

Original Paper

Cultural Devaluation of Women in the Nigerian Society up to 2010: An examination of the “I Mbya Jin I” Institution among the Jukun Wapan in Wukari Area of Taraba State

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Abstract

Cultural sentiments have placed women and its institutions at a disadvantage in most African societies including Nigeria. Most cultures see women as inferior who are only useful in household chores, and reproduction. This indeed has informed the patriarchal nature of the Nigerian society, which explains underplay of women and its institutions. Thus, this paper investigated the cultural devaluation of women in the Nigerian society, with a specific focus on the “I Mbya Jin I” institution among the Jukun Wapan in Wukari area of Taraba State up to 2010. This paper particularly targeted at examining the cultural place of women and its institutions among the Jukun, trends in this institutions, and its place in the Jukun community today. The historical methodology was used, and it was structured along thematic lines. Though the research revealed that culture and religion are associated with the devaluation of women in the society, the religious claim is however untenable. What is tenable is the fact that cultural sentiments have under play the roles of women and its institutions in the society. It is also the contention of this research that women have been a significant part of the socio-cultural, economic, and political development. This was evident in the cultural institutions among the Jukun wapan women in Wukari area of Taraba state Nigeria.

Keywords

culture, women, patriarchy, I Mbya Jin I, institution, deity

1. Introduction

Culture, in most primitive societies around the globe, places women at a disadvantage, Halima and Falmata (2020, p. 30). Their rights are subjective, and so they suffer from all forms of discrimination and alienation that made it difficult for them to be considered in any matter of socio-engineering.

However, these realities have changed in most developed societies of the global north. The primitive culture which had hitherto placed women at a disadvantage, gave way to elaborate rights and privileges for the women as with men. But in many developing societies nothing has changed; instead, it is now endemic.

The Nigerian society is patriarchal in nature, Makama (2013, p. 116). This is a feature of a traditional society structured along social relations with material base in favour of men than women. Structurally, women are placed in an unequal position in families particularly in the area of inheritance rights and differential wages for equal or comparable work. Toluwalase and Segun (2017, p. 12), opined that a woman is not only subordinate to her husband, but to all the members of her husband family. Hence, patriarchy is a key factor in the gender inequality and perception of women in the society. This explains why men keep the family name, while women are married out. In this way, men are being trained as leaders, while women are confined to domestic activities ascribed to them by culture Makama (p. 116). Despite the growing awareness on gender, gender inequality is still embedded in the Nigerian society. The spread and depth is systemic and pervasive thereby influencing social and cultural institutions, Halima and Falmata (p. 10). For instance, formal and informal rules that regulate kinship patterns are gender bias and limit women's access and opportunities. The bias against women is reflected in almost every sphere of life such as paid employment, leadership positions, and all sort of harassments and unhealthy treatment ranging from trafficking, marital rape, early marriage and obnoxious practices as female genital mutilation.

Consequently, the cultural bias against women has succeeded in the misrepresentation of women as inferior, and the conclusion that cultural sentiments has affected women's performance in the socio-cultural, economic, and political milieu. It is against this backdrop that this paper examined the "I Mbya Jin I" institution among the Jukun wapan women of Wukari area of Taraba State Nigeria, up to 2010. Early institutions among the Jukun women as presented by deities and cults before the "I Mbya Jin I" institution emerged in 2010 were interrogated. This is so that we can appreciate the Changes overtime, occasioned by the activities of Christian missionaries, and the forces of globalization/postmodernism.

2. Methodology

The historical methodology was used for the research. The method of data collection include: both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources involved largely the use of oral interviews, which constitute a significant part in the reconstruction of the past of Africa, David L Imbua (2021, p. 2). Thus, the interviews magnanimously offered by members of the traditional council of the Jukun Chiefdom in Wukari, provided this research work with relevant information on the norms and values of the Jukun Wapan woman in both past and present times. The secondary sources consisted of published materials including: books, conference papers and articles. Both the primary and secondary sources served as compliment. This paper also benefited from the multi-disciplinary approach where research

carried out in disciplines other than history, Samuel O. Aghalino (2021, p. 1), was used to provide a wider perspective on the subject matter. Structured along thematic lines for in-depth analysis, the analytical method Sati U, Fwatshak (2006, p. 73), was used for presentation which allowed for critical examination of data/facts for the study.

