

Analysis of socio-economic determinants influencing women's political participation in Adamawa state-Nigeria: A case study of northern senatorial zone

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ABSTRACT

Women's participation in politics remains a persistent issue in Nigerian political life. Since the inception of democracy in Nigeria, participation has been influenced by various socioeconomic factors, with marginalization continuing over the years. This study examines the socioeconomic factors affecting women's participation in politics in the Adamawa Northern Senatorial Zone, Nigeria. The objective is to assess women's political participation in the zone using a descriptive research design, with data sourced from the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) across various years. The findings indicate that approximately 90 percent of political offices in the Northern Senatorial Zone were occupied by men between 1999 and 2023 in all general elections across five local government areas: Madagali, Michika, Mubi North, Mubi South, and Maiha. Based on these findings, the study recommends that the government address systemic gender imbalances through legal and policy reforms promoting gender inclusivity in politics, mitigate financial barriers that significantly hinder women's political participation, and collaborate with NGOs and political parties to establish financial support systems or grants aimed at empowering women in politics. Additionally, the government should encourage civic engagement and public awareness through grassroots campaigns and initiatives focused on the importance of female political representation.

Keywords:

Politics, Participation, Socio-economic, Women.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Gender inequality in Nigeria is influenced by different cultures and beliefs. In most parts of Nigeria, women are considered subordinate to their male counterparts, especially in Northern Nigeria and other sectors, including the Nigerian music industry. It is generally believed that women are best suited as home keepers. (Bablola, 2014). Feminism did not appear in Nigeria until roughly 40 years ago. This has been attributed to Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti. She was born in Nigeria and was educated through the British schooling system. She supported and fought for women's rights, as well as for women having a larger impact in the Nigerian government. She was a part of the WIDF (Women's International Democratic Federation), which helped more women gain government positions, furthering what she wished to accomplish with women in Nigeria. Ransome Kuti died in 1978. One of Nigeria's well-known newspapers referred to her as "a progressive revolutionary" and "a Pan-African visionary." (Johnson, 2016). The United Nations declaration of 30% affirmation action for women in the Beijing Conference of 1995 was timely; however, there are still constraints yet to be surmounted. In the 2019 general election, women's representation in the House of Representatives was 5.5%; in the Senate, 5.8%. 5 out of 73 candidates running for president in 2019 are women. 1668 men and 232 women are vying for 109 senatorial seats; 4,139 men and 560 women are competing for 360 seats in the House of Representatives. (INEC, 2019).

More women voted in the 2019 elections, but still only one out of three Adamawa senators is female. There are no female members of the House of Representatives and only one female legislator in the 25-member House of Assembly, a decrease from two women in 2015. At the local level, councils usually have only one woman. Nevertheless, women are meaningfully participating in non-state decision-making. They speak more in meetings and are increasingly being taken seriously. Separate women-only meetings that feed back into community meetings are key to ensuring women's concerns, expertise, and realities are raised. There is still a long way to go, however. Women's representation in community platforms can be as low as 5-10%. Meetings tend to be dominated by men. Moreover, women, who are juggling household, childcare, and livelihood responsibilities, have less time to be involved. They are blocked from participation by male relatives. Often, women who can participate tend to

be older, non-disabled, and with some level of power and influence, with perspectives, concerns, and needs of other women hardly reflected in such meetings. (British Council, 2019).

In the history of Adamawa State Northern Senatorial District, Senator Binta Masi Garba is the only female participant in politics who served the Federal House of Representatives three times, from 1999 to 2007 in Kaduna State and from 2007 to 2011 in Adamawa State. She is the first politician to represent two different federal constituencies; in 2009, she was elected as the first Vice President of Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians (CWP) under the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) in Cameroon. She is the only female Senator-Elect in all 19 Northern States of Nigeria in the 2015 elections. She was the only female delegate from Adamawa State to the National Conference in Abuja. (Mohammed, 2019). The objective of this paper is to determine women's participation in politics in the Adamawa Northern Senatorial Zone. As men play a dominant role in the political arena of the state and country in general, legislation and relevant institutions should also create an equal platform for gender participation in politics.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Major Challenges frustrating Women Participation in Politics

