

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

**DOES ACCRA HAVE A RAPE CULTURE?
- RAPE, A GENDERED SOCIETY AND SOCIAL MEDIA**

BY

NANA AKOSUA HANSON

10325571

INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MPhil IN AFRICAN STUDIES**

JULY, 2020

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis is my own original work produced under supervision. All references cited have been duly acknowledged. This thesis has neither been presented in whole or part to any other institution for the award of any degree.

NANA AKOSUA HANSON

[STUDENT]

DR. BENJAMIN KWANSA

[SUPERVISOR]

DR DEBORAH ATOBRAH

[SUPERVISOR]

ABSTRACT

This paper is a study of the possible impact of gender in the societal attitudes towards rape, rape victims and perpetrators.

Under the subject of Gender and Sexualities, this paper seeks to find new ways to eradicate the problem of rape by studying the impact of societal attitudes through gender and gender role stereotyping, and their influence on sex and sexuality.

A study of a possible rape culture is also an examination of the deeply embedded power structures that create inequalities and inequities. Sexual rights are human rights. A rape culture can affect people's access to basic human rights such as education services, political participation, and work.

Accra, the capital city of Ghana, West Africa, has not usually been referred to as having a rape culture. However, there exists extensive research on sexual assault and rape in Ghana and general attitudes towards the canker. From this extensive research on rape in Ghana, I research patterns in general Ghanaian attitudes towards rape, and examine Ghanaian notions of gender roles that may corroborate the reasons behind the patterns discovered in order to establish the possibility of a rape culture in Accra. I explore the consequence a gendered society might have in nurturing a rape culture by questioning and researching Accra as a gendered society. In doing this, I hope to contribute to finding effective solutions to eradicate the societal canker of rape, and hopefully, the by-product of this might inspire new, creative solutions to eradicating rape from our society.

This dissertation argues that a patriarchal understanding of gender will have an influence on the prevalence of rape culture in society.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to all feminists who daily strive for an equal world and to all survivors of sexual violence.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Grateful acknowledgment is made to my supervisors Dr. Benjamin Kwansa and Dr. Deborah Atobrah for their patience and direction throughout this study.

I also express heartfelt thanks to Professor Esi Sutherland Addy, Professor Adomako Ampofo, and Professor Dzodzi Tsikata for their inspiration.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
ABSTRACT.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
CHAPTER ONE: The Study.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Background to the Study.....	2
1.3 The Problem.....	3
1.4 Objectives of the Study.....	5
1.5 Justification and Usefulness of the Study.....	5
1.6 Theoretical Perspectives & Key Concepts.....	6
1.6.1 Review of Related Studies.....	6
1.6.2 Some Key Feminist Concepts.....	9
1.6.2a Patriarchy.....	9
1.6.2b Rape Culture.....	9
1.7 Methodology.....	11
1.7.1 Study Area.....	11
1.7.2 Target Population.....	11
1.7.3 Data Collection Techniques.....	12
1.7.4 Ethics.....	13
1.7.5 Field Challenges.....	14
1.8 Scope and Limitation of the Study.....	14
1.9 Organisation of the study.....	15

CHAPTER TWO: Review of Related Literature.....	17
2.1 Introduction.....	17
2.2 What is Rape?.....	17
2.3 Defining Rape..Culture.....	20
2.3.1 Religious Sustenance of Patriarchy & Rape Culture.....	28
2.3.2 A Language of Rape.....	33
2.3.3 Law & Rape Culture.....	34
2.3.4 Rape as an institutionalized weapon of war.....	36
2.4 Gender.....	39
2.4.1 On Gender Stereotypes, Power Relations & Sexual Culture.....	39
2.4.2 Gender & African Colonialism.....	45
2.4.3 Femininity.....	
2.4.4 Masculinities.....	50
2.4.5 The Hegemonic Masculinity & Sex.....	54
2.5 Institutionalized Sexual Violence	57
2.6 Signs of a Rape Culture.....	60
2.7 Conclusion.....	61
CHAPTER THREE: A Philosophical & Cultural Analysis of Consent.....	63
3.1 Introduction.....	63
3.2 Defining Consent.....	63
3.3 Conclusion.....	69
CHAPTER FOUR: On Rape & Sexual Abuse Cases & Rape Culture.....	71
4.1 Introduction.....	71
4.2 Case Study I.....	71
4.3 Case Study II.....	78
4.4 Case Study III	84
4.4.1 Analysis.....	87
4.5. Case Study IV.....	87
4.5.1 Analysis.....	88
4.6 Case Study V.....	91