3. Result

3.1 Key Debates on the Devaluation of Women in the Nigerian Society

Religion and culture emerged to have dictated gender relations over the years, and so, the devaluation of women in the society has been associated to religion and culture. Some scholars (Otuiche & Nnabuenyi, 2015; Olanipekun & Onabanjo, 2020; Toluwalase & Segun, 2017) argued that both Christianity and Islam entrenched male superiority over the female. The reason for this claim is anchored on the Biblical version of (Genesis chapter 2, pp. 18-23), which they quoted:

And the Lord God said, it is not good that the man to be alone; I will make him an help meet for him... and the Lord caused a deep sleep to fall on Adam... and He took one of his ribs and closed up the flesh instead thereof.... Made He a woman and brought her unto the man. And Adam said this is now borne of my borne, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called woman because she was taken out of man.

Based on the scripture above, Otuiche and Nnabuenyi (2015), argued that the woman is created as a secondary partner to the man, and interpreted it to mean “the theological basis for male chauvinism and the alienation of women by men even in the church of God”. On their part, Olanipekun and Onabanjo (2020, p. 32) also corroborated with Otuiche and Nnabueyi above, that the devaluation, inequality, and marginalization of women in the society is rooted in religion. They backed this argument with the book of (Genesis 3:16), which read “I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shall bring forth children; and your desire shall be upon your husband, and he shall rule over thee”. Toluwalase and Segun, (2017, p. 14), equally maintained that Christianity, Islam, and traditional religions endorse inequality between men and women. In Christianity they argued that women are exempted from priesthood which is an element of gender disparity. Also pointing at the creation account of Genesis 1: 26 -29; Gen 2: 15 -20 in the Holy Bible, concluded that man is superior to woman, asserting that Adam is placed more fundamental than Eve because it is man that is created in the image of God.

In any case, the claim of biblical alienation of woman is untenable. Firstly Otuiche and Nnabuenyi who quoted the creation account in the Biblical version of Genesis (2: 18-23), and Toluwalase and Segun who quoted Genesis (1:26-29; 2:15-20), of the creation, suggested that woman was alienated to man because she was created out of man. God formed out of the ground other creatures, but did not find a suitable match for the man and so he created woman from the rib of the man, just so that they can match Genesis (2:19-20). Meaning they are from the same sources. Furthermore, the biblical usage of “Man” during the creation theologically refer to both sex (man and woman) Genesis (1:27), and so God created “Man” - in some biblical version “Mankind” was used, He (God) created “Man in his own

image...male and female He created them. Secondly, Olanipekun and Onabanjo (p. 32) who cited (Genesis, 3:16), that speaks on the sin of “Man” (male and female) against God in the Garden of Eden, and the punishment thereof, opined that woman is subjected to man. Further in verse (p. 17) of the same, book God spelled out the punishment of the male, which is painful toil of the ground to eat till eternity. It is important to note that when God speaks on the headship of male over the female is not alienating, derogatory or devaluating. In fact, He enjoins the male (husband) to treat female (wife), as Christ treat the Church, and even gave His life for it, Ephesians (5: 21-28). So, the claim on the alienation and devaluation of the woman in the Holy Bible is a miscarriage.

On the other flank, men are culturally seen as bread winners who should engaged in all forms of activities to provide food and carter for the livelihood of the family Olanipekun and Onabanjo (p. 32). Women are expected to only act based on the dictates of their husbands, and so, they are culturally not recognized in any leadership role. This has been the case since communal to the present day where women in the various clans and ethnic groups in Nigeria, are culturally neither included in decision making process, nor were allowed to be economically independent. Such bias and perception of women in Nigeria manifested in the statement made by president Muhammadu Buhari, on the 14th October, 2016 cited in Olanipekun and Onabanjo (p. 35) “he doesn’t know the political party his wife belongs to and he can only ascertain that his wife belongs to the kitchen, living room and the other room”

The prevailing perception of a woman as inferior and useful only in house chores and reproduction, which has been widely associated to culture and the misinterpretation of the Holy Scripture, does not mean that women are passive players in the making of any society. This paper argues that women are also key players in the making of the society, but patriarchy as informed by the cultural belief system, blinds any view on the roles women play in the society. These roles are even evident in socio-cultural institutions. For example, among the Ijo and Edoid in Delta region of the Nigeria as quoted in Toluwalase and Segun (14), it is believed that “God is Woyin (Our mother), Ayibarau (She who begets and kills); Oginaranu and Tamarau (Creator), God for these ethnic groups is a female”. This only buttressed the fact that the roles of women and its institutions in the society suffer neglect due to cultural and structural bias, Amaka et al. (2021, p. 28).

