on the other hand, is largely governed by public ideals and values. It allows for freedom of expression, as well as caution, in line with the acceptable norms and values in public ideology. The public space does not only present strong day to day socio-cultural determined characters, but also 'concretizes, conscienctises, and fosters social interactions' (Chiu, 2009:33; Lawuyi, 2012). It serves as a platform for inclusion and exclusion of groups and individuals (Lawuyi, 2010).

It is also a platform for differentiation of moral and immoral (illicit) performance (Sanders, 2002; Cupples, 2002; Spronk, 2005; Chiu, 2009). Lawuyi (2012) argues that when the public space is somehow privatized, for instance closed down for a ceremony, or for experience of an obscene performance, the space is thrown into chaos of values and norms. He opined that though the public space is accommodative of difference, it certainly would frown at urination and easing of oneself in public, and neither would it allow for engagement in sexual activity. These activities amount to 'privatizing the public space'. This will of course lead to the fear of unleashing chaos 'when the loss of control tolerated in privacy is unleashed in the public' (Lawuyi, 2012:80).

Carol (2000) and Matebeni (2011) in the course of researching sexuality in the city of Johannesburg reveal that space is integral to many gay people's lives. Where and how a gay is located determine how they are perceived in that particular space and the experience of such space and place. This all together reconfigured the presence of gay, lesbian or trans-people and their visibility on space. The perception and experience of an individual on any of the spaces determines the person's state of mind, sense of self, social relations, and cultural dispositions. Slavin (2004) has, thus, considered space as a relational concept that 'implies mutual exteriority and difference'. Of course, the difference in spaces has brought about the question of sexuality, as a discourse that is in a sense pertaining to sex as exclusive and yet transcendental, differentiating and normalizing.

2.1.3 Sexuality and Space

Again, sexuality is a relational process, and as such can reflect differences in attitude and emotions, and as well produce ideas and imagination (Cupples, 2002) both for genderisation and space typology. Its definition locates it within a wide range of social structures and physical behaviour among individuals, expressing as were varied emotional expressions of love, intimacy and desires that are infinite in formation. It can also be viewed from reproductive prism of social structures and markers through rules and regulations that permit or prohibit specific relations and acts (Tamale, 2011). Even to the likes of Ember and Ember (2004), sexuality is viewed as a way in which individual structure their sexual and gender performance, and partners toward whom they direct their behavior and emotional attachments. The general belief among scholars is that no definition of sexuality can be exhaustive; the above, therefore, is simply reflective of the multiplicity of perspectives from which the concept has been viewed (Tamale, 2011 and Matebeni, 2011).

In her submission, Tamale (2011) placed significant importance on gender analysis in any study of sexuality. To her, without understanding the gender structure of a space, sexuality research cannot rise to the 'occasion, it will be flat, empty and morose' (Tamale, 2011:11). Many scholars corroborate the fact that sexuality and gender go hand in hand, that both are creatures of culture and play crucial role in maintaining power relations in the society. They give each other shape and space and any scientific enquiry of the former immediately invokes the latter (Foucault, 1978; Rodger, 1981; Schippers, 2000; Gill, 2009 and Tamale, 2011). Tamale (2011) further analyzed this submission by using identity factors which impact on gender/sexuality relations. Some of the factors identified were history, class, age, religion, race, ethnicity, culture, locality and disability. Her conclusion was that 'sexuality is deeply embedded in the meaning and interpretations of gender systems' that are space based (Tamale, 2011:11). Sexuality is multidimensional; it includes sexual knowledge, beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviours. It is not void of procreation, sexual orientation, personal and interpersonal sexual relations, pleasure, human body, dress, self-esteem, gender identity, power and violence, human psyche, emotions, physical sensations, communication, creativity and ethics. Although the study of sexuality is usually wrapped in silence but it can also be powerful as empowering speech, taboo, proverbs and so on (Fakeye, 2006 and Tamale, 2011).

The footprints of sexuality are shown not only on the sands of day-to day activities of man on space, but also on the history of man and in the debates on sexuality that seem unending (Smith, 1999 and Tamale, 2011). Sexuality in African societies was, and to a large extent, is still considered a private and intimate affair that should not be discussed or showcased in the public space. It is, essentially, an aspect of life considered 'sacred' and the misuse of one's sexuality attracts sanctions from the society, especially for women who are expected to see 'proper' sexuality as a point of self-identification (Ojoade, 1983; Spronk, 2005). This is what Lawuyi (2012) considered privatization of public space and its heralding value of chaos. He argued that many Nigerian societies considered sexual obscenity (especially in female dress pattern) in the public space as absurd and quite damaging to public image. Tamale in her argument has considered self-identification sexuality as colonialised repressed sexuality belief imposed on Africans. To her, the original African sexualities are alive in folklores, traditional songs, dance, folk art, body marking, clothing, jewellery, names and naming systems, all of which were attacked and eroded by colonization through misleading information of explorers, missionaries and arm-chair anthropologists. She submitted that "during this period of imperial expansion and colonization, African bodies and sexualities became focal points for justifying and legitimizing the fundamental objectives of colonization to civilize the barbarian and savage native of dark continent" (Tamale, 2011:14).

The work of Kuhn (1962) and Foucault (1978) on the history of science and the use of body as a medium of social control, and of the socialization of reproduction, had earlier unveiled Tamale's later submission, in the sense that all public health projects embarked on by biomedical, epidemiologists and demographers in the colonial era ignored sexual wellness and issues of eroticism and desires of the colonized leading to false theories and assumptions (Tamale, 2011; Lewis, 2005). These assumptions are not limited to the medicals but have also germinated in all other areas, especially the media, where African sexualities were ethnocentrically represented as grotesque, uncivilized, and crude. Even in the recent time African sexualities are defined in terms of sexual excess, bestiality and bodily deviance (Lewis, 2005).

However, the wave of change, which has dawned on the World as new sexual culture across the globe, has generated a new trend in Africa too, particularly with the

re-emergence of homosexuality and discovery of HIV/AIDS among other factors that make sexuality a problem that must be discussed on the public space. The discourse of sexuality has, thus, gone beyond the private realm where it used to be mostly emphasized, and has now entered the public discourse on all human endeavours, with serious implications for identity, identification and political-economic relationships. The West seems to be at the forefront of championing the homosexuality crusade, as she impresses its acceptance on different nations (Babic, 2008; Davidov, .2008; Tunc and Babic, 2008; Dowsett, 2003). Consequently, the homosexual community has gained more power, visibility and acceptance (La Barre, 1971; Pollis, 1985; Scale, 1986; Hutchins and Kahumanu, 1991; Dowsett, 2003; Omigbodun and Omigbodun, 2004; Babic, 2008; Davidov, 2008; Tunc and Babic, 2008; Gill, 2009).

Basically, what the new trend portends in human understanding of sexuality is that it has to be brought to the fore of public space for discussions and deliberations, as it affects all issues of development, especially by its serious implications for identity, and socio-cultural and political/ economic relations (Lawal, 1996; Farr and Guenther, 2008). After these debates burst out into the open, we began to see a vigorous contestation for ideological space by groups within gender, highlighting power relations that determine basis of inclusion and exclusion of individuals and groups from 'corridors of power' (Foucault, 1978; Freedman and D'Emilio, 1990; Cupples, 2002; Low, 2003; Wilkins, 2004; Davidov, 2008; Gill, 2009; and Porfido, 2009). In this development, not only does a public space become relevant in any study of sexuality, the market, as a public space, is a site for examining sexuality, in its day-to-day transactions and manifestations (Spronk, 2005; Tunc, 2008 Farr and Guenther, 2008). Conclusively, sexuality is not only about sexual orientations; it is also about the expressiveness, of men and women, in relation to the space in which they exist and or work at a point in time. There are general norms and values as to how a man or a woman should express his or her self on various and varied public spaces, particularly in relations to others. The appearance, conduct and relationships determine not just forms of social representations but also the approaches necessary to engage them meaningfully.

The use of space, patterns of settlement, and above all, the symbolism of spatial arrangements are classical issues in socio-cultural anthropology (Leacock, 1954) and archaeology (Renfrew, 1983). The recent literature on the anthropology of

space is now so large that it will resist even book-length review. However, a few inadequate pointers may still be helpful. The traditional focus on cosmological schemes is now only somewhat abated by postmodernist scruples about the basics of anthropological knowledge. It is even being resuscitated by ethnoarchaeologist, such as in the Mayan culture area, where there is an extensive ethnographic literature. Abstract cosmological themes and their instantiation in grandiose architectural schemes, such as in the Asian Civilization, are as interesting to archaeologists, architects, and geographers, (Toren, 1999), as to ethnographers (Tambia, 1985). A related traditional focus on the symbolism of domestic space, with classics such as Lawrence (1971), Jordanova (1989), and Tambia (2005), also continues to flourish, but now with much closer documentation and a concern with social identity, such as with gender and access (Moore, 1994, 2007). The anthropology of the "built environment" has received its own excellent review in the current format (Moore, 2007). A new line here is the study of the interactional use of domestic and public spaces, where the homology between linguistic forms and spatial arrangements is beginning to be explored, especially with respect to formal/informal speech registers (Duranti, 1994/1997 and Wolfowitz, 1991). This line of work, usually rich in its study of cross-modal symbolism, builds of course on kinetics and interaction analysis.

Another traditional line, giving birth to new offsprings, is the spatial marrying of the nature-culture dichotomy, with a new interest in landscape and its associations and symbolisms; a development to be found in both socio-cultural anthropology (Moore, 2007) and archaeology (Tilley, 1994). Landscape, in turn, ties into the thriving field of ethnography (Fortescue, 1988). All these themes are so well-woven into current anthropological thinking that it is hard to find a good contemporary ethnography that does not dwell at length on spatial matters, although it is much more unusual to find careful attention paid also to spatial language.

The references cited are no more than inadequate bibliographical leads to a vast literature, but one that, although multifaceted, has a fundamental gap. The focus has been on collective representations on cosmologies and the symbolic use and association of space, with little mention of the kind of notions in daily use to solve spatial problems or negotiate cultural conditions, especially in market contexts (Bestor, 2003). Another way scholars have studied everyday use of spatial concepts was by investigating the language of spatial descriptions (Aase, 1994). How do people

refer to places, describe spatial arrangements? say where someone is going, and what they do on different spaces? Foucault (1978) interrogated the question of secrecy and sexuality. He argued that practising sex in secrete does not prevent us from sex knowledge. To him, "in the space of few centuries, a certain inclination has led us to direct the question of what we are, to sex. Not so much to sex as representing nature, but to sex as history, as signification and discourse". To him repressing sex has placed man under the sign of sex, which the West has used in bringing the body, mind, individuality and history under the sway of 'logic of concupiscence' (Foucault, 1978:78) and has thus become the master key to discovering the true space of sex and sexuality in many societies.

2.1.4 Sexuality and Power

In literature, power, as expressive performance and mode of authority, is the ability to make others dance to one's tune, even against their own will. Different types of power exist and within them sexuality is a form that inevitably creates or supports notions of ethnic subordination, super-ordination, and mutual relationships (Ritzer, 2008). Repression of sexuality can, for instance, control and regulate the productive and reproductive power of the lower class, and the colonized, as was done in the Victorian 18th century era (Foucault, 1978; Tamale, 2011). It can, also, constitute a key determinant that gives power to people, and redefine boundaries of sex, age, class, gender, appearance, belief and race. Likewise, in many cultures, power forms the basis for access to and denial of social and economic resources that discriminate parts of society, (Cupples, 2002; Wilkins, 2004; Spronk, 2005 and Gill 2009). As matter of fact, in the recent time, when there is a struggle between heterosexuality and homosexuality as ethical and health issues that has formed a new dimension of sexuality discourse, each group uses the power in its command to establish and propagate specific rights and values. The struggle has, of course, become one of power relation, and informs the public of a new basis of right and wrong, proper and improper values, as well as mode of inclusion and exclusion of groups and individuals.

Foucault submitted that:

> Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere. And "power," insofar as it is permanent, repetitious, inert, and self-

> reproducing, is simply the over-all effect that emerges from all these mobilities, the concatenation that rests on each of them and seeks in turn to arrest their movement…power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategic situation in a particular society (Foucault, 1978 p.93).

His analysis of power suggests that power is omnipresent not only because it possesses privilege to consolidate everything under its invincible unity but because it is produced in every relationship from one point to another (Tracy, 1998).

In the long run, sexuality, as posited by Wilkins (2004), can and is being used as a tool for negotiation in both public and private spaces for gender equality. This means that to pursue gender egalitarianism; and in this regards certain groups of people, especially women have created spaces where anti-normative acts of normal sexuality could be expressed without societal guilt and condemnations. Active negotiations of sexual roles are not limited to any space (Schippers, 2000; Wilkins, 2004; Slavin, 2004; Porfido, 2009). The existence of different forms of spaces, may not, however, embrace all kinds of sexuality expressions, as a group of people may not be able to boldly associate themselves with new demands in a more open space. But, by and large, sexuality as an act seems to cuts across all works of life and most especially the market setting, which determines a lot of events in human affairs. It is always found useful in the company of power, and this has called for a reappraisal of the concept of power over the years.

Power is a central concept - perhaps the central concept - in political sociology and anthropology (Edwards, 2006). Probably the primary reason for this, and the reason why power is generally a matter of concern to people, is that it is the key to the fact that some people realize their interests more than others do. Indeed, the latter is one of the primary ways power in society has been measured (Domhoff 1993: 173-4). If we take that as our central motivation for the concept of power, we are led to define power as the ability to affect the behaviour of others, or more precisely, the ability to affect the probability that others will perform some behaviour. This is exactly the definition favoured by some (Coleman, 1990). This definition differs to a lesser or greater extent with many other definitions of power, but for our purposes (getting at people disproportionately realizing their interests) seems to be the most suitable. It is probably worth pointing out that there are some things that this definition does not

emphasize. Some analyses of power define power as affecting others' welfare and not necessarily their behaviour (Olajubu, 2003; Kelley and Thibaut, 1978). While there is some logic to considering power to be affecting welfare, some researchers have concentrated on affecting behaviour, in part for two practical reasons. They believe that it is easier for them to ascertain effects on behaviour. Also, as a result of this they thereby avoid the knotty philosophical question of what welfare is, including the conundrum of objective versus subjective interests (Lukes, 1978). The political sociologist considers thinking, including the overt or covert expression of attitudes and beliefs, to be one type of behaviour. Thus, affecting others' thoughts would count as power. Nevertheless, although some people may be very interested merely in affecting others' thoughts, he takes it that affecting others' behaviours that go beyond thoughts is ultimately much more important, at least in terms of societal or historical effects. Of course, this may be through affecting peoples' thoughts.

There have been other attempts to rethink power in the social sciences. Indeed, since the 1980s theoretical conceptions of power in anthropology have undergone major revisions, primarily as a result of parallel developments in post-processual, feminist and post-modern thinking (Wylie, 1992; see specifically Miller and Tilley 1984; Conkey and Spector, 1984). Conceptions have shifted away from a focus on a reified version of power as a negative force imposed through dominant factions within a society, which determine what members can and cannot do, either through ideological control or sheer force (Wylie, 1992). This hegemonic perspective may yield an interpretation and an understanding of power relations that is based on interactions within defined temporal-spatial entities. Two central themes in the theorization of power have arisen following this shift. One is that power is constitutive of all social structures and relations. The other is that individual agency plays an important role in the reproduction and manipulation of power relations (Hodder, 1994; Miller and Tilley, 1984; Wylie, 1992). These themes have shifted our attention from a focus on relationships between groups and social institutions to a focus on social relationships between individuals. While there has been substantial and highly productive theorizing about the active roles of individuals within overarching structures composing the social world in which they live (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1991; Cohen and Yisrael 1995), there has been insufficient theorization of personal interactions and insufficient application of the theory of individual agency to

anthropological data. This is due to the perceived intractable nature of anthropological data for these purposes which have essentially resulted in the denial of the individual as an agent capable of affecting society. New conceptions of power construct the individual as able to see, reflect upon, and understand the social reality in which they exist, and actively manipulate and reinterpret symbols and ideological understandings for their own purposes (Cohen and Yisrael, 1995).

Strauss and Quinn (1994, 1997) propose an experientially based model for the development of ideological understandings of the individual that accounts for both the development of dominant ideologies as well as ideological change. For example, the development of an individual's sense of what is natural and desirable first occurs through personal interactions within some type of familial context and only later through interactions with others beyond the family. Ideological change is instigated when an individual's sense of what is natural and desirable, based on their experiences, comes into conflict with what 'most people' see as natural and desirable, i.e. as the dominant ideology of what is natural and desirable. If the individual acts and interacts with others in accordance with their set of beliefs, and in opposition to the dominant set of beliefs, the conceptions of others involved in such interactions will either be reinforced or changed in some capacity. Dominant ideologies then change as a result of some critical mass being met in the number of individuals who no longer subscribe to a given set of dominant ideologies as a result of their experiences with others. Sahlins (1990, 1985), for example, documents instances of this occurring in Hawaii during the contact with Europeans. Strauss and Quinn do not deny that ideologies are shared; they simply wish to reveal the complexity of social relations within groups mediated by different ideologies. This indicates the resistance such relations have to analytical reduction, and provides us with a direction for considering questions of social change. An important implication follows from this theoretical argument. Given that individuals' interpretations of ideological frameworks develop first in interpersonal contexts, the power that is associated with these contexts for shaping, first, individuals, then the larger society through the actions and interactions of those individuals, needs to be acknowledged. Davidson and Millgan's (2004) argue that more intimate spaces provide progressively greater opportunities for resistances to dominant or normative discourses, embodied in public and highly visible settings, and the relation is analogous.

Again, expanding production of discourses on sexuality must be immersed in the field of multiple and mobile power relations, since power and sexuality are relational phenomenon (Foucault, 1978). In view of this assertion, Foucault came up with four rules that should be followed to achieve sexuality –power integration. The first is the rule of immanence- that sexuality cannot be divorced from power; its existence as a space of intellectual research is built on power relations it possesses. The second rule is the rule of continual variation - that possession of power must not be sought in orders of sexuality (men adult, parents, doctors), or depravity of it (women, adolescents, children, patients), nor of right and knowledge. What must be sought is "the pattern of the modification which the relationships of forces imply by the very nature of their process" (Foucault, 1978:99). The third is the rule of double conditioning- the deployment of sexuality can only be achieved if all structures work together. The fourth is the rule of the tactical polyvalence of discourses- discourse on sex must be seen as a surface of projection of power mechanism where discourse of power and knowledge are joined together. To him 'we must conceive discourse as a series of discontinuous segments whose tactical function is neither uniform nor stable' (Foucault, 1978:100). To Foucault, sexuality discourses cannot be divorced from power relations and the principle of isomorphism between the social relations and sexual relations are pointers to the influence of sexuality and power on social order. Foucault (1985) argued further that the model act of penetration, assuming a polarity that opposed activity and passivity, where the one that consisted in being active, in penetrating, in dominating, is the superior is a reflection of the social space where there is superior and subordinate, an individual who dominates and the one who is dominated, one who commands and one who compiles, one who vanquishes and the one who is vanquished. He used pleasure practices as analogous agonistic structure, analogous oppositions and differentiations, analogous values attributed to the respective roles of partners (Foucault, 1985).

2.1.5 Power and Spatiality

In the last few years, increased attention has been given to how conceptually one might connect power and spatiality, and how one might disentangle the power relationships imbued in specific spatio-temporalities. What is evident is that the understanding of the social and political must be interleaved with a consideration of

the spatial (Slater, 2002). In this regard, Pred, 1992 over viewing and building upon the seminal work of Foucault (1980) and other social theorists, has provided an importantaccount of the spatial workings and vocabularies of power, highlighting instrumental modes of power based on constraint and control ... to less familiar, but equally important, associational modes of power based on integration and empowerment (Douglas, 2004). Instrumental powers (which include domination, coercion, manipulation, authority, inducement and seduction) can be mobilized at different sites and locations and in different combinations in order to exercise leverage over others. In contrast, associational powers not only can serve instrumental ends through the collective mobilization of resources (money, contacts, information, skills and other competencies) but also this mobilization is seen as a way of empowering the associational participants (power with others) (Douglas, 2004). Significantly, the exercise of instrumental powers and the construction of integrative associational power arrangements can both produce distinct spatio-temporalties. As Pred-Allen (1992) rightly suggests; what is needed is an examination of these various modes of power and their exercise when the spatiality of social relations forms an integral element of the analysis; a viewpoint supported by Slater (2002) who maintains that 'in a globalizing world an effective theorization of power relations can no longer ignore the significance of space' (Slater, 2002: 255).

Indeed, economic globalization processes create new spatio- temporalities alongside older ones. This may cause political actors and institutional elites to exercise the capability to influence and control the actions of others either to support or resist the juxtaposition of a new spatio-temporality alongside an existing one. Importantly too, globalization processes may prompt the creation of sites of associational power in which participants, drawing upon their collective resources, pursue common goals in support or resistance to these processes. The successful pooling of these resources may enable individual participants to gain a more privileged and influential position in the new spatio-temporality that emerges from the above juxtaposition.

If the striving for power is a characteristic that is always present in human affairs, and sometimes even useful, can we tame or temper power so that we can live with it, as well, and as peaceably as we can? Many authors have suggested individual mechanisms of control. For example, Freud believed that our destructive power

instincts could be restrained by bringing Eros, its antagonist, into play against it, as well as by the "soft" voice of human intellect (Schwartz, 1986 and Wrobel, 2010). Other psychologists have suggested such concepts as responsibility, self-control and inhibition, or self-regulation (Carver, 2000; Begler, 1978) as mechanisms that might restrain motives such as power. Taking Zurbriggen's (in press) results seriously; we might try "metaphor retrains" to modify men's cognitive associations between power and sex. Power can also be tempered at institutional or social levels. Williams (2003) has cited the instance of *Troilus and Cressida* (Act I, scene iii, and lines 109-111) where Shakespeare argued that to be effective, power must be restrained by "degree." (In Shakespeare's time, this word meant "station" or "position in the scale of dignity.") In other words, if people stick to their place or station, then power assumes a stable structure and all will be well. Whether Shakespeare was right or not, such a notion is not likely to be accepted in today's world. In an age focused on individual liberty and mobility, we may only be able to control power by balancing separate powers. Some scholars believed that experience shows us that every man invested with power is apt to abuse it, therefore, it is necessary that power should be a check to power.

Williams (2003) observes that power changes people. Being the target of others' power can certainly have traumatic effects; indeed, it may be a consistent proximal cause of the condition now labeled post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Can we gain any advantage in understanding and treating PTSD by conceiving of it as a "power injury"? Canetti's provocative, highly metaphorical study of power, involving concepts of "sting" and "recoil," might be useful in this connection. Power holders may all too easily become desensitized to the effects of their power, so that they relate to other people in dehumanized ways (Abeles, 2006). Or they may suffer from a "power burnout" (Begler, 1978), which can jeopardize their leadership. Could such power burnout possibly be a reflexive form of PTSD?

2.1.6 The market space

Market is central to the development of many known societies all over the world. The vastness and richness of the market stands as a reflection of a societal well-being, not only in terms of peace and security, but also in terms of wealth and power (Obateru, 2003). In many developing countries, market is a vital socio-

economic institution, which is used sometimes as a yardstick for developmental prosperity of such countries (Filani and Iyun, 1997). The healthiness of relationship between producers and consumers, which is about the question of morality and political content that characterize the relationship in many parts of the world, determines its development. This relationship unfolds within a market economy; indeed, producers and consumers are categories of people, constructed through market relations (Plattner, 1983; Crouch, 2006). It is also very clear that market, as institution, has been in existence from time immemorial. In Africa, its existence has been prior to colonial era. It is in this regard that it is often remarked that it was also a system that paved way for colonialism, through the slave market. The emphasis here is that market has existed from time immemorial (Gray and Birmigham, 1970). Gray and Birmigham (1970) provide a more searching analysis of the phenomenon by drawing a significant contrast between subsistence-oriented trade that marked the pre-colonial trade of central and eastern Africa, which allows for little space of acquiring wealth, and the introduction of market-oriented trade that opened economic innovations that are directly dependent on commercial opportunities, which generated new forms of wealth, new economic values that were not in existence in subsistence oriented trade during the colonial era. Fadipe (1970), in his study of market among the Yoruba of south-western Nigeria, posited that market is one of the central features of the civilization of the Yoruba. One of these features is that goods are produced for known and unknown consumers, and hence the market becomes an issue of great importance in the local economy, especially with the introduction of legal tender – money, which was in form of cowry.

Market among the Yoruba is not only a commercial centre but also a location for entertainment, crucial meetings, rituals, and as a metaphor of the transiency of existence. It is a significant symbol of the total Yoruba world view (Ogundeji, 2006) which likens the world to a market space where all humans are actors and will, at the end of the market, all go back home (Lawuyi, 1997). Ogundeji (2006) further analyzed the importance of the market among the Yoruba as an important entity, the disruption of which would amount to the disruption of the economy of the whole community. Sekoni (1994) has earlier described the Yoruba market as the female wing of the Yoruba political economy, which serves as the metronome of the Yoruba symbolic economy. This importance is reflected in the organization of Yoruba

markets in terms of variety and structure. Variety points to categories of markets; such as the king's market that holds daily and provincial market that also holds on daily basis, usually patronized by people around the province. The inter-kingdom markets hold every eight days, patronized by people from distant places, while large metropolitan markets are markets that serve as terminal of numerous long distance trade routes from far and near (Fadipe, 1970; Ogunsanwo, 1985 and Filani and Iyun, 1997).

