

Women and Leadership in Nigerian Market Place

by

Julia Anashi Shinaba
B.A., University of Victoria, 2003

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

In the Department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies

© Julia Anashi Shinaba, 2006
University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.

Women and Leadership in Nigerian Market Place

by

Julia Anashi Shinaba
B.A., University of Victoria, 2003

Supervisory Committee

Dr. Y. Martin-Newcombe, (Department of Educational Psychology & Leadership Studies)

Supervisor

Dr. D. Clover (Department of Educational Psychology & Leadership Studies)

Departmental Member

Dr. S. Banerjee (Department of Women's Studies)

Outside Member

Dr. Jo-Anne Lee (Department of Women's Studies)

Additional Member

Supervisory Committee

Supervisor

Departmental Member

Outside Member

Additional Member

ABSTRACT

This study uses a case study to investigate the experiences of Nigerian market women as leaders. The conventional leadership literature has relied on the experiences of White women within formal educational and organizational settings, which emphasise hierarchy, formal organizational knowledge, ability to negotiate bureaucratic structures, etc. However, my observation of Nigerian market women led me to question this vision of leadership and attempt to widen it to include a more inclusive view of women's leadership. Semi-structured interviews provided the data for this inquiry. Results of the audio-taped interviews and the notes were analyzed for themes and patterns. Findings of this inquiry suggest that their leadership is collaborative, and in the context of community without which an individual is nothing. It is also influenced by gender, which shapes their relationship to household subsistence, apprenticeship, wealth that is acquired or passed down from their female relatives, and economic clout acquired through marketplace trading.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page.....	i
Supervisory Committee.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Table Contents.....	iv
List of Tables.....	viii
Acknowledgment.....	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction and Statement of The Problem.....	1
Background of Study.....	3
Purpose of the Study.....	7
Significance of the Study	8
Overview of the Methodology.....	8
Scope and Limitations of the Study.....	9
Assumptions.....	10
Definition of Terms.....	10
Summary.....	14
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	15
Leadership.....	15
Social Cultural Leadership.....	16
Leadership as a Process Rather Than a Personal Pursuit.....	18
Women’s Leadership.....	19
Gender and Gender Relations.....	20
Part 1 - Women’s Roles in Pre-Colonial, Colonial and Post-Independence Eras.....	25

Women's Roles in Pre-Colonial Era.....	25
Women's Roles in the Colonial Era.....	30
Women's Roles in Post-Independence Era.....	33
Part 2 - Market Women in the Economy.....	35
Summary	37
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	38
Purpose of the Study.....	38
Choice of Research Method.....	38
Case Study Approach	39
Research Setting.....	42
Procedure.....	43
Research Sites Selected.....	43
Participants Selected.....	45
Interview Questions.....	48
Observation.....	51
Data Analysis.....	52
Reliability.....	53
Validity.....	54
Generalizability	55
Ethical Considerations.....	56
Summary.....	57
Chapter 4: Findings.....	58
Thematic Clusters and Themes.....	58

Theme Cluster 1: Socio-Cultural Roles.....	62
Motherhood.....	62
Flexible Working Hours.....	64
Apprenticeship.....	65
Inheritance.....	68
Economic Clout and Autonomy.....	69
Theme 2: Relationship Building	71
Relationship with Other Women.....	71
Relationship in Market Organizational Meeting.....	73
Relationship with Customers	76
Negative Stereotypes.....	76
Positive Images.....	78
Helping Others to Succeed.....	79
Theme 3: Self-Induced and Traditional Roles.....	80
Market Women’s Definition of Leadership.....	81
Women as Counsellors.....	82
Women as Conflict Managers.....	82
Women as Resource Managers.....	84
Women Representatives.....	84
Theme 5: Skill Sets/Competencies and Power.....	85
Communicative/Verbal Prowess.....	85
Traditional Praise-Singing Oratory Bargaining.....	86
Adaptive Power.....	88

Power in Diversity.....	89
Organizing/Activism/Advocacy Power.....	90
Summary.....	92
Chapter 5: Discussions of Findings.....	93
Summary and Discussion of Findings.....	93
Women’s Leadership in Socio-Cultural Contexts.....	93
Relationship Building as a Component of Leadership.....	97
Women’s Leadership Through Self-Induced and Traditional Roles.....	98
Skills/Competencies and Power as Components of Leadership.....	100
Reflection of my Experience in This Study.....	101
Conclusion: My Personal Learning From This Study.....	102
Recommendations.....	104
Future Direction for Research.....	105
Final Summary.....	106
References.....	108
Appendix A: Letter of Recruitment Provided to Market Women.....	119
Appendix B: Interview Questions.....	121
Appendix C: Human Research Ethics Committee Certificate of Approval.....	123
Appendix D: Participant Consent Form.....	124

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.	Participant Profile.....	47
Table 2.	Questionnaire Schedule.....	49
Table 3.	Emerging Clusters and Themes from Interview Data.....	58
	Theme Cluster 1, 2, 3	59
Table 4	Theme Cluster 4.....	60
Table 5	Theme Cluster 5.....	61

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Many people deserve acknowledgements and gratitude for their support during the research and writing of this thesis. My sincere gratitude goes to my family and friends, all of whom provided me with much needed encouragement. In particular, I wish to acknowledge my wonderful parents Pa Denis Nzesi and Mrs. Regina Nzesi, my sons, Seyi and Jide, my most caring sister and confidant, Mrs. Tessy Ananyi, my dear friends Adolphine Aggor and Catherine Etmanski and my spiritual mentor, Pastor Ademola Farinu. These eight people, with their kind words and emotional and spiritual supports, truly helped me through this intellectual journey.

Thank you also to members of the University of Victoria academic community who supported me through this journey. My thesis supervisor, Dr. Yvonne Martin-Newcombe, and committee members, Drs. Darlene Clover, Sikata Banerjee, and Jo-Anne Lee for their valuable and insightful guidance and feedback. I am especially grateful to Prof. David Turner and Elvira Lopez for their relentless mentorship. Dr. Elias Cheboud and Professor Vincent Olusegun Olunloyo encouraged me to believe in my abilities and reminded me to forge ahead particularly at the time when there were “cracks on the road.”

This research could not have been done without these key people who provided the information in my inquiry. My sincere gratitude goes to the market women in an urban area in Nigeria, for sharing their experiences with me. Special thanks to Darby Carswell Hedley and Angela Djorgee for their superb editorial assistance. Finally, I wish to acknowledge the Faculty of Graduate Studies and the Soroptimist International Foundation, Canada for providing some funding for my studies in graduate school.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

African women are known for their zeal in small scale entrepreneurship through marketplace trading, an important non-formal organizational economic setting in Africa. They are also noted for their immense contributions to their national economy (House-Midamba, 1995 and Robertson, 1998). Studies show that 90 percent of African women hold the leadership of marketplace trading (Ellis, 1974 and Amadiume, 1987, 1997), yet little is known about their leadership.

The conventional leadership literature has relied on women's experience of leadership within formal educational and/or organizational settings. These experiences are very clearly located away from the household or private family within the public sphere wherein economic, political, and other types of interactions are conventionally seen to take place. The vision of leadership underlying these studies emphasizes hierarchy, formal organizational knowledge, ability to negotiate bureaucratic and hierarchical structures, etc. However, my knowledge of Nigerian market women led me to challenge this vision of leadership and attempt to widen it to include a more encompassing (complex) view of women's leadership.

It should be noted that Nigerian market women, do not work in the "formal" sector of the economy. By formal I mean factories, businesses, corporate locations governed by the bureaucratic rules and regulations. These women own small or large stalls, set their own rules, and function at the community level dealing in every single item of commodity required for use in the nation. This includes manufactured

or industrial goods, food commodities, toiletries, etc. They spend long hours in the market, build relations with other market women, bring their children with them to the market, and generally enmesh themselves in a multi-faceted social network. The women assume leadership roles in the market place as sellers and buyers, juggling together market and household activities (Ogbomo, 1995; Falola, 1995; Amadiume, 1997; Nzegwu; Ufomata, 2000 and Okome, 2000).

Scholars like (Falola, 1995 and Ogbomo, 1995) explored the economic roles of women in trading since pre-historic periods in the western and the mid-western regions of the country. Their findings reveal that women play significant roles in the nation's economy through trading. However, no known study has explored Nigerian market women's experiences of leadership and how household practices and economies translate and transfer to the market place. On the contrary, studies have concentrated on their poverty and marginalization in development debates (Oyewumi, 2003; Amadiume, 1997).

In this paper, I will discuss Nigerian market women's leadership process by focusing on their experience within the market place. I will show that these women knit together economic and household activities, such as nurturing, mothering and caring, through collaboration to negotiate their space where IMF policies and household activities meet. I will emphasize that their leadership differs from those exhibited in Western bureaucratic settings, which focuses on masculinist traits that are rational, individualistic and autonomous.

This research is needed to contribute to the state of knowledge in leadership studies and policy initiatives that integrate Nigerian women more fully into a more

formalized decision-making process particularly on issues affecting their entrepreneurship. The data from this study will stimulate interest in how women's leadership experiences in the non-formal organizational sector count, given its invisibility in leadership debates that focus largely on Western women, who work in educational and other formal-organizational settings (Blackmore, 1999). It will also serve as a source of knowledge for women's development policy initiatives.

Background of Study

Having graduated from the Women's Studies program, I was interested in understanding women's leadership, in particular the experiences of African women. Hence, I decided to pursue a master's degree in Leadership Studies in order to understand what leadership meant in the African cultural context. As my studies progressed, I observed that the focus of study was on the leadership effectiveness of males and females in formal organizational settings. The context of leadership in this sense depicted a "macho decision-making structure" (Blackmore, p. 61) of formal organization, which characterizes leadership as "individualistic, autonomous, dominant, rational, aggressive and entrepreneurial" (p. 61). The study also focused on the leadership of women who work within educational and other organizational settings. I became increasingly concerned about the absence of the experience of African women in the literature of leadership, specifically those in informal organizational settings, such as the market place wherein they are found to succeed.

In light of the invisibility of African women's experience of leadership in the course as well as in literature, I began to read their history, which led me to further

learn about their leadership and to raise consciousness about their leadership experiences in their setting. On the one hand, I drew on the work of hooks' (1984) who asserted that feminist praxis is a process that starts with the individual building inner strength, empowerment and consciousness-raising, and that as women, we need to show concern for the collective of women because in so doing we can strengthen our solidarity for women's leadership, starting with particularities of women's realities. One way of achieving this was to voice our realities because the process engenders knowledge gathering, and knowledge production, and also serves as a means of making meaning and validating our experiences (Spender, 1983).

In addition, my knowledge of the impact of colonialism on Nigeria made me question gender and gender roles in the cultural setting. I was aware that colonialism has had negative impacts on women and the Nigerian cultural way of knowing, and has been responsible for the distortion of Nigerian traditional systems. The couple of years that I spent in the Women's Studies' program helped me to locate myself within feminist praxis. It also enhanced the processes of developing my inner strength. As a woman of Nigerian origin, I have found empowerment in feminist literature that details women's experiences in different spheres. I found that the level of empowerment that I developed in the women's studies program as well as what I gained through activism challenged my praxis of Nigerian women and how their experiences were excluded in debates around women's leadership. As my concerns about their invisibility grew, I became more empowered to do something about it, and to challenge the Western dominant view of leadership. Hence I chose to study market women in the informal sector of the Nigerian economy.

Nigeria an independent state since 1960, has a population of over 120 million people, 250 ethnic languages, and 36 states, with Abuja as the national capital. The three main languages are Ibo, Yoruba and Hausa, and English is the language of communication. The majority of Christians are found in the western, eastern and southern parts, and Islam is concentrated in the north. Crude oil accounts for 30% of its GDP, 95% of foreign exchange earnings and 80% of the government budget. The sixth largest supplier of crude oil in the world, Nigeria is now America's second largest supplier of crude oil (Hill, 2001). *Nigeria* was burdened by 40 billion British pounds external debt, and today the 35 billion American dollars outstanding debts have been forgiven. The impact of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), which engendered cuts to many social programs, including health and education still lingers on. Apart from oil, the Nigerian economy, as many African nations is driven by the trading activities of market women in terms of agricultural and commercial activities. Therefore, market women (see details below) as well as the markets are significant in the nation's economy.

Women who work in the market in Nigeria are often described as market women or "mama" because trading activity is associated with women. They are called "mama" because women dominate trade by their numbers. Although men and women co-exist in the market, women dominate trading. These women participate in the buying and selling of edible and non-edible agricultural goods, palm oil, beans, etc, as well as global goods, and manufactured items. The organization of the market often requires that stalls hang side by side, with rows of similar commodities clustered around a particular section. Market activities include drumming, talking

about political matters, organizing, networking with each other and with their customers,¹ fellowshipping, and conducting meetings.

In Nigeria, the marketplace occupies a specific location, usually in the city or village centre, close to the bus, railway and other public transportation. It is a place where women, men and children converge to engage in such economic activities as the wholesale and retail trading of commodities such as agricultural produce and manufactured or global goods. Non-monetary activities such as cultural dancing and rituals also form part of the market scene. Every item and food necessary to the Nigerian culture, including global goods, are bought or traded in the markets using Nigerian currency (*Naira* and *Kobo*). The exchange rate of the Canadian dollar to the *Naira* at the time of this study was Cdn \$1 to #100.

At one time, trading was carried out in open-air markets with no fixed infrastructure, and held on set dates, which varied according to the area, and was marked on the local calendar. Retail markets were held in smaller towns twice weekly. Today, however, most markets in urban areas are enclosed in buildings with fixed infrastructures, and are open daily from 7 am – 6 pm, while others sometimes operate in the open air at night. The structures are different from North American department stores: the market I studied is enclosed in a massive building holding numerous shops and stalls.

A well-planned market often concentrates the sale of specific commodities to a particular section, and the market I studied was designed to follow this plan.

However, frequent changes in the ownership of the stalls resulting from the death of original owners, inheritance or simply a change of commodities, prevents the

¹ Customers are those who maintain return visits to the stalls.

adherence to this original plan. For example, the sale of vegetables, fruits, spices, meat, fish, cooking oil, cloth and clothes, pots and pans, soap, baskets, etc, are concentrated in specific areas; other commodities like peanuts or ground-nuts, yams, cassava, rice, okra, bananas, guinea corn, millet, and palm nuts are located in other areas of the market.

In sum, markets provide an ideal setting for social interactions where people connect to establish social or family bonds, and there is a general belief that the market serves as a traditional clearing-house for information and networking, for women, merchants and professionals of all backgrounds. Given the diverse nature of the market place and the multi-faceted roles that women play within the space, I was motivated to investigate their reality, and to raise consciousness about their reality as a way to challenge the Western dominant view of leadership which focuses on formal organizational setting and neglects the experiences of African women, specifically, Nigerian women.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study therefore, was to investigate the experiences of Nigerian market women as leaders. The study was driven by the following general questions: What is the leadership experience of the Nigerian market women? The specific objectives of the study were as follows:

- (a) To explore the characteristics of market women in terms of their roles, functions and activities within the market.
- (b) To observe women's daily activities in the market.

- (c) To examine the relationships between the women and the market setting.
- (d) To examine their leadership structure.

Significance of the Study

Most of the reported studies that have examined Nigerian market women have tended to concentrate on their history, matriarchal experience, and participation in national economy, using anthropological lenses, a political economic framework or a combination of approaches, but no known study has specifically looked at them from the perspective of leadership. Therefore, in studying the women's leadership, the findings of this study should stimulate interest in how their experience counts in debates about women's leadership, cross-culturally, and in global contexts.

It is important to situate the leadership of Nigerian market women in current leadership debates because of the United Nation's focus on women's development in developing countries. By investigating the Nigerian market women's experiences, this study provides a conceptual way of thinking about their leadership, which can be used to enrich the literature on women's leadership. Additionally, highlighting the market women's leadership would enable them to voice their situation, and to promote the importance of their leadership locally and globally.

Overview of the Methodology

I employed a case study method for this study. Market women in an urban market setting in the western part of Nigeria were selected, to investigate their experiences of leadership. Some of the women were identified through my own

connection with a former acquaintance in the market while others were introduced by their friends. There were fifteen participants in the study. Each participant owns her stall, is a member of the market association, and has been in the market for over three years. Data collection involved fifteen interviews followed by a market observation of each participant, which was recorded in field notes, for personal reflection, physical descriptions of settings and decisions that either altered or directed my research process experience. I also relied on secondary sources, which included a review of scholarly literature² and newspaper publications. The interviews were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim. Transcripts were returned to participants for clarification. The interview transcripts formed the body of the data to be analyzed. As I experienced in this study, case study research methods can greatly assist in exploring in depth participants activities and process.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

As a case study, this research has some limitations. First, only fifteen market women from the same ethnic group who are dealing in manufactured goods were interviewed. Perhaps a larger or more varied sample would have been more appropriate. Second, the barrier instituted by the leadership hierarchy regarding ethical issues, which I would rather not articulate in this report, prevented me from interviewing the leadership hierarchy as this would have enriched the data. Third, interview data is stronger when it is triangulated with other sources. For example, interviewing their customers can be used to support or challenge data obtained

² Scholarly literature includes, publications in both prints and electronic sources

through interviews. Fourth, the study could not be generalized to other market settings. However, it does provide the point of departure for future theorizing. In sum, my research aims to investigate the leadership of Nigerian market women rooted in their dynamic economic, social and political activities within the market. Their activities in market space would further challenge the construction of “Third World” women as passive.

Assumptions

Two critical assumptions underlie this study. First, Nigerian women are the bedrock of their households wherein their leadership is not recognized because they see themselves as just doing what they need to do to ensure the well-being of their children, households and communities. They also ensure that they have enough resources to do so. As such, many women engage in trading activities using various outlets: markets, homes, etc. Second, in certain cultural and traditional settings, women’s participation is required and clearly understood, such as in household matters, community activities and cultural events: rituals, etc. There is the need to appreciate and understand their leadership in all spheres particularly in how they negotiate the market space. Therefore, studying their leadership can contribute to community development in many ways.

Definition of Terms

In looking at the definition of terms, I focus on the following issues: leadership, empowerment, gender, and gender relationships. These are important components in the women’s experiences of leadership and of this thesis. In addition,

feminist theories recognize women's ways of knowing. Women's leadership debates also recognize their leadership in formal organizational settings. Their leadership in informal organizational settings is essential for this study.

Leadership, in the context of this study, is perceived on the one hand to be a process in which individuals or groups work together for the common good. On the other hand, it can be considered as a process that people with a shared vision use to achieve a common goal. Leadership in this case is not seen as an individual act. It is informative to note that the leadership in the Bible is based on the role of leaders in their relationship to their followers, particularly in how the leader must first serve others. The reason for the importance of these relationships is that this type of leadership involves helping others to succeed in various capacities. This kind of help would ensure sustainability and continuity of quality leadership as well as networks for the larger community.

