

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320077469>

Multiple perpetrator rape in Ghana: offenders, victims and offence characteristics

Article in *Journal of Sexual Aggression* · January 2018

DOI: 10.1080/13552600.2017.1378024

CITATION

1

READS

95

6 authors, including:



Emmanuel Nii-Boye Quarshie

University of Leeds

18 PUBLICATIONS 79 CITATIONS

[SEE PROFILE](#)



Priscilla Davies

National Research University Higher School of Economics

1 PUBLICATION 1 CITATION

[SEE PROFILE](#)



Mawuena Ivanna Adzoa Badasu

Concordia University Montreal

1 PUBLICATION 1 CITATION

[SEE PROFILE](#)



Theophilus Tagoe

University of Ghana

4 PUBLICATIONS 13 CITATIONS

[SEE PROFILE](#)

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:



Child Sexual Abuse [View project](#)



Chronic Medical Conditions and Mental Health [View project](#)



Journal of Sexual Aggression

An international, interdisciplinary forum for research, theory and practice

ISSN: 1355-2600 (Print) 1742-6545 (Online) Journal homepage: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/tjsa20>

Multiple perpetrator rape in Ghana: offenders, victims and offence characteristics

Emmanuel Nii-Boye Quarshie, Priscilla Ayebea Davies, Mawuena Ivanna Adzoa Badasu, Theophilus Tagoe, Pearl Ama Otoo & Patricia Opoku Afriyie

To cite this article: Emmanuel Nii-Boye Quarshie, Priscilla Ayebea Davies, Mawuena Ivanna Adzoa Badasu, Theophilus Tagoe, Pearl Ama Otoo & Patricia Opoku Afriyie (2018) Multiple perpetrator rape in Ghana: offenders, victims and offence characteristics, *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 24:1, 125-141, DOI: [10.1080/13552600.2017.1378024](https://doi.org/10.1080/13552600.2017.1378024)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13552600.2017.1378024>



Published online: 28 Sep 2017.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 41








View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Multiple perpetrator rape in Ghana: offenders, victims and offence characteristics

Emmanuel Nii-Boye Quarshie ¹^a, Priscilla Ayebea Davies ²^b, Mawuena Ivanna Adzoa Badasu^c, Theophilus Tagoe ³^d, Pearl Ama Otoo ⁴^e and Patricia Opoku Afriye ⁵^f

^aSchool of Psychology, Faculty of Medicine and Health, University of Leeds, Leeds, UK; ^bDepartment of Psychology, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia; ^cDepartment of Psychology, University of Ghana, Accra, Ghana; ^dBusiness School, University of Ghana, Accra, Ghana; ^eDepartment of Statistics, University of Ghana, Accra, Ghana; ^fDepartment of Statistics, Universiteit Hasselt, Hasselt, Belgium

ABSTRACT

Multiple perpetrator rape (MPR) is criminalised in Ghana but there is a dearth of research and official statistics on the phenomenon. This study explores some of the key characteristics of MPR in Ghana as reported in the media. Keyword search of the news archives of 9 Ghanaian media outlets generated 57 cases of MPR reported from January 2000 through June 2016. Content analysis of the cases showed 61 all-female victims and 57 all-male perpetrator groups. The average victim age was 17.9 years and the modal perpetrator-group size was two. The majority of the victims knew at least one member of the perpetrator groups. The perpetrator groups approached their victims outdoors but raped them indoors, using violent techniques to compel compliance. Although the characteristics of MPR in Ghana, as observed in this study, are comparatively similar to those found in other African countries, further studies are recommended for a nuanced understanding of MPR in Ghana.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 30 August 2016
Revised 1 August 2017
Accepted 31 August 2017

KEYWORDS

Gang rape; Ghana; media; multiple perpetrator rape; rape; sexual violence

Introduction

Globally, over 1.6 million lives are lost annually through violence and uncountable more destroyed in ways that are not apparent (WHO, 2002). Notable among the various forms of violence which result in deaths and seriously compromised health is sexual violence (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi, & Lozano, 2002). Sexual violence has been defined as,

any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work. (WHO, 2002, p. 149)

Sexual violence occurs in several forms: multiple perpetrator rape (MPR), sexual slavery, single/lone perpetrator rape, child prostitution, among others (Jewkes, Sen, & Garcia-Moreno, 2002; UNICEF, 2014). MPR is used to refer broadly to “coerced sex where two or more men sexually penetrate”, usually in turns (Jewkes et al., 2012, p. 11). Gang rape – “rape of a person by two or more perpetrators” (Jewkes et al., 2002, p. 149) – is used synonymously to mean MPR. However, in gang rape the perpetrators are an organised group that engages in the act consistently (Horvath & Kelly, 2009).

Offence characteristics

Although MPR is one of the several forms of sexual violence reported widely across many parts of the world, there is a paucity of systematic information on the extent of the phenomenon (Jewkes et al., 2002; Park & Kim, 2016; WHO, 2002). In terms of the prevalence and context of MPR, research evidence shows that compared to high-income countries, higher rates of MPR are reported in low- and middle-income countries (LAMICs), for example, India, South Africa, Papua New Guinea, *inter alia* (Jenkins, 1998; Jewkes et al., 2002, 2012; UNICEF, 2014).

National level data and reports of surveillance studies from South Africa indicate that MPR represents one-third to half of all reported rape cases (Horvath & Kelly, 2009; Swart, Gilchrist, Butchart, Seedat, & Martin, 2000); and 8.9% of men who had ever raped had done so with other perpetrators (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, & Dunkle, 2011). Generally, only about 2.8% of rape cases are reported to the police whilst it is believed that more than a million rapes happen in a year in South Africa (Swart et al., 2000).

According to da Silva, Harkins, and Woodhams (2013), MPR can be present in multifarious contexts (e.g. schools, neighbourhoods, prisons, streets, clubs/pubs, war-torn places, etc.). In a study on MPR from Nigeria (Ohayi, Ezugwu, Chigbu, Arinze-Onyia, & Iyoke, 2015), the findings showed that a higher proportion of the rape occurred in bushes, uncompleted buildings, perpetrators' residence and the victim's residence. In a content analysis of police case dockets in South Africa, van der Watt and van Graan (2013) found that MPR was perpetrated in bushes and isolated places; locations within residential suburbs and public spaces such as streets, homes, shacks or in dilapidated buildings or houses; inside the vehicles of perpetrators and in the private residence of the victims or an acquaintance.

In terms of temporal characteristics, previous evidence from South Africa showed that predominantly, MPR occurred during the weekends, with about 65.1–74% happening between Friday and Sunday (Jewkes et al., 2012; van der Watt & van Graan, 2013; Vetten & Haffejee, 2005). Gbemileke and Oladepo (2015) observed that in Nigeria, the majority (33.4%) of MPR cases were perpetrated during the day. However, the majority (68%) of MPR cases reported in South Africa have been found to occur at night (van der Watt & van Graan, 2013; Vetten & Haffejee, 2005).

Regarding the disclosure of the offence or reporting of the offence to the police, Gbemileke and Oladepo (2015) reported that in Nigeria, most (49.4%) of the cases were reported to the police on the same day of occurrence, whereas 2.7% was reported after 31 days of occurrence.

Offenders and victims of MPR

MPR has a variety of perpetrators (including gangs, students, soldiers, prisoners and prison staff) as well as a range of victims depending on the context of the act (da Silva et al., 2013). In South Africa, MPR is associated usually with the unemployed including still-in-school young men (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Dunkle, & Morrell, 2015). The offence is predominantly committed by young men, with children and young women as victims (Jewkes et al., 2002; UNICEF, 2014). However, in Nigeria, Ohayi et al. (2015) observed that MPR was reported more often among adult victims than among victims less than 18 years old. Again, studies from some parts of West Africa (including Nigeria) indicate that although males are also gang raped, most victims of MPR are females (Gbemileke & Oladepo, 2015; Ohayi et al., 2015).