The environment of a community impacts on the form of its markets, as presented by Filani and Iyun (1997), in their study of markets in Ìbàdàn. They observed that "the planlessness of Ìbàdàn city is not only reflected in the residential areas but also in the markets" (1997:175). A typical market in Ìbàdàn possesses all types of stalls (such as covered and lockable stalls, open stalls and open trading units, in form of tables or counters). This makes the services of market executive body very important. The body is charged with the role of regulating the market system and its continuity, because Ìbàdàn markets were and are melting pot of cultures which may sometimes lead to conflicts and temporary disruption of the market system (Fadipe, 1970). Pietila (2007), in her own contribution to the study of market space, examined the centrality of gossip and gender relations in the market space among Kilimanjaro society, where constructions of moral values are determined by dialogue.

Central to the market system and its culture right from the pre-colonial time till the present dispensation are market women. Though men also engage in trading, the market space is usually considered the women's space (Olajubu, 2003 and Sekoni, 1994). Clark (1994) from her study of Kumasi market in Ghana, brought to the fore the importance of women in African economic development. The study revealed extensively the techniques used by market traders (largely women) to feed Kumasi, and develop gendered hierarchical networks that support and extend trade and families, of changing marital patterns, and its effects on trade, and the impact of government policies such as SAP on women and their trade (Allman,1996; Claire, 1996;Bastian, 1997 and Krieger,1997). This was further expanded by Ogilvie (2004) when she looked at the effects of social capital on women in guilds and communities in early modern Germany, at a time when many women were unfairly treated for their attempt to be independent. She suggests that social capital does not always benefit everyone, that the early social capital of the Germans was monopolistic in nature,

discouraged occupational and geographical mobility, reduced human capital investment, was exploitative, encouraged social exclusion, and stifled innovation in production and consumption, all of which had negative effects on women. Tripp (1989; 2000), in her study of the changing household economy in Tanzania, and women and politics in Uganda, expressed the opinion that women's struggle in recent times, is changing as many women, even market women, are getting to know more about their power and rights. This is evident among urban women who have defied governmental policies that infringe on their ability to pursue means of subsistence and autonomy. The market space serves as the melting pot of many phenomena, such as power and sexuality, and it is on its many issues as discussed above, that are evident several ideological and theoretical considerations, that are of interest to us.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study relies on Michel Foucault's Theory of Sexuality and Power relations. Michel Foucault died of AIDS in 1984 at 57 years of age. A French, and a well known public figure, his demise did much to advertise his works to the English-speaking world, so much so that it can hardly be matched by those of other contemporary theorists (Holud, 1985), whose works are yet, in anycase unknown to English speakers. Among the works that gained public attention before he died was the trilogy devoted to history of sexuality- *The History of Sexuality; An Introduction (1978), The Use of Pleasure (1985)* and *The Care of the* Self (1986). These works set up the platform on which the present study is raised.

In the first volume of his trilogy, the history of sexuality, Foucault highlighted the central place of sexuality in the control of discourses on modern society. He emphasized the capacity of this discourse in shaping, constricting, and distorting human impulses and sense of self. And in his second and third volumes, *the Use of Pleasure* and *the Care of the Self,* there is evidence that within the scope given by a power situation and knowledge, many citizens (of ancient Greece and Rome) were able to live relatively satisfying lives, according to ethos based on rational self-mastery and the pursuit of pleasure without ill-health. Foucault, in these volumes, concentrated on three areas of discourse: care and enjoyment, with special regards to sex; diet and medical treatment, and relations between husbands and wives and that between adult males and young boys. As part of his argument, wives became more

powerful and sexual relations became more restrained and stringent, between the fourth century B.C. and the second century A.D. Since then, sexuality had become a tool of negotiation (Foucault, 1978, 1985 and 1986; Smith, 1999) for social order.

He further submitted that sexuality occurs in social organizations of heterosexual reproduction, through the development of sexual identities and desires, social class, religion and so on. The theory of sexuality- power relations argues that sexuality explains all human day-to-day activities and that sexuality's relations to power (even in decision making), directly or indirectly, cannot be separated in experiences. In as much as sexuality has been championed and exploited by the upper class to sustain orderliness in the society, as he, Foucault, argued, sexuality cannot be the most intractable element in power relations, but rather one of those endowed with the greatest instrumentality: useful for the greatest number of maneuvres and capable of serving as a point of support, as a linchpin, for most varied strategies (Foucault 1978:103). To Foucault, sexuality discourses cannot be divorced from power relations and the principle of isomorphism between social relations and sexual relations, which are pointers to the influence of sexuality and power. Foucault likens the sexuality-power relations to the model act of penetration, assuming a polarity that opposed activity and passivity, where the one that consisted in being active, in penetrating, in dominating, is the superior. This is a reflection of the social space, like that of Bódìjà market, where there is a superior and a subordinate, an individual who dominates and the one who is dominated, one who commands and one who complies, one who vanquishes and the one who is vanquished. The pleasure practice is an 'analogous agonistic structure, analogous oppositions and differentiations, analogous values attributed' to the respective roles of partners (Foucault, 1985:215).

The emphasis here in particular is on the instrumentality, maneuvres, and strategies in the act of negotiating sexuality, beyond the conception of pleasure that may readily come to the mind of many. Sexuality entails ideas of action promoted directly or indirectly by norms and values of sexual relations. It is influenced by what is and what is not accepted in the market place of ideas as "good." It impacts on access to productive resources, space, power, and determines who dominates in a social relations. An individual may, momentarily, exercise dominant power over his or her counterparts by initiating sexual relationship with a member of the dominant group, who in turn empowers him or her to exploit or access resources over and above

others. For instance, in the course of the pilot study for this research in Bódìjà market, a woman in her conversation with a friend of hers openly and loudly shouted: 'Má worry, kò si nkankan, alówó, alenu, alókó, atúmò'yan' (Don't worry, nothing is going to happen, we are rich, we can talk, we have penis, and we are well connected). It is a statement on instrumentality, maneuvers and strategies that indicates that women do not have to rely only on their wealth and charisma for social mobility; they can also use their sexuality to forge ahead in status hierarchy. This would only happen when a sex partner subordinates his or her will to that of his or her partner, whom (s)he may accept as a dominant one, irrespective of the fact that they are of the same class or not.

Since the publication of Foucault's trilogy on sexuality, as naturally to be expected, there had been comments, arguments and counter arguments on his theoretical positions. He has been criticized by feminists for his failure to explain the distinction between power relations, capacities and communication, when he defined power in terms of actions affecting others' actions, thus including the notion of freedom and the necessary openness of existence in the constitution of the subject. Critics also argued that the exposition is limited by his avoidance of sexual difference as relevant category for an account of political and ethical individuality, which implicitly associates individual agency with men (Rozmarin, 2005). Likewise Dean (1994) argued that Foucault's work is a product of male subjectivity crisis that originated after the inability to explain historical processes through which sexuality is produced. By and large, Rozmarin (2005) and Dean (1994) acknowledged Foucault's high level of intellectualism and contribution to knowledge.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Methodology

This study is a descriptive and ethnographic account of sexuality in a Yoruba market space. A qualitative approach was adopted deliberately to privilege voices and take account of actions. The study explored human interactions through a theory earlier stated as Foucault theory of sexuality-power. The thrust of this project is based on the fact that sexuality can be linked to development process through its association with power, directly or indirectly.

3.2 Study Plans

The study site is Bódìjà market in Ìbàdàn North Local Government area of Ìbàdàn, Oyo state Nigeria. The market was established on 3 October 1987. It was selected for this study partly because it is the largest food stuff market in Ìbàdàn, and also because it houses economic interests of other ethnic groups apart from the Yoruba. It is also a site of an untapped source of wealth, embedded not only in human resources but also in the waste product from the market abattoir (Adurokiya, 2012). The market, of course, exhibits a typical market culture that is characterized by heterogeneity, transactional relations and profit making that is suitable, empirically, for this study. Due to the interest in sexuality, there are various and varied use of the market space for social interactions which become important in their profit oriented exchanges. The market space is, of course, cut out on types of goods sold and there are within the varied spaces clearly marked evidences of gender, ethnicity and even age, and the reasons for these arrangements are elucidated in this study. But, Bódìjà market's space is sub-divided into the following categories; namely:

- Foodstuff market, comprising 20 sub-associations with their leadership
- Grinders and Millers Association, comprising 10 zones and their leadership
- Butchers Association, broadly divided into two groups
- Cattle Market broadly divided into 2 groups
- The Igbo traders market, and
- The sawmill divided into 3 groups

The heads and members of these groups were interacted with and interviewed, in order to understand the dynamics of the market organization, culture and sexuality

patterns. The study started in August 2010 with a pilot study, which lasted for three months. The research proper began in November 2010 and lasted till January 2012. After discovering that not all methods are applicable to this anthropological study, as suggested by Creswell (2003), the researcher took stringent caution in selecting appropriate methods for data collection through the use of ethnography. Once the ethnography started, the data collected were recorded in small jotters as field notes. A tape recorder was used to record Focus group Discussions (FGDs), the Informants' Interviews (II) and Key informant interviews (with the permission of the informants). Data were subsequently transcribed, coded and analyzed. Written in the jotter were important issues, comments, gossips, proverbs, abuse and jokes, date notes, time and other environmental factors. These were transferred in details into the field notes at the end of every field work. Two research assistants, who were familiar with Bódìjà market, one of whom was from the market, and the other a student of the University of Ìbàdàn, were employed in the course of the data collection. They were with me throughout the duration of the research and were of tremendous help in the course of observation and interview.

3.3 Study Area

As mentioned earlier, the study was carried out in Ìbàdàn, specifically in Bódìjà Market (see figures I and II), which is close to Agbowó, a suburban community, on the figure, and to the prestigious University of Ìbàdàn. Close by are built up private spaces such as Bódìjà, Samonda, and Ikolaba estates, populated by intelligentsia of the city of Ìbàdàn and the cream of elite, particularly the rich and wealthy. Also, not too far from the market, in a distance of boarding one or at most two commercial vehicles, are areas such as Ajibode, Ashi, Bashorun, and Akobo--places inhabited by the middle and lower classes of Ìbàdàn city. Many of the residents unavoidably patronize Bódìjà market, and many others from all works of life either do so daily, weekly, or monthly. The layout of the market follows in Figure 2, and on it are clearly delineated spaces for different economic tasks.

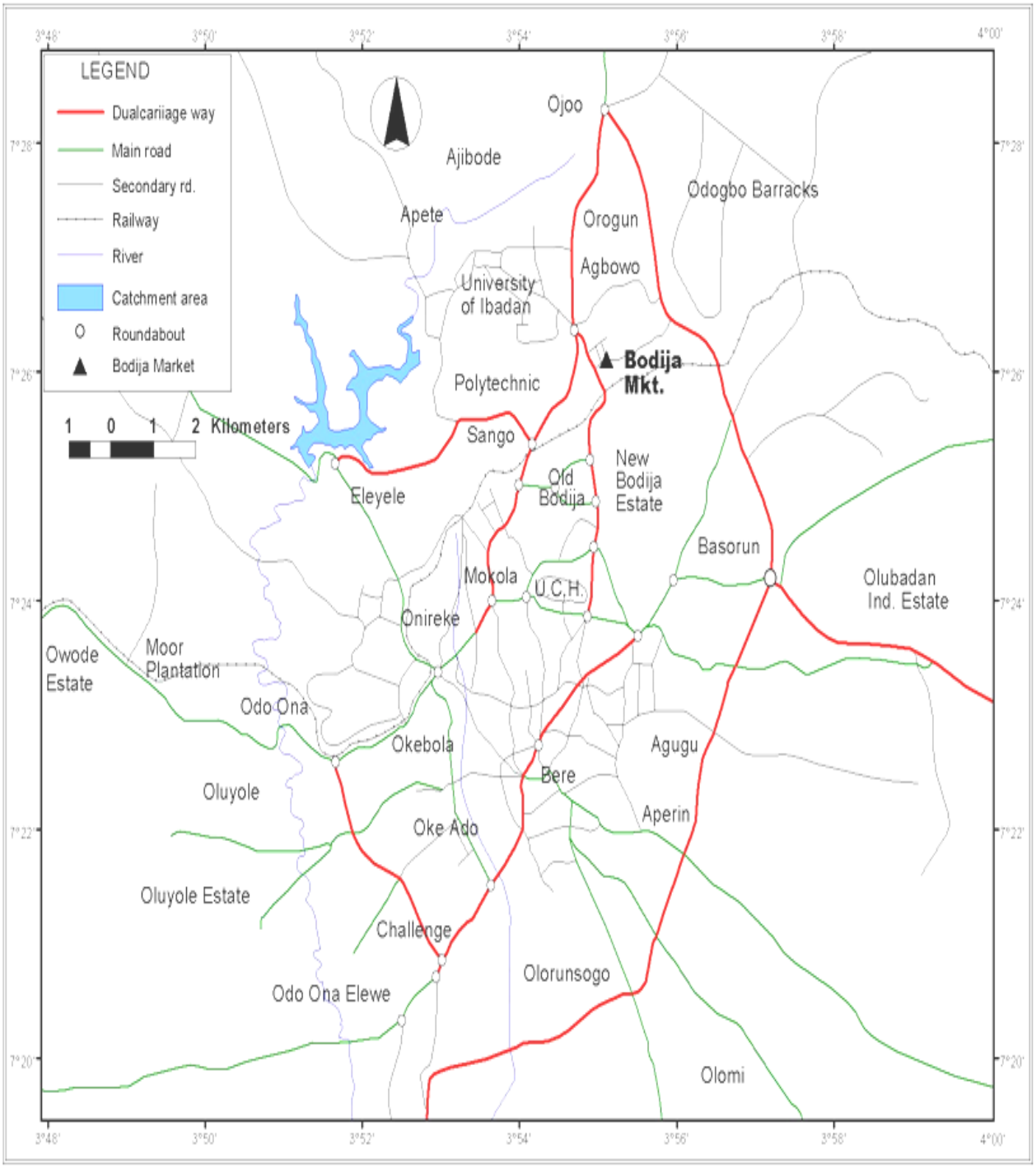

Figure 1: Map showing location of Bódìjà Market in Ìbàdàn. (Source: Department of Geography University of Ìbàdàn, 2010)

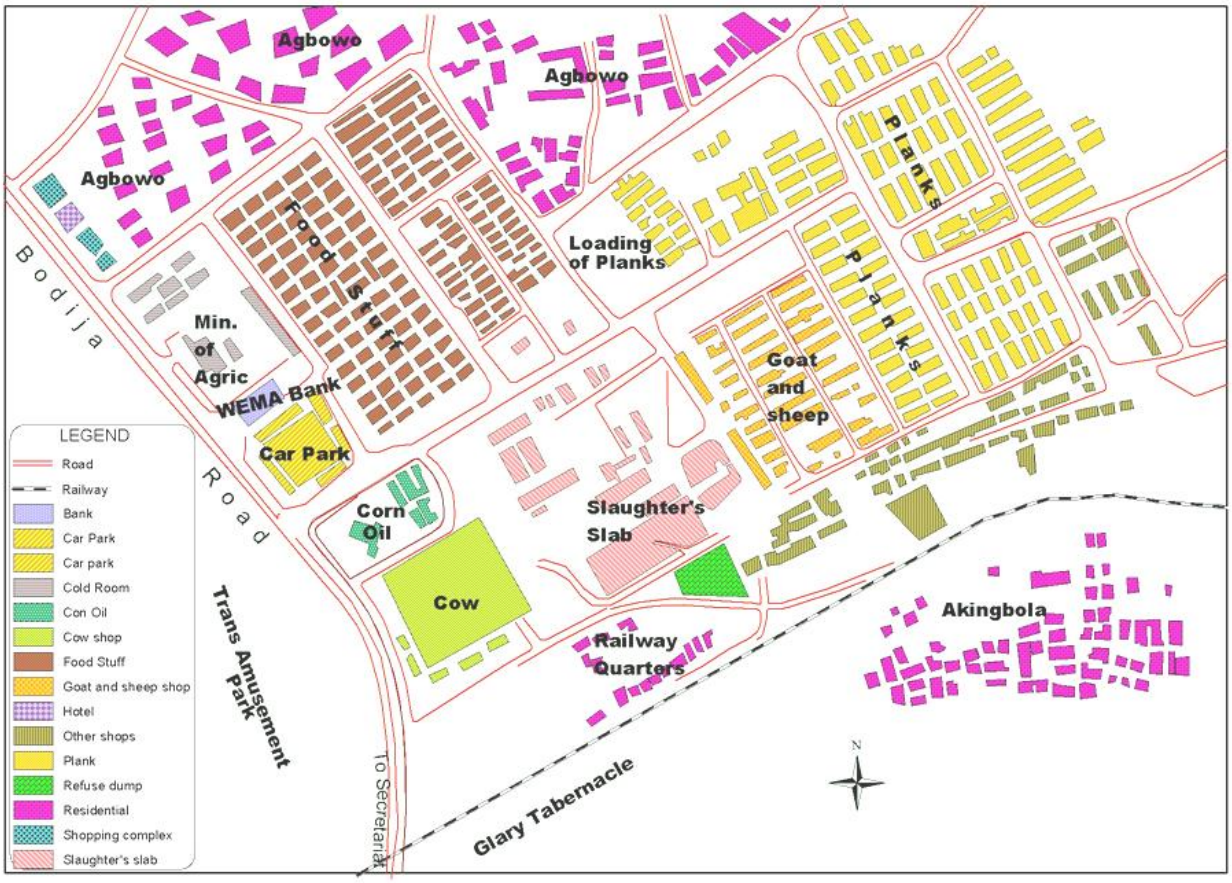

Figure 2: Bódìjà Market aerial plan. (Source: 2010 Department of Geography University of Ìbàdàn, 2010)

Ìbàdàn is the capital of Oyo State, and also the third largest city in Nigeria by population after Kano and Lagos. Geographically, it is the largest city in Nigeria, and spatially the third largest in Africa, after Cairo and Johannesburg. The historical city of Ìbàdàn was established by Lagelu, the Commander-in-Chief of Ife army and a Yoruba Generalissimo. Prior to the advent of Lagelu in Ìbàdàn, the space now called Ìbàdàn, was a forest, a hideout of social deviants who incessantly raided neighbouring Ife communities (Johnson, 1976; Ajala, 2005). The arrival of Lagelu eventually transformed the city into a military garrison, especially in the nineteenth century. The name Ìbàdàn emerged from the phrase *Ilu Eba Odan*, meaning the town adjacent to the Savannah. In this location the climate and the vegetation supported the agrarian and commercial life of the city (Akinyele, 1981). Gradually, the name was modified to Ìbàdàn. As it grew bigger, it attracted people from all over Yoruba land and beyond, and the contemporary Ìbàdàn city has become a melting pot of cultures

which, as the popular saying goes, *' gbole, ogbalee; ko si eni ti O gbà* "Ìbàdàn is accommodative of thieves and the slothful; it's a home for all". This factor has partly impacted on the heterogeneity of Bódìjà market.

The city of Ìbàdàn is located on the coordinate of 7°N23°E/7, 23 of the equator. It is divided into eleven (11) local government areas, which include Ìbàdàn North under which the proposed study site falls. Ìbàdàn population, according to 2006 census, is 2,550,593 and the population of central Ìbàdàn, which includes the five LGAs (Local Government Areas), is 1,338,659. It is spread over 128km area^2. Ìbàdàn, in 1946, during the colonial era, became the administrative centre of the old Western Region of Nigeria and is at present, the capital of Oyo State (Labinjoh, 1999). There are many markets, aside from that of Bódìjà, such as Oje, Oritamerin, and Ojà Oba.

In 1983, the government of Oyo State saw an urgent need to establish a big foodstuffs market in Ìbàdàn, as the existing ones were no more conducive for trading, because they constituted hazards to lives, traffic, and other movements. Prior to 1983, the three major foodstuffs markets in Ìbàdàn were Dugbe, Mokola and Gege - Oritamerin. The last was the largest but was still not enough for traders. After many conflicts with government, on October 3, 1987, the then Military Administrator Colonel Adetunji Olurin (now a retired Brigadier General), forcefully relocated traders to Bódìjà market. The reluctant traders joined their counterparts much later to swell the population over time. The market grew and became one of the biggest in population. At its establishment, the market was initially under the control of old lbadan Municipal Government with the secretariat at Mapo. But following the creation of more local governments in 1992, the market now lies within the space and control of Ìbàdàn North Local Government, with the headquarters at Agodi Gate (Olaoba, 2000). It remains the largest foodstuff market in the South West of Nigeria.

3.4 The Methods

3.4.1 Secondary Sources

Secondary data were gathered through text books, journals and newspaper reports. Attention was directed specifically to issues related to markets in Ìbàdàn, to ascertain the elements constitutive of the social structure in the market, which directly or indirectly affects the market development. The critical issues were those of sexuality, power and market organization and necessary insights into them were

gained from internet/ electronic library and the University of Ìbàdàn Library. The data collected were subjected to content analysis. Ideas were also gained from maps, sketched during the field-work, and, with appropriate permission, from the market authority. Photographs were snapped after consents were obtained.

3.4.2 Primary Sources

Five basic procedures for data collection were adopted in this study. They were:

a. Participant Observation method

b. Informant interviews

c. Key Informant Interviews

d. Focused Group Discussions (FGD)

e. Life history

These methods were used in the data collection because of the ethnographic orientation of the study.

a. Participant Observation

Appropriate introduction to the market authority and sub heads was done with the aid of a letter of introduction from the Head of Department, the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Ìbàdàn, the school identity card and the help from some contacts in the market. This was the first step in the field work, and it was designed to develop the contacts that would introduce me to many traders in the market and would later become part of my informants' group. Later, participant observation commenced in November, 2010, and was on for five months before the introduction of other methods of data collection. It was used throughout the period of data collection to enable the researcher to get well accustomed to the market situation. The participant observation was done in stages; the first five months were spent in the foodstuff market because it was the most populated part of the market. Three months were spent among the Butchers, another three months with the grinder and millers, and a further two months in the cattle market. Two months were spent with Igbo traders during the course of these shifts. The researcher observed the material/physical cultural signifiers such as arrangement of stores and goods, type of goods sold across the space, gender handling of situations, physical appearances of both sellers and

buyers, and the different gestures that come with felicitation and discussions. Listening to talks, gossips, rumors, news and the preaching (*waasi*) of the Muslim clerics from the market mosque, all within the market, were beneficial because they helped the researcher to identify key informants and gain ideas about relationships and ideological strategies.

During the participant observation, the researcher attended meetings of the association as an 'imaginary' trader. I also attended ceremonies such as *ikomOjàde* (naming), *oku- agba* (funeral), "freedom" (graduation from apprenticeship) and the food-stuff traders' market anniversary. Attending these ceremonies gave me a deep insight into the hidden and repressed (sexual) life patterns of the traders, and even made them 'trust' the research team to some extent. I encountered some challenges along the line, especially among the Grinders Association where the chairman specifically demanded for money (which is against the research ethics) and openly forbade his members from attending to us, the research team. Despite the fact that my link in the market came to our rescue, the chairman, who is elderly, refused to grant us audience throughout the period of study. But executives and members of other associations did. I also came to the realization that many researchers that had been to the market before us and gave many of the leaders monetary gifts in exchange for information on the market. This called for a reappraisal of research ethic and its application on the field, because giving cash to informants in exchange for information is not a guarantee that the right information will be given.This again stresses the beauty of ethnography where in-depth interaction with the people under study will bring out the right information and at no or little cost. Then, from another view, presenting monetary gift to informants makes research space a difficult terrain for future researchers, like what happened to us in the market, though cash/gift given is not totally unaccepted in anthropology.

b. Informant Interviews (II)

The informant is someone who knows a lot about the culture under study and is willing to share his knowledge with the researcher (Bernard, 2006). In the case of Bódìjà market, informants were randomly selected across the groups in the market, as we observed events and listened to discussions. Five males and five females were purposely selected from the sub- associations on the market space. The IIs conducted

were 10, 20, 20, 30, 100 and 200 among Igbo-traders, cattle-traders, butchers, saw-millers and foodstuff-sellers respectively. In all, 380 informants were interviewed. These included group leaders (incumbents or ex), and the informants willing to share their knowledge. The interviews were conducted in Yoruba language, pidgin or English as the case demanded. As a form of scheduled activity, in some instances, appointment was booked with informants at least a day or two before the interview. Lists of topics to be followed in the course of the interview were drafted before the interview, and were strictly followed through as the interview progressed. The topics discussed included issues emanating from participant observation, concerning attitudes to and the values of space, relationship of sexuality, power relations, social organization, and economic negotiations in the market. The interviews were conducted in any of Yoruba, Pidgin, or English language as each case required. A couple of interviews were also conducted with some buyers to balance views on issues in the market.

c. Key Informant Interviews

Key informants for this study were purposefully selected. They were people who knew so much about the culture of Bódìjà market, and were willing to share knowledge of Bódìjà market with the researcher. They were four in number, two male, two female and were discovered in the course of participant observation in the market. These key informants were selected across economic groups of the market; one each was selected from the foodstuff association, the butchers, the millers and the Igbo traders. These key informants were between the ages 42 to 66 years, and had spent between 10 to 16 years in the market. Interview with each of the key informants was done extensively; each interview lasted for at least twenty four (24) hours. There were some that lasted two days. The key informants were also observed and asked questions on certain issues that were considered private especially their sexual life; this was done in order to identify sexual norms and values in Bódìjà market.

d. Focused Group Discussion (FGD)

FGD was used in this study to complement and as well cross check the validity of data collected using other methods. Some questions raised in the in-depth-key informant interviews were discussed in FGD to further dig into beliefs, values and

ideas of the people. Twelve FGDs were conducted; the two genders were in the composition. Aside saw-millers and cattle-traders who declined to participate in FGD, 2 FGDs each were conducted among butchers, grinders-millers, and Igbo-traders while 6 FGDs were conducted with foodstuff-sellers. Participants were traders who had spent at least six (6) months in the market. This was necessary because the study was looking at the market from the lenses of relationships and it required that participants must be integrated into the market culture for at least six months to be able to give useful information. The FGD was conducted with the help of a discussion guide; it was conducted in Yoruba, Pidgin and English languages. Each session comprised a minimum of six (6) and a maximum of ten (10) people.

e. Life History

In the course of the study, life histories of some people in the market were looked into. Those focused were chairpersons' or members' in the central executives of each of the main associations in the market. These were influential personalities in the market, in the sense of dispensing favour and determining sanctions. Their life histories were followed from childhood till date of the interviews. They were conducted in comfortable atmosphere, mostly in offices. The interviews lasted between 45 minutes to one hour each. Overall, eleven life histories were collected into a digital recorder.