The negative participation of women in politics and governance has been a primary subject at the worldwide level. In Nigeria, the wide variety of women collaborating in politics isn't proportionate to the 50% of the nation's populace that they represent and has now no longer translated into the same illustration in political management positions. Rising international attention on troubles of gender equality, aided with the aid of using calls inclusive of that of purpose 3 of the Millennium Development Goals, is bridging the distance created with the aid of using long-time period discrimination towards ladies and supporting to make ladies extra seen in politics. In this context, Nigeria has recognized ladies within the political sphere and covered them in each appointive and non-obligatory position. The challenges facing women are enormous; however, researchers have shown that the underlisted are likely responsible for the huge marginalization of Nigerian women in politics.

2.2 Inequality among Nigerian Women: A Look Back at the Past

It is necessary to make an effort to provide a historical context within which such a culture of gender equality was permitted to prevail and be sustained in order to comprehend the underlying reasons behind the marginal role that women play in politics in Nigeria. It is important to note that women make up about half of Nigeria's population and continue to play important roles in the country's development, including as mothers, managers, community developers, and social organizers (Olabisi, 1998). As a result of the preceding, the question of why women have not been able to transfer their active participation in these other social spheres to the political sphere becomes pertinent. According to Olabisi (1999), the patriarchal nature of Nigerian society is largely to blame for stifling women's ambition and preventing them from fully exercising their rights to political participation.

2.3 The Power Theory

The power theory serves as the article's theoretical foundation. The social sciences always revolve around power (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009). Even though conventional power theory is used in political science to study international relations, it is increasingly being applied to the study of other political developments. Furthermore, Hans Morgenthau was the most prominent power theorist in international relations (Holsti, 1964). Morgenthau viewed power as man's authority over other men's thoughts and deeds (Morgenthau, 1967). Even though power is a concept with a long history, there are significant analytical disagreements regarding its precise definition and other aspects of the conceptual contexts in which it ought to be placed. As a result, it is largely a contentious idea (Gallie, 1956; Lukes, 1974). According to Clegg & Haugaard (2009), it probably only represents a collection of ideas. However, power has been viewed as the capacity to establish reality. According to Clegg & Haugaard (2009), this definition of the real and moral enables the definer to personally establish the conditions for legitimacy (Nietzsche, 1968). According to Clegg & Haugaard (2009), power can therefore be legitimate or based on the threat of violence (Weber, 1978).

2.4 Factors that have increased women's political participation

2.4.1 Women's Empowerment Initiatives

According to Sand Brook and Halfari, women's empowerment is a multifaceted process that involves changing the economic, political, social, psychological, and legal circumstances of the powerless. Its central goals are tied to women's needs for opportunities, facilities, skill acquisition, and positions of authority, particularly in politics. This recent development provides women with the opportunity to develop their individual talents and make a more significant contribution to societal development, subverting cultural and societal norms that have been detrimental to women. One example is the Forum of Nigerian Women in Politics (FONWIP), whose primary goal is to empower women and eradicate all forms of violence and discrimination against women. It helps women make decisions in the private and public sectors. Seminars on inequality and empowerment are among the group's other activities. It has an impact on its agenda. It requested that the government include at least 30 per cent women in government positions; made a number of attempts to make officials more aware of gender-related issues in public policies and held workshops for women who want to run for office.

2.4.2 United Nations and other international organizations' activities#

Government and non-governmental organizations have used international organizations' influence to advance and implement the principles, policies, and actions necessary to end gender inequality in Nigerian politics. In its own capacity, the United Nations (UN) has supported a number of Declarations and Conventions with the intention of putting an end to all forms of political discrimination against women. Among such documents that prohibit women discrimination are;

- The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
- The ICCPR, or International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
- CEDAW, which stands for the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

