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Language and Gender: Implications on the Development of Female Self Concept in Zimbabwe.

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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the relationship between use of language and gender in the development of the female self concept. The argument is that language can reinforce asymmetrical gender relations in society through the use of gender specific vocabulary. Two concepts, that is gender and patriarchy, are discussed and their relationship to the use of language is shown. Socialist Feminism as the guiding theoretical perspective is discussed as well as Cooley's concept of the looking glass self. A detailed analysis of the relationship between language and gender is undertaken and in it the following issues are critically discussed: language used about women, language used by women and linguistic differences to social interactions. This article concludes by showing how education can be used as a tool in the deconstruction of gender stereotypes about women in the use of language. The need to avoid the use of derogatory and demeaning vocabulary in interaction both inside and outside the classroom is emphasized.

INTRODUCTION

Gender is a topical issue in many societies worldwide. Feminist critics point out that it determines the opportunities that are open for women and men as well as girls and boys. A number of socio-cultural practices including language tend to reinforce and perpetuate asymmetrical gender relations in society. Fasold (1993) observed that since the mid 1970s, research on language and sex has concentrated on the role language plays in the location and maintenance of women in a disadvantaged position in society. Mead in Macionis (1999) regards language as a significant symbol as it facilitates interaction on the basis of shared meaning. Take as an example a cartoon that appeared in The Sunday Mail of May 30, 2010, where scantily dressed women were shown with one of them holding a placard written FIFA TO IMPORT EUROPEAN PROSTITUTES (for the World Cup in South Africa in June 2010). In the same cartoon, one of the women was remarking that they would give visitors a special offer during this period. The cartoon reveals the use of certain sex stereotyped terms which are gender specific. In this regard the term prostitute appears to apply to women only. Such terms do not only emphasize the subordinate status of women in society but also exert a heavy impact on the development of female self concept. All languages and cultures have certain gender specific vocabulary and terms that point specifically at women; at times such terms tend to hold and portray women in contempt. It is in this context that this paper seeks to analyze certain words and expressions mainly in ChiShona and English languages which tend to be biased against women. Although there are a few words and phrases that celebrate womanhood, the thrust of this paper is to explore that language which is negatively used on women that negatively impacts on women's self concept in Zimbabwe. This discourse shall be discussed from sociological and psychological view points.
DEFINITION OF TERMS

Gender

Gender has been defined in a number of ways. Basically it refers to socially constituted differences between men and women leading to masculine and feminine roles in society. These differences are capable of being changed. Leo-Rhyne (1999) states that the Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender and Development defines gender as the socially constructed differences between women and men that result in women subordination and inequality in opportunity to a better life. Meena (1992) argues that gender refers to socially constructed and culturally variable roles that women and men play in their daily lives. It follows that gender roles tend to differ from culture to culture.

The result of the social construction of gender and gender roles has been that women have experienced subordination in society. This subordination is subtly reinforced by language through the use of certain words in daily conversations. According to Goddard and Patterson (2000), gender roles and preferences are reinforced by language and images throughout our lives: this means they are persistently confirmed, maintained and strengthened. In ChiShona for instance certain words only apply to women, for example *pfambi* (prostitute), *chidzoi* (ugly girl or woman), *chirikadzi* (widow), *mvana* (a woman who has given birth but not married) and *mumvana* (a married woman who has given birth). Such words tend to demean women or they tend to apply specifically to women and in most cases equivalent terms for males such as *tsvimborume* (bachelor who has passed marriageable age) *bhinya* (murderer) are hardly used, when they are used the negative connotation is not emphasized.

