

Chapter 6

Conflict and Crisis Management: Rethinking Techniques and Strategies

Raymond Adeniyi Akinlotan

Crawford University, Igbesa Ogun State, Nigeria.

Olalekan R. Kesinro

Crawford University, Igbesa Ogun State, Nigeria.

Oladotun M. Fatumbi

Administrative Staff College of Nigeria,
Topo-Badagry, Nigeria.

Abstract

Conflict is not a new incidence in modern political, social, economic and cultural settings. Indeed, conflict is as old as human history or organised human activities. However, in today's society characterised by rapid social, political, economic, technological and cultural changes, almost all institutions and establishments are threatened by the nature, magnitude and frequency of individual as well as group conflicts. A clear understanding of the concept is necessary would be helpful in the analysis of the causes, consequences and eventual management, control, resolution and regulation of conflicts.

The paper discusses one of the most sensitive issues associated with human societies within her geopolitical settings. This could be within hierarchy of social class in a heterogeneous society in which there are marked distinctions of class strata or within a homogeneous society in which philosophical adherence to customary norms has become the rule rather than the exception. Conflict is a socio-political occurrence that is based on an evaluation of ideological options, choice and value system in a particular socio-political setting. In the process of weighing the

options in the ideology problem, there is the inherent psychological effect of cost and benefit of the causes of the crisis especially when one of those causes becomes deterrent to solving the problem.

The paper is divided into three parts: the concept of conflict, crisis and disorder; mode of conflicts in Nigerian socio-political system; and the sources, functions and management of conflict.

Keywords: conflict, crisis, dysfunctional, social disorder, development

Introduction

Over five decades ago, Nigeria became a politically independent state. Today however, the socio-economic underdevelopment that is endemic in the country is in dire need of redress. The country's socio-economic problems can be linked to the ethnic crisis in the nation. It therefore means that, if national integration is achieved in Nigeria, socio-economic growth and development and large scale industrialization would be achieved.

The extent of ethnic crisis in Nigeria has been a subject of great concern. Many scholars are of the opinion that there has been a steady decline in the socio-economic development of the country. In searching for factors that influence economic development in Nigeria, emphasis has been placed on political factors, which constantly trigger ethnic crises in the nation.

Ofiagu (1979) pointed out that, modernization is a socio-economic aspect that is linked to national integration and stable leadership which leads to a lack of national integration because the prevalent ethnic crises. There is no doubt that, the ethnic pluralism and crises in Nigeria has consequences on the country's socio-economic growth and development.

Conflicts, crisis and disorder are sociological tools for political development. The developments which the process and philosophy of

decolonisation engender triggered a spate of conflicts and crisis unparalleled in the pre-colonial and colonial history of Nigeria.

The elements of conflicts, crisis and disorder are not peculiar to Nigeria. The strength of the advanced countries, in terms of their social, political as well as economic cohesion does not mean that they were without conflicts, crisis and disorder. While system is a network of ideological comparisons for development, the African system, particularly Nigerian system, is nothing but a mere exercise of sentiments arising from tribal or sectorial chauvinism of the bourgeoisie. No wonder, conflict and crisis in Nigeria, have acquired an immense status in a contemporary sociological discourse within the Nigerian system.

Lenski (1980:131) in his book *Human Societies* adopted a sociological view of ethnicity and tribalism. He sees ethnic or tribal groups as major institutional systems that bring people together in terms of economy, policy, religion and education. Equally, those ethnic groups can be regarded as special interest groups when it comes to politics and sharing of scarce resources generally.

Nnoli (1980) in his book *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria* posited that ethnicity exists only within a political society consisting of diverse ethnic groups. It is characterised by a common consciousness of being one in relation to other relevant ethnic groups; exclusiveness is an attribute of ethnicity and that conflict is an important aspect of ethnicity.