4.6.1 Analysis.....	92
4.7 Recurring Sub-themes in Cases.....	93
4.8 Conclusion.....	94
CHAPTER FIVE: Ghanaians, Social media & Rape Culture.....	95
5.1 Introduction.....	95
5.2 #Shashii, Gender <i>stereotyping</i> & <i>Rape Culture</i>	96
5.2.1 Analysis.....	98
5.3 <i>Otiko Djaba, Short Skirts</i> & Rape Controversy.....	100
5.4 On Pepperdem Ministries, Cooking.....	102
5.4.1 Analysis.....	104
5.5 Ladies Dress Decently- Viral Whatsapp.....	105
5.5.1 Analysis.....	106
5.6 #BEINGFEMALEINGHANA.....	107
5.6.1 Analysis.....	108
5.7 A Whatsapp Case of Domestic Abuse.....	109
5.7.1 Analysis.....	115
5.8 Bantama Gang Rape Case	116
5.8.1 Analysis.....	116
5.9 #METOO , a Brewing Movement in Ghana?.....	118
5.10 Conclusion.....	120
CHAPTER SIX: Discussion, Conclusions & Recommendations.....	121
6.1 Does Accra have a rape culture?.....	121
6.2 A Subculture of Sexual violence.....	124
6.3 Consequences.....	124
6.4 What does Justice look like?	126
6.5 Recommendations.....	127
6.6 Promoting Consent Culture.....	128
REFERENCES.....	131

CHAPTER ONE

The Study

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is a study of societal attitudes around the issue of rape, as well as other occurrences of sexual violence, such as sexual abuse and sexual harassment. Thus, it seeks to analyse how Ghanaian society responds and reacts or doesn't react to rape as a study of the institution of rape. This will therefore be an examination of all the cultural tools involved in the expression or non-expression of attitudes towards sex and sexual relations: language, thought patterns, societal beliefs, perceived societal roles everyone must play, gender relations, class stratification, ethnicity, religion, education, what are considered sexual taboos, jokes and mockery and other cultural mediums of expression around the conversation of sex and rape.

The aim of studying not the statistics of rape itself but the societal attitudes towards rape is in the hope of discovering yet another, possibly, more effective way of tackling the societal problem of rape. This study would first seek to study how societal attitudes towards rape are possibly the major cause for the persistent incidence of rape in Ghanaian society, and consequently, the term 'Rape Culture.' A study in societal attitudes around an issue in 2018 will need to include a study of the expressions of these attitudes on social media, the world's biggest space for public conversation, a fairly recent phenomenal medium by which millennials engage with the world around them.

This introductory chapter highlights the problem statement, examine the background of the topic under research, highlight the main objectives and theoretical perspectives of the study, review the literature, define the key concepts that would be referred to repeatedly throughout this research, acknowledge the scope and limitations of this study, and explain the chosen research methodology organization of this study.

1.2 Background to the Study

The key issue that will be examined in this study is Ghanaian attitudes around the occurrence of rape, sexual abuse and sexual harassment as expressed in conversation, thoughts and beliefs. This would be through the prism of Accra as a gendered society. I will review previous literature on the subject, examining real life instances of rape, sexual harassment and abuse, as well as social media conversations on gender and rape as a vehicle by which to gauge public opinion.