On one hand, Horner's (1997) review of the development of leadership theory concludes that contemporary theory sees leadership as a process in which leaders are not seen as individuals in charge of followers, but as members of a community of practice. Leadership can also be defined as a collective relational phenomenon, which is often "cultured" that is, it is a phenomenon that grows out of, and is a product of its setting. This is what is called social cultural leadership, a definition that suits the circumstances of this study, and attests to Mararike's (1995) definition of traditional leadership that is derived from traditional status "with respect attached to an associated traditional office," "special knowledge derived from experiences and remembrance of past occurrences," and "from individual's proven

capacity” (p. 25). As a leader, your roles are dependent on the followers, without whom you are nothing.

Empowerment is a process aimed at changing the nature and direction of systematic forces that marginalize women and other disadvantaged sectors in a given context. Baden and Oxaal (1997) affirmed that the root of the term is power. Power can be understood as operating in different ways. “Power over” has, in practice, the implication of conflict and direct confrontation between the powerful and powerless interest groups. It also reflects a hierarchical ideal where the powerful individual has the capacity to impose their will on others, and in some cases sanctions are imposed on those that oppose their will (Chinn, 2004). Chinn (2004) further states that “empowerment does not grow from an individual quest for personal strength and influence, but from active engagement with others whose values you share” (p, 8).

In the context of this study, women’s empowerment is perceived to be multifaceted: self and collective. Terminologies associated with the concept vary and methods for systematically tracking changes in levels of empowerment are not well established. Some call empowerment the expression of freedom of choice. For this study, I define and explain the concept of empowerment to suit the market environment in which the market women work.

Muyoyeta (2003, p 11) considers *gender* a way of looking at society with a focus on women’s roles and responsibilities in relation to those of men while Agarwal (1994, p. 54) defines *gender relations* as relations of power between men and women. This is revealed in a range of practices, ideas, behaviours, and presentations to include the division of labour, roles, and resources between women

and men. Gender has been a major contributing factor to women's invisibility in the different spheres of society. Although within the African context, gender is not the only organizing principle as in Western societies but it became central in African women's experiences during the colonial period. However, Western feminists claim that gender is a social construction. Oyewumi (2005, p. 11) argues that if gender is a social construction as Western feminists claim:

then, gender cannot behave the same way across time and space, and [that] we must acknowledge the various cultural/architectural sites where it was constructed, and the variously located actors, (aggregates, groups, interested parties) [who] were part of the construction. We must further acknowledge that if gender is a social construction, then there was a specific time (in different cultural/architectural sites) when it was "constructed," and therefore time before which it was not. Thus, gender, being a social construction is also a historical and cultural phenomenon.

Scholars like Amadiume (1997); Oyewumi (2005) and Nzegwu (2005), have explored gender in African societies through historical analysis, found that social roles and sexual roles are separable and gender is not linked to sex and sexuality, but rather is a social relation. Amadiume (1997) contests the idea that African women have been "presented simply as constituting only a single category on the basis of biological sex gender" (p. 112). Her exploration of African gender system reveals "a flexibility which allows a neuter construct for men and women to share roles and status" (p. 112). She also contends that roles were defined according to gender,

class, lineage, ethnicity, and depending on where an individual fitted at a particular time and space, she would possess certain rights and roles. So there is fluidity in how roles are assigned.

Summary

This chapter has provided introductory information and the rationale for this study of the leadership of Nigerian market women, background, including a description of market women and an overview of the marketplace as a constantly-cumulating activity. Chapter Two will provide a review of selected literature on Nigerian women's social-cultural roles in the market economy since the pre-colonial period.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature chosen for discussion in this chapter was selected for its relevance to research questions. I observed that most of the literature reflected the experiences of market vendors in other parts of the world, and only a few reflected the experiences of Nigerian market women's roles in the national economy. Since this study focused on Nigerian market women, I chose literature that depicted their experiences and background information of their economic roles to tease out their experiences of leadership.

Chapter Two is divided into three parts. Part 1, outlines the distinctions of social cultural (distributed) leadership and the concept of leadership as a process. Part 2, provides a description of Nigerian women's socio-cultural roles in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras. Part 3, describes the significance of Nigerian market women's roles in their national economy. For each of the three Parts listed above, pertinent literature is presented. As I endeavour to share the knowledge of Nigerian women's socio-cultural roles, I focus on their leadership through economic activities. The chapter concludes with a summary, and highlights of the present.

Leadership

Discussions on leadership are not a recent phenomenon: rather they have pervaded the works of early thinkers and leaders. For example, Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi were charismatic leaders who generated radical social changes.

In this section, I outline the distinctions of social cultural (distributed) leadership and then present the concept of leadership as a process rather than a personal attribute or pursuit.

Social Cultural Leadership

In the review of the development of leadership theory, Horner (1997) concludes that the most current theory views leadership as a process in which leaders are not seen as individuals in charge of followers, but as members of the community of practice. Drath and Palus (1994, p. 4) define a community of practice as people united in a common enterprise. They share history and certain values, beliefs, and ways of life. Similarly, leadership is viewed as a collective relational phenomenon, which is also cultured in that it is viewed as a phenomenon that grows out of and a product of its setting. This is called social cultural leadership or distributed leadership. This contrasts with notions of charismatic leadership, which places a premium on heroism and dominant hierarchical positions in a community or organizational system (Yuki, 2002, p. 431).

However, Western institutions have moved to team-based forms of leadership as articulated in the works of Katzenbach & Smith (1993) who suggested leadership as:

teams with a small number of people with complimentary skills who were committed to a common performance purpose, performance goals and approach or which they held themselves mutually accountable... leadership was dispersed throughout the team. They viewed the role of leaders of such

teams in terms of developing leadership in others by building commitment and confidence, removing obstacles, creating opportunities and being part of the teamthe leader of real teams was seen as a facilitator who cultivate[d] the group and its members. (p. 45)

Kirk and Shutte (2004) describe team-based set up as focussing on how to break down the hierarchical and bureaucratic boundaries and norms within an organization. In this case, people are assigned different projects to work on with stakeholders from different sectors of the business and the community also having an input. The onus of this type of leadership is on individuals to take responsibility in contributing to the success of the project through their leadership abilities. Consequently, their emphasis is on delegated “authority that drive, quick response, creativity and innovation” The issue is that team-based work occurs within organizational boundaries unlike the distributed leadership where people with shared values work harmoniously.

Mararike (1995, p. 25) defines traditional leadership as derived from a traditional status “with respect attached to an associated traditional office,” “special knowledge derived from experiences and remembrance of past occurrences,” and “from individual’s proven capacity.” As a leader, your roles are dependent on the followers, without whom you are nothing. As such relational leadership (Armstrong, 1988; Reed, 2001) emphasizes that people require liking each other in order to get along. The strength in this type of leadership is its pluralizing nature where more

individuals are viewed as leaders within a community. What is interesting about the issue of the individual's proven capacity is the fact that the individual's capacity is achieved through learning. Kirk and Shutte (2004) explain that the process of learning is a "helping" process, as well as ongoing towards change or transformation. However, the concept of Western leadership differs from African-centered leadership which is based on community cohesiveness (Amadiume, 1997) rather than on individuals in a team.

Leadership as a Process Rather Than a Personal Pursuit

The guiding principle in looking at the issue of leadership and the development of leadership capacities is that it must be viewed as a process and not a personal pursuit. Muyoyeta (2005) argues that leadership should be able to draw-out the best in others. She contends that the critical factors in leadership are the abilities to inspire and motivate others by bringing out the best in them. Mararike (1995) also sums up leadership as "a process of influencing the activities of an organized group in its effort towards goal setting and goal achievement" (p. 25). Thus, Kirk and Shutte (2004) portray leadership as a "distributed phenomenon and one that is more about process than person" (p. 235). They suggest that leading through connective leadership and collective empowerment are essential components in the leadership process and conclude that leading through dialogue is essential.

Barriteau (2004) has observed that collective leadership is an important issue in feminist literature. As hooks (1981) noted, that when as women we show concern for the collective, we strengthen our solidarity. Barriteau (2004) also noted that it is

important to build solidarity for women's leadership, starting with the particularities of women's realities. She asserts that feminist praxis is a process that starts with the individual building inner strength, being empowered and raising their consciousness. These are important cultural and political strategies for coalition building. Spender (1983) states that it is through a process of redefining knowledge, knowledge gathering, and knowledge making that women begin to create our own means for producing and validating, which is consistent with our experience. We need to devise our own ways of assessing ourselves rather than juxtaposing with male standards. Barriteau (2004) noted that we as women require effective strategies in assessing ourselves in terms of our leadership for social transformation.

Women's Leadership

It is important to understand women's social commitment and cultural engagement and their enormous conscious efforts in household subsistence and roles in their national economy. Momsen and Kinnard (1993) (cited in Onyene, 2004) contend that "African women are more involved in high skilled labour participation, and ... women contribute more than their male counterparts through the performance of monetized tasks" ... and such women are not only entitled to equal labour allocation at the domestic (micro) level, but are equated with equal leadership role at the productive (macro) level" (p. 4). Momsen and Kinnard's study shows that women's participation in leadership differs in certain respects. However, various factors influence women in becoming leaders, and there are many factors that influence women in leadership, such as socialization, inheritance, wealth (acquired

or inherited) and status. The socio-cultural roles of Nigerian women have made it possible for them to attain leadership roles in the provision of household subsistence with the wealth they acquire through trading. Onyene (2004) noted that African women were considered priceless philosopher kings and adviser-wives, mothers of kings and chiefs or as the Queen-mothers, and that colonialism distorted their traditional system, and entrenched mutability to it by suppressing their leadership values and orientations. Onyene's assertion for that reason has direct implications for the level of leadership of women since pre-colonial period. Therefore, to study Nigerian market women's leadership requires the exploration of their socio-cultural roles since pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial periods

Gender and Gender Relations

Muyoyeta (2003, p. 11) presents the view that gender is societal and focuses on the relational nature of both men and women. Others like Agarwal (1997) define gender relations of power between women and men, which are revealed in a range of practices, ideas, and presentations that include roles, practices, the division of labour, and resources between men and women. Recent discussions about African ways of knowing, which resonated from panel discussions at the Conference of the African Studies Association have challenged European perspectives of African people. Questions were raised about how to reclaim African traditional ways of knowing. As such, the focus of discussions has been around re-claiming the subjugated knowledge of African people.

African scholars have written about gender and gender relations in African cultural terms. Their studies reveal that gender is not the only organizing principle as in Western societies. It became central to African women's experiences in the colonial era. According to Oyewumi (2005), gender in Western scholarship is a social construction, which has elements of biological determinism, and has been an organizing principle constantly and has been used binarily for ranking male and female. Scholars like Amadiume (1997); Oyewumi (2005) and Nzegwu (2005), who explored gender in African societies through historical analysis, found that social roles and sexual roles are separable and gender is not linked to sex and sexuality, but rather is a social relation.

Amadiume (1997) contests the idea that African women have been "presented simply as constituting only a single category on the basis of biological sex gender" (p. 112). Her exploration of African gender system reveals "a flexibility which allows a neuter construct for men and women to share roles and status" (p. 112). She also found that roles were defined according to gender, class, lineage, ethnicity, and depending on where an individual fitted at a particular time and space, she would possess certain rights and roles. So there is fluidity in how roles are assigned.

In contrast to Western conceptualization of gender as a social construct, Oyewumi (2005) contends that if gender is a social construction as Western feminists claim:

then, gender cannot behave the same way across time and space, and [that] we must acknowledge the various cultural/architectural sites where it was

constructed, and the variously located actors, (aggregates, groups, interested parties) [who] were part of the construction. We must further acknowledge that if gender is a social construction, then there was a specific time (in different cultural/architectural sites) when it was “constructed,” and therefore time before which it was not. Thus, gender, being a social construction is also a historical and cultural phenomenon (p. 11)

The centrality of her arguments reveals that gender is not distinctively rigid and dichotomized as linguistically illustrated in the use of he or she or him or her. Amadiume (1997) presents three systems for describing gender: male, female, and non-gendered collective pronoun in place and women need not be masculinized in order to wield power. She also noted that all gender free categories have become gendered. This leads us to believe that discussions of gender in African societies are inconclusive if historical perspectives are excluded. Historical perspectives provide us with information about women’s social relation and positionality in society.

Pearson (1994) defines *gender relations* as social relations in which social categories of female and male relate to each other. Mararike’s (1995, p. 28-29) study revealed that men and women’s relations were “neither superior nor inferior, but simply different and complementary. This is an important factor in relations to the question of empowerment of women. Sikazwe (2004) believes that it is necessary to look at the sources of women’s power in social relations.

Veneklassen and Miller (2003,) state that the term empowerment “refers to a range of activities from individual self-assertion to collective resistance, protest, and mobilization that challenge basic power relations” (p. 53). For individuals and

groups whose gender, class, ethnicity, etc, determine their access to resources and power, their empowerment begins when they not only recognize the systemic forces that oppress them, but also act to change existing power relations. Empowerment therefore, means a process aimed at changing the nature and direction of systemic forces that marginalize women and other disadvantaged sectors in a given context. Accordingly, Baden and Oxaal (1997) assert that the “root of the term empowerment is power” (p. 1).

Scholars have written about different forms of empowerment. Chinn (2004) sees empowerment as:

Growth of personal strength, power, and ability to enact ones own work and love for self in the context of lover and respect for others. [It] grows not from an individual quest for personal strength and influence, but from active engagement with others whose values you share. (p. 8)

Rowlands (1998) refers to community empowerment as where individuals work together to achieve a more extensive impact than each could have done alone. This includes involvement in political structures and might cover collective action based cooperation rather than competition. Collective action may be locally focused, such as market place settings.

Comparative studies of market women’s participation in trading has been explicitly analysed by many scholars (Ogbomo, 1995; Falola, 1995; VerEecke, 1995 and Seligmann, 2001). Most of these authors used a combination of diverse

methodologies and multisited fieldwork, linguistic analysis and archival research to study the way in which household practices and economies translate and transfer to the markets, as well as how market practices and economic principles become integral to the nature and construction of the household.

However, in the West, conventional leadership has relied on women's experiences in formal educational/and or organizational settings. In this case, discussions centre on dichotomization of gender in leadership effectiveness. As such, leadership is constructed as, "individualistic, autonomous, dominant, aggressive and entrepreneurial" (Cox 1996, p. 91; Helgesen, 1990; Blackmore, 1990; Helman, Block, Martell & Simons, 1989; Eagly, Karau, & Mkhijani 1995 and Tedrow, 1999).

Much debate therefore had focused on sex/gender differences in the leadership experiences and challenges faced by women who worked in educational and organizational settings. The experience of women working in formal and non-formal organizations in developing countries remained marginalized. Women in developing countries instead, have had their experiences situated in development discourse that focused on their marginalization and poverty. Such essentialist notion of African women denotes European perspectives of African women and how they use their women to gauge those of Africans particularly in terms of gender roles.

European perspectives privilege their women's experiences in the global arena. This development affirmed Barribeau's (2001) assertion that the dominant perception of the world was "white, wealthy, ladies of leisure: meeting during the day: and of white hair and white faces" (p. 157). She stresses that women's leadership in developing countries has been invisible to the West in spite of the

leadership positions they held prior to the “women in development” discourse. She stated that the emphasis on the Decade for Women only made women’s roles visible, and generated public awareness about their differing leadership. For a clearer understanding of the leadership roles played by Nigerian women in the economy, understanding their social relation and positionality in society as well as their roles since pre-historic, colonial and post-colonial period, are necessary.

Part 1: Women’s Roles in The Economy in Pre-Colonial, Colonial and Post-Colonial Eras

This section provides a description of Nigerian market women’s socio-cultural roles dating back to the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras. It also gives a description of how women gained the leadership of different sectors of society, and their struggles to maintain it. To understand their present leadership experience, it is necessary to explore their status in the pre-colonial era as it provides the foundation for their present day leadership roles and experience in social, economic and political contexts.

Women’s Roles in Pre-Colonial Era

A substantial body of literature shows that historically, African women were noted for their roles “as mothers, farm cultivators and traders,” who engaged in one form of trading activity or another (Leith-Ross, 1965, p. 22; Ellis, 1994 and Okome, 2000). In fact, 90 percent of women were working mothers who traded and farmed to

provide for their families, ensuring that they had a source of income and economic clout where necessary (Ellis, 1994). A woman without a craft or trade, or who was totally dependent on her husband, was not only rare but regarded with contempt (Ufomata, 2000; see also Aliyu, 1992 (cited in Attoe, 2004). As hook's (2000, p. 50) observed, a woman who stayed at home working as a housewife often experienced isolation, loneliness, depression. She noted that participation in the workforce whether in formal or informal settings enhances one's self-esteem and positive image of community participation no matter an individual's class. Therefore, the positive benefit of many Nigerian women's participation in the workforce has been trading, which in many cases, assisted by their female children, provided an avenue for business opportunities, personal advancement and economic power.

Against a background in which economic power gave women self-reliance, empowerment and social improvement, they were the "center, rather than the periphery, of economic analysis meaning that women are seen as the vital social forces in economic development" (House-Midamba & Ekechi, 1995, p. xiii). Trading also gave women "access to and control over the products of their labour, as well as considerable freedom and independence" (Ogbomo, 1995, p. 6). In fact, small scale retail trade constitutes women's work, and is significant in African development that if ignored, there can only be limited development.

On the one hand, Robertson (1995), who studied the economic roles of market women in Accra, Ghana, and Nairobi Kenya, found that women's economic autonomy gave women advantages that are independent of male's domination in matters relating to their children, property acquisition, such as land, etc. She noted

that this right may have evolved out of their participation in trade. For instance, women dominate trading business; as such mothers, sisters and daughters could purchase land properties independent of men. The same holds for daughters who were likely to follow suit because of female socialization in trading business.

On the other hand, Oyewumi (2003,) states that women's participation in trade provided them with economic autonomy, and wealth, "which may be inherited or acquired," (p. 86) as well as socialization of children, power and control over the means of production units and household subsistence, and power and prestige deriving from the bearing and socialization of children. The socialization of female children in marketplace trading often had an impact on their continuing roles in life. For example, Robertson, (1998) reported that "mothers, sisters and daughters were likely to be in business together in a way that they socialize their daughters in trade in readiness for inheritance."