Equally worrisome is the thread posed to culture and cultural institutions by the forces of globalization/postmodernism, which emerged strongly in the early 1990s and flooded most cultures around the globe, especially in the developing world Joseph and Adesina (2018, p. 100). Prior to globalization were distinct, robust and clearly defined cultural identities. But globalization obliterates these differences and boundaries, thereby posing a serious threat to culture. Nigeria, being in the centre of this crisis is fast losing its cultural and value system. The tradition of various ethnic groups is fast being replaced with alien culture. Some tradition and cultural practices are almost gone to into extinction. More worrisome is the class of educated elites who seem to have lost touch with the root, and now embracing alien culture, Leman Sunday Francis (2017, p. 108).

4. Discussion

4.1 *Deities and Early Institutions among the Jukun Wapan Women*

Early institutions among the Jukun women are captured in the existence of deities, which is as old as the existence of the Jukun people, Rauta Salleh (2022). The place of a woman, and its institution did not have a formal name. However women activities were coordinated, and represented by the various deities, cult, and personalities namely: the Anwu-tsi, Anwu-kaku, Akwa and Yaku amongst others. Anwu-tsi is the head of all women in the community of Wukari. Her duties include leading the ceremonial annual royal seeds planting to signify the beginning of planting season. This festival cannot hold in her absence. She can also intercede on behalf of any woman who has offended the king or bridge the culture of the land, and her house served as a refuge for those who have committed minor offences. The Anwu-tsi also exercises general supervision of the Ayoku (king's wives), and could fine any of them in the event of misconduct. The role of the Anwu-tsi is very significant among the Jukun. In fact, the Aku (chief) and his cabinets are always careful not to offend her because it is the belief that she has some spiritual powers that could affect the weather adversely when being offended or angered. So her counsels are not taken for granted. In the event of her death, social burial rites are carried out and her hair is buried separately at Puje (ancestral home). Some rituals are thereby done, which will then reveal who the next Anwu tsi will be.

The Anwu-Kaku on the other hand, is the official sister of the Aku (Chief), usually the senior princess of the previous Aku. Literally the Anwu –Kaku meant “child is greater than a king” it is a title bestowed on a matured and responsible princess who mediates, and reconciles princess and princesses. She also helps in appeasing the Aku on behalf of an offender, Mary K. Ta'wan (2022).

Women were actors in a wide range of rites and religious officiating, Lami Yakubu (2022). The Jukun community of Wukari performs some spiritual rites which are made possible with the help of a woman. One of these rites includes the “zha disi” or beer of the hearth. This rite is performed during “Akwa” (pacification of the spirit of the dead). It is done by and for women who lost their husbands. Sacred beer contain in a calabash is administered to them usually by the senior women among them. They take a wooden spoon and pour libation in front of the three pillars or pots which constitutes the hearth in every Jukun kitchen, then calls the name of her dead husband, and wished him farewell as well as protection from evil eyes. The Akwa cult is also use to purge a woman's adultery. During this rite, a guilty woman is requested to provide a sacrificial chicken and corn from which the beer for the rites is performed; she would be made to confess outside the shrine, and lash three times with a cane so as to drive away the spirit of adultery.

One of the prominent deities among the Jukun is the “Yaku”, Lami Yakubu (2022). The Yaku is a deity characterized by twin pillars, placed at the threshold and known as the children of Ma (or Ama). The cult devotees are women, those capable of falling into the ecstatic or convulsed state indicative of possession by the gods or spirit (Ajo). In order to secure the goodwill of the spirit, rites are performed at the beginning of millet harvest. Bear and the blood of a chicken are being offered in morning hours,

while porridge, palm oil, and benniseed are offered in the evening. The function of this cult includes amongst others the wellbeing of the Jukun - bountiful harvest, rain, and fertility in women. It is also belief that the deity in the eastern gate when provoked could invoke famine, drought and epidemic which could affect the people unless she is being appeased with sacrifice by the Aku Uka to relax the severity of the punishment. It is when she is been appeased, that she then tells the Aku where things have gone wrong, apportion blame and warn the king, his ministers, and other traditional title holders who may have been involved in the offense that angered her. But if she only wants to communicate a message about an imminent calamity ahead, she informs and warns the Aku, and recommend necessary precautions against its occurrence. Other duties of Yaku- Keji includes: querying any Ayoku (king's wife) who must have committed a serious offence, usually through inflicting illness. The princes and princesses too never escape her wrath whenever they commit any offence, Wakasa Solomon (2022).