What does a gendered society mean? Is Accra a gendered society? In what ways does Accra exhibit characteristics of a gendered society? What are the consequences of this if they exist, particularly, how does this feed into the existence of a rape culture? What is a rape culture? Does Accra have a rape culture? At what point does an attitude become a culture? How does social media play a role in engendering this said rape culture? This study will probe into the definitions, characteristics and consequences of a gendered society that exhibits rape culture, attempt to trace a pattern in attitudes around rape, sexual abuse and harassment, examine at which point attitude becomes culture, and what those consequences of a possible rape culture would have on the crime of rape in Ghanaian society.

Social media will also play an important and relevant sample space to this study. In 2018, social media is arguably the biggest forum for public conversation within Ghana and between Ghana and the world. It has spurred on some of the biggest movements of the 21st century. Some instances of how powerful a space social media has become for assessing and facilitating the public zeitgeist are: the Arab Spring which has been termed as a social media revolution, #BLACKLIVESMATTER to protest police brutality of the black community in America, #BRINGBACKOURGIRLS in Nigeria which engendered worldwide outcry to the inhumanity of terrorist group Boko Haram's activities (Ganzi & Isharaza, 2014). The current #METOO movement, which began in October 2017 as a hashtag on social media, has been a powerful avenue by which people have addressed widespread sexual harassment and assault at work, an avenue which ended in the arrest and/or prosecution of powerful personalities like Bill Cosby and Harvey Weinstein. Facebook reported that within 24 hours, 4.7 million people around the world engaged in the #metoo conversation, with over 12million posts, comments, and reactions. Terrorist group ISIS stood out from its predecessors by employing a more effective means of recruitment in using social media as a means of radicalizing people from all over the world. Though social media comes in many forms, this study will limit the examination of public opinion and attitudes through the platforms of Facebook, Twitter, and Whatsapp.

1.3 The Problem

Consider a world without rape. This would have to be a world where rape is a rarity because of the quality of attitude against rape. A better quality of attitude against rape would mean a world devoid of patriarchy, with a more compassionate and understanding attitude toward the various gender expressions, and finally, a world free of toxic masculinity. This would necessitate a world with strong public opinion against rape

and rapists, such that the culture would not encourage rape to thrive by rewarding rapists and blaming victims.

Rape is a difficult crime to report because of the general attitude toward sex and sexual relations and the patriarchal language around it. If we ignore this problem of a possible and thriving rape culture, rape could escalate as a weapon of some kind of gender war and remain firmly entrenched as a normalized incident in everyday human dealings. Rape culture's dominant beliefs, social practices and institutions consciously and unconsciously condone sexual abuse by normalizing, trivializing and even eroticizing the abuse. Victims of rape are silenced, fearing societal backlash because of a rape culture. Examples of this are cited in the following chapters of this thesis. This, arguably, creates a healthy breeding ground for rape to thrive.

According to reported figures in cases of sexual harassment, in 2015, 20.6 Ghanaian girls aged between 15 to 19 years of age reported sexual comments passed on their person, while 90.8 of Ghanaian women aged between 20 to 60 years of age reported sexual comments being passed on their person (Ganzi & Isharaza, 2016). 26.4% of girls between 15 to 19 reported sexual touching as a form of sexual harassment on their person, and 73.1% of women aged between 20 to 60 years reported same form of sexual harassment. With regards to rape and forced sex, in age group 20 to 60 years of age, 44.1% reported being physically forced to have sex, 8.1% reported being otherwise forced to have sex, 26% reported sex without consent, and 22.4% reported sex because they were afraid.