The History of Ethnic Nationalism in Nigeria

The fact that Nigeria is a state created out of colonial imperialism makes it reasonable to argue that the origin of ethnic nationalism cannot be separated from the British colonial rule in Nigeria. The British to an extent, contributed to the problems of ethnic nationalism in Nigeria due to the colonial policy and constitutional arrangements before 1960. By 1898, British Military power had been firmly planted in Nigeria. The conquered communities however, were different in race, language, culture and political organization. The emirates of the North were Muslims. They had been under the influence of Islamic culture for many centuries and had little in common with the Yoruba, Igbo, Efik, Yakurr and other ethnic groups in the South. The British government

was aware of this fact but the Seaborne Community on Amalgamation was more concerned with economic rather than political considerations when Britain recommended and it was accepted that the south-east and the south-west be amalgamated in 1906 and later the northern and southern Nigeria in 1914.

In 1934, the Nigerian Youth Movement was formed and was initially called Lagos Youth Movement. It had Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, Ayo Vaughan, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Kofo Abayomi, among others, as members. The movement advocated man-free and compulsory education, universal adult suffrage, higher appointment for Nigerians in the Civil Service etc. However, the unique feature of the movement was that it had northern elements in its fold. This indicated that political organization confined their activities to only ethnic based issues. There was crisis in the movement between Awolowo and Azikwe over the nomination of Ernest Okoli whom Awolowo supported and Samuel Akinsanya who had the support of Azikwe to the legislature seat vacated by Kofo Abayomi.

The Richards Constitution of 1946 encouraged competition among the regions which were established by the colonial government namely the North East and West. These regions constitute ethnic groups which were predominant over minority ethnic groups. These three major traditional political cultures are Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo which are essentially theocratic, gerontocratic and democratic respectively. The North consists of the Hausa ethnic group, the East constitutes the Igbo ethnic group while the West comprises the Yoruba ethnic group.

The division into regions further reinforced ethnic division among the different groups which later resulted in the pursuit of each ethnic group trying to dominate the others in the political, social and economic affairs. This brought about the beginning of ethnic nationalism in Nigeria.

The period of the struggle for self government also saw the rise of pan-ethnic organisations, which were virtually for ethnic bonding and cultural revival but inevitably became involved in political agitation. The Ibibio formed the first pan ethnic organization in 1928. The pan ethnic

organ
instar
Omo
natur
Tafaw

The M
but in
struct
accele
amon
Nigeri
perpe

The pr
strugg
with th
region
resour
who c
becan
directi
tribe o
each t
ethnic
countr
securit
"who to
intensi

From
religio
ethnic
Congre
destab
Mile 12
over le
were d
Mayhe

organizations were supported by politicians from their ethnic stock. For instance, the All Igbo Union threw its support behind Azikwe while Egbe Omo Oduduwa supported Awolowo. The Jammiyer Mutanen Arewa naturally became the Northern Peoples' Congress cofounded by late Tafawa Balewa and late Aminu Kano.

The Macpherson Constitution of 1951 did not only pressure the regions but increased their powers. The constitution established the federal structure of Nigeria in its present form. The Macpherson constitution accelerated the rate of group nationalism and ethnic consciousness among the different ethnic group. In other words, ethnicity in the Nigerian context is a creation of the colonial order and it was further perpetrated during the post colonial era.

The politics of cultural sub-nationalism was from that period became a struggle among the divergent ethnic groups, each primarily concerned with the maximization of its own security. The implied goal of each region became the control of the largest share of the country's resources allocation. As a result, each region became concerned with who gets what, how and by how much?. Thus, each ethnic group became interested in the personnel of government as well as the direction of governmental activities and policies. Because the largest tribe or ethnic group dominated the political, economic and cultural life, each tribal group acquired a tribal political culture, thus accentuating ethnic competition and conflict amongst the other ethnic groups in the country. This was the beginning of the race for ethnic nationalism and security. The various ethnic groups paid greater attention not only to "who to who gets the most", "why and by how much". This resulted in the intensification of ethnic hostilities throughout the country.