In the Jukun kingdom, it is belief that the Aku and his subjects are being helped by the women at the gate of Uka. The women deity known as Yaku- Keji, and Nana Katume guides the eastern and southern gate respectively. Nana- Katume on her part also brings good health to the people and protects them from harm and evil. Up till date, the Aku offers a black cow for a sacrifice to Nana Katume to keep things right in the kingdom, (Wukari Traditional council, 2022). Essentially the heritage of women as performer within traditional institutions is a powerful one. It may also occur in a ritualized form as with the rituals performed by the Jukun of wukari upon the death of a woman in childbirth. During this ritual, the cult of Buhoro is specially employed for the ritual, (Wukari Traditional Council).

4.2 The Advent of Christianity and Changes in the Cultural Institutions among the Jukun Women

Before the advent of Christianity, the Jukun people believed in the existence of a supreme being known as the creator and sustainer of the universe. They also believe in deities or the nature gods; and the ancestral spirits and the religious functionaries who mediate between the people and the spirit world, Abubakar S (1986). Like any other African society, their religion was not by choice or conversion as obtained in other religions like Islam and Christianity, where it involved denunciation of some social values of the natives, but the traditional religion is the product of the thinking and experiences of their forefathers -institutionalized pattern of beliefs and worships practiced by the natives from time immemorial. It is handed down from generation to generation. This was a binding force among them which dictated the way they live.

With the advent of Christianity however, some of the traditional belief system and practices went into oblivion. This is so because acceptance of the Christian faith means denunciation of some practices and beliefs. In this regard, significant values, cultures, and practices associated with the early institution among the Jukun women demised, Rauta Salleh (2022). Traditional cultural practices particularly those connected with the roles women play now gave way to a new and changed way of life brought about by Christianity. The belief surrounding Anwu tsi, and other practices and rituals involving the "Akwa" were abandoned. The Anwu tsi was believed to have some spiritual powers that could affect the weather adversely, but Christianity made them change this mindset and beliefs instead In God for

powers over the weather condition.

Another area affected is the norms and practices associated with the “Awka” cult, Lami Y (2022). During the Akwa, rituals are performed to pacify the death, and bid the death farewell. The Akwa cult is also used to sanctify a woman’s act of adultery. As part of the process, a woman found guilty is requested to provide a sacrificial chicken, and corn to prepare the beer for the rites. She would then be made to confess outside the shrine, and lash three times with a cane so as to drive away the spirit of adultery, Lami Y. Thirdly is the “Yaku” deity. Amongst other things, the Yaku deity is believed to have powers to provide for the wellbeing of the Jukun, bountiful harvest, rain, and fertility in women, Wakasa Solomon (2022). The Yaku is also believed to provide security at the gate of Uka. The women deity known as Yaku- Keji, and Nana Katume guides the eastern and southern gate respectively. Nana-Katume on her part also brings good health to the people and protects them from harm and evil. It is this pivotal role they were seen to have played, that the Aku often sacrifice a black cow to the Yaku, so as to keep things right in the kingdom (Wukari Traditional Council).

But such beliefs and practices have been replaced with the new found faith in Jesus Christ. Acceptance of Christ as lord and personal savior means denunciation of old ways. So, the old ways now became obnoxious. Christ is now being relied upon as the provider, protector, giver of life and death. Therefore the powers over rain, bountiful harvest, fertility, etc., that was largely associated with deities, now found place in Christianity. What this means is that those institutions, beliefs, and practices have been largely affected, so also the role of women among the Jukun. It is important to note that these institutions did not go into extinction – they still exist – but the practices, and beliefs associated with the institutions have been hugely minimized, and neutralized by Christianity.