Gender is reinforced and perpetuated during gender role socialization. This process affects self concept, social and political attitudes, perceptions of others and feelings about relations with others (Kiter, 2003). This process is part and parcel of primary socialization that begins in the home. The process begins at birth when boys and girls are dressed up in different colours, given different names and provided with different toys. This state of affairs tends to reinforce gender differences. As a result of gender role socialization, children come to acquire a gender identity which is buttressed by an emphasis on appropriate gender roles. According to Grbith (1990), values, roles and norms will be taught to the child in the context of family, school, peer groups and once internalized will persist, limiting adult choices. Research has shown that there are different expectations as regards the two sexes. For example, girls are identified with dependences, passivity, caution, shyness, helplessness, and boys with courage, strength, daring, tolerance, assertiveness and independence. Morgan (1986) in Goddard and Patterson (2000) argues that different qualities are associated with men and women in western society. Men are seen as logical, rational, aggressive, exploitative, strategic, independent and competitive. Females are thought to be intuitive, emotional, submissive, emphatic, spontaneous, nurturing and co-operative.
Patriarchy
Patriarchy like gender defies a universal definition. Patriarchy refers to male domination of women and children. Most human societies are patriarchal where women enjoy a subordinate status. Hartman (1981) states that patriarchy is a sort of social relations between men and women, which has a material base and which although hierarchical, establishes or creates interdependence and solidarity among men to dominate women. Diaz (1988) argues that patriarchy is a system of power where the men dominate in society and remain in possession of economic privileges. Certain socio-cultural practices then tend to uphold male domination and female subordination. In this context, patriarchy can also come to mean that particular versions of masculinity and femininity develop which tend to reproduce male power and female subordination.

Two types of patriarchy have been identified and these are private and public patriarchy. In private patriarchy, the male is the head of the household and controls women individually and directly in the private sphere of the home. In public patriarchy women have access to both public and private areas but are nonetheless subordinated within them (Walby in Haralambos and Holbom 1995). In other words private patriarchy is centred around the world of the home while public patriarchy deals with the world of work. In public patriarchy, men dominate and monopolize those occupations that are highly rewarded and command higher prestige. Certain occupational titles show that they are a preserve for men though of late women have moved into occupational areas once regarded as a male domain. This is confirmed by occupational titles such as, engineman, fireman, shift boss, policeman, draughtsman and foreman, to mention a few. These occupational titles may seem to suggest that women are unable to execute them. Just as in gender socio-cultural factors such as language used about women, tend to perpetuate patriarchal relations.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
This paper is informed and guided by feminist theory and Cooley's concept of the looking glass self is also going to be considered. Feminist theory seeks to explain the subordinated position of women in society. Socialist Feminism is the theory that shall be discussed.

Socialist Feminism
Socialist feminism is a dual systems analysis intended to show how capitalism and patriarchy acted together, infusing and moulding a social structure which created women as subordinates to men both at work and at home (Kirby, Kidd, Koubel, Barter, and Hope, (et al.) (1997). Proponents of this theory argue that the subordination of women in society is a result of capitalism and patriarchy. It is argued that patriarchy predates capitalism. Both capitalism and patriarchy interact in the subordination of women, they are both mutually dependent and need each other to operate freely. Patriarchy provides capitalism with the order that it needs to operate. According to Ritzer (1992) men create patriarchy because they have real interests in making women serve as compliant tools. The use of gender specific vocabulary in language reinforces this. Capitalism and patriarchy appear to benefit from a reciprocal relationship. The mutual accommodation between patriarchy and capitalism has created a vicious circle.
for women. Eisenstein (1979) states that a sexual division of labour and society that defines people's activities, purposes, goals and desires and dreams according to their biological sex, is at the basis of patriarchy and capitalism.

Since capitalism benefits from patriarchy, bourgeois ideology promotes the identification of women with the home domesticity and affective relations. Thus women are seen as playing a role in the reproduction of future workers for capitalism (Sanderson, 1991). In the home, women perform unpaid housework which benefits all men across all cultures.

