



UPM
UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA
BERILMU BERBAKTI

**INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE ON THE PERCEPTIONS OF
BAUCHI STATE CIVIL SERVANTS TOWARDS NIGERIAN FEDERALISM**

By

ALIYU AISHA AHMAD

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia, in
Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Science**

September 2022

FEM 2022 28

All material contained within the thesis, including without limitation text, logos, icons, photographs and all other artwork, is copyright material of Universiti Putra Malaysia unless otherwise stated. Use may be made of any material contained within the thesis for non-commercial purposes from the copyright holder. Commercial use of the material may only be made with the express, prior, written permission of Universiti Putra Malaysia.

Copyright © Universiti Putra Malaysia



DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Almighty Allah, the beneficial and the most merciful for giving me the blessings, strengths, endurance and perseverance to complete this study.



Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science

**INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE ON THE PERCEPTIONS
OF BAUCHI STATE CIVIL SERVANTS TOWARDS NIGERIAN
FEDERALISM**

By

ALIYU AISHA AHMAD

September 2022

Chairman : Mohd Mahadee bin Ismail, PhD
Faculty : Human Ecology

Federalism is a political structure that allows states to unite under a central government to maintain a measure of independence and interdependence. However, in Nigeria, the renewed calls and agitations from diverse sectors for the restructuring of Nigerian federalism has over the years been characterized by numerous inconsistencies and tensions. This further aggravates the fragile unity, peace and political stability of the country. This study was designed to determine the influence of political knowledge on the perceptions of Bauchi state civil servants towards Nigerian federalism. Specifically, the study was conducted to determine the level of political knowledge amongst Bauchi state civil servants and identify the civil servant's perception on Nigerian federalism, as well as examine the relationship between political knowledge and civil servant's perception on Nigerian federalism among Bauchi state civil servants. The study further examines most influence of political knowledge factors on the civil servant's perceptions on Nigerian federalism amongst Bauchi state civil servants. The political theory of federalism was used to guide the research process of this current study. In order to achieve the research objectives, the study employed quantitative approach based on survey design. A total of 396 respondents were selected through stratified sampling technique from the accessible civil servant's population of 96,728 from Bauchi State of Nigeria. Data was collected using a questionnaire. Descriptive statistics such as frequency range and percentages while inferential statistics such as correlation, factor analysis and multiple regressions was used to analyse the data. The study results from the descriptive analysis revealed that the respondents have indicated a high level of political structural knowledge, high level of political factual knowledge and high level of overall political knowledge. Furthermore, the result shows that civil servants in Bauchi state have high level of perception on federalism. The result also shows that there is a significant correlation ($p < .000$) between political structural knowledge, political factual knowledge as well as overall political knowledge with civil servant's perception of federalism. The research unveils that, political structural knowledge has a positive and significant influence ($p < .000$) on respondents' perception of federalism in Nigeria, with coefficient, weight value of 0.130 and statistically significant at 1% confidence level

while political factual knowledge has significant and positive influence ($p < .000$) on civil servant's perception of Nigerian federalism, with coefficient weight value of 0.500 and statistically significant at 1% confidence level. The findings implies that the higher the political factual knowledge and political structural knowledge, the higher the likelihood of respondent to exhibit good perception about Nigerian federalism. The results of the hypothesis were all supported. However, this study has expanded the body of knowledge in the area of federalism by using political knowledge construct to examine the level of perception of the civil servants regarding Nigerian federalism which can be used in theory development and further debates, as many researches pertaining to political knowledge were basically related to democracy and not federalism. Therefore, the research unveils the importance and most influential political knowledge factors related to Nigerian federalism among the civil servants. Hence, it is recommended that government to design an enlightenment program targeting other civil servants and other population in Bauchi state in order to educate them and enhance their understanding and perception about Nigerian federalism.

Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Master Sains

PENGARUH PENGETAHUAN POLITIK TERHADAP PERSEPSI PENJAWAT AWAM DI NEGERI BAUCHI MENGENAI FEDERALISME NIGERIA

Oleh

ALIYU AISHA AHMAD

September 2022

Pengerusi : Mohd Mahadee bin Ismail, PhD
Fakulti : Ekologi Manusia

Federalisme adalah struktur politik yang membolehkan negeri-negeri bersatu di bawah kerajaan pusat untuk mengekalkan sesebuah kemerdekaan dan kesalingbergantungan. Walau bagaimanapun, di Nigeria, desakan dan pergolakkan daripada pelbagai sektor untuk penstrukturan semula federalisms Nigeria selama ini dipengaruhi oleh pelbagai ketaktekalan dan ketegangan. Ini memburukkan lagi perpaduan yang sedia rapuh, keamanan dan kestabilan politik negara. Kajian ini dibentuk untuk menentukan pengaruh pengetahuan politik terhadap persepsi penjawat awam di negeri Bauchi terhadap federalisme Nigeria. Secara khususnya, kajian ini dijalankan untuk menentukan tahap pengetahuan politik dalam kalangan penjawat awam di Negeri Bauchi dan mengenal pasti persepsi mereka terhadap federalism Nigeria, serta mengkaji hubungan antara pengetahuan politik dan persepsi penjawat awam terhadap federalisme Nigeria. Selanjutnya, kajian ini mengkaji faktor utama pengaruh pengetahuan politik terhadap persepsi penjawat awam mengenai federalisme Nigeria. Teori politik federalisme digunakan sebagai panduan proses kajian ini. Dalam mencapai objektif kajian, kajian ini menggunakan pendekatan kuantitatif berdasarkan kepada reka bentuk tinjauan. Sebanyak 396 responden daripada 96, 728 orang populasi penjawat awam di Negeri Bauchi, Nigeria telah dipilih melalui teknik persempelan berstrata. Data dikumpul menggunakan soal selidik. Seterusnya, data dianalisis menggunakan statistik diskriptif seperti julat kekerapan dan peratusan manakala statistik inferensi pula adalah seperti korelasi, analisis faktor dan regresi berganda. Dapatan daripada analisis diskriptif menunjukkan responden mempunyai tahap pengetahuan tinggi dalam pengetahuan struktur politik, pengetahuan fakta politik dan pengetahuan secara menyeluruh. Selain itu, dapatan menunjukkan penjawat awam mempunyai persepsi tinggi terhadap federalisme. Dapatan turut menunjukkan terdapat korelasi signifikan ($p < .000$) di antara pengetahuan struktur politik, pengetahuan fakta politik serta keseluruhan pengetahuan politik dengan persepsi penjawat awam terhadap federalisme. Dapatan kajian menunjukkan pengetahuan struktur politik mempunyai pengaruh positif dan signifikan ($p < .000$) terhadap persepsi federalisme responden di Nigeria dengan nilai berat pekali 0.130 dan statistik yang signifikan pada tahap keyakinan 1%. Manakala, pengetahuan fakta politik mempunyai pengaruh positif dan signifikan ($p < .000$) terhadap persepsi