Women's participation in development has become a recurrent issue following conferences in Copenhagen, Nairobi, Vienna, Cairo, and Beijing. This is because women's access to decision-making power and their full participation in public affairs are now recognized as fundamental requirements for democracy and sustainable development. True democracy is characterized by women's full and equitable participation in the formulation and implementation of decisions in all spheres of public life. Furthermore, a state that excludes half of its population from decision-making processes cannot claim democracy. The UN also has programs and

agencies that work to improve women's status in politics. One example is the 4th Conference of Women, which was held in Beijing, China, in 1995, with the theme "Equality Development and Peace Contriving Strategies" and the goal of ending practices and values that discriminate against women. implementing measures to increase the proportion of women in legislative bodies worldwide; the advancement of women's social, economic, and political status, which is necessary for the establishment of a government that is both open and accountable; ensuring that women will be significantly represented in every organization's decision-making bodies; encouraging women to realize their abilities and significance to political and social change; politically empowering women to participate in the political process as party members, leaders, voters, and candidates by educating and empowering them

2.4.3 Women's Political Support in Pre-provincial Nigeria

Nigeria's political structure was solely monarchical prior to colonization. There were many different kingdoms and societies in the country. Women had an impact on the socio-political landscape of various regions and played active roles in the private and public spheres. They were crowned chiefs, served as queens, served as regents upon the death of the substantive king, and actively contributed to the political development of their societies as rulers in some communities. Women also helped administer justice in the palace courts and advised the kings to ensure the community's growth and survival. In the southern part of Nigeria, queen mothers and other wives of the king were important roles for women to play in palace administration. In the southeast, there were female monarchs known as Omu whose efforts complemented those of the male monarch (Obi) and ensured that women's interests were well represented at the palace (Nelson, 2012). Similarly, women were prominent participants in political affairs in northern Nigeria prior to Islam and colonialism (Anyogu and Arinze, 2013). In the administration of Kanem-Bornu, for instance, the queen mother, also known as Magira, assisted the king in making decisions. In a similar vein, the king's first wife, Gumsu, and official elder sister, Megara, had a significant impact on decision-making (Adjepong, 2015, p. 29). Additionally, women in pre-colonial Nigeria joined their male counterparts in the military to defend their kingdoms' independence and sovereignty or to expand their territory. Queen Amina of Zaria, for instance, was a soldier and empire builder. According to Abdul, et al. (2011), she became the ruler of her city in 1576. It is likewise on record that the Igala Realm, likewise in the northern part of the nation, was established by a lady (Abdul et al., 2011).

Some women in south western Nigeria fought alongside men in various wars, most notably the Kiriji War. They were able to take on more political responsibilities as a result of this. The Iyalode of Egba and the Iyalode of Ibadan are two examples (Abdul et al., 2011). Iyalode holds a position of great privilege and authority. Moremi, a former warrior queen, is also mentioned in Ife traditions (Falola, 2007). Through their participation in the palace courts and their wise counsel, women clearly contributed to the development of pre-colonial society by enacting laws regulating the activities of members of various societies. Because they occasionally served as rulers of their communities and performed admirably in that capacity, one could argue that their contributions were comparable to those of prominent male figures in society. Some of them even fought. As a result, women were not regarded as subordinate to men in the pre-colonial era; rather, they were regarded as contemporaneous because they shared complementary roles with men in their communities (Olomajobi, 2013). Women played important roles in their communities despite the fact that their rights were restricted by a number of obstacles, including social bottlenecks, childbearing and rearing, domestic work, and the fact that there was not gender parity in political participation at the time.

2.4.4 The Political Role of Women in Colonial Nigeria

Under colonialism, the lives of Nigerian women were marked by political inactivity. "European patriarchy" was ushered in by the colonial administration. According to Igbelina (2013). Europeans viewed women as subordinate to men and held stereotypes regarding their roles in the public and domestic spheres. Only after a protest took place were women permitted to participate in politics (Kent, 1990). "These elements of institutionalized male dominance were in no small measure due to the Victorians' ideology, in which women were generally restricted from full participation in the public sphere." While men held positions of power, women were confined to the domestic sphere and marginalized (Okome, 2002). The colonial administration had a number of different effects on Nigerian women, the majority of which were bad for their health (Anyogu & Arinze, 2013). The colonialist economic system prioritized exports and provided men with greater participation opportunities than women did. For large-scale purchases, women were denied access to medium- and long-term loans. According to (Okome 2002) women's traditional economic and political status received little attention, putting them at a