This study will also include a discussion on gender and societal notions of gender roles. It will attempt to show how gender stereotypes allow for sexual violence. It will also attempt to show how problematic notions of gender roles also perpetuate sexual violence against men and boys due to strong prejudices surrounding male sexuality. Reports show that men and boys are even less likely to report a rape or sexual assault due the strong prejudices surrounding male sexuality. The percentage of males reporting ever having been the victim of a sexual assault ranges from 3.6% in Namibia and 13.4% in the United Republic of Tanzania to 20% in Peru (World Health Organization, 2011). This repression stifles an opportunity at healing which may have immediate and long term consequences, including repeating the cycle of sexual abuse.

This study will apply a qualitative approach to studying attitudinal patterns that denote and connote a rape culture. By studying attitudinal patterns that enable the crime of rape to thrive, one hopes to cross the first stage of finding a solution to rape; defining the problem.

1.4 Objective of the Study

The main objective of this study is to contribute to knowledge on the possible causes for the prevalence of rape. In what seems to be a permanent blight on the history of humanity and the possible continuity into an unsure future, rape has pervaded human societies and dug for itself a seemingly permanent space in human cultures across the world. There exist conditions that have allowed for the non-erasure of the incidences of rape from society, thus have encouraged rape to thrive. By studying the possible phenomenon of a rape culture in society and drawing possible links to it being as a consequence of a gendered society, I hope to engage the deeper conversation surrounding the psychology of rape. This study will focus on attitudinal patterns that denote and connote a rape culture. By studying attitudinal patterns that enable the crime of rape to thrive, one hopes to cross the first stage of finding a solution to rape: defining the problem.

1.5 Justification and Usefulness of the Study

Rape is arguably a crime that is as old as human society. Despite all forms of punitive measures and other kinds of measures put in place in societies all over the world, rape remains a crime many victims suffer from in various ways.

This study, which seeks to approach rape from a human behavioural point of view, will contribute to a deeper cultural understanding about why rape happens, by using the urban and online society of Accra as a case study.

A deeper understanding on possible traces between human behaviour as programmed through perceived gender role expressions, and rape would contribute to shaping more effective and human-rights based policies and legislation around sexuality, consent and rape.

Studies on the existence of a rape culture that allows rape to thrive is not new as will be highlighted in the reviewed literature. This study aims to contribute to literature on the continent about the continent on the subject of gender and gender stereotyping, and its institution of a possible rape culture.

1.6 Theoretical Perspectives and Key Concepts

This section will examine the different feminisms and the specific feminist theories and concepts this work employs.

1.6.1 Feminist theory

Feminist theory, specifically, African feminist theory, is the chosen framework because it situates best the cultural discussion of oppressions that the concept of a rape culture may suggest. As the term Rape Culture was popularized by feminists in the twentieth century, this section explores feminist theory and concepts that are interconnected in the understanding of this.

Tracing the structural journey of feminism, Hawkesworth's *Globalization and Feminist Activism* defines feminism as a range of political movements, ideologies and social

movements that share a common goal: to define, establish and achieve political, economic, personal and social equality of sexes (McClean, Gyekye, & Wiredu, 2010). Feminist activism consists of a very diverse range of efforts to produce a more just global order. These efforts are transnational and linked movements all over the world that join together to address specific gender issues.

The feminist movement has broadened to include Lesbian, Bisexual and Trans movements, even though the last has been quite contentious. Feminism, however generally advocates against traditional gender roles and gender stereotyping because it enforces the oppression of other natural gender expressions. Therefore, feminism in its most current days has stretched the movement to include what bell hooks terms ‘men’s liberation’ (B Hooks, 2000), which asserts that men too are harmed and oppressed by traditional gender role stereotypes, which feeds into the consequences of a violent patriarchy.