masyarakat mengenai federalisme Nigeria dengan nilai berat pekali of 0.500 dan signifikan secara statistik pada tahap keyakinan 1%. Selain itu, dapatan menunjukkan bahawa semakin tinggi pengetahuan fakta politik dan pengetahuan struktur politik, semakin tinggi kemungkinan responden untuk menunjukkan persepsi yang baik tentang federalisme Nigeria. Kesemua dapatan hipotesis disokong. Namun, kajian ini memperluaskan bidang federalisme dengan menggunakan struktur konstruk pengetahuan politik untuk mengkaji tahap persepi penjawat awam terhadap federalisme Nigeria yang boleh digunakan dalam membentuk teori dan perbahasan lanjut. Ini kerana, kebanyakan kajian yang berkaitan dengan pengetahuan politik pada asasnya berkaitan dengan demokrasi dan bukannya federalisme. Kajian ini mendedahkan kepentingan dan faktor pengetahuan politik yang paling berpengaruh yang berkait dengan federalisme Nigeria dalam kalangan penjawat awam. Oleh itu, dicadangkan agar kerajaan mereka bentuk program kesedaran yang menyasarkan penduduk lain di negeri Bauchi untuk mendidik mereka dan meningkatkan pemahaman dan persepsi mereka tentang federalisme Nigeria.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Alhamdulillah, I praise and thank Allah SWT for his greatness and for giving me the courage to complete this thesis. First and foremost, I offer my sincerest gratitude to my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mohd Mahadee Ismail who has supported me throughout my thesis with his patience and expertise with full guidance and commitment, without which this thesis would not have been completed. My sincere gratitude also goes to my second supervisor Dr. Mohd Sabri Md Nor for his encouragement and insightful contributions throughout the entire period of my academic research. My sincere appreciation goes to the members of this thesis examination committee Dr Ahmad Faudzi Bin HJ Musib, Assoc.Prof.Dr. Mohd Izani Mohd Zain and Dr. Mazlan Bin Ali. , And to all staffs of the faculty of human ecology, Universiti Putra Malaysia. My appreciation goes to Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFUND) for their sponsorship and the management of federal polytechnic, Bauchi for their support, and Bauchi state ministries for their cooperation during the research processes.

I could not have finished this study without full support of my beloved father Alh Ahmad H. Aliyu (fagacin katagum) And Alh Hamza Abubakar Sakwa (sarkin shanun katagum) whose dedication, love and confidence in me has taken the load off my shoulder. And to my beloved mother Haj Zahra Muhammad Ahmad for her continues support and prayers throughout the period of my study, I thank you all. Your prayers for me was what sustained me this far.

I would like to extend my deepest appreciation to Dr. Abdullahi Adamu for his mentorship and encouragement have been especially valuable throughout the period of my study. My appreciation also goes to Dr. Mustapha Sa'ad and Dr. Mohd Bashir Sa'id for their awesome contributions. My special thanks to Dr. Mohd Isa Shehu for his enormous contribution and encouragement during the course of my study. My deepest appreciation to my brother Dr. Muhammad A Sulaiman for his advice, prayers and encouragement throughout the course of my study.

I am extremely grateful to my family members. My sisters Jamila, Zainab, Rahanatu, Nafisa, Maryam, Dr. Khadija, Mardiyya and Dr. Siddiqa Ahmad Aliyu. And My brothers Auwal, Hamza, Mahmud, Waziri, Bello and Dahiru Ahmad Aliyu. My special gratitude to my brothers Hassan Mohd Hassan and Hamza Aliyu for their prayers and support during the course of my study.

My special gratitude to my children, Ahmad, Asiya, Fatima, Yahaya and Amina Mohd Tajudeen, without their tremendous patience and understanding in the past few years it would be impossible for me to complete my study. To my dearest sister lubabatu Alhassan, I sincerely appreciate all your prayers and support. My amiable sister Izzatu Usman Waziri thanks for your prayers and encouragement. I would like to thanks my amiable friends Zainab Babban Takko, Asabe Mohd Duguri, Jamila Zakari, and to my Jam'iyya colleagues Haj Hafsat Jiddere, Haj Dijah Ahmad, Dr. Hafsat Bub Biri, Haj Fatima Shu'aibu, Haj Halima Yusuf, Haj Habiba Zakari, Haj Amamata Zakari and Haj Shitufa Hamidu. I word cannot express my sincere appreciation to you. I would like to

show my greatest appreciation to my lovely friend Zanak Abet Samuel for her encouragement and support throughout my studies.

My profound gratitude goes to Dr. Auwal Yahaya Tilde and Dr. Aliyu Danladi Hinna for their encouragement and support throughout the period of my study, I really appreciate. In my daily work, I have been blessed with friendly colleagues. Special thanx to Dr. Kabiru Ilelah, Dr, Mohd Kwarah Tal, Dr Abubakar Shehu Umar, Dr. Ahmed Abubakar Abubakar for their daily guidance and mentoring. Finally, I would like to thank everybody who was important to the successful realization of this thesis.



This thesis was submitted to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia and has been accepted as fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science. The members of the Supervisory Committee were as follows:

Mohd Mahadee bin Ismail, PhD

Associate Professor
Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Chairman)

Mohd Sabri bin Md Nor, PhD

Senior Lecturer
Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Member)

ZALILAH MOHD SHARIFF, PhD

Professor and Dean
School of Graduate Studies
Universiti Putra Malaysia

Date: 12 January 2023

Declaration by Members of Supervisory Committee

This is to confirm that:

- the research conducted and the writing of this thesis was under our supervisions;
- supervision responsibilities as stated in the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Graduate Studies) Rules 2003 (Revision 2012-2013) are adhered to.

Signature: _____

Name of
Chairman of
Supervisory
Committee:

Associate Professor Dr. Mohd Mahadee bin Ismail

Signature: _____

Name of
Member of
Supervisory
Committee:

Dr Mohd Sabri bin Md Nor

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	i
ABSTRAK	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
APPROVAL	vii
DECLARATION	ix
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	xvi
LIST OF APPENDICES	xvii
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	4
1.3 Research Questions	5
1.4 Objectives of the Study	5
1.4.1 Main Objectives Study	5
1.4.2 SpecificObjective	6
1.5 Research Hypotheses	6
1.6 Significance of the Study	6
1.7 Scope of the study	7
1.8 Limitations of the Study	7
1.9 Conceptual and Operational Definitions	8
1.9.1 Political Perception	8
1.9.2 Political Knowledge	9
1.9.3 Federalism	9
1.10 Civil Servant	9
1.11 Chapter Summary	10
2 LITERATURE REVIEW	11
2.1 Introduction	11
2.2 Political Theory of Federalism	11
2.3 The Concept of Federalism	12
2.4 The Evolution of Nigerian Federalism	14
2.5 Features of Nigerian Federalism	18
2.6 The Objects for EstablishingFederations	19
2.7 Concept of Political Knowledge	20
2.8 Dimensions of Political Knowledge	22
2.8.1 Factual knowledge	23
2.8.2 Structural knowledge	23
2.9 Political Knowledge and Political Influence	24
2.10 The concept of perception	26
2.11 Influence of Political knowledge and civil servant's perception on federalism	27
2.12 Related Studies onFederalism	27
2.13 Related Studies on Political knowledge	29