**Cooley and the Development of the Self: Implications to the Female Self Concept.**

Jary and Jary (1995) define the 'self' as a mental construction of the person by the person, but inevitably formed from social experiences. Hess, Markson and Stein (1988) agree that the self is an organization of perceptions about who and what kind of a person one is. Taylor, Peplau and Sears (2006: 97) remark that the self is the collection of beliefs that we hold about ourselves. O'Leary (2007:242) develops the above observation by maintaining that the self is an individual's awareness of being a distinct social identity. It thus addresses questions like, 'What are my important characteristics? What am I good at? What do I do poorly? Who really am I?' Self and identity are thus cognitive constructs that influence social interaction and perception and are themselves influenced by society. The self is therefore concerned with an analysis of what one is worth as a person. Human beings are not born with the 'self'. It is learnt and developed gradually through the same socialization experiences by which culture is internalized. In this context, the 'self' can be seen as a social product that grows out of the interaction one has with others as people act on the basis of meanings, situations have for them. Cooley in Macionis (1999) proposes that the 'self' is composed of a basic self feeling, it arises reflectively in terms of the reactions to the opinion of others on the self. The looking glass self suggests that individuals see themselves reflected back in the reactions of other people. Cooley developed the looking glass self to explain how a person's conception of the self develops through reflections about his or her relationship with others (Kiter, 2003). The development of the self takes place through three phases, (Schaefer, 2004; Kirby et al, 1997; Macionis, 2005). Firstly, individuals imagine how they present themselves to others, then they imagine how others evaluate them and finally they develop some sort of self feeling about themselves such as respect or shame as a result of these impressions. The looking glass self summed up in Bierstedt's words implies that 'I am not what I think I am, I am not what you think I am; I am what I think you think I am, (Hammersley, 1991). As a result the self is a product of other peoples' perceptions, coloured by prejudices, attitudes and impressions. As a result of all this, individuals can develop self identities based on incorrect perceptions of how others see us. For instance, women, girls included, may react awkwardly, subserviently or in a supplicative manner, towards some erroneous remarks from the social world. If regarded or referred to as weak, loose, incapable of managing the home and not assertive, they are more often than not likely to exhibit attitudes and behaviour that
Regrettably, the female self concept may be constructed along these perceptions and interactions with the patriarchal society. This gives birth to and nurtures negative self concept as illustrated below. The society criticises women, the society thinks women are loose, and therefore, I am loose, because I am a woman. Schoeneman (1979) reviewed 62 relevant empirical studies to see whether this was true. What he found was that people did not tend to see themselves as others saw them but instead saw themselves as they thought others saw them. For instance, Tice (1992) had participants provide information that indicated that they were emotionally stable or emotionally responsive to different situations, this is how they thought others saw them. They provided this information under private conditions and which they believed no one was watching them or under public conditions in which they believed a graduate student was closely monitoring their behaviour. The latter condition would engage the looking glass self. As predicted, subsequent descriptions of self were more radically altered under public conditions than private conditions (Hogg and Vaughan, 2002:115). More often than not terms and expressions that are used to address or refer to women are adopted in public, and this, as mentioned earlier on, is likely to distort female self concept.

In addition to the unique identity that is sometimes labeled the personal self concept, there are also social aspects of the self that individuals share with others. It is not simply that people form associations, for example with a given ethnic group; rather, the self is defined differently depending on one's ethnic affiliation. Part of who individuals are and how they think of themselves is determined by a collective identity that is the social self. The social self, in turn consists of two components, that is, that which is derived from belonging to larger, less personal groupings such as race, ethnicity and or culture. Such categories and relationships become part of the self. Baumeister and Leary (1995) in Feldman (2007) argue that the social self is based on a fundamental need to belong, which is generally a basic characteristic of humans. When interactions are considered with respect to self, it becomes necessary to take the context into account. Thus, when we examine the role of interpersonal relationships in self concept, we necessarily consider a situational context in that a relationship includes someone else. In this regard, the different social interaction of women determine and, or influence how then women view themselves individually or collectively. In all these respects the nature of language used in these contexts becomes key in coming up with positive or negative female self concept.

The language that individuals use to refer to or describe women determines and or influence how these women present themselves to the world. Self presentation refers to our efforts to control the impression we convey to the world, how we sell ourselves to the social world. The fundamental goal of self presentation is to structure the interaction, so that we obtain a desired outcome. Individuals often want other people to view them positively; as interesting, friendly, intelligent and caring. The most common motive of self presentation is to make a good impression (Schaeffer, 2004). In this regard, people, women in particular, accomplish this objective firstly by conforming to the norms of the social institution. For instance, a widow is socially expected to be calm, subservient to in-laws and non adventurous. When presenting herself to the society then, the widow conforms to these set expectations. If not, then she is viewed as a non-conformist and thus viewed negatively. Therefore, social interactions and the use of language become important.
LANGUAGE AND GENDER