From 1999-2012, Nigeria was characterised by various ethnic and religious crises that engulfed the greater part of the country. The violent ethnic cleansing perpetrated in the south-west by O'dua Peoples' Congress (OPC) was planned and sponsored by their leader to destabilise the country with the aim of protecting Yoruba interests in the Mile 12 market in Lagos where the OPC engaged the Hausa in battle over leadership of the traders' association in which lives and properties were destroyed (Tell Magazine, June 2000). The Sagamu and Kano Mayhem was another crisis in which 97 lives were lost and properties

worth millions of Naira destroyed. Also, there was the Oro festival crisis in which lives were lost and properties destroyed.

Another crisis stemmed from the implementation of the Sharia law in Kano and Kaduna in July 2000, which involved two ethno-religious groups that year. In Anambra state, the Aguleri and Umuleri clashes led to the people living in perpetual state of fear as a result of piracy, kidnapping and taking as hostages expatriate and Nigerians working for oil firms.

A notorious intra-ethnic clash between Ile-Ife and Modakeke over land claimed more than 500 lives from both sides before peace finally prevailed. There were clashes between Ikot Offiong in Akwa Ibom State and Oku-Iboku in Cross River State respectively over land boundary, and the clash between Ikot Umo Essien in Akwa Ibom state and Onitsha – Ngwa in Abia state which claimed lives and property; solutions to the crises are yet to be found.

Nigeria is a plural society and there have been many claims of discriminatory practices by the state and the major ethnic groups over the years. Long standing instances of oppression, suppression and marginalization of minorities have been pointers to the failure of the country's federal structure and the inability to achieve unity amidst socio-cultural diversity. This has created a deep-seated feeling of injustice in the people. It has also led to xenophobia and antagonism towards all symbols of the Nigerian state and eventually to ethnic nationalism, crises as well as the need for increased autonomy within the country.

Theoretical Conceptualisation

The French and the Industrial Revolutions were no doubt at the centre of Auguste Comte's preoccupations when he formulated the principle of science. He was the first to coin the concept sociology (Coser & Rosenberg, 1982). The two central issues of the era were:

- (i) What makes for social order?
- (ii) What accounts for a condition of social cohesion among members of societies or groups.

Emphas
that crea

Conflict
individu
different
within fr
interacti
fact, dis
of confli
way of
annihila

Conflict
difficult
organis
charact
society
disorga
arises f
delinqu
disorde
proble

The phr
everyw
causes
instituti
latter. I
continu
with th
stability
of proci
is distu
checke
prevale
dissolu
before i
not ne
organis
instituti

Emphasis was therefore on cohesion rather than the conflict and crisis that created the upheavals of the time. What then is conflict?

Conflict can be viewed as a fight, a struggle or a quarrel between individuals, or groups within the framework of group processes. Put differently, it refers to opposition or disagreement between groups or within fractions of a group. Conflict after all is one of the most vivid interactions which cannot possibly be carried out by an individual. In fact, dissociating factors like hate, envy, need and desire- are causes of conflict. Conflict is thus designed to resolve divergent dualism; it is a way of achieving some kind of unity, even if it be through the annihilation of the conflicting parties (Coser & Rosenberg, 1982).

Conflict and Crisis are two sides of the same coin. Crisis marks the difficult times or negative turning points in the life of the group or social organisation. It results from the conflicts, strains and stress which characterise group life or social organisations. Where the group or society is unable to nurture the capacity to resolve such crisis, social disorganisation or social disorder will result. Social disorganisation arises from communal violence and riots, deviance increasing crime, delinquency and other symptoms of social disequilibrium. Social disorder or disorganisation, therefore constitutes equally relevant problem areas for the student of society and social organisation.