significant financial disadvantage. Women's communal roles gradually diminished (Olomojobi, 2013), and as a result, they were unable to participate in society administration. The legal system, for instance, restricted women's participation in the administration of justice (Okome, 2002). They didn't have a say in the policies that affected them, which made female subordination even more ingrained. The Western educational system, which was introduced with the rise of colonialism, overwhelmingly favored men over women. According to Adjepong (2015), only a small number of females had access to Western education, while men had more job opportunities. In addition, women began to be excluded from indigenous political institutions. However, during this time, women were not completely submissive. In order to express their disapproval of imperialist policies that did not favor women and to articulate their demands, they established women's organizations that served as pressure groups. The 1929 Aba women's riot, in which women protested against outrageous tax increases, forced labor, and political marginalization, serves as a good illustration (Allen, 1975).

2.5 Socio-Economic Factors that Prevent Women for Political Participation

Patriarchy: It refers to a society ruled and dominated by men over women, which in turn has given rise to women being looked upon as mere household wives and non-partisans in decision making process in households not to talk of coming out to vie for political positions.

Stigmatization: following the way politics in Nigeria is played, it is being perceived that it is for individuals that have no regards for human right and are quick at compromising their virtue for indecent gains. Therefore, women aspirants who ventured into politics are looked upon as shameless and promiscuous.

Low level of education: The low participation of women in education is also part of the shortcomings. The National Adult Literacy Survey, 2010 published by National Bureau of Statistics revealed that the adult

Financing: Competing for political positions in Nigerian requires huge financial backup. Most Nigerian women who seek these positions could not afford meeting the financial obligations therein, despite the wavers giving to women aspirants by some of the political parties. And so, they could do little or nothing to outweigh their male counterparts.

Political Violence: Nigerian elections have always been characterized by one form of violence or another since the return of democracy. Female aspirants of various political parties cannot withstand political violence; therefore, women participation in politics is drastically reduced.

Religious and Cultural barriers: Both Christianity and Islam do not accord women much role in public life, and same is obtainable in most cultural values, where women are seen culturally as quite submissive and image of virtue. However, they are not to be seen in public domain. And so it is a challenge to women participation in politics, more so, women found in the corridor of politics are not often religious in practice.

Political Godfathers: is one of the concepts that open narrow doors when it comes to deciding who gets what in the political scene. However, it has effect on women participation in Nigeria politics. Literarily because Godfathers are seen in Nigeria to be men who have the power personally to determine both who gets nominated to contest elections and who wins an election. Godfathers are people of questionable wealth and influences who robbed political parties of their conventional and legitimate functions of presenting clear and coherent programmes on the basis of which the candidates presented by them are chosen by the voters.

2.6 Analysing the Causes of Gender Inequality in Nigerian Politics

Without fully unravelling the root causes of gender inequality, it is impossible to fully comprehend Nigeria's disproportionate gender inequality and the debilitating effects it has on women and the nation as a whole. Normally, the Federal Character of the Nigerian state is supposed to set up a legal and political framework that lets people from all walks of life, regardless of gender, religion, or ethnicity, get involved in politics. This federal character is described by Ayoado (1978) as a conditional alliance with a high degree of tolerance for competing centers of power. According to Susu (2009), "Federalism as a normative basis for a nation's socio-political structure would appear to be primarily a functional and pragmatic accommodation of the opposing principles of unity and separatism, integration and regional autonomy." As a result, men and women are naturally expected to be able to explore their political ambitions within a federal system. In addition, there are no legal restrictions imposed by the constitution that prevent women from fully participating in the political landscape of the nation. However, this would be a narrow interpretation of the gender issues confronting Nigerian women in the context of the political dynamics of the nation. First things first, it's important to know that purchasing a party's nomination form to run for a political position

typically comes at a higher cost. This is especially hard for women because they don't make as much as their male counterparts. In Nigeria, running for political office typically entails a lengthy and torturous process in which potential candidates must earn their way to the polls by paying a sizable bribe, paying respect to political godfathers (also known as reprobates), and making numerous other concessions or compromises that may become increasingly difficult for the political aspirant to bear. Because Nigeria is also a society in which women are more likely to die young than men, the financial costs of running for office are stacked heavily against them, which discourages them.