In terms of perpetrator-group size, evidence from South Africa shows that the offender groups of MPR are mostly made up of two members (e.g. Jewkes et al., 2012; van der Watt & van Graan, 2013; Vetten & Haffejee, 2005). The preponderance of duo perpetrator groups in MPR has also been found in the analysis of MPR cases in the US, UK and South Korea (Park & Kim, 2016; Porter & Alison, 2006). Similarly, the most recent systematic review and meta-analysis of the characteristics of multiple perpetrator sexual offences identifies the predominant perpetrator-group size to be two (Bamford, Chou, & Browne, 2016). Additionally, most perpetrators of MPR have been found to be strangers to the

victim, although some perpetrators have been found to be acquainted with the victim (Bamford et al., 2016; Jewkes et al., 2012; Porter & Alison, 2006; Vetten & Haffejee, 2005).

In a recent study, da Silva, Woodhams, and Harkins (2014) analysed a national sample of 336 allegations of completed and attempted rape of female victims from the UK. Rapes committed by multiple and lone offenders were compared. Among other things, the findings showed that multiple perpetrators approached their victims outdoors but raped them indoors. Compared to lone perpetrators, multiple perpetrators were younger and less likely to be arrested and convicted. In terms of the modus operandi and characteristics of MPR, evidence from South Africa (e.g. van der Watt & van Graan, 2013) shows that perpetrators adopt the *blitz* and *confidence* approaches to contact their victims. In the blitz approach, there is sudden violence and overpowering of the victim, whereas the confidence approach is usually characterised by winning the trust or confidence of the victim through the use of con story or ruse or offering the victim a lift. Victims are assaulted by means of hitting with hands or offensive objects such as stones, hammers and axes. Perpetrators also use weapons including knives and firearms to elicit compliance from the victim (van der Watt & van Graan, 2013).

In South Korea, Park and Kim (2016) compared 340 sexual assault cases based on offender characteristics, victim characteristics and offence behaviours to identify differences among sexual assaults committed by lone, double and groups of three or more perpetrators. The results indicated that the proportion of multiple perpetrator groups who were in their teens at the time of the offence was significantly larger than that of lone perpetrators. Similarly, the victims of MPR were teens between ages 13 and 19 years mostly known to the perpetrator group. The evidence showed further that members of the multiple perpetrator groups were more than twice as likely to be temporary workers or unemployed, compared to lone perpetrators. In terms of the offence behaviours, multiple perpetrator groups made use of threats or violence when approaching their victims, compared to lone perpetrators (Park & Kim, 2016).

Explaining MPR

The multifactorial theory of multiple perpetrator sexual offending (Harkins & Dixon, 2010, 2013) provides a comprehensive framework for explaining MPR. This framework integrates factors of group dynamics and processes at the *individual* (i.e. deviant sexual interest and cognition), *socio-cultural* (i.e. rape culture and rape myth, and hypermasculinity and male dominance), and *situational* (i.e. male bonding, theories of group behaviour and unique settings) levels to explain multiple perpetrator sexual offences. The framework proposes that these three factors (i.e. individual, socio-cultural and situational) and the interaction between any two or all of them play a role in different types of MPR. These interactions could be among the individual and socio-cultural contexts (internalisation of socio-cultural factors), the individual and situational factors (group processes) and the situational context and socio-cultural factors (sub-cultural context).

Even though the present study is exploratory in nature (not hypothesis testing), the findings are discussed in the light of the reviewed evidence from the African, Asian and Western literature to draw some key similarities and differences regarding the victims, perpetrators and offence characteristics of MPR in Ghana. Potentially, knowing how similar or different MPR is in Ghana can contribute to the understanding of MPR and help formulate preventive strategies which are socio-culturally sensitive and appropriate in Ghana.

MPR in Ghana

In Ghana, MPR, like most sexual offences, is religiously proscribed and legally criminalised: "Whoever commits rape shall be guilty of first degree felony and shall be liable on conviction to imprisonment for a term of not less than five years and not more than twenty-five years" (Act 29 of Ghana, Section 97). Despite this law, sexual crimes and violence represent a reality which hits the headlines in Ghana

on daily basis – with rape remaining a major social challenge in the country (Aryee, 2013; Quarshie, Osafo, Akotia, Peparah, & Andoh-Arthur, 2017). For instance, the Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit (DOVVSU) of the Ghana Police Service recorded a total of 3937, 14,658 and 238 cases of rape, defilement¹ and incest, respectively, between 1999 and 2014 (Ghana Police Service, 2015). As observed elsewhere, often, official records do not separate MPR from single/lone perpetrator rape cases whilst MPR remains one of the traumatic but under-reported sexual crimes; hence, the actual statistics may be more than the reported cases found in official records (Hauffe & Porter, 2009; Porter & Alison, 2006; Walby, Allen, & Simmons, 2004). Combining the statistics on all sexual offences in this manner is problematic in that MPR can be significantly “unique” from other forms of sexual violence in terms of patterns, mental health consequences, medico-legal outcomes and intervention and prevention efforts (Jewkes et al., 2002; Smith, 2004; UNICEF, 2014; WHO, 2002).

Extensive electronic database literature search conducted for the purposes of literature review for this study indicated that compared to single perpetrator rape, there is a dearth of research publications on MPR from Ghana (Aryee, 2013). Thus, per our knowledge in the area, this present study represents a pioneering research effort at exploring some of the key characteristics of MPR in Ghana. This is an exploratory study that seeks to review media news reports of MPR in Ghana in order to explore some of the key characteristics of the perpetrators, victims and the offence in the country.

The use of media surveillance for obtaining data on rape and other criminal behaviours is critical, especially, in non-Western contexts such as Ghana where there are inadequate, unreliable or unavailable police records on certain crimes (Adinkrah, 2014, 2017). More significantly, police–civilian relationship in Ghana is characterised by tensions making witnesses to crime scenes and criminal events more inclined to disclosing eye-witness information to journalists rather than to police investigators (Adinkrah, 2017; Boakye, 2009b; Quarshie, Osafo, Akotia, & Peparah, 2015; Quarshie et al., 2017). Thus, in Ghana, “media-based information on crime events is often richer and more comprehensive than police records” (Adinkrah, 2017, p. 9).

Hence, this study aims to explore some of the key characteristics of the victims, perpetrators and the offence of MPR in Ghana as reported in the local Ghanaian media. It is hoped that this study will serve as a useful starting point to building a nuanced scientific understanding of MPR in Ghana to inform intervention and prevention efforts.

Method

Research setting

Ghana, an Anglophone West African country, is the context for this study. It is bordered to the east, west and north by Togo, Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso, respectively, with the Gulf of Guinea occupying the southern coastal line. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS, 2016), Ghana’s population stands at 27,670,174 and can be described as largely youthful as 2 in every 5 persons in the country are less than 15 years old. The population is heterogeneous in terms of indigenous languages, ethnic and religious groupings (Salm & Falola, 2002). Ghana is a patriarchal society where men wield more power and control compared to women (Nukunya, 2011; Sarpong, 2006). The cultural and historical heritage of the country is intensely religious as religiosity pervades every sphere of the life of Ghanaians, with children brought up mainly through religious socialisation (Gyekye, 2003; Nukunya, 2011; Salm & Falola, 2002; Sarpong, 2006). Ghana’s population is made up of Christians (71%), Muslims (18%), adherents of African Traditional Religion (5%) and 6% identified as belonging to other religious groups or without any religious beliefs (GSS, 2013).