3.4.3 Data Analysis Procedures

The data gathered through the various methods, namely the observational methods, key informants' interviews, Informants interviews and the FGDs, were transcribed into an exercise book. They were sorted, coded, and categorized according to the research objectives and concepts and then subjected to qualitative, descriptive content analyses to generate themes, concepts and patterns on the determinants and use of power, and strategies and maneuvering of sex-relations in the market. The themes and concepts used for coding were in accordance with the set objectives of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Space Organization, Spatial Symbols and Bódìjà market

4.1.1 The Lay-out of the Market

This aspect of data analysis focuses on spatial organization, the symbolic representations in the organizations, and the social construction of space in Bódìjà market. It unravels the complexity of symbolism involved in not only the organization of the physical space, but also the linguistic phrases used in discussions that refer to acts, positions and socio-psychological dispositions and orientations. It is argued that space, as a phenomenon within Bódìjà market, derives its symbolic meaning in various ways. Particularly, its meaning is derived through methods of presentations and representations of the physicality of objects, location, size and form of space, and the acquisition, maintenance and derivation of forms of social relational system. Also, this includes the rewards developed and received within the space.

The symbolic representations are organized as forms of personal and collective identifications linked to persons, positions, and agencies. They are also an attestation to the aesthetics of spaces in the market by how they are linked to objects such as tables, stools, baskets, wooden trays placed on stools, and so on. From these observations have emerged the nomenclatures of eye (*ojú),* without which all things are dark to human and of stomach (*inú),* which is used for the internalization and protection of things consumed ordigested. This is as much indicated in the local metarphor of *inú kò gbà, lààyè kò gbà,* or, *nìkan tí inú kò gbà lààyè kò gbà.* It means literally that "if the stomach cannot contain something there is no space for it". The key term, *inú,* or stomach, is a reference to space, but it also refers to whatever that can be admitted to that space is what is considered acceptable. This means that for as long as there is enough room in the stomach, then the space is willing to accept whatever comes in; but if there's no room, every other thing stands to be rejected. The issues raised in this local metarphor/parlance are many and include reference to how administrative, transactional, associational, and the "merchandisation/rental economy", are linked and handled by individuals and the collective. Therefore, the thrust of this research is to bring to the fore the rationality of the complexity of this and other symbolic concepts demonstrating the influence of space on the development

of the informal economy in terms of wealth creation and distribution, and the structuration of relationships.

As a way of putting the linguistic terminologies of space in perspectives, this chapter first considers the physical layout of the market, which is organized in lines, rows and lanes according to goods sold and services rendered. Those traders that are selling the same items are placed together in a roll of stalls, known as *ìṣọ̀*, for the kind of things they sell. This compartmentalization of the market space makes it easier for buyers/clients to easily locate relevant stalls of interest, and to identify, as well as choose the best good out of the many on display. But the arrangement in which the same type of traders are on the same line or row comes with some disadvantage. This especially affects the buyers, as many traders have to shout at them for attention at the same time, thereby not only raising the noise level in the market but also confusing the buyers who are enticed by endearing statements coming from each one of the sellers. But for the sellers, this arrangement ensures their coming together quickly to fix, control and monitor the prices of goods and services and, thus, ensures that prices are not negotiated in hidden places and for uneconomical level. The arrangement, essentially, allows for traders to make excessive profit by selling far above the price obtainable on street trading, where quick negotiations with buyers allow for reduction in prices. In one of the economic groups' weekly meetings that I attended in December 2010, the chairperson rebuked those who had sold below the fixed prices and warned:

> Let us know that this group is not happy with those who sell below the normal price. Such people are wicked and lover of misfortunes. They will go out of this market empty handed in God's name (amen). We do not say making gain is a sin but make your gain in a way that others will not run bankrupt. You can sell far higher than the normal price there is no sin in that, it shows you are well trained but it is a sin and God is even against it when you sell below that… we will make plenty gain o o Amen
>
> (Source: sub-foodstuff group Bódìjà, 10/12/2010)

The arrangement of the market, in terms of the sellers' goods and services, basically serves economic ends, and does so in an atmosphere of serious competition for buyers. The compartmentalization of goods and services had, of course, been on since pre-colonial time (Falola, 1996). But what is now obtainable, is an adaptation that

helps people locate goods easily and ensures that unnecessary price wars are not inaugurated.

Such an arrangement of traders in a roll of stalls has been, as indicated above, a historic feature of Yoruba market (Fadipe, 1970; Sekoni, 1994; Ogundeji, 2006).However, its complexity may not be immediately obvious until you enter into, and are involved in, it. When you approach the market from the west, usually called 'Texaco', there is an array of stalls , kiosks, wooden stores, open stores, lock-up shops, small tables, and wooden trays (*ọpọ́n*) placed on top of stools or woven baskets (*apẹ̀rẹ̀*). Lines of big umbrellas mounted on tables provide cover for the market men and women, and for the goods displayed on the road sides. There is, also, a set of tall quadruplets of unplastered, uncompleted buildings lining the street. One of the buildings, the one adjacent to Texaco (Con Oil) fuel station (see figure 3), is partly painted pink by a wine company (Veleta Wine) to advertise its product, but there is also a big billboard for advertizing the Indomie noodles' company. The buildings are largely in varying stages of disrepair. Located close to"Texaco" is the official car park for the market. On the park is a group of pepper grinders called *Àṣejèrè ẹlẹ́rọ kékeré* (small grinding machines operators). The park is located at the backyard of an uncompleted shopping complex, popularly referred to as *ilé gogoro* (high-rise building); that is, an imposing structure.

In addition to the features of the sub-market, there is a "motorable" road leading from Texaco straight to the northern part of the market. The road is called *Tunakin*, and leads to *Ìdiṣẹ́kẹ* to join Texaco road again, as it leads to the Abattoir, Sawmill, Cattle Market, and the Police Station to the south. Towards the west is the market for foodstuff and provisions, the millers and grinders, and the beef sellers. Towards the south are the cattle market and the slaughter slab and to the north-east is the space for goat market, plank and sawmill. As illustrated in figure 3, the entire space is dotted with varying physical structures, either completed or uncompleted, or in the forms of make-shifts or permanent structures. They confer a rough and dull aesthetics on the environment.

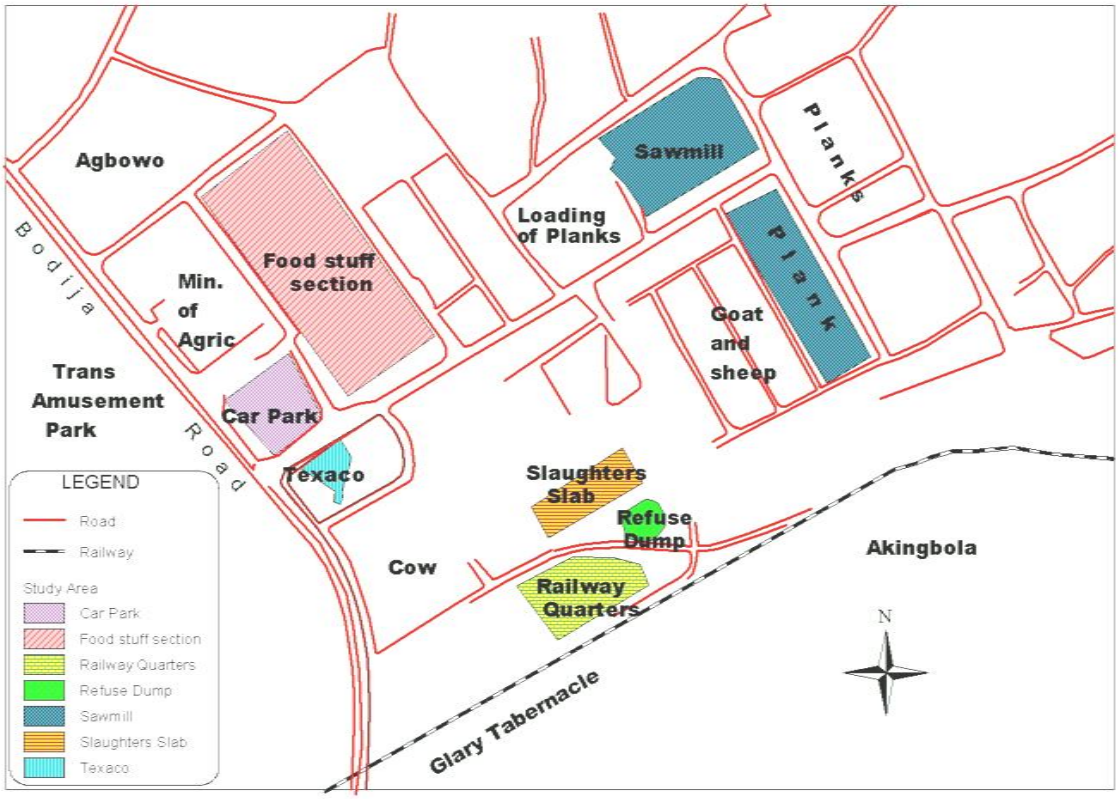

Figure 3: Spatial distribution of sales of goods and services in Bódìjà market (Source: Department of Geography, University of Ìbàdàn, 2010).

Goods are sold or advertised in various ways on the spaces, allotted and unalloted. On the one hand, there are covered-lockable stalls, open stalls, stores, kiosks, and open trading units in the forms of *ojú igbá, ojú gutter and ojú tábìlì*[3]; on the other hand, there are stalls either built of blocks, iron or wood. Structures are either in semi-permanent or permanent forms, and they appear usually in varied sizes or shapes and could be roughly six feet long, four feet long or between ten to twelve feet long. The largeness of each shop depends on when and where it is located on the market space.

The high rise buildings known as *ilé gogoro,* contain quite a lot of trading outlets. The original name of the building is lost in memory, as those who claimed to have been in the market since 1987 could not recall the exact name. But it appears that the buildings had been around before 1987 (Olaoba, 2000), and has remained uncompleted in their present state. They pose danger to their occupants and passers-

[3] Oju igba (ware space), oju gutter (sales point on drainage), oju tabili (table sales space)

by, as they are fast disintegrating and can collapse at any moment. (See plate 1 below).

Plate 1: A side view of one of the quadruplet storey buildings in Bódìjà market shot from Texaco petrol station, 2010.

In the course of this fieldwork, around the month of October 2010, Ìbàdàn North Local Government gave a quit notice to all the occupants of the high-rise buildings. The notice was not warmly received by the occupants, and the Local Government chairman who issued the notice was subjected to ridicule, abuse and curses. There were assumptions that the building might have been sold by him to fellow politicians, who will go on to demolish or transform it into a modern structure and subsequently force the present occupants out. In any case even if they are not forced out at the commencement of the demolition or rebuilding, as the case may be, they may not be able to access it after the reconstruction. Generally, there is uncertainty about what to expect. The market public is skeptical and would not entrust

their wellbeing to the politicians they have elected. A woman occupant of the high-rise buildings actually felt that "*wọn kò jẹ́ ká gbádùn ọrọ̀ Nìàjíríà, wọ́n tún ní kí á kúrò ní ibi tí a ti ń rí oúnjẹ òòjọ́ wa, tó báyá wọn yóò wá lé wa kúrò láyé o, àwọn tí kò ní jẹ ère láyé àti ọ̀run"* (we are denied the national wealth, now we are told to leave our source of livelihood, very soon they will chase us out of the earth, those that won't profit on earth and in heavens). Many of the occupants of the buildings, from the first floor up-ward, are people who render services such as hair dressing and sewing. Relocating their shops/ offices will result in the loss of customers, who may find it difficult to search for them and might go on to patronize the new shops in the buildings. Such a loss will have negative effects on their finances. Those occupying the ground floor of the buildings are traders of goods such as readymade cloths, underwear, provisions, frozen foods, and *tòkunbọ̀* wears (second-hand cloths). For them, their location on the ground floor is advantageous, as it makes their goods and services more visible. The phrase *ojú gbangba (*open space), applies to them, as account of their visibility and accessibility. When one occupies the "open space" (*ojú gbangba)* the sale is believed to be fast and more profitable, but then the competition and rivalry with others for patronage is intense.

4.1.2 The Concept of *ojú* as Spatial Representation

The market's entire surface (*ilẹ̀ ojà)* comprises several physical and symbolic structures, among which are several *ojú igbá* (the face of igbá), *ojú tábìlì* (the face of a table), *ojú gutter* (face of gutter (a sales point on a closed gutter)), *Ìṣọ̀* (stall), *ilé gogoro* (tall building), public toilet, mosque, health centre, police station, banks, *ojú ọ̀nà* (passage way or foot-path) *and ojú tí tì* (a tarred road). Of all the structures mentioned here, the last two are truly public in terms of being sited in a location freely accessible. Others have one known restriction or the other, directly or indirectly. For instance, the access to the market's public toilets attracts some fees. , It has thus become a privatized structure: a source of income to the individuals doing business with them. In order to avoid paying, many people have devised strategies for their own convenience; specifically, the women urinate in a small bowl in their stores and later pour the contents onto the road or into the drainage in front of their stores or into a small hole dug inside their stores. *Ojú ọ̀nà and ojú tí tì* are considered as free space that can take anything. In the real sense, a space that does not belong to an

individual is a public space, and is considered free. The idea that *ojú ọnà* and *ojú títì* are free means that no individual has the right to monopolise them. One of the hallmarks of this position is that the government can cause any alteration to it because, ideally, there is no one in charge, except the government who, quite often, shirks its responsibility.

Physically, Bódìjà roads and the market are usually very busy and congested except when the market is closed for certain reasons, such as for repairs. The market lacks functional drainage system and waste is thrown around, based on the whims and caprices of the people. The environment, thereby, is dirty and the atmosphere is characterized by malodorous stench. However, the existing drainages can be turned to sales point by covering them and they immediately become '*ojú gutter'*. This development can and usually do inhibit free flow of water and movement especially when it rains. At the time of this research, the road was muddy and messy (see plate 5) and free movement of people and vehicles was slowed down, as many vehicles got stuck in the mud, especially at the entrance to the market. Therefore, this development further encourages the occupation of spaces close to the road for the display of wares. As passages become narrowed, the movement of people within them becomes difficult to navigate.

The haphazard way of organizing the space meant that tensions, inadvertently, would arise at the sight of an oncoming vehicle into the market. The usual thing is that marketers hurriedly pack their goods and scamper to safety, as the vehicle moves closer to them. Some will shout at, or resort to abusing the vehicle driver and urging him to be careful not to smash their goods or stampede them into involuntary actions. The situation becomes more confusing when the scenario involves a big lorry like a trailer. The people, both buyers and sellers, scamper along the road and hurriedly pack their goods and themselves off the road. They are intimidated not only by the size of the lorries and the loudness of the horn blasted every second, but also by the fact that most of the drivers are Hausa who do not understand Yoruba language and usually ignore their protest. Hausa drivers are believed to have less regard for the sloppiness and indiscipline of the market. The same goes with the *Alábàárù* (male porters who carry heavy load on their back in the market), as they move around. Many of them are Hausa, and because of the heavy weight of the load they carry on their back, or head, they have no patience for delay and usually have to push away any obstructing object,

including humans, on their way. The Hausa lorry drivers' and *Alábàárùs'* impatience is tied to the idea of a free market, free not just in terms of access but also of the manner of trading. The impatience trait is, of course, common to many lorry drivers as argued by Lawuyi (1997).

Undoubtedly, every space is useful in the market, even the one under the parked lorries. It can be useful as a place of rest- as a protective shield from the sun, quite aside from display of wares. When people are tired or exhausted they sleep under any stationary lorry until it is ready to move, perhaps after about one to four hours of stay (plate 2). There and then another round of commotion and packing of goods will start. The people appear not tired of packing and re-packing of their wares and of displaying and re-displaying their goods each time a vehicle enters or leaves the market. In any case, if the goods are not displayed on and into the road, there is a sense of loss of advantage to rivals, or economically, of income loss (see plate 2, 3 and 4 on how goods are displayed on and into the road).

However, around the food stuff market side, there is less confusion when compared to that around the abattoir side of the market. This is developed in the latter when the cows are brought in or led into the market to be slaughtered. Then the cow may 'go mad' and dangerously force a need for people's safety. Everybody runs around helter-skelter, trying to find a way of escape, with the butcher chasing after and shouting at the cow. The atmosphere is one of chaos. The concern for security and sales has led to spatial congestions and chaos in different areas of the market, as are symbolically expressed by the following linguistic phrases:

1. Go slow *mú ẹlẹ́sẹ̀* (that is, traffic jam affects pedestrians as well)
2. Hold up *mú ẹlẹ́sẹ̀ o* (that is, pedestrians are caught in a hold up)
3. *E gbé ẹsẹ̀ nílẹ̀ o ẹ jẹ́ ká lọ* (hurry up, let us go)
4. *E jọ̀ọ́ o o!* (please! with emphasis)
5. *Gbé orí ẹ* (beware or leave)
6. *Yàgò* (leave the way)
7. *Alábàárù ń bọ̀ o* (A human carrier is coming!)
8. *Kúrò níwájú mi* (leave my front)
9. *Bọ́ sí ibi tí o ti ń rajà* (move close to where you're buying something)
10. Eh é è e ó dé o o màálù ti ya wèrè o o (eheee, the mad cow is coming!)

The expressions in line 1 to 6 are associated with problems linked with pedestrians' mobility, especially when there are more than two lorries parked side by side in the market, and goods are displayed on the road; so the negotiations, through available spaces, become difficult. Expressed as jokes, or as serious addresses, these statements, nevertheless, point to a frustration arising from inability to pursue interest on time and being in the wrong situation which prevents an arrival at a destination within reasonable expectation. They, in substance, really do not contrast from the intents expressed in statements 7-9, which instigate reacting to other road users angrily. But there is a greater note of immediacy and urgency shown in the statements. Such is the hostility built around space that it becomes a touchy, sensitive issue; one that evokes and provokes attention to security, economic opportunism, social relationships, conflict, cooperation and ethics of social relations. At any moment of danger, as the expression in line 10 suggests, it might be necessary to take to your heels for safety.

Plate 2: Traders under a packed lorry on a hot afternoon (note the narrow space allowed for pedestrians) Source: Fieldwork, Bódìjà market, 2011

Plate 4: Goods displayed into the road in Wema side of Bódìjà market

Source: fieldwork 2010

Plate 5: The 'Black' moldy entrance of Bódìjà market from Texaco side (note the mound of dirt in the background and the shaky image to conceal identity of informants) Fieldwork 2011

The concept of *ojú* frequently surfaces in both private and public discussions. *Ojú*, of course, is more of a biological than spatial description. Here, in the market relations, it stands as a metaphor for something other than the biological eye, although the sense of visibility is still retained. It is about access, and the certainty of patronage. *Ojú* (eye) is a reference to certain important conspicuous features of the market, and the various forms that representativeness can take: *ojú gbangba* (a visible space), *ojú ojà* (a market square), *ojú ọnà* (a path/lane), *ojú títì* (a road), *ojú igba* (the face of igba), *ojú tábìlì* (table space) and *ojú gutter* (a gutter's path). It is at once a reaction to the visible transactional space, the nerve centre of business, as it is the denotation of the linear corridor and indicator of accessibility. The useful *ojú* is strategic and well sited, to accommodate a crowd of patronizers. This useful space is congested between 6am and 7pm. Located on *ojú gbangba* are *ojú iṣọ̀ (*stall), *ojú igbá*

(wares' point) *ojú tábìlì (table's* space) *and ojú gutter* (drainage path). These are the well patronized sales points. In *ojú gbangba*, all kinds of goods are found, especially the provisions and perishable goods. The goods are arranged according to their durability and on the presumptions of buyers' interests. There may be other provisions traders inside the market, in semi-stalls which are more permanent structures. But there are others at *ojú gbangba*, with the capability for flexibility and openness, pragmatism and conservatism, and that is where you have the butchers with semi-permanent tables and big umbrellas (*ojú tábìlì)* spread to cover their items. The vegetables and peppers sellers and the cow intestine sellers are equally found on this *ojú* platform, with their movable wooden trays placed on baskets or big bowls which form *ojú igba*. Some wares (clothing items) sellers, of which are usually *tòkunbọ̀*, clothing material popularly referred to as *òkìrìkà, or* B.K (an abbreviation for *Bọ́sí Kọ̀rọ̀*, or secondhand cloths), are market items in wheel barrows. The sellers also through wheel barrows push such items as female hair accessories, dry pepper and fruits. The sellers are found in the middle of the market as well, because their materials are more or less hawked around and depend on and exploit the strategies of flexibility and openness, pragmaticism and conservatism that ensure greater sales and more patronage.

Ojú gbangba as the visible transactional space is attractive for immediate reckoning and accommodation of various clients' desires/needs. It is full of activities and performances, and is given to intense struggle between buyers and patrons for space; pedestrians sometimes need to negotiate it with passing vehicles. So intense is the struggle that relationship can, and usually do, end up as fights, assaults, insults, impoliteness, rudeness, noise and excessive/expensive jokes. There are all kinds of tricks, strategies, and shifts brought into play by both the buyer and seller to create impressions of the good and to constitute a unique experience that is hardly forgettable. As Fadipe (1970:163) noted, there is on this space:

> Good-natured repartee, a rich fund of jokes, an occasional burst of confidence in which intimate matters are disclosed and discussed, advice and often prescriptions given for ailments, interest shown by one party on the other's child [or another person], a threatening gesture on the part of the buyer to leave [and sometimes on the part of the seller when disgusted with price given by buyer] an indication on the part of the seller that the lowest figure acceptable to her has be passed…

The invention and reinvention of accolades, gratitude and appreciation by sellers and buyers are for establishing long lasting patronage and friendship. The air of sales and patronage is full of endearing and evocative words such as *'fine* girl/boy', *ìyá ọkọ mi, ìdí ìlẹ̀kẹ̀* (my mother in-law, with beaded waist), *òyìnbó* (European/white), *akọ̀wé* (literate/elite), *ìyámi bùsáyọ̀ dúdú máa dán* (the mother that adds joy to my life, being black and shining), and *ìbàdí àrán* (the pretty lady). They express what the eye can see but go further to build an ideology of sexuality. There are, equally, visible signs of shrines like that of Esu and Ogun. These shrines are the eyes of the gods, the ones that watch over human relationship and their exchanges and enforce the moral standards that enrich the honest. A market, thus, is a symbolic centre; a place where the gods have eyes (Ogundeji, 2006). This reality is not lost to one of our informants who described the market in this way:

> Ọjà tó o rí yìí kì í ṣe nǹkan lásán tàbí àáyè lásán, ó ju bí a ti rí i yìí lọ. Àwa nìkan kọ́ ló wà níbí yìí, tí a bá ṣí yín lójú láti ríran ju ojú lásán lọ. Ẹ ṣé rí i wí pé orísiríṣi èèyàn, iwin, òkú, èmí ló wà sọ́jà, wọ́n wá ná ọjà bí a ti ń ṣe. Nǹkan tí wọ́n rí i pé a ń ṣe ni yóò determine bí wọn ó ṣe ṣe pèlú wa.
>
> Kí ló dé tí òrò pe àwọn Yorùbá sọ pé ojú Ọjà, nítorí ó jẹ́ ibi tí gbogbo èèyàn pàdé láti fi ìwà wọn hàn fún àwọn alálẹ̀ tó wá sỌ́jà láti rí wọn. Ṣé orí Mọ́ṣáláší tó wà láàrin Ọjà, kí ni o rò pé ó jẹ́?
>
> This market is not an insignificant place as you see it; it is more complex than you think. We are not the only ones here; if your spiritual eyes are opened other than your naked eyes. You will really see that all sorts of humans, ghommids, the dead and sipirits come to the market. They come to the market to trade just as we dosome of our ancestors and unseen spirits are here present; even the gods are here. They are watching us to see if we are doing good or bad, .What they see us do will determine their reaction to us.
>
> Why do you think the Yoruba say *ojú Ọjà?* It is because it is a place where everyone meets and is allowed to display their original character for the ancestors to seetheir characters or attitudes. What do you think the mosque inside the market represents?)
>
> (Source: fieldwork 2010, a male informant; 68 years)

The market can reveal the hidden characters and intents of men and gods, which are more complex than what the ordinary eyes can see. The reality of the

market is denoted as *ayé*. This is about the experiences that make the people say, *Ọjà'layé, gbogbo wá wá ná'jà ni, a ó padà sílé bọ'jà bá túká* (the world is a market, we have all come to transact business in the market; we will all return home when the market is dispersed). Trying to make sense of the market as *ayé* is to attempt:

> an objectification of the world [that] speaks to a social setting where, as in the marketplace, individuals voluntarily interact and negotiate to produce a certain balance of power relations. [It is]… a key to a value system, conveying those self-conceptions, motivations and understandings by which the individual relates to society. Indeed, with appropriate linguistics modifiers it means pretence, time, tribal territory, the dominion of a political leader, a market, the whole world, the evil ones, witches and sorcerers, unformed and dangerous characters, spiritual forces and point on a journey. It represents the good and negative aspect of human development (Lawuyi, 1997:150).