The phenomenon is endemic to social organisations, since always and everywhere there are individual cases of breaking social rules and causes which exercise some disorganising influence on group institutions and which if not resolved, are apt to multiply and prolong the latter. But during periods of social stability, this disorganisation is continuously neutralised by such activities of the group as reinforced with the help of social sanctions, the power of existing rules. The stability of group institutions therefore, is simply a dynamic equilibrium of procurement of disorganisation and reorganisation. This equilibrium is disturbed when processes of disorganisation can no longer be checked by any attempts to reinforce the existing rules. A period of prevalent disorganisation follows, which may lead to a complete dissolution of the group. Most often, this disorganisation is arrested before it reaches its limit by a new process of reorganisation which does not necessarily consist of a mere reinforcement of a decaying organisation, but in a production of new schemes of behaviour and new institutions better adapted to the changed demands of the group. These

new schemes and institutions are referred to as social re-construction. Paradoxically, social reconstruction process sets in motion a new process of conflicts, crisis and social disorganisation.

Society and Social Patterns: Understanding the Sociological Perspectives

Sociological perspective, also called paradigms or theoretical models, are frameworks and basic points from which sociologists attempt academic responsibility of studying social patterns using the scientific method. According to Peter Berger (1963) "the fascination of sociology lies in the fact that its perspective makes us see in a new light the very world in which we have lived all our lives.....The sociologist does not look at phenomena that nobody is aware of. The purpose of sociological perspective is to fashion a general concept of the nature of the social order and social processes in order to provide a framework for sociological study. The thrust here is to discuss the three most important perspectives for looking at society, social organisation and change to wit: the functionalist perspective, the conflict perspective and the interactionist perspective. While the first two constitute micro-sociological paradigms, the latter constitutes macro-sociological paradigm.

Functionalist Perspective

Structural functionalism incorporates elements of evolutionary theory in its analogous view of society as living organisms. Functionalists see living organisms as consisting of parts that contribute to the survival of the whole society. In addition, it also consists of a number of systems that contribute to the maintenance and survival of the whole. The contribution represents the functions of the parts, just as the circulatory system in a biological organism is to provide oxygen and nourishment to tissues and carry off waste material (Perry & Perry, 1998).

The concept grew out of the earlier ideas of Auguste Comte, Spencer and Emile Durkheim, who described society as if it were a living organism. From the perspective of this school, society exists in a delicate balance: a crisis in one part affects the functioning of the whole.

When
This s
chang

The la
by Bri
well
struct
term
such
etc. T
relev
schoo

Conf

This :
socie
const

This
1529
Geor
as w
conc
chan
resol
own
socie
profit
situa

The
moti
'Mor
orga
politi
relig
revo

Cultural & Psycho-Social Perspective of Conflict Management

When the system does not function properly, social problems arise. This school however believes that although malfunction can stimulate change, stability will generally be restored.

The latter school of functionalism, the Structural functionalist pioneered by British anthropologists, Bronislaw Malinowski and Radcliff Brown as well as the American Sociologist, Talcott Parsons emphasized structure, the various parts of the system – leading us to the use of the term Structural Functionalism. The main structures in societies are such institutions as: family, education, economy, government, religion etc. The persistence of each structure is determined by its functional relevance for overall societal survival. The focus of analysis of this latter school is the inter-relationship

Conflict Perspective

This school, which believes that conflict, the universal characteristic of societies, is not only inherent and endemic to societies but that it constitutes the prime source of social change.

This perspective has roots in the writings of Nicolo Machiavelli (1469-1529), Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), Karl Marx (1818-1883), and Georg Simmel (1858-1903). It is grounded on the principle that society as we know is made up of groups in conflict. Marx for instance, conceives society as a moving balance of antithetical forces generating change through the struggle of social classes over limited ecological resources. He further points out that in capitalist societies, some people own and control the means of production, while most members of these societies have to work for these owners. The owners try to make much profit while the workers resist and struggle to improve their own situation. This according to him leads to conflict.