2.14	Relate Studies on Perceptions	30
2.15	Conceptual Framework of the Study	32
2.16	Summary	33
3	METHODOLOGY	34
3.1	Introduction	34
3.2	Research Design and Approach	34
3.2.1	Research Approach	34
3.3	The Study Location	35
3.4	Population of the Study	36
3.4.1	Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria	37
3.5	Sampling Design	37
3.5.1	Sample Size	37
3.5.2	Sampling Method	38
3.6	Questionnaire Design	39
3.7	Pilot Study	40
3.8	Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments	41
3.8.1	Validity	41
3.8.2	Reliability	41
3.9	Data Collection Process	42
3.10	Data analysis	42
3.10.1	Descriptive Analysis	43
3.10.2	Inferential Analysis	43
3.11	Ethical Consideration	44
3.12	Exploratory Factor Analysis for Factors Influencing Political Structural Knowledge, Political Factual Knowledge and Perception Towards Nigerian Federalism	44
3.12.1	PCA of Factors Influencing Political Structural Knowledge	45
3.12.2	Reliability Test for Political Structural Knowledge Scale	48
3.12.3	Factor Analysis of Factors Influencing Political Factual Knowledge Scale	48
3.12.4	Reliability Test for Political Factual Knowledge	50
3.12.5	Factor Analysis of Factor Determining Perception Towards Nigerian Federalism scale	51
3.12.6	Reliability Test for Perception Towards Nigerian Federalism	53
3.13	Questionnaire Response Rate	53
3.14	Summary of the Chapter	54
4	RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	55
4.1	Introduction	55
4.2	Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents	55
4.3	Result of Objective 1: Respondents' Level of Political Knowledge	57
4.3.1	Political Structural Knowledge	57
4.3.2	Political Factual Knowledge	58
4.4	Result of Objective 2: Respondents' Level of Perception on Nigerian Federalism	59

4.5	Result of objective 3: Relationship between Respondents' Political Knowledge (Structural and Factual) and their Perception on Nigerian Federalism	60
4.5.1	H _{A1} : There is significant relationship between respondent's political structural knowledge and their perception of Nigerian federalism	60
4.5.2	H _{A2} : There is significant relationship between respondent's political factual knowledge and their perception of Nigerian federalism	60
4.6	Result of objective 4: Influence of Political Knowledge on Respondents' Perception about Nigerian Federalism	61
4.6.1	Multiple Regressions of Influence of Political Structural and Factual Knowledge on Respondents' Perception on Nigerian Federalism	61
4.6.2	H _{A3} : Political structural knowledge has significant influence on respondent's perception of Nigerian federalism.	62
4.6.3	H _{A4} : Political factual knowledge has significant influence on respondent's perception of Nigerian federalism.	62
4.7	Summary of the Chapter	63
5	CONCLUSION	64
5.1	Introduction	64
5.2	Summary of Findings	64
5.3	Discussion	66
5.4	Implication of the Study	69
5.4.1	Conceptual implication of the Study	69
5.4.2	Methodological Implication of the Study	69
5.4.3	Practical Implication of the Study	70
5.4.4	Implication to Policy	70
5.5	Contribution to knowledge	70
5.6	Conclusion	71
5.7	Recommendation	72
5.7.1	Recommendation for Future Research	72
5.8	Summary of the Chapter	73
	REFERENCES	74
	APPENDICES	82
	BIODATA OF STUDENT	106
	LIST OF PUBLICATIONS	107

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page	
1.1	Distribuiou of powers in selected federal countries	2
3.1	Summary of the Study Research Philosophy	35
3.2	Population of the Study	36
3.3	Sample Size	38
3.4	Summary of Proposed Questionnaire Contents	39
3.5	Result of the Reliability Analysis of the Pilot Test	40
3.6	Reliability Analysis Result	42
3.7	The Strength of Relation for the Correlation Coefficient 'r'	43
3.8	KMO and Bartlett's Test for Political Structural Knowledge	45
3.9	Comparison of Eigenvalues from PCA and Criterion Values from Parallel Analysis for Political Structural Knowledge	45
3.10	Factor Analysis of Factors Influencing Political Structural Knowledge	46
3.11	Factor Analysis of Factors Determining Political Structural Knowledge	48
3.12	KMO and Bartlett's Test for Political Factual Knowledge	48
3.13	Comparison of Eigenvalues from PCA and Criterion Values from Parallel Analysis for Political Factual Knowledge	49
3.14	Factor Analysis of Factors Influencing Political Factual Knowledge	49
3.15	Factor Analysis of Factors Determining Political Factual Knowledge	51
3.16	KMO and Bartlett's Test for Perception Towards Nigerian Federalism	51
3.17	Comparison of Eigenvalues from PCA and Criterion Values from Parallel Analysis for Perception Towards Nigerian Federalism	51
4.1	Socio-Demographic Characteristics	55

4.2	Correlation between Political Knowledge and Perception on Federalism	60
4.3	Multiple Regression Analysis	61



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
2.1	Conceptual framework of the study	32
3.1	Map of Nigeria and Bauchi State, showing Bauchi Metropolis	36
3.2	PCA Screen plot for Factors Influencing Political Structural Knowledge	47
3.3	PCA Screen plot for Factors Influencing Political Factual Knowledge	50
3.4	PCA Screen plot for Factors Influencing Perception Towards Nigerian Federalism	53
4.1	Level of Political Structural Knowledge	57
4.3	Level of Political Factual Knowledge	58
4.4	Respondents' Level of Perception on Nigerian Federalism	59

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix		Page
A	Ethics approval	82
B	Questionnaire	83
C	Results output	90



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This current chapter represent the introductory aspect of the research. The chapter discusses the concept of federalism, political knowledge, the civil servant's perception at the background of the study. The problem statement, research questions and objectives were also discussed in the chapter. Other aspects that were explained in the chapter include the significance of the study, hypothesis of the study, scope of the study and definition of terms.

1.1 Background of the Study

Federalism is a mixed or compound type of government in which a central or "federal" administration coexists alongside regional governments (provincial, state, cantonal, territorial, or other sub-unit governments) in a single political system, with powers shared between them (Broschek, 2016). Federalism is a political framework that allows states to unify under a single government while still maintaining some autonomy and dependency (Tella, Doho & Bapeto, 2014). The goal is to centralize supreme authority while retaining a significant amount of semi-autonomy for the component states (Tella et al., 2014). Power is shared and apportioned between the national and state governments in this system. Both levels have their own agencies and officials who have direct impact over the general public (Daniel, 2007; Tella et al., 2014). The current state of American federalism is characterized by polarization and punitiveness. Political disagreement continues to shape intergovernmental contacts, as it has in previous years. Vertical decentralization, on the other hand, is increasingly characterized by punitiveness. Punitive federalism refers to the federal government's employment of threats and punishment to deter state and local actions that contradict its policy choices (Goelzhauser & Konisky, 2020).

As a result, we'll examine at federalism in the context of Africa. Nigeria's federal experience is exceptional in Africa, noteworthy in the developing world, and significant globally. Although federal initiatives in Ethiopia, South Africa, and Sudan are in the early stages of development, they have the potential to be successful. Nigeria, on the other hand, is perhaps the only African country where "federalism is strongly entrenched," with its constituent sub-federal governments ranking among the continent's most powerful subnational units (Adamolekun & Kincaid, 199; Clapham, 2006; Smith, 2005).

Nigeria is unique in that it has a long history of using federal institutions to manage relations among its estimated 200 million people, who are divided into three major ethnic groups (Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo), as well as hundreds of minor ethnic groups (National Population Commission, 2019). Nigeria currently has a federal government (seated in Abuja, the nation's capital), 36 states organized into six quasi-official geopolitical zones, and 774 constitutionally entrenched local government areas (National

Bureau of Statistics, 2021). The allocation of authorities in a few federal countries is shown in the table below.