Several studies (Amadiume, 1997; Robertson, 1998, 1982; Okome, 2000; Orji, 2000; Nzegwu, 2000; Clark, 2002 and Agbese, 2003) have examined Nigerian women's participation in the marketplace, and I chose these works by African scholars because of their African identity and their African-centered perspectives in examining the women's roles. My view is that some of their works can minimize the misrepresentations of African women's socio-cultural roles and identity that are commonly found in European accounts of African women (Amadiume, 1997, p. 115). I do not lay claims that all African scholars hold African-centered perspective, and that all non-African scholars are Eurocentric. My point is that many European

accounts often portray African women as “impoverished, downtrodden, and oppressed” (Oyewunmi, 2003, p. 86; Amadiume, 1997).

Amadiume's (1997) analysis of the history of African women emphasizes that the continent had a long history of powerful women who were doing things differently. She noted that their experiences in the marketplaces could be better understood based on their cultural and geographical setting. Amadiume's work illuminates the matriarchal structure of African society, which provides women with leadership status based on their control of household subsistence and marketplace trading. For example, women cultivated their own plots of land, planted, harvested foodstuffs, fed their families and sold the surpluses using the profits in ways they deemed necessary (James, 1993). Amadiume also confirmed that trading provided women with wealth and prestige in their households, and that women have had "a high degree of power since the time of antiquity" (p. 25) and wield this through their social-cultural positions as market women. Agbese (2003) posits how the social patterns of many Nigerian communities recognize matriarchy because it allows women to gain power and leadership from kinship and to participate in the “decision-making process acting as leaders” (p. 2). She describes kinship as:

“a very strong factor in Nigeria as the family [has been] one of the oldest and most represented institutions in Nigeria. Kin includes parents, siblings, relatives, friends and in-laws, and they participate in every aspect of a person's life. Through family and kinship relations of women, [they] had gained power and political [standing] in society” (p. 2).

Women were not excluded from decision making except in some traditional matters which necessitated ritual/discussion pertaining to secret societies. For example, in the *Oro* and *Ogboni* cult, important and notable secret societies in Yorubaland, decisions pertaining to these cults could not be reached or implemented without women's participation, otherwise it would fail (Ufomata, 2000). Oluwole (1997) cited other examples of women's leadership such as the Osugbo cult, a legal arm of the government among the Egba and Ijebu Yoruba which had only one female representative, *Erelu*. Without her presence, the council could not function.

Similarly, African mythology about female deities demonstrates the tremendous power that women have gained through kinship. Ufomata (2000) cited as examples, deities like Moremi of Ife and Queen Kambassa of Ijaw who used their kinship and positions in society to directly or indirectly influence political matters and to expand their kingdoms. They had parallel organizations with men who could not cross the boundaries without dire consequences. Group interests superseded individuals' in these organizations, and where men and women occupied both sexes complemented each other but women maintained power on the basis of kinship. When occasions called for women to take actions concerning their children, husbands, or families, they stood up to the challenges some of which often resorted to traditional weapons of warfare or invoking their rights as mothers (Ufomata, *ibid*). Women were noted for organizing themselves into pressure groups against oppressive rulers and policies, an indication of the significance of women's leadership through kinship since the pre-historic era (Agbese, 2003).

Women's Roles in the Colonial Era

Having their kinship recognized and maintained under European rule was a constant source of struggle. For example, evidence shows that women's traditional roles were altered because of structural constraints instituted by the European colonists who introduced the concept of gender (Ufomata, 2000). Ufomata's (2000) analysis of gender roles sheds some light on how gender specificity in certain roles was introduced and heightened during this period. Women were systematically excluded from public affairs, and lost many aspects of their autonomy in community affairs. The farming, primary care, craft work and other household affairs that women controlled were rendered invisible. Rather, men gained control and prominence because of their participation in paid work, perceived to be more meaningful in the colonists' view and because market value was attributed to it.

Since the economic autonomy and independence that women had prior to colonialism, was under threat, women learned to not only survive as individuals but also as a group. They were seen to be "astute participant[s] who often possessed savvy not easily captured in classical social research" (Ufomata, 2000, p. 6). One of Ufomata's distinct descriptions of the women illustrates how "they operate within an exploitative capitalist system [yet] they survive as a group with a sharp [display] of intelligence that [they] exhibit in handling relationships and negotiating their space," (p. 6). Colonialism introduced gender politics that favoured men, who were expected to be in the public sphere and women in the private sphere (Okome, 2000, p. 6). This undermined the traditional balance of power between men and women. Consequently, women became victimized, and there were attempts to dispossess

them of their powers and opportunities to participate in politics (Ufomata, 2000, p. 6; see also Amadiume, 1997). Further, Christianity repressed their power and leadership through an ideology of womanhood which emphasized submissiveness to husbands (Okome, 2000).

Okome (2000) supports Ufomata (2000) in her account of women's leadership during this period. She cites as an example the Iyalode or Iyaloja, a title given to the head of the market in Yoruba land, and usually an elderly woman. The title means "Mother of Public Affairs" (Oyewumi, 2005, p. 189). An Iyaloja or Iyalode had the authority to participate in decisions concerning the community. According to Awe (1977), she was in control of that office, the spokesperson of women in government, and most important qualifications were her proven ability as a leader to articulate the feelings of women. She lost her power when the colonists cut off the avenues to exercise such authority. Attempts to completely strip her of leadership and power were met with protests from the women.

Another example of women stepping into positions of leadership was the organizing they did to alleviate themselves against the colonial oppressive mechanisms instituted against them. For instance, the Egba women's resistance led by Mrs. Olufunmilayo Ransome Kuti, in 1914. She was among those that first earned a British education in England. Her educational status provided her with the privilege and power to lead Egba women in various capacities. Under her leadership the women revolted against the colonial system of administration and the introduction of taxes and price control mechanisms which had negative impacts on both their group and on individual families (Okome, 2000). Market women in this era also

experienced oppression in the hands of the colonists, just like their predecessors. The women stepped into positions of leadership by organizing against colonial domination. In fact, as the traditional system began to orient towards colonial ideology, which privileges males over females (Agbese, 2003), which also incorporates women into the political system as subordinates, such as being token representatives in the Local Council (Okome, 2000), women took the lead by organizing around the issue.

Orji (2000) presents the most massive demonstration ever recorded in the Nigeria, the Aba Women's Riot of 1929, in the eastern part of Nigeria, in which about two million market women participated in a protest and persisted until their demands were met. He describes the women's heroic participation in leadership and how they stepped forward taking the lead to organize a protest against European imposition of taxes that would have a severe impact on their family income. He stated that women used traditional tactics like folk songs to record their grievances, and made their point by dancing around the colonists' houses until they surrendered their insignia of office. In some cases, women "sat" on the District Officer to present their grievances.

Sitting on a man in the culture depicts shaming the individual (Orji (2000)). Orji also points out that the women's heroic leadership in this regard, was remarkable in ensuring that the well-being of their households was preserved. The use of their nudity has since been a common traditional practice in effecting change. Women's nudity is a cultural taboo in Nigerian society, and women have used it as a weapon particularly when household livelihood was threatened (Orji, 2000, p. 7 and

Ufomata, 2000). The *Oxford Dictionary* defines taboo as a something sacred and forbidden. Taboo in this study is used to denote women's body as sacred. It is a taboo to expose their nakedness in public. However, Nigerian women have and continue to use their nudity to achieve their goals whenever household livelihood comes under threat.

Women's Roles in Post-Independence Era.

The practice of using nudity as a weapon during protests continued during the post-colonial era as illustrated in the CNN world report of July 14, 2002. It described how women used nudity or otherwise known as "our weapon of nakedness" as a 'shaming tactic' in the succinct word of one of the protesters, to stall oil production processes in Escavos, the Delta region of Nigeria., The report revealed that about 150 women ranging from 30-90 years old drew picket lines around the oil production units demanding the hiring of their sons and daughters, and to end the devastation engendered by the production. The protest drew international attention forcing Shell to abandon its oil production. This protest was an indication of how women took the leadership of ensuring that their children gained employment for survival.

The early 1980s saw the Nigerian government's adoption of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). As Nasong'o (2005) noted, "SAP revolves around key issues of liberalizing prices and market systems, financial sector policy reforms, ...privatization, international trade regulating reform, etc" (p. 34). As he further pointed out, liberalization was intended to attract foreign investments to stimulate the business environments. But the benefits derived from it were often enjoyed by the

local elites in many parts of the world. As such, inequities characterized it and women were mostly affected because of their subjective position.

Another way in which SAP affects women is the public sector reform, which entailed cutbacks in personnel or downsizing especially in civil service jobs that have a high concentration of women. For example, in Kenya as in many African countries, women are concentrated in civil service jobs at the lower level, and are found to constitute about half of those retrenched (Nasong'o, 2005). Being that women control household subsistence, the adverse economic conditions of SAP grossly affect them and many result to trading out of desperation (Ufomata, 2000 and Manuh, 1998). Women have responded to socio-economic problems in different ways. As Oyewumi (2003) puts it, "women's responses to SAP differ according to the objective situation faced, and depend on the opportunities and constraints arising out of their class and regional situation" (p. 51).

The impact of the Structural Adjustment Program coupled with globalization is still felt today. Globalization impacts on the women's traditional roles since most agricultural production that the women control is being taken over by larger farms. In fact, a new trend that emerged out of globalization is the proliferation of global goods in market places, and women hold the lead in commerce (Oyewumi, 2003). As bell hooks (1990) noted, living on the margins "offers the possibilities of radical perspectives from which to see and create, to imagine alternatives, new worlds" (p. 341).

Part 2: Market Women in The Economy

This section describes the role of Nigerian women in the national economy and how the foregoing historical survey revealed that Nigerian market women have constantly struggled to maintain their leadership, particularly in the national economy (Nzegwu, 2000 and Ufomata, 2000). Recent studies have emphasized the powerful role of these women in the economy. Various scholars (House-Midamba, 1995; Falola, 1995; Ogbomo, 1995; Ekechi, 1995; Seligmann, 2001; VerEecke, 2001 and Clark, 2002) have used historical or anthropological approaches to study market women and to demonstrate the complexity of their positions, and how these have changed over time due to structural conditions that either inhibited or enhanced their skills (Seligmann, 2001).

Ogbomo (1995) studied the Esan women in the Midwestern region of Nigeria using a methodological framework that combined interviews and archival research to elicit their experiences. He provided an analysis of the historical origins of Esan women and the evolution of their market system. His analysis demonstrates that the politics of society had a huge impact on the women's participation in the economy. For example, Esan excluded women from inheriting either their husband or father's property. This development encouraged women to look for independent sources of income to improve their own lives and those of their children. One way of achieving this was their involvement in agricultural production and market place trading.

Ogbomo further noted that women had great "tenacity to effectively compete with men, to preserve for themselves the leadership of the various productive

industries” (p. 11). He indicated that women were able to achieve a considerable level of importance because of their direct control over some vocations like palm oil and palm kernels production, as well as soap making. The women ensured that men did not interfere in these vocations because of their socio-cultural status as controllers of those sectors of the economy. Further, Ogbomo observed that the women exhibited delight in having a separate economic domain which had been in existence for so long. They were also pleased with the introduction of taboo, which has helped women to preserve those economic sectors and to continue to have a source of income.

Falola (1995) studied Yoruba women in western Nigeria. His findings showed that women exercise power and control of the market place through their participation in trade, and that women dominate the market place and the rituals for appeasing female deities. Okome (2000) refers to the rituals as part of women’s religion or personal spirit, and stresses that the supreme powers and spirits of these female deities are often invoked through these rituals as a symbol of female power over the market place. She stressed that generally gender issues are not simplistic, but are constantly reconstructed, particularly in the attempt to maintain leadership in the marketplace economy. Such reconstruction resonated in their history and their present day reality.

Summary

In Chapter Two, I provided outlines of the distinctions of social cultural (distributed) leadership and the concept of leadership as a process, an overview of the socio-cultural identity and roles of Nigerian women in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras. I also described Nigerian women's roles in the economy and their significance to the national economy. I pointed out that discussions around the women's experiences of leadership would be inconclusive if historical perspectives were excluded. The next chapter will provide the details of the methodology used for this study.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I present methodology used in my inquiry. These perspectives capture the women's leadership experience in the market setting. Then I employed a case study approach in the study. The next section outlines data collection and analysis of procedure and the final section addresses issues of reliability, validity, and generalizability, as well as the ethical considerations of the study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to investigate Nigerian market women as leaders, and how they construct their identity. My objectives were:

1. To explore the roles, functions and activities in the market place.
2. Observe the women's daily activities in the market place.
3. Examine the relationships between the market women.
4. Examine their leadership structure.

Choice of Research Method

As noted earlier, I chose the case study approach for this inquiry. Data were collected using a qualitative method. The research question focused on detailed personal understanding. A case study inquiry has its basic characteristics as illustrated below.

Case Study Approach

For Anderson (1998), a case study is often used for an "empirical investigation that is defined by interest in a specific phenomenon within its real life context. It is a qualitative form of inquiry that relies on multiple sources of information (p, 249). This type-of inquiry fits this study because it applies to the interest of the researcher in the specific phenomenon of Nigerian market women's leadership in a market space. The multiple sources of information in this study are the fifteen market women interviewed in this study, observation, field notes and video recording. This study relied on information about the women's leadership in the market place.

Creswell (1998) defines a case study as an approach "in which researcher explores in depth a program, an event, and activity, a process, or one or more individuals" (p. 15). A case study is a "bounded system" with the focus being on either the case or an issue that is illustrated by the case. This research is bounded by the sample of market women within the real life context, and the issue investigated is their leadership in the market place in their cultural setting. Anderson (1998) describes a case study as "a holistic research method that uses multiple sources of evidence to analyze or evaluate a specific phenomenon or instance" (p. 152). It is "interpretive" and "occurs in a natural setting that may employ qualitative methods and measures" (p. 152). It is appropriately used in this dynamic leadership context, because it is process-oriented, flexible and adaptable to changing circumstances.

The case study is particularistic because, it focuses on "particular situation, event, program or phenomenon" (Merriam, 1998, p. 29). This study focuses on the

leadership of Nigerian market women. I employed a qualitative case study approach to better understand the phenomenon of Nigerian market women because it allowed me to gather key information in order to analyse and interpret the findings within the context of the market community. Being qualitative it typically includes positioning myself and the study in a context or setting of the participants, collecting participants' meanings, bringing personal values in the study, creating an agenda for change or reform and collaborating with participants.

Anderson & Arsenault (1998) write that data collection in qualitative research, is systematic and organized into manageable units, such as themes, pattern and theories, etc that illuminates important discoveries in the study. They also note that "data analysis is a continuous activity that constantly evolves," (p. 131) and follows a pattern. By employing a qualitative method, I was able to locate myself within the study, which allowed me to examine the participants' everyday experience through face to face interviews and observation of the participants' daily activities.

The study participants were market women in an urban market in Nigeria. I chose a specific market because of the centrality of location to the public transportation system, which made it easily accessible to people from all over the state. Further, parking spaces for customers were available seven days a week. In addition, the market was situated in a huge building that holds thousands of shops and stalls for sales activities. With that many market stalls, this market allows for easy manoeuvring, and I was able to observe the women's activities. Even though the market has been in existence for over forty years, it still appears modern, with women of various statuses, races, classes and religions regularly visiting or buying

and selling food and household commodities. The beehive of activities within the market, and the fact that I have an acquaintance that could facilitate my entry, motivated me to choose this location for my study. I carried out the fieldwork or data collection between June and August 2004.

During the process, I taped interviews with participants, had a day's observation of each participant that was recorded in the field notes and made video recordings to remind me of what each participant's deals in. These sources served as my primary source of data collection while my secondary data source included newspaper publications and a review of scholarly literature. The interview processes enabled the market women to share their experiences with me on a one-to-one basis. As Kvale (1996) states, interviews are constructed sites of knowledge that help the researcher to understand the world from their own perspectives and to unfold the meaning of their experiences. Following the interviews, I observed the women's activities.

Tedlock (2003) explained that observation is experiential, and offers researchers an insider position that allows them entrance. She also pointed out that observation also brings into the analysis the interpretation of a setting, a type of information which the researcher may not be able to garner in any other way. Gillham (2000) noted that observation often commences with the setting, the people, activities, events and apparent. Observation helped me to socialise with the women and to gather information about their feelings, activities, and events around the market which I would not otherwise have obtained. The method fostered a greater

understanding of the phenomenon that enabled me to see, think and to follow up with further questions about data collected during individual interviews.

Research Setting

The setting for this study was integral to the research inquiry. Given that the leadership of market women was my primary focus, the study was undertaken in a market setting, to ensure I was in the centre of the action, and could obtain as much information as possible. The choice of the specific market was based on my familiarity and connection with the marketplace and one or more of the market women. In fact, this market was one of the largest in the city and the largest of fourteen in the locality. With regards to the size of the market, it held innumerable stalls and shops with diverse men and women who were knowledgeable about the significance of indigenous knowledge of the market economies. But women dominated the market by their numbers. Accessibility was another factor in the choice of this market: it is located in the city center close to a public transportation depot with parking facilities for customers seven days a week from 7 am to 6 pm.

Another attractive feature of this market was the layout, which allowed ease of movement that enabled me to easily glimpse the women's activities and to move around making friends and connecting with other women. This feature enhanced networking and increased familiarity with the women and their customers. As Stake (2003) postulated, it is important to develop a dialogical relationship with the phenomenon in order to validate what is being described, and to allow the researcher to see what ordinarily happens in the research location.

Procedure

This section describes the research sites, the participants selected, their profiles and the interview questions posed to each participant. It also addresses issues of reliability, validity, and generalizability, as well as the ethical considerations of the study.

Research Sites Selected

There were fourteen markets in the area of study. I chose this location because of the contact I have in the market. On my arrival in Nigeria from Canada, I was excited and anxious to proceed with my research in any of the markets located around the city. I received a call from my sister asking me which specific market I would choose for my research, and she asked whether I had considered that I was a “stranger” in Nigeria. I was amazed by her question, which made me give some thought to my identity as a “Johnny Just Come” (a nickname for people in the Diaspora visiting home). I struggled to realize that I would be considered an outsider even though I felt like an insider: after all, I was born, raised, and lived most of my life in Nigeria, specifically in the research location, so I was familiar with the place. Eventually I came to terms with my identity as an African and a Nigerian who had been in the Diaspora, and who was thus an “outsider,” despite my cultural identity as a Nigerian. After pondering over how and with whom to network, and whether or not people would be receptive, I decided to choose a location where I had a contact

person, since this would facilitate my entry. Then, I decided on the research location of this study.

The fact is I assumed that my cultural identity and connectedness to the research location would provide me with a “passport” that would permit me to enter freely into any of the markets, and develop relationships with the market women. I was prepared to negotiate and renegotiate, reconstruct and reconfigure my identity by being humble, respectful and not pose as an “expert.” But I soon realized that complexities surrounding my identity were raised, based on my transnational experience. My indigenusness did not provide me with the kind of access I had constructed in my mind. Rather, it raised in me a number of questions about the multiplicity of my experiences, how it had shaped my identity from an onlooker’s perspective and its impact on knowledge production.

