Reconstructing masculinity and power in Africa through open distance learning for sustainable development: A critical analysis of Wole Soyinka's *Climate of Fear*

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Abstract: The strabismus conception of masculinity and power with its manipulation as reflected in the consequences of actions endorsed and demonstrated by leaders, followers, citizens as individuals and groups at different times in the past, and present has been a major source of the seemingly quiescence and underdevelopment in Africa. Masculinity has often been associated with being athletic, breadwinner, objective, sexually aggressive, unemotional, dominating, etc.; while power is frequently construed as a tool of dominance, authority, superiority, influence, and governance. This inapt perception was borne out of Africa's nictitating and ignorance. The consequences of the misconception include abuse of power, intolerance, intimidation, militancy, humiliation, insecurity, inadequate dialogic tools and opportunities, etc. These result in the *Climate of Fear* as being experienced in the Niger-Delta of Nigeria, Kenya, and other parts of Africa. Thus, this paper examines the concepts of masculinity and power with exemplification from Africa with Wole Soyinka's *Climate of Fear*. The research methodology employs a combination of critical discourse analysis and Halliday's systemic functional theory of grammar with sociolinguistics approaches for the analysis. The study posits that the root of the problems that abound in Africa is traceable to the lack of precise socio-cultural, political and philosophical ideologies by Africans. The research opines that these fundamental problems of Africa can be resolved through orientation with education for all, which is one of the challenges of the millennium development goals. Thus, the paper examines the contrivance of open distance learning and its role in the education of African citizenry. It concludes on the ground that open distance learning as a recent and welcomed information technological development in Africa, if properly channeled and adequately funded would enhance sustainable development in Africa by its elimination of some of the aforementioned obstacles.

Key words: masculinity; power; education; Africa; ideologies; development

1. Introduction

Reconstructing masculinity and power in Africa is important, as the limited perspectives of defining these concepts have generated the stagnated development in the various parts of Africa. The myopic understanding of masculinity and power is responsible for the actions taken by political and religious leaders in Africa, which have seriously jeopardized the unity, co-existence and peaceful habitation of people in various parts of the continent.

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Hence, there is the need for a critical examination of masculinity and power. In addition, there is need for the analysis of some actions taken by African leaders, and need for the critical evaluation of the consequences of the actions on African citizens as reflected in Wole Soyinka's *Climate of Fear* in order to exemplify the roles of open distance learning (ODL) in Africa for sustainable development.

2. The concepts of masculinity and power

Masculinity in its crudest form is often associated with being athletic, breadwinner, sexually aggressive, unemotional, dominating, etc. Craig (1993) observes that it relates to "men's need to achieve status and others respect, and to toughness, which means that men should be mentally, emotionally and physically tough". This reveals that masculinity is about being tough. This discourse examines masculinity from a purely sociological dimension, not from gender point of view. Thus, the toughness of African leaders, which greatly influence their decisions and actions, is the concern of this paper. Hanke (1992) describes hegemonic masculinity as:

> The social ascendancy of a particular version of masculinity that operates on the terrain of common sense and conventional morality that defines "what it means to be a man", thus securing the dominance of some men within the (sex/gender) system.

From Hanke's definition above, the need for dominance and assertion of self triggers the expression of masculinity as a form of force by people, particularly men. The salient desire to exhibit masculinity in its unrefined form leads to the actions of force and domination that most African leaders often demonstrate by their expressions of power. This conveys that there is a need for a conceptualization of gender that recognizes multiple definitions of masculinity as well as research that goes beyond the traditional analysis. Craig, Kimmel and Lang (2000) explain that understanding the definitions and discourses surrounding masculinity can help in the analysis of how political, economic and cultural inequalities are produced and distributed not only between, but also within the genders. They observe that above all, an inquiry into the "politics of masculinity" offers an opportunity to rethink men's strategic interest in challenging values and practices that create gender hierarchy. This indicates that gender equality is not only an end in itself, but also a necessary means to achieve sustainable human development and reduction of poverty. Hence, this calls for the need for the reconstruction of masculinity as a social discourse.

Typically, Connell (1998) expresses that making men more conscious of gender as it affects their lives as well as women is a first step towards challenging gender inequalities. Earlier, Connell (1995) warns that masculinity is not a property of men, and reminds people to be weary of using the terms "men", "male" and "masculinity" interchangeably. Likewise, Sedgwick (1995) says:

> As a woman, I am a consumer of masculinities but I am not more so than men are, and like men, I as a woman am also a producer of masculinities and performer of them.