The use of certain sexist and gender specific terms has, undoubtedly, an impact on the development of female self concept. Language and gender refer to the relationship between language and our ideas about men and women (Goddard and Patterson, 2000:1). Language behaviour reflects the social dominance of men in that men try to control women through language. Language may be used to categorise people because it is through language that we talk about our social values, how we treat each other and organise ourselves in society. Trudgill (1975:73) notes, “Men and women are socially different in that society lays down different social roles for them and expects different behavioural patterns from them – language simply reflects this social fact.” This means that language reproduces the gender inequalities in society and if that is the case, then language is far from neutral.

Since language is a behaviour that is largely learnt; men and women are social beings who have learned to act and speak in certain ways. We will now look at three ways in which the relationship between men and women can be reinforced through language.

Language Used about Women

Language used about women usually carries with it some elements of negative connotations. There is sexism in the language even if men have the same status. For instance, there are many terms which point at immorality by women yet women engage in immoral activities with men. Such women are called *hure* (Shona) or *iwule* (Ndebele) meaning 'whore' in English. There is no equivalent term for the male counterpart. Other Shona terms in this category include the following: *nzvarakamwe* (a woman who has given birth to one child), *mvana* (an unmarried woman who has given birth to children). Both terms are derogatory.

In the same vein, language used about women is at times vulgar. Such language is meant to degrade women. For instance, when a child or a person has done something wrong, the blame is placed upon his/her mother. Phrases to that effect include:

- 'son of a bitch' (*mwana wepfambi/hure*);
- *kufanana namai* (you are as bad as your mother).

The assumption is that bad behaviour is only inherited from one's mother and not from one's father. Thus, strengthening the subordinate place of women in the society.

Language used about women has been also characterised by word perjoration and semantic derogation (Talbot, 1998). Some words undergo semantic change or manipulation so as to attach some stigma aimed at reducing the value of women. Some words denoting males and females started off on an equal footing but with time the female version has undergone perjoration. The pair 'mister' and 'mistress' was on the same level but now 'mistress' means some woman involved in an affair with somebody's husband. Similarly, the pair 'king' and 'queen' were on the same footing but later on 'queen' could refer to either a 'shebeen queen' or 'lady of the night' and both are derogatory. Talbot (1998) shows 'progressive' perjoration of the term 'tart' which initially meant 'a pie' but was changed to mean 'sweetheart' then went on to mean 'sexually desirable woman' and now 'a woman of the night'. The term 'tart' is continually being manipulated to attach stigma on the female being.
Goddard and Patterson (2000) also note something interesting about the naming of natural hazards like hurricanes and cyclones which takes after names of women. A good example is cyclone Eline which occurred in Zimbabwe in 2000. Other names include: Hurricane Katarina (USA); Typhoon Mireille (Japan); Hurricane Domoina (Mozambique); and Hurricane Gladys (Florida).

Natural disasters, as the name implies, are disastrous and therefore women are seen as such. This is negative portrayal of women in society through words. In the same vein, status objects like cars, ships and countries are referred to as 'she' meaning women belong to men hence they are considered status objects as well. This strengthens Goddard and Paterson (2000)'s view that language reinforces the way we organise ourselves in society that is, men are always higher than women.

Another aspect which shows that language reflects society is how we use words to describe men and women. There is non parallel treatment when women and men are described or portrayed. In many cases women are described by appearance yet men are described by achievement. This is clear when we study sculpture. Male figures are depicted as miners, farmers, thinkers, etc yet women's appearance is highlighted with their stature and hairstyles and usually appear with children as an 'achievement.'

From the illustrations above, it can be seen that society, men in particular, control women through language. Language used about women aims at maintaining the place of women in society. It is shocking to observe that women accept their place in society through the language they use themselves as is shown in the next section of this paper.