If the gods/goddesses are interested in the market it is because they can "see" literally and metaphorically the social scenes where people "voluntarily interact and negotiate to produce a certain balance" (Lawuyi, 1997:150) in their lives that will lead to some kind of freedom of not solely depending on others. We cannot, however, understand this *ojú* that only deities and the endowed humans do understand, without recourse to (*orí),* the head. Literally, *orí* cannot be properly guided without an *ojú* because, *orí* is where the *ojú* is located, and as the Yorù bá will say, *bí kò sí ojú, orí di àpólà igi* (without the eyes, the head becomes a log of wood). Literally, a head, without the eyes, is a dead wood. The market space at large has become the *ori,* serving as the nerve centre that gives everything its vibrancy (Lawuyi, 1997). When it comes to market exchange and values, *orí is* important to both buyers and sellers and, so is the eye (of the trader and buyer), which has to be on the alert to identify and select rightly what the mystical power (ayé) has not blinded it against. The individual must take "eye to the market" or, as they say, *mú ojú l'Ọjà* (take your eyes to the market) and not *"mú orí lọ sọ́jà"* (take the head to the market). This becomes important because eyes are of critical advantage to transactional relations and their value comes from, first, the use at the peak of the marketing in ensuring that wrong choices are not made and, second, that one is not cheated in the haggling over prices.

As far as spatial connotations go, *ojú igbá* and *ojú tábìlì* (see plates 6, 7, and 8) may be two different spaces but they serve same purposes to different types of

traders. *Ojú igbá* is a small space on a stool about thirty to forty inches in length, into which is inserted a medium size bowl or basket containing goods/wares. There could be several *ojú igbá* located in front of a shop or on an open space, but they are generally temporary set-ups and on them are objects such as big plastic/aluminum bowls, wooden/metal, and plastic trays. The type of objects used as container differentiates one *ojú igbá* from another. *Ojú tábìlì* is the measure of a table and is rooted into the ground. It is mostly used by traders of beef, cow entrails, palm oil/vegetable oil, provisions, mutton, *elubo* and at times rice and beans, and is in contrast to *ojú igbá* which is used by traders of fish, rice, beans, pepper, onions, okro, vegetables, black soap and hair adornments. The common bind is that the two spaces symbolize a claim, a presence, or an ownership; metaphorically, the eye is that through which the owners see into the world of profit and success. The items of reference and their definitions, be it the table, aluminum bowl, basket or wooden tray, merely constitute a quasi- legal representation and no one dares to remove them without proper permission from the owner or the market authority. If such is done without permission, the offender is accused of erasing the owner's presence in the market and is punished for what is tantamount to wising him/her evil, as a witch would do. The offence attracts social/official sanctions, such as suspension from the market or from the sub association, stigmatization, fine, and sometimes letter of apology from the offender.

Spaces like *ìṣọ̀* and *ojú gutter* are temporarily inhabited. In the evening, the goods and the sellers disappear and there's no indication someone was there before. The goods and the objects of identification, the stuff being sold, are placed on a platform on the drainage space (gutter) in the morning and removed in the evening, everyday. The drainage is closed up by placing planks platform on it, and it becomes the selling point for goods such as iced fish (oku eko), pepper, dry fish, and provisions (depending on the location of the drainage, though it is usually in front of a roll of stores). The selling points are arranged in rolls, and sometimes as shops bearing numbers and names. This is typical of stalls like that for food stuff (*ìṣọ̀ olóúnjẹ tútù)* and the millers' at Dálẹ́kọ́ (*Ìṣọ̀ ẹlẹ́ẹ̀ọ ńlá).* An *ìṣọ̀* may be a stall with rolls of tables and seats, to distinguish one sales point from another. This type of stall is typical of butchers (*Ìṣọ̀ ẹlẹ́ran)* and ìgbò traders (*Ìṣọ̀ àwọn ìgbò).*

The mobile *iṣọ̀* moves around the market for sales, as hawkers do with the wheel barrow. The wheel barrow may, at one stage, be stationary; that is when the hawker is tired or there is good patronage going on (see figure 12). It would stop any where there is available space, but mostly on the road. However, it can only be removed by the owner of the space or by anybody if a vehicle comes around and the owner is not around. At the end of the day's sales, the wheel barrow is wheeled away to a hidden place in the market, only to be brought into the same space or any other available space the next day. (See figures below for different examples).

Plate 6: A set of *ojú tábìlì* in *Ìsò ẹ lẹ́ran alá patà* (Young Shall Grow butchers stall) in Bódìjà Market. Source: Fieldwork 2010

Plate 7: A set of *ojú Igbá* in Bódìjà market (Source: Fieldwork 2010)

Plate 8: Another set of *ojú Igbá* in *Ìṣọ̀ olóúnjẹ tútù* (foodstuff stall) Bódìjà Market

Source: Fieldwork 2010

Plate 9: A wheel barrow placed in a space beside the road (Note: the face of the informant is not shown for ethical reason, as the informant wished to be anonymous). Source: Fieldwork 2011

Plate 10: This picture of the road that runs through the foodstuff market from Texaco to *Tunakin* shows an example of *ojú gbangba* space in Bódìjà. Note the linear arrangement of the shops on both sides and the major road. The picture was taken on a day movement was curtailed in the market for six hours. Source: Fieldwork 2010

4.1.3 Space Administration, Spatial Rental Economy and the Construction on *Inú*

Quite aside from *ojú* as a concept of and for defining space, specifically as that which identifies what to buy, what to be displayed, and the manner in which it should be displayed, it promotes the strategy of advantage. There is, also, *inú* (inside, within, etc) not infrequently expressed in the linguistics of transactions and space administration. In order to place this concept, *inú*, in the culture of the market, and locate it in the history and the peculiar circumstances of its invocation as a literary expression, it should be recalled that Bódìjà market was and still is under the administration of Ìbàdàn North Local Government and it is thus a geographical

location within (*inú*) Ìbàdàn. At the inception of the market in 1987[4], it was under the Ìbàdàn Municipal Government before that of the North was carved out from it. The market grew inside (*inú*) Bódìjà community (in Bódìjà) and has remained one of the largest food stuff markets in (*inú)* of Ọyọ state. Many of the stalls in the market, especially those of foodstuffs, were built by the local government at the initial stage, and were then leased out to people who were, supposedly, market women and men that would use the space effectively and profitably. But, besides the government initiatives, there has developed a part of the market called *dálékọ́*, which means privately built, in which the land is leased out by the government to those who can build shops on it, while the rent goes to the government every year. The reality on the ground is that many of these *dálékọ́* people, who originally acquired these stalls and lands from the government, are now either deceased or aged and are no longer physically present and functional in the market. Their stalls have been rented out to other people- the 'new comers'- over the years.

As the market expanded, the demand for space has grown and acquisitions have become daunting and dubious, through unbecoming strategies designed to procure land or stall at all cost. For example, there are multiple transfers of spaces to individuals and groups, by the so called "owners". The existing tension over land has necessitated the setting up of an administrative organization manned by space administrators. The administrators are called the 'caretakers'. They work in conjunction with shop owners and market leaders who are mainly men. They are usually consulted on issues of renting spaces, shops or stores, and how much should be remitted as revenue to the government, on behalf of the original owners or current owners, as at when due. The competition for space is intense, as an informant noted below:

> Well there is no free space in here; it is difficult to get a good space. If you want a good shop, that is, outside where the sales are fast and good, you have to see the caretakers. They are in the market here, they are one of us, and they will find a good space for you. Even I am one of them, we help people find shops, help shop owners pay their due to government and look for those who can pay good money for shops. After collecting the rent, I will pay the shop owner and the remaining is mine, as profit for my stress.

[4] Though the cattle, plank and goat market started before the foodstuff market, it was gathered that these markets dated to 1972/73

(Source: fieldwork, Informant, Male, 57 years, Bódìjà Market 2010)

Caretakers hike the rent price of shops, at their whims and caprices, to maximize their own profit. In a sense, space has become a special commodity, with the price going up astronomically sometimes beyond the means of common people. *Owó Ilé*, the space fee, has been in existence for long as Yoruba markets (Fadipe, 1970) existed anywhere in the country, and, at Bódìjà, it is calculated as ten percent of the total amount of goods bought by a merchant. It is collected from the buyer by the seller who is most likely to be a 'middle man', the go-between the producers and the marketer or consumer that has acquired shop in which farmers, bringing goods from the farm, can stay. Their task is to provide the space for storage, and many at times help the farmers to sell their goods. According to Baba Idirisi, one of the traders in the yam stalls, *owo ile* is used by the middle men to pay for their own shop rent, buy food for the farmers, pay their apprentices, and feed their families. In other words, it is their source of income. They usually have no goods of their own to sell, but that of the farmer, which was brought into the market by them or the farmer. Yet, they are so powerful, to the extent that they control the prices of goods in the market, and can and do create artificial goods scarcity.

Owó ilé has been institutionalized and constituted as a form of associational hegemony over the "ordinary" market men and women. It is designed to ensure the closure of the market space, principally, to outsiders and as well control price and access to shops by those against them. The membership is, indeed, highly restricted, and the fewer they are the better and more financially comfortable each of them becomes. One of my informants , Ìyá Àjọkẹ́, while responding to a question on the issue, exclaimed that:

> Ha! we do not need more people in our group, for now we have placed embargo on the membership, there is no space to put new people, we are now over 300 and that means the profit we are to make will reduce as the members increase, so we are doing everything to close our gate against new members. Some of our efforts include, placing high amount on space rent, and making joining of the group totally impossible
>
> (Source: Fieldwork 2011, Bódìjà market).

Ìyá Àjọkẹ́ is a pepper trader; her concern is that many of the newcomers are not able to afford, say, N10, 000 for a small space. Even for those who have managed to raise the money, there is no guarantee they would be absorbed into the group because, apart from fulfilling the financial condition, admittance is based on the "social capital" of the person as well (Fadipe, 1970). By "social capital", we mean that people are judged according to some social relations parameters, which include obedience and submission to authority, and relational value in networking.

The amount paid to government for stalls stands at present between three and ten thousand naira per annum. The price of a sub- let shop ranges from twenty (₦20, 000) to fifty thousand Naira (₦50, 000), depending on the location and the size. After paying this exorbitant fee, the space may be further sub-let in order to meet the annual cost. The inner and the open spaces, as well as the drainage space, are also available for sub-letting. The amount paid for each *iṣọ̀*, whether *ojú igbá* or *ojú gutter* is between ₦2,500 and ₦10,000 per year. A shop may have up to 5 (five) *ojú igbá* or *iṣọ̀* depending on the location of the shop and the outer space available for use.

In order to make ends meet, some shop owners have adopted the system of sale shift for their tenants. That is, some tenants may use the *ojú igbá* and *ojú gutter* around the shop from 6 a.m. till 11a.m., while another set will use it from 11a.m. till evening time. Both sets pay the shop owner in advance. Shift sales are common among those involved in the sales of goods that are time bound, which are perishable items such as fish and cow legs. Time is a crusial part of the market; it is a significant determinant of profit in the market processes.

Ìyá Sọdiq sells iced fish (*òkú èkó*) in the market. She is a young woman in her mid 30s, and she is fond of wearing make-ups, even when she is in the market transacting business with customers. Iya Sodiq is involved in shift sale and is also a shop owner. She is 52 years old . The shift system , to Ì yá Sọdiq, is an act of benevolence and not a right:

> The madam that gave us this space is a nice woman, though we pay a token of N5000 per year which is less important, but the more important thing is that she devised shift system, the morning people would have denied us this space but for her wise intervention. She did that because of our (Fish seller association) good relationship with her
>
> (Source: Fieldwork 2010, Informant, female, mid 30, Bódìjà market).

Monetary value is placed on space, but the acquisition of space goes beyond the money that is paid. It depends on "*inú kò gbà, lààyè kò gbà"* (If the stomach cannot take it, so there is no space for it), a metaphoric statement that is the socio-economic determinant of space availability. There are two *inú(s)* in the market. The first is the associational *inú*, and the second is the co-sellers' *inú*. The two *inú(s)* constitute a form of social hegemony around power and sexuality, particularly over other traders in terms of space of accommodation. If a new entrant or an established member is rejected by the associational *inú*, that person will definitely run into relational crisis with co-sellers' *inú*, even when he or she has the money to acquire the space. The local government officials allocate space as stalls, shops, and open land, but the leadership of the market associations are the de-facto administrators on the ground, conducting and regulating daily transactions. One *inú* is different from the other. The market associational leadership is largely made up of men and few women chosen by the traders to represent their interests, promote their welfare, and direct their developmental agenda as an organizational body.

4.1.4 Associational *Inú*: Space and Marketing as Determinants

The authority and power of the associational leadership is derived from collecting rents. But, as already stated, the fact that one has money to pay for a space is not an automatic ticket for getting that space, whether it is at the core of the market space or at its periphery. Before an entrant could be allowed to sell on any space, which is acquired after payment, the particular association he/she belongs to must give its approval, and must accommodate the person. Whether the demand is for shop, *iṣọ́, ojú igbá* or any other space, it can be secured only through the association, and access into it depends on social capitals such as trust, friendship and the act of "doing-good" that has been demonstrated. This social capital is rooted in the principle of *inú kò gbà, lààyè kò gbà,* but then, as one informant puts it:

> Though we have an outstanding constitution, we always make judgment with culture [based on social relations] as guide because if you use the constitution all the time, there will be crisis
> (Source: Secretary of Food stuff association Bódìjà market)

There are, in fact, several economic associations in the market. They can be broadly categorized into:

1. Foodstuff Sellers Association
2. Butchers Association
3. Grinder and Millers Association
4. Cattle Dealers Association
5. Goat and Sheep Sellers Association
6. Plank Dealers Association

The Foodstuff Association is as old as the market. At its inception the association was divided into five groups , namely, Ìfẹ̀lọ́dún, Ọ̀rẹ́dẹgbẹ́, Bínúkonú, Ìlúpéjú, and Ìṣ òkan. They, differently and collectively, bring coordination into the transaction of goods and services related to foodstuff, as the conduct of sales lies solely with them. This type of classification continued until 2003 when event took a different turn, which, to my informant nick named Sulee Igbira, a foodstuff trader, was strategic and positive:

> There were five groups before now. We were not grouped according to our trade interest, the only important thing was to join one group and regularly pay your dues. Once you do that there is no problem
> (Source: Fieldwork, male trader)

In 2003 the administration of the Foodstuff Association was transferred into the hand of the present administration (at the time of the fieldwork), under the Chairmanship of Late Alhaji (Chief) Kabiru Kolawole Salaam (2003-2009), who reconstituted the association into twenty sub- groups (see appendix). The association secretary, Mr Faribido, noted that:

> The formal division of the association was not effective and was counterproductive. It ought to bring people of different interests together and there was no unity among them, simply because everyone wanted his interest protected and that was not progressive: you know, so the present administration saw an urgent need to re-group people according to what they sell to help the development of the association and its members. At the beginning, Gari sellers did not want to join us but we forced them to join us so that others will not also go way
> (Source: Fieldwork, Foodstuff Association Secretary, and Bódìjà).

The new classification was done in order to bring effective orderliness into the foodstuff sales administration, and see to the needs of the members, and as well build a fence of defense against intruders who are not members. All foodstuff traders in the market were forced to belong in one group or the other, to ensure total control over the sales. Their authority even extends beyond the Bódìjà market space, reaching far into everywhere in and outside the country where members of the association go to buy their goods. That is because the leadership liaises with other economic groups nationwide, particularly those concerned with marketing and production. That is why members of the association are given tally, to ensure recognition whenever they travel to purchase goods from the farms, even from the Northern parts of the country. With this tally, they can secure vehicles that would transport their goods to Bódìjà market, while the association acts as the insurer, which is able to defray the loss of capital or fire incidence. In fact, many members of the association have been helped financially when they were robbed or duped on their way to the farm or to the North to purchase goods. Since one of the most frequent risks associated with the business of selling foodstuffs is the danger of loss of money and goods through robbery or vehicle accidents, the association is a reliable fall-back-on in times of trouble. And, indeed, as they say it is, "united we stand, divided we fall." The image they have created of their authority, as reliable and useful, is equally pertinent: as they say, *ẹja lónibú* (the fish dominate the sea), the association is for progress and *ìtẹ̀síwájú* (progress). These statements are suggestive of not only a unity of purpose, and a focus on and feeling of power (all parts of a shared concern for survival and profit), but also an intense desire to make progress in life (see appendix).

There is an advisory body of the association, which is made up of a 20 man committee, headed by a chairman. The aim is to provide a much needed check and balance to the daily routine, and to accelerate decision making of the executive arm. Beside this body, there is the council of chairmen of the sub-associations, comprising the executive arm and all the chairmen of the 20 sub associations under the foodstuff sellers' association. The committee has the power to make policies, rules, and decisions that relate to the welfare of the market at large. The ad hoc committee is the market task force, the one that goes round to enforce rules and regulations made by other arms of the administration.

The foodstuffs sellers association has its secretariat inside the market. It is a bungalow (building) popularly referred to as *ilé ẹgbẹ́*. It stands as a conspicuous architectural design, as the symbol of associational authority, in its size, impression, and aesthetics. Within it are the offices of the executives of the association, and the space for the meetings of the executives and the sub-groups. Meetings are held in a large open space inside the building. Each sub-group under the Foodstuffs Sellers Association has different days and times it comes into the building to deliberate on the progress made by each of them.

The other notable association is that of the Butchers; it is divided into three sub-groups or associations. These are:

1. Irẹpọdun Butchers Association
2. Young Shall Grow Butchers Association
3. Àṣejèrè Butchers Association

The *Irẹpọdun* is the first in ranking, as the members are mostly the elderly people, many of whom have been in the market before it even gained popularity in the 80s. It was out of *Irẹpọdun* that the two other groups of butchers emerged. These two groups were founded partly as a desire to overcome the spatial challenges that had prevented the younger ones from gaining independence from the older group and partly because they would be able to control their own 'space'. The three sub-associations and two other groups (the entrails sellers and the cow leg sellers groups), are under the general umbrella of Ìbàdàn Butchers Association. Anyone coming to Bódìjà market to sell beef has to join any of these three associations, enter the '*inú*' and through the '*inú*' be allotted the space to sell the beef. As with other groups, new entrants pay *owó ìwọ ẹgbẹ́ (*entrance fee). That of 'The Young Shall Grow' entrance fee is fifty-thousand naira. However, if the new entrant has graduated from being apprentice to *ọ̀gá* (boss) in the market the payment may be done by installment, and as may be convenient for him. This privilege is extended to him because he has gone through two to three years of apprenticeship and is already known to virtually everyone in the association. This same kind of privilege is obtainable in other butchers associations.

The office of the association is located in the outer periphery of the market, inside the À lúbáríkà Arísekólá's Shopping Complex. The activities of the association are guided by written and unwritten rules, some of which are in a small pamphlet called *ìwé òfin* (Book of Rules and Regulations). Many of the rules enforced, ironically, are

not actually in the pamphlet (see appendix for the rules and regulations), even though there is a strong insistence by the associational leaders that members should conform to the rules. Any member that is absent from the market, for instance, for more than two months, without informing the association in writing, is sanctioned. The sanction, as spelt out in their book of rules and regulations, is that such a person repays his entrance fee:

> *Ẹnití ó bá lọ sí ìrìn àjò gbọdọ̀ kọ ìwé sílẹ̀ fún ẹgbẹ́, ẹnití kò bá kọ ìwé láàrin oṣù méjì yóò san owó ìwọ ẹgbẹ́ padà.*
> (Òfin kọkàndínlógún)
>
> (Whoever that goes on a journey must inform the association in writing, whoever fails to do so within two months will repay his entrant fee) (Rule 19: see appendix)

The intent of the rule is to account for members' movement; it is also concerned with space control. The reason being that any vacant space that the owner does not use for a long time can be allocated to someone else; for there is, after all, so many people wanting to join the group and space cannot be left vacant for a long period of time when there is a serious demand for it. Should the space be allocated and the original owner then comes back, there is a serious challenge to the administration. In the past, this would be resolved by sharing the space between the old member and the new occupant.

All associations in the market strive, like the ones already discussed, to control members' movement and space. The millers located at Daleko-Idiseke side of the market operate big milling machines (see picture below) and do the same. They are organized into clusters so that they can be found everywhere in the market. The grinders operate small grinding machine, and are mobile with their machine. The miller's machines are stationed and, temporarily, restricted to a space because they require semi permanent structure in which the machine will be installed and impressed into the earth surface.

Plate 11: Milling machine in Bódìjà Market. (Source: Fieldwork 2010)

Plate 12: A grinding machine in Bódìjà Market
(Source: Fieldwork 2010)

The thrust of this discussion so far is that market administration admits and rejects, as *inú,* and *inú* is an ideology of inclusion and exclusion of membership. The association and sub divisions are means to regulate the nature of competition within

and outside the jurisdiction of each body. Inclusion is effected by the payment of required fees; but there are other social considerations factored in. More so as it has been argued in this work, relationships are settled in the phrase *inú kò gbà, àáyè kò gbà.* The question is, can *inú gbà, kí àáyè má gbà? (*Can stomach accept and space reject?) or can *àáyè gbà kí inú má gbà?* (Can space accept and stomach reject?*) Gbà,* meaning acceptance, is negated by *kò gbà*, meaning rejection. The interplay of acceptance and rejection in the market opens the contest for space as one of negotiation and power. Before *àáyè*, space, can *gbà* (accept), *inú*, which is the reference to the human factor, in process of accommodation of others, and the inclusiveness of their interests and concerns must accept. The concept is an oblique reference to the role that any association has to play in mediating acceptance of the "stranger" into the body of traders. Indeed, once the association accepts, there will be a spatial right. But if the *inú,* the association, should reject an application there will be spatial rejection. The ideology operates in such a way that the power of *inú* determines the *àáyè* space. So it is only when *inú gbà, (accept)* that *àáyè* will *gbà (accept).* To gain entry into *inú* has generated so much struggles and contests that space has to be configured and reconfigured several times. So the next task is to examine what role sexuality plays as mediation between *inú* and "*àáyè",* as a factor in the literal and metaphorical configuration and reconfiguration of space and the mode of allocations.

4.2 THE CODIFICATIONS OF SEXUALITY

What is established in our analysis so far is that buying and selling is a unique form of negotiation, a mediated practice, in which people creatively engage themselves in socio-economic and socio-cultural production of everyday reality. Symbols within this negotiation are embedded in networks attesting to centre of economic institution and social capital. For instance, as centre for regulated and 'non-regulated' interest, it motivates relations in which various levels of personal freedom and chances are utilized for self and collective expression (Chiu, 2009). The centre, as we further argue, has become indicative of the types of accepted gender characters and sexualized expressions. Sexuality, in this context, is like a grid on which gender difference, gender relations and a genderised historical memory are inscribed, as planks for images of the market as comprising the right persons deeply entrenched in

patronage and dynamic reality. On this grid, if one looks deep enough, there are visible sexual gestures, "shameless sexual discourse", and open sexual invitations with references to anatomy of gender. These expressions are intermingled with common sense notions of the good, and the moral, with or without caution. In this familiarity of extensive allusion to physical contacts, and sexual innuendoes the illicit thrive (Foucault, 1978). This is as well attested to by powerful sexual imageries:

> Ìyá ọkọ mi, bá mi rà á, ẹ̀mí rẹ tó jọ'wọ́n ni yó ò jẹ ọ̀pọ̀. Àwa gan-an ń rójú ni, ká má jókòó sílé la ṣe ń ta ìwọ̀nba tí a ń ta yìí torí ọ̀rọ̀ Ọjà wa yìí, nísisìyí, ti di oore ọ̀fẹ́ Ọlọ́run ni ó mú okó le, Okó ò ní eegun mọ́, ìdílẹ̀kẹ̀ bá mi rà á.
>
> My mother in law, buy from me, we, the traders are even managing, just to have little items for sale and not sit at home because our market situation now, is a matter of grace of God. God gives penis its erection; the penis has no bone, my pretty ladybeaded waist, buy from me.