Subsequently, I became conscious of my transnationality and whether or not my experience had been translated as undiversified, with emphasis on Canada rather than the multiple locations I had visited in the past. This realization prompted me to step back and question further the extent to which a researcher’s cultural identity may challenge the notion of the insider/outsider position as well as representation and knowledge production. Although the latter part of this question had been addressed by feminist researchers like Haraway (1988), who drew our attention to the politics of knowledge production in research, the issue remained as to what extent a researcher’s identity/connection to research location could be questioned by participants, based on the emergent globalizing culture. The ambiguity around the

issue of my identity and representation would be dealt with in future research. I was able to deal with the challenges of accessibility through my networking abilities.

Participants Selected

Individual interviews were conducted with fifteen market women in an urban market. All the participants had been in the market for over three years. My initial plan was to interview women between the age of 35 and 45. But the first few participants I spoke to repeatedly referred me to the older women when I introduced my study. This referral was responsible for the shift to include older women in my study. Selecting participants within the specified age range was to assert that they were within the scope of those actively involved in the subsistence economy, and were possibly performing important leadership roles in the market organization as well as in the community. Participants of this age range were recognized as adults and possibly married with a chosen religion, usually Christianity or Islam the two major religions in the country. Furthermore, women of this age range were assumed to have performed leadership roles in one way or the other in their cultural settings because the Nigerian culture emphasized respect for elders. It was assumed that participants of this age would own their own stalls, which would legitimize their presence in the market, and also have a broad knowledge of the market and its decision making processes.

To express respect for the leadership hierarchy, which constituted mostly women, and a few men, I requested a meeting with the group to obtain permission to interview them as well as other women who constituted my participants. While the

leadership hierarchy granted permission to interview other women, they declined to be interviewed, as I refused to comply with a certain request that contradicts the ethical standards guiding this study. The women who participated in the study had the option of meeting outside the market, but chose to be interviewed in front of their stalls, and even requested that they be photographed and videotaped. The following page shows the participants' profiles

Table 1.**Participant Profiles**

Participant	Age	Marital Status	Education	Years of Trading	Type of Goods Sold	Years of Public/Private Employment
Ola	36	Married	College High	4	Provisions ³	10
Afo	35	Married	School	10+	Provisions	0
Faju	35	Married	University	8	Cosmetics	6
Modu	54	Married	College	20	Underwears	7
Seyi	39	Married	Skill Cert	30	Hair Dresser	0
Muli	43	Married	Elementary	27+	Provisions	0
Tayo	50	Married	Not Stated	30+	Provisions	Not stated
Dipo	42	Married	College	25+	Provisions	4
Saina	68	Married	None	30+	Underwears Leafy	0
Ogun	68	Single Parent	None	40+	Vegetables	0
Omo	54	Married	University High	20+	Toiletries	20+
Fola	39	Married	School	10+	Underwears	0
Labo	50	Married	Elementary	10+	Provisions	0
Boji	35	Married	College High	8+	Provisions	8
Folu	45	Single Parent	School	15	Home Décor	Not stated

³ Provisions include: biscuits, chocolate, household detergents, deodorants, powdered milk, sugar etc.

All the interviews with the participants were arranged within the market place. At the onset of each interview, I obtained the informed consent, in writing of from each participant. The interviews lasted between 45 and 90 minutes for each participant.

Interview Questions

Initially, there were twelve interview questions, originally written in English, but following linguistic complexities with the translation to Yoruba, the number of questions was reduced to seven. The translation to Yoruba was to accommodate participants with language problems, or those who preferred to express themselves in the cultural language of the location even though English is the language of communication in Nigeria. Some questions focused on the participants' personal and work backgrounds and how they came to be in the market. Others explored their experience as market women and the roles they played in the market and the community. Still others asked what leadership meant to them, their experience in leadership, and the structure of the market. The seven interview questions were designed to be open-ended to encourage participants to freely discuss relevant information, and all questions were asked of each participant. The following table shows the questionnaire schedule.

Table 2: Questionnaire Schedule

Interview questions

1. Tell me about yourself.
 2. How did you come to be in the market?
 3. What is your experience as a market woman?
 4. What leadership roles do you play in the market and in the community?
 5. What does leadership mean to you?
 6. How is the market structured?
 7. What is your relationship with other women in the market and community?
-

During the interviews, I watched for non-verbal cues such as facial expressions and tones, as well as cues from the surroundings. I used a set of probes like, “please explain” and “what do you mean?” to develop conversations. In cross-cultural settings, it is important to clarify terms, meanings and syntax presented by participants to avoid the misrepresentation or misinterpretation of ideas. Active listening techniques such as reflecting and paraphrasing helped clarify terms and ambiguous statements related to the participants. I also encouraged participants to elaborate on their thoughts, experiences, and observations throughout the interviews.

To facilitate rapport with the participants and to show my genuine appreciation for their time, effort and involvement with the study, I presented to them gifts worth about Cdn. \$5 from a selection of Avon products. There were some cultural issues regarding both the value of the gifts as well as the manner in which they were to be presented. Cultural practices called for gifts to be presented to participants before the interview, but ethical guidelines for this study precluded this practice, viewing it as coerciveness. This experience revealed the dilemma that scholars often face in transnationalism (Mohanty, 2004), when cultural practices contradict academic requirements.

Some of the problems that transnational researchers face can begin at the time of formulating the research, through various processes, to ethical dilemmas in the field. My own quandary started with the Ethics Review Committee, which emphasized that gifts should be presented at the end of interviews, although some cultural practices oppose this course of action. I was able to overcome the problem by explaining to the participants that there is a difference between Western and

African cultural practices in the way gifts are presented. It was crucial for me to resolve this issue, as it might have placed my study in jeopardy. I used observation and field notes as some of the methods of collecting data.

Observation

Observation is a powerful means of gathering information which the researcher may not be able to garner any other way. Tedllock (2003) states that observation as experiential, offering the researcher an insider position on the basis of acquiring entrance or having partial socialization into the organization/setting being studied. The benefit of observation is that “it provides space for learning in terms of how to see, think, and feel and sometimes how to even behave as an insider” (ibid, p.167). Observing my participants, I gathered information about their activities from opening till closing times, how the women interacted with one another, the dynamics between them as well as with their clients, how they communicated with each other, the issues they discussed, who called them and who visited them, how they juggled their domestic roles with economic activities, the problems they encountered, their emotional states, what they bought, and when and how they took time off to eat or to attend to their friends and/or family members.

Occasionally, I withdrew to check my perceptions, records and field notes and video recordings. My field notes were indispensable data source as I recorded comments, personal reflections, physical descriptions of the settings, the decisions I made that either altered or directed my research process experience, as well as my thoughts whenever I reconstructed my dialogue (Anderson & Arsenault, 1998 and

Creswell, 1999). The video recordings served as a visual reminder of the goods the women dealt in. Personal reflection was important because it helped me focus on my study and continuously record the activities as they evolved or followed a pattern.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is a complex process in which the researcher brings order, structure and meaning to the collected data. Marshal and Rossman (1999) commented that it is a “messy, ambiguous, time-consuming, creative and fascinating process” (p. 111). My data analysis involved analyzing fifteen sets of transcripts and notes from my observation and interviews of the participants. Specifically, the audio-taped interviews and the notes were analyzed for themes and patterns of experience under a protocol analysis procedure influenced by Colaizzi (1978) and Haase (1987). This protocol is logical, systematic and analytic. I adapted this procedure as well as those of Mauthner and Doucet (1998,) to fit my own requirements because it involves:

1. Immersing in the experience and taking time for analysis and contemplation of the data in order to open up possibilities for uncovering meanings in the participants’ lives.
2. Incubating for quiet contemplation, creative thinking and awareness of nuances and meaning that surfaced in the process, and allowing the researcher to capture intuitive insights in order to achieve a better understanding of the data.
3. Illuminating for increased awareness, and expanding meaning and new clarity.

4. Developing new connections that surfaced, to prepare the researcher to communicate findings, descriptions and explications that would capture the experience of individuals in the study and
5. Creative synthesis in which the research findings and experience are wound together, written and communicated in a way that brings together the whole account of individuals and the meaning of participants' lived experiences.(p, 12)

During the data analysis process, I identified various elements of my working models, leadership and gender, and then tried to verify these by checking through my field notes and interview scripts. I included the women's voices in direct quotation from the transcripts, to ensure that their voices were heard without exploiting or distorting them (Lincoln, 1993). I was conscious of nuances and silences, and interpreted these without misrepresenting the ideas. I created categories, as Janesick (2003) emphasizes about themes, patterns that come from the data which may reflect in the literature review or group, and clustered them for effective interpretation. Here, feminist ideology strongly influenced my findings by identifying sex-gender relationships. I used the videotapes to record some of the women's activities as a reminder of what they dealt in.

Reliability

In qualitative research studies, researchers concern themselves with the reliability of their data. Yin (1994) argued that in qualitative research, the "goal of reliability was to minimize the errors and biases in a study" (p. 36). With this

statement in mind, I ensured the reliability of the study in question. First, I used the same framework for each of the fifteen interviews. Second, I transcribed all the tapes by myself to ensure familiarity and consistency. The third step of ensuring the study's reliability was to show the transcripts to my supervisor and to send a raw copy to participants to give them an opportunity to look through them and to make amendments where necessary, and to leave an "audit trail" to make explicit the procedures I had used throughout the study in my final report (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Validity

According to Maxwell (1992), two types of validity in qualitative research exist: descriptive and interpretive. Descriptive validity ensures that researchers are "not making up or distorting the things they saw or heard" (p. 285), while interpretive validity refers to the accuracy of the researcher's interpretation of what "objects, events, [and] behaviours meant to the people engaged in and with them" (p. 288). Maxwell suggests that ensuring the accuracy of information is important to avoid misinterpreting the phenomenon or to distort it by using one's own perspective or meaning to interpret it.

Qualitative researchers often worry about validity or trustworthiness of their data in different ways depending on how their approaches are framed (Denzin, 1997), and seek ways to establish credibility through strategies like audit trails (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Researchers have challenged the traditional kinds of validity, and call for different kinds of science practices that would, "probe lived

experiences, enact science, create a female imagery, break down dualism...self reflexivity, tension and difference (Richardson, 1993, p. 695). This formulation is an emancipatory stance in qualitative research. However, the two types of validity: descriptive and interpretive on validity were the priorities in this inquiry.

To ensure validity, I audio-taped the interviews and videotaped a one-day observation of the women's activities. I sent all interview scripts and notes to the study participants to further confirm their accuracy. I analyzed their transcribed interviews and how I derived meaning from what was said. Throughout this research report, I used the participants' own words as much as possible to explain or to describe their experiences, insights and observation.

Generalizability

Generalizability refers to "the extent to which one could extend the account of a particular situation or population to other persons, times, or settings than those directly studied" (Maxwell, 1992, p. 293). My account of Nigerian women's experiences and their activities within the market does not reflect the experiences of all market women, and my intent was not to generalize the findings to other market women. Rather, the findings offer a conceptual way of thinking about the experiences of market women as leaders. Further, information gleaned from this inquiry could also inform policy on national and global initiatives on women's access to resources.

Ethical Considerations

Standard ethical research practices guided this study. Prior to the commencement of this study, I sought and received permission for it from the University of Victoria Human Research Ethics Committee (see Appendix B certificate). I obtained permission from the head of the market (with the title of *Iyaloja*) before I proceeded to find my acquaintance to identify my participants. Then I gave them the letter of recruitment (see Appendix C) and the consent letter (see Appendix D), which they all signed individually. Then, we scheduled the time of interview and a one day observation of their activities in the market. The consent letter explained the purpose of the study, procedures, the right to withdraw at any time if they sensed any kind of risk, and outlined the manner in which their information would be dealt with. Participants were assured of the confidentiality of their information if they chose to participate and that pseudonyms would be used throughout the report to protect their identity. As a further guarantee of confidentiality, all transcripts, tapes, field notes and other documentation would be stored in a locked filing cabinet for five years, after which time they would be destroyed.

Summary

A qualitative approach was used in this study to explore the Nigerian market women as leaders, and how they construct their identity in an urban market in Nigeria. In the belief that a researcher should acknowledge her own assumptions, and all other influences that came to bear on her inquiry, I have described the conceptual and methodological bases of this study as well as the interview questions. The interview results are outlined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This chapter presents results of the experiences of Nigerian market women. The chapter begins with a summary of major study results, which I classified into theme clusters to include women's socio-cultural roles, relationship building, self and traditional roles, as well as skills/competencies and power. Each theme is further broken down into specific themes. The following presents an overview of the theme clusters.

Thematic Clusters and Themes

This section contains an analysis of the data by themes. The following is a table of the emerging clusters and themes from interview data.

Table 3

Emerging Clusters and Themes from Interview Data

Theme Cluster: 1 Socio-Cultural Roles

Motherhood

Economic Clout and Autonomy

Flexible Working Hours

Apprenticeship

Inheritance

Theme Cluster 2: Relationship Building

Relationship with Other Women

Relationship in Market Organization Meeting

Relationship with Customers

Negative Stereotypes

Positive Image

Helping Others to Succeed

Table 4

Emerging Clusters and Themes from Interview Data Cont.

Theme Cluster 3: Self-Induced and Traditional Role

Self-Induced Roles	Traditional Role
Women's Definition of Leadership	Iyaloja (leaders of the market)
As: Counsellors	
Conflict Managers	
Resource Managers	
Advocates/Activists	
Representative	

Table 5

Emerging Clusters and Themes from Interview Data Cont.

Theme Cluster 4: Skill Sets/Competencies/Power

Power in Market Place Economies

Communicative/Verbal Prowess

Traditional Praise-Singing Power

Sales Power

Adaptive

Power in Diversity

Organizing/Advocacy/Activism

Theme Cluster 1: Socio-Cultural Roles

The following section presents the findings from the participants' experiences of gender roles. The concept of gender resonated in women's experience during the colonial era, and has since been central to their experiences (see page 30 for details). The section begins with how gender shapes their roles and experience of leadership.

Motherhood

The majority of the market women reported that they were married with two or more children, and had been in the market from four to over thirty years. Some of the women stated the number of children they have, others did not state whether or not they had children. But I observed that children clung to the women, moving from one woman to the other at their behest. I saw how women strapped babies on their backs and simultaneously, attended to customers. When I inquired about the identity of the baby that was strapped behind one participant, Mrs. Ola, she said the baby belonged to one of her colleagues who was having a manicure. I was thrilled by the way she rocked the baby, sang Yoruba songs, removed the baby from her back, and walked to an adjoining store to pick her feeding bottle. She fed her and then settled down to chat with me. Another participant also had a baby sleeping in her cradle, placed in the inner part of her stall. This participant stated that the baby was her grandchild, and that she had taken care of five of her grandchildren in a similar manner.

When I asked participants why they chose the market place trading, the majority of them said they were pressured by their spouses to give up their jobs in formal organizations, and to become housewives, because of day care problems they were experiencing. One participant indicated that she took up market place trading because it enabled her to fulfill her household obligations and to have her children with her in the market until they reached school going age. The market also provided a source of income for her. This participant, Mrs. Ola, is a 36 year old woman with four children, and is married to a business tycoon. She enjoys the flexible working hours it offers: as she succinctly described, "I enjoy being in the market place because it provides me with time to take care of my children." I observed how Mrs. Faju connected with the customers with ease and finesse. She was soft spoken, and carefully chose her words during the interview. In a similar vein, Mrs. Modu, a 54-year-old Christian, has six children, is married to a retired bank manager, and has been in the market for over 20 years. She recounted her own experience:

When my husband advised me to resign my appointment in the public sector, I was not happy to be a housewife....but he was concerned about the children because we dropped [them] off at the daycare every morning till evening. On one occasion, one of my children fell into a gutter and was admitted to hospital. My husband was not happy about this incident, so he suggested that I stop working in the public sector.

Another participant, Mrs. Seyi, was nicknamed “*omo oja*” meaning the child of the market place denoting that she was being cared for by her mother and other women in the market. Mrs. Seyi’s succinct words described how she came to be known as *omo oja*. “My mother went into labour in this market and was rushed to the hospital where she had me after a few minutes. So I am proud to be called “*omo oja*.” Having been in the market for about thirty-eight years, she commented: “I know the history of this market and all the activities that go on.”

Flexible Working Hours.

All the women affirmed that market place trading provided flexibility in working hours, which enabled them to combine their household chores with trading activities. How they achieved this was evident in my observation of the presence of many babies, elementary and high school pupils in the market, as well as innumerable cell phones, which I observed the women used to direct and manage their household activities from the market.

My observation revealed this phenomenon on the day I observed Mrs. Dipo’s activities. She was one of those who reiterated how she did not “have to leave home early in the morning to work for any organization,” or “to feel pressured to come to the market. She did not turn up in the market place until about 10 o’clock in the morning of our interview. While I was waiting for her, I saw a younger girl in her stall who introduced herself to me as Mrs. Dipo’s cousin. She carried out the early morning tasks of sweeping, dusting and arranging the stock of goods on the shelves in both Mrs. Dipo and her sister’s stalls. When I inquired about Mrs. Dipo, she

informed me that her usual arrival time at the market place was after 10. A.M since her daily activities includes getting her children ready for school before coming to the market. She brings her little daughter to the market who I found running around the market. All the other women participated in ensuring her safety and well-being. I was concerned when at a point the child strayed away from the vicinity. When I called her attention to it, she stated that the child can only go that far, and that other women at the entrance of the market would send her back.

My observation of Mrs. Dipo allowed me to see how she attended to her customers and wholesalers with confidence. In her encounter with a wholesaler, she expressed dissatisfaction about the inflationary rate and its impact on prices of some of the commodities. She threatened to return the goods to the wholesaler if the trend continued, and possibly discontinue her interaction with the company if they failed to reduce their prices. Interestingly, the salesman agreed to pass on the message to management. Mrs. Dipo had a visit from her spouse and I heard them discussing household matters. She introduced her husband to me. We exchanged greetings, and shortly after his departure, Mrs. Dipo's mother visited her, and was also introduced to me as the original owner of the stalls that both she and her sister occupy."

Apprenticeship

Essentially, all the women had taken to trading as a result of the socializing influence of their mothers. They reported that their mothers were market women under whom they served their apprenticeship, and developed interests in market

place trading. All but two participants stated that their mothers were a powerful influence on their choice of market place trading, because cultural practices obligated the women to pass on the business to female children, who were under their apprenticeship from early childhood to adolescence and adulthood. Mrs. Dipo affirmed this phenomenon in her statement, "I was involved in trading activities in the market even when I was working in my accounting profession."