**Language Used by Women**

Women choose words to use in speech carefully for they are afraid to being judged sexually promiscuous. Regardless of other social characteristics such as class, age, etc, women use more standard forms of language than men (Romaine, 1994:99). Taboo subjects are not expected in women talk. Women's speech is thus restricted for fear of what men and society would say about them. On the other hand, men are free to say anything without considering societal repercussions. For this reason, women's speech is characterised by uncertainty, tentativeness, hesitation, politeness, lack in authority and is judged (by men) as trivial. Otto Jespersen (1922), in Goddard and Patterson (2000) observes that men are seen as the norm and women departing from that norm in various ways, speech included.

When women talk, they tend to use question tags as if they are not sure of what they will be talking about. They tend to state some idea in a questioning manner as in the following examples:

"Wafara. Handitika?" (You are happy. Isn't it?)
"Ngivale umnyago. Hantsho?" (I can close the door. Isn't it?)
"This is a nice day. Isn't it?"
Women try to compensate for their low positions in society through language. Talbot (1998) in Goddard and Patterson (2000) studied the vocabulary used by women and found out that women have their own vocabulary which is rarely used by men. Talbot (1998) says words used by women reduce their firmness in speech. Adjectives like 'fine', 'nice', 'gorgeous', 'lovely' common in women's speech are affective and are rarely found in men's speech. Through use of affective terms, Lakoff (1973) in Goddard and Patterson (2000), thinks women try to be extra sensitive and nice in order to gain acceptance and recognition in society.

The use of hedges or fillers in speech is more common with women than men. It is not surprising to hear words like:

- "...you know..."
- "...sort of...
- "...I mean...
- "You see."

These show search for approval of one's ideas in women's speech. Women themselves acknowledge that they are under some social control from which they have to get approval from time to time, thus strengthening their position in society through the language they use.

In addition women are noted for using intensifiers like: 'much', 'so', 'very', etc as a way of emphasizing their seriousness. Instead of just saying, "I am tired," it is typical of women to say, "I am very tired." Again, this way women will be actually telling that they are 'minors' in society hence need to attract attention through language. Women's language reflects their powerlessness in society for subordination can be felt in their speech especially when talking to men. Another sex-based distinction can be seen in linguistic differences that are reflected in various social interactions. This is what is going to be explored next.

**Linguistic Differences in Social Interactions**

Where masculine and feminine items are paired, inequality in power between the two is almost always reflected. Pairing is assymetrical because the masculine item always comes first. The society has made it sound natural to say: 
- 'Boys and girls' and not 'girls and boys';
- 'Mr. and Mrs.' and not 'Mrs. and Mr.';
- 'Adam and Eve' and not 'Eve and Adam';
- 'Husband and wife' and not 'wife and husband'.

From these few examples it can be seen that male referents occur first and any other order seems unnatural. (There are a few exceptions to this order such as the pair 'Ladies and gentlemen', which is usually used when men solicit for favours or support from women).

Another area where gender differences are reflected in language is where one is required to show one's marital status.
The appearance of:
Mr./Mrs./Miss/Ms
on many forms where one is expected to show their title has a bias towards men. Women are expected to be quite explicit with their status—married, single or divorced—yet for all men of different status only one title encompasses them all. In this case, women are titled by their relationship to men thus suggesting that women cannot stand on their own. A simple thing like titles shows that language reflects society.

Social issues like naming children (or people) show that women derive from men. There are a number of names which can be paired and seen to have a relationship, that woman is 'of man'. Examples are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>Henrietta;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerald</td>
<td>Geraldine;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>Manageress;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Waitress.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In cases where the female term cannot be easily derived, we tend to be explicit that we are talking of a 'writer' as opposed to a 'female writer'. There is no need to specify gender in this regard. Just to show the original or intended 'owner' of the term. (An interesting one is where people insist on the term 'groom' and not 'bridegroom' for this would mean that the groom is derived from the bride—which is not appealing to society).