Table 1.1: Distribution of powers in selected federal countries

Power	Australia	Canada	Malaysia	Nigeria	Pakistan	South Africa
General administration						
Foreign Affairs	Federal	Federal	Federal	Federal	Federal	Central
Defence	Federal	Federal	Federal	Federal	Federal	Central
Police	Shared	Shared	Federal	Federal	Units	Central
Civil justice	Shared	Shared	Federal	Units	Units	Central
Elections	Shared	Shared	Federal	Shared	Federal	Central
Education						
Primary	Units	Units	Federal	Units	Units	Shared
Secondary	Units	Units	Federal	Shared	Units	Shared
Universities	Shared	Units	Federal	Shared	Units	Central
Health and welfare						
Primary care	Shared	Units	Federal	Units	Units	Shared
Hospitals	Units	Shared	Federal	Shared	Units	Shared
Public health	Shared	Shared	Federal	Units	Shared	Shared
Transport, infrastructure and facilities						
High ways	Shared	Shared	Shared	Shared	Units	Shared
Ports	Units	Federal	Federal	Federal	Federal	Central
Airports	Federal	Federal	Federal	Federal	Federal	Central
Electricity	Units	Units	Units	Federal	Shared	Units
Economic powers						
Agriculture	Shared	Shared	Shared	Federal	Units	Central
Trade and industry	Shared	Shared	Shared	Shared	Shared	Central
Tourism	Shared	Shared	Shared	Shared	Shared	Central

[Adapted from Commonwealth Local Government Forum (2014)]

Defense, foreign policy, citizenship and immigration, and macroeconomics are virtually always the primary responsibility of the federal government (such as currency and foreign trade). Aside from that, the amount to which powers are allocated across different levels of government varies a lot (see Table 1.1). Additional recent federal constitutions have tended to provide more powers to the federal level, in line with the growing role of government in modern societies (Irving, 2008).

Empirical studies has linked citizen's knowledge, perception with federalism. As noted by Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) & Dalton (2000) that, knowledge can be considered Citizens' knowledge and perceptions of federalism have been related in empirical studies. Knowledge can be considered a crucial prerequisite for meaningful political engagement, as mentioned by Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) & Dalton (2000). Political knowledge, according to Ondercin & Jones-White (2011), has a substantial role in people' willingness to engage in various forms of political behavior. Political awareness is an important component of "political sophistication," an attitude that has been linked to high turnout, low prejudice, and a readiness to participate in political activity (Choma & Hafer, 2009). In general, it may be considered that persons with a high level of political intelligence are better equipped to engage in political life and effectively make their voices known in the political decision-making process.

Citizen perceptions, on the other hand, suggest that any service organization's understanding of how perceptions are formed is critical since it enables for the development of strategies to manage customer perceptions of service performance. The physical setting of service sites (Wakefield & Blodgett, 1999), cultural background (Limaye, 2000), and gender disparities all influence perceptions (Lin et al., 2001; Ndhlovu & Senguder, 2002).

However, it is clear that the incessant over-centralization of the system, the growing view of unfairness in income distribution and marginalization of some segments of Nigeria, and the deficiency of fiscal autonomy for the Nigerian states remains alarming challenges for the Nigerian federalism. Hence, there is the need to expand the notion of the influences of political knowledge beyond the conventionally focus on democratic principles to give consideration to the conduct of a conceptually and theoretically comprehensive examination of the influences of political knowledge on the perceptions of the Nigerian citizens particularly civil servants in Bauchi state towards Nigerian Federalism.

Bauchi State is a state in the North-East geopolitical zone of Nigeria. It takes its name from the historic town of Bauchi, which also serves as its capital city. The state was formed in 1976 when the former North-Eastern State was broken up. It originally included the area that is now Gombe State, which became a distinct state in 1996. Of the 36 states, Bauchi is the fifth largest in area and seventh most populous with an estimated population of 8,308,800 Population (NBS, 2022).

What is now Bauchi State has been inhabited for years by various ethnic groups, including the Bolewa, Butawa, and Warji in the central region; the Fulani, Kanuri, and Karai-Karai in the north; the fulani and Gerawa in and around the city of Bauchi; the Zaar (Sayawa) in the south; the Tangale in the southeast; and the Jarawa in the southwest. Religiously, the vast majority of the state's population (~85%) are Muslim with smaller Christian and traditionalist minorities at about 6% and 9%, respectively (AgyemanG-Duah, et al., 2018). As a major agriculture-based state, the Bauchi State economy partially relies on livestock and crops, such as cotton, groundnuts, millet, tomatoes, and yams with advanced irrigation schemes increasing agricultural production since statehood. Other industries include food processing and canning facilities, tin and columbite mining, and tourism in Yankari National Park and its Wikki Warm Springs (Ahmed and Shehu, 2014).

Looking at the above-mentioned discussion on issues and criticism surrounding the concept of federalism in general and the Nigerian federal structure in particular, the researcher argues that there is need to examine the influence of citizen perception and knowledge on Nigerian federalism. This will create an avenue for the researcher to investigate in more in-depth what Nigerian people perceive and know about the federal system and inform the policy on the way forward.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Federalism is a system of government which implement power sharing between federal state and local governments. However, there is evidence in Nigeria that poor intergovernmental relations between the federal and state governments have affected the level of political knowledge of the civil servant's level of perception regarding Nigerian federalism (Dolan, 2011). Inadequate political knowledge or lack of clear understanding of federal system in the country and dominating factor of the centre at the expense of the federating units resulted to poor intergovernmental relations between the federal and state governments which affects the level of perception of its citizens towards Nigerian federalism (Adagbabiri & Okolie, 2018), leading to different challenges such as renewed clamour for restructuring by public affairs analysts, civil servants, politicians, scholars, legal professionals among others (Anazodo, Tina & Uche(2012).Thereby, deterring its potentiality of becoming an emerging economy(Nkwede et al.,2018).

Though, in a plural society like Nigeria, the federal system of government was established to promote national unity while also preserving the distinct social identities treasured by its constituent parts. Furthermore, the federal system's implementation in Nigeria, as well as the country's political structure, has continued to work with a minimum of unity and variety.

Political knowledge is seen as a crucial idea for comprehending citizens' political views and behaviors (Dolan, 2011). Even though the philosophical foundation upon which federalism is founded in Nigeria has the tendency and serves as a viable option for national unity and integration, as well as a platform for good governance, structural and factual political knowledge has influenced information processes, political opinion, and behavior. However, Nigerian federalism is bedeviled by multi-dimensional problems which have to do with resources, ethnicity, regionalism, religion, marginalization, mistrust, rivalry and overall threat to the corporate existence of the entity (Shehu, *et al.*, 2017).

Currently, there are agitations manifested in calls for overhaul of the federal arrangement, disaffections, and insubordination and secession threats against the Nigerian state (Ezinwa, 2018; Aka, 2017; Lanre, 2017; Adagbabiri & Okolie, 2018; Zacchacus, 2013).

Appropriate degrees of political knowledge are regarded to be critical for individuals and organizations to effectively participate in politics, represent their own demands before the system, and establish attitudes that are more than emotion-based (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996). Political knowledge and public participation in politics, according to De Vreese and Boomgaarden (2006), are at the heart of democratic processes. Similarly, Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) asserted that political knowledge influences the quality of citizenship and the collective's health, and that there is a positive association between knowledge and political conduct. As a result, one of the most significant challenges to federalism in Nigeria is how residents view the system. Many people are unaware of how the federal government works, therefore they place a greater emphasis on the center

while ignoring the federating units (Shehu et al., 2017). The functions of the tiers of government are frequently misunderstood by civil servants, causing them to direct their complaints to the wrong entities.