4.3 Emergence of the “I Mbya Jin I” Institution among the Jukun Wapan Women of Wukari Area, 2010

As earlier noted, cultural institutions among the Jukun women were not really having a well-known name. The institutions were mirrored in the various deities and cult that existed, but decadence in the practices associated with those institutions and roles being played by women occasioned the emergence of the “I Mbya Jin I” in 2010 through the visionary leadership of Mrs. Rauta Saleh, (Wakasa S). Cultural norms and values seem to be giving in to the forces of globalization/postmodernism, and upholders of the culture are obviously failing in their duties to instill the culture to the younger generation. In order to halt and prevent the community from cultural extinction, some of the women were inspired to restore the lost glory, and introduced new ideas that are in line with what the Jukun Wapan holds.

“I Mbya - Jin ‘I’, is a Jukun Wapan compound word which means ‘correcting our land’ or ‘correction of the land’ Saraya Barnabas (2022). The institution meant to foster development especially among the women. It plays Socio-economic, political, and religious roles amongst others. The “I mbya jin i” institution covers only women from the Jukun wapan of wukari descends. It is a registered institution formed by a few group of women in response to the decadence of cultural institutions which affect their way of life negatively. The broad aim is to restore significant cultural values that were abandoned long

ago. Specifically they are targeting the younger generation of women to instill amongst other things which include:

- 1) Restoring the culture and values as embodied in earlier institutions among the Jukun women which were represented by deities and cults.
- 2) Preparing and preserving the local dishes according to the Wapan culture;
- 3) Bringing back the forgotten norms and values that guides a woman in her matrimonial home as well as the world at large.
- 4) Rising gender egalitarian attitudes that transform economic development into a cultural process of human development.
- 5) And upholding historical legacies from a socio-cultural and political traditions amongst others

“I Mbya Jin I” represents an umbrella institution among the Jukun wapan women. Their activities include advocating for the right of women, and upholding the roles by women in cultural, economic, religious and political spheres (Wakasa S). The women are trained to be responsible members of the society. The institution is also involved in the organization of seminars for the benefit of the women. For examples, during festive period, they prepare and present local dishes and also explain how they are done. They advocate for the use of ancestral language at the home. Their motto is: war against irresponsibility, good rapport among members and the society.

Food preparation with local contents is one area of interest to the “I Mbya Jin I”, and one of the foods the Jukuns satisfied themselves with is the local brewed beer known as burukutu, Meek, C.K. (1929). Apart from beer, another type of food consumed by the Jukuns is the light porridge known as “Afu”. Afu is prepared from grinded millets and mixed with cold water, and then boiled water is added and stirred until it thickens. Dried and grinded sweet potatoes are now added as a sweetener. Other Wapan delicacy includes: Aso cake prepared with corn, benniseed, and sweetener “Kentu” (sugar). In pre-colonial era, Nyibyen (rice) was added in place of sugar. This local cake sustains hunters during hunting campaign. Women who travel long distance for trade as well carries this contends along. The Jukun Wapan has different delicacy but the prominent one is the ‘Aso’. In this modern era, Aso is used in some occasion such as weddings and birthdays to replace modern cake. Its content also helps pregnant women during child birth, (Wakasa S).

There was also the “Adoo or Abo” doo (Benniseed soup), (Wakasa, S). This is a ceremonial delicacy meant for childbirth. During childbirth, certain rituals are performed with Adoo. This ceremony is called ‘Amachon. It is also used for twin ceremony in early days. Unlike the old era, Adoo is now use for normal home delicacy, suggesting that the people are now gradually forgetting the relevance of its use. Other delicacies includes, ‘Afy’ ‘a’ kyakya (fried Bambara nut), ‘Aba’(local moi-moi), Abo fyekin (Groundnut soup), ‘Wasa-wasa (beans porridge), ‘Akwin wa chi-chi’ (boil chicken cooked with palm oil and fried groundnut), ‘Asu pu (sour leaf seed), and ‘Asu Nyu made from locust bean seeds.