The sex-laced words and imageries are loaded into a rich verbal transaction with or without caution. The highly sexualized conversations equilibrate relationships between the trader and the customer, power and powerlessness, and create a (fictitious) sense of familiarity embedded in thick fabric of meanings and reciprocities (Stuart, 1983). The sex-laced words and imageries express and concretize the market as space, and, as one describable in metaphors of potency, and vibrancy that can and do serve as a source of economic and social capital to individuals and groups. The contextualization of the sexual imageries in persons and actions goes on in the midst of unfavourable financial conditions, and even outside of it, to revitalize and direct marketers' energy and proclivities. Indeed, in some of the statements cited above are such equations as:

a. Mother-in-law = beaded waist
b. Market (Trader/ outside) = ile (unemployed/ inside)
c. Okó (penis) = egun (bone)

In the first conceptual phrase, the 'a', the mother-in-law is like a bead, an object of adornment and power, even though this is a fictitious image of a customer, now brought into the market relations as an idiom that suggests bonding of an inestimable worth. The next equation in phrase 'b' cites the 'home' as representing a condition of idleness, poverty, gossip, and low social prestige that could be brought about by refusing to be in the market, where persons can be recognized as vibrant

because of on-going exchange relations. The economic power of the trader is, basically, dependent on the buyer's instinct to come out and buy; and the outcome of such participation depends on luck, and, possibly, divine intervention which is brought in by the emphasis on the penis as a boneless organ. The penis is an 'external' organ, and one that asserts itself in an encounter. Being in the market as a trader and making a success of it would, ultimately, depend on an external force (God) to achieve its purpose.

Sexual features are reckoned with either physically, as in the biological appearance of both males and females, or symbolically, as signs to something else. Conspicuous in the construction of a 'good' female sexual appearance are a gorgeous hair-do, heavy makeup, uneven bleaching of outer skin layer, and the imitation of certain middle-class clothing style, especially by the wearing of trousers, usually done with Ankara fabric. Another feature is the adoring of nails with two or three nail polished in different designs. Women with these physical features "have worked on their appearance" (*wọ́n túnra ṣe)*, to present a social status, impress colleagues, and possibly attract male attention. They may play soft (easy to get) or hard (not easy to get) in their various sexuality 'games'. Men, also, play the same game. Some of them bleach their outer skin layer to add value to their physical appearance. The physical expressions of sexuality in the market are marked by a deep sense of contrast from others, in regards to such matters as dress advert, skin tone, and speech making.

All in all, the market is, to a large extent, a more female gendered space, particularly, in the metaphoric allusions in speeches and the real concrete manifestations of femininity as social power. Of course, many of the retail food traders are women; but some of them too are involved in wholesaling. There are, generally, more men than women involved in wholesaling, and there are more men in the foodstuff market. In yam trading centres, the spaces for men are located at the back side of the stores while those of the females are in the front, and in the middle of the road, for greater visibility. The abattoir and the grinders' spaces are male dominated; here, there are a few female traders. Again, this spatial arrangement is genderized, as the male space is organized in such a way that few items are displayed on the floor, apart from the goods sold, partly because men presumably have less people (like children) to cater for. Objects such as knife and cutlass are more associated with the male space than with that of the female. And even when knives

are found on female space, like in the frozen fish stall, they are not as heavy as the ones the butchers who are mostly males use. The middle of the road, *ojú titi,* cuts the market into two. The trading here is dominated by female hawkers; just a few young males trade in items such as cheap trinkets, cosmetics, female hair adornments, kitchen utensils, women's underwear, beef, goat meat, secondhand clothing, socks, flashlights and so on. It is clear that there are culturally defined expectations about how genders should behave and express their desires and feelings in the market. These cultural expectations and expressions may or may not differ from that which is obtainable in the larger society. However, there is a clear message that, in the market, sexuality is about the culture of sex and sex relations, and not that of the real sex but how sex and sexual parts of the body are attributed to, used and reflected in events and relationships, such as are reflected in Bódìjà market's linguistics and extra linguistic conversations, in terms of appropriate or inappropriate roles, behaviours, values, appearance and expectations.

Plate 13: A man selling female under wears demonstrating by wearing a sample with his artificial breast (Source: Field work in Bódìjà market 2010).

As far as I know, homosexuality and bisexuality are not visible social problems in the market. This does not, however, rule out the fact that, the market's publics may be unaware of homosexuality. But rarely is it discussed as a social ill. Those who engage in it are generally believed to be Hausa, and that it is used as a requisite for money rituals. The stereotyping is not unknown to the Hausas themselves. One of them, who is a head potter in a section of the market, a male informant, 35 years old, hinted that:

> I was brought from my state to this Ìbàdàn by a rich man who is also from my state. He promised to give me job. But when we arrived in Ọ jọ̀ọ̀, he kept me in his house. Then, one night he started with me and he promised to give me ten thousand if I do it. I did it. He gave me the money. And we continued for seven months. One day I discovered he was using it as ritual to make money, and then I ran away and came here to work. Now I am free from it
> (Source: Male informant, 35 years, Bódìjà Market: Fieldwork 2011)

Aside from the view of the man, there is no other firm evidence to establish the practice of homosexuality in the market. Another issue on the relationship of the Yorùbá and Hausa sexuality is that many Yorù bá traders discourage their females from getting sexually entangled with the Hausa male traders, partly because they see them as ritualists and secondly they accuse them of using herbs that elongate their genitals and inflict pains on the females during sexual intercourse. In the real sense of all these accusation lies the issue of economic rivalry between the Hausa and the Yorùbá traders in the market, and devaluation of sexuality is a means of getting back at each other. What, on the contrary, are most often discussed, debated, are issues of polygyny, adultery and fornication. These are, in fact, acknowledged in one of the market association's constitutions. That of the Young Shall Grow Butchers Association forbids members from having sexual relationship with each other's wife. The penalty for committing such an offence is expulsion from the market (Section 16 of the constitution pamphlet, see appendix).

Many of the problems associated with heterosexual relationships constitute the bulk of jokes in the market. These are jokes with indications of strong sexual orientations, repressed, frowned at, or even condemned. There is no problem with sexual jokes so far the other partner(s) involved pick no offence; but should there be one, the perpetrator is just asked to refrain from committing the same offence. The

leaders of the associations are generally forbidden from having sexual relationship with their members because it is assumed that such relationship will reduce the potency of their authority over the members. From our observation, however, the leaders do have sexual relationships with their members only that these relationships are kept as top secrets. The perpetrators hardly relate openly with each other in the market; rather, they restrict their relationship to their secret meetings, usually outside the market environment.[5] Should the relationship become known to other members, the leader may be impeached. One of the ex-chairmen of an association in the market who is sixty-seven years old and who almost got impeached for this kind of misdemeanor has this to say:

> I was going out with this fine woman in my group and shortly I got hooked to her I became the chairman. It was difficult to let go because she is fine and very good with this thing (sex). One of her problems is that she is a trouble maker. She fights everyone in the market and I find it difficult to stop her. After about two years in office some factions in the group knew about the association and in a meeting cast a vote of no confidence on me, I was to be impeached the next meeting, but before the meeting I resigned**.** (Source: Bódìjà Market Ìbàdàn)

Those with 'more than one sexual partner' are regarded as loose and are socially sanctioned, even at times stigmatized. They are called derogatory names like *akọ ajá, abìrìn òṣì lẹ́ṣẹ̀ (a promiscuous vagabond* (a 'dog'), *oníṣekúṣe* (fornicator), *olórí lùùlù, lẹ́gbẹ̀ẹ́ ògiri* (secret lover) *alágbèrè (*adulterer), *kárí ilé* (meat for all), *anímáṣahun* (generous with her vagina), *ọkọ kan ò kún kọ́ńbọ̀dù* (one man cannot fill her cup board, or one man is not enough).

Having more than one sexual partner implies that the actor (perpetrator) is involved in multiple sexual partnerships or has one extra marital sexual partner, which may be socially approved[6] under certain conditions. For women, any act of having other sexual relationship beyond that of marriage is considered loose. This is evident

[5] This rule is not applicable to those who are married. It is targeted at people with 'extramarital affairs'

[6] Extra marital affairs with one partner are justified when one's spouse fails in his conjugal duties, as such extramarital affair 'partners' are called names that vindicate and justify their action within Bódìjà market. Some of the names are: Alabaro (adviser), aláàánú mi (my helper), olùránlọ́wọ́ (helper) and so on. These names are widely understood and approved within the market culture.

in the quote below, from a female informant, fifty-six years old, and a foodstuff trader in the market:

> Let me be frank with you, yes an approved standard of relationship is wife and husband, where all is running well, and if you are a Muslim, you may marry more than one. Yes, that is the norm, but the reality is that when your husband is not up to the task especially in finances, you are "allowed" if you find another man that will from the secret playing take the role of your husband, your friends will understand and you will not be castigated for it. But when you now move from just one to two or three, it means you are commercializing your vagina. Then, you will be condemned and stigmatized. It is better to have one at a time, not two or three at a time. It is not good, such women will incur the wrath of God (Source: fieldwork 2011).

Another informant, an executive in the market, forty-six years old, voiced his concern thus:

> We know we cannot do without this sexual issue but the fact is that we must find a way of controlling promiscuity, otherwise, the market will be spoilt
> (Source: fieldwork 2011).

And yet another informant, a female, thirty-eight years old, and a foodstuff trader in the market, added this:

> I have a man friend apart from my husband. He is my ATM [automated teller machine]. He is reliable and gives me everything I asked him. Though I can never tell my husband about him, all my friends and some of my family members know him as my man friend and I hope to pay him back in kind in the future… I mean give him a child to seal our relationship, even secretly
> (Source: Fieldwork 2010)

Associated with the problem of promiscuity is *mágùn*[7], the phenomenon of 'do not climb (a woman)' or unnatural death. That this happens is a common knowledge in the market, and many people are said to have died of it- though in the course of this

[7] Mágùn is a traditional juju, also called 'thunder bolt', which is placed on women suspected to be unfaithful to their husbands. The jùjú is believed to have power to instantly or slowly kill any man that have sexual relations with such infected women and expose them to the world.

study no incidence of *mágùn* was recorded. There is high prevalence of undisclosed sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), as we discovered in interviews and conversations, and they are said to be the cause of sudden deaths. For instance, one of the famous traders in the market, an ex-official of one of the market's associations, a male, forty-nine years old, confirmed to the researcher that:

> *mágùn* is real, and is used to punish promiscuous people, it kills instantly. But what I discovered is that many who died that we thought they were killed by *mágùn* is not true. There was a time I had a disease, and my friends said it was *mágùn.* I tried many local drugs to no avail, then, I went to hospital and the doctor told me it was a sex contracted disease. I was given drugs, and the illness was gone. My wife and the lady I contacted the disease from also went for treatment and were cured**.** (Source: Field work 2010)

Poor awareness of STDs is prevalent in the market; but then, the *mágùn* belief has a rather stronger impact on sex relations. On the health seeking behaviour of the traders, many of them patronize fake herbalists, hawking anti-magun rings, family planning rings, and some other magical fixes for all sex and sexual related problems. *Mágùn* is put on females, to be contracted by amorous males, and not the reverse.

There is a brothel on the outskirts of the market, housing commercial sex workers. Many men in the market secretly patronize the sex workers in the brothel in spite of the stigma created around them as out-casts and pot of diseases. It is not wrong to presume that these people indirectly influence power relations in the market, even though they are located outside the market. For instance, a well-known issue in the market is that sexuality, if not well managed, can be dysfunctional to the market development. An example is the incident of 15th June 22, 2012, when a Fulani and a Hausa trader got embroiled in a fight because of a commercial sex worker. The fight escalated into a civil disorder, and led to the burning of the market police station. Properties were destroyed, and eventually the market was shut down for four days by the government in order to prevent further troubles. Fuelling this issue was the struggle for superiority between the Hausa and Fulani traders in the market. The two groups are from the Northern part of Nigeria and to them it is considered inappropriate and diminishing to share the same sexual partner. The ethnic struggle is not limited to a Hausa and Fulani rivalry as it also extends to the sub groups among

the Yoruba, in the sense that the leadership of the market is strongly marked by sub-ethnic interests and ethnic longing for control of the market.

Besides the sexualized words/phrases used in address system, there are also the sexlaced jokes that allude to gender roles, market relations, and important values, as in the following instances:

a. *Ìyá ọkọ mi, ọkọ mi wá fún mi ní owó oúnjẹ (*my in-law, my husband, come and give me money for food)

b. *Ẹran mi tà , bí okó àárọ̀ , bá mi rà á* (my beef sells just like an early morning penis, buy from me)

c. *Bá mi rà á, kì í ṣe àwa náà, ọ̀rọ̀ Ọjà wa yìí oore ọ̀fẹ́ Ọlọ́run ni, ó mú oko le ni* (please buy from me, it is not our fault, our sales is like the grace of God that makes the penis to be stiff)

d. *Aláfọmúrọ rè é, ẹ wá rà á ní yàwàlù (*come pack this with your breast, is very cheap)

b. *Mo rò pé yàrá palọ̀ lẹ sùn* (I think you slept in the inner room)

c. *Òtu ọlọ́mú kan* (Otu of the single breast)

d. *Olójú come and do* (one with inviting eyes)

e. *Mo lọ sí orí okó fọ́nká* (I went on 'scattered penis leave'- this is usually used for women who are in the early months of pregnancy and have sick leave from the market)

f. *Títà lòbò, dídó lokó* (vagina is for stinging, penis is for entering it)

g. *Ẹnití yóò ṣe owó àlè á ní ẹní* (she who wants to practice fornication must have a mat)

The phrases can be categorized into two, starting with phrases *a-d* that advertize *ọrọ̀ ajé* (the quest for money) – in the mode of persuading and assuring buyers of the quality of the items purchased. The jokes not only add value to the goods sold but also reveal, in the sexuality allusions, their implications for vigour (penis) and strength in how to succeed and erase poverty or lack. A further analysis of these phrases reveals that they are tied to appropriate timing and space for successful transactions. Those who start trading early have presumably stronger virility, and through persistence they can receive the grace from God that will solve their problems. Indeed, the contemplation in the morning is about what one has, or wants to

do, in order to survive the competitive world of the market, which in the rest of the day gradually unfolds into a new reality, a loss of vitality or vigour, by the evening. This view is captured in the Yoruba saying that *'òwúrọ̀ l'ọjọ́ ẹní máa ríre'* (setting forth at dawn is guarantee of success or blessing). The reverse is equally possible: there may be inflation and economic hardship when one starts a business early, but such a tough situation does not last forever, only tough people do. The importance of certain sexual parts such as penis and the breasts, as metaphors of strength and productivity, is transferred into the nature of market transactions to create specific meanings aimed at preparing the mind for all kinds of possibilities in the journey to success.

Phrases *e-j* have words which contrast existential realities and insinuate more into possibilities that can be encountered in the business. Such words as: *Yàrá/páḷọ̀ /sun, ojú*/dó, *Okó/fọ́nká, Òtú/ọmú/kan,* make allusions to space and human exploits, and as in phrase *e,* which calls attention to a situation where a co-trader comes late to the market, as that when his or her spouse just came back from a journey or struggle. *Títa=òbò=okó=dídó, Àlè=owó=ẹni,* are about the pains evoked or provoked by transactions. These conditions are, basically, about how the commercialization of one's sexuality as that of goods can change the state of being: bringing pain, dispersal of potentials, in different ways and, possibly as development. There may, also, develop a state of indifference, fear, controversy and caution by those who are unable to manage their sexuality on situations well. This, particularly, may happen in a career that ends as a "one-breasted being", in short, as one not fully developed or realized. Whatever you do must come with a price, which may be costly, uneconomical, and repulsive to yourself and others.

4.2.1 Sexuality as a Form of Bargaining

Since an attempt has been made to demonstrate that sexuality can be a bargaining chip, the case of Baba Nike, a yam seller is now pertinent. Our first encounter with him was in September 2010. It was one Mr Fanibe, a key informant that introduced him to us. Baba Nikẹ is not the only one selling yam in wholesale in the market, especially around *Ìdiṣẹkẹ* where his shop is located. There are numerous other dealers in yam. But he seems to stand out among them, even at his age, which is in the forties. He has built a 'kingdom' for himself, as a marketer, from where he

exercises control over some fellow yam sellers, many of whom depend on him to rent the space under his control, or under any other person; and have to oblige to his wishes not just because he dispenses favour, but also because he is honest, nice, bold, straightforward and reliable. He is a man who fights for justice, though temperamental; and in my view could be mischievous as a merry maker. At the time of this study he has one wife and six concubines, and still plans to marry more wives like his father, and bear more children. To him a man with one wife is a bachelor (as he says *àfara kò sí fún olóbìnrin kan; bí ó ti ń fẹ́ná ọkọ rẹ̀ a sì máa fẹ̀ẹ́ nídìí, aláya kan kò kúrò láàpọ́n*. The monogamous man cannot be slow; as the single wife pokes the fire, he pokes her vagina). He uses this proverb to ridicule the elite who are stuck with only one wife and divert all their sexual feelings to her all the time, without giving her a breathing space, not even in childbirth.

Baba Nikẹ lives close to the market, and enjoys the privilege of getting to his shop early. In fact, by 6am he is already there buying and selling yam. Many of the wholesalers of yam, like him, are men, but many of those who buy and re- sell on retail are women. This seems to be a general trend in all Yoruba markets and is a sort of genderization of trade (Pietila, 2007). What comes first , in Baba Nikẹ 's notion of economic exchange, is the reciprocity of pleasantries, many times in a sexualized manner, and the intention is to use it to negotiate entry into the '*inú'* of the client. That is the acceptance of the other party, which, if possible, could end up in a sexual relationship. For instance, the following is a morning exchange between him and a customer, which is characteristically loaded with ideas of sexuality:

> **Baba Nikẹ**: *Ẹ kú àárọ̀ o, ṣé dáadáa ni, ṣé wọ́n fi dùn yín mójú, anyway, mi kò ní láti bèèrè torí o pẹ́ dé Ọjà lónìí, ó dáj ú pé yàrá pálọ̀ lo sùn* (Good morning, how are you, were you satisfied over night, any way I don't need to ask, because you came late to the market, definitely you slept in the inner room)
>
> **Woman buyer**: *Ẹ ṣe o, a jí dáadáa, èyin ń kọ́? Ṣé wọ́n gbé súnmọ́ èyin náà dáadáa ? Torí ọjọ́ àná gaá pọ̀ , ẹ kò gbọdọ̀ sùn láìrí nǹkan gbá mú* (she gesticulated) (Thank you, what about you? Was it brought close to you? Because the rain that fell yesterday was much, you cannot sleep without having something to grip)

***Baba Nike**: Ó ga o! ìmúra ti àárọ̀ yìí ga gan-an ni* (What a wonder! your dressing this morning is very superb)

***The woman**: Èlóó ni iṣu yìí* (How much is this yam) (note there is a change in conversation)

Baba Nike: *Ọgọ́rùn-ún mẹ́wàá* (Two thousand)

***The woman**: Háà, ṣé ẹ gba ọgọ́rùn-ún méfà?*
(Ha! Will you take one thousand two hundred?)

Baba Nike: *Wáá gbe, ṣé o fẹ́ gba igbá lórí mi ni? Tí o bá ṣe pé mò ń ṣe ààyè ibẹ̀ gan-an, mi kò le tàá fún ọ bá yẹn, ábọ́sì bọ́sí pé kò sí àǹfàní fún mi* (he touched her scarf) (Come and steal it, do you want me to go bankrupt? Even if I have access to that sexual space of yours I cannot sell it to you for that price, not to talk of the fact that I have nothing to gain from you)

***The woman**: Ẹ yà jọ̀ọ́, ṣé èrò pé ẹ tó ẹrù mi gbé ni? Ẹ̀mí yín kò gbé e, ẹ kàn já sẹ̀ lásán* (Go away, do you think you are fit to carry my load? You cannot survive carrying it, you are just struggling for nothing)

***Baba Nike**: Ó dáa ẹni tí o tẹ̀lé ẹ ń kọ́, mo mọ̀ pé ẹ̀mí mi gbé òun, wòó mo le ṣ e gan-an, owó ń bẹ, tibí sì wà dáadáa.* (Okay, what of the person accompanying you, I know my spirit can carry her load, look I can do it well, there is money and there is also that thing in full)

***The woman**: Ẹ ta iṣu fún wa ná, àbúrò mi ni, ó ṣé owó àárọ̀, á máa ríra later.* (Sell the yam to us first, she is my younger sister, it is too early, we shall see later)

***Baba Nike**: Torí àbúrò rẹ, mú ọgọ́rùn-ún méje wá*
(Because of your sister bring seven hundred naira)

The woman: Ẹ ṣé (Thank you)

The pleasantries broke the wall of physical distance, allowed a bargaining space and eventually ushered in a soft landing for the two of them to have an amiable and acceptable price. The "body" was not, technically in fact, factored into a direct exchange with money, but it did enter into the price negotiations and eventually brought the price down. Even when the conversation was cleverly being diverted away from the sexual, the seller was able to redirect it back to it and with that, he was

able to earn a profitable end for himself. Therefore, this means that the sexual space is not often about money. But gaining access to it depends on the persuasive skills of individuals, male or female, and the ability to verbally drive home personal points on sex; for instance, sex in exchange for favour, riches, or material acquisitions. Money and other gifts may be involved later in the course of the relationship. The next case study also involves the same Baba Nike with another client:

> ***Baba Nike**: Ìyá Elélùbọ́. Báwo ni, ṣé ẹ jí ire? Ìyá Elélùbọ́* how are you, hope you woke up well?)
>
> **Ìyá Elélùbọ́**: Ẹ ṣé a dúpẹ́ (she bends down a bit) (Thank you)
>
> **Baba Nike**: Báwo ni, taa ni ẹni tí ó tẹ̀lé ọ? (How now? Who is that following you?)
>
> **Ìyá Elélùbọ́**: Ọ̀rẹ́ mi ni (she is my friend)
>
> **Baba Nikẹ**: Báwo lọwọ́ rẹ? Ṣé a lè yan ara wa lọ́rẹ̀ẹ́ (How is her hand? Can I make her a friend?)
>
> **Ìyá Elélùbọ́**: Rárá, ó wà ní ilé ọkọ (no, she is in her husband's house)
>
> **Baba Nike:** Háà! mi kò sọ pé mo fẹ́ gbàá lọ́wọ́ ọkọ rẹ, àní kí á jọ máa gbarawa ní ìmọ̀ràn, ká sì máa fi okó àti òbò ara wa tú ara wa ní nú (Ha! I am not proposing to snatch her from her husband; I just want us to be each other's advisers and comfort each other with sex)
>
> **Ìyá Elélùbọ́**: *Well! èmi kò le sọ nǹkan kan báyìí; màá báa sọ ọ́ ná* (Well! I cannot say anything for now, but I will discuss it with her)

Baba Nikẹ wants the woman behind his customer, *Ìyá Elélùbọ́*, as a friend, through a window of opportunity offered by her presence. We are not, of course, sure that *Iya Elelubo* could not have asked her friend to follow her deliberately, as part of a scheme, but whether this is so or not, she is now an instrument in the negotiation for a new love / friendship. She is the mirror through which the *inú* of *Ìyá Elélùbọ́* can be accessed.

Women are, of course, approached by Baba Nikẹ as an object of carnality, as use value, and as the factor for price determination. Indeed, as the second

conversation was going on another woman came and Baba Nikẹ opened another frontier:

***The woman**: baba o, nkan te so pe ese funmi nko?* (Baba, what of the thing you promised to do for me?)

***Baba Nike**: Se oko? Wa gbà lale, yoo ti le dada, ole gbadun e bo ba ti fe si* (You mean penis? Come for it in the night, it will be very stiff by then and you will enjoy it as much as you want.)

***The woman**: E ko osi lo jo; oko yin to ti denu kole bi tipa ti ko da.* [Jokingly said](Go away with your nonsense, your weak penis that cannot drop like a tipper)

***Baba Nike**: Ha! Omode ko moyi obo o nso iyepe si, dan wo lo bi iya okere* (Ha! A child does not know the value of a vagina, so he throws sands in it, a trial will convince you)

The penis has become an apt metaphor for exchangeat various stages of market transactions; be it in the morning, afternoon, or evening. Conversations went on usually without the people around showing any indignation; rather, some of them nodded their approval. Some, of course, laughed at it, and some did not. A new concept was introduced in the discussion, the concept of 'tipper' as connotation of a use value, but it is used in the same sense as penis. Tipper is a vehicle that is used in transporting loads of sands; it is big and strong. Some of its major characteristics are its ability to make loud noise, march on space heavily, carry heavy load and frighten small vehicles off the road through its loud horn. The demerit is its inability to accelerate very fast, like the small vehicles. Baba Nike might have wanted to present himself as a strong man, able to exert control over his space, through his utterances, especially about his sexuality. But to the lady, his inner part (the character, ability to pursue goals and discharge effectively) is weak. The "empty barrel" denotation alludes to making noise, a non meaningful one.

Sexuality is seen by those in the market as a relational tool; that is, an instrument of and for negotiation of price of goods and access to the body. It comes handy in the context of exchange, as exchange of indeterminable price. It could, in fact, flag sexual relationship; although not all sexually coated conversations are meant in the real sense for origination of sexual linkage. The Yoruba society, in fact, forbids the discussion of sex and its expression publicly, especially early in the morning. But

here we have the instance where the public norm is suspended; when in the "market" the being is (re)defined in a particular way as an extension of exchange value.