Previous studies on federalism has focused on problems and prospects of power distribution (Uhunmwangho&Ekpu, 2011); fiscal federalism and challenges of development in Nigeria (Nwede, Nwali& Orga 2013); impact on revenue generation for economic development (Okolie& Ochei, 2014); democratization and linguistic complexity (Spirlin, 2016); the impact of fiscal decentralization on economic development (Mykola, Tetiana, Maksym& Anton, 2019). With regards to this, the research argued that despite the challenges identified in the previous studies on federalism in Nigeria as reported in the above-mentioned studies, there is no study that set an investigation on the influence of political knowledge on federalism as a system of government in Bauchi State, Nigeria. This study will fill in this gap to examine the influence of political knowledge on the perceptions of the respondents and to see either there is going to be intervening role of citizen's perception in the relationship between political knowledge and federalism among Bauchi state civil servants in Nigeria.

1.3 Research Questions

Based on the issues raised in the above problem statement, the researcher proposed the following research question:

1. What is the level of political knowledge of Bauchi state civil servants?
2. What is the level of perception of Bauchi state civil servants on Nigerian federalism?
3. What is the relationship between political knowledge and civil servant's perception on Nigerian federalism among Bauchi state civil servants?
4. Which political knowledge factors have influence on Bauchi state civil servant's perception towards Nigerian federalism?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 Main Objectives Study

The objective of the study is to examine the influence of political knowledge on civil servant's perception on Nigerian federalism among Bauchi state civil servant.

1.4.2 Specific Objective

1. To determine the level of political knowledge among Bauchi state civil servants.
2. To Identify the civil servant's level of perception on Nigerian federalism
3. To examine the relationship between political knowledge and civil servant's perception on Nigerian federalism among Bauchi state civil servants
4. To examine most influence of political knowledge factors on the civil servant's perceptions on Nigerian federalism among Bauchi state civil servants.

1.5 Research Hypotheses

H₀₁: There is no significant difference between the level of political knowledge of Bauchi state civil servants and Nigerian federalism

H₀₂: There is no significant difference between the level of perception of Bauchi state civil servants and Nigerian federalism

H₀₃: There is no significant relationship between respondent's political structural knowledge and their perception of Nigerian federalism.

H₀₄: There is no significant influence of respondent's political factual knowledge on their perception of Nigerian federalism.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The information generated from the study would be of immense value to the body of knowledge, the government in the area of planning to the society and country at large, to the civil servants and it would provide a baseline reference point for future studies.

The result of this research has many contributions to the body of knowledge. The study enhances the body of knowledge particularly the field of political science in the area of federalism and public administration as the study show-cased the level of political knowledge and its probable influence on citizen's perceptions regarding federalism. Theoretically, have demonstrated that the theory of political theory of federalism can be applied to understand political knowledge among civil servant.

The study will exhibit the perceptions of the Bauchi state civil servants on the Nigerian federalism. The study will further support the theories relevant to influence the continuous unity and cohesion of Nigerian federalism. This study is significant because it will bridge the gap that exists in the previous literature due to the fact that, the data that will be

collected will be used to establish a relationship between citizen's knowledge and perception with Nigerian federalism among Bauchi state civil servant which is generally scarce in the existing literature.

The proposed study will aid policy makers in Bauchi state and other federating units to identify their powers vice-vice the central and local governments. It will also enlighten Nigerians on the uniqueness of the system operating with three tiers of government. This information will specifically be useful in designing modalities for public enlightenment programmes. Similarly, the outcome of the proposed study will guide civil servants, particularly towards enhancing citizens' views and perceptions about governance.

1.7 Scope of the study

The study will involve only Bauchi state civil servants due to their policy relevancy, particularly with emerging speculation and agitation about restructuring of governments that has become an issue of discussion among the general public in all the nooks and crannies of the country. The proposed study will focus on the influence of citizen's political knowledge on perceptions towards federalism. Therefore, the findings of this study will be generalized on the entire Bauchi state civil servants.

In addition, the study using survey cross – sectional research design which will use primary data that will be collected within short period of time on citizen's knowledge and perception towards federalism in Nigeria. Therefore, the findings of this study may not suite the characteristics of other citizen's opinion of political behaviour, political attitude, political awareness etc. due to variation in nature of respondents.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

Due to financial and time constraints, this study is limited to Bauchi state. Secondly, the study covers only two independent variables namely; citizen's knowledge and perception which were derived from Marr's model of perception and one dependent variable i.e. federalism derived from political theory of federalism. Finally, the study only covers civil servants in Bauchi, that is, those are working under federal, state and local government areas without considering civil servants from other sectors of Nigeria.

One of the limitations for this research study has been the time factor. The study is cross-sectional in nature, by making the study longitudinal the level of detail obtained would have been greater if more time had been available for the research work. This work has only been able scratch the surface of the issue, but even at that, the cross-sectional approach of the work indicates huge possibilities and promise for citizens' perception on Federalism. Due to the nature of the study (cross sectional), causativeness cannot be inferred. Longitudinal study designs are required to stress fundamental relationships among the variables.

Furthermore, because the study was cross-sectional, the results of the survey are geographically and culturally limited to the context of Bauchi state, one of Nigeria's 36 states, which is located in the north eastern region of the country. The study's generalizability may be limited as a result of this. However, when evaluating the notion in other states inside or beyond the geopolitical region, such as those in the country's southeast and southwest, this may not be the case.

In terms of the methods adopted, similarly there are some limitations. For example, the use of self-developed as well as self-reported scales to measure the variables in the study might provide avenue for bias for some of the results. Another perceived drawback in this study is owing to the study population, sample size, the number of variables used and the combination techniques used in this study. Apply the same approach to other class of citizens such as households provide difference in the result arrived at. Nevertheless, the findings of this research are consistent with the perspective of other studies and hence indicates the representativeness and validity of the work.

Furthermore, while accessing the results of the current study, another possible limitation that should not be overlooked is that of sample characteristics. All respondents were employees of state government, employees of local government were not considered. Moreover, the sample is narrow to only three main ministries, staffs of some agencies under these ministries were not considered. This manner in which samples were drawn calls into the query the issue of generalizability. Future study should gather data from all the employees of the ministries including those in agencies and also local governments in the state that were not involved in this study.

In addition, respondents were asked to rate themselves on political knowledge as well as perception on federalism. The choice of data collection using self-reported methods may lead to “the common method variance” and therefore increase the reported relationships between dependent and independent variables. Though, there some reasons that cause escalation of the results due to “the common method variance”. The respondents may change the outcomes to sustain consistency in their answers to the questions or to show themselves in a positive light, irrespective of their actual feelings. Thus, in order to avert these, the information on dependent and independent variables should be obtained from diverse sources. Furthermore, time-based separation may be made by introducing a time lag among the measurement of the criterion and predictor variable.

1.9 Conceptual and Operational Definitions

1.9.1 Political Perception

Conceptual Definition: Merriam-Webster (2003, p. 918) define perception as a result of “a) perceiving: observation, b) a mental image: concept. Schiffman *et al.*, (2007) defined perception as the process by which an individual receives, selects and interprets stimuli to form a meaningful and coherent picture of the world.