Design and procedure

Generally, the methodological approach adopted for this study was modelled after the media (news) surveillance approach employed by recent studies (e.g. Quarshie et al., 2015, 2017) on some legally

and socially proscribed behaviours in Ghana (e.g. suicide, incest, etc.). The web portals of four categories of media sources were adopted for this study: radio, TV, newspaper and general news outlets. The radio stations selected were Joy FM (www.myjoyonline.com) and peace FM (www.peacefmonline.com). These radio stations are the most popular with the widest coverage, listenership and affiliation across the country (Adinkrah, 2014; Quarshie et al., 2015). Ghana Television (www.gbcghana.com) and TV3 Ghana (www.tv3network.com) were the TV stations selected for this study. Ghana Television is the state-owned television broadcaster; and TV3 Ghana is the popular and most watched privately owned free-on-air television station with the widest coverage across Ghana. The newspapers [i.e. *Daily Graphic* (graphic.com.gh); *Daily Guide* (dailyguideafrica.com); and *Ghanaian Times* (ghanaiantimes.com.gh)] and the general news outlets [i.e. Ghana News Agency (ghananewsagency.org), and Ghanaweb (ghanaweb.com)] selected for this study have wider readership with coverage across officialdom, health, education, sports, entertainment, politics, *inter alia* (Gadzekpo, 2010; Quarshie et al., 2015). Online news by media outlets in Ghana are published in English.

The web portals of the selected media sources were each searched for news reports on MPR from January 2000 through June 2016. The earliest date, January 2000, was chosen because media pluralism (Amoakohene, 2004; Gadzekpo, 2010) and airwaves liberalisation (Nyarko, 2016) actualised in Ghana between the mid-1990s and early 2000s. By the year 2000, most media houses had web portals. June 2016 was chosen in order to access the latest news on MPR, as at the time these searches were conducted. Three authors (MIAB, POA and TT) conducted archival searches on the websites of the selected radio and TV media sources, whilst the other three authors (PAD, PAO and ENBQ) searched the news archives of the selected newspapers and general news media outlets using keywords including, “gang rape”, “defilement”, “rape”, “multiple perpetrator rape”, “sexual violence”, “sexual crime”, “gala”,² “group rape” and “gang bang”. An aggregate of 252 news reports was obtained and screened for reports representing completed cases of MPR eligible for inclusion in the study. A total of 57 news reports of MPR were included in the final analysis of the study (see Figure 1).

Criteria for inclusion and exclusion of news reports

News reports screened and included in the final suite of MPR cases for analysis were those reporting rape involving two or more perpetrators in Ghana. Specifically, the definition of MPR by Jewkes et al. (2012) was adopted to guide the extraction of the news stories included in this study. However, a news report was excluded if it was found to be an international story, occurred before January 2000, involved a single/lone perpetrator, a case of group sex, an editorial, an opinion piece or a follow-up to an already reported primary story on MPR. In some cases, the exact account of the same stories was reported by two or more of the selected media sources. A story was considered as a duplicate if the exact account was reported by two or more of the selected media sources. In such a case, the story was factored into the analysis as one count. It is common knowledge regarding media practice in Ghana that many media houses stream or draw their news items/stories verbatim from other media outlets. We removed 53 duplicates from the pool of news stories accessed (see Figure 1). There was no story with multiple accounts reported in the selected media sources for this study.

Media reporting of MPR in Ghana

Ghana’s media landscape can be described as liberal, as public life in the country continues to experience a growing media presence (Nyarko, 2016). Broadcast media continue to provide the Ghanaian public with a wide spectrum of access to media and content. For instance, according to Gadzekpo (2010), there are more than 160 FM radio stations, over 40 regular newspaper outlets and approximately 10 different free-on-air television stations in Ghana. As found in earlier studies (e.g. Amoakohene, 2004; Nyarko, 2016), the plethora of broadcast media outlets in the public life of Ghana appears

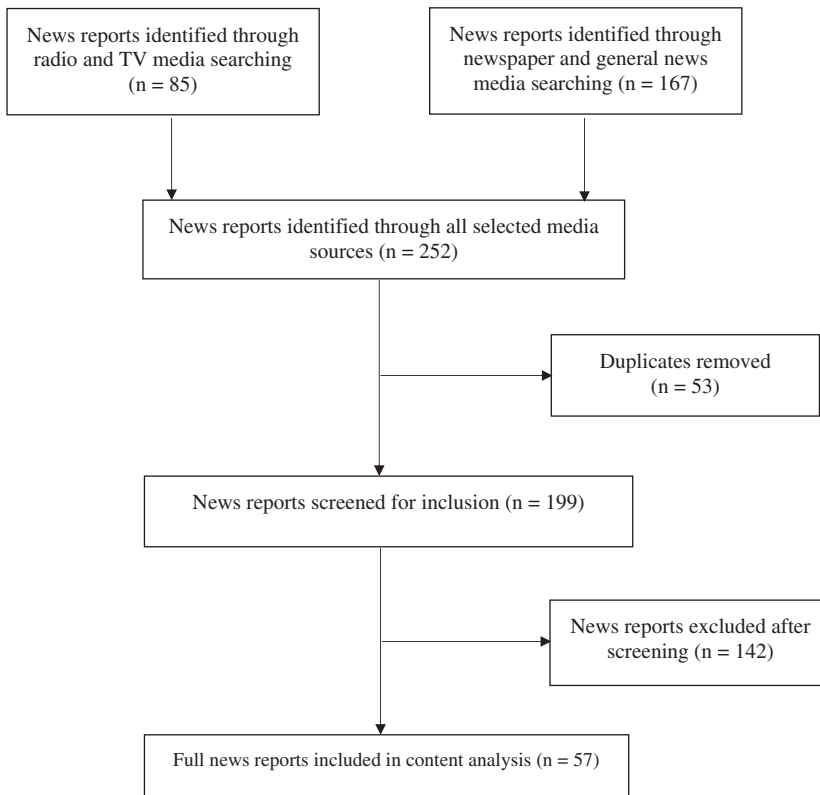


Figure 1. Summary of news reports searching process.

to foster consensus building and remains at the frontline in the public agenda setting process of the country.

Like every sexual crime and violence, MPR is newsworthy in Ghana (Gadzekpo, 2010; Quarshie et al., 2017). Thus, journalists and correspondents of various media houses in Ghana give prominence to such reports by obtaining information from multiple sources (e.g. police investigators, prosecutors, court proceedings, relatives, witnesses and significant others) in order to produce comprehensive investigative journalistic news reports on an incident of MPR.

However, as observed in previous studies on media reports of other criminalised behaviours in Ghana, for instance, (attempted) suicide and incest (see Quarshie et al., 2015, 2017), the reportage of MPR can be described as explicit, sensational and mostly replete with identity details and vivid description of situational characteristics. For example, the use of sensationalistic headlines (e.g. “father, two others gang-rape step-daughter to death”); detailed identity information such as names, ages and the schools and grades of the victim and perpetrators of the offence are explicitly indicated in the news reports; in some cases, clear images of perpetrators are displayed, and names of specific geographical and residential locations of victims and perpetrators are included; and verbatim reports of police investigators, prosecutors and significant others are added to the news stories. Thus, this form of media practice can be described as crude and unethical, as it diverges from recommended best media practice regarding sexual crime reportage (Byerly, 1994; Kitzinger, 2013).

In spite of this crude and ethical diversion, these media reports on MPR are readily available and may shed light in relation to the high-profile or extreme cases of MPR that get included in the news. However, the generalisability of the findings of a study based on these report (i.e. as in the present study) may be limited by the fact that not all incidents of MPR get media attention. It is usually the

most extreme and sensational cases that are reported in the media and frequently there is important information missing, or sometimes untrue information.

Data analysis

The conventional content analysis (CCA) approach (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) was used to analyse the final 57 news reports on MPR selected. Apart from the rationale of the study, to provide a systematic description of some of the key characteristics of MPR in Ghana, CCA was deemed apposite to this study because the phenomenon of MPR has been understudied in Ghana (Aryee, 2013; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). As recommended by scholars in the area of content analysis (e.g. Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Kondracki, Wellman, & Amundson, 2002; Morse & Field, 1995), the researchers began the analysis by independently reading the selected news reports closely and iteratively, without imposing any preconceived categories in order to achieve a sense of immersion and complete familiarity with the reports/data. Next, words and phrases that captured notable thoughts, actions and concepts in the reports were highlighted. This process allowed relevant categories to emerge naturally from the data. At research meetings, the researchers discussed, built consensus and sorted the emerged categories that represented more than one relevant notable thought in the reports to develop meaningful clusters of codes. Finally, the manifest and latent meanings of the identified codes and the relationships among them were explored, defined and discussed (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

The nature of the data and design used for this study obviated the need for ethical approval from an institutional review board. However, in writing this paper, the authors ensured that relevant compelling excerpts and portions of the news reports culled to support and shed contextual light on selected themes were anonymised. For instance, direct identity information and names of victims, perpetrators, specific residential locations and schools, *inter alia*, were eliminated or replaced with pseudonyms.