The modern conflict perspective believes that people are strongly motivated to protect the interest of their groups. As opposed to Marx's 'Monism' or 'economism', they posit that such conflicts can be organised along economic lines (owners versus workers), along political lines (politicians, financial supporters versus masses) or along religious, racial or ethnic lines. However, when Marx's theory sees revolution as the ultimate end of the class struggle, modern conflict

theorists like, C. Wright Mills, Lewis Coser, Ralf Dahrendorf. opined that conflicts generated by minor strains and stress in the social structure can be resolved within the framework of bourgeois society.

Interaction Perspective

The interaction perspective is focused on the relationship between individuals and the way their behaviour is shaped by a variety of social influence particularly shared meanings. Through these shared meanings and understanding, we can interact in predictable ways. Georg Herbes Mead (1858-1931) is credited with having popularized this perspective, although many of the facets originated from the works of Max Weber (1864-1930), Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) and Charles Horton Cooley (1846-1929). Mead termed the perspective "Symbolic Behaviourism" while Herbert Blumer was later to call it "Symbolic Interactionism". Other adherents of interactionism are Erving Goffman, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman. This perspective is however divided into many branches, the most important of which are role theory and symbolic interactionism.

According to role theory, the "dramaturgical" approach to social interaction, life can be compared to the theatre. Simply put, we are actors who must follow the "script" provided by the society or groups within society that set the rules and reward for a good or bad performance. Those around us impose roles on us through their expectations, and we in turn impose roles on them. Our behaviour is then shaped into specialised patterns through a process of specialisation.

Basic to symbolic interactionism is the idea that humans are constantly active and engage in gesturing- making movements or sounds to which others react. Humans assign meanings to their gestures, which then become symbolic. Each action or sound stands for some element understood by both the person making it, or the person reacting. Through shared symbols it is possible to develop common values and definitions.

In addition, other sociologists choose to go outside these three mainstreams of sociological paradigms. Ethno-methodology does not

assume common sense or conventional rules which are operative in specific situation instead, this perspective attempt to discover where formal rules are genuinely operational in group life. Bio-sociology is the systematic study of the biological basis for social behaviour in all organisms including the human beings. Humanistic Sociology has as its purpose the search for solution through the application of sociological knowledge. Phenomenology embraces the view that all social action should be judge against the background of an actor's perception or definition of the situation.

Sources of Conflict, Crisis and Social Disorder

Instability, social disorganisation and crisis can stem from a variety of sources, many of which are rooted in group structure. A conflict in goals, disruption of normal patterns of interaction, confusion over norms, roles conflict and strain, the ineffectiveness of available sanctions and disturbance in status relations are a few of the possible source of tension within and between social organisations. Such breakdown can help to explain the dramatic forms of conflict that occur in all forms of human organisation.

a. Conflict in Group Goals

One potent source of conflict in all human organisation is the divergence between the formal goals of the groups and the informal goals of the members. The phenomenon has been well articulated in Robert Michel's Iron Law of Oligarchy – where incumbent leadership class fashions new informal goals to displace the formal goals of the organisation. The configuration of group conflict can be situated in the failure of group goals to merge.

b. Normative Confusion

"Norm" is the accepted way of doing things within regulatory framework of the group or society. Often, because of the internal contradictions inherent in social life, the tendency is for normative confusion to take root. The methodology of 'phenomenological sociology' is profoundly interested in the understanding of actors' perception of situations as the fundamental basis for capturing the crisis of normative confusion. It is the anomie- that is confusion about what to do between protesting or conflicting groups or within the groups themselves. Normative confusion over right and need in respect of the use of land can lead to

inter-local ethnic boundary dispute, for instance, just as confusion over the reconciliation of the people's right to protest obnoxious government actions with the duties of the police to protect law and order can trigger violent police – community clash.

c. Role conflict

Role conflict, like a conflict in norms, is a veritable cause of disruption in all kinds of groups, both large and small. Talking at a purely micro-level, role conflict engenders a situation where an actor who suffers the crisis of split personality resolves to take a position that satisfies institutional or informal demands on his role in group life. For example, in the breakdown of police discipline during mob action, the role of law enforcement officer is clearly incompatible with role of an outraged individual who just happens to be a police officer. The former role calls upon the police officer to maintain professional calm and to only use force when necessary to control demonstrators. The latter role of individual citizens defines appropriate response to extreme provocation in different ways:- striking back is the "Natural" reaction, at least by definition, of those police men whose discipline collapsed.