This buttresses the fact that women possess and demonstrate the features of masculinity too. Graig, Kimmel and Lang (2000) suggest that pluralizing masculinity into masculinities shows that there is more than one way to explain that there are many ways to be a "man". The above review demonstrates that there is still a great deal of investigation yet to be carried out on masculinities. It also portrays the need to redefine masculinity in terms of cultural orientation in order to rethink the basis on gender-in-equality. The above also demonstrates that attention should be given to gender studies and masculinities in order to find means of using them to solve societal and political problems such as poverty, drought, hunger, violence, sexual denigration, drug abuse, child-abuse, and

terrorism among others.

A person's existence greatly depends on his/her interaction with other people in a society. A society as an enduring and cooperating social group, whose members have developed organized patterns of relationships through interaction with one another, is highly organized and structured. The structural organization of a society reflects the relationship between people in that society. In a bid to enhance order and sanity in a society, a person or group of persons may exhibit the use of power. Power then becomes a weapon of dominance, authority, superiority, influence and governance of the people in a society. An individual or a group of people can use power in order to attain desired objectives, which could be beneficial, or not, to the people, who are the recipients of the products of power in a society. Hence, the use of power can generate positive or negative consequences depending on the intended objective(s) of the user of power and the disposition of the recipients.

A précis of the views about the essence of power illustrates that:

> Power has to be acquired. Power may only be exercised. Power is a matter of authority. Power belongs to an individual. Power belongs only to the collective. Power cannot be attributed to anyone; it is a quality of social systems. Power involves conflict. Power does not involve conflict in every case. Power generally involves conflict, but not necessarily. Power presupposes resistance. Power, primarily, has to do with obedience. Power is both resistance and obedience. Power is connected with oppression and rule. Power is productive and makes development possible. Power is an evil, a good, diabolical, and routine (Lukes, in Clegg, 1989, p. 239).

To the majority of people, masculinity is equated with self-worth, power, victory, and competence (Steinberg, 1993). A good man has the Midas touch, everything he does meets with success. At least that is what he thinks. This pattern repeats itself in culture after culture. The images that have been preserved from them are not surprising by our current standards for masculinity. Men engaged in warfare, capturing prisoners, hunting, ritual dance, and receiving visitors in a leadership capacity (Joyce, 2000). It has been said "the accumulation of power is one of the defining characteristics of the masculine persona" (Steinberg, 1993). Scholars often define power as a capacity to change other people's behavior. Dominance is an outcome of power. In the absence of power, one cannot sustain control over any matter. Nevertheless, the presence of power does not necessarily mean that dominance is assured either.

The consequences of the use of power as felt by the receiver are expressed with language. Language as a system of communication that is rule-governed is central and indispensable to humans. Oyeshile (2000) describes language as an instrument for communication of thought that consists of a succession of ideas in consciousness. In other words, language mirrors one's subconscious and reflects one's thought as message. In politics for instance, Nigeria has experienced different forms of governance such as the military and the civilian regimes, which wield different degrees of power and produced different effects on Nigerians as reflected on the expressions of people. Ayeomoni (2004) states that language and politics are interconnected, language is the vehicular expression of politics. It is the means by which politics or political discourse and ideas are widely disseminated. Thus, language is an important tool for reflections on society, politics, and people, etc.

3. Contextualization of the text

This paper opines that the misconception of masculinity and power by African leaders is responsible for the several vices such as abuse of power, intolerance, intimidation, militancy, humiliation, and insecurity, etc. that abound and give rise to the "climate of fear" in African countries. Hence, the text, Soyinka's *Climate of Fear* is

selected for this study as it exemplifies these situations as they are found in various parts of the continent. The text published in 2004 as a reflection of the author can be described as a political essay that analyses the political activities of leaders and people in various parts of the world.

In the book, the author explores the changing face of fear, the conflict between power and freedom, the complex motives behind unthinkable acts of violence, and the meaning of human dignity, while comparing the fanaticism of powerful terrorists with the attitude of world leaders—discovering terrifying similarities.