Findings

Across the study period, 57 cases of completed MPR and 1 case of attempted MPR were reported in the selected media sources. But, based on the definition of MPR adopted for this study (Jewkes et al., 2012), the analysis and findings were based on the 57 cases of completed MPR reported in the selected media sources for the study. The news story of the attempted MPR was excluded from the final analysis because it did not involve penetration (due to the “timely” intervention and rescue of the victim by the security guards of the school where the incident occurred). Across the 57 cases analysed, there were 61 victims, and 184 perpetrators involved in 57 perpetrator groups. Generally, the findings were organised around two major thematic areas: *victim and perpetrator-group characteristics* and *key characteristics of the offence*.

Victim and perpetrator-group characteristics

This theme covers *victim characteristics*, *perpetrator-group characteristics* and *victim-to-perpetrator-group relationship*. Key findings under these subthemes are shown in Table 1.

Victim characteristics

All the 61 victims involved in the reported cases were females aged between 2 and 44 years with an average age of 17.9 years. The majority (55.7%) of the victims were adolescents³ aged between 10 and 19 years (see Table 1). In four cases, there were two victims each. The ages of 12 victims were not reported. Three (4.9%) of the victims were reported to be mentally challenged. The majority (67.2%; $n = 41$) of the victims were pupils and students in primary school, junior and senior high schools and tertiary educational institutions.

Table 1. Key characteristics of victims and perpetrator groups.

Victim and perpetrator-group characteristics					
Victim age distribution, and educational and employment status					
Age distribution (in years)	<i>n</i>	%	Educational and employment status	<i>n</i>	%
Under 10	3	4.9	Primary school	3	4.9
10–19	34	55.7	Junior high school	26	42.6
20–25	7	11.5	Senior high school	9	14.8
26–40	4	6.6	Tertiary education	3	4.9
41+	1	1.6	Employed	11	18.0
NR	12	19.7	NR	9	14.8
Total	61	100	Total	61	100
Perpetrator-group size and age distribution					
Age distribution (in years)	<i>n</i>	%	Perpetrator-group size	<i>n</i>	%
Under 10	2	1.1	2	19	33.3
10–19	40	21.7	3	11	19.3
20–25	29	15.8	4	14	24.6
26–40	5	2.7	5	5	8.8
41+	2	1.1	6	4	7.0
NR	106	57.6	7	4	7.0
Total	184	100	Total	57	100
Victim and perpetrator-group relationships					
Victim-to-perpetrator-group relationship	<i>n</i>	%	Relationship within perpetrator groups	<i>n</i>	%
Neighbour	16	28.1	Friends	35	61.4
Classmate/schoolmate	8	14.0	Robbery gang	7	12.3
Friend to one perpetrator	6	10.5	Classmates/schoolmates	9	15.8
Girlfriend to one perpetrator	2	3.5	NR	6	10.5
Stranger	14	24.6	Total	57	100
Step-daughter to one perpetrator	1	1.8			
NR	10	17.5			
Total	57	100			

Note: NR: not reported.

Perpetrator-group characteristics

In all, there were 57 perpetrator groups (involving 184 all-male members). The ages of only 78 perpetrators were reported: ranged between 8 and 48 years with an average age of 20.1 years. As indicated in Table 1, the majority (21.7%: $n = 40$) of the age-reported perpetrators were adolescents aged between 10 and 19 years. The perpetrator-group sizes ranged from two to seven. The modal perpetrator-group was composed of two members.

Although the educational and/or economic backgrounds of 84 (45.6%) of the perpetrators were not reported, 44 (22.3%) of the perpetrators were reported as students enrolled in junior and senior high schools. Four (2.2%) were reported as unemployed, whereas 55 (29.9%) were employed in generally lower socio-economic occupations: barbers, fishermen, masons, porters, commercial drivers, cobblers, messengers, mechanics, bus conductors, labourers, petty traders, among others. Two (3.6%) were police officers, whilst 15 (27.3%) were reported as armed robbers.

The social relationships within the perpetrator groups were described as *friends*, *robbery gangs* and *classmates/schoolmates*. The social relationships within six perpetrator groups were not reported (see Table 1).

Victim-to-perpetrator-group relationship

The perpetrator–victim mean age difference was 2.2 years. As shown in Table 1, the victim-to-perpetrator-group relationships were described as a *neighbour*, a *schoolmate/classmate*, a *friend to one perpetrator*, a *girlfriend to one perpetrator*, a *step-daughter to one perpetrator* and *stranger*. It is noteworthy that the cases in which the victim was described as a *girlfriend to one perpetrator* were those in which a member of the perpetrator group had an unresolved rift in a love relationship with the victim. Again, the relationships reported as *stranger* were the cases in which, predominantly, the perpetrator groups were engaged in armed robbery activities in homes of the victims. Overall, however, the

victims involved in the majority (57.9%: $n = 33$) of the MPRs across the period knew at least a member of the perpetrator groups.

Key characteristics of the offence

This major theme relates to seven subthemes: *place of perpetrator-group-to-victim approach*, *place of rape*, *compliance technique*, *temporal aspects*, *disclosure*, *medico-legal outcome* and *reasons for the act*. The observations of the summative content analysis of the key characteristics of the offence are shown in [Table 2](#).

Place of perpetrator-group-to-victim approach

This subtheme covers the place where the perpetrator groups initially contacted and picked up their victims and the strategies used. Generally, the perpetrator groups approached and picked up their victims from a location and raped them elsewhere (80.7%: $n = 46$). As shown in [Table 2](#), generally, the perpetrator groups approached their victims outdoors or within public spaces or at social events (e.g. streets, farms, at funerals, parties, etc.). In 38 of the cases (66.7%), the victim was approached when she was alone. Both members of duo perpetrator groups approached their victims together. In some perpetrator groups of more than two members (e.g. armed robber gangs), all the members approached the victim, whereas in other perpetrator groups (involving three or more members), a member was delegated to approach the victim. Again, the perpetrator groups used three main strategies to get their victims: *confidence approach*, *blitz approach* and *use of accomplice* (see [Table 2](#)). The blitz approach was the most used (47.4%: $n = 27$), whilst the use of accomplice was the least adopted strategy (7.0%: $n = 4$). The confidence approach involves the use of ruse or a con story or where the victim is offered help or lift by the perpetrator group (da Silva et al., 2014; van der Watt & van Graan, 2013). Predominantly, the confidence approach was used by the duo perpetrator groups and the delegated perpetrators in approaching victims at school, home and social events. The blitz approach was characterised by the use of violence (usually by the whole perpetrator group) to overpower or abduct the victim particularly in isolated places and within public spaces (van der Watt & van Graan, 2013). In the accomplice approach, the perpetrator-group contracted a (male or female) friend or colleague of the victim to lure the victim to a designated venue for the rape (van der Watt & van Graan, 2013).

Place of rape

This relates to the predominant venues where the perpetrator groups raped their victims. As shown in [Table 2](#), in most of the cases (66.6%: $n = 38$) the rape occurred indoors (e.g. in the room of the victim, a perpetrator or an accomplice or in a classroom). The venue of 5 (8.8%) cases was not reported.