In addition to the aforementioned, other scholars have resorted to analysing it according to the uniqueness of each conflict situation. It is argued that, there is no single cause of conflicts or crises, but scientific literature identified three distinct but complementary hypotheses as causes of political violence. The first hypothesis is relative deprivation which means there is a discrepancy between what men seek or desire and what they are able to get (the want-get ratio). The greater the discrepancy, the higher the propensity for social disorder, and consequently political disorder. The Ogoni Crisis, for instance, comes to mind. Still included in the first hypothesis is rising expectations which is better explained via revolutions in an African setting. Election promises that were never fulfilled, promise of better life that never came through. Again, is the case of the relocation of local government headquarters, a case of the systemic hypothesis of political violence and lastly, the frustration or aggression syndrome. The gap between want-get ratio leads to anger, while anger leads to frustration and finally aggression to violence. The political wrangle between the Umuleris and Aguleris in Anambra State is an example.

The
social
cons
and
urba
of a
proc
beca
Moc
scra

The
viol
or
hete

Fur

Cor
pati
dys
pro
tha
indi
per
alw
bec

(i)

Cultural & Psycho-Social Perspective of Conflict Management

The second hypothesis is the Systemic hypothesis which deals with social structural explanation. This includes variables like breakdown on consensual norms, political alienation, cohesiveness of a ruling group and its legitimacy such as industrialization, modernization, urbanization and commercialization and lastly, the paradox of transition of a society from tradition to modernity in such a way that, modernity produces stability whereas modernization produces instability, because transition is a period of strain, stresses, tensions and crisis. Modernisation intensifies conflicts because of the struggle and scramble for the scarce resources between groups.

The third hypothesis is the group model hypothesis which sees violence as the struggle for power among various groups in the society or political system. It produces ethnic pluralism and cultural heterogeneity.

Functions of Social Conflict

Conflict and crisis help to understand what happens when social patterns are disrupted and hence suffer a breakdown. Most often, the dysfunctional short-term impact of social conflict tend to be more prominent in the existing body of literature on society. We can agree that in the short run upheavals such as a riot are disturbing to the individuals involved and temporarily disruptive for the groups in permanent disarray. However, the long term effects of conflict are not always negative. In many cases, the long term effects of conflicts have been positive for groups or for society.

- (i) Conflict can clarify Issue. The crisis and violence which come with conflict often precipitate public discussion and rethink about issues basic to the survival of the state. For instance, Police – Civilian confrontation can raise series of questions: what are the rights of the dissenting citizen and what are the limitations on those rights?, where should the line be drawn between the legitimate and the excessive use of force in controlling civil disorder?. Critical examination of such issues is essential to the health of democratic government. In addition, the spate of impeachments in the past years that have characterised the local government system since the adoption

of the presidential system at local government level have tended to clarify issues basic to presidential system of government.

- (ii) Integrative functions of conflict. Georg Simmel, a 19th century German Sociologist was among the first generation of conflict theorist to articulate how intergroup conflict could reduce tensions within a group by providing an external target for resentments and hostilities. The confrontations between the police and protesters for instance, have obvious divisive effects on the community and the society, but it tends to solidify group feelings within the police department and also serves to unify the protesting factions.
- (iii) Conflict can stimulate Social Change. A large body literature articulated by conflict theorist now bound to portray conflict as a stimulus to social change. The conflict between the ruling class in pre-communist China, Cuba and former Soviet Union were potent factors in motivating people to bring about a new social structure in those countries. Also, management-labour conflict in the USA led workers to come together in unions and fight for improved working conditions, raise the standard of living of the American working class and create machinery for settling disputes that disrupt the economy. Racial conflict and the attendant fight for civil rights by many groups have led to the passage of new laws and reinforcement of old laws aimed at eliminating discrimination, particularly in the areas of voting, housing, education and employment. Technological change has been stimulated by an institutionalized form of conflict commonly known as business competition.