For the purpose of this study, sample extracts are drawn and examined with the linguistic approach of critical discourse analysis. Wole Soyinka's text, *Climate of Fear* is chosen for this investigation because the Nobel Laureate is a literary giant that has made great impact on the world of literature. Ogungbesan (1979) buttresses that Soyinka, as a novelist deserves to be taken seriously because of his high intellectual position among African writers. He describes Soyinka as a writer that possesses an inner light that is unavailable to the mass of his people, and one who uses his inspiration and insight to guide his society towards a beautiful future. Thus, educating others about his noble ideologies for the society makes Soyinka's texts appealing to scholars.

4. Critical discourse analysis

Fairclough (1995) opines that discourse is the use of language seen as a form of social practice, and discourse analysis is the analysis of how texts work within socio-cultural practice. The analysis requires attention to textual form, structure, and organization at all levels. A working assumption is that any level of organization may be relevant to critical and ideological analysis (Brown & Yule, 1983; Fowler, 1996; Van Leeuwen, 1996).

Van Dijk (1996) explicates further that one of the crucial tasks of critical discourse analysis is to account for the relationships between discourse and social power. The scholar posits that such an analysis should describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimized by a text. It posits that a critical analysis of properties of access to public discourse and communication presupposes insight into more general political, socio-cultural and economic aspects of dominance (McCarthy, 1992; Eggins, 1994). Critical discourse is important to this study as Fairclough (1992) reveals that discourse contributes to the construction of "social identities". It also helps to construct social relationships between people. It also contributes to the construction of systems of knowledge and beliefs.

5. Critical discourse analysis of masculinity and power in the *Climate of Fear*

5.1 Thematic structure analysis

Halliday (1985) explains that the theme is the element, which serves as the point of departure of the message. It is the starting point for the message and it determines the nature of the clause. The textual function of the clause is that of constructing a message. The following sentences are used as the sample analysis thus (see Table 1).

The investigation above reveals that Soyinka in the *Climate of Fear* uses simple sentences, which have one-clause structure and clause complexes. Usually, the simple sentence as a unit below the clause is made up of words and group complexes with embedding mechanism. The clause complexes that evince the system of interdependency as used in the text are the hypotaxis and parataxis relations, which define univariate structure. The hypotaxis relation that discloses the relation between a dependent element and the element, on which it is dependent, is frequently employed in the text.

Table 1   Clause complex structure

	Sentence	Clause type	Logical component	Logical semantic process	Theme	Function
1	Again and again, our paths-those of creative people—would meet, leading to that immediate question: how did creativity survive under such arbitrary exercise of power? (p. 4)	Hypotactic	α=β X β	Expansion: elaboration, enhancement; Projection: idea	Marked	Circumstantial adjunct
2	The relationship between that fire, a naked force of Nature—even though probably the work of arsonists and the humanity that was menaced was very different from the exercise of the power of an individual over another, or that of a totalitarian state over its populace. (p. 7)	Simple	S P C	Embedded expansions: elaboration; Projection: idea, elaboration, extension	Unmarked (thematic equative)	Subject
3	Today, the fear is one of furtive, invisible power, the power of the quasi-state, that entity that lays no claim to any physical boundaries flies no national flag, is unlisted in any international associations, and is every bit as mad as the MAD gospel of annihilation that was so calmly annunciated by the superpowers. (p. 9)	Hypotactic	α=β=β	Expansion: elaboration, extension	Marked (Thematic equative)	Circumstantial adjunct
4	Political cowardice or a lack of moral will what dominated the thinking of many African leaders was, frankly, Let us keep mute and maybe he will exempt us from his current revolutionary rampage, or at least exercise his restraining influence, and cloak us in selective immunity.	Simple	A S P A C	Embedded expansions elaboration; Projection: idea	Unmarked (thematic equative)	Subject
5	They had only to recall that Libya, headed by a young maverick called Gaddafi was then at the heights of its power. (p. 16)	Simple	S P A P C	Embedded expansions: enhancement, elaboration	Unmarked	Subject
6	Distasteful though the conclusion may be to such mind-sets September 11, 2001 has proved to be only a culmination of the posted signs that had been scrawled on the sands of the Sahara, over decades in letters of blood. (p. 18)	Simple	A S P C A	Embedded expansions: enhancement, elaborations	Marked	Comment adjunct
7	Thus: We shall ascend to power on the democratic ladder—declared the evidently popular Islamist party—after, which we shall pull up the ladder, and there shall be no more democracy. (p. 31)	Hypotactic	α=β	Projection: idea; Expansion: elaboration, enhancement	Marked	Conjunctive adjunct
8	Once righteousness replaces rights in the exercise of power the way is paved for a permanent contest based on the primary of the holier-than-thou. (p. 36)	Simple	A S P C A	Embedded expansion: enhancement, elaboration	Marked	Circumstantial adjunct
9	We are speaking of the thrill of power by means other than actual governance, power as a pursuit in its own right, an additive concentrate, extract or essence. (p. 41)	Simple	S P C A	Embedded expansion: enhancement, elaboration	Unmarked (thematic equative	Subject
10	What differs in our contemporary situation is that the relishing of power is no longer an attribute of the outstanding, exceptional individual, but is increasingly accessible even to the nondescript individual whose membership of a clique, or activities on behalf of the chosen, more than fulfill this hunger for a share in the diet of power. (p. 42)	Hypotactic	α+β x β	Embedded expansion: elaboration, extension, enhancement	Unmarked (thematic equative	Subject
11	Power, alas—even in its comic vein is neither abstract nor metaphysical in its impact on society. (p. 45)	Simple	S A P C A	Embedded expansion: elaboration	Unmarked (thematic equative)	Subject
12	The axis of tension between power and freedom continues to propel the very motions of personality development, social upheaval and nation conflicts. (p. 45)	Simple	S PC	Embedded: elaboration, extension	Unmarked	Subject