Compliance technique

This subtheme relates to the techniques or strategies the perpetrator groups adopted to elicit compliance from their victims. As shown in [Table 2](#), the perpetrator groups adopted single and multiple techniques to elicit compliance from their victims. The single techniques included drugging victim using sedatives or alcohol; threatening with an offensive weapon such as gun, machetes, clubs, knives, etc.; and physical abuse (e.g. slapping, kicking, gagging, tying, etc.). It is noteworthy here that according to some of the news stories included in the analysis (40.3%: $n = 23$), a combination of several compliance methods was adopted by some perpetrator groups (e.g. verbal threat and use of an offensive weapon such as gun, knives, machetes, etc.). In most of the cases (43.9%: $n = 25$), "single techniques" were adopted by the perpetrator groups to compel compliance from their victims.

Table 2. Key characteristics of the offence.

Key characteristics of the offence					
Place of perpetrator-group-to-victim approach					
	<i>n</i>	%	Strategy of perpetrator-group-to-victim approach	<i>n</i>	%
Victim's school	6	10.5	Confidence approach	11	19.3
Victim's home/residence	10	17.5	Blitz approach	27	47.4
Isolated place (e.g. bush, farm)	3	5.3	Use of accomplice	4	7.0
Social event/function (e.g. parties, funerals)	4	7.0	NR	15	26.3
Public space (e.g. streets, walkways)	18	31.6	Total	57	100
A perpetrator's home	5	8.8			
NR	11	19.3			
Total	57	100			
Place of rape and compliance technique					
Place of rape		<i>n</i>	%	Compliance technique	
				<i>n</i>	%
Indoors (e.g. room of the victim, a perpetrator or classroom)	38	66.6	Single techniques	25	43.9
Outdoors (e.g. farm, bush, cemetery, etc.)	11	19.3	Multiple techniques	23	40.3
Vehicle	3	5.3	NR	9	15.8
NR	5	8.8	Total	57	100
Total	57	100			
Temporal aspects of the offence					
Time of day		<i>n</i>	%	Months of the year	
				<i>n</i>	%
Morning	10	17.5	January	2	3.5
Afternoon	4	7.0	February	6	10.5
Evening	31	54.3	March	4	7.0
NR	12	21.2	April	6	10.5
Total	57	100	May	8	14.0
Days of the week			June	6	10.5
Monday	3	5.3	July	1	1.8
Tuesday	5	8.8	August	7	12.3
Wednesday	5	8.8	September	2	3.5
Thursday	5	8.8	October	4	7.0
Friday	11	19.3	November	4	7.0
Saturday	9	15.8	December	7	12.3
Sunday	5	8.8	Total	57	100
NR	14	24.4			
Total	57	100			
Disclosure of offence					
Time lapse before disclosure		<i>n</i>	%	Informant of police	
				<i>n</i>	%
Same day	26	45.6	Victim	9	15.8
Within one week	6	10.5	Family member	20	35.1
After one month	3	5.3	Victim's teacher	4	7.0
After one year	3	5.3	Peers	6	10.5
NR	19	33.3	Others (e.g. passer-by)	7	12.3
Total	57	100	NR	11	19.3
			Total	57	100
Medico-legal outcome of the offence					
Medical outcome for victim		<i>n</i>	%	Legal outcome for perpetrator-group	
				<i>n</i>	%
Pain and gynaecological injuries	11	18.0	In police custody	37	20.1
Trauma or unconscious	18	29.5	Being prosecuted	45	24.5
Pregnancy	2	3.3	Jailed	14	7.6
Death	2	3.3	Being investigated	15	8.2
NR	28	45.9	Unidentified or at large	70	38.0
Total	61	100	NR	3	1.6
			Total	184	100

Note: NR: not reported.

Temporal aspects

This subtheme covers the time of day, days of the week and the months of the year in which the MPRs occurred across the study period (see Table 2). The majority of the cases occurred in the evening (54.3%: $n = 31$). Similarly, most of the cases of MPR reported occurred between Fridays and the

weekend (see Table 2). Generally, most of the cases (57.9%: $n = 33$) occurred during the three main school holiday periods in Ghana (i.e. December–January, April–May and July–September) when pupils and students have breaks from school and are at home.

Disclosure

This subtheme is related to the time lapse between the incident and disclosure or report of the offence to the police, and by who (see Table 2). Twenty-six (45.6%) of the cases were reported on the same day of occurrence, whilst 5.3% ($n = 3$) were reported to the police after one year following the offence. With regard to the informant of the police, most of the cases (35.1%: $n = 20$) were reported to the police by a family member of the victim (e.g. parent, sibling or extended relative). In 10.5% ($n = 6$) of the cases, peers of the victim reported the offence to the police. As shown in Table 2, across the news reports analysed, besides the victim, the cases were predominantly (52.6%: $n = 30$) reported to the police by significant others in the lives of the victims (e.g. family members, peers and teachers).

Medico-legal outcome

This subtheme focuses on the medical outcomes and legal implications of the MPR cases for the victims and perpetrator groups, respectively (see Table 2). The majority of the victims involved in the cases for which the medical outcome of the offence was reported (29.5%: $n = 18$) were found traumatised or unconscious after the rape. Two (3.3%) victims died shortly after the rape and another two (3.3%) became pregnant as a result of the rape. In terms of the legal implications of the offence for the perpetrator groups (see Table 2), the analysis indicated that, although nearly 60% of the members of the perpetrator groups were facing various legal implications for the offence, about 38.0% ($n = 70$) were *unidentified* or *at large* as at the time of the news report by the media outlets.

Reasons for the act

The reasons or motivations for the offence by the perpetrator-group members were not reported in most of the media reports of MPR analysed (91.2%: $n = 52$). However, in 8.8% ($n = 5$) of the cases, some of the perpetrators ($n = 17$) attributed their participation in the offence to peer influence, specifically, the influence of the leader of the group who suggested the idea of the rape in the first place. For example, it was reported in a case thus:

Six young men have been arrested at Mankonor for allegedly gang-raping a 15-year-old Junior High School pupil ... The police said the suspects, who were later arrested, admitted having sex with the girl in their caution statements, with five of them blaming Gngalia as the one who initiated the idea.

Again, in 5.3% ($n = 3$) of the cases, some perpetrators, particularly, the instigators of the rape mentioned that their reason for instigating the act was to punish the victim in order to redress (a perceived or an actual) wrong done them by the victim. Notably, the instigators were males who had been jilted or threatened with breakup by their girlfriends (i.e. victims), as illustrated in the excerpt below:

The victim had been in a relationship with Akpatse since last year but she threatened to quit the relationship and that did not go down well with [name of instigator of rape] ... [name of instigator of rape] therefore asked his friends to assist him to teach the victim a bitter lesson.

The quotes above suggest that the members of the perpetrator groups chose to engage in the offence due to the instigators' persuasion of the rest of the group.

Discussion

This study set out to explore some of the key characteristics of the offenders, victims and the offence of MPR in Ghana by analysing the contents of media reports on the phenomenon in the country from January 2000 through June 2016. The analysis showed seven main findings: (1) although the offence

was carried out by perpetrator groups mostly composed of two, three and four all-male members, the duo perpetrator group was the majority; (2) the perpetrator groups mostly approached their victims outdoors but the rape occurred mostly indoors by using multiple violent techniques to compel compliance; (3) the victims of the offence were mostly school-going females aged between 10 and 19 years and mostly familiar with at least one of the perpetrators; (4) the offence happened mostly at night during the three main school holiday periods in Ghana when pupils and students were on vacation; (5) most of the offence was reported to the police on the same day of occurrence, mainly by a family member of the victim; (6) the offence resulted in negative medical outcomes and legal implications for the victims and perpetrator groups, respectively; and (7) peer influence and intention to punish victim were adduced for the act by some of the perpetrators.

Offenders

The observation that the MPRs were carried out by all-male perpetrator groups against all-female victims is consistent with the literature that MPR is one of the known forms of sexual violence carried out by (usually young) males against girls and women across the world, particularly, in patriarchal societies (Bamford et al., 2016; Jewkes et al., 2002, 2012; Park & Kim, 2016; UNICEF, 2014; WHO, 2002). Again, consistent with evidence from Africa, Europe and Asia (e.g. Bamford et al., 2016; Jewkes et al., 2012; Park & Kim, 2016), this study has shown that the offence was mostly carried out by duo perpetrator groups with members who were adolescents, early adults or both, even though the present study is fraught with missing data regarding the age distribution of the perpetrators (see Table 1).