Mrs. Saina and Mrs. Ogun share similar experiences of female inheritance as they both grew up in polygamous homes. Mrs. Saina stated: "Father had many wives but he gave more attention to male children," while "we were encouraged to assist our mothers in trading." In spite of this, she believed that female children tended "to be more successful than male children," and that there was nothing a "male can do that females cannot do." Another participant, Mrs. Seyi was born in the market, inherited her mother's stall after she passed away, and has been there for over 38 years.

Mrs. Boji, a 35 year old woman has a College degree in Business Administration; inherited one of her mother's shops located next hers. Her mother is actively involved in market place trading, assists her in trading activities; critiques how she attends to some of the customers, and teaches her some of the skills she would require to succeed in the market place. What was fascinating about her appearance was her style of dressing. She wore a short stylish jeans skirt with a popular designer's inscription in the front of the blouse, and her stylish cell phone enabled her to respond to her customers' bookings for the supply of candies and chocolates for children's party. She spoke fluently in both Yoruba and English. I

found that a younger girl who was introduced to me as her sister assisted her at intervals particularly when she stepped aside to answer phone calls. At the end of some of the trading interactions, their mother would critique their mode of engagement with a customer, and model the right way. The younger sister girl would imitate the mother, and they would all joke about it. What was interesting about the dynamics between the family members was the way their mother monitored most of their trading activities. I saw how Mrs. Boji exhibited confidence in how she dealt with her customers and how she restocked from another woman who was selling a similar commodity. Whenever sales activity was not taking place, Mrs. Boji would chat away with another friend.

In the case of Mrs. Folu, her daughter who had just finished high school and was preparing to go to college was her apprentice. Mrs. Folu's daughter helped in carrying and fetching during trading activities. She also attended to customers, and mimicked her mother's oratory praise-singing styles to attract customers to their stall.

I observed that Mrs. Modu has two apprentices who alternated their working days. Even though they were on her pay roll, simultaneously they were also learning the trade. They carried out the opening tasks, such as sweeping, arranging the fabrics in a specific manner that would attract customers at a glance. Mrs. Modu's apprentices started work at 8.0'clock in the morning, swept the surroundings, dusted the shelves and then arranged the fabrics in a specific manner that she had taught them. When Mrs. Modu arrived, she inspected the arrangement and made changes where necessary. The apprentices involved in trading activities, such as using oratory

skills, and negotiating the prices of goods with customers. Their responsibilities included fetching and carrying items for Mrs. Modu particularly during sales activities and at the completion of a negotiation, the apprentice would carefully wrap the items sold to a customer. I observed how Mrs. Modu supported her apprentices in ensuring that they got the best out of a customer in monetary terms. She interjected whenever this was required, and commended them for a job well done. It was interesting how she interacted with the girls with cordiality and love, yet was quick to critique their behaviours.

Inheritance

Several of the participants inherited their mother's shops after they had passed away or retired. Some of the participants had engaged in other careers before they decided to take to market place trading. For example, Mrs. Dipo left her accounting job for market place trading. In spite of Mrs. Omo's educational attainment and wealth of experience in the banking industry, she opted for market place trading after her retirement, was willing to re-learn the trade and to gain further "insights and knowledge" of the current trends from her mother and the older women in the market. All those who shared similar experiences of apprenticeship and who had other careers, expressed great passion for trading. Pointing to the spot where she used to sit, Mrs Omo smiled, and added, "I am now the new owner." She also pointed to the two adjoining shops, as her sisters' inheritance from their mother who was now retired.

The day I observed Mrs. Omo was a Saturday, on my birthday. I informed her of it, and she gave me a hug, and sang a happy birthday song for me. I saw a little girl of about 7 years old assisting her in fetching and carrying little items like empty boxes, non-toxic detergents and a few other things. Mrs. Omo introduced the girl to me as the daughter of one of the women down the aisle who came everyday after school to help out with the fetching and carrying of goods. The presence of the little girl motivated me to also participate in these activities.

At about noon, Mrs. Omo treated me to some food. It consisted of a bowl of cornmeal and vegetable stew, with assorted meat. I ate, was satisfied, and continued with my observation of her activities. I saw how she attended to her customers, joked with everyone around her, and introduced them to me by their nicknames. She introduced me to a customer who was her client when she was a bank manager. I found that Mrs. Omo was well respected among the women in the surrounding stalls. She was articulate, fluent in English and Yoruba, but spoke the *Pidgin English* more often to her customers. She made quite some money from her toiletries and restocked from her sister's stock when she ran out of a particular bathroom cleaning agent.

Economic Clout/Autonomy

Mrs. Ola, a 36 year old woman who was full of energy, opened her stall at 11 AM on the day of I observed her activities. She was funny, playful, humorous, hospitable and generous. She chatted with all the women around her, and gave out money to the needy. She bought different food items for her household because she

would not like to run out of food at any time. My interaction with Mrs. Ola was interesting even though she was noisy. She raised her voice during a trading interaction with a wholesaler who was trying to persuade her to restock a particular goods that were not in a high demand. She threatened to return the other stock of goods in her possession if the prices remained high. I saw how she paid different wholesalers from the bundle of Naira notes stacked in her bag. I also saw how she negotiated with a potential high end customer. Her sweet oratory skill was at play during the bargaining process with the high-end customer, which only lasted a few minutes. She charged her twice the amount for the same goods as she charged a low end customer. She said such skills are important to succeed in trade.

As my observation progressed into the early afternoon, I felt a peppery-like sensation in my eyes, and later learned that it was tear gas that the police used to disperse hoodlums around the market. I was concerned about the health implications and for my safety until I was assured that the market was safe. At the close of the day, Mrs. Ola presented me with some cleaning agents. I had earlier on inquired about their effectiveness. Her kind gesture was quite pleasing.

Mrs. Folu has a high school diploma, started her business with ₦5000 (Cdn\$50), and was “a happy business woman” who was making enough money to care for herself and her children, enough to send them to school. Her daughter, an apprentice, was also happy to make money for her mother. Similarly, during my observation with Mrs. Boji, I saw that customers thronged around her stall, buying different commodities, such as imported chocolates, candies, etc, which she termed *party treats*, and how she skilfully counted and folded away the Naira notes in her

bag after every transaction. On one occasion, she was in the process of tucking away her earnings when another woman jokingly asked her to direct her customers to her own stall so that she could make enough money too. They both joked about this.

Theme Cluster 2: Relationship Building

This section presents the findings on how the women related to other people within the market. All the women acknowledged the significance of building good relationships with one another, as well as with their customers, as the nature of their business required them to do so. They outlined the skills they used to survive under the economic hardship of the Structural Adjustment Program. For example, the women reported that the market was self-regulatory and under the headship of the Iyaloja, and through relationship-building they were able to access various services that enhanced their physical and emotional survival.

Relationship with Other Women

Most of the women claimed that they maintained good relationship with one another regardless of the competitive nature of the market environment, and a considerable number of participants attested to this. For example, Mrs. Omo stated that she has had a “close relationship with the other market women,” and noted in her statement that, “we are close and engage in friendly conversations.” Mrs. Ola commented: “I relate well with the other women ...my goal is to maintain peace in the market.” Mrs. Modu’s strategy was to use “the end of year Christmas party” to

establish, re-establish and maintain good relationships with the youth in her section of the market. Mrs. Folu stressed that having a good relationship with others in the market enhanced her “social and economic progress.”

The importance of maintaining a good relationship with the other women in the market was also articulated by Mrs. Ola, who noted that “women came into the market with a baggage of problems,” and that the market provides a place where they can express themselves by “laughing away their sorrows,” until they “return[ed]home to deal with the issues.” The significance of good relationships was also evident in the support the women gave each other during social events like, “baby showers, weddings, house warming ceremonies, etc.” All the participants had attended one or more social events concerning a co-market woman during the month of the interview. I saw how many of the women expressed excitement about the physical, emotional and financial support they received from or provided to each other. Naturally, the support depended on how deeply committed they were to each other.

Although the majority of the women described how they maintained good relationships with others, a few held contrary views about relationship building. For instance, Mrs. Dipo stated that such relationships may just be “lip-service,” while Mrs. Tayo, sharing a similar view, also explained her own personality as generally not friendly. She believed that she “[was] not a very friendly person,” rather she “[did] her own thing and help[ed] other women in need.” She emphasized that, “making friends [was] a very difficult thing for her to do given that some individuals may be friendly but also envious of you.”

Relationship in Market Organizational Meeting

I observed that the market organization's monthly meeting was held on the Thursday of the month, which was also the environmental sanitation day for market women. Individuals were required to carry out a thorough cleaning of their stalls and surroundings. Every member of the market organization was expected to participate in the cleaning exercise. As such, the market would remain closed to the public until 10. A. M. I arrived at the market at 7. 15 A.M that morning, and found that Mrs. Seyi, who informed me about the meeting was frantically waiting for me in one of the aisles closer to the entrance of the market. I was surprised that all the stalls were deserted. She took my hand and led me to another location, a car park behind the market.

As we approached the car park, there was a stench arising from the site. I reached for my handkerchief, and covered my nose. There I saw a group of women and a few men who Mrs. Seyi identified as the leaders of the market. They sat in the middle and as individuals and groups arrived they made a circle around them. They remained standing because there were no seating arrangements made. A few others leaned on the stairs leading to the upper floor. I noticed that women outnumbered men who were mostly from the eastern region of Nigeria judging by their accents, appearance and in some cases clothing.

The secretary of the market association facilitated the meeting. The meeting opened with a special traditional welcome by the Iyaloja who spoke in Yoruba. She seemed to know everybody, as individuals were addressed by their children's names like *Mama Ronke* or *Mama Jide*, etc. meaning *Ronke's mother* or *Jide's mother*. The

Iyaloja informed the people about the problem they were experiencing with the power supply as well as the filth and stench in the parking lot. Surprisingly, even though a considerable number of people used their handkerchiefs to cover their noses, the meeting continued. Mrs. Seyi noticed that I was uncomfortable with the stench, as such she led me to another location on the upper level away from the stench. This also allowed me to have a closer view of the activities. I was surprised to see hundreds of people.

As the meeting progressed, individuals who indicated a need to speak did so by a show of hands, and were allowed to speak. As they started talking, the crowd carefully paved a way for the individual, and ushered them closer to the center where everyone could see and hear them. The people who spoke expressed disgust about the negligence of the local government who have failed to live up to their responsibilities, such as clearing the gutters, and providing the basic amenities needed for survival within the market. I observed that many of the contributors were angry from the tone of voices and their expressions. The meeting was intense, discussions moved back and forth between the leaders and the crowd.

The only male in the leadership hierarchy was calm and took notes of individual contributions. Only one male in the crowd made a contribution. Others seemed to just support and to let the women take decisions. After all members had spoken, their contributions were read out by the secretary, and a consensus was reached to form delegations to take their grievances to the various quarters. Within a few minutes, individuals like Mrs. Seyi stepped forward as volunteers, and two delegations were formed, one to the Nigerian Electric Power Authority (NEPA) on

the issue of power, and another one to the local government about the filth in the market place. The meeting lasted for about an hour to allow enough time for cleaning and arranging stocks and shelves. The delegations met briefly at the end of the meeting where the Iyaloja addressed them and then they departed. As they departed, they handed their shops to other women to man for them until their return. Thereafter, there was an exchange of greetings, and chatting among the crowd for about fifteen minutes.

I saw that power did not reside in the centre but dispersed among the group. Everyone who indicated they had something to say was given the opportunity to do speak, and their contributions focused on the well-being of individuals and the group. The process was inclusive, and the diversity in the market was phenomenal. I saw people from different backgrounds: education, religion, ethnicity, etc. There was a particular sequence in how individuals' greeted each other. They inquired about their health and the well-being of their children, then the husbands, and kin. Those that were a distance away from their colleagues shouted their greetings across the space, and followed with a similar pattern of greeting. At the end of their interaction, they wished each other good luck for the day in Yoruba saying *Aje a wa o*, meaning more money would come into your hands today. Individuals continued talking and laughing until they branched into their stalls to commence cleaning. They talked and chatted as they arranged their stalls. Shortly before closing, I ran into Mrs. Seyi who had just returned from their assignment to the NEPA office to deal with the issue of power supply. She informed me that the issue was dealt with and power would be restored within two days.

Relationship with Customers

The women described how their customers exhibited varied behaviours towards them. While some projected a positive image, other exhibited stereotypes and the women reacted accordingly. Although some of the women said that their customers have expressed some positive comments about market women, others have had some negative experiences. Either way, women reacted to these comments differently.

Negative Stereotypes

Mrs. Faju said that, “a lot of their customers sometimes talked rudely or aggressively” to them while Mrs. Afo observed that some of them believed that they could treat you anyhow because they were superior to you. Mrs. Dipo, felt that her customers “respected her” because of her higher level of education. Mrs. Afo was quick to identify some of the stereotypes, which included the following terms: “illiterates, backward, dirty, good for nothing, etc.” During my observation of Mrs. Tayo, I found that some of the customers showed disregard for the women through their behaviours. For example, while one of the market women was luring a customer to her stall, the individual looked at her with scorn and disgust, and shoved her aside mumbling a few words of abuse.

I was observing Mrs. Dipo when a customer returned one of the commodities she had bought the previous day. The customer requested a different brand. Unfortunately, Mrs. Dipo did not have that brand, and explained that the brand had been discontinued. The customer did not believe her, but rather insisted on returning

the goods despite the fact that the label had been tampered with. Mrs. Dipo accepted the goods, but advised that such a practice was unacceptable. After the customer had departed, Mrs. Dipo mumbled some words showing disgust and disappointment towards the customer. I found that she was reluctant to part with money on that day because trading was slow on Tuesdays.

All the participants expressed concerns about how their customers projected negative images onto them during trading interaction and often changed only, “when they [came] closer” to them. The stereotypes made some of the women feel ashamed for taking up market place trading at the initial stages of their trading careers. Mrs. Afo recounted, in her own words: “When I first came into the market and they see me, I felt ashamed.” Mrs. Omo and Mrs. Faju stated that the educational backgrounds of a considerable number of the women in the market did not matter to the public. In fact, the public’s perception has created dilemmas for them because their family members and friends also believe some of the stereotypes. One of such stereotypes was identifying the Christians with traditional rituals used by the elders to appease the gods such as “*Aje*” the god of money. These rituals contradict the Christian religion. Due to these stereotypes, Mrs. Dipo’s uncle believed that she was not likely to “find a good husband as a market woman” rather she should get “married first and then return to the market.”

In Mrs. Modu’s account of her own experience with her kin, she stated that her “friends were disgusted” about her becoming a market place trader, and believed that her husband had an ulterior motive for encouraging her to become a market trader. They were also suspicious that he “might decide to marry another woman

with a more respectable career,” because he held a reputable position in the banking industry. Mrs. Modu reiterated that, “market women face a lot of humiliations because the public does not accord them the respect they deserve.”

Despite the fact that they were often verbally abused, the women broke down barriers and established good relations with their customers. All the participants stated that they treated their customers “with respect.” They addressed their customers in a variety of ways using indigenous nicknames to facilitate their access to individuals. These nicknames included *alakowe*, meaning a scholar, *anti* for middle aged women, *sisi mi* for younger girls, *oko mi* for younger guys (meaning my husband), and *baba oko mi* for older men which (meaning father in law), which also denotes that a woman is not only married to her spouse but to the whole community. I also observed that the women accorded everyone respect irrespective of age, level of education, status, or other social status indicators.

Positive Images

According to the participants, and my observation, a considerable number of women in the market have at least a high school education. In spite of the level of education, they were well respected until a customer exhibited unacceptable behaviours. Some of their customers commended them for their enthusiasm and zeal. For example, one of Mrs. Afo’s customers complemented her dressing. Another one said that market women count Naira notes like rice, and they were better able to survive the impact of the Structural Adjustment Program. Others respect their intellect in small or medium scale entrepreneurship while a few others approached

the women for advice on how to start a business. There were differences in how individual customers addressed the women based on their relationship with the other particularly in terms of age. I noticed that older women were addressed as *mama*.

Helping Others to Succeed

The participants in this study shared the idea of stepping into different roles to help each other. Mrs. Saina so clearly articulated that “leaders must first serve others.” She drew her own idea of leading from illustrations of the servant leadership. All the women reported that the nature of their business required support, networking and dependency because these were essential for an individual’s success in the market. They stated that everyone was expected to learn the culture of the marketplace and to also exhibit the cultural practices that were characteristic of the space. For example, I observed that individuals were willing to act/sell on behalf of another and not just for self. They helped each other based on the relationship with those individuals, so good relationship was not only the basis of friendship, but also necessary for their own success.

I saw how women in the adjoining shops kept an eye on their colleague’s stall and even attended to her customers. For example, Mrs. Muli moved back and forth between her stall and her colleague’s to attend to a customer who demanded a particular brand of a cleaning agent. Mrs. Muli negotiated the price of the goods on behalf of her colleague, sold higher to the customer based on her assessment of her income level. After the customer had paid, Mrs Muli tucked the Naira notes under her colleague’s shelf. When the woman returned, she knew where to find the money.

As expected, she picked it up and thanked Mrs. Muli. This process helped me to clearly understand what Mrs. Omo reiterated many times when she stated that: “I am free to leave my shop at any time, and any of the women around me would help sell my commodities.”

My observation revealed that the negotiating time was shorter for men, but if it was prolonged, he would be ridiculed and asked to go home and stop making a fool of himself. If he became nasty, they called him a stingy man, and they would all laugh and joke about it. I also observed the skilful manner the women used in arranging their goods so it appeared they had a large stock when they really had only a few of those items on display. To attract those interested in wholesale purchasing, the women would display a few items on the shelves, with cartons -- that were actually empty -- of the same or similar product stacked below or nearby. Whenever a customer demanded larger quantities, the women would obtain more stock from the adjoining store, or in some cases, would reach out for more from their colleagues, after which the profit was shared. They said that the use of empty stacks of cartons facilitated their work during closing, when these items were returned into the boxes for storage until the following day. The women often used non-verbal cues that only the insiders understood.

Theme 3: Self-Induced and Traditional Roles

This section presents a range of leadership roles that women played in the market place. Some of them stepped into such roles as counsellors, conflict

managers, resource managers, advocates and political activists. The roles were based on individuals' relationship with and commitment to their peers and colleagues.