2.7 Adamawa Northern Senatorial Zone ahead of 2023 General Election

Table 1: Final List of candidates for National Election (SENATE)

S/No.	Name	Party	Gender
1.	Ahmed Usman	ADC	M
2.	Ishaku Elisha Cliff	APC	M
3.	Adamu Mohammed	LP	M
4.	Belel Abdullahi Dauda	NNPP	M
5.	Grace Ezra	NRM	F
6.	Rev. Amos K.Yohanna	PDP	M
7.	Medugu Zakariya Joshua	PRP	M
8.	Ahmed Hadiza	SPD	F

Male: 6(75%), Female 2(25%)

Source: INEC, 2023

Table 2: Final List of candidates for National Election Michika/Madagali Federal Constituency

S/No.	Name	Party	Gender
1.	Yohanna Comrade Shehu	ADC	M
2.	Ayuba Joseph Kwada	APC	M
3.	Kwache Iliya Yame	LP	M
4.	Saidu Mohammed Bashir	NNPP	M
5.	Nyampa Zakaria Dauda	PDP	M
6.	Ali Ibrahim Gadzama	PRP	M
7.	Zailani Sanusi Yahya	SDP	M
8.	Adamu Paul Soma	YPP	M

Male: 8(100%), Female 0(0%)

Source: INEC, 2023

Table 3: Final List of candidates for National Election Mubi North/Mubi South/Maiha Federal Constituency

S/No.	Name	Party	Gender
1.	Hassan Suleiman Saaibu	ADC	M
2.	Magaji Jaafar Abubakar	APC	M
3.	Elkana Simon	LP	M
4.	Mohammed Dauda	NNPP	M
5.	Rufa'i Jingi	PDP	M
6.	Abubakar Idris Zubairu	PRP	M
7.	Iya Baba Mohammed	SDP	M

Male: 8(100%), Female 0(0%)

Source: INEC, 2023

Table 4: Final List of candidates for State Election Mubi North Constituency

S/No.	Name	Party	Gender
1.	Yusuf Abdullahi Lawan	AA	M
2.	Abdulrahman A. Buba	ADC	M
3.	Abubakar Babangida Atiku	ADP	M
4.	Paul Samuel	APC	M
5.	Mohammed Aliyu Abubakar	LP	M
6.	Gidado Muhammad	NNPP	M
7.	Bulus Samson	NRM	M
8.	Yusuf Ishaka	PDP	M
9.	Ladan Hamman Bapetel	PRP	M
10.	Ibrahim Sunday	SDP	M
11.	Sahabo Abubakar	ZLP	M

Male: 11(100%), Female 0(0%)

Source: INEC, 2023

Table 5: Final List of candidates for State Election Mubi South Constituency

S/No.	Name	Party	Gender
1.	Hassan Abubakar	AA	M
2.	Halilu Isa	ADC	M
3.	Abdullahi Abubakar	ADP	M
4.	Sahabo Yohanna Jauro	APC	M
5.	Mohammed Ibrahim	LP	M
6.	Babale Usman	NNPP	M
7.	Beharm Biyaya	NRM	M
8.	Musa Umaro Boboro	PDP	M
9.	Umar Ahmad	PRP	M
10.	Mohammed Aliyu Sudi	SDP	M
11.	Idris Ibrahim Aminu	ZLP	M

Male: 11(100%), Female 0(0%)

Source: INEC, 2023

Table 6: Final List of candidates for State Election Maiha Constituency

S/No.	Name	Party	Gender
1.	Adamu Muhammad	ADC	M
2.	Hassan Nasuru	ADP	M
3.	Yahya Isa	APC	M
4.	Ibrahim Abubakar Modibbo	AA	M
5.	Tizhe Dije Kwatri	LP	M
6.	Ahmed Ibrahim	NNPP	M
7.	Jonathan Aliyuda	NRM	M
8.	Jingi Belel Ahmed	PDP	M
9.	Abdullahi Nuhu	PRP	M
10.	Babale Madina	SDP	F
		ZLP	M

Male: 9(90%), Female 1(10%)