Operation Definition: The level of perception towards federalism in this study will be determine based on certain opinions that people often have regarding federal system of government.

1.9.2 Political Knowledge

Conceptual Definition: Political knowledge, according to Boudreau and Lupia (2011), is a measure of a citizen's ability to deliver correct responses to a series of fact-based questions. Political knowledge, according to Clark (2013), is data about a political system that a person can retrieve from memory in order to analyze and understand events and changes within that system.

Operational Definition: Political knowledge in this study comprises Bauchi state civil servant' ability of understanding realities about political system of the country, what they can understand and recall.

1.9.3 Federalism

Conceptual Definition: Federalism is a political framework that allows states to unify under a single government while still maintaining some autonomy and dependency (Tella et al., 2014). According to Daniel (2007), federalism in Nigeria refers to a variety of political arrangements to which the term federalism has been legitimately used.

Operational Definition: Federalism in this study is a political structure that allows all the Nigerian states and local government areas to unite under a government (federal government) as a republic to maintain a measure of independence and interdependence.

1.10 Civil Servant

Conceptual Definition: A civil servant, is a person employed in the public sector by a government department or agency for public sector undertakings (Ferris and Judge 1991).

Operational Definition: A civil servant, also known as a public servant, is a person employed in the public sector by a government department or agency for public sector undertakings. Civil servants work for central and state governments, and answer to the government, not a political party.

1.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter mainly discusses the introductory parts of the research. As the first chapter of this thesis opens with the background of the study which established the need for this study based critical literature support and further describes federalism, political knowledge, the civil servant's perception and their relationships. However, the chapter discusses the underpinning problems, the research question, and objective of the study. Also, the chapter also covered the significance of the study and conceptual definition of terms.



REFERENCES

- AgyemanG-Duah, A.O. Alapiki H. and Odondiri, P. G. O. (2018) —Federal State Relations in Nigerial in Henry, E. A. (ed.) —Human Development Issues in Nigerial. Owerri: Spring Fold Publishers.
- Azumi, S. E., Flickinger, R. S., Baker, J. R., Rhine, S. L., & Bennett, L. L. M. (2019). Citizens' knowledge of foreign affairs. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 1(2), 10–29.
- Ana-zado, O. S., Ecchem, M. O. and Nwoko, M. C. O. (2017). The Theory and Practice of Federalism: A Critical Analysis of History and Global Trend. *International Journal of Scientific Engineering and Science*, Vol. 1, Is. 7, pp. 42-49.
- Ahmed, M., & Shehu, M. I. (2014). Democracy and Its Adoption in Nigeria: Western Liberal or Indigenous Option, 5, 63–68.
- Adigwe, F. (1974), *Essentials of Government of West Africa*, Ibadan: Oxford University Press
- Aliff, S. M. (2015). New Trends & Models in Federalism. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, Vol. 20, Is. 11, Ver., I, pp.71-79.
- Awa, E. (1976). *Issues in Federalism*, Benin City: Ethiope Publishers
- Abah, N. C. (2016). Federalism, Democracy and the National Question in Nigeria. *Journal of Research in Business and Management*, Vol. 4, Is. 3, pp. 26-32
- Agara, T. (2014). "Negotiating the Federal Accommodation: Minorities and the Issue of the National Question in Nigeria," *Journal of Global Initiatives: Policy, Pedagogy, Perspective*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp.47-68
- Ajaigun, E.I. (2006). Federalism, Nigeria Federal Constitution and the Practice of Federalism; An Appraisal. *Beijing Law Review*, 8, 287-310.
- Adagbabni, U. M. and Okolie, N. G. (2018). *Federalism and territorial cleavages*. JHU Press and Social Sciences. Vol. 1 PP. 1-9.
- Anyebe, A.A (2015). Development planning in a Federal Set-up: Nigeria's Experience. (Zaria: Shereef Salam Press).
- Ary, D., Jacobs, L., Sorensen, C. (2010). Introduction to Research in Education. (C. C. C. Shortt, Ed.) (eight editions). United States: Wadsworth 10 Davis Drive Belmont, CA 94002-3098 USA.
- Awa, E.O. (2018), *Issues in Federalism*. Benin City: Ethiope Publishing Corporation.
- Boomgarden, J. (2019). The Political Science of Federalism. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 7, pp. 269-288.

- Bouckaert, R. & Vandewalle, R. (2003). *Federalism in a Changing World – A Conceptual Framework for the Conference in Blindenbacher, R. & Koller, A. Federalism in a Changing World – Learning from Each Other*. McGill-Queens University Press
- Bednar, S. E., Flickinger, R. S., Baker, J. R., Rhine, S. L., & Bennett, L. L. M. (1999). Citizens' knowledge of foreign affairs. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 1(2), 10–29.
- Benz, A., and. (2013). Federal dynamics: introduction. *Federal Dynamics: Continuity, Change and Varieties of Federalism*, 1-23. Banerjee, A., & Chaudhury, S. (2010). Statistics without tears: Populations and samples. *Industrial Psychiatry Journal*, 19(1), 60. <https://doi.org/10.4103/0972-6748.77642>
- Boudreau, K. N., and Lupia, R. M. (2011). Interlocal cooperation and the distribution of federal grant awards. *The Journal of Politics*, 66(3), 800-822.
- Bischof, D., and Senninger, R. (2018). Simple politics for the people? Complexity in campaign messages and political knowledge. *European Journal of Political Research*, 57, 473–495
- Bolleyer, N. (2009). *Intergovernmental cooperation: rational choices in federal systems and beyond*. Oxford University Press.
- Bartels, M. (1996). *Comparative federalism: Theory and practice*. Routledge.
- Bruchek, M. (2016). *Comparative Federalism: Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge 270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016.
- Commonwealth Local Government Forum, *Commonwealth Local Government Handbook 2013/14* (London: Commonwealth Local Government Forum, 2014
- Campbell, David E. (2008). “Voice in the Classroom: How an Open Classroom Climate Fosters Political Engagement Among Adolescents.” *Political Behavior*, vol. 30 (4): 437-454.
- Champ, P. A., Boyle, K. J., and Brown, T. C. (2003). *A primer on nonmarket valuation* (Vol. 3): Springer.
- Clark, R. (2011). “Political Awareness and Electoral Campaigns: Maximum Effects for Minimum Citizens?” *Political Behavior*, vol. 33 (4): 203-223.
- Connelly, L. M. (2008). Pilot Studies. *MEDSURG Nursing*, 17, 411–412.
- Creswell, J. (2014). *Research Design* (4th ed.). California: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Dalton, R., (2009). *The Good Citizen*, 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press.
- Delli Carpini, M. X., and Keeter, S. (1996). *What Americans know about politics and why it matters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