13	Apart from a fear of the loss of identity to those goblins from outer space-with heaven knows what nasty habits one recognizable source of that repulsion is, very simply, the ancestral adversary of human freedom that we designate power.(p. 47)	Simple	A S P A C	Embedded expansion: elaboration, enhancement	Marked	Comment adjunct
14	Power is self-sufficient, a replete possession, and must be maintained by whatever agency is required. (p. 48)	Hypotactic	α+β	Embedded expansion: elaboration, extension	Unmarked (thematic equative)	Subject
15	This all-pervasive extract was, in my own view the exercise of power. (p. 50)	Simple	S P A C	Embedded expansion: elaboration	Unmarked (thematic equative)	Subject
16	Unnamed, unacknowledged, power was nonetheless the palpable fetish of worship. (p. 50)	Simple	A S P A C	Embedded expansion: enhancement, elaboration	Marked	Circumstantial adjunct
17	For a start, power takes away the freedom of the other and replaces it with fear. (p. 52)	Hypotactic	α+β	Expansion: extension	Unmarked	Subject
18	The basis of rejection that registers itself in an audience seated at a theatrical or cinematic representation of the megalomaniac has always been the antithesis of human volition—power! (p. 52)	Simple	S P C	Embedded expansion: elaboration, extension	Unmarked	Subject
19	So, power is really neither efficacy nor a mandatory facilitator of vision or political purpose. (p. 53)	Simple	A S P A C	Embedded expansion: elaboration, extensions, addition, variation	Unmarked (thematic equative)	Conjunctive adjunct
20	On the contrary, true vision may eschew power, may totally repudiate power, seeking to fulfill itself by that hardy, self-sacrificial route that does not learn on the crutch of power. (p. 53)	Hypotactic	α=β x β x β	Expansion: elaboration enhancement; Embedded expansion: enhancement	Marked	Circumstantial adjunct
21	And power, let us stress just once more need not to be an individual aspiration; can be no more than mere participation in a collective exercise a variant that is the intriguing and proliferating arm of hegemonic obsession of a unit within a totality. (p. 54)	Hypotactic	α=β=β	Embedded expansion: enhancement, elaboration	Unmarked	Subject
22	In short, power is, paradoxically, the primordial marshland of fear, from which emerges the precipitate of man's neurotic response to mortality. (p. 55)	Simple	A S P A C A	Embedded expansion: elaboration, enhancement	Marked (Thematic equative)	Circumstantial adjunct
23	Youths went into battle with nothing but wooden guns in their hands captives of the same rhetoric that was drummed daily into their heads—No power on the African continent can subdue us. (p. 64)	Hypotactic	α X β	Embedded expansion: enhancement; Projection: locution	Unmarked	Subject
24	I refer to potentially inhibitory discoveries of history and society, such as power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. (p. 70)	Simple	S P C	Embedded expansion: elaboration, extension	Unmarked	Subject
25	Fanaticism remains the greatest carrier of the spores of fear, and the rhetoric of religion, which the hysteria it so readily generates is fast becoming the readiest killing device of contemporary times. (p. 82)	Hypotactic	α=β	Embedded expansion: elaboration, extension, enhancement	Unmarked	Subject
26	Dignity is simply another face of freedom and thus the obverse of power and domination, that axis of human relationship (that is equally sustained by fear—its poles doomed to remain in permanent conflict, yet complement each other. (p. 99)	Hypotactic	α=β=β X β	Embedded expansion: elaboration, extension, enhancement	Unmarked (thematic equative)	Subject