Market Women' Definition of Leadership

When I posed the question about what leadership meant to participants, initially, they expressed it as leading a group or being elected into an office. After dialoguing about power and how they achieved their goals individually or collectively, they became more comfortable with the topic and confident to describe themselves as leaders. What was significant – and yet surprising about their definition of leadership was how they all oriented toward positions, moral attributes, values that they believe a leader should possess to be effective, as well as integrity, and relationship with colleagues and community members. Here are the terms the women used to describe a leader: “understanding,” “truthful,” “trustworthy,” “tolerant,” “patient,” “accountable,” “keeps confidentiality,” “intelligent,” “diplomatic,” “open-minded,” “supportive,” “friendly,” “tactful,” “encouraging,” “community oriented,” diplomatic,” “helps others to succeed,” “maintain good relationship with others,” “even-tempered and talk less.”

Some of the participants discussed how they would not want to be in certain positions of leadership. For example, the majority of the younger generation insisted that they were not interested in holding leadership positions in the market because of their age, inexperience or for other personal reasons. When Mrs. Afo was faced with the question of the leadership roles and positions she held in the market, she replied: “I don't play any leadership roles in the market. I hide my head. I am a young girl.”

As the interviewing progressed, she explained how scared she was of the “demonic rituals” older women in the market engaged in.

Women as Counselors

All the women stated that they had counselled their peers in the market at one time or another. Mrs. Ola remarked: “I ensure that women are happy” by inquiring about “their well being whenever I detect any traits of unhappiness in their behaviours. If the problem is about the inadequacy of stock, I would offer some of my own, so that the person can make money to take care of their responsibilities at home.” She stated that “most families await the mother’s arrival from the market for their daily food,” and stressed that “if you give, you receive more.”

Mrs. Tayo stated that counselling is paramount for women based on her experience of how she ignored her own health problems for a long time until she broke down, and then later recovered. She vouched to speak on how market women ran the risk of “ill-health” as indicated in her words:

Many of us are dealing with high blood pressure, yet we are not taking health issues seriously. I remember the day I was bleeding from the nose because of high blood pressure. In spite of this, I was bent on continuing to sell till evening ...I narrowly escaped having a stroke.

Women as Conflict Managers

A few of the participants had participated in conflict management. For example, Mrs. Fola is a younger generation market woman interested in conflict

management. Her trading is locally and internationally based, and she frequently traveled outside the country. She is both a wholesaler and a retailer. Mrs. Fola expressed how both the older and younger women in her section have great respect for her sincerity, and views on social, economic and political matters. Here is how she described her relationship with the women: "The older women respect my views and my role in conflict management...In addition, I respect the younger women in my section and I am able to speak for and on their behalf on any issue at any time."

During my observation of Mrs. Omo, I was amazed when she suddenly held my hand and led me to a nearby shop owned by an older woman, to engage in conflict management between an older and younger woman. The older woman was sitting on a chair; she looked calm but seemed angry about something. When I turned around, there were about ten other women including the younger woman standing beside another elderly woman. Mrs. Omo, who was the spokesperson for this group of women, announced that our mission was to appeal to the older woman who she addressed as *mami*. Mrs. Omo asked us all to kneel down before the older woman on behalf of the younger one. We all complied, knelt and chorused *E jo ma* meaning *please ma*. *Mami* looked at all of us, sighed and responded, *Mo ti gbo* meaning I have heard. She hardly spoke further.

The younger woman later departed to her stall, and returned a few minutes later to thank Mrs. Omo. It was amazing that none of the women was willing to talk about the conflict. When I inquired further about it, *e ma worry*, meaning *don't worry, let go of it* was the response. I sensed that the conflicting parties had some connections outside of the market place. This incident reminded me of how tradition

privileges older people over younger ones in conflict situations. It is the norm to make the younger one apologise to an older one because age is such an influential factor in this cultural setting.

Women as Resource Managers

Several participants organized purchases on behalf of group members or friends by recommending or introducing other women to dealers, wholesalers or other business enterprises who allowed them to purchase on credit. The women generally agree that they “are sympathetic to other women’s economic situations, particularly when sales are low.” They had used a wide range of networks like family and friends, to gain access to goods, and ensured that these networks worked effectively for everyone rather than competing for goods. Mrs. Afo reported that she specialized in how “to improve access to goods for her friends.” They also affirmed that sharing their stock of goods was crucial, and they were willing to do the same for others because it provided self-empowerment and a collective one necessary for group survival. These practices are not characteristic of formal business enterprises.

Women as Representatives

Some of the women claimed that they had a great passion for representing the market anywhere, and were willing to step into such roles whenever the need arose. Others said they did so only when nominated by the women or their leaders. In my observation of market activities, I found that some of the women exhibited confidence, and were articulate and would willingly step up when called upon. For

example, during Mrs. Labo's interview, she stated: "I represent the market at the Local Council to speak on issues concerning the market women, and the market." One of the issues she had advocated for was the provision of adequate parking facilities for their customers. She noted that the Marketing Board and the Local Council who are responsible for ensuring that such facilities are in place pay little attention to it. Instead, they primarily focus on using any available space for shops so they can collect taxes and levies rather than attending to the smooth running of the market. As one woman commented, "the activities of these officials have not been favourable to us."

Theme 4: Skills/Competencies and Power

This section describes the skills/competencies and power that the women displayed, as well as the significance to their entrepreneurship. All the women claimed that their success was dependent on their leadership and the strategies they gained through apprenticeship, experience, as well as their natural abilities.

Communicative/Verbal Prowess

All the women expressed the need to have good communication skills, as these must be exhibited during trading transactions for an individual to succeed. They stressed that without such skills, individuals may never succeed in the trading business. Mrs. Faju added: "if you don't communicate well with your customers, they will abandon you." How the women cultivated new communicative approaches

to reach a broad spectrum of people was also articulated. The women said that they chose to speak *pidgin* or *broken English* instead of the Standard English as a medium of communication, and everyone, regardless of their level of education or status, had adopted its use within the market. Mrs. Tayo remarked: “the modern day market is made up of people of different ethnic backgrounds and so we speak English.” The women also talked about the significance of developing or learning a whole range of verbal competencies, which they believe are culturally specific to their trading transactions. These included persuasive skills, traditional praise-singing oratory bargaining and negotiating skills which are required and which made trading transactions effective.

Traditional Praise-Singing Oratory Bargaining Techniques

All the women displayed varied oratory skills, including praise singing bargaining techniques to promote their goods, attract their customers and to create a closer bond with them. Oratory praise-singing bargaining engenders humour, makes some customers laugh or feel comfortable. When I heard an oratory praise-song that was directed at me, I realized that my position in the market doubled as a researcher and a potential customer. I was fascinated by an onion seller who advertised her onions in an oratory manner, that I was motivated to purchase some of it:

Fine mama; come follow me buy this onion

Mama from Canada, Sweet mama

They'll provide nutrition to your body

Your body will be cool as the morning star

Your husband would love you more after eating these onions

Even if you don't buy today, come find me tomorrow

God Bless you beautiful mama from Canada.

Another example was demonstrated by a diaper seller who said:

Fine mummy, come and buy diapers

It's a good diaper for your child

He or she would enjoy wearing it

She'll wear it and pray for you

You will enjoy the fruits of your labour

No evil shall befall your beautiful or handsome child

Fine mummy, come and buy from me

I sell the best diaper in the world.

All the women confirmed that their success is based on their selling techniques, which is culturally specific and depicts gender specificity in sales spiels. They referred to oratory praise singing as an indigenous virtue needed in negotiating during bargaining to attract the public to purchase a particular commodity, and to draw out the best from their customers. The negotiating process lasts for a while since both the seller and the buyer engage in serious bargaining about the price of a given commodity until one party succumbs to the other.

Adaptive Power

All the women stated that economic restructuring in Nigeria was impeding their entrepreneurship. In particular, the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) was hindering their economic activities, citing as an example the ban on the import of certain commodities which some of the women had dealt in or were dealing in to earn a living. Mrs. Afo, for example deals in provisions like imported chocolates and candies that she referred to as children's party treats. I saw that Mrs. Boji was also selling similar commodities. Both women linked up at different times. Specifically, during business transactions, Mrs. Boji used Mrs. Afo's stock whenever it was running out. Sharing of the profit would be negotiated at the end of the transaction.

While they were negotiating the price on one occasion, I overheard Mrs. Afo expressing how she needed to raise her prices to accommodate the inflation rate. She stated that there was a shortage of imported chocolates and candies because the government had banned the importation of these goods, and was sourcing the goods through her friend and kin who frequently traveled overseas. I also observed that the market was flooded with other imported goods and commodities which were fast replacing agricultural products, and that more women were selling these commodities because they were in higher demand. Many of the women commented on finding other means of sourcing goods, and in some cases, had shifted to selling other goods based on availability. They all complained that the impact of the new global economy was negatively impacting on their entrepreneurship and their ability to survive. As such, they ensure that their group members have equal access to goods by sharing, "rather than competing for them."

Further, the women reported that they were quick to respond to any economic opportunities that came their way, unlike the long, detail administrative practices found in many formal organizational settings. They also claimed to know the market system so well to accommodate complexities associated with foreign exchange, inflation, and policies of importation. One way of doing so was to rely on rumours about government regulations. They believe that the medium was useful in obtaining information about impending government legislation on economic matters.

Power in Diversity

I found that the market environment is diversified by the number of people of different ethnicity, language, race, class, religion and gender participating as buyers and sellers in the market. Caucasian women, East Indians, people from other African countries, and individuals from different religious backgrounds participated in trading. I also noticed how women interacted with these individuals or groups on a daily basis. For example, judging from their appearance, language, and the ethnicity of the people, I found that the majority of the men in the market come from the eastern and southern regions of the country. They dominate the electronics and fabric trade and occupied the stalls on the upper floor while more of the Yoruba speaking individuals concentrated on the lower level. Although this arrangement indicated social differentiation, the women stated that they have maintained cordial relationships with everyone and this showed in how they interacted, bonded, and connected with everyone in a friendly way, and how the decision making processes was inclusive of all.

I saw that drumming and singing was a daily occurrence around noon in the market. On further inquiries about its significance, I was told that market men and women who are Christians organized themselves into fellowship groups to sing praises to God. This was done to ward off evil within the market, and to liven up the market environment. The fact is that everyone seemed to derive fun from the rhythm and lyrics of the songs, others danced to the rhythms while attending to their customers. On another occasion, I saw a group of young Muslim youths, singing across the market. It was interesting to see how people of both faiths accommodated each other in the market place as Christians and Muslims in the northern part of Nigeria have been in conflict for decades.

The market seems to be a social site that bridges class, ethnic, language and religious divides through how well connected the people are with each other. Decision-making was inclusive of all members regardless of their ethnic or religious backgrounds as earlier articulated. I also saw how the women adapt their oratory skills to different customers in trading transactions and communicate well with people of different backgrounds. Their communicative abilities provide individuals with self and collective empowerment to succeed in business.

Organizing/Activism/Advocacy Power

According to the remarks of participants, activism had been a major part of their experience. They explained how they often organized against the local government around issues affecting their survival, such as power supply and other social justice issues. I learned about their organising and how they marched to the

Nigerian Television Authority to make their demands public including how quickly they formed delegations to the Local Government and the NEPA office. I found that the challenges they faced appeared to be a basis for their passion in advocacy and activism.

Summary

The chapter described the major study findings, classified into theme clusters, and each was further broken down into specific themes. These themes included, socio-cultural roles, relationship-building, self-induced and traditional roles and skill/competencies and power. The next chapter will present discussions of the findings.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS

In this chapter I discuss study findings, beginning with a summary of the major findings reported in Chapter Four. The summary is organized according to participants' responses about their experience of leadership introduced in the findings. The findings are discussed in the context of pertinent literature. The second part of the chapter outlines the recommendations, and finally concludes directions for future research.

Summary and Discussions of Findings

The purpose of this research was to investigate Nigerian market women as leaders. Using a case study method, I gathered information from participants in semi-structured interviews, observation, field notes and video recordings. I adapted a procedure from the works of Colaizzi (1978) and Haase (1987) to analyze the perceptions, roles, and meanings of Nigerian market women's experience of leadership. I summarized the data into theme clusters to identify overarching themes.

Women's Leadership in Socio-Cultural Context

I have found that the experiences of market women in this study are linked to their socio-cultural roles, influenced by *gender*, which in turn has an implication on their leadership styles. Their gender specific roles as women, wives, mothers and sisters, shape their relationship to trading, and family in how they prepared their

children for inheritance through apprenticeship. The women ensured that the children have and are acquiring tremendous cultural and “modern” knowledge of trading through apprenticeship, and in the process, knowledge is passed on to individuals by their mothers. We can see that these processes engender intergenerational learning in which knowledge is produced and transmitted to help individuals deal with the current economic situation.

This study shows that inheritance is the norm within the market space. For example, Mrs. Omo, and her two sisters inherited their mother’s stalls, Mrs. Dipo and Mrs. Afo are sisters who also inherited their mother’s stalls. Further, Mrs. Boji inherited one of her mother’s stalls while her sister who is in apprenticeship is preparing to inherit one of the stalls. The presence of mothers, daughters, sisters and other relatives in the market attests to Robertson (1995) assertion that mothers, sisters and daughters are likely to be in business together in readiness for inheriting their mother’s or relative’s businesses. Inheritances of market stalls provides women them with opportunities to participate in the trade economy and to be at the center of economic analysis. In light of this, they occupy the center of economic analysis, thus confirming House-Midamba and Ekechi’s (1995) assertion that market women are the “centre, rather than the periphery of economic analysis” (p. xiii) in their nation power.

Because women dominate the market space by their numbers, and hold its leadership, they derive wealth from trading or inheritance, which helps to raise them from poverty. Through individual and collective engagement with colleagues and kin, they are able to bond more strongly, and in a participatory manner contribute to

community development, urbanization and commerce. These processes enable learning to be achieved.

Empowerment is important because it is increasingly being used to provide an understanding of how the situation of market women can be changed through their activities. Although the term women's empowerment is perceived to be multi-faceted, terminologies associated with the concept vary and methods for systematically tracking changes in levels of empowerment are not well established. Some call empowerment the expression of freedom of choice of action. As Dr. Martin Luther King stated, "Our lives begin to end the day we become silent about things that matter (as cited in Photovoice, 2004). In the context of women's leadership in this study, the findings affirm Baden and Oxaal's (1997) idea of power as the root of empowerment, and the ways it translates in market women's experience is that economic power will likely provide them with social and political power necessary for social mobility.

The study findings also reveal that during the apprenticeship training both the apprentice and the leader who are members of a community of enterprise share values, beliefs, and norms and these processes engender a collective empowerment rather than power that is individualistic. Power derived in this process differs from those acquired by individuals in hierarchical Western bureaucratic organizations. Bureaucratic organizations are often driven by male philosophies which ignore gender as a cultural force. As Tedrow (1999) rightly said that women use complex reactive strategies, such as *adaptation, reconciliation* and *even resistance* to survive.

Findings show that although men and women co-habit within the market space women have chosen behaviours that are gender specific, yet powerful.

By virtue of the participants' gender-specific cultural responsibilities, such as nurturing, caring, trading and through their earnings hold the control of subsistence in their households, findings show that market women juggle together household responsibilities and trading activities within the market space. These roles are multiple, and the women in this study have shown that they are able to multi-task, take decisions concerning their entrepreneurship, are confident, vigorous, and empowered. The study findings contradict European discourse of African women as "impoverished, downtrodden and oppressed" (Oyewumi, 2005, p. 86). It also contradicts the images of backwardness that the Nigerian public projects on market women.

In this study, we have seen the diversified nature of the market because people of different ethnicities, languages, cultures, genders, etc, engage in buying and selling within it. We have also seen how market women collaborate with each other through commitment and active engagement with each other, and through the process acquire self and collective empowerment. Achieving collective empowerment enable them to collaborate on issues facing the market, such as how they solved the power supply problem. Working cohesively to achieve these goals in turn helps to strengthen solidarity.

We must note that community cohesiveness cannot be effective without the harmonious collaboration of women within the market. Feminists like hooks (1981) have suggested that in women's collectives, it is necessary to strengthen our

solidarity. The market women's experience supports this claim as well as Barriteau's (2004) idea about the importance of building solidarity for women's leadership, and how it starts with the individual's efforts in building inner strength and empowerment. Although market women face enormous challenges engendered by government policies on the importation of goods, as well as present global economic changes, rather than give up, they adopt various tactics to address these concerns, such as sourcing goods through their kin and other outlets. Their will not give up explains how an individual's inner strength and collective empowerment has been the source of sustainability in their hold of the leadership of the market economy and market place.

Relationship-Building as a Component of Leadership

Findings of this study have shown that the market is a community where women are constantly networking with each other in trading activities and through these they bond more strongly and build relationships with their colleagues and customers. Relationship building is a major component in the participants' experience, of how they connect with people in various respects by sharing, inquiring about other people's well-being and chatting with each other, as well as supporting each other in different ways, such as entrusting their goods and money in the hands of others. The individual that is helped becomes empowered and is also able to extend such a gesture to another in a manner that makes their leadership a phenomenon that is dispersed. These attributes are central in relational leadership, which most often is in the context of community.

Participants in this study have also shown that they provide emotional and financial support - through counselling, stock sharing and networking. Such relationships strengthen the community. It may seem that participants freely build relationships devoid of conflict. My findings reveal that conflict is inevitable based on the conflict that ensued between an older and younger woman during my observation of participants. I saw their concerns for peace within the market and the enthusiasm they showed to get it resolved by mobilizing everyone including myself. Their action shows the extent to which solidarity matters in this collective. What were particularly amazing were the enthusiasm, friendliness, and commitment that individuals brought as they attempted to achieve the goal of just being in good standing with each other. This practice justifies the basis for their friendliness even though it may be just a lip service." We can also see how dependency strengthens relationship-building and vice versa as illustrated in the conflict process where the emphasis was to resolve it in order to have an environment that is conducive for the individual's and the collectives' survival.

Women's Leadership Through Self-Induced and Traditional Roles

Examples of how market women stepped into self-induced roles with a goal to ensure the smooth running of the market space and the well-being of the women depict both self-empowerment and collective leadership. This type of empowerment contrasts with those achieved in formal organizational settings where people are assigned roles and individuals are required to assume responsibility for the outcome. In this cultural setting, women wilfully stepped into these roles so that power did not

reside in one place, but was distributed. These findings agree with Kirk and Shutte (2004) who state that people in a community oriented setting often “work harmoniously with their shared values and beliefs in joint endeavour” (p. 237).

An important issue about the market community is the plurality in the organizational setting. As I have described, the market is headed by an elderly woman known as the *Iyaloja*. She holds the traditional office through an election. She runs the market affairs with a team of women and a handful of men, and her insignia of office provides her with authority both within the market and the greater community. She is particularly respected based on her past experience and knowledge of the market. With this organizational set up the team of leaders include the *Iyaloja*, a secretary, treasurer and ad hoc committee members. On the surface it may look hierarchical but the women’s experiences demonstrate a community oriented style of leadership that emphasises relationality among members. Yet they also negotiate bureaucratic structures like the Marketing Board and Local Government.