However, feminist theoretical perspectives are diverse because of the multiple identities of feminists. In *Transatlantic feminism: Women and Gender Studies in Africa and the Diaspora*, Ampofo, Rodriguez and Tsikata stress a belief in the polyvocality of feminisms, which is a reality because of the multiple identities of feminists in Africa and in the diaspora (Rodriguez, Tsikata, & Ampofo, 2015)

This study will focus on African feminist theory and African feminist concept

because of the nuance and specificity of the context of Africa which is relevant to this study. Much like how Black feminism emerged in order to legitimize and bring visibility to the nuanced reality of black women's lives in the U.S. where feminism was the domain of white women (Rodriguez et al., 2015), African feminist theorists in order to address the nuanced cultural differences of the reality of African women's experiences. Much like how Black feminism theorizes about black oppression and resistance, issues which are not given visibility in the domains of white women, African feminism generally calls for an intersectionality and erasure of the stereotypes of the lived African woman's reality. In *Bringing African Women into the Classroom: Rethinking Pedagogy and Epistemology*, Nnaemeka critiques the inherent racism of western feminism which trivializes other cultures, particularly, African cultures and its failure to recognize the different ways by which African women experience patriarchy. She states:

“We African women have witnessed repeatedly the activities of our overzealous foreign sisters, mostly feminists who appropriate our wars in the name of fighting the oppression of women in the so-called third world. We watch with chagrin and in painful sisterhood these avatars of the proverbial mourner who wails more than the owners of the corpse.

In their enthusiasm, our sisters usurp our wars and fight them badly – very badly. The arrogance that declares African women “problems” objectifies us and undercuts the agency necessary for forging true global sisterhood...Anyone who wishes to participate in our struggles must do so in the context of our agenda”(Nnaemeka, 2005, p. 57)

African feminism and African feminist theory theorizes and gives visibility to the nuanced experiences of African women to patriarchy. Thus, for this study I will be engaging with African feminist theorists such as Oyeronke Oyewumi and her theories of gender and how it plays out in Africa, Ampofo's extensive work in Masculinities in Ghana as well as Sylvia Tamale's theories on African sexuality.

1.6.2 Some Key Feminist Concepts

1.6.2a Patriarchy

Patriarchy has been defined as —a social system in which society is organized around male authority figures. In this system fathers have authority over women, children, and property. It implies the institutions of male rule and privilege, and is dependent on female subordination (Epp, 2007). Patriarchy uses cultural, socio-economic, political, theological and spiritual, artistic mediums to establish a global world order of male entitlement which feminism advocates as unjust. In the review of related literature,

From movements came theory. Feminist theory probes into the nature of gender; its cultural institution, as well as its economic and political expressions (Gilligan, 1977). Thus it studies the nature of gender inequality and how it affects women [and men's] lived experiences. Sexuality and rape culture are two of feminist theory's biggest discussions. Chapter Two will provide an extensive discussion on patriarchy, gender and how it plays out in the Ghanaian context.

1.6.2b Rape Culture

The term 'Rape Culture' was first coined by second-wave American feminists in the 1970s (Merril, 2004, p. 174). In a bid to raise awareness and consciousness about the prevalence of rape in American society, 'rape culture' became a popularized term that addressed this prevalence. Rape Culture also posited that rape was the extreme consequence of the patriarchy that defined culture.

The coinage was revolutionary in that it redefined Rape from a patriarchal to a feminist point of view, thus putting to a challenge all the convenient escape clauses previously misogynistic definitions of rape, harboured. Rape was no longer viewed from the oppressor's point of view but from the point of view of the oppressed (victims). Such a drastic change in the lens by which rape is viewed provided a more holistic, though more horrific, picture of the realities of rape and spearheaded changes in policy and law that allowed for equitable justice to be served.

Feminists posit Rape Culture as a gender inequality issue. Feminists advocate for a woman's right to have control over her own body by virtue of her being born in a world that is supposed to be free and equal. However, the global order of patriarchy sets that women's bodies are largely controlled and defined by men, feminist theory argues. Thus, the existence of sexual violence is a systemized phenomenon rooted in a system of male entitlement and traditional gender role stereotyping (Ariffin, Selvaraju, Samuel, & Lourdes, 1997). Sex is defined from the lens of male entitlement under patriarchy, which has consequences of denying women's natural sexual rights. Also, this system which lauds a stereotype of masculine makes ridiculous the reality of the possibility of men being victims of sexual assault.