- Ebegbulem, J.C (2011), "Federalism and The Politics of Resource Control in Nigeria: A Critical Analysis of the Niger Delta Crisis", *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Vol. 1 No. 12; September*
- Elazar, D.J. (1987). "Viewing Federalism as Grand Design" in Daniel J Elazar (ed.), *Federalism as Grand Design: Political Philosophers and the Federal Principle*. University Press of America.
- Eveland, W. P. and Schmitt, J. B. (2015). Communication content and knowledge content matters: Integrating manipulation and observation in studying news and discussion learning effects. *Journal of Communication*
- Eme, C.I; Onyishi, A.O. and Sam, C.U (2017), "Preserving Federalism, Local Autonomy in a Resource Dependent Rural State: A Case of Nigeria", *Kuwait Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review Vol. 1, No.3; November*
- Elaigwu, J. I. (2005), *The Politics of Federalism in Nigeria* Jos, Nigeria: Ayaotu Publishers
Journal of Policy and Development Studies Vol. 9, No. 2, February 2015
- Erim T. S. (1996). Federalism and Nigerian's Political Future: A Comment, 87(348), 431–439.
- Ezenwa, U. (2018). "Participatory Politics: The Socio-Economic Dimension", NIPSS onference Proceeding
- Eskridge, C. & Ferejohn O. U. (1999). Federalism: Problems and Prospects of Power Distribution in Nigeria. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 14(4), 117–130.
- Fatile, J.o and Adejuwon, K.D (2019), "Intergovernmental Relations in Nigeria: An Appraisal of the Involvement of Local Government", *The Constitution: A Journal of Constitutional Development*, Vol 8. Nos 3, September
- Ferris, G. R., Treadway, D. C., Kolodinsky, R. W., Hochwarter, W. A., Kacmar, C. J., Douglas, C., and Frink, D. D., (2007). Development and validation of the political skill inventory. *Journal of Management*, 31(1), 126–152
- Ferris, B.O.G and Judge V. C. (1991) The Nigeriana Civil Service and Promotion of Sustainable Human Development: A Critical Analysis *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review (Oman Chapter) Vol. 1, No.9*
- Field, A. (2009). *Discovering Statistics Using Spss*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Galston, W. A, (2001). Political knowledge, political engagement and civic-education", *Annual Review of Political Science*, 4 (1): pp. 217–234
- Galston, W. A., (2004). Civic Education and Political Participation, P.S.: *Political Science and Politics*, April: 263-266
- Gibson, E. L. (Ed.). (2004). *Federalism and democracy in Latin America*. JHU Press.

- Granger, S., Neville, L. and Turer, N., (2019). Political knowledge at work: Conceptualization, measurement, and applications to follower proactivity; *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology* (2020), 93, 431–471
- Grant, A. M. and Ashford, S. J., (2008). The dynamics of proactivity at work. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 28, 3–34. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.riob.2008.04.002>
- Guo, X., Liu, H., Mao, X., Jin, J., Chen, D., & Cheng, S. (2014). Willingness to pay for renewable electricity: A contingent valuation study in Beijing, China. *Energy Policy*, 68, 340-347.
- Hamilton, Al. (2020). The federalist papers. John Jay, James Madison. New York, NY: Open Road Integrated Media. ISBN 978-1-5040-6099-8. OCLC 1143829765.
- Hertzog, M. A. (2008). Considerations in determining sample size for pilot studies. *Research in Nursing & Health*, 31(2), 180–191. <https://doi.org/10.1002/nur>
- Ismail, A. G. B., and Hamzah, M. Z. (2006). Fiscal decentralization and economic growth nexus: Evidence from province-level cross-section data for Indonesia. *Review of Islamic Economics*, 10(2), 133–149. [Google Scholar]
- Jacobi, T. (2005). The Subtle Unraveling of Federalism: The Illogic of Using State Legislation as Evidence of an Evolving National Consensus. *NCL Rev.*, 84, 1089.
- Kadilar, C., and Cingi, H. (2003). Ratio estimators in stratified random sampling. *Biometrical Journal*, 45(2), 218-225.
- Kaisa, H., Henrik, S. C. and Kimmo, G., (2019). The influence of political knowledge on opinion polarization in citizen deliberation, *Political Research Exchange*, 1:1, 1-23
- Kleinberg, M. S. and Lau, R. R., (2019). Richard R. The Importance of Political Knowledge for Effective Citizenship differences Between the Broadcast and Internet Generations *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 83, No. 2, pp. 338–362
- Liu, Y. I., Shen, F., Eveland, W. P., and Dylko, I. (2013). The impact of news use and news content characteristics on political knowledge and participation. *Mass Communication & Society*, 16, 713–737
- Livingston, W. S. (1952). A Note on the Nature of Federalism. *Political Studies Quarterly*, Vol. LXII, No, 2.
- Livingston, W. S. (1963). *Federalism and Constitutional Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tella, C., Obiyan, A. S., & Akindele, S. T. (2002). The Federal Character Principle and Gender Representation. *Nigeria Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(4), 241-246.
- Jandt, A. (1995). Intergovernmental Relations, Governance and Development in Nigeria. In Festus O. E.; Aiyede, E.R.; Benjamin, S.A.; Dlakwa, H.D. and Ikelegbe. A.(eds.). *Intergovernmental Relations in Nigeria*. John Archers Press, Dugbe Ibadan

- Job, A.H.M., (2005) *The General of the Nigerian Civilian and the Theory of Fear*, Nordoc African Institute, Uppsala
- Irvin, G. E. (2008) *Ethnic Conflict Management in Africa: A Comparative Case Study of Nigeria and South Africa. Beyond Intractability* Retrieved From <http://www.beyondintractability.org/casestudy/irobi-ethnic> 09/30/2016
- Iyade, A. F., and Bello, A. R. (2016). *The Application of Federal Character Principle and Its Implication on Service Delivery in Nigerian Federal Civil Service* *International Journal of Human Resource Studies*, 5(3), 1-22.
- Lupia, A. (2016). *Uninformed: Why people know so little about politics and what we can do about it.*
- Miranda, Lin-Manuel; McCarter, Jeremy (2016). *Hamilton: The Revolution*. Grand Central Publishing. pp. 142–143. ISBN 978-1-4555-6753-9.
- Momm, T., Blickle, G., and Liu, Y., (2010). *Political skill and emotional cue learning. Personality and Individual Differences*, 49, 396–401
- Morrison, E. W., and Phelps, C. C. (1999). *Taking charge at work: Extra role efforts to initiate* New York, NY: Oxford University Press
- Nadeem Ul Haque, Musleh-Ud Din, M. Idrees Khawaja, Wasim Shahid Malik, Faheem Jehangir Khan, Saima Bashir, And Syeda Izzah Waqarperception (2006) *Survey of Civil Servants: A preliminary Report. The Pakistan Development Review* 45: 4 Part Ii (Winter 2006) Pp. 1199–1226
- Nathan, R. P. (2006). *Updating Theories of American Federalism*. To be presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 02.
- Nugroho, S., (2018). *Factor affecting the political knowledge of firsttime voters: a survey on first-time voters in Indonesia*
- Nwabueze, O. B. (1983). *Federalism in Nigeria under the Presidential Constitution*. London: Sweet and Maxwell
- Norman, W. (2006). *Negotiating Nationalism: Nation-Building, Federalism, and Succession in the Multinational State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Obi, E. A. (2019). *The Theory, Practice and Current Trends in Federalism. Journal of Social Service and Welfare*, 1(1), 10-20.
- Obiyan, A.S. (2010). *Federal State Relations and Nigerian Federalism: Decentralization in Disarray*. In F. Omotosho, A.A. Agagu and O. Abegunde (Eds), *Governance, Politics and Politicians in Nigeria: An Essay in Honour of Prof. DipoKolawole*, Port Novo: SonouJ'Afrique (ESAF), PP. 156-172.
- Ondercin, A. & Jones, W (2011). *Institutional Tools of Conflict Management - Asymmetrical Federalism in Ethnic- Territorial Conflicts: Quantitative Analysis of Russian Regions. Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, pp. 251-280. [57]