27	The power that is exerted by Nature does not humiliate. (p. 100)	Simple	S A P C	Embedded expansion: elaboration	Unmarked	Subject
28	Illustrations of the kind of power that reduces our self-worth range from the most mundane, even domestic relationships-such as a tenant's fear of ejection by a landlord in a system that offers neither preventive measures nor legal redress—to a wife or child subjected to constant physical and mental abuse by a husband or parent, an Irish teenager in the grip of terror of a vigilante committee, a Zimbabwean recruit in the burgeoning terror training camps of a Robert Mugabe (where some are raped as a mandatory rite of induction). (p. 101)	Hypotactic	α=β	Embedded expansion: elaboration, exemplification extension, enhancement	Unmarked	Subject
29	The nature of power that humbles and humiliates is that which compels the head of a Palestinian family to sit helplessly under Israeli guns, drenched in tears, as he watches his ancestral olive grove, the sole family source of livelihood, fall under the electric saw, tree by tree, to make way for the very wall that will from then on, reduce his space of volition. (p. 101)	Hypotactic	α=β X β	Embedded expansion: elaboration, enhancement	Unmarked (thematic equative)	Subject
30	No community, true, dare succumb to an arrogation of power over the lives of its innocents, and the doctrines of there are no innocents must be strategically and morally repudiated. (p. 106)	Paratactic	1+2	Expansion: enhancement, extension; Projection: idea	Unmarked	Subject

The logical semantic processes employed by the writer in the text are the processes of "expansion" and "projection". For the hypotactic clauses, the expansions are usually realized as extension, elaboration, or enhancement; while in the simple sentences, the expansions are usually realized with embedded groups or rank shifted clauses. Likewise, projections of ideas are used in both the simple and clause complexes. Hence, Soyinka employs the logical semantic process of expansion to elaborate and give additional information on the subject or theme of the message in order to convince the reader on his point of logical argument. It also enables the reader to think along and agree with the author on his view of power. This is because there needs to elucidate the concept of power as used in the text in order to reveal its hydra-faced application in human societies.

Still on textual meaning, the thematic examination of sentences reveals that Soyinka uses marked and unmarked themes that are often presented as group or phrase complexes. A marked theme refers to a theme that is different from the subject in a declarative clause, while the unmarked theme is that which the psychological subject (theme), the grammatical subject (subject), and the logical subject (actor) are conflated into a single element. Halliday (1995) affirms that the selection of subjects by a speaker or writer does give a characteristic flavor to a piece of discourse. The analysis shows that the writer uses more of unmarked themes in the text, *Climate of Fear*, to indicate that the subject matter refers to the actor, subject, and theme as the same subject.

The thematic equative in most cases employs nominalization to function as the theme and the subject. For instance:

(1) "The relationship between that fire, a naked force of nature—even though probably the work of arsonists—and the humanity that was menaced" (p. 7): is very different from the exercise of the power of an individual over another, or that of a totalitarian state over its populace.

(2) "Today, the fear is one of furtive, invisible power, the power of the quasi-state, that entity that lays no claim to any physical boundaries, files no national flag" (p. 9): is unlisted in any international associations, and is every bit as mad as the MAD gospel of annihilation that was so calmly annunciated by the superpowers.

(3) "Political cowardice or a lack of moral will, what dominated the thinking of many African leaders" (p.

15): was frankly, "let us keep mute and maybe he will exempt us from his current revolutionary rampage, or at least exercise his restraining influence and cloak us in selective immunity".