A woman's right to her own body and sexual expression is spurned in many cultures. In many cultures, men do not believe that a woman has the right to reject a man's sexual advances. The issue of marital rape is still contentious in Ghana because a woman is perceived to revoke rights, particularly sexual rights to her husband after marriage (Archampong, 2010, p. 8) , thus forcing or coercing one's wife for sex is not generally regarded as abusive behaviour.

In an increasingly liberal culture, patriarchy takes a new form of oppression through the sexual objectification of women where mediums like pornography, film, literature project women's existence as for the sole purpose of men's sexual pleasure, where sex is on men's time and terms. Rape culture is a consequence of this.

1.7 Methodology

This study is a sociocultural anthropological study of human thoughts, language and behaviour around the issues of gender and sexual violence. My sample space will therefore be Ghanaian conversations in physicality and on social and traditional media. It is a study into *how* people talk about and perceive gender, rape and other forms of sexual harassment because it is a study into patterns of thinking.

1.7.1 Study Area

The city of Accra is the area of study. Accra is the capital city of Ghana and the largest city in Ghana with a population of about 2.27 million as of 2012. Accra is an urban city.

1.7.2 Target Population

The target population for this study is high school students and young men and women aged between 20 and 35. Also, because this study will also include the population of Ghanaians on social media, it is relevant to state what the scope of this chosen population is: 82.11% of Ghanaians on social media are Facebook users, 5.64% are Twitter users and 3.97% use Youtube as of June 2018 ("Social Media Stats Ghana | StatCounter Global Stats," 2018). Research also shows that the average Ghanaian spends at least three hours thirty minutes browsing the internet on his/her phone (A Rankings Report on the Most Influential Brands and Personalities on Social Media in Ghana - A Project by Cliqfrica Limited And Avance Media, 2016).

1.7. 3 Data Collection Techniques

This study used qualitative data. I employed the following mediums to collect data:

- a. Personal stories of rape and sexual assault recounted to me
- b. Social media conversations around popular rape cases that sparked heated debate
- c. Workshops on the themes of gender, sexuality, sexual violence and consent the specific themes of gender and consent
- d. Social media trends and conversations on Facebook, Twitter and Whatsapp

Personal stories were recounted to me verbally in a conversational manner while I took written notes. Social media conversations will examine opinions of Ghanaian social media users around specific cases. The hashtag will also be employed. The hashtag is a social media tool that is included specifically in tweets or Facebook posts to mark them as relating to a topic so that people can follow the conversation when they search the hashtag online. It also serves as collation and categorizing tool for specific conversations. In cases where there are no hashtags, key words that headline the conversation will pull up a history of conversation on the specific key words typed in.

Five workshops were held in the form of group sessions on sex, and rape culture. Each group discussion had between twenty to forty people at a time to discuss the participants' specific thoughts and examine their language around gender, consent and sexual behaviour. Three group discussions were with high school students between the ages of 12 to 19 years of age. Two workshop discussions were with a more adult group; university students between the ages of 20 to 27 years of age, and working adults out of school between the ages of 22 to 30 years of age. In some cases, the workshops were divided into smaller groups to enable focused sessions. These workshops were conducted

in a very conversational style and were not recorded at the request of the groups because of the nature of the conversation and in order to make them feel comfortable enough to be honest about their opinions.

1.7. 4 Ethics

Participants consented to workshops, and individuals consented to sharing their stories with me. In cases where participants were minors during the workshops, I sought permission from the school authorities.

Also important to note, is the kind of environment created to encourage an honest, free-flowing and judgment-free conversation. Before workshops were commenced, it was stressed the need to respect each other's contributions and opinions. It was a general consensus with participants to avoid reactions that would ostracize people sharing experiences or make them feel bad, hence stifling honest conversation.