4.2.1 Sexuality and the Devaluation of the Body

Sexuality serves also in various market contexts as a means of expressing anger, seriousness and interest. It is a mode of communication that is misunderstood and misinterpreted by western Anthropologists such as Evan- Pritchard, who in his 1965 writings on the so called primitive society observed:

> It is not uncommon for those who live among primitive peoples to come across 'obscenity' in speech and action. This 'obscenity' is often not an expression by individual uttered under great stress and condemned as bad taste, but is an expression by a group of persons and is permitted and even prescribed by society (Evan-Pritchard 1965:76).

The strategic use of obscenity, not often permitted or prescribed publicly, may and may not be in bad taste. To some extent, it is indicative of a personal position on a matter, particularly revealing a state of indignation, repulsion, consternation and devaluation of the (human) body. For instance, on one fateful day, around 9.46 a.m. when buying and selling was at its peak in the market, a young lady walked to the yams section and "displayed" (made sexual gesture) in front of Baba Nike, as the negotiation over price was going on. Suddenly, the conversation went wrong. The lady flared-up and sent abusive and obscene words to Baba Nike. Her words irritated him and he got very angry with the lady. He was so furious to the extent that he wanted to beat her up. The noise and the exchange of abusive and obscene words caught the attention of everyone around, and they moved in to settle the conflict. The lady accused Baba Nike of insulting her and 'sending her home'[8] (indicating lack of maturity and tutelage) because of the price she proposed for the yams she wanted to buy. Baba Nike's response was that:

> Se iwo ti mo mo igba ti o gunmu aya re, Iwo ti mo mo igba ti o bere si ndoko. O wa wa si ibi lati wa yan mi je. Iwo to se pe lopolopo ni o n ta obo re kiri fun awón okunrin, Iwo omo kekere patapata (You that I know when your breasts

[8] It means baba Nike insulted her family members including her parents.

> were just growing, before you started having sexual affairs. You now come here to cheat me, you that sell your vargina cheaply to men. Your class is too low). **(Source: Fieldwork 2011)**

He has, undeniably, demeaned, ridiculed and cast aspersion on the lady's integrity while he plays the age card, which among the Yoruba is an instrument for cheating (*a nlo agba fi re omode je ni)*, depriving and exploiting children. As the altercation continued, one of the men in the shop interjected and pleaded, 'do not be annoyed, she is a small child', trying, thus, to support the older man's view of himself as having an authority derived from age. But this contribution did not assuage the tension, rather it fueled Baba Nike's anger the more, as he flared up again, saying:

> Omo ti emi kole fi oko mi si idi re, mo koo o jina si mi, ko ye ko ti le le sun mo mi abeletanse pe yoo wa naja lowo mi, debi pe yio wa ma bu mi bi eni pe mo je alarifin re (The child I cannot put my penis in her buttocks. I reject it. She is not in my class, she is not supposed to come near me, not to talk of abusing me, as if I am a ridiculed object) **(Source: Fieldwork 2011)**

The conflict brings to the fore of discussion some fundamental issues on social relations influenced by sexuality. Apart from the fact that, as we saw in the exchange, obscenity was allowed to proceed for a while it is obvious that it can also provoke embarrassment, shock and indignation to the speakers. Power can be played out as a correlation of factors of age, status/gender, worth/respect, and sexual history, but whoever falls short on the proper conduct would, unless it was strongly resisted, take an inferior position in public judgment. So, it means that the superior-inferior relations work out in positive and negative terms as a compromised position as advantage or disadvantage. The above scenario mirrored what Apter (1998) refers to as sanctity of abuse, as here sexuality has become a game for expressing dissatisfactions with deep historical meanings.

4.2.2 Sexuality and Market Elitism

Baba Nike is a *gbajumo* in *Ojà* (elite in the market). He demonstrates this status in several ways: the free use of language, the display of wealth, the adept use of network of patronage, the command of deference, and the exertion of control over space. The elite of the market are those who, through their wealth and related deeds and actions, have established themselves directly or indirectly as power brokers in the market. Baba Blue, an informant, is also one of them. A butcher in the market, and one in his late forties, he is tall, handsome, and fair in complexion (through bleaching his skin). He is jovial and famous for attending parties' with women. He is a Chelsea Football Club fan, and that is why he is called Baba Blue. He is well connected to those in power, in and outside of the market.

Baba Blue usually moves between the abattoir and his shop in the morning. The shop is where part of the beef he buys from *ori odo* (abattoir) will be butchered and sold out in bits to customers. On my first encounter with him, as we moved to the abattoir where the offensive odour coming from the mixture of dung, blood, and water streaming down blocked water channels and where many flies buzz off without caution, he greeted his friends and went on to bid for raw beef. Thereafter, he entered into discussion with one of his male friends. The duo recounted their sexual exploits in the last four months, and laughed over them. While discussing other issues, a woman shouted his name '*baba* blue'. She moved closer and *Baba* Blue touched her back. She feigned annoyance, but later burst into laughter. Then came some other butchers, five in number, waiting for their apprentices to pack the raw beef they had bought to take to their shops. They, somehow, started another conversation laced with sexual jokes. The jokes started from *Baba* Blue and the woman he touched earlier on. She had said that he could perform sexually. Those present then teased this woman to go and test if this is so, in an enclosure nearby. The discussants were excited and argued their positions with vigour to the extent of playfully touching one another's genitals. They were still on this when another issue was raised about a girl they had all wooed but had been difficult to get. They got to know that the lady was going out with Baba Blue and they used this encounter to confirm this rumour. Though Baba Blue would not answer yes or no, he advised them to patronize *paraga*[9] in order to get

[9] Paraga is a variety of alcoholic herbal mixture locally produced and sold either as a drink or medicinal mixture that also works as aphrodisiac.

big penis, and be able to perform sexually. They shut him down as they felt he could not do better than they were sexually. Two of them left the discussion but the others continued. In the course of the discussion, Baba Blue saw a woman approaching them and shouted '*tita lobo, dido loko, se e ta?'* (The virgina is for sale, and penis must enter it, how is sales?). The woman looked at him and said '*mo fi jo iya re'* (*I* took after your mother).They all laughed. The woman called him aside to discuss business with him. After about five minutes of discussion Baba Blue left for his shop and I followed him.

On getting to his shop we greeted the people around. Some of them expressed their admiration for my 'marriage' to Baba Blue. Some even called me his 'new wife'. A young woman came to the shed where we were, singing to announce her presence to the people around:

Mo kí gbogbo ilé o (I greet the whole house)
Bọ̀ọ̀dá oní gègè lọ́rùn (brother with goiter neck)
Bọ̀ọ̀dá oní pélé tó wu ọmọge
(brother with *pele* facial marks that attract ladies)
Èyin ọkọ sisí (you lovers of spinsters)
Èyin olókó bí iná (you with fire- like penis)
Ẹyin ni gbajúmọ̀ Ọjà, ẹ yàtọ̀ sí wọn jọ̀ọ́
(you are the elites of the market, you stand out)
Tàbí ẹyin òní nǹkan ọmọge (or you don't have what ladies want)
Èwo ló kàn yín nínú rẹ? (What is your own, intruder?)
Èyin mọ̀mọ́ aláyọjúràn (you poke nosing old women)
Èmi ò bú u yín o (I'm not abusing you o)
Mo mà dé báa yín lálejò (I have come to you as a visitor)
Mo dé bí mo tí ń dé o (I have come as usual)
Ẹ wá kiss ìyàwó yin o (come and kiss your wife)
Ẹ wojú ọbẹ ẹ múyán o o o (look at my soup and eat pounded yam)

The woman is a mobile rice vendor with no permanent space for sale. She tries to use her appearance and songs, coated with sexuality, to announce her presence. She adroitly plays on the imageries of sex anatomy and the perfect model of maleness to connect with her clients. The exchange is loaded with concepts like ile (container), oko (husband), ladies 'thing'; penis, "de- arrival" to link up with her commodity (obe/ iyan) to a free invitation to come and kiss. She also, cleverly, constructs the image of the market elite as a man of difference and uniqueness, as she acknowledged all and sundry. She has pointed out the goiter necked, as representing the ugly one with less social standing, wealth and power. The affluent, famous and powerful, are loved by market women, and presumed to be sexually active.

The elite constituting the governing class in the market include the chairmen/chairwomen of associations and their executives. They are well educated and well connected to powers outside the market. When these men and few women sneeze in their shops, the market entrepreneurs catch the cold in their shops. The elite are those who enjoy a seemingly superior social and economic status, and have the means through which they connect to others.

Women who are elite are marked by distinctive dress code, self discipline, and the richness of their networking. They are known by their apparels, fashion style, and the cosmetics they wear. They dress in the latest lace or Ankara, jeans pants, t-shirt and hair styles (weave-on, and attachment made to styles that are bogus for women). They use heavy make-up, not necessarily the expensive ones, to 'red up' their skin and look fair to both genders. Besides the type of clothe or fabric worn to state one's class in the market, another symbolic capital for class distinction in Bódìjà market is yearning for lighter skin colour. Being light skinned is critical among the women, especially the sexuality class, because of the connection between skin tone, attractiveness, desirability, acceptance, and social mobility. To many of this women, "achieving light skin is seen as necessary to being youthful, attractive, modern," (Glenn, 2008), and for their mobility into better social status. It is easy to conclude that yearning for skin tone among African women is a legacy of colonialism and manifestations of "false consciousness" (Glenn, 2008:298), but, in the case of Bódìjà market, the issue of skin tone is partly influenced by the media, especially the Nollyhoood actors and actresses. Many of the female traders who tone their skin have one or two female actresses they considered to be in the "high class" through their beauty of toned skin. It is revealed in expressions like, "I want to look like Bukky Wright, Sikiratu Sindodo and Bimbo Oshin". All these actresses are light skinned, and have displayed their attractiveness as means of achieving up ward mobility in the home videos. So achieving "high class" and "being all you can" for them is inclusive of their toned skin. The skin as a symbolic capital gives them access to the market resources such as sale space, financial capital for their business and make them influential (able to manipulate decision making processes to their favour). It is however good to point out that the skin tone symbolic capital is not limited to female traders but also not strange among male traders especially the elite group. Substantial numbers of the leadership population are involved in skin toning. Because to them

achieving light skin is close to being youthful, rich (toning and maintenance of skin is relatively expensive), modern, sexually active, and attractive. In all, skin lightning in the market is a symbolic capital that has created an identity for the elite who see it as means of elevating their statuses, prestige and differentiating them from the non-elite and the "old school" in the market. In addition, failure to maintain skin tone can also be seen as a sign of down-ward mobility from the elite class as such people are seen as may be bankrupt or sick:(*owo ti tan lowo e, wón ti ja irawo e)* meaning he is gone bankrupt, they have demoted his star.

There is a conscious, deliberate invitation for attention in how they look, how they comport themselves and how they present themselves. They are of two types: the first group includes those who do not have love affairs with any man in the market. The second group comprises those who have love affairs with men as they want, in or outside the market. The latter group is sometime called *oko kan ko kun konbodu,* which literally means "one man cannot fill may cupboard". In a sense one man cannot satisfy their sexual needs. Those in this category either serve as sexual partners to others in the power bloc within the market or outside of it. They are able to use their body to attain their desires, especially in terms of space acquisition in the market. This does not mean that this strategy does not fail them at times, but should this happen; however, they can use their "power" to blackmail their partners. "Can you imagine", says an informant, a female trader, thirty-two years old:

> as beautiful as I am, can any man resist me? But do you know that Demola molested me. I am sure he is impotent. He used his manhood for politics, shame on him, he cannot perform. What else can he do? Nothing, we will fight him to the last, we cannot be cheated. **(Source: Fieldwork 2011)**

She was angry and very much willing to blackmail the person that, presumably, had cheated on her. She had initiated the move to seduce the man, but having failed now, had turned her anger on him. In and around the market, the invitation-rejection games built on sexuality are not exactly committed to money making alone. They are also used to develope a conscious order to a way of life that solves their problems through thought-out solution, and "rationally" determined strategies and choices. Individuals and the collective are certainly allowed to enjoy elitism as a matter of practical necessity, but this recognition is complicated by the game of calculated acts of

individuals' strong faith in their capability, and flexibility of rules, which assign responsibility, authority and power. Of course, the daily market life takes place against the background of some traditional values and grand norms; however, the power of the individual to determine and shape circumstance is recognized as a power that can change things. Sexuality is a guide tour into a personal or community of interests, and it is a vehicle for the exploration of values and their relevance. It is a strong indication of what is in vogue, what is desirable and what struggle has to be made to enhance body as exchange value. Both men and women play the game to advance and to project an interest; starting first with calling attention to themselves (which may be misread and mis-interpreted), and then moving gradually through a negotiated exchange (that invariably leads to an exploitation), into a claim of self superiority. Here women's body is a site of contested power (Parker, 1998) used in and for negotiation.

4.3 NEGOTIATIONS OF POWER AND SEXUALITY IN BÓDÌJÀ MARKET

Power in the market, as already emphasized in this thesis, is symbolized in the object of *ile* (house); represented in the occupation as offices, in exchange as a site of a particular kind of activity, and ideologically as a kind of value and the valued. There is in *ile* (association building or office, located strategically, and effectively managed by members) a seat of power. In it is a space where many of the sub associations of different types can hold their meetings on different days of the week and the decisions made would be binding on all members, irrespective of their locations in the market. It is the seat of the central executives of the market where the market economy is controlled, either directly or indirectly. Their qualifications for position do not rest solely on charisma; rather, these attest also to their wealth and the ability to influence people through the use of persuasion and curtailment of threat. They award sanctions to command respect, and raise the level of their western educational qualifications to an advantage in the competition for office. Their power is not fully and solely derived from law, rules and regulations as their decisions are examined from time to time, and challenged by the sub executives and ordinary members on the ground of common sense. For instance, the grinders and millers association has ten zones with ten zonal chairmen and other executives such as vice chairmen, secretaries, and so on. Then, there is a central 'life' chairman, with his central cabinet. Any time a decision is to be

taken, the zonal executives must be carried along. Likewise, the foodstuff market is divided into 21 sub associations, which have their executives, and their collaboration with others functions as checks and balances to the initiatives of the central executives. Ironically, women's presence in the market is heavy but there are very few women in the executive cadre. In the central executives of these associations, such as the foodstuff sellers which are highly populated by females, and the grinders, with good number of female members, there is no female executive member. Even in the sub executives only two or three are chairpersons. The implication is not farfetched; the market women have little or no voice in decision making. This may be as a result of abundance of Muslims in the market, who believed in the dictates of the religion on gender relations and leadership of male over female. This also accounts for the paramour culture in the market, because the practice allows for having more than one woman as wives or paramours.

4.3.1 Elite, Appearance, Presence and Representation

Yet, in a typical traditional Yoruba market, women control the market space at will and decide what happens on it. Traditionally, the control had resided in the offices of *Iyalode and IyalOjà*, and their respective functions testify to females 'ownership' of the market space and power in the public domain (Olajubu, 2003). This is not so in modern Bódìjà market. Men have taken over the leadership. Women are reduced to being 'active' audience, and participants having a presence without the corresponding power. For instance, an anniversary party was held on 17th of December, 2010 that saw the Fuji musician, Alihaji Rasheed Ayinde Merege performing and addressing people in *oriki* laden with superlative accolades of important personalities in the market. Men were called to the podium to dance and "spray cash" to the admiration of the market crowd, but only one woman was recognized along with them. The woman was the wife of the incumbent chairman of the market. She came in the company of some other elite women, numbering six. She was probably counted with the dignitaries because she shared in her husband's fame and position in the market. Though she was there as if she was a representative of the women, in the real sense she had come to represent only a faction of the women who see themselves as power brokers in the market.

An examination of the academic and social credentials of men in leadership position, especially in the central executive of foodstuff market, reveals that the chairman has a technical college certificate and has worked with Radio Nigeria Ìbàdàn as clerk before retiring to engage in business in the market since the early 90s. The secretary has OND (Ordinary National Diploma) and has worked with a firm and as a civil servant before setting up business in the market in 1996. The public relation officer of the market is equally educated: he has OND in Accountancy and has worked with the defunct National Bank of Nigeria before coming to the market to join his mother in the trade. These are elite in their own social reckoning, and by their education, because they have the knowledge, the understanding of bureaucratic power, and the experience which many in the market, and particularly the uneducated women, in and out of leadership position, do not have. Their control of the market is, therefore, inevitable, as market forces had started to respond to the dictates of modernization. The limited educational status of the women could have resulted in power loss.

The office of *iyalOjà and* that of *ba*ba*lOjà* had been cancelled under the guise of modernity, and are now replaced, within modern bureaucratic structure, with the chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, financial secretary, public relation officer, chief whip, sub-committee chairmen and ex-officio. This 'new' administrative structure has a more masculine composition, as earlier stated, because it exempts female presence in many of the offices. In addition, the introduction of a patriarchal power system automatically gives edge to male voices in the market relationships and so firmly establishes their domination:

> Awon okunrin loma nlo se ojú wa lodo ijoba, awa obinrin o le lo Bawo lase mo ta se se nibe. Awón baba wa ni ki wón yan ju re. (The men represent us with the government; we women, cannot go there.How do we not know what goes on there? Our fathers should settle everything) **(Iya Mutia, a female trader, 61 years. Source: Fieldwork 2010)**

There is, obviously, an insinuation here that within the patriarchal society only men can negotiate the dangerous terrain of space divided by power blocks.

However, it is not enough to reflect on why women lost positions and power to men in the market leadership. It is also a salient issue of interest to answer why, in spite of their numerical domination, male presence has gradually increased into a

contending state, especially in marketing of goods and service deliveries that were formerly of the female domain. Traditionally, "where both male and female traded, there was usually a gender bifurcation along commodity lines. Yoruba men are rarely found as vendors of food items, nor do they engage in daily provisions and retailing *(alate)*, for these areas were considered women's domains" (Olajubu, 2003:25), but not so anymore. The grinding machine management that was formerly a feminine job is now, in contemporary Bódìjà market, that of men. The emerging trend in male domination also saw to the change in traditional norms of job assignment. Men seem to have thrown caution into the wind as they erased gender boundary by redefining the trading system, gender roles, and authority. There are many reasons for this development. First was the influx of males into the market, influenced by introduction of SAP in the mid-80s (Omobowale and Olutayo, 2005), and the mass retirement of civil servants in the late 90s, which brought more men seeking alternative livelihood into the market. Quest for survival, not only as males, but more as bread winners, in many families, pushed many semi-literate and literate men into the market as traders. This development is noted in the voice below:

> It was that time when many government workers were suddenly retired, that a lot of men came into the trade. They came in with big money to the extent that some of the old traders were overridden. This was part of the reasons the tally system for those who go to the farm to buy goods was introduced, to block unabsorbed intruders. Without the tally obtained from us they cannot transport your goods to the market (Source: Foodstuff market Secretary, Fieldwork 2010)

Men have the capital to grow business, the women do not. Unable to compete effectively, they have lost the control of market and marketing processes to men with the financial muscles.

Second, and lastly, the market by its nature is usually congested and evocative of a clattering of varying noises arising from the activities of buyers and traders. One of the backgrounds to this noise is the 'spiritualization' of the market space, along a dimension of power. The preachers, who occupy sites as transient migrants, introduce spiritualization because the market itself is a site of contested and contestable powers among people who are there. One of the spiritual sites is the mosque, situated in the foodstuff market, and another is the church located beside one of the quadruplet

buildings along WEMA road. There is, also, the mosque at *Idiseke* axes. These sites are preserved more or less as shrines; that is, as a no go area invested with taboos and sacredness:

> We are butchers, we do Ogun's work, and we must not steal meat, unless Ogun will kill us. Pepper sealers must not steal pepper, such person will be wretched, Esu will punish him
> (Source: Pastor, a butcher in Bódìjà market. Fieldwork 2011)

The presence of the preachers in the market is marked by what they do: broadcasting, through loud speakers, and moving around with the paraphernalia of spirituality-- that is, with dress codes and carrying other symbolisms such as a staff. They have unique gestures and songs, and engage in acts activated by identification with power, which include being adorned in flowing gowns, having prayer insignia (palm frond, *mariwo,* beads), *aso adura* (prayer cloth in red, white, yellow, purple, and blue), big turban, hand bell, holy books (Quran and Bible), holy water, and a small gong (see figure 20 and 21 below). All these symbols define their personality as source of power, able to mediate market exchanges for the good or the bad.

Plate 14: The back view of a male spiritualist pacing round the market (Source: Field work in Bódìjà market 2010)

(a)

(b)

Plate 15 (a & b): Spiritualists using microphones during brief prayer sessions in the market. (Source: Field work in Bódìjà market 2010)

A walk of two or three minutes inside the market exposes passers-by to one or two of these spiritualist(s), male and female, either standing to preach to people, especially women, or pacing round the market like a town-crier, to deliver important

messages from the world beyond. They organize brief prayer sessions that usually last for between thirty minutes and one hour. The prayer sessions usually involve the sales of special items believed by their clients to be evil repellants, and protective shields against untimely death of family members, especially the children, and a fortress against attack from the negative and diabolical 'world'- the *ayé* (Lawuyi, 1997). It is common for the women to give gifts of foodstuffs packed/tied in small quantities, together with smaller denominations of money ranging from ten naira to fifty naira, to these spiritualists as they walk round the market praying for the traders. The act of giving is done more by the female traders in the belief that, when they do this, their children will receive God's favour in their journeys through life (tori *omo ni ase n se, ki awón naa le ri alanu layé wón)*, their businesses will boom, and success will come their ways. Simply, their expectations would be met.

The spiritualists are, curiously, the most common sight at the foodstuff market section than in other parts of the market. The reason is not farfetched: it is possibly because the sale item is cheap and can easily and quickly be packaged as gift. In essence, the spiritualists stay where business thrives better, where women can give them a cup of foodstuff, a tuber of yam, or a bottle of oil. Not all the gifts are altruistic though, as some of the women give in order to 'oppress' their rival, especially those with whom they have grudges about their competence and wealth. This is the testimony of Mama Biliki, a forty-six years old trader in the market:

> When I give, I do it when my enemies are around to show them that I am better and bigger. If you are hungry can you give food to others? No, it is those that have excess that give to preachers and beggars. In short, I give to prove my bigness (Source: Bódìjà market 2011).

Status rivalry, and existential problem not only contribute immensely to the patronage of the spiritualists, particularly in terms of what is desired, like protection and success, but equally lead to the weakening of the women's influence in the administration of the market, especially when women short change themselves in seeking the favours of men who can give what they wanted by losing out other fronts.

Another consciousness around spirituality in the market is the phenomenon of *ogun* – charm. The belief is that many traders are involved in the practice to protect or fortify themselves against the attack of their enemies, and it is also believed that

ogun could be used to attack people's success of profit making. The more dominant issue around the use of *ogun* is the sexuality related utilization of it. Male traders in the market were always warned to be careful of women with love charm- *ogun ife.* The belief is that any male that enters into the trap will be controlled by such female and all his wealth will be taken away by such women. There are phrases used to denote such an incident when it happens. Some of them are:

a. Ólari mọ
b. Ó lu gude
c. Wón ti fa lórí
d. Wón ti gbà Satide lowo re wón fun ni Sunde
e. Wón gbe òkùta le lowo

All these phrases are used to refer to sexual relationships that were suspected to be manipulated by one of the partners, especially the female at the detriment of the other. The quotations below were some of the attestations given by informants in the market:

> Here in Bódìjà, people do *ogun*, if you are selling more than them they will attack you with bad luck.
> If you are fond of women, they will give you love portion that will give them access to manipulate you and rob you of all your money and property. By the time they are through with you, you are finished. So ogun is real here, in fact it is part of life.
> (Chairman, Yam traders in Bódìjà Market: Fieldwork 2010)

Another informant stated:

> you are not rich and you do not have charm, what then will you use to gain people's respect? Charm is part of market politics; it is important not to attack people but for protection.
> (A female palm oil trader: Fieldwork Bódìjà market 2010)

The point to note here is that the market is charged with electrons of rivalry, and so the use of *ogun,* whether real or imaginary, is useful in creating fear and a sense of caution for traders in the market.

As far back as 1987, a spiritual cleansing was done in the market. The then leadership contacted a diviner and the divination revealed *ose meji, an Ifa verse* interpreted as progress for traders. There was a warning at that time against the tarring of the market road, as it was said that the quantity of moulds on the market will be the measure of the profit traders will make. The spiritualists prayed to 'break the yoke' after the tarring of the road was done and they have continued to maintain this through prayers severally organized by the market leadership to ward-off evil in the market. What is involved here is related to what Marshall (2009) referred to as politics of conviction and spiritualities.