The evidence that the perpetrator groups approached their victims (mainly when alone) outdoors but the rape occurred indoors is inconsistent with findings from South Africa (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, & Dunkle, 2010, 2012; van der Watt & van Graan, 2013; Vetten & Haffejee, 2005) where, predominantly, the location of MPR has been found to be outdoors. However, this evidence is consistent with findings from the UK, where MPR offenders approach their victims outdoors and at social events but raped them indoors (da Silva et al., 2014; Porter & Alison, 2006). A contextual explanation could be the idea that sexual socialisation in Ghana views sex as a sacred act, hence, prescribes it as an indoor activity – any outdoor sexual activity is repugnant to the Ghanaian society (Nukunya, 2011; Sarpong, 2006). A more possible practical reason could be that the use of indoors or secluded places conceals the offence and prevents others from witnessing the rape on-going (Porter & Alison, 2006).

Similarly, the use of multiple violent techniques by the perpetrator groups to compel compliance in this study supports the consistent observation in the literature (e.g. Hauffe & Porter, 2009; Jewkes et al., 2012; Vetten & Haffejee, 2005) that the offenders of MPR tend to use more violent strategies to overpower their victims.

Victims

More than half of the victims of the MPR cases in the current study were mostly school-going females aged between 10 and 19 years, and mostly familiar with at least one of the perpetrators. Although the literature shows that adult women have been victimised by MPR, predominantly, girls under age 18 are often the victims. As explicated elsewhere (see Jewkes et al., 2010; White & Smith, 2004), this observation illustrates the evidence that the victimisation of sexual offences peak during adolescence and emerging adulthood (McGloin & Stickle, 2011; Santrock, 2009; Stolzenberg & D'Alessio, 2008). Again, it is evident in this study that the majority of the victims of the MPR knew at least one member of the perpetrator group. This supports the evidence on rapist–victim relationship from Ghana (Aryee, 2013; Boateng & Lee, 2014) and South Korea (Park & Kim, 2016) where at least a member of the perpetrator group knows the victim. It is, however, inconsistent with observation in South Africa where mostly the victim is a stranger to the perpetrator group (Jewkes et al., 2012; Vetten & Haffejee, 2005).

Offence

Consistent with evidence from South Africa (van der Watt & van Graan, 2013; Vetten & Haffejee, 2005), the offence happened mostly at night. This study also shows that most of the offence occurred during the three main school holiday periods in Ghana (i.e. December–January, April–May and July–September) when pupils and students were on vacation. During school holidays, students in boarding schools also return home and it is plausible that most students get the chance to engage in outdoor social events (e.g. parties, funerals, etc.) where the offenders tend to prey on them.

The evidence that most of the offence was reported to the police on the same day of occurrence mainly by a family member of the victim is consistent with the observation in Nigeria where the majority of MPR cases was reported to the police on the same day of occurrence. As observed in a recent study on incest in Ghana (Quarshie et al., 2017), there is a growing awareness, on the part of sexual victims and significant others, of the importance of reporting sexual abuse cases to the police early in order to receive help.

The negative medical outcomes of MPR for the victims (e.g. gynaecological injuries, pregnancies, trauma, deaths, etc.) observed in this study lend support to previous evidence from South Africa, Nigeria and the UK (e.g. Hauffe & Porter, 2009; Jewkes et al., 2010; UNICEF, 2014; WHO, 2002). As observed by Park and Kim (2016), victims of MPRs tend to experience and suffer more severe psychological problems and physical injuries than victims of single perpetrator rapes as multiple perpetrators are more likely to use threats or violence than single perpetrators.

The majority of the perpetrators of the MPR in this study were facing various legal implications for the offence. This supports evidence of previous studies from other African contexts that members of the perpetrator groups of MPR, if apprehended, are made to face various legal actions and punishments (see Gbemileke & Oladepo, 2015; Jewkes et al., 2010, 2012; van der Watt & van Graan, 2013; Vetten & Haffejee, 2005). Further, the observation in this study that about 38% of the perpetrators were either unidentified or at large supports the seemingly universal fact in the area of criminology and forensic science that, MPR, compared to single/lone perpetrator rape, is difficult to investigate and prosecute (Jewkes et al., 2012; Smith, 2004; Uchendu & Forae, 2016; van der Watt & van Graan, 2013; Vetten & Haffejee, 2005; WHO, 2002). Often some victims of MPR are unable to provide detailed (identity) information about the perpetrators to help the police effect arrest of the perpetrators (da Silva et al., 2014; Jewkes et al., 2012; Park & Kim, 2016).

The observation that the offence is perpetrated by adolescent boys and early adult men warrants a critical paradoxical question: why do some boys and young men perpetrate this sexual offence in an intensely religious country where children and adolescents are brought up mainly through religious socialisation? This is interesting because all the religious groups in Ghana proscribe MPR and other forms of sexual crime, as religion establishes and exerts a strong regulatory system in socialising children and young people in terms of sexual behaviour (Anarfi & Owusu, 2011; Asante, Osafo, & Doku, 2016; Osafo, Asampong, Langmagne, & Ahiadeke, 2014; Quarshie et al., 2017; Sarpong, 2006). Perhaps as found in a recent study from Ghana (see Asante et al., 2016), the fact that boys and young men are perpetrating MPR is an indication that the religious control over the sexual behaviour of young people in contemporary Ghana is very minimal (Anarfi & Owusu, 2011). Additionally, the multifactorial theory of multiple perpetrator sexual offending helps to shed more light on this as follows.

Some members of the perpetrator groups (8.8%) in the media reports analysed for this study attributed their motivation for the offence to *peer influence* and *intention to punish the victim*. Within the lens of the multifactorial theory of multiple perpetrator sexual offending (Harkins & Dixon, 2010, 2013), these attributions are consistent with and interaction among the *individual*, *situational* and the *socio-cultural context*. At the individual level, some of the instigators and their group members showed distorted cognition in believing or adopting the offence – which is an inappropriate behaviour – as a means to redressing (a threatened or real) breakup by the victim (Harkins & Dixon, 2010; Porter & Alison, 2001, 2005). At the situational context, members of the group yielded

to the influence by the instigators in order to enhance the male bonding within the group. In addition to conformity, doing things together tend to bond members of male groups (Sherrod, 19987). Thus, male dominance and bonding in the perpetrator group of MPR are enhanced through participation in the act of MPR and humiliation of the victim (Harkins & Dixon, 2010; Ullman, 1999). The socio-cultural level relates to the internalised rape myth and the pervasive idea of male dominance held in the Ghanaian society (Ampofo, 1993; Boakye, 2009a, 2009b; Boateng & Lee, 2014). In most African contexts, males see sexual violence as a tool for controlling and punishing females (Ampofo, 1993; Boakye, 2009b; Jewkes et al., 2012; WHO, 2002). Thus, unsurprisingly, in the current study some of the perpetrators (5.3%) intended punishing the victim with the act of MPR.

Limitations, implications and conclusion

Although the media reports on MPR analysed in this study were drawn from all the 10 regions of Ghana, the generalisability of the findings may be limited by the following facts. First, not all incidents of MPR get media attention. Next, it is usually the most extreme and sensational cases that are reported in the media and frequently there is important information missing, or sometimes untrue information (Paulsen, 2003; Quarshie et al., 2015, 2017). Again, it also seems that many cases were related to situations where a substantial number of the perpetrators had not been caught or identified. Finally, as shown in the tables in the findings section, there were many missing data (i.e. relevant information not reported) in respect of several key variables in the news stories included in the analysis. These limitations underscore the need to exercise caution in the interpretation, extrapolation and adoption of the findings and conclusions drawn.