We must note that Nigeria was built on sexist institution of bureaucratic structures, such as the Marketing Board and Local Government that oversees the market. Their actions negatively impact on women’s leadership, such as their negligence in ensuring that this women’s space is equipped with basic amenities. In addition, governmental economic policies have negatively impacted on market women as they struggle with the inadequacy of stock created by policies on importation. Through individual strategy and collective practices, the women are able to compete and survive in this global capitalist era. The impact of sexist culture

can also be seen particularly in how it has been responsible for the marginalization and subjectivity of women. For example; they face discrimination as depicted in the public's image of the women for being market women. In spite of this, women used various skills including activism to negotiate bureaucratic structures.

Skills/Competencies and Power as Components of Leadership

The study reveals that participants possess skills, which are learned or acquired through apprenticeship, or those derived from on the job experiences. Such skills include traditional verbal oratory, adaptiveness, diversity, and organizing. They learned how to network and build relationship to enhance their abilities for self-empowerment and leadership. They exhibited moral attributes, such as trustworthiness, supportiveness, friendliness and are community oriented. These terms depicts what women in this cultural setting value in leadership.

As shops hang side by side with individuals' who deal in similar commodities clustered together, the study shows how women use different techniques to lure customers to their stalls, and compete, yet are simultaneously supportive of each other in economic and non-economic activities. We are able to also see how individuals stepped into roles such as counselling, and negotiating bureaucratic structures to resist structural constraints.

The fact is that market women's leadership is participatory as depicted in this study. Hence it supports Robbins et al's (2004) assertion that women's leadership styles are participatory, and are required for individuals to survive in this present global economy. Although Robbins et al focus on leadership in formal organizational

setting where leadership is individualistic, autonomous, dominant, rational, aggressive and entrepreneurial (Blackmore, 1999), the experiences of Nigerian market women focus on leadership in the informal sector. It may be difficult to compare women's leadership in these respects because the systems are different. Although there are elements of entrepreneurship and individualism in Nigerian women's leadership, these elements are often in the context of community without which individuals are nothing.

The evidence of the leadership styles of Nigerian market women as interpersonally-oriented has motivated me to question Eagly & Johnson's (1995) claim that female leaders were likely to be more interpersonally-oriented and effective in their leadership when roles are defined in less in masculine terms. It would be appropriate to state that role definition is culturally specific. Masculinized roles in one cultural setting may be feminized in other settings. In the context of Nigerian women's experience, they hold the leadership of the market economies often held by men in Western societies. Men and women operate within the informal sector economy in Nigeria, yet women are found in leadership positions because of their numbers in the market space.

Reflections of My Experience in This Study

My experience in the Educational Leadership Program shows that the focus of leadership debate has been on Western women who are working in educational and organizational settings (Blackmore, 1999), and that Nigerian women's experience is omitted. The invisibility of Nigerian women's experience in women's

leadership debates reveals inequities in how women's issues are dealt with in the global arena. Their absence in these debates confirms Barriteau's (2001) claim that the dominant perception of the world was "white, wealthy, ladies of leisure: meeting during the day: and of white hair and white faces" (p. 157). Nigerian market women's experiences are noteworthy in feminist leadership debates to understand how cultural leadership encompasses African terms of knowing to include shared values, skills, beliefs, respect for their wisdom and knowledge of community affairs, etc. (Dei, Hall and Rosenberg, 2000, Oyewumi, 2005).

The disregard of some of the important components in the Nigerian women's leadership had created a gap in the understanding of it, which had an immense impact on how African women's agency and leadership have been handled. African scholars (Amadiume, 1987, 97; Nzegwu, 2000) have articulated the need for understanding African women's issues, and leadership in their cultural terms. Clearly, the need for understanding their reality holistically in informal settings is important. These realities should be situated in feminist leadership debates so that the problem of the existing discourse on Nigerian women's experiences, which focused mainly on their marginalization in "development" issues, will be clearly understood and debated

Conclusion: My Personal Learning From This Study

It is now clear to me that the process of achieving personal and collective empowerment is key to market women's leadership. Before, I entered into the Leadership program; I assumed that leadership was positional. The leadership

literature led me to understand that it is also a process. However, this study has revealed that leadership is a process achieved through active engagement and commitment with others within a community. The processes engender self and a collective empowerment that are in the context of community and family, which in turn helps to strengthen solidarity.

The research process has had a major impact on my understanding of leadership because it gave me a greater understanding and in-depth knowledge of how to make meanings of Nigerian market women's reality. Being an insider/outsider in the location of study, I had opportunities to gather information that otherwise would have been difficult to garner. The interviews enabled me to see, think and to interact with the women. and achieving this level of familiarity enriched my data. The whole process was not only interesting, but also empowering for me because this type of study has not been done before. The study enabled me to validate their experience and to make a contribution to the state of knowledge in the field of leadership studies.

In sum, my study has shown that leadership is a collective process for market women, and they have used it to succeed within the market space and in this global capitalist era. The process engendered self-empowerment as well as economic, social and political progress. The leadership that market women exhibit helps them to negotiate their gender relations and to create a positive image of themselves. Moreover, activism is central to the women's experience of leadership in negotiating bureaucratic structures, and they also face enormous challenges that are in no doubt stressful coupled with their multi-tasked roles of juggling together household and

market activities. In spite of the stresses of the market place, the dominant discourse on leadership does not recognize the women's powerful roles.

The findings of this study are consistent with other studies (Blackmore, 1999; Robbins et al., 2002) indicating that participatory styles of leadership are congruent with women's leadership styles even though these studies focus on hierarchical and bureaucratic organizations. It is important to note that the focus of this study is in informal organizational setting; the issue is that it depicts leadership in a more complex form that encompasses participation, collaboration, networking, sharing, relationality, solidarity building and inheritance. Although there is a level of individualism in this style of leadership because an individual's skill often is in the context of community and family, is required. Evidence of Nigerian market women's leadership is found to be essential for survival in today's global economic world. Their knowledge and experience of leadership would help to bring to light Nigerian market women's reality in the current leadership debates, particularly given that the United Nations is giving attention to women's development in developing countries. The findings of this study would provide a conceptual way of thinking not only about Nigerian market women's leadership, but also about the different ways in which women hold power.

Recommendations

On the basis of evidence of Nigerian market women's experience as leaders, policy makers in local, national and global contexts need to take a cue from market women's experiences of leadership as articulated in this study as a guide for policy

initiatives around development issues. It is clear that women take leading roles in ensuring communities' well-being. Therefore, the following should be noted:

- Market women constitute the grassroots, a combination those with formal and non-formal education. Since they are major players in community development initiatives, it is important to incorporate their knowledge in the processes.
- Their cultural knowledge of leadership in entrepreneurial activities should be acknowledged and validated.
- Support should be given to market women in order to enhance their entrepreneurship. Since their leadership is in the context of community and family, and their focus is on dispersed leadership, which is relational and capacity-building related, supporting women as entrepreneurs will directly benefit families and communities.
- Government and NGOs should institute campaigns to acquaint the public about market women's leading role in the national economy, and to promote gender equality and equal participation in decision making processes at all levels.

Future Direction for Research

Several possibilities emerge for future directions for research from this study. First, a larger study should be conducted to examine the factors that inhibit or enhance Nigerian market women's entrepreneurship and how global restructuring and the Structural Adjustment Program impact their entrepreneurship. Studies along

those lines might indicate, more specifically, how market women's leadership can be integrated in development issues.

Secondly, after studying the leadership roles of Nigerian women in their national economy, I can affirm House-Midamba & Ekechi's (1995) statement that women exhibit tremendous zeal in small scale entrepreneurship (House-Midamba, 1995). My study further evidenced that more educated women have taken to entrepreneurship using the market as a base. It would be interesting to investigate whether or not their education enhances or inhibits their entrepreneurship, and their inheritance of trading businesses.

Thirdly, as the history of Nigerian women has shown that they possess tremendous skills in entrepreneurship and that a considerable number of women engage in one trade or the other, it would be interesting to explore the entrepreneurial experience of those living in Canada. Studies (for example, Lee, 2000) show that immigrant women, who migrate from African countries such as Nigeria to Western nations, are poor. There is also ample evidence that of a 52.1 percent average poverty rate among recent immigrants across Canada (Lee, 2000). It would be important to carry out a study of the social, economic and political factors that hinder or facilitate Nigerian women's entrepreneurship in Western societies like Canada using different methods or a combination of methods in gathering data of their experiences.

Final Summary

My study has shown how Nigerian market women are leaders through the processes they use to achieve their goals in the informal sector economy. The women

skilfully used cultural cues for personal advancement and to enhance individuals' social, political or economic abilities based on their relationship with their peers. They also used various competencies/skills to advance themselves, other women and the organization as a whole. It must be noted that we can no longer construct third world women as one-dimensional (poor, oppressed, in need of saving). We must begin to see them as leaders and work to foster the leadership qualities that are already present, while at the same time supporting the informal sector in order to achieve community and national development

REFERENCES

- Acholonu, C. (2003). Motherism: The afrocentric alternative [Electronic version] *Ishmael Reed's Konch magazine*. Retrieved October 26, 2003, from <http://www.ishmaelreedpub.com/CatherineAcholonu.html>
- Agarwal, B. (1997). Bargaining and gender relations: Within and beyond the household. *Feminist Economics*, 3 (1): 1-54.
- Agbese, A. (2003). Maintaining power in the face of political, economic and social discrimination: The tale of Nigerian women. *Women & Language*, 26(1):18 March 2003.
- Amadiume, I. (1987). *Afrikan matriarchal foundations: The Igbo case*. UK: Karnak House.
- Amadiume, I. (1997). *Reinventing Africa: Matriarchy, religion & culture*. New York: Zed Books.
- Amadiume, I. (2005). Theorizing matriarchy in Africa: Kinship ideologies and systems in Africa and Europe. In O. Oyewumi (Eds.), *African Gender Studies: A Reader*. New York. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Anderson, G., & Arsenault, N. (1998). *Fundamentals of education research*. U.K: Falmer Press Teachers' Library.
- Attoe, E. (2004). Women in the Development of Nigeria since pre-colonial times [Electronic version] Retrieved December 3, 2005 from <http://www.onlinenigeria.com/links/LinksReadPrint.asp?blurb=150>
- Baden, S., & Oxaal, Z. (1997). *Gender and empowerment: Definitions, approaches and implications for policy*. Brighton, UK: Bridge Development – Gender.
- Bakker, I. (Ed.). (1996). *Rethinking, restructuring: Gender and change in Canada*. Toronto. University of Toronto Press.
- Barnsley, J., & Ellis, D. (1987). *An introduction to action research*. The women's Research Center. Vancouver.
- Barriteau, E. (2001). *The challenge of innovative leadership of a traditional women's organization: The world YWCA and Ruth Nita Barrow*. In Barriteau, Allan C. (Eds.), *Stronger, Surer, Bolder: Ruth Nina Barrow*: University of West Indies Press.

- Barriteau, E. (2004). *Women and leadership: Some strategies of transformational women leaders in the Caribbean*. Conference paper at Centre for Management Development, University of West Indies, Cave Hill Campus.
- Belenky, M. F., Clinchy, B. M., Goldberger, R. N., & Tarule, J. M. (1982). *Women's ways of knowing: The development of self, voice, and mind*. United States: Basic Books.
- Berger, I., & White, F. (1995). *Women in sub-saharan Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Blackmore, J. (Ed.). (1999). Power/Knowledge at work in educational administration. *Troubling women: Feminism, leadership and educational change*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Bukker, E. (1999). *Women's studies encyclopaedia: Revised and expanded edition*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- Busia, A. P. (1993). Performance, transcription and the languages of the self: Interrogating identity as a "post-colonial" poet. In S. I. James and P. A. Busia (Eds.), *Theorizing black feminisms: the visionary pragmatism of black women*. London: Routledge
- Butterwick, S. (1993). *The politics of needs interpretation: A study of three CJS funded job-entry programs for women*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of British Columbia. Vancouver.
- Bryman, A. (1996). Leadership in organizations. In S. R. Glegg, C. Hardy and W. R. Nord (Eds.), *Handbook of Organization Studies*. London: Sage Publications.
- Chinn, P. L. (2004). *Peace and Power: Creative leadership for building community*. Toronto: Jones and Barlett Publishers.
- Clark, G. (2000). Market association leaders' strategic use of language and narratives in market disputes and negotiations in Kumasi, Ghana. *Africa Today*, 49(1), 43-58.
- Clark, G. 2002. Market association leaders' strategic use of language and narrative in market disputes and negotiations in Kumasi, Ghana. *Africa Today*, 49(1) Spring.
- Clausen, J. A. (1968). *Socialization and society*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- CNN World. Nigerian women threaten nude protest. *Cable News Network* [Electronic version] Retrieved July 14, 2004, from

<http://www.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/africa/07/14/nigeria.oilwomen.ap/index.Html>

- Colaizzi, P. (1978). Psychological research as the phenomenologist views it. In R. S. Valle & M. King (Eds.), *Existential-Phenomenological Alternative for Psychology* (pp. 48-71). New York: Oxford Press.
- Colwill, N. (1982). *The new partnership: Men and women in organizations*. U.K: Mayfield Publishing Co.
- Cox, E. (1996). *Leading women: tactics for making the difference*. Sydney: Random House.
- Creswell, J.W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry & research design*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches (2nd ed.)*. University of Nebraska: Sage Publications: London.
- Davies, L. (1999). *Equity and efficiency? School management in an international context*. London: Falmer Press.
- Dei, J. S., Hall, B. L., & Rosenberg, G. D. (2000). *Indigenous Knowledges in global context*. Toronto: OISE.
- deMarrais, K. (2004). Elegant communications: Sharing qualitative research with communities, colleagues, and critics. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 10(2), 281-297.
- Denzin, N. K. (1989). *Interpretive biography*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Denzin, K. N. & Lincoln, S. Y. (2003). Introduction. *Strategies of qualitative inquiry*. London: Thousand Oaks.
- Drath, W. H., & Palus, C. J. (1994). Making common sense: Leadership as meaning-making in a community of practice. Greensboro, NC: Center for Creative Leadership.
- Eagley, H. H., Karau, S. J., & Makhijani, M. G. (1995). Gender and the effectiveness of Leaders: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin* 117(1), 125-145.
- Elabo-Idemudia, P. (2000). The retention of knowledges of folkways as a basis for resistance. In S. J. Dei, B. L. Hall, & D. G. Rosenberg, *Indigenous Knowledges in global context*. Toronto: OISE.

- Ellis, J. (1974). Fostering of West African children in England. In J. P. Triseliotis (Ed.) *Social work with colored immigrants and their families*, 91-101. London, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Ekechi, F. K. (1995). Gender and economic power: The case of igbo market women of Eastern Nigeria In B. House-Midamba and F.K. Ekechi. *African market women and economic power: The role of women in African economic development* (pp. 23-40). Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- Falola, T. (1995). Gender, business and space control: Yoruba market women and power. In B. House-Midamba and F.K. Ekechi. *African market women and economic power: The role of women in African economic development* (pp. 23-40). Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- Emecheta, B. (1974). *Second class citizen*. New York: George Baziller.
- Feedler, F. E., & Garcia, J. E (1987). *Improving leadership effectiveness: Cognitive resources and organisational performance*. New York: Wiley.
- Ferguson, K. (1984). *The feminist case against bureaucracy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Fiedler, F. E. (1967). *A theory of leadership effectiveness*, New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Fiedler, F. E. (1993). The leadership situation and the black box of contingency theories. In M. M. Chemers, & R. Ayman (Eds.), *Leadership theories and research: Perspectives and directions*. New York: Academic Press.
- Foster, W. (1989). Toward a critical practice of leadership. *Educational Administrational Quarterly* 23(4), 10-13.
- France, H., McCormick, R., & Rodriquez, M. (2003). Issues in counselling in the First Nations community. In M.H. France, C. Rodriquez, & G. Hett (Eds.), *Diversity, culture and counselling: A Canadian perspective*, Calgary: Temeron Press.
- Gillham, B. (2000). *The research Interview*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Glazer, J. (1991) Feminism and professionalism in teaching and educational administrations. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 27(3), 321-42.