Source: INEC, 2023

Table 7: Final List of candidates for State Election Michika Constituency

S/No.	Name	Party	Gender
1.	Ibrahim Usman Chitta	ADC	M
2.	Ardo Murtala	ADP	M
3.	Danbaba Luka	APC	M
4.	Lalla Dauda	AA	M
5.	Jacob Emmanuel	LP	M
6.	Yerima Moses	PDP	M
7.	Thomas Aiden	PRP	M
8.	Nuhu Luka	SDP	M

Male: 7(90%), Female 1(10%)

Source: INEC, 2023

Table 8: Final List of candidates for State Election Madagali Constituency

S/No.	Name	Party	Gender
1.	Stephen Yakubu	APGA	M
2.	Thomas Wakil Medugu	APC	M
3.	Joel Esther Mildai	ADP	F
4.	Babangida Haruna	ADC	M
5.	Umar Isa	LP	M
6.	Ahmed Hussamaldeen Galadima	NNPP	M
7.	James Ujulu	NRM	M
8.	Jilantikiri Haruna	PDP	M
9.	Mathias John	PRP	M
10.	Peter Bulus	SDP	M

Male: 9(90%), Female 1(10%)

Source: INEC, 2023

Table 9: Facts of Women Participation from 1999 to 2023 General Election in Adamawa State Northern Senatorial Zone

S/No.	Position	No. of Seats	No. of Women Elected/No of Men Elected
1.	Governor	01	F(0) 0% M(1) 100%
2.	Senate	01	F(0) 0% M(1) 100%
3.	House of Representative	02	F(0) 0% M(2) 100%
4.	House of Assembly	05	F(0) 0% M(5) 100%
S/No.	Position	No. of Seats	No. of Women Elected/No of Men Elected
1.	Governor	01	F(0) 0% M(1) 100%
2.	Senate	01	F(0) 0% M(1) 100%
3.	House of Representative	02	F(0) 0% M(2) 100%
4.	House of Assembly	05	F(0) 0% M(5) 100%
S/No.	Position	No. of Seats	No. of Women Elected/No of Men Elected
1.	Governor	01	F(0) 0% M(1) 100%
2.	Senate	01	F(0) 0% M(1) 100%
3.	House of Representative	02	F(1) 50% M(1) 50%
4.	House of Assembly	05	F(0) 0% M(5) 100%
S/No.	Position	No. of Seats	No. of Women Elected/No of Men Elected
1.	Governor	01	F(0) 0% M(1) 100%
2.	Senate	01	F(0) 0% M(1) 100%
3.	House of Representative	02	F(0) 0% M(2) 100%
4.	House of Assembly	05	F(0) 0% M(5) 100%
S/No.	Position	No. of Seats	No. of Women Elected/No of Men Elected
1.	Governor	01	F(0) 0% M(1) 100%
2.	Senate	01	F(0) 0% M(1) 100%

3	House of Representative	02	F(0) 0% M(2) 100%
4.	House of Assembly	05	F(0) 0% M(5) 100%
S/No.	Position	No. of Seats	No. of Women Elected/No of Men Elected
1.	Governor	01	F(0) 0% M(1) 100%
2.	Senate	01	F(0) 0% M(1) 100%
3	House of Representative	02	F(0) 0% M(2) 100%
4.	House of Assembly	05	F(0) 0% M(5) 100%

Source: INEC (2023)

Table 10: indicates that from the return to democracy in Nigeria and Adamawa State Northern Senatorial Zone, particularly from 1999–2023 to date, Adamawa Northern Senatorial Zone has the following offices: Governor, Senate, House of Representatives, and State House of Assembly, respectively. Since 1999, only one female has won the seat of House of Representatives and Senate; she was Distinguish Sen. Binta Masi Garba, who won the House of Representatives in Michika/Madagali Federal Constituency from 2007 to 2011 and the Senate from 2015 to 2019. There have never been any women elected to any of the five seats in the State House of Assembly or Governor's office in the Adamawa Northern Zone. This demonstrated that men dominated politics in the Adamawa Northern Senatorial Zone for the past 22 years.