In spite of these limitations, the study has a few useful implications for policy, practice and future research on MPR in Ghana. Given that most of the victims and perpetrators were in-school youth and the school setting was the location for some of the incidents of MPR, schools may consider incorporating issues of appropriate sexual behaviours and interpersonal conflict resolution into the school curriculum and programmes of instruction. This recommendation is anchored in the fact that not all perpetrators of sexual offences understand that their actions are criminal and multifariously inimical to their victims (Jewkes et al., 2010).

On practice, the Ghana Police Service and public safety based non-governmental organisations should collaborate with the media to heighten public safety campaigns on precautions (especially, for girls and women) to prevent MPR. Parents and teachers can repeat this safety education at home and in the classroom, respectively. More importantly, government must consider investing in the setting up of community counselling centres and school counselling units to help victims and their families with the amelioration of the trauma and other negative mental health effects of MPR.

To foster research on the phenomenon of MPR in Ghana, the Ghana Police Service must streamline their rape surveillance system and maintain an independent database on MPR offences. As done elsewhere (e.g. Gidycz & Koss, 1990; Ullman, 2007), future research may consider exploring MPR in Ghana by examining the views of victims with regard to the effects of the offence on their health and well-being and their treatment needs and support. Other future primary studies may solicit the views of (convicted) perpetrators in terms of the motivations and mechanics of the offence, and assessment of the mental health status of the perpetrators (Chen, Chen, & Hung, 2014). Evidence from these primary studies may inform intervention and prevention efforts in Ghana.

It is also worth mentioning that although detailed investigative media reports may represent a source of data for systematic analysis (e.g. as applied in this study), the explicit reporting of the identity and related situational details about the victims and perpetrators of MPR (and other forms of sexual violence) in the Ghanaian media has the potential of unwittingly fostering shame, stigma and other forms of psychological discomfort (Byerly, 1994; Kitzinger, 2013). Hence, media houses in Ghana must adopt best reporting practice so not to militate against the (psychological) recovery and the general mental health of victims, perpetrators and their families (Byerly, 1994).

Whilst the limitations of this study must be allowed to guide the interpretation, conclusions and applications of the findings, this study represents the first research attempt aimed at presenting some useful scoping insights into MPR in Ghana and underscores the need for further primary research efforts on the phenomenon in order to build a nuanced understanding of the key characteristics of the victims, offenders and the offence of MPR in Ghana. This study has shown that the patterns and characteristics of MPR in Ghana are fairly and comparatively similar to those found in other parts of Africa and LAMICs.

Notes

1. Section 101 of the Criminal Code of Ghana (1960) amended by Act 458 section 2(a) defines defilement of a female under 16 years of age as follows:

Whoever carnally knows any female under fourteen years of age, whether with or without her consent, shall be guilty of a second degree felony and shall be liable on conviction to imprisonment for a term of not less than twelve months or more than ten years.

2. 'Gala' is the popular term used within informal circles in Ghana by students and young people to mean gang rape, group rape or MPR.
3. Adolescents is defined in this study based on WHO's (2011) definition: individuals aged 10–19 years.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

ORCID

Emmanuel Nii-Boye Quarshie  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8720-2355>

Priscilla Ayebea Davies  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-3048-9498>

Theophilus Tagoe  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8668-1139>

Pearl Ama Otoo  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-2662-4909>

Patricia Opoku Afriyie  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-2250-0511>

References

- Act 29 of Ghana. (1960). *The criminal code of Ghana*. Accra: Ghana Publishing, Assembly Press.
- Adinkrah, M. (2014). Confessions: Suicidal ideation on a Ghanaian radio program. *Journal of Public Health and Epidemiology*, 6(7), 229–234. doi:10.5897/JPHE2013.0603
- Adinkrah, M. (2017). Matricide in Ghana: Victims, offenders, and offense characteristics. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*. Advance online publication. doi:0306624X17706891
- Amoakohene, M. I. (2004). Researching radio audiences in an emerging pluralistic media environment: A case for the focus group discussion (FGD) method. *Africa Media Review*, 12(2), 25–40.
- Ampofo, A. A. (1993). Controlling and punishing women: Violence against Ghanaian women. *Review of African Political Economy*, 20(56), 102–111. doi:10.1080/03056249308703991
- Anarfi, J. K., & Owusu, A. Y. (2011). The making of a sexual being in Ghana: The state, religion and the influence of society as agents of sexual socialization. *Sexuality and Culture*, 15(1), 1–18. doi:10.1007/s12119-010-9078-6
- Aryee, E. (2013). *I was raped: The psychological effects of rape among Liberian & Ghanaian women in Ghana*. Retrieved from <https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/35219/1/12.1.Aryee.pdf>
- Asante, K. O., Osafo, J., & Doku, P. N. (2016). The role of condom use self-efficacy on intended and actual condom use among university students in Ghana. *Journal of Community Health*, 41(1), 97–104. doi:10.1007/s10900-015-0073-6
- Bamford, J., Chou, S., & Browne, K. D. (2016). A systematic review and meta-analysis of the characteristics of multiple perpetrator sexual offences. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 28, 82–94. doi:10.1016/j.avb.2016.04.001
- Boakye, K. E. (2009a). Attitudes toward rape and victims of rape: A test of the feminist theory in Ghana. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 24(10), 1633–1651. doi:10.1177/0886260509331493
- Boakye, K. E. (2009b). Culture and nondisclosure of child sexual abuse in Ghana: A theoretical and empirical exploration. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 34(4), 951–979. doi:10.1111/j.1747-4469.2009.01170.x
- Boateng, F. D., & Lee, H. D. (2014). Willingness to report sexual offenses to the police in Ghana. *Victims & Offenders*, 9(4), 436–454. doi:10.1080/15564886.2014.907848