(4) "What differs in our contemporary situation is that the relishing of power" (p. 42): is no longer an attribute of the outstanding, exceptional individual, but is increasingly accessible even to the nondescript individual whose membership of a clique, or activities on behalf of the chosen, more than fulfill this hunger for a share in the diet of power.

(5) "This all-pervasive extract"(p. 50): is, in my view, the exercise of power. Thus, the mode of the discourse as revealed through the thematic structure with the textual meaning analysis greatly determines the ideologies portrayed through the language in this context.

5.2 Mood structure and interpersonal meaning analysis

This aspect of analysis focuses on the clause as an exchange, the clause takes the form of proposition. The interpretation of the structure of statements and questions gives the understanding of the clause in its exchange function. The polarity, which is expressed in finite element, demonstrates that the speaker in the text mostly uses the positive polarity. This means that the propositions employed in the text are making assertions with high degree of usuality. The modality of the propositions shows that the speaker's opinion is more often than not, put with a positive polar form. For instance:

> (1) Has Marxism triumphed since the killing of Leon Trotsky? What nature of an environment enabled the stabbing of a creative mind, Naguib Mahfouz?
> Was peaceful coexistence promoted as a result of the demolition of the mosque in Ultar Pradesh?
> Has the assassination of Sheikh Yassin made the world any safer? What kind of morality of liberation struggle deceives a fourteen-year-old child into becoming a walking bomb?
> Does a supposed wall of defense concretize hope or despair across the middle East and the world? Why is the woman writer Taslima Nasin a fugitive from her home in Bangladesh? (p. 133)
> (2) What, in the name of all that is unholy, does a council of religious clerics in Northern Nigeria know of modern medicine that it commands Muslims to resist inoculation against cerebrospinal meningitis—a scourge in that part of the nation that leaves hundreds of thousands of infants disabled for life—and claim its authority from the Koran! (p. 122)

The questions above are for the reader's self-interrogation in order to give objective answers to them. They demonstrate that in the world, most people have been victims of intolerance and fanaticism, which are the outcome of power. Proposals in forms of commands are seldom used in the text, where they are employed, they are used in the positive for prescription purposes to indicate obligation by a finite modal operator or by an expansion of the operator. The mood structure with subject and finite, which is employed for most of the proposals in the text, implies that often the speaker employs independent clauses in form of clause-complexes that are often realized as declarative or interrogative. The investigation further reveals that the subjects of the mood structure in the text are often realized as nominal group complexes or as nominal group complexes that are embedded clauses, which function as "head", such as:

> (1) Power, alas—even in its comic vein—is neither abstract nor metaphysical in its impact on society. (p. 45)
> (2) Apart from a fear of the loss of identity to those goblins from outer space with heaven knows what nasty habits - one recognizable source of that repulsion is, very simply, the ancestral adversary of human freedom that we designate power. (p. 47)
> (3) This all-pervasive extract was, in my view, the exercise of power. (p. 50)
> (4) The basis of rejection that registers itself in an audience seated at a theatrical or cinematic representation of the megalomaniac has always been the antithesis of human volition-power! (p. 52)

Thus, the mood structure reveals the interpersonal meaning of the text by distinguishing the form of the exchange found in the text. It shows that the interaction is predominantly in form of assertions given as proposals with statements. The speaker, Wole Soyinka, makes assertions about the forms of power that are exhibited in various societies by rulers.

5.3 Transitivity structure and experiential meaning analysis

This study focuses on the aspect of meaning as representation, that is, "It centers on the clause in its ideational function and its role as a means of representing patterns of experience" (Halliday, 1985; Eggins, 1994). Transitivity, which is grammatical and structural expresses the reflective, experiential aspect of meaning and which states the various kinds of processes that are recognized in a language, is also perceived at the level of the clause. The meaning of the utterance is revealed through the real world as coded by linguistic structures that are portrayed with the notion of transitivity. The transitivity structure with the experiential meaning of the thirty sentences above demonstrates that the speaker in the discourse predominantly employs the relational processes of attribution or identification. This means that the writer gives the attribute of, or identifies the participants in the discourse. On some occasions, the material process of action is employed by the speaker to reveal the act that is carried out with the actor and the goal of the action. The implication of this is that the writer often presents the discourse as phenomena that are observed or identified by the speaker.