- Oyovbaire, A. (2014). The Role of Asymmetrical Federalism in Ethnic-Territorial Conflicts in the Era of Democratization: The RF as a Case Study. *EUI Working Paper* 2014/16
- Ojo, B. A. (2001). Problems and prospects of sustaining democracy in Nigeria. Nova Publishers
- Ojo, E.O. (2009), 'Nigerian Federalism in Historical Perspective'. *Ilorin Journal of Arts*
- Okhaide, P.O. (1992), 'Federal-State Relations. In Imobighe, T.A. (ed.), *The Politics of the Second Republic*. Kuru, Nigerian Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies. PP. 535-565.
- Okorie, O. C and Greg, E. (2013) Federal character policy, Nation Building and National Integration in Nigeria: Issues and Options *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* Vol 4 No 16
- Oni, E. O. (2017). Governance and Prebendalism in Nigeria: International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research. 5(4), 424-436.
- Osifeso, B. (2011). The Principle of Federal Character in Nigeria: Implication for Federal Stability available online at <http://nigeriaworld.com/articles/2011/apr/043.html> (accessed August 13, 2017).
- Osuji, E. K. (2016). Opinion: 3Rs and No Victor No Vanquished Policies: The Greatest 419 in Nigeria. *THEWILL*, January 9, 2016
- Owen, D. and Soule, S., (2015). Political Knowledge and Dimensions of Political Engagement; Paper presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco
- Oyadiran, P. and Toyin, O. S. (2015) Federal Character and Political Integration In Nigeria *Global Journal Of Political Science And Administration* Vol.3, No.4, Pp.37-50
- Panter-Brick and Dawson (1970), "Nigerian Politics and Military Rule" in S.K Panter-Brick (ed) *Nigerian Politics and Military Rule: Prelude to Civil War*. (London, Athlone) p. 131.
- Parker, S. K., Wang, Y., and Liao, J., (2019). When is proactivity wise? A review of factors that influence the individual outcomes of proactive behavior. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, 6, 221–248
- Pastarmadzheva, D., (2015). Political Knowledge: Theoretical Formulations and Practical Implementation; *Trakia Journal of Sciences*, Vol. 13, Suppl. 1, pp 16-21.
- Perrewe, P. L., Ferris, G. R., Frink, D. D., and Anthony, W. P., (2000). Political skill: An antidote for workplace stressors. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 14(3), 115–123

- Riker, W. (1987). *The Development of American Federalism*. USA: Kluwer Academic Publisher.
- Riker, W. (1975). "Federalism" in Greenstein, F. I. & Polsby, N. (eds). *Handbook of Political Science. Volume V: Government Institutions and Process*. Reading M.A: Addison-Wesley.
- Rodden, J. A., and Rodden, J. (2006). *Hamilton's paradox: the promise and peril of fiscal federalism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Roy AN (2020). "Introduction", in Roundtable on Mechanism of Intergovernmental Relations, Institute of Social Sciences, New Delhi.
- Schaeffer, R., Mendenhall, W., & Ott, L. *Elementary Survey Sampling*, 1990: Duxbury Press, California, USA.
- Sekaran, U, and Bougie, R. (2013). *Research Methods for Business*. In *Research methods for business* (p. 436).
- Sekaran, U. (2003). *Research Methods for Business*. New York: John Milley and Sons: Inc. Smith, R. A. (2010). Federalism. In *The American Anomaly* (pp. 55-66). Routledge.
- Sekaran, Uma. (2006). *Research method of business: A skill-building approach*. Writing. <https://doi.org/http://www.slideshare.net/basheerahmad/research-methods-for-business-entire-ebook-by-uma-sekaran>
- Shaul, B., (2019). *Political Knowledge and Political Engagement in the United States*; University of Central Florida
- Shulman, H. C., and Sweitzer, M. D. (2018). Varying metacognition through public opinion questions: How language can affect political engagement. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 37(2), 224–237
- Sotirovic, M., and McLeod, J. M. (2004). Knowledge as understanding: The information processing approach to political learning. In L. L. Kaid (ed.) *The handbook of political communication research*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, pp. 357–394
- Spirling, A. (2016). Democratization and linguistic complexity: The effect of franchise extension on parliamentary discourse, 1832–1915. *The Journal of Politics*, 78, 120–136
- Singh, R. & Masuku, P. (2016). Re-Examination of Federal Theories: Prospect and Challenges. *Higher Education of Social Science*, 11 (5), pp.18-22.
- SPSS, I. (2011). *IBM SPSS statistics base 20*. Chicago, IL: SPSS Inc.
- Suberu, R. (2010). The Nigerian federal system: performance, problems and prospects. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 28(4), 459-477.
- Suberu RT (2016). "Federalism and Political Instability in Nigeria" *Plural Soc.* 19(23).

- Sundram, V., Rajagopal, P., & Bhatti, M. (2013). Social Science Research Methods: A Quantitative Approach. *Petaling Jaya, Selangor: Malaysian Association of Productivity*.
- Sutton, S. (2009). Encyclopedia of Survey Research Methods. *Library Journal*, 134, 89.
- Taylor, J. (2013). Confusing stats terms explained: Internal consistency. *Stats Make Me Cry [blog]*, 8.
- Teddlie, C., and Yu, F. (2007). Mixed Methods Sampling: A Typology With Examples. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(77).
- Tolochko, P., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2018). Analysis of linguistic complexity in professional and citizen media; *Journalism Studies*, 19(12), 1786–1803
- Trow, M. (1993). Federalism in American higher education. *Higher Learning in America, 1980-2000*, 39-65.
- Uhunmwangho, S. O., & Ekpu, C. E. (2011). Federalism: Problems and prospects of power distribution in Nigeria. *Journal of sustainable development in Africa*, 13(5), 172-183.
- Vanek, C. (2012). Likert Scale-What is it? When to Use it? How to analyze it? *Widgix, LLC dba SurveyGizmo*, 24.
- Watts, R. L. (1998). Federalism, federal political systems, and federations. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1(1), 117-137.
- Weaver, V., Prowse, G. and Piston, S., (2019). Too Much Knowledge, Too Little Power: An Assessment of Political Knowledge in Highly Policed Communities. *The Journal of Politics*, volume 81, number 3 Published online June 19, 2019. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/703538q> 2019 by the Southern Political Science Association workplace change. *Academy of Management Journal*, 42, 403–419
- Watts, R.L. (2000), 'The Contemporary Relevance of the Federal Idea' *African Journal of Federal Studies*. Vol. 1 No.1 PP. 2-18
- Where, K.C. (1963), *Federal Government*. New York, Oxford University Press.
- Where, K.C. (1953), *Federal Government*, 4th Edition, London Oxford University Press
- World Health Organization. (2001). *Health research methodology: a guide for training in*
- Zabadi I. S. and Gambo, A. N. (2000) —Federalism and National Security in Nigeria *African Journal of Federal Studies*, Vol. 1 No. 1, 65-81
- Zhang, L., and Wu, Y. (2012). Market segmentation and willingness to pay for green electricity among urban residents in China: The case of Jiangsu Province. *Energy Policy*, 51, 514- 523.