Marriage is another target area of the “I Mbya Jin I” institution, (Wakasa S). They oversee and take part in the Jukun traditional marriage. Even though some rituals in marriage are no longer involved due to

the influence of Christianity, they ensure that basic requirements are met. One major role being played by the Jukun woman during marriage is mediation (traditionally known as Kwanben). She does the negotiations on behalf of the suitor with the lady's parents and brings back information to him. In fact, she carries out an errand for all the in-laws concerning the marriage arrangement. If the box presented to the lady's parents is accepted, a date for the formal traditional declaration of the marriage would be fixed. On the appointed date, all parties involved would be present. Based on the Jukun traditional marriage, the following requirement must be met: the woman must have attained the age of 18, and consent to the marriage as well as her parent or guardian (except where the woman shall be married to a traditional title holder). So, the institution supervises the process so as a minor is not given out for marriage. Thus, a marriage shall be contracted upon the presentation to the father or guardian of the woman a bride price and payment of customary gifts, Adihikon and Victor (2012).

Other areas the "I Mbya Jin I" institution concern itself is the household function of a woman and production, Ishaya Nyajon (2022). The role a woman plays in the household varies and depends on age. Grown up women engage in household chores like cooking, taking care of husbands and ensuring that things are orderly in the house. Younger ones are saddled with cleaning of the house, washing of dishes, going for errands amongst others. Women also take part in productive activities such as farming and pottery. They also ensure that women restore and maintain productivity. In a typical Jukun environment, women also participate in productive activities such as farming and pottery. Crops like sweet potatoes, cocoyam, and cassava are extensively cultivated by women, (Wakasa S). Pottery is one of the major crafts among the Jukun Wapan. The processes involve careful selection of refractory clay which is refined down by grinding with a corn-rubber. The clay may be added to prevent the pot from cracking during the process of baking. After the thorough processes, the pot is allowed to dry in the sun for several days, (Meek C K).

4.4 The "I Mbya jin i" Institution among the Jukun Wapan Women Today

The "I mbya jin I" institution acts as custodian of the culture especially among the Jukun Wapan women, Sarah Yohana (2022). This was due to the decay in cultural values and practices as obtained in those institutions among the Jukun Wapan women in pre-colonial times. The decay occasioned by the forces of globalization/postmodernism and the early contact with Christian Missionaries eroded a lot of cultural practices particularly those related with institutions among the Jukun women. Thus, the "I Mbya Jin I" institution appears to serve as a bridge between the pre-colonial times, and present challenges brought about by interaction with the modern world. These challenges amongst other things include, (Wakasa S):

- 1) Adding its voice in debunking the widely held erroneous customary belief system which reduces the woman as only a "second fiddle" useful only in the kitchen, house chores, and child bearing.
- 2) Halting the cultural decadence as noted above, particularly in the aspect that deals with the Jukun Wapan woman
- 3) Confronting the issue of female genital mutilation, child marriage, child trafficking, and prostitution.

4) And speaking to the question of feminism that is widely being accepted among women today. The “I Mbya Jin I” institution is already recognised by the Aku-Uka (Chief) of Wukari, and has been registered with the Cooperate Affairs Commission, (Wakasa S). This places it in a suitable position to address the issues raised above, and has since began it work through presentations at seminars and workshops. In its quest to broaden its scope, and participate in global discourse on issues pertaining to cultural interactions and gender, the institution is participating in events such as world tourism day, and the National Art and Culture event held annually.

5. Conclusion

The roles women, and its institutions play in African society have been underplayed, due to reasons largely associated with cultural sentiments. But evidences emerging proved that women have been significant component of the society. This is particularly the case with the “I Mbya Jin I” institution among the Jukun Wapan women of wukari area of Taraba State, Nigeria. Revelations emerging from the early institutions among the Jukun Wapan women, which were in the form of cults and deities, suggest that women did not only participate in the making of the Jukun community, but are key drivers in the socio-cultural, political and religious front. This suggestion is backed by activities associated with Awu tsi, Yaku, Awka, and Buhoro cults and deities.

Though the advent of Christianity, and forces of globalization eroded the culture and early institutions among the Jukun women, but the emergence of the “I Mbya Jin” institution is restoring its face. It is obvious that western cultures brought about through the influence of Christianity affected the identity and role of the Jukun woman. However, the “I Mbya Jin I” institution established in 2010 is now reaffirming the place of a woman. How far it will go in leaving up to its expectation is not certain. What is certain is that cultural institutions among the Jukun women as we have seen have been significant in the socio-cultural, economic and religious milieu, so long as order and development is concern. What this mean is that cultural institutions among the Jukun women and the Africa society in general are important in chatting a way forward given the cultural, economic and political quagmire.

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