The activity going on in the discourse is a review of the various leaders in Africa and other parts of the world have exhibited power in the past. The participants in the discourse are the writer and the reader. The speaker uses nominalization to present the subjects in the discourse. Here, the relationship between the speaker and the listeners is that of inclusion. The speaker identifies "something" which the listener as a co-participant might not have observed. The speaker thus uses relational processes in portraying the message. Language in this discourse is used as an instrument of dialogic communication to give information to the readers. The interaction is predominantly in form of assertions given as propositions with statements. The speaker makes assertions about the forms of power that are exhibited in various societies in Africa by rulers.

Fairclough (2001) explains that the exercise of power in modern society is increasingly achieved through the ideological workings of language. Hence, the task of this study centers on extricating the ideologies presented in the discourse through language. For a successful attempt of critical discourse analysis, Fairclough (2001) suggests that one needs to consider the description of the text, interpret the relationship between the text and the interaction, and explain the relationship between interaction and social context.

Thus, the discourse of masculinity and power in the text centers on the power relation of the ruled (the citizens of a country) and the ruler. There exists the struggle between the ruled and the ruler. The text exhibits a dual level of power. There is the relation of power between the actors and agents on one hand; and the relation of power between the speaker and the listener (reader) on the other hand. The later exhibits power by consent rather than power by coercion as demonstrated by the first relation. The societal struggle for power by leaders (rulers) is demonstrated in the discourse at the level of vocabulary. Here, attention is given to some sociolinguistic features that are used in the text as an attempt at identifying the contextual meanings of expressions. Hence, a lexico-semantic investigation of the text is presented.

5.3.1 Reiteration

This refers to the repetition of lexical items, use of synonym, near-synonym or a super ordinate term. Examples of words reiterated in the text include: fear, power, democracy, humiliation, rhetorical hysteria, fanaticism, etc. The words are reiterated also as near synonyms such as:

(1) Fear: Fear of a nuclear holocaust, fear of reprisals, fear of Libya, fear of loss of identity, fear of humiliation, fear of ejection, etc.;

(2) Power: Invisible power, overt power, formal power, etc.;

(3) Democratic: Democratic choice, democratic process, democratic advance, democratic ventures, democratic walk, etc.;

(4) Bomb: Time bomb, suicide bomb, atom bomb, etc.;

(5) Dignity: Human dignity, pursuit of dignity, epitome of dignity, essence of dignity, diet of dignity, collective dignity, etc.;

(6) Human: Human rights, human survival, human existence, human virtues, etc.;

(7) Mantra: Mantra of Weapon of Mass Destruction, mantra of piety, mantra of beautiful change of faith, etc.

5.3.2 Super ordinate terms: Co-hyponyms

(1) Human virtues: Integrity, love, tenderness, graciousness, generosity;

(2) Architects of necropolis: Pol Pot, Adolf Hitler, Josef Stalin;

(3) Countries: Nicaragua, Chile, Argentina, Panama, Iran, South Africa, Hungary, Albania, East Germany, Bulgaria, Nigeria, Algeria, Afghanistan;

(4) Religions: Christianity, Islam, Orisa;

(5) Infidels: Unbeliever, Kafri;

(6) Dictators: Mariam Mengistru (Ethiopia), Pinochet (Chile), Miloseviz (Yugoslavia) General Sanni Abacha (Nigeria), Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe), Hitler, Pol Pot, Idi-Amin, Sergeant Doe.

Super ordinate items such as above operate anaphorically as forms of synonyms, while the hyponyms give entailment of the members of the group as a form of expansion that enhances reader's understanding of the concepts through the relation of inclusion.

5.3.3 Collocation

This refers to lexical items that regularly co-occur. Words that prominently collocate in the text include:

(1) Fear: Level of fear, diet of fear, climate of fear, constituency of fear, symptoms of fear, conditioning of fear, emotion of fear, kind of fear, bars of fear, power of fear, season of fear, expression of fear, inculcation of fear, virus of fear, era of fear, etc.

(2) Power: Contention of power, arrogant of power, statement power, exercise of power, triumph of power, apprehension of power, essence of power, quotient of power, exercise of power, thrill of power, laboratory of power, nurturers of power, lust for power, nature of power, sense of power, pursuit of power, crutch of power, consolidation of power, explication of power, expression of power, etc.

The collocation of words as shown above, portrays the various ways the words have been used in the text. It shows the extended meanings that the lexical items could possess. It is used to reinforce the reader's imagination and create vivid picture of the situation. Thereby enhancing understanding of the lexical items.