- Grewal, I., & Kaplan, C. (Eds.). (1994). *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and transnational feminist practices*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Haase, J. (1987). Components of courage in chronically ill adolescents: A phenomenological study. *Advances in Nursing Science*, 9(2), 64-80.
- Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14, 575-599.
- Harding, S. (Ed.). (1987). 'Is there a feminist method?' *Feminism and Methodology: Social Science Issues*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press
- Helgesen, S. (1990). Feminist principles. *The female advantage: Women's ways of leadership*. U.K: Double Day.
- Helman, M. E., Block, C.J., Martell, R. F., & Simon, M. C. (1989). Has anything changed? Current characteristics of men, women, and managers. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 74, 935-942.
- Hill, C. W. L. (2001). *International business; competing in the global marketplace, postscript*. New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.
- hooks, B. (1984). *Ain't I a woman: Black women and feminism*. Boston: South End Press.
- hooks, B. (1990). *Yearning: race, gender, and cultural politics*. Toronto, Ontario: Between the Lines.
- hooks, B. (2000). *Where we stand: Class matters*. New York: Routledge.
- Horner, M. (1997). *Leadership theory: past, present and future*. *Team Performance Management*, 3(4), 270-287).
- Hosking, D. M., (1988). Organizing, leadership and skilful process. *Journal of Management Studies*, 25, 147-66.
- Hosking, D. M., (1991). Chief executives, organizing and processes, and skill. *European Journal of Applied Psychology*, 41, 95-103.
- House-Midamba, B., & Ekechi, F.K. (Eds.). (1995). Introduction. *African market women and economic power: The role of women in African economic development* (pp. xi-xix). Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- International Labor Organisation. Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention (1981). Retrieved June 2005 from http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/skills/recomm/instr/c_156.htm

- Imahori T. T., & Cupach, William R, (2005). Identity management theory: Facework in intercultural relationships. In W. B. Gudykunst (Ed.) *Theorizing about intercultural communication* (pp. 195-210). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- James, I. S. (1993). Mothering: A possible Black feminist link to social transformation. In S. I. James and P. A. Busia (Eds.), *Theorizing black feminisms: the visionary pragmatism of black women*. London: Routledge
- Janesick, J. V. (2003). The choreography of qualitative research design: Minuets, improvisation & crystallization. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry*. London: Sage Publications.
- Johnson, O. & Stobel, M. (1999). Series editors' introduction. *Women in sub-Saharan Africa: Restoring women to history*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indian University Press.
- Katzenbach, J.R., & Smith, D. K. (1993). *The wisdom of teams*. NY: Harper Collins.
- Kemp, A. A. (1994). *Women's work: Degraded and devalued*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Kirby, S., & Mckenna, K. (1989). *Experience research social change: methods from the margins*. Toronto: Garamond Press.
- Kirk, P. G., & Shutte, A. M. (2004). Community leadership development. *Community Development Journal*, 39(3), 234-251.
- Kleon, S., & Rinehart, S. (1998). Leadership skill development of teen leaders. [Electronic version]. [*Journal of Extension* 36(3), 1.
- Kouzes, J. M., & Posner, B.Z. (1993). *Credibility: How leaders gain and lose it, and why people demand it*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Kramarae, C., & Dale, S. (2000) (Eds.), *Routledge international encyclopaedia of women: Global women's issues and knowledge*: Identity Politics Publishing.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *InterViews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lapan, S. D. (2004). Evaluation studies. In K. deMarrais & S. D. Lapan (Eds.), *Foundations for research: Methods of inquiry in education and social sciences*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Laurence Erlbaum Associates.
- Leith-Ross, S. (1965). *African women. A study of the Ibo of Nigeria*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

- Lincoln, Y.S. (1993). I and thou: Method, voice and roles in research with the silenced. In D. McLaughlin & W.G. Tierney (Eds.), *Naming silenced lives: Personal narratives and processes of educational change* (pp. 20-37).
- Mbilinyi, M. (1995). Research priorities in Women's Studies in eastern Africa. *Women's Studies International Forum* 7(4), 292.
- Makin, P., Cooper, C., & Cox, C. (1996). *Organizations and the psychological contract*. U.K: British Psychological Society 3rd Ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Manuh, T. (1998). Women in Africa's development: Overcoming obstacles, pushing for progress. *Africa Recovery Briefing Paper Number 11*, April (A UN Publication).
- Manz, C. C., & Sims, H. P. Jr. (1991). SuperLeadership: Beyond the myth of heroic leadership. *Organizational Dynamics* 19(4), 18-35.
- Mararike, C. (1995). *Grassroots leadership: The process of rural development in Zimbabwe*. Harare: University of Harare Publications
- Marshal, C., & Rossman, G.B (1999). *Designing qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Mauthner, N.S., & Doucet A. (1998). Reflections on a voice centred relational method of data analysis: Analysing maternal and domestic voices. In J. Ribbens and R. Edwards (Eds.), *Feminist dilemmas in qualitative research: Private lives and public texts*. London: Sage.
- Maxwell, J. (1992). Understanding and validity in qualitative research. *Harvard Educational Review*. 62(3), 270-300.
- McAdoo, P. H. (1999). *Black families*. (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Mohanty, C. T. (2004). *Feminism without borders: Decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Momsen, J. H., and Kinnaird, V. (Eds.), Different places, different voices: Gender and development in Africa, Asia and Latin America. London: Routledge.
- Moustakis, C. (1990). *Heuristic research design, methodology, and applications*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Mukherjee, B. (1994). *The holder of the world*. London: Virago.
- Muyoyeta, L. M. (2003). *Women, gender, and development*. Bray, Ireland: Women for Change and 80:20.

- Nasong'o, S. W. (2005). Women and economic liberalization in Kenya: The impact and challenges of globalization. In B. Balamoune-Lutz & S. R. Kimuna (Eds.), *Women and African development: The challenge of globalization and liberalization in the 21st Century*. Eritrea: Africa World Press.
- Nzegwu, N. (2000). African women and the fire dance. *West Africa Review*. Retrieved November 11, 2004 from <http://www.westafriareview.com/vol2.1/nzegwu2.html>.
- Nzegwu, N. (2001). Gender equality in dual sex systems: The case of Onisha. *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Women's Studies*, 1(1), 1-32.
- Ogbomo, O. W. (1995). Esan women traders and precolonial economic power. In B. House-Midamba and F.K. Ekechi (Eds.), *African market women and economic power*. (pp. 1-21). United States: Greenwood Press.
- Okojie, C. (1996). Women in the rural economy in Nigeria. In G. Ghoryshi and C. Belanger. *Women work and gender relations in developing countries: A global perspective*. Westport. GT: Greenwood Press.
- Okome, M. O. (2001). African women and power: Reflections on the perils of unwarranted cosmopolitan. *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies*, 1(1). Retrieved April 23, 2005 from <http://www.jendajournal.com/vol1.1/okome.html>.
- Okome, M. O. (2000). Women, the state and the travails of decentralizing the Nigerian Federation, *West Africa Review*, 2(1). Retrieved on December 1, 2002 from <http://www.icaap.org/iuicode?101.2.1.12>.
- Olesen, V. L. (2000). Feminisms and qualitative research at and into the millennium. In N. K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Oluwole, S. (1997). Culture, gender and development: Theories in Africa. *Africa Development*, 22(1), 141-182)
- Ong, A. (2003). *Buddha is hiding: Refugees, citizenship, the new America*. California: University of California Press.
- Onyene, V. (2004). *Nigerian women's leadership participation: Issues, constraints and prospects*. [Unpublished Paper]. Nigeria: University of Lagos
- Orji, J. (2000). Igbo women from 1929-1960. *West African Review*. Retrieved July 28, 2002 from http://www.icaap.org/war_content/vol002.001/orji.html.

- Oyewunmi, O. (Eds.). (2003). *African women & feminism: Reflecting on the politics of sisterhood*. African World Press: Eritrea, Ethiopia.
- Oyewumi, O. (Eds.), (2005). Visualizing the body: Western theories and African subjects. In *African Gender Studies: A Reader*. New York. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pearson, R. (1994). Gender relations, capitalism and thierd world industrialization. In L. Sklair (Ed.), *Capitalism and Developmetn*. London: Routledge.
- Reinhartz, S. (1992) *Feminist methods in social research*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Reynolds, C. (Ed.). (1995). *Feminist frameworks for the study of administration and leadership in educational organization*. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd.
- Reynolds, C., & Young, B. (2002). *Women and leadership in Canadian Education*. In C. Reynolds and B. Young. Calgary. Alberta: Detselig Enterprises Ltd.
- Richardson, L (1993). The case of the skipped line: Poetics, dramatics and transgressive validity. *Sociological Quarterly*, 34, 695-710.
- Robbins, S. P., DeCenzo, D. A., & Stuart-Kotze, R. (2001). *Fundamentals of management: Essential concepts and applications*. Toronto: Prentice Hall.
- Robertson, C. (1984). *Sharing the same bowl: A socioeconomic history of women and class in Accra, Ghana*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Robertson, C. (1995). Comparative advantage: Women in trade in Accra, Ghana, and Nairobi, Kenya. In In B. House-Midamba and F.K. Ekechi (Eds.), *African market women and economic power*. (pp. 1-21). United States: Greenwood Press.
- Robertson, C. (1998). *Trouble showed the way: Women, men and trade in the Nairobi area, 1890-1990*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Rodriquez, M. C. (2003). Issues in counselling in the First Nations community. In M.H. France, C. Rodriquez, & G. Hett (Eds.), *Diversity, culture and counseling: A Canadian perspective*, Calgary: Temeron Press.
- Rowlands, J. (1998). A word of the times, but what does that mean? Empowerment in the discourse and practice of development. *Women and Empowerment: Illustrations from the Third World*. H. Afsar. London: Macmillan.
- Seligmann, L. J. (Ed.). (2001). *Women traders in cross-cultural perspective: Mediating identities, marketing wares*. California: Stanford University Press.

- Sikazwe, E. J. (2004). The role of women's role models in women's empowerment – Women singing their song. [Unpublished Paper]. Antigonish, NS: Coady International Institute.
- Spender, D. (1982). *Women of ideas and what men have done to them*. London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley: Ark Paperbacks, 1983. Reprint of Pandora edition,
- Stake, E. R. (2003). Case studies. In N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry*. London: Sage Publications. Stodgill, R. M. (1948). Personal factors associated with leadership. *Journal of Psychology*, 25, 35-71.
- Stodgill, R.M. (1974). *Handbook of leadership; a survey of theory and research*. New York: The Free Press.
- Suda, C. (1996). The political economy of women's work in Kenya: Chronic constraints and broken barriers. In P. Ghorayshi and C. Belanger (Eds.), *Women's work, and gender relations in developing countries: A global perspectives*. London: Greenwood Press.
- Tedlock, B. (2003). Ethnography and ethnographic representative. In N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry*. London: Sage Publications.
- Tedrow, B. (1999). A qualitative study of women's experiences in community College Leadership Positions. *Community College Review*, 27(3), 1.
- Turner, T. E., & Oshare, M. (1993). Women uprisings against the Nigerian oil industry in the 1980s. Paper presented at the annual conference of the Canadian Association in Montreal, Canada [Electronic version] Retrieved October 16, 2003 from www.usatoday.com/news/world/2002/07/17/nigeriawomen.htm
- Turner, T. E., & Oshare, M. (1997). Arise: Women's resistance in Nigeria. Delta News [Electronic version] Retrieved October 16, 2003 from http://www.oneworld.org/delta/3_news4c.html.
- Theobald, M. (1991). *Women who taught: Perspectives on the history of women and teaching*. Toronto: University of Toronto.
- Ufomata, T. (2000). Women in Africa: Their socio-political and economic role [Electronic version]. *West African Review*. Retrieved November 1, 2004 from <http://www.icaap.org/iuicode?101.2.1.4>.
- UNESCO. Human Rights. (2004, February 13). Retrieved February 13, 2004 from unesco.org/shs/human_rights/whb.htm 02/13/2004.

- Veneklassen, L., & Miller, V. (2003). *A new wave of power; people and politics: The action guide for advocacy and citizen participation*. Oklahoma City, OK: World Neighbor..
- VerEecke, C. (1995). *Muslim women traders in northern Nigeria*. In B. House-Midamba and F.K. Ekechi (Eds.), *African market women and economic power* (pp. 59-79). United States: Greenwood Press.
- Watson-Franke, M. (2000). Matrilineal systems. In C. Kramarae & D. Spender (Eds.), *Routledge international encyclopedia of women*. New York: Routledge.
- Weiner, G. (1995b). A question of style or value? In B. Limerick & B. Lingard (Eds.), *Gender and changing educational management*. Sydney: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Wilson, A. (Ed.). (1994). *The intimate economies of Bangkok: Tomboys, tycoons, and Avon ladies in the global city*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Yin, R. K. (1994). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Yuki, G. (2002). *Leadership in organizations*. (5th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

APPENDIX A

Participant Recruiting Letter

Women and Leadership in Nigerian Market Place

Julia Shinaba
14, Warehouse Road
Apapa-Lagos, Nigeria

20/05/04

Sample Participant Recruiting Letter

Dear-----,

My name is Julia Shinaba and I am a graduate student in the Faculty of Education, at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. I am conducting research about the “The Changing Identity of Nigerian Market Women: Rethinking the concept of leadership, empowerment and social capital.”

Though my graduate research, I am interested in learning about the experiences of Nigerian market women, their values, roles, beliefs and functions in the market and the greater community. The study is significant because it contribute to the body of literatures on women’s leadership. You are being asked to participate in this study because of your involvement in the subsistence economy and because of your first hand involvement in the market. The analysis of the study may benefit you in giving voice to you and illuminating your experience, beliefs, values, roles and functions of market women within the market and in the community at large. It may also benefit the government and donor agencies in identifying the key issues in women’s experiences toward policy reforms in gender equality and economic community development and for Non Governmental Organizations in structuring or restructuring their leadership and empowerment programs.

If you agree to consider taking part in this research about the changing identity of market women, I will review the Participant Consent form with you and if you require further interpretation in Yoruba, I will be willing to provided the Yoruba version of the consent form – and, if you still agree to take part in my study – I will set up a time and place most convenient to meet you for the interview. As a study participant, your identity will be protected and any information you give me will be strictly confidential. Although I will ask to tape our conversation, tapes and written notes will be locked safely away. As well, in any report, I’ll be using pseudonyms for all places and people.

I will contact you personally within the next one week to determine your interest in participating. This will give you time to review the consent form and if you have any questions about this study you can reach me by calling my local number in Nigeria at (545-1497) or by email: jshinba@uvic.ca. You may contact my supervisor, Dr. Yvonne Martin at (250) 721-7759, or by email: martiny@uvvm.uvic.ca.

Sincerely,

Julia Shinaba

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions

Interview Questions

1. Tell me about yourself.
2. How did you come to be in the market?
3. What is your experience as a market woman?
4. What leadership roles do you play in the market and in the community?
5. What does leadership mean to you?
6. How is the market structured?
7. What is your relationship with other women in the market and community?



University of Victoria

Human Research Ethics Board
Office of Research Services
University of Victoria
Room A240 University Centre
Tel (250) 472-4545 Fax (250) 721-8960
Email ovprhe@uvic.ca Web www.research.uvic.ca

Human Research Ethics Board Certificate of Approval

<u>Principal Investigator</u> Julia Shinaba Graduate Student	<u>Department/School</u> EPLS	<u>Supervisor</u> Yvonne Martin-Newcombe	
<u>Co-Investigator(s):</u>			
<u>Project Title:</u> Women and Leadership in Nigerian Marketplace			
<u>Protocol No.</u> 06-093-04c	<u>Approval Date</u> 19-Apr-06	<u>Start Date</u> 06-Apr-04	<u>End Date</u> 05-Apr-07

Certification

This certifies that the UVic Human Research Ethics Board has examined this research protocol and concludes that, in all respects, the proposed research meets appropriate standards of ethics as outlined by the University of Victoria Research Regulations Involving Human Subjects.

Dr. Richard Keeler
Associate Vice-President, Research

This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the procedures. Extensions or minor amendments may be granted upon receipt of a "Research Status" form.

06-093-04c Shinaba, Julia

APPENDIX D

Participant Consent Form

Participant Consent Form

Julia Shinaba
14, Warehouse Road,
Apapa-Lagos, Nigeria

20/05/04

Women and Leadership in Nigerian Market Place

Dear -----

You are being invited to participate in a study entitled "The Changing Identity of Nigerian Market Women: Rethinking the concept of leadership, empowerment and social capital" that is being conducted by Julia Shinaba. Julia Shinaba is a Graduate Student in the Department of Educational Psychology & Leadership Studies, Faculty of Education, at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. You may contact her if you have further questions by letter at 2621 Blanshard Street Victoria BC V8T 4J5, by telephone at 250-472-5164 or in Nigeria at 545-1497 and by email: jshinaba@uvic.ca.

As a graduate student, I am required to conduct research as part of the requirements for a Masters degree in Leadership Studies. It is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Yvonne Martins-Newcombe. You may contact my supervisor at 250-721-7759 or email: martiny@uvvm.uvic.ca.

The purpose of this research is to provide a detailed description and analysis of the experiences of market women in an urban city of Nigeria, to explore the beliefs, values, experiences, roles and functions of within the market and the greater community.

The research is important because 1) it will contribute to the body of literature about women's leadership 2) the analysis may assist the government and funding agencies, to identify the key issues in the women's experiences, their beliefs, values, roles and functions toward policy reforms on gender equality and community economic development and 3) for Non Governmental Organizations to structure or restructure their leadership and empowerment programs. The participants may benefit because it will provide them with the opportunity to articulate and illuminate their experiences, beliefs, values, roles, and functions within and outside the market.

You have been selected for the study to articulate your experiences, beliefs, values, roles and functions within and outside the market setting based on the criteria established for participation: 1) be over 20 years, 2) own your stall and 3) participate in the market for a minimum of 3 years.

If you agree to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include a 45 min – 1 hour audiotaped interview at a location most convenient for you and a day's observation of your activities in the market. This will be involved observing you in a non invasive and respectful way in your stall, to document your activities, such as how you relate to each other and your clients, how you coordinate your sales activities from the time of opening the market to closing, how you manage your time, your behaviours and what you think about these behaviours and other relevant data you think or propose may be relevant to this study. Copies of the transcripts will be sent to the participants through email or your preferred method for review.

There are no anticipated risks to you since you are only required to discuss your daily experiences within and outside the market, and the researcher will observe your activities in the market for one day. Your identity and place will be protected by code, names and all conversations will be held in strict confidence (with tapes and transcripts locked in the researcher's office filling cabinet). You have the right to refuse to answer any questions you do not wish to answer. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may withdraw at any time without any negative consequences or any explanation and if you withdraw, you will still receive the gift. If you choose to withdraw from the study, your data will not be used in the analysis. The information you provided would be destroyed unless you give your permission by providing a written letter with your signature through the above address or my email provided in the first paragraph of this letter stating that such information can be used. If you agree to the use of this information, I will review the transcript and present it to you for review and final approval.

To compensate you for any inconveniences related to your participation, you would be given a \$2 Canadian fund (#180) worth of Avon deodorant. It is important for you to know that it is unethical to provide undue compensation or inducements to research participants and, if you agree to be a participant in this study, this form of compensation to you must not be coercive. If you would not otherwise choose to participate if the compensation was not offered, then you should decline.

In terms of protecting your anonymity, it will be partially protected since the interviews may take place in the market unless you choose a different location. Pseudonyms will be used for all people and places and all conversations will be held in strict confidence. If you request to be identified, I will require that you write a letter with your signature to that effect through the address provided in this letter. Given that the researcher is located internationally, you can contact me through email or by letter to the local address provided in the consent letter. I do not anticipate that there will be risks to you. If you sense any risk, you may withdraw from the study at any time, and without any negative consequences of any kind. All information will be held in strict confidentiality. Should circumstances warrant video taping the market, I plan to use a long distance video camera to pan the front of the market building, and not on any particular individual. The camera will just show the beehive of activities of the market place.

The audiotapes of interviews will be kept in a securely locked filing cabinet in the researcher's office. Each tape once transcribed will be electronically erased. Using pseudonyms for participants will ensure your protection and all conversations will be held in your preferred location (with tapes and transcripts locked in the researcher's office filing cabinet. The transcripts themselves – using pseudonyms for participants – will be seen only by the researcher and her supervisor, Dr. Yvonne Martin-Newcombe.

The data will be used to write a Masters Thesis for the Faculty of Educations and Leadership Studies at the University of Victoria and the thesis will be housed in the University of Victoria library for public viewing. In addition, I will report the findings from this study to you, the participant, through email or any means of your choice and also disseminate the findings of the research at educational conferences, at scholarly meetings and in scholarly publications which is a source of information for government officials and donor agencies' representatives and NGOs. After the study is completed, I hope to preserve the information for 3 years after which it will be mechanically shredded.

In addition to being able to contact the researcher at the above phone numbers, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise and concerns you might have, by contacting the Associate Vice-President, Research at the University of Victoria (250)-472-4362.

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers.

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.