- Byerly, C. M. (1994). An agenda for teaching news coverage of rape. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 49(1), 59.
- Chen, Y. Y., Chen, C. Y., & Hung, D. L. (2014). Assessment of psychiatric disorders among sex offenders: Prevalence and associations with criminal history. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*. doi:10.1002/cbm.1926
- da Silva, T., Harkins, L., & Woodhams, J. (2013). Multiple perpetrator rape. An international phenomenon. In M. Horvath & J. Woodhams (Eds.), *Handbook on the study of multiple perpetrator rape: A multidisciplinary response to an international problem* (pp. 10–23). New York: Routledge.
- da Silva, T., Woodhams, J., & Harkins, L. (2014). Heterogeneity within multiple perpetrator rapes: A national comparison of lone, duo, and 3+ perpetrator rapes. *Sexual Abuse*, 26(6), 503–522. doi:10.1177/1079063213497805
- Gadzekpo, A. (2010). Global warming or global warning? The framing of climate change discourses in Ghanaian newspapers. *Social Science Journal*, 7(1), 72–86.
- Gbemileke, A., & Oladepo, O. (2015). A five-year analysis of police records on sexual-related offences in Lagos state, Nigeria. *African Journal of Biomedical Research*, 18(2), 109–121.
- Ghana Police Service. (2015). *National data for cases reported To DOVVSU from 1999–2014*. Accra: DOVVSU, Ghana Police Service.
- Ghana Statistical Service. (2013). *2010 population & housing census: Demographic, social, economic and housing characteristics report*. Accra: Author.
- Ghana Statistical Service. (2016). *Projected population (census 2010–2015)*. Retrieved from <http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/>
- Gidycz, C. A., & Koss, M. P. (1990). A comparison of group and individual sexual assault victims. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 14, 325–342. doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.1990.tb00023.x
- Gyekye, K. (2003). *African cultural values: An introduction*. Accra: Sankofa.
- Harkins, L., & Dixon, L. (2010). Sexual offending in groups: An evaluation. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 15(2), 87–99. doi:10.1016/j.avb.2009.08.006
- Harkins, L., & Dixon, L. (2013). A multi-factorial approach to understanding multiple perpetrator sexual offending. In J. L. Wood & T. A. Gannon (Eds.), *Crime and crime reduction: The importance of group processes* (pp. 75–95). New York, NY: Routledge/Taylor and Francis Group.
- Hauffe, S., & Porter, L. (2009). An interpersonal comparison of lone and group rape offences. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 15(5), 469–491. doi:10.1080/10683160802409339
- Horvath, M. A. H., & Kelly, L. (2009). Multiple perpetrator rape: Naming an offence and initial research findings. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 15(1), 83–96. doi:10.1080/13552600802653818
- Hsieh, H. F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 1277–1288. doi:10.1177/1049732305276687
- Jenkins, C. (1998, January). *Sexual behaviour in Papua New Guinea*. Report of the third annual meeting of the International Network on Violence against Women. Washington, DC: International Network on Violence against Women.
- Jewkes, R., Sen, P., & Garcia-Moreno, C. (2002). Sexual violence. In E. G. Krug, L. L. Dahlberg, J. A. Mercy, A. B. Zwi, & R. Lozano (Eds.), *World report on violence and health* (pp. 147–181). Geneva: World Health Organization.
- Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Dunkle, K., & Morrell, R. (2015). Relationship between single and multiple perpetrator rape perpetration in South Africa: A comparison of risk factors in a population-based sample. *BMC Public Health*, 15(1), 616. doi:10.1186/s12889-015-1889-9
- Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R., & Dunkle, K. (2010). Why, when and how men rape: Understanding rape perpetration in South Africa. *South African Crime Quarterly*, 34, 23–31.
- Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R., & Dunkle, K. (2011). Gender inequitable masculinity and sexual entitlement in rape perpetration South Africa: Findings of a cross-sectional study. *PLoS One*, 6(12), e29590. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0029590
- Jewkes, R., Vetten, L., Jina, R., Christofides, N., Sigsworth, R., & Loots, L. (2012). What we know-and what we don't: Single and multiple perpetrator rape in South Africa. *South African Crime Quarterly*, 41, 11–19.
- Kitzinger, J. (2013). Rape in the media. In M. Horvath & J. Brown (Eds.), *Rape: Challenging contemporary thinking* (pp. 74–98). London: Routledge.
- Kondracki, N. L., Wellman, N. S., & Amundson, D. R. (2002). Content analysis: Review of methods and their applications in nutrition education. *Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior*, 34(4), 224–230. doi:10.1016/S1499-4046(06)60097-3
- Krug, E. G., Dahlberg, L. L., Mercy, J. A., Zwi, A. B., & Lozano, R. (2002). *World report on violence and health*. Geneva: World Health Organization.
- McGloin, J. M., & Stickle, W. P. (2011). Influence or convenience? Disentangling peer influence and co-offending for chronic offenders. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 48(3), 419–447. doi:10.1177/0022427810393019
- Morse, J. M., & Field, P. A. (1995). *Nursing research: The application of qualitative approaches*. Cheltenham, UK: Nelson Thornes.
- Nukunya, G. K. (2011). *Tradition and change in Ghana. An Introduction to sociology* (2nd ed.). Accra: Ghana Universities Press.
- Nyarko, J. (2016). Newspaper review show in the broadcast Media space in Ghana. *Sage Open*, 6(2). doi:10.1177/2158244016654952

- Ohayi, R. S., Ezugwu, E. C., Chigbu, C. O., Arinze-Onyia, S. U., & Iyoke, C. A. (2015). Prevalence and pattern of rape among girls and women attending Enugu state university teaching hospital, Southeast Nigeria. *International Journal of Gynecology & Obstetrics*, 130(1), 10–13. doi:10.1016/j.ijgo.2015.02.017
- Osafo, J., Asampong, E., Langmagne, S., & Ahiadeke, C. (2014). Perceptions of parents on how religion influences adolescents' sexual behaviours in two Ghanaian communities: Implications for HIV and AIDS prevention. *Journal of Religion and Health*, 53(4), 959–971. doi:10.1007/s10943-013-9689-y
- Park, J., & Kim, S. (2016). Group size does matter: Differences among sexual assaults committed by lone, double, and groups of three or more perpetrators. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 22(3), 342–354. doi:10.1080/13552600.2016.1144801
- Paulsen, D. (2003). Murder in black and white: The newspaper coverage of homicide in Houston. *Homicide Studies*, 7, 289–317. doi:10.1177/1088767903253707
- Porter, L. E., & Alison, L. J. (2001). A partially ordered scale of influence in violent group behavior. An example from gang rape. *Small Group Research*, 32(4), 475–497. doi:10.1177/104649640103200405
- Porter, L. E., & Alison, L. J. (2005). The primacy of decision-action as an influence strategy of violent gang leaders. *Small Group Research*, 36(2), 188–207. doi:10.1177/1046496404272795
- Porter, L. E., & Alison, L. J. (2006). Examining group rape: A descriptive analysis of offender and victim behaviour. *European Journal of Criminology*, 3(3), 357–381. doi:10.1177/1477370806065586
- Quarshie, E. N. B., Osafo, J., Akotia, C. S., & Peprah, J. (2015). Adolescent suicide in Ghana: A content analysis of media reports. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-Being*, 10. doi:10.3402/qhw.v10.27682
- Quarshie, E. N. B., Osafo, J., Akotia, C. S., Peprah, J., & Andoh-Arthur, J. (2017). Some epidemiological characteristics of perpetrators and victims of incest in contemporary Ghana: Analysis of media reports. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 26(2), 121–139. doi:10.1080/10538712.2016.1277573
- Salm, J. S., & Falola, T. (2002). *Culture and customs of Ghana*. London: Greenwood Press.
- Santrock, J. W. (2009). *Life-span development*. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.
- Sarpong, P. (2006). *Ghana in retrospect: Some aspects of Ghanaian culture*. Accra: Ghana Publishing.
- Sherrod, D. (1987). The bonds of men: Problems and possibilities in close male relationships. In H. Brod (Ed.), *The making of masculinities: The new men's studies* (pp. 213–239). Boston, MA: Allen & Unwin.
- Smith, M. D. (2004). *Encyclopaedia of rape*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing.
- Stolzenberg, L., & D'Alessio, S. J. (2008). Co-offending and the age-crime curve. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 45(1), 65–86. doi:10.1177/0022427807309441
- Swart, L. A., Gilchrist, A., Butchart, A., Seedat, M., & Martin, L. (2000). Rape surveillance through district surgeon offices in Johannesburg, 1996–1998: Findings, evaluation and prevention implications. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 30(2), 1–10. doi:10.1177/008124630003000201
- Uchendu, O. J., & Forae, G. D. (2016). Increased incidence of gang rape in Benin-city, Nigeria: Is this a forensic epidemic? *Annals of Biomedical Sciences*, 15(1), 134–140.
- Ullman, S. E. (1999). A comparison of gang and individual rape incidents. *Violence and Victims*, 14, 123–133.
- Ullman, S. E. (2007). Comparing gang and individual rapes in a community sample of urban women. *Violence and Victims*, 22, 43–51. doi:10.1891/vv-v22i1a003
- UNICEF. (2014). *Hidden in plain sight: A statistical analysis of violence against children*. New York, NY: Author.
- van der Watt, M., & van Graan, J. (2013). Towards the demystification of gang rape: An investigative analysis of a sample of closed and unsolved gang rape cases in. *Southern African Journal of Criminology*, 26(1), 106–121.
- Vetten, L., & Haffejee, S. (2005). Gang rape: A study in inner-city Johannesburg. *South African Crime Quarterly*, 12, 31–36.
- Walby, S., Allen, J., & Simmons, J. (2004). *Domestic violence, sexual assault and stalking: Findings from the British crime survey*. London: Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate.
- White, J. W., & Smith, P. H. (2004). Sexual assault perpetration and re-perpetration from adolescence to young adulthood. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 31(2), 182–202. doi:10.1177/0093854803261342
- World Health Organization. (2002). *World report on violence and health*. Geneva: Author.
- World Health Organization. (2011). *Adolescence: An age of opportunity*. Geneva: Author.