Table 11: Adamawa State Governors from 1999 -2019 to date and their Tenure in Office

S/No.	Name	Took Office	Left Office	Time in Office
1.	Boni Haruna	May 29, 1999	May 29, 2007	8 years
2.	Murtala Hammanyero Nyako	May 29, 2007	Feb., 26, 2008	10 Months
3.	James Shaibu Barka (Acting)	Feb., 26, 2008	April 29, 2008	3 Months
4.	Murtala Hammanyero Nyako	April 29, 2008	July 15, 2014	7 years
5.	Ahmadu Umaru Fintiri (Acting)	July 15, 2014	Oct., 01, 2014	4 Months
6.	Bala James Ngilari	Oct., 01, 2014	May 29, 2015	8 Months
7.	Umaru Bindow Jibrilla	May 29, 2015	May 29, 2019	4 years
8.	Ahmadu Umaru Fintiri	May 29, 2019	May 29, 2023	4 Years (1 st Tenure)
9.	Ahmadu Umaru Fintiri	May, 29, 2023	To date	

Source: Dedicated to Nigeria's History, Socio-economic and Political Issues (2022)

Table 11: The Adamawa State politics conquered by Men, the workplace of the Governor from 1999 -2023 up to now, out of eight (8) Governors as at date that served the State area unit all from constant gender; out of the eight (8) Governors; Boni Haruna he is the sole Governor that served his complete tenure while not interruption (1999-2007) that's a pair of term in workplace, Murtala Hammanyero Nyako served for under ten months and court invalid his mandate and asked for recent election, the Speaker of the House James Shaibu Barka sworn in as acting Governor for the amount of three months, another election was conducted and Murtala Hammanyero Nyako won and was sworn in as Governor of the State and he served for seven years in workplace, Nyako was impeached supported the advice of the panel of enquiry, the speaker of the House Ahmadu Umaru Fintiri sworn in as acting Governor and served for under four months, the court revised the choice Associate in Nursing Bala James Ngilari, the Deputy Governor of Nyako, became the Governor of the State, and he served for eight months. In 2015, Sen. Umaru Bindow Jibrilla won the election and was sworn in as government governor of the state. He served for four years, and he opposed the incumbent governor, Umaru Ahmadu Fintiri. The uncertainty among the men will not provide a chance for a woman to penetrate the circle in Adamawa State, notably Adamawa Northern Senatorial Zone; the amount invested in politics within the state women cannot afford to play any role.

Table 12: Adamawa Northern Senators from 1999-2023 to date

S/No.	Name	1999-2019	Term in Office
1.	Sen. Prof. Iya Abubakar	1999-2003, 2003-2007	8 years (2 term)
2.	Sen. Mohammed Mana	2007-2011	4 years (1 term)
3.	Sen. Umaru Bindow Jibrilla	2011-2015	4 years (1 term)
4.	Sen. Binta Masi Garba (Female)	2015-2019	4 years (1 term)
5.	Sen. Ishaku Elish Abbo	2019 to Oct, 2023	4 years 6 months
6.	Rev. Amos Yohanna	Oct., 2023 to date	

Source: INEC (2023).

Table 12: In the past twenty-two years (22), Adamawa Northern Senatorial Zone recorded only female senators (2015-2023). She served for only one term in office. Based on track records, men are at the forefront of the battle because they have more resources than women in the zone.

Table 13: Michika/Madagali Federal Constituency from 1999-2023 to date.

S/No.	Name	1999-2019	Term in Office
1.	Hon. Ishayaku Teri	1999-2003	4 years (1 term)
2.	Hon. Bala Ngilari	2003-2007	4 years (1 term)
3.	Hon. Binta Masi Garba (Female)	2007-2011	4 years (1 term)
4.	Hon. Titsi Kwaga Ganama	2011-2015	4 years (1 term)
5.	Hon. Adamu Kamale	2015-2019	4 years (1 term)
6.	Hon. Zakaria Dauda	2019-2023	4 years (1 st term)
7.	Nyampa Hon. Zakaria Dauda Nyampa	2023 to date	Tenure)

Source: INEC (2023).