5.3.4 Antonyms

Some few instances of antonyms as found in the text are:

(1) Fear   -   dignity
(2) Democracy   -   force
(3) Monologue   -   dialogue
(4) Life   -   death
(5) Freedom   -   domination

(6) Humiliation   -   self-esteem

(7) Dignity   -   indignity

(8) Humanvirtues   -   human vices

5.3.5 Lexical borrowings

Some lexical items are used as a result of borrowing by the author in the text, these include:

> *Praise Jesus, Hallelujah, Allah Akbar, Hare Krishna, The Last Temptation of Christ, The Passion of Christ, Siege hell.* (p. 81)
>
> *We shall not sacrifice our dignity; There are no innocent; I am right, you are wrong; all life is theft.* (p. 88)
>
> We must, in other words, reject the conditions, George Bush delivered so explicitly in that ultimatum "*You are either with us and against the terrorists, or you are on the side of the terrorists*"; and in "*We do not require the world's approval since we are divinely guided*", just as we repudiate Osama Bin Laden's "*The world is now clearly divided into two—the world of the follower of Islam against that of infidels and unbelievers*". (p. 20)
>
> I have always been a light traveler, but the habit became *de rigueur* under the terror reign of Sanni Abacha of Nigeria. (p. 20)
>
> Not for nothing do the Yoruba warn that *sooner than have a monster child meet a shameful death in the market place, it is best that the mother strangle it in the secret recess of the home*. (p. 115)

The borrowing of words (in italics) as used in this context refers to words used by the author that are not his original expressions. People in different societies use the words but here the writer uses them as locution or indirect speech to buttress his points. The discourse reveals that most leaders at that point in time aimed to retain their power with coercion. On the other hand, the ruled in this context, express their power in a passive way as this group is predominantly made up of illiterates that are covertly excluded from the struggle because they cannot read. The minute part of the group in the opposition of coercive power is made up of the educated people that can express themselves and construct the ideology of the group.

The social order of the discourse reveals that the speaker presents the use of power in Africa by military rulers. For instance, it portrays the kind of power employed by General Abacha, and some other totalitarian leaders. The power that produces fear as demonstrated by African leaders and terrorists is that which results from coercion, as opposed to power of education and enlightenment. Hence, masculinity is expressed by leaders as being tough, resolute, uncompromising and aggressive through the power relation of the ruler and the ruled.

This presupposes that most African leaders adhere to power by coercion because they lack philosophical orientation and do not possess adequate education on ideologies that influence societies. The social practice in Africa is that anyone can ascend to power particularly with the use of arms and ammunition, and as a result, subject the citizenry to his whims and caprice. This necessitates the need for education of African leaders and populace. Africans need to be educated and orientated on political and philosophical ideologies. Thus, the significant roles of open distance learning (ODL) cannot be disputed now, if African nations are to meet the Education for All (EFA) as one of the millennium goals.

Lopes (2003) expresses that development is the transformation of society, which necessitates change that provides individuals and societies with more control over their own destiny. This means that education through ODL can enhance transformation of individuals in a society, which would result in sustainable development of human minds, if it provides political, ideological and sound philosophical foundation to individuals. The importance of the education that develops the attitudes and values of a learner into a coherent worldview which is adjudged as enduring value both to the learner and the society is also reiterated by Ayodele-Bamisaiye (2003; Egunyomi, 2003). It is possible to attain sustainable development with ODL, if distance learners, high-population

growth rate, inequality in sectoral provision, and gender imbalance among others are geared towards overcoming African educational challenges such as the problem of non-affordability of educational technology.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, ODL should be adequately funded and channeled to enhance sustainable development in Africa with the provision of sound and qualitative education that provides philosophical, ideological, and political orientations that provide the foundation for the right mind set for Africans. This would also enhance African reconstruction of masculinity and power. The goal of education through ODL should be the provision of the education that would facilitate reconstruction of masculinity as the ability to be focused, determined, tolerant, humble and dialogical to issues rather than the ancient stereotypic orientation of masculinity. Finally, ODL should likewise facilitate the reconstruction of power as power of education, orientation, and enlightenment instead of the archaic perception of power as the use of force and coercion as exhibited by African leaders in the text.

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