In summary, the issue for the student of conflict and the administrator therefore, is not whether conflict can be avoided, but rather how much and what kind of conflict a particular group can accommodate while still maintaining enough order and capacity to resist the bogey of disintegration. It is also necessary to evaluate the significance of group disintegration. It is misleading to assume that the dissolution of a group will always have negative consequences on the members of a group freeing them from a relationship they no longer wish to maintain.

The Man

Generally
economy
understa
under-lis
(i) £
(ii) L
(iii) M

System

A structu
articulati
Such str
its organ
administ
presente

Leaders

Another
calibre c
orientati
recomm
understa

Means o

Th chan
checking
Commur
interchar
always th
vital eler
behaviou
commun
and one's

The Management of Conflict and Crisis

Generally, it has been found that all conflicts emanate either from economic, political, social or administrative behaviour. A good understanding of the political culture of the community is required. The under-listed suggestions are ways toward conflict management to wit:

- (i) System of or Line for Redress
- (ii) Leadership Responsibilities
- (iii) Means of Communication/ Information

System of or Line of Redress

A structure must be put in place to perform the function of interest articulation and demands from the community and society at large. Such structure must have linkages with the central authority as parts of its organs of operation. Also the communities can use this line of administration to seek redress if their demands were not properly presented or not met at all.

Leadership Responsibilities

Another means of handling conflicts and crisis is by choosing the right calibre of leaders. The leader must be someone whose political orientation is 'participant culture'. Some of the leadership qualities recommended are - initiative and hard work, maturity, human understanding, fairness in community matters, reliability etc.

Means of Communication/Information

The channel of communication in any dispensation is a vital means of checking conflicts, crisis and disorder even before it occurs. Communication is a two-way traffic and can be defined as the interchange of ideas, information, attitude and opinions. There is always the giving and receiving. This is why communication is the most vital element or tool for good governance. It encompasses all human behaviour that result in an exchange of meanings because one communicates not only with word but through one's apparent attitudes and one's actions.

References

- Awosika, N.K. (1980). *Political crisis in Nigeria*, Ibadan: Heineman Educational Books
- Berger, P.L. (1963). *Invitation to sociology*, New York: Doubleday publication.
- Coser, L.A. & Rosenberg, B., (ed) (1982) *Sociology theory: A book of readings*. New York: Macmillan, 5th edition.
- Dahrendorf, R. (1968). *Essays in the theory of society*. Stanford California: Stanford University Press.
- Joseph, R.A. (1991). *Democracy and Pre-modern Politics in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Lenski, O.K. (1980). *Human societies*. London, Darton: Longman and Todd Publishers Ltd
- Nnoli, O. (1980). *Ethnic politics in Nigeria*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Press
- Oluwale, O. (1985). *An introductory to government*. Longman Nigeria Plc
- Olisa, M. (1980). *Element of government*. Lagos: Friends Foundation Publishers
- Perby, J. & Perby, E. (1988). *The social web: An introduction to sociology*. New York: Harper & Row
- Traub, S.H. & Little C.B. (ed.) (1988). *Theories of deviance*. Illinois: Peacock, 2nd edition

Comm

Abstract

This pa
governm
program
governm
divides r
of Comm
intractab
empirical
that if p
painstaki
veritable

Introduct

Governme
provide se
myriads of
drafting m
some mea
the commi
sustainabl
Nigeria. (F

The centra

The early p
purpose of