4.3.2 The Symbolization of Power in Relations

Power in the market is expressed in a number of symbols, starting from the types of space controlled by traders, to the types of goods and services rendered, and the gender of individual traders. Though the market is religious in nature, but religion has a mild impact on power structure of the market, the power structure is rather affected by sub-ethnical sentiments, among the traders. A trader with a store or stall sees and carries his/her self as one superior to the hawkers or a head-potter. Administrative hierarchy and status distinctions, marked by a sense of superiority indicated not only in words but also in space (of goods) arrangement and personal appearance. A trader selling provision, for instance, usually dresses neatly and attractively more than the trader hawking the same type of goods. In the same vein, a wholesales trader controlling several apprentices would seat comfortably on good furniture, and dress gorgeously. She radiates more confidence than the retailers of such goods who, in our view, are less attractive in their dressings. The self appearance determines the class of traders a buyer consciously associates with, and it invariably determines the strength of their influence on patronage. For instance, a provision seller is likely to deal more with people in the mid-class who have taste for foreign goods and culinary than the foodstuff traders, millers, grinders and butchers that deal with virtually all class of people and must accommodate their different tastes. It is, indeed, a matter of pride that a seller attracts a certain group of clients:

> I have a lot of customers in the University, I supply them foodstuff because of our longtime relationships when my son wanted to gain admission into the University, I contacted them and they assisted me and even gave my son free accommodation. Not that alone, I have also helped

> many of my co-traders' children, through my contact, into the University, for that I am well respected
> (Mr Fanibe, yam trader, 63 years. Source: Bódìjà Fieldwork 2010)

Simply, in the conscious construction of identity a trader takes up a status, which informs on the relationship with people and enters into his imaginative construction of his person as a sales expert. Both men and women in the market deploy this strategy of identification, which could serve other roles in their setting and in the bigger society in terms of access to mobility claims of rewards embedded in their definition of 'big manism', and as one that rules their world.

Modernization, of course, has equally played a role in (re)defining the big man and determining ability to perform certain tasks in the market. For instance, the upcoming younger traders can and do challenge existing powers, and in some cases take over the power space or break away from the parent body to establish a new space for themselves, because as they say "the young shall grow". Their protest led to the establishment of the "Young Shall Grow Butchers Association" and, as the name suggests, they are young people who shall one day become big. The composition of the association (the oldest member is 47 years), strongly suggests that there is a factor of age differential with the older generation, which is also a clash of tradition and modernity. A dichotomy in status is invariably established based on age and it has implications for the construction of moods and sentiments expressed around by each of the traders. An informant hinted at this when he said that:

> The young shall grow are rebellious, they don't want to serve any body, they want quick money and short cut to success, they want to erase tradition all in the name of civilization. That is why they have gone away.
> (An exco in Irepodun Butchers Association, 78 years old. Source: Fieldwork 2011)

But, on the contrary, the younger butchers claim that the older ones are uninformed, anti-progressive, conservative and oppressive. They have thus moved away from them in order to define their own prestige and space, and to establish an appearance of worth that could influence their transactions meaningfully and significantly by its rewards.

Of course, at the very beginning of the market, the processes of exchange were controlled by traditional authorities, the IyalOjà and BabalOjà, whose choices were seriously influenced by wealth and age considerations. Indeed, for sixteen years, after the inception, the traditional authority held sway until the year 2000, or thereabout, when opposition arose against them. The opposition comprised mostly young men, many of whom were less than fifty years of age. The traditional authority was condemned for not managing the market well, and for being exploitative and tailored to old- fashioned strategies. One of the protesters, an ex- official in the market, said;

> We realize that the market is not well managed by the ruling elders, because they are old, many of them were in their 70s or 80s. They use their offices as means of making money. They have no other business in the market than to milk traders. They will just be there from morning till evening, sending messages out to traders to get what they want, like food, without paying; they saw themselves as lord and master of the market, in this 21st century
> (Ex-official and yam trader in the market, 57 years. Source: Field work 2010)

Old age is here seen as exemplifying corruption, inefficiency and dictatorship. Although this may not be true, or has been even outstretched, the fact is that the younger ones are equally guilty of the same offences. As a matter of fact, one thing is sure, the market needed a change, which was not forthcoming from the elders and the established authority. It was clear to the younger traders that a relevant and modern leadership must be mobile, educated, and pragmatic in its decisions. It has to have a vision and mission that is problem solving.

In 2003, the youthful opposition, under the guise of staging a seminar, organized a one day programme and asked Bale Onisowo (Chairman of Traders' Association) of Ìbàdàn and some major stakeholders in the market to attend. There they passed a vote of no confidence on the ruling leadership and, subsequently, overthrew it. In an insight into the event, the new variables that would determine capable leadership were espoused:

> On that day, those children said they wanted to do a talk, and you know we are not educated, so we allowed them, and in the course of the programme they turned against us.

> It was there that Baale and others said we should step aside for the young people to take over
> (Baba L'Oyo, an exco in the traditional regime, 82 years. Source: Fieldwork 2010).

Educational qualification was factored in as a desirable quality of good leadership. But the removal of the executives on this basis created a serious social crisis and the situation, rather than abate, took a legalistic turn: it opened another battle front that had a negative impact on the market development. This time, the dispute had to be taken to court, a modern institution for conflict resolution. The matter went to court, against a backdrop of intimidations, physical assaults and threats to life. As the crisis continued the younger group lost their chairman, treasurer, and some other members in the fray. These developments were explained from the mystical concept of *ayé*, as accounting for the sudden deaths. It was believed that the elders were *ayé* that could, through mystical power, kill those who stood in their ways to survive and rule the market. In spite of the fact that the death of the people can be attributed to natural causes, as we got to know later, the youths' skepticism will not go away. According to the incumbent market secretary, in 2010, the then chairman died of heart problem, which he had tried to manage for years. Moreover,

> At a stage we lost the Chairman, the treasurer, and some important people in the struggle. You know, things like that will scare people away, especially women, because they are not physically strong to withstand such stress, so they are silent in the power struggle of the market
> (Foodstuff Market Secretary Bódìjà Market, 47 years of age. Source: Fieldwork Bódìjà market 2010)

One of the consequences of the struggle was the further erosion of administrative influence because, presumably, the older ones were less battle ready, and supposedly were less physically strong people. The office of Iya Olojà was eliminated. As of 2010, there was no woman in the central executives of the foodstuff association. Among the subcommittee of chairmen, only three women were available and these came from the sub groups where the types of goods sold were largely associated with women. In the other sectors, such as the cattle market, saw mill, and butcher association, there was no woman in the leadership.

Both men and women have come to see the market, invariably, as a social sphere of power struggle, a site where influence and wealth take on gender-specific patterns. That space, specifically, reflects the patriarchal nature of the larger society

(Lawuyi, 2004/2010); as a domain of aggression in which men are well equipped by physical endowment to play a critical role. They can force their wishes on others, participate and control the public space, disorganize the women and marginalize them arbitrarily. There is little or no redemption for them in the courts presided by men. Yet, though men control the most important resources in the market, they do not do so as a solid block. There is a struggle for power between the 'strong' younger (male) and the 'weak' older male. As the men use appearances as an advantage to hijack the process of control, so the young use same to assert their own will and control, while the women have adopted their sexuality as a tool to access/negotiate control from both of them. It is a game of the powerful against the weak. Though the social categories keep changing, the message is clear that the market is a space for the survival of the fittest. The weak must play strong to have an appearance of notable reckoning.

4.3.3 The Critical Issues of Sexuality

In this final analysis, it is important to come to terms with the mode of organizing sexuality. In this organization, one important factor to be considered is time (age). Time as a crucial factor, can be used (when considering it in terms of age) as a power tool and also stands for lack of power and it impacts organization of sexuality in Bódìjà market. It starts, first, with the young girl, the emerging sexual character. The girl, in her teenage, hawks goods in the market, or serves in any of the stalls as an assistant. She may not understand the power behind her sexuality. But as time goes on, and she grows up to be a vital citizen of the market, the male begins to make sexual advances to her in words and actions, and she begins to realize her sexual endowment. The younger women in the market get on better with older men, especially those in the power space, partly for the financial benefits and status symbols. At this point older women, whose time of active sexual attractiveness has passed, who are are in menopausal age, (lack sexual power of manipulation), stand in the position of mentoring of the younger and beautiful how to access power and space in the market. It is not uncommon for older women to hasten the socialization into sexuality by encouraging them to be sensitive to the nuances in the language and the body movements of men. But the meanings attached to gesture and other symbolisms are learnt gradually and much later in the effects of their masters' interpretations, as offered to them, and their own thoughts and actions as reflections:

> Wo, (with frowned face) ilẹ obìnrin kìí pẹ́ ṣú o. Ohun tẹ́yẹ bá jẹ lóo máa gbé fò. Ìgbà ara là ń bú'ra, ẹnìkan kìí bú Ṣàngó lẹ́ẹ̀rùn. Ṣó o rí àwọn ọkùnrin yẹ n, àwọn ni wọ́ n ni ì ṣòro, ọ̀dọ̀ wọn ni okó wà, ó sì gbọ̀dọ̀ máa le, wọ́n sì ní kì í bọ ihò, wọ́n nílò wa láti jẹ́ kí wọ́n mọ adùn 'tibí- tibí', wọ́n lè ṣe lái bá obìnrin sùn. Nítorí náà, mọ ohun tóo ń ṣe, má bàá àwọn bọ́ìsì yẹn lọ, àwọn à gbà ló le tọ́jú rẹ, wọ́n sì mọ̀yàn, pẹ̀lú wọn o ò ní ìṣòro. Àwa lè ti darúgbó, ṣùgbọ́n a ní yín gẹ́gẹ́ bí ojú ọ̀nà sídìi àṣẹ Ọjà yìí, nítorí náà gbọ́ràn, má já wa kulẹ̀. Sáà, ròó dáadáa.
>
> (A female trader in the market advising her friend's daughter, the woman is 69 years, while the young lady involved is 19 years of age.
>
> (Source: Fieldwork 2011)

This is translated as:

> You see (with frowned face), women's night comes quickly, therefore make hay while the sun shines. Men are the ones with problem of manhood, they are the ones with penis, they cannot put it into a hole, and they need us when they are in the mood to enjoy the fullness of their sexuality. They cannot do without sex and that is why you must be wise, be selective and make sure you have your demands met before you give them a chance. Don't go for those small boys, big men are better, they have money and connections, and with them you are secured in this market. Though we, your parents, are old, we hope to still have you as the asset and means to control this market. So be wise and make us proud.
> (A female trader in the market advising her friend's daughter; the woman is 69 years, while the young lady involved is 19 years of age. Source: Fieldwork 2011)

This quote also reminds us of a popular lullaby in the market. The song goes thus:

> Atoke o, o to gbe o, omu re laba laba loko mwa kiri (Atoke you are ripe for marriage, your husband seeks your dangling breasts)
>
> (Source: Fieldwork Bódìjà, 2010).

The second consciousness of sexuality goes with the understanding of its power. Such a power cannot be assumed as it is realized in the processes of encounter and participation. Men and women in the market play the game of sexuality trying to seek control over resources, and they interlink in such a way as to create what some of them described, and some even referred to, as the "polygamous community". This is

when a space appears as site where sexual activities are less regulated, and there are multiple sexual relations. Unlike what is obtainable in traditional Yoruba society where sexual relationships are made less public, in the market the sexual game starts as soon as the two players consent to it; though the real sex is not done in the open. The young females have used their sexuality either by playing hard to get, that is, not giving in to proposals of sex with a male, especially those from the "power house", or by playing easy to get and yet being stubborn to call for sexual intimacy. Whichever method a person chooses to employ, the end result determines the meaning and significance of decision which is felt more as effects on mobility, appearance, and profit. Indeed, these are the cardinal elements of success: *Ma worry, ko si nkankan, alowo, alenu, aloko, atumo yan* (Don't worry, nothing is going to happen; we are rich, we can talk, we have penis, and we are well known). In this connection, women do not have to rely solely on their intellectual endowments but also on their appearance. The success of the sexual game may favour the strong, aided by educational qualifications, physical strength, social networking and wealth, but the weak can successfully turn the tide in their favour using, for instance, blackmail as strategy:

> Well, we too are always careful in settling issues for women, especially when one of us is going out with one of those involved in the conflict. For instance, that lady that just left the office is guilty, but we could not say it like that, because she has already said we are biased, because the other person is our sexual partner and she is not, so, we softly passed the message and amicably settled it. Instead of sanctioning her, we persuaded her to be nice to her co-traders. If we sanction her, she will blackmail us, and that is a smear on our image as leaders
> (Waheede Epon, an exco in the market. Source: Fieldwork 2010)

What this means is that sexuality goes beyond the invitation into social relationship to that in which, as influenced over a process in the course of collective realization, it does have social deterministic ends. It can affect outcome of juridical decisions, and moral ends. It can also affect productivity and the acceptability of the governing normative standards. By and large, in Bódìjà market economy, sexuality is a power tool with which traders manipulate their social relations in order to gain access and

control of space and the socio-economic capital for the social capital represented in image and concretization of success.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

The thrust of this research has been the connection between power and sexuality in the context of space use and space symbolism in Bódìjà market in Ìbàdàn, Nigeria. Bódìjà market is an urban market where daily trading takes place and where space is often invested with a lot of meanings both in the context of buying and selling and in the organization of production. In examining how power is implicated in space use and space symbolism within the market, a Foucault's approach was adopted and it reveals that (i) space is a scarce resource in Bódìjà market and sexuality is used as a tool to access and organize it; (ii) sexuality serves as a grid by which social relationships are divided up into forms of networking within the market system; (iii) the norms and values of exchange within the market are less negative in expressing sexual desires; and (iv) sexuality is a negotiative instrument used by both men and women.

Chapter One of the study presented the background to the research. It articulated the view that different spaces dictate different expectations that are associated with them, as well as the various events that occurred in them. It further explained that sexuality and power, though mutually exclusive, are also interactive and complementary. It was observed here that the market is full of symbols, which are not only relevant to economic transactions but also to social relationships created, sustained, modified or rejected, and which form the basis of meanings – for career and living. These observations serve as springboard for the statement of the problem, where sexuality, history, and power are conceptualized as cultural phenomena that must be examined in the market space. This is then linked to the aim and objectives, and ended with the significance of the study, where it is stated that the study of sexuality and power in relation to the market space has received little attention and must be studied because the market space plays a crucial role in the sustenance of socio-economic and socio-cultural development of state economy and social order.

In Chapter Two, a wide range of extant and current studies with relevance to this study were reviewed under these sub-headings (a) the concept of space (b) space and sexuality (c) sexuality and power, (d) power and spatiality, and (e) the market space. The review of these works brought to the fore the gap in literature on space,

sexuality and power in African anthropological writings. The emphasis here was on the fact that sexuality is a power tool that has permeated several spaces over the years. Its tentacles, when fully spread on any space (be it war, politics, social or economic space of societies), can be adopted and adapted for positive or negative ends. Several writings on different societies were examined. The chapter also discussed the theoretical framework. Michel Foucault's idea on sexuality-power relations was adopted in building up a theoretical insight into the organization of the data. The theory states, in brief, that sexuality is an explanation for many day-to-day relationships and it cannot be divorced from power, covertly or overtly.

In Chapter Three, the methodology of the thesis was stated as ethnography. The primary and secondary sources of data collection were used to make the study robust and in-depth. Participant observation (which brought out the hidden data on sexuality in the market), in-depth-key informant interviews, focus group discussions, collection of life histories, electronic and non-electronic journal articles, maps, photographs, books, and newspapers were all used in the course of gathering data for this thesis. These instruments enabled a large amount of data to be collected from the field. The field work was carried out in Bódìjà market, the biggest foodstuff market in Ìbàdàn, Oyo state, Nigeria. The data collected from the market was subjected to qualitative descriptive content analysis.

Chapter Four of the thesis was the presentation of data and discussion. Spatial organization, linguistic phrases, action and symbolic representations, all constituted the everyday world of the market. Space took up meanings and significance in terms of location, size and form and the social relational system of *inú ko gbà layé ko gbà*, that is the principle of acceptance or rejection. Also, interlocked into its varied meanings is the concept of *ojú* (eye) as sight and socio-economic platform for situational analysis. Space can be physical or non-physical; it embraces the sense of rationality, impacting on other features to encourage exchange. Space is not free; rather, it is either acquired through cash, inheritance, sexuality, or social capital. The consequence of this acquisition is the monetization of almost every space in the market, even the drainage space, for financial capital.

The study has revealed that the limited educational status of the women in Bódìjà market results in their power loss. It was made that clear that the introduction of patriarchal system into the market had given more voice to the male group which

has firmly established its dominance. The study further discovered that the influx of male traders (seeking alternative livelihood) into the market, which started in the mid 80s and late 90s, was caused by the introduction of SAP and the mass retirement/retrenchment of government workers. These men have more capital than many female traders who were compelled by circumstances to give them the control of the market and marketing processes. It is, also, important to know that spatial arrangement and personal appearances reflect administrative hierarchy, status distinction and value of superiority. The self appearance is a determinant of the class of buyers a trader is most likely to associate with. The study also shows that female groups in the market are socialized right from teenage-hood into discovering the power of their sexuality. Therefore, the sexual games in the market are played as a means of seeking control over resources and, consequently, transforming the market into a 'polygamous community' where traders, especially female traders, do not need to rely solely on their intellectual endowment and trade skills for success, but on their sexuality in action and appearance. Sexuality thus affects outcome of juridical decision and moral ends, productivity and normative stands in the market.

Sexuality in Bódìjà market is, equally, a grid on which gender differences, gender relations, and genderized historical memories are inscribed and rotated. The grid is strong and reflects the sexual gestures, the "shameless" sexual discourses and the references to anatomy of gender. These are embedded in and have become influential to market economic transactions and social relations. Power in the market is represented by the presence of ile *egbe*, association building or office. These are buildings serving as sites of power, leadership, and authority. It was discovered that the power houses of the market are controlled by men, although the market has more female population. The females in the market have been reduced to passive actors and are sparingly represented in market associations. They are so relegated to the background to the extent that females are hardly part of central executives of the economic associations in the market. In order to air their voices in the market and win some power to themselves, they have adopted sexuality as a tool of power with which to manipulate social relations and gain access to and control images, concretized as success.

Finally, an undeniable fact is that market has developed a peculiar culture. Those who are socialised into the culture would well master its ad-hoc approaches to

use and reuse it; acquire the endearing language and gestures for social intimacy and manipulation of capital into a financial capital. They would have the ability to endure, having been in the habit of staying on a spot for a long time and trying to enjoy it; and they are likely trained on and become very sensitive to change, which they are quick to see as an opportunity for exploitation and development. Such change manifests not just in appearance but also in the market's organization that is most susceptible to new developments. The people are proud of this transformation and are also bemused by it. They are proud of the changes this has caused to their financial capital and the social networks which keep expanding and inclusive of different strata. But, on the other hand, the market is also excoriated as a sink of corruption and immorality. The perceived immorality is blamed on its outdoor, open, and independent character. Individualism, desire for quick profit, fashion, and a weakness for consumption erode the social integrity. This is not peculiar to a market culture alone; it is evident in all situation and climes where people are loosed from their traditional bonds by competitiveness, rivalry and new forms of aggrandizement.

5.2 Conclusions

The scarcity of space in Bódìjà market has been engineered by elite traders who found control of the space in the market more lucrative than commercial activities. The emergence of a rental economy makes space subletting system a lucrative business, particularly for space owners. The search for free transactional space by those who are less privileged to acquire space at *ojú gbangba* makes traders and hawkers to use the seemingly free road space, thereby making passage of vehicles and pedestrians difficult at the peak of the daily exchange. Nevertheless, the situation has produced some socio-cultural conditions that distinguish Bódìjà market space from every other space in the elite Bódìjà community. One of these is the use of linguistic phrases discussed in chapter four of this study. These phrases give the market a distinctive sub-culture, which is male dominated in terms of administration and female populated demographically.

The introduction of a male dominated administrative system, which resulted in increased monetization of every space, and the relegation of female groups from the administrative space of the market, led to a development that was characterized by a stultifying atmosphere of struggle where sexuality can be used as the ultimate arsenal

to gain control over the most valued resources in the market- space. Because of sexuality's strong influence in the market, juridical decisions, moral values, productivity and normative standards are seriously affected.

Finally, western education has been a major factor influencing the power game in Bódìjà market. Because many of the male leadership had worked elsewhere before becoming traders or full time traders in the market, they have the experience of working in bureaucratic settings and can use such experience effectively in creating advantages for themselves.

5.3 Recommendations

In line with the findings of the study, the following recommendations are made:

Space administration in Bódìjà market, which is at present dominated by men, should be taken over by the state government and organized in such a way as to mandate all space caretakers in the market to register with the government and not the powerful elite in the market. The amount of rent that should be paid on sublet space should be fixed. The fixed amount should be published through media houses so that there would be no inflation

Female traders in the market have lost control of the market to males and are reduced to mere audience. To be fair to all, there should be mainstreaming of female gender in the administration of Bódìjà market. There is an urgent need for space education for traders in the market.

The market is a sexually charged space and many traders are ignorant of the cause and effect of STDs. Therefore, there should be vigorous awareness creation regarding the danger of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) in the market. Likewise, there should be sex education for teenagers in the market

A better environmental sanitation law that will compel traders to keep the market clean always should be introduced. This will be achieved if there is provision of facilities such as water system toilets, bore-hole, good generating plants and refuse collection points in and around the market.

Finally, anthropologists should be encouraged to study the market space, because it is a space where solutions to many problematic issues of development are daily experienced.

REFERENCES

Aase,T.H. 1994. Symbolic Space: representations of space in Geography and Anthropology. *Geografiska Annaler Series b Human Geography,* 76.1: 51-58.

Abeles, M. 2006. Social thought and commentary: globalization, power and survival: an anthropological perspective. *Anthropology Quarterly* 76. 3:483-508.

Adurokiya, E. 2012. Bódìjà Abattoir: An untapped source of wealth from waste. *Saturday Tribune* 1 September, 2012:12

Aili Mari Tripp, 1989. 'Women and the changing urban household economy in Tanzania' *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 27. 4: 601-623.

Ajala, A.S.2005. Space, culture and health attitude as threats to child survival in Ìbàdàn City, Nigeria. *Journal of Environment and Culture* 2. 2:117-130.

Akinyele, I.B. 1981. *Iwe itan Ìbàdàn ati die ninu awón Ilu agbegbe re bi Iwo, Osogbo ati Ikiru.* Ìbàdàn: Board Publications Ltd.

Apter, A.1998. Discourse and its disclosures: Yoruba women and the sanctity of abuse *Africa: Journal of International African Institute.* 68.1: 68-97.

Ardener, S. 1981. Ground rules and social maps for women: an introduction in *Women and Concept of Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps.* Ed. S. Adener London: Croom Helm London.1-23.

Aretxaga, B. 1997. *Shattering silence: women, nationalism, and political subjectivity in Northern Ireland.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Babic, A.A. 2008. Buying and selling a piece of the American Pie: the uses, discuses, and spaces of patriotic consumption. *The Globetrotting Shopaholic: consumer space, products, and their cultural places.* Eds. Tanfer Emin Tunc and Annessa Ann Babic. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 183-191.

Bastian, M.L. 1997. (Reviewer) Onions are my husband: survival and accumulation by West African market women by Garcia Clark. *American Ethnologist* 24.1:250-25.1

BaudriIlard, J. 1988. *Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings.* Mark Poster, ed. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Begler, E.B. 1978. Sex, status and authority in egalitarian society. *American Anthropologist* 80.3:571-588.

Beidelman, T.O. 1964. Pig (*Guluwe*): An essay on Ngulu sexual symbolism and ceremony. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 20.4:359-392.

Bernard, H.R. 2006. *Research methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approach* Lanham New York: Altamira Press.

Bestor, T.C. 2003. Markets and places: Tokyo and the Global Tuna Trade. *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture.* Eds. S.M.Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga Unites States of America: Blackwell Publishing.

Brown, J.D. 2002. Mass media influence on sexuality. *The Journal of Sex Research* 39.1: 42-45.

Carol,S. 2000. *Women and politics in Uganda* by Aili Mari Tripp Review by: Carol Summers *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 33.2: 379-380 Published by: Boston University African Studies Centre.

Carver, C.S. 2000.Autonomy and self regulation. *Psychological Inquire* 11.4:284-291.

Chiu, C. 2009. Contestation and conformity: street and park skateboarding in New York city public space. *Space and Culture* 12.1:25-42.

Claire, R. 1996. *Onions are my husband: survival and accumulation by West African market women* by Gracia Clark Review by: Claire Robertson *The Journal of African History*,37. 3: 520-521Published by: Cambridge University Press.

Clark, G. 1994. *Onions are my husband: survival and accumulation by West African market women.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Cohen, D. 1998. Culture, social organization and patterns of violence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 75.2: 408-419.

Cohen, R and Yisrael, Y. 1995. The Iron age fortresses at En Haseva. *The Biblical Archaeologist* 58.4:223-235.

Cole, J. 1998. The work of memory in Madagascar. American Ethnologist 25.4:610-633.

Coleman, J.S.1990. *Foundations of social theory.* Ambridge MA:Harvard University Press.

Conkey, M.W. and Spector, J.D. 1984. Archaeology and the study of gender. *Advances in Arcaeological Method and Theory* 7:1-38.

Creswell, J.W. Research Design: qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches. Thousand Oaks, London: Sage Publications.

Crouch. C. 2006. Market and state. *The Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology*. Eds. Kate Nash and Alan Scott. Unites State:Blackwell Publishing. 240-249.

Cupples, J. 2002. The field as a landscape of desire: Sex and sexuality in Geographical fieldwork. *Area* 34.4: 382-390.

D'Emilio.J.1990. The campus environment for Gay and Lesbian life. *Academe* 76.1:16-19.

Davidov, V.2008. Indigenous communities as space for the transglobal consumption of alterity in Ecuador. The *Globetrotting Shopaholic, Consumer, Space, Products, and their Cultural Places.* Eds. Tunc, T.E and Babic, A.A New Castle: Cambridge.

Davidson, J and C.Milligan 2004. Embodying emotion sensing space: introducing emotional Geographies. *Social and Cultural Geography* 5.4:523-532.