The quality and quantity of talk by women and men also reflect linguistic differences in social interactions. Romaine (1994) notes that men usually talk of business, soccer, legal and political matters whereas women dwell on food, fashion, social problems and novels. In simple terms, men engage in serious issues whereas women focus on 'trivial' matters so to say. Wardhaugh (1998) also notes that in most societies, women are not expected to talk much, rather they must be only encouraged to. According to Zimbabwean society, the ideal woman or wife is quiet because women 'never grow up' to be able to talk sense. In Shona society when men discuss issues, even those that concern women, women are expected to be quiet and only to be asked to rubber-stamp men's decisions right at the end. It is very common to hear one of the men saying to the women, "Muri kuzvinzwaka izvo vanamaita" (I hope you have heard what we have decided to do). Surprisingly, women as if to confirm their position in society would reply, "Zviri munzeve shewe" (We have heard, my lord). Therefore, social interaction and the use of language become important. The use of certain sexist and gender specific terms has an impact on the development of female self concept.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE
This discussion has shown the relationship between language and gender in a patriarchal society. The use of gender specific sexist vocabulary tends to have a negative impact on the development of the female self concept. Gender is socially constructed and it follows that it can be deconstructed. All social institutions have a role to play in gender deconstruction. This section focuses on the role that education can play in this regard. The school is an agent of secondary socialisation and as such it does not operate in a vacuum. Rather the school plays a role in transmitting the culture of society from one
Gender role socialisation which begins in the home is reinforced in the school. According to Measor and Sikes (1992) feminist research is committed to the view that schools do have a role in constructing, defining and reinforcing gender roles and gender identity. As a result feminist critics argue that schools act as photocopiers in the production of a gendered society. This is so when one considers gender stereotyping in curriculum materials and textbooks in use in schools as well as the use of sexist gender specific vocabulary in these materials. It has been found that textbooks embody various assumptions about gender identities (Abbot and Wallace, 1990). Mannathoko (1992) expresses a similar opinion when she argues that gender biases are perpetuated because of male dominance in media such as Radio, TV, newspapers, school curriculum, production of textbooks, journals and curriculum materials. Teachers need to assume a new role where they become active agents in the deconstruction of gender. In this new role teachers have to lead by example in which they become role models to their pupils. There is need for teachers to avoid the use of terms that are both derogatory and demeaning to women which consequently affect women's self concept negatively. The selection of instructional materials and textbooks should be done cautiously so that materials that portray women negatively are avoided. Likewise pupils in classroom interaction as well as interaction outside the school should be encouraged to be gender sensitive in terms of the vocabulary that they use. In a number of cases pupils have often been found using sexist language.

Book publishers, particularly those who publish books that are in use in schools countrywide, need to move with the times. Their activities in this area need to take cognisance of the need for gender sensitivity. What is needed then is an approach designed to reduce gender stereotyping in books and curriculum materials as well as the use of language. In Zimbabwe curriculum reform initiatives in the past have not displayed much progress in this area.

CONCLUSION
This paper has exposed the relationship between the use of language and gender. The paper has taken the position that the use of sexist and gender specific vocabulary tends to affect female self concept negatively. It has also been argued that since gender is socially constructed it can also be deconstructed. All social institutions have a role to play in gender deconstruction. The education system needs to take a lead in this area.

RECOMMENDATIONS
- Although this section was looking at the role of education there is a word for those who work in the print and broadcast media. Editors in the media should critically scrutinize some articles submitted for publication. For example, the cartoon that appeared in The Sunday Mail of May 20 drives the point home.

- As society changes so should language. Lakoff (1990), Penelope (1990), Seller, (1991) and Spender (1980 in Wardhaugh (1998)) all concur that since the males have produced the language, thought and reality, women should reinvent language for their own purposes and develop their own linguistic conventions.
There is need to encourage use of gender-neutral words within the school system. For instance, gender-tagged words like 'mankind', 'headmaster/mistress' and 'chairman/woman' can be replaced by gender neutral ones like 'humanity', 'head' and 'chairperson' respectively.

Women educators should also take part in dictionary-making as a move towards language reform.

Adoption and employment of non-sexist language and an engendered curriculum should be mandatory in schools (kindergartens included), colleges and universities.

Sensitisation and, or awareness campaigns in all institutions of learning and work places should be mounted for men and women, with special emphasis on self-concept enhancement.

There is need, for those who work in the print and broadcast media, editors included, to sensitize the people in this regard by critically scrutinizing all submission meant for public and private consumption.

REFERENCES


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