Table 13: Michika/Madagali Federal Constituency (1999-2023), record a single female in (2007-2011) she served for only 1 term in office. She is the first politician to represent two different federal constituencies three (3) times; out of two (2) in Kaduna State (1999-2003 & 2003-2007), she represents Kaduna South Federal Constituency and one (1) in Adamawa Northern Senatorial Zone. Sen. Binta Masi Garba emerged as the first female state chairman of a registered major political party in Nigeria, the Adamawa State All Progressive Congress (APC), and she conducted the most credible primary election during her tenure in office. The Dream for Nigeria was made by the International Republican Institute (IRI) about a leading female Nigerian politician, and Sen. Binta was one of the women chosen along with others across the county.

Table 14: Mubi North, Mubi South and Maiha Federal Constituency from 1999-2023 to date.

No.	Name	1999-2023	Term in Office
1.	Hon. Njidda Ahmed Gella	1999-2011	10 years (3 term) He died on the 3 rd August, 2009. 4 years (1 term)
2.	Hon. Abubakar Mahumd Wambai	2011-2015	4 years (1 term)
3.	Hon. Shuaibu Abdulraham	2015-2019	4 years (1 term)
4.	Hon. Ja'afar Abubakar Magaji	2019-2023	4 years (1 term)
5.	Hon. Jingi Rufa'i	May, 2023 to Oct., 2023	6 Months
6.	Hon. Ja'afar Abubakar Magaji	2023 to date	

Source: INEC (2023).

Table 14: Mubi North, Mubi South, and Maiha Federal Constituency from inception to date, no single woman emerged as a member. The longest serving member, Hon. Njidda Ahmed Gella, served three (3) terms, and he died on 3rd August 2009, close to the end of his third term in office.

Table 15: Summary Result of 2023 General Election of Northern Adamawa Senatorial District

S/N	Name	Office	Party	Gender
1.	Ahmadu Umaru Fintiri	Governor	PDP	Male
2.	Rev. Amos K. Yohanna	Senator	PDP	Male
3.	Nyampa Zakaria Dauda	House of Rep. (Michika & Madagali)	PDP	Male
4.	Magaji Ja'afar Abubakar	House of Rep. (Mubi South, Mubi North & Maiha)	APC	Male
5.	Paul Samuel	State Assembly (Mubi North)	APC	Male
6.	Sahabo Yohanna Jauro	State Assembly (Mubi South)	APC	Male
7.	Jingi Belel Ahmed	State Assembly (Maiha)	PDP	Male
8.	Danbaba Luka	State Assembly (Michika)	APC	Male
9.	Jilantikiri Haruna	State Assembly (Madagali)	PDP	Male

Source: INEC (2023).

3. CONCLUSION

Over the last 22 years, men have dominated the political landscape in Adamawa Northern Senatorial Zone, with few women holding prominent positions. From 1999 to 2023, just one woman, Senator Binta Masi Garba, had prominent political roles, sitting in the House of Representatives (2007-2011) and then the Senate (2015-2019). Despite her accomplishments, no women have been elected to the State House of Assembly or Governor's office, highlighting male domination in the region's politics. This gender imbalance is partly due to the significant financial investments required to participate in politics, which women in the region frequently struggle to meet. Men have traditionally held

authority, using their financial resources and political influence to preserve control, while women struggle to break through these entrenched barriers. The fact that no woman has emerged from constituencies like Mubi North, Mubi South, and Maiha only reinforces the disparity. The success of Binta Masi Garba, though significant, remains an exception rather than a trend, highlighting the systemic challenges women face in achieving political representation in the Adamawa Northern Senatorial Zone. Without a change in the political structure or an increase in opportunities for women, this male-dominated trend is likely to continue.

3.1 Recommendations

Based on the conclusion regarding the male-dominated political landscape in Adamawa Northern Senatorial Zone, the following three recommendations can be made:

- Government should address the systemic gender imbalance; there is a need for legal and policy reforms that promote gender inclusivity in politics. Implementing quotas or affirmative action policies that reserve a certain percentage of political positions for women at the state and local levels can help ensure their representation.
- Government should provide financial barriers are a significant obstacle to women's political participation, government agencies, NGOs, and political parties should collaborate to establish financial support systems or grants aimed at empowering women in politics.
- Government should encourage civic engagement and public awareness from the grassroots campaigns and public awareness initiatives focused on the importance of female political representation should be promoted.

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