Dean, C.J. 1994. The productive hypothesis: Foucault, gender and the history of sexuality. *History and Theory* 33.3:271-296.

Domhoff, G.W.1993. The American power structure power. *Modern Societies.* Eds. M.E.Olsen and M.N Marger. Boulder: West View Publisher.1280-1300.

Douglas,W.V. 2004. Bibliography of Allen, P. Mc Cartney. *Arctic Anthropology* 41.2:5-12.

Dowsett, G.W. 2003. Some consideration on sexuality and gender in the context of AIDS. *Reproductive Health Matters.* 11.22: 21-29.

Duranti, A.1994. From grammar to politics: Anthropology in a Western Samoan Village. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Duranti, A.1997. Index speech across Samoan communities. *American Anthropologist* 99.2:342-354.

Edwards, T. 2006. *Cultures of masculinity.* London: Rutledge.

Ember, C.R and Ember, M. 2004. *Encyclopedia of sex and gender: wen and Women in the World's cultures.* Vol.1 USA: Segal.

Evan-Pritchard, E.E.1965. Some collective expressions of obscenity in Africa in *The position of women in primitive societies and other essays in Social Anthropology.* 76-101 New York: Free Press.

Fadipe, N.A.1970. *The Sociology of the Yoruba.* Eds. Francis Olu Okediyi Oladeji.O. Okediyi. Ìbàdàn: Ìbàdàn University Press.

Fakeye.F.2006. Olatubosun Oladapo: Philosophical view of Sex and Sexuality. *Yoruba: Journal of Yoruba Studies Association of Nigeria.* 3.20: 72-89.

Falola, T.1996. Trade and markets in Pre-Colonial economy . *An Economic History of West Africa since 1750.* Eds. G.O. Ogunremi and E.K Faluyi. Ìbàdàn: Rex Charls Publication.58-62

Farr, D and Guenther, G. 2008. Seeking the rainbow Dollar: Gay and Lesbian marketing and consumption. *The Globetrotting Shopaholic, Consumer Space, Products, and their Cultural Places.* Eds. Tunc, T.E and Babic, A.A New Castle: Cambribge.55-57.

Feldman, A. 1991. *Formations of violence and the narrative of the body and political terror in Northern Ireland.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Filani, M.O and Iyun, B.F. 1997. Markets in *Ìbàdàn region. Eds.* M.O. Filani F.O.Akintola and C.O. Ikoprukpo. Nigeria : Rex Charles Publications.

Flynn, Donna K. 1997 "We are the border": identity, exchange, and the state along the Benin-Nigeria bor-der. American Ethnologist 24.2:31 l -330.

Fortescue, M. 1998. *Language relations across the bering strait: reappraising Archaeological and Lingustics Evidence.* London: Cassell.

Foucault, M. 1978. *The History Of sexuality: An introduction1*.New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. 1985. *The use of pleasure: The History of Sexuality* 2.New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. 1986. *The care of the self: The History of Sexuality* 3. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel, 1979. *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. Alan Sheridan, trans. New York: Random House.

Foucault, Michel, 1980. *Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977*. Eds. Colin Gordon, New York: Pantheon Books.

Freedman,E.B. and D'Emilio. 1996. Problems encountered in writing the history of sexuality: Source, Theory and Interpretation. *Journal of Sex Research* 27.4: 481-495.

Giddens, A.1991. *Modernity and self-identity: self and society in the late modern age.* Palo Alto CA: Stanford University Press.

Giles-Vern ick, Tamara. 1996. Na legeguiriri (On the road of history): mapping out the past and present in M'Bres region, central African Republic. *Ethno history* 43.2:245-275.

Glenn, E.N (2008) 'Yearning for lightness: transnational circuit in the marketing and consumption of skin lighteners'. *Gender and Society* 22:281 -302.

Gill, R. 2009. Beyond the 'sexualization of culture' thesis: An intersectional analysis of 'sixpacks','midriffs' and 'hot Lesbians' in advertising . *Sexualities* 12.2:137-160.

Goffman, E. 1979. *Gender advertisements.* London: Macmillan.

Gray Richard and Birmingham D. 1970. *Pre-colonial African trade: essays on trade in central and Eastern Africa before 1900.* Eds. Gray, R and Birmingham, D. London: Oxford University Press.

Gupta, A. and Ferguson, J.1992. Beyond 'culture': space, identity and the politics of difference. *Cultural Anthropology* 7.1:6-23.

Hernton, C.C. 1974. Contemporary ideology of black power. *Sexuality: A search for Perspective.* Eds. Grummon, D.L and Barclay, A.M. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Hodder, I.1994 . The Interpretation of documents and material culture. *Handbook of Qualitative Research.* Eds. N.k. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks, CA: *Sage.* 393-402.

Holub, R.C. 1985. Trend in literary criticism: remembering Foucault. *The German Quarterly 58.*2: 238-256.

Hopkins, A.G.1973. *An economic history of West Africa.* United Kingdom: Longman.

Hunt, Nancy Rose 1999 A colonial lexicon: Of birth ritual, medicalization, and mobility in the Congo. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Hutchins, L. and Kaahumanu, L. (1991) *By any other name: bisexual people speaks out.* Boston: Alyson Publications.

Jameson, Fredric. 1984. Postmodernism or the cultural logic of late capitalism. *New Left Review* 14: 53-92.

Jean Allman, 1996. Onions are my husband: survival and accumulation by West African market women by Gracia Clark. Reviewed by: Jean Allman. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 29. 2 (1996): 365-367 Published by: Boston University African Studies Center.

Johnson, S.1979. *The history of the Yorubas.* Lagos. CSS Book Shops.

Jordanova, L. 1989. *Sexual visions: images of gender in science and medicine between the eighteeth and twentieth century.* Madison: University of Wisconsin.

Kelley, H.H and Thibaut, J.W. 1978. *Interpersonal relations: a theory of interdependence*. New York: Wiley.

Kokot, W. 2006. Culture and space- Anthropological approaches. Paper presented at the Swiss Graduate Programme in Ethnology/Anthropology "Key Concept in Social Anthropology" Basel, October 2006. http://www.uni-hamburg.de/ethnologie/es 9 1 artikel.pdf Accessed May 13, 2009.

Judith, K. J 1997. (Reviewer) African market women and economic power: The role of women in African economic development by Bessie House-Midamba and Felix K. Ekechi; *Onions are my Husband: Survival and Accumulation by West Africa market women* by Gracia Clark. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 35.2: 340-343.

Kuhn, T.S.1962. *The Structure of scientific revolutions.* University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

La Barre, W. 1971. Anthropological perspectives on sexuality in Grummon, D.L and Barclay, A.M (eds). *Sexuality: A Search for Perspective.* New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold. 38-53.

Labinjoh, J. 1991. *Modernity and tradition in the politics of Ìbàdàn 1900-1975.* Ìbàdàn: Fountain Publications.

Lawal, B. 1996. *The Gelede spectacle: art, gender, and social harmony in an African culture.* London: University of Washington Press.

Lawrence, C.R. 1971. Color, class and culture: A minority view. Grummon, D.L and Barclay, A.M (eds). New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Lawuyi, O.B.1987. Ethnic identity and sex: stereotyping as adaptive strategy among the Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria. *Anthropos* 82:226-232.

Lawuyi, O.B.1990. Is Tortoise a trikstar? *African languages and Culture* 3.1:71-86

Lawuyi, O.B.1997. The world of the Yoruba Taxi driver: an interpretative Approach to Vehicle Slogans in Karin Barber (eds) In *Readings in African Popular Culture.* United Kingdom: The International African Institute School of Oriental and African Studies. 146-151.

Lawuyi, O.B.2005. The space of market, the market of space: environment planning in urban Yoruba societies of Nigeria. *Journal of Environment and Culture.* 2.2:131-141.

Lawuyi, O.B. 2004. Space, and sanitation: identity, power and the management of refuse in Osogbo, Nigeria. *Journal of Environment and Culture,* 1.1:38-50.

Lawuyi, O.B. 2010. The park in the urban Nigerian culture. *Journal of Environment and Culture.* 7.2:7-16.

Lawuyi, O.B. 2012. *Ijapa and Igbin:A discursive meditation on politics, public culture and moral imaginings in Nigeria*. Ìbàdàn: Ìbàdàn University Press PLC.

Leacock, S.1954. The ethnological theory of Marcel Mauss.*American Anthropologst* 56.1:58-73.

Lewis, D.2005. Against the grains: black women and sexuality. *Agenda No 63 African Feminisms* 22.22:11-24.

Low, M and Ruhne, R.2009. Study of an interactional web of space and gender. *Domesticating Prostitution* 12.2:232-249.

Lukes, S.1978. *Power and authority: history of Sociological analysis* . T. Bottomore and R.Nisbet. Eds. London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd. 633-676.

Marshall, R.2009. Political spiritualities: the pentecostal revolution in Nigeria.Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Matebeni, Z. 2011. TRACKS: Resarching sexualities walking about the City of Johannesburg in *African Sexualities : A Reader* Sylvia Tamale (eds) Cape Town: Pambazuka Press an Imprint of Fahamu.

Miller, D. and Tilley, C. 1984. *Ideology, power and prehistory.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Misty L. B. 1997. Onions are my husband: survival and accumulation by West African market women by Gracia Clark Review by: Misty L. Bastian *American Ethnologist* 24.1:250-251 published by: Wiley-Blackwell on behalf of the American Anthropological Association.

Moore, H.L.2007. The subject of Anthropology: gender, symbolism and Psychoanalysis. Cambridge: Polity Press

Moore.H.L.1994 Divided we stand: sex, gender and sexual differences. *Feminist Review* 47:78- 95.

Muehlenhard,C.L. 2000. Categories and sexuality. *The Journal of Sex Research* 37.2:101-107.

Nagel, J.2000. Ethnicity and sexuality. *Annual Review of Sociology* 26:107-133.

Neubardt, S.1971. Observation of a practicing Gynecologist in Eds Grummon D.L and Barclay A.M *Sexuality: A Search for Perspective* New York: Van Nostrad Reinhold.

Obateru, I.O. 2003. *The Yoruba city in history: 11th century to the present.* Ìbàdàn: Penthouse Publications Nigeria.

Ogilvie Sheilagh. 2004. How does social capital affect women? guilds and community in early modern Germany. *American Historical Review* 109.2:325-359.

Ogundeji, P.A.2006. *Ojú Ojà*: A socio-commercial portrait of the traditional market-place in Yoruba Plays. *Yoruba: Journal of Yoruba Studies Association of Nigeria.* 3.2:1-13.

Ogundeji, P.A.2006. Ojú Ojà: A socio-commercial portrait of the traditional market-place in Yoruba plays. *Yoruba: Journal of Yoruba Studies Association of Nigeria* 3.2:1-13.

Ogunsanwo, A.T.1985 A traditional market in modern Ìbàdàn: a case Study of Oje Market, 1960-84. A B.A Dissertation in the Department of History University of Ìbàdàn.

Ojoade, J.O.1983. African sexual proverbs: some Yoruba Examples. *Folklore* 94.11:201-213.

Okosun, F. and Akinpade, A.2010. *Bódìjà market: Ìbàdàn Food Stuff sellers Association in the Development of South West Nigeria*. Ìbàdàn: Freeman Production.

Olajubu, O.2003. *Women in the Yoruba Religious Sphere.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Olaoba,O.B. 2000. *Rural urban marketing in Yorubaland: Bódìjà market in Ìbàdàn 1987-1995*. Ìbàdàn: John Archers.

Omigbodun, O.O and Omigbodun, A.O. 2004. Unmet need for sexuality education among adolescent girls in Southwest Nigeria: A Qualitative Analysis. *African Journal of Reproductive Health* 8.3:27-37.

Omobowale, A.O and Olutayo, A.O. 2005. Globalization, governance and armed conflict in Africa. *African Journal for the Psychological Study of Social Issues* 8 1&2:58-72.

Ong, A. 1987. *Spirits of resistance and capitalist discipline: factory women in Malaysia*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Parker, J.1998. Cloth make the person. *Journal of African History* 39.2: 344-345.

Pellow, Deborah 1991. The power of space in the evolution of an Accra Zongo. Ethnohistory 38.4:414-450.

Pietila, T.2007. *Gossip, market and gender: how dialogue constructs moral value in post- socialist Kilimanjaro.* USA: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Pina-Cabral(Joao de Pina-Cabral).1987. Sons of Adam; daughter of Eve: the peasant worldview of the Alto Minho. *American Anthropologist* 89.1:163-164.

Plattner Stuart. 1983. Economic custom in competitive market place. *American Anthropologist* 85.4: 848-858.

Pollis, C.1985. Value judgment and world views in sexuality education. *Family Relations.* 34(2):285-290.

Porfido, G. 2009. Queering the small screen: homosexuality and televisual citizenship in spectacular societies. *Sexualities* 2(2):161-179.

Pred, A and Michael J. W. 1992. *Reworking modernity: capitalism and symbolic Discontent.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Renfrew, A.C. 1983. Divided we stand: aspects of Archaeology and information. *American Antiquity* 48.1:3-16.

Ridgeway, C.L.2009. Framed before we know it: how gender shapes relations. *Gender and Society* 23.2:145-160.

Ritzer, G.2008. *Sociological Theory.* Boston: McGraw- Hill.

Rodger Silvia. 1981. Women space in a men's house: the British house of commons in *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps in* Shirley Ardener (eds) London: room Helm London.

Roseman, Sharon R. 1996 "How we built the road": The politics of memory in rural Galicia. American Ethnologist 23.4:836-860.

Rosen, E. and Venkatesh, S.A.2008. A' perversion' of choice: sex work offers just enough in Chicago's Urban Ghetto. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 37.4:417-441.

Rozmarin, M.2005. Power, freedom and individuality: Foucault and Sexual Differences. *Human Studies* 28.1:1-14.

Sahlins, M.1985a. Hierarchy and humanity in Polynesia. *Transformations of Polynesian Culture.* Eds. A. Hooper and J.Huntsman. Auckland: The Polynesian Society. 195-217.

Sahlins, M.1990.b The political economy of Grandeur in Hawaii from 1810-1830. *Culture through Time: Anthropological Approches.* Eds. Emiko. Ohnuki-Tierney. Polo Alto CA: Standford University Press.

Sahlins,M.1985c. *Islands of history.* Chicago IL; university of Chicago Press.

Sanders, T. 2002. Reflections on two sticks: gender, sexuality and rainmaking. *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 42.166: 285-313.

Scale, P. 1986. The changing context of sexuality education: paradigms and challenges for alternative futures. *Family Relations* 25 .2:265-274.

Schippers, M.2000. The Social organization of sexuality and gender in alternative hard rock: an analysis of intersectionality. *Gender and Society* 14.6: 747-764.

Schwartx,J.986. Freud and freedom of speech. *The American Political Science Review* 80.4:1227- 1248.

Sekoni, R. 1994. Yoruba market dynamics and the aesthetics of negotiation in female precolonial narrative tradition. *Research in African Literatures,* 25.3, Women as Oral Artists (autumn, 1994):33-45.

Sheilagh O. 2004. How does social capital affect women? guilds and communities in early modern Germany *The American Historical Review,* 109. 2 (April 2004): 325-359.

Sherkat, D.2002. Sexuality and religious commitment in the United States: An empirical examination. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 41.2:313-323.

Skar, S. 1981. Andean women and the concept of space/time in *women and space: ground rules and social maps.* Eds.Shirley Ardener. London: Croom Helm London.

Slavin Sean.2004. Drugs, space, and sociality in a Gay nightclub in Sydney. *Journal of Contemporary ethnography* 33.3:265-295.

Smith, D.1999. The civilizing process and the history of sexuality: Comparing Norbert Elias and Michel Foucault. *Theory and Society* 28.1: 79-100.

Spronk, R .2005. Female sexuality in Nairobi: flawed or favoured. *Culture, Health and Sexuality* 7.3:267-277.

Stern,S.E. and Handel,A.2001. The historical context of Psychology's reaction to sexuality on the internet. *The Journal of Sex Research* 38.4: 283-291.

Straus, C.and Quinn, N. 1997. *A congnitive theory of cultural meaning.* Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press

Struss, C and Quinn, N. 1994. A cognitive cultural Anthropology in *assessing cultural Anthropology* (Ed) Robert Borofsky 284-300. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Stuart, P.1983. Economic custom in competitive market place. *American Anthropologist* 85.4:848-858.

Sweely, T.L.1998. Personal interaction: The implications of spatial arrangements for power relations at *Ceren, El Salvador*. *World Archaeology* 29.3: 393-406.

Tamale, S. 2011. Introduction. In *African Sexualities: A reader.* Sylvia Tamale (eds) Cape Town: Pambazuka Press an Imprint of Fahamu.

Tambiah,Y. 2005.Turncoat bodies: sexuality and sex work under militarization in Sri Lanka.*Gender and Society 19.2:243-261.*

Tilley, C. 1994. A phenomenology of landscape: places, paths and monuments. Oxford:Berg

Timberlake, C.A. and Carpenter, 1990. Sexuality attitudes of black. Adults *Family Relations* 39.1:87-91

Toren, C.1999. Why children should be central to Anthropological Resarch. *Etnofoor* 21.1:27-38

Tripp Mari Aili. 2000. Women and politics in Uganda. *Journal of African Historical Studies* 33.2:379-380

Tunc, T.E and Babic A.A.2008. Sin, sex, and shopping: conspicuous consumption and modern identity in F.Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby and This Side of Paradise. The Globetrotting Shopaholic, Consumer Space, Products, and their Cultural Places.*Eds.Tunc, T.E and Babic, A.A .New Castle: Cambridge.

Wilkins, A.C. 2004. So full of myself as a chick: Goth women, sexual independence, and gender egalitarianism. *Gender and Society* 18.3: 328-349.

Wolfowitz, C. 1991. *Language style and social space: stylistic choice in Suriname Javanese.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Wrobel, S.2010. Foucault reads Freud: The dialogue with unreason and enlightenment. *Polish Sociological Review* 171:271-288.

Wylie, A.1992. The interplay of evidential constraints and political interests: Recent Archaeological Research on Gender. *American Antiquity* 57.1:15-35.

APPENDIX 1

GLOSSARY OF SOME YORUBA WORDS USED IN THE THESIS

Akọ ajá	Male dog
Akọ̀wé	Learned
Aláàbáru	Head potter
Aláfọmúro	Packed with breast
Alágbèrè	Fornicator
Àlè	Concubine
Anímaṣáhun	Generous
Apẹ̀rẹ̀	Basket
Àṣejèrè	Work to obtain profit
Ayé	World
Binúkonú	When stomachs unites
Dálékọ́	Built alone
Ẹgbẹ́	Association
Eegun	Bone
Ẹja ló ni ibú	Fish Dominate the Ocean
Ẹlẹ́rọ̀	Grinder/miller
Ẹní	Mat
Ẹnu	Mouth
Ẹ̀ṣù	Devil
Ibà	Malaria
Ìdí ìlẹ̀kẹ̀	Beaded waist
Ìfẹ́lódùn	Love is Sweet
Ìkómojáde	Naming ceremony
Ilé ẹgbẹ́	Association Building
Ilé gogoro	Tall building/ Sky Scrapper
Ilé	House
Inú	Stomach
Ìṣọ̀kan	Unity
Ìtẹ̀sìwájú	Progress
Ìyá ọkọ	Mother in-law
Káríilé	For all

Mágùn	Do not climb
Màálù	Cow
Òbò	Virgina
Ògún	god of Iron
ojú gbangba	Open space
ojú	Eye
Ọkọ kan ò kún kọ́ńbọ̀dù	One husband cannot fill my Cupboard
Okó	Penis
Òkú èkó	Iced Fish from Lagos/ Lagos Dead
Òkú-àgbà	burial of an elder
Olóńjẹ	Food vendor
Olórí lùlù	Big head
Ọlọ́run	God
ọnà	Lane/Street
Oníṣekúṣe	Promiscuous
Ọ̀pọ̀	Plenty
Ọpọ́n	Wooden Tray
Orí	Head
Òtu ọlọ́mú kan	One breasted *Otu* woman
Owó ilé	Space fee
Tábìlì	Table
Títì	Road
Titun	new
Wèrè	Mad person
Y'àgò	Give space
Yàwàlù	Very many

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

All Yoruba names and words in this study for the sake of simplicity have been spelled with tone accents and subscript marks. However, all Yoruba words and statements of special cultural practice and expressions are italicized.

INTERVIEW QUESTION /DISSCUSSION GUIDE (FOR II, KII, FGD AND LH)

A. SPACE ORGANIZATION IN BÓDÌJÀ MARKET

I. Demographic information like age, sex, ethnic group, educational background, marital status, religion and so on.

II. How can space be acquired in the market?

III. Give example(s) of how space was acquired

IV. Are spaces transferable?

V. Give examples of how space was transferred

VI. Can sexuality influence space acquisition and maintenance in the market?

VII. How do traders mark boundaries?

VIII. Are there problems associated with space in the market?

IX. What is the significant of *owo ile* in the market processes?

X. Who pays it?

XI. What happen if one refuses to pay it?

XII. Give example of incidence when it was not paid

B. SEXUALITY NORMS AND VALUES/ SOCIAL RELATIONS/ NETWORKING IN BÓDÌJÀ MARKET

XIII. State the importance of sexualized words in market transactions?

XIV. Are there rules guiding sexual relations and expression in the market?

XV. If yes, state the rules and why they were put in place with possible examples

XVI. are there penalty for not abiding with these rules, if yes, cite some examples

XVII. what are the effects of sexuality on the individual/ group relations

XVIII. are there times when social issues are dictated by sexuality, give examples

XIX. How has sexuality influence:

i. traders /buyers relations

ii. Co-traders relations and leaders/ market relations.

XX. Can people take advantage of their sexuality to oppress, uplift, and help co-traders?

C. POWER RELATIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN BÓDÌJÀ MARKET

XXI. What is the place of sexuality in the market power negotiations, and social status?

XXII. Give examples for the above

XXIII. What is the structure of the market administration?

XXIV. How are decisions made in the market?

XXV. Who is an elite?

XXVI. Is there distinction between an elite and a leader?

Are there problems facing the market progress?

(**GUIDE FOR CASE STUDY**)

Probe for

i. Socio-demographic information of the informant

ii. The childhood experience of the informant

iii. Experience of the informant on sex and sexual culture of the market

iv. Experience of the informant on space , decision making and sexuality

v. Experience of the informant on past and present power relations in the market

vi. Experience of the informant on space administration of the market in the past and present

LIST OF SUB-ASSOCIATION UNDER BÓDÌJÀ MARKET FOODSTUFF ASSOCIATON

Beans seller association

Cassava Flour seller association

Fancy sellers association

Fish sellers association

Gaari Seller association

Groundnut (without shell) sellers association

Groundnut (with shell) sellers association

Groundnut Cake sellers association

Imported Rice seller association

Local Rice sellers association

Maize, Millet, Soya beans and Iyere seller association

Mellon (without shell) seller association

Mellon (with shell) seller association

Onions sellers association

Palm Oil seller association

Pepper/vegetable sellers association (Igbo space)

Popcorn maize seller association

Vegetable Oil seller association

Yam Flour sellers association

Yam Seller association

LOCAL APPELATION OF EACH GROUP

Ẹgbẹ́ ọmọ lèrè onísu (Yam sellers group)

Ẹgbẹ́ Aláròóṣọ̀(Rice sellers)

Ẹgbẹ́ Ẹlẹ́ọ àlọ̀kúná (Grinders)

Ẹgbẹ́ Olóròóró Kòníbàjẹ́ (Vegetable oil sellers)

Ẹgbẹ́ ọlọ̀ọ̀rá àsejèrè (Nylon seller)

Ẹgbẹ́ Atàtẹ atàjèrè Ọjà (Provisions sellers)

Ẹgbẹ́ orin MAAN (Musical groups)

Ẹgbẹ́ Amúnidára Tailor (Tailors)

Ẹgbẹ́ Ẹlẹ́ran Alásẹlà (Butchers)

Ẹgbẹ́ Olóògùn àlàfíà fún gbogbo wa (Pharmacists)

The Ìgbò society (The Igbos marketers)

NAMES OF ZONES IN BÓDÌJÀ MILLERS AND GRINDERS ASSOCIATION

Èyìnkùnlé Base one

Kájọlà street zone 1(ẹlẹbawa ka, lẹ́yìn ọmọ kò sí ọmọ mọ́. Ariwo kọ́)

Reliable

Àràkeńgé-ìfẹ́sowápọ̀

Ìderádé (trust and honesty)

Àṣejèrè Car park zone

Dálékọ̀

Farayọ̀la

30/30

Ọbasanjọ

APPENDIX II

Plate 16: Banner of Groundnut sellers sub association, during the market anniversary, in Bódìjà market

Plate 17: The researcher with one of my key informants and elite of Bódìjà market Alfa Mukadam

Plate 18: One of the open space advertisements of product in Bódìjà market

Plate19: Researcher with one of my key informants, Baba Fanibe (source: Fieldwork 2012)

Plate 20: The set stage for the grand finale party of the market anniversary of 2012

Plate 21: An extract of the *àjọ̀dún Ọjà* party scene, showing the ruling males group on the podium and the *aṣọ ẹbí*

Plate 22: Another scene from the *àjọ̀dún-Ojà* showing the few privileged females struggling to be at the podium (source: fieldwork 2012)