Personal stories were shared by word of mouth while I took notes, as one of the cases is still in court, except the case of fictitious 'Ama' who sent in a voice note of her confrontation with her harasser. Unstructured questions were asked of each personal story.

All names used are fictitious in order to protect the privacy of the individuals involved. This excludes the social media cases on 'popular' cases.

1.7.5 Field Challenges

There was a heavy focus on heterosexual sex in the focus group discussions. LGBTQI sex and relations was not discussed in the focus group discussions because of the taboo surrounding the topic. Participants were unwilling and in the cases of the workshop discussions with high school students, the school authorities strictly forbade it. It must be noted, however, that while it is generally difficult for a victim of heterosexual rape or sexual abuse to talk about their rape, it is an even harder topic for people within the LGBTQIA+ community, who cannot report or discuss such cases because of the general stigma and erasure of their LGBTQIA+ identity. Identifying as LGBTQIA+ in Accra is taboo, therefore any discussions around sexual violence within the LGBTQIA+ community would rarely, if ever, be raised.

1.8 Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study had some limitations.

Using social media as a sample space may not be reflective of people's real opinions. This is because people's opinions on social media can be insincere and not true-to-self in a bid to attract more internet favour (in the form of likes and retweets), to be popular or to avoid trolling. Also, in the choice to use social media as a sample space, there would be high limitations in the adequacy of a sample space population, as there are Ghanaians who do not use social media.

The sample space of people in the workshop group discussions may be too small a number and limited in its diversity to be reflective of the whole of Accra society.

Also, certain populations are excluded from this study. Due to the specific focus of the study on the population of Ghanaians on social media, as well as, the population of Ghanaians in high schools, universities and in organizations, it excludes the low income population of Ghana, as well as sections of the population that are not as social media-

savvy or do not use social media. Therefore rape that happens to kayaye, for instance, is not given any focus in this study.

Finally, this study may be interpreted as prone to bias because of the highly sensitive nature of data collected.

1.9 Organisation of Study

Chapter one provides the general framework of this study, by providing context, background and an explanation of the terminologies and methodologies used. Chapter two is an examination of literature on how gender roles are defined by culture and society, how these defined roles become stereotypes and how these stereotypes feed into enabling rape to be normalized.

Chapter three explores a philosophical and cultural analysis of Consent and Consent Culture. One would find in the following chapters, particularly, in chapter four which delves into the data collected for this research, a recurring conversation on the understanding or non-understanding of consent. Thus, this chapter seeks to define the ideology of consent from previous studies, in order to establish how it can be breached or not breached in sexual relationships.

Chapter four is a report on the qualitative data collected, examining common societal attitudes around rape and sexual abuse cases. This chapter would do this by reporting personal testimonies from victims and survivors of rape, examining a popular Ghanaian alleged rape case and the conversation around it, and focus group discussions on consent and rape culture. This is in order to put into context real life cases of sexual abuse and rape in the larger conversation of a possible rape culture, and examine the attitudes,

actions and inactions surrounding them. Chapter five continues the case study format of chapter four by studying as case studies public conversations on social media on issues of perceived gender roles, sex, abuse and rape. This chapter will therefore examine and analyse popular twitter and Facebook conversations, trending Whatsapp conversations and actual rape cases which caught headlines on Ghanaian social media and sparked a lot of conversation. This is in order to study the attitudes, thoughts, language and conceptions around rape in order to attest to a culture of thinking.

Chapter six aims to unpack all chapters in order to answer the defining questions; whether Accra has a rape culture, and, conclude with possible recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will seek to highlight previous studies on the subject of Rape culture. The coinage of 'Rape Culture' being a relatively new field in Ghana, I shall examine literature from around the world, and also literature from within Africa that analyse a culture of rape though without the coinage of the term 'Rape Culture.'

This analysis is divided in three sections: Rape, Rape Culture, and Signs of a Rape Culture.

2.2 What is Rape?

Ghanaian law according to Section 98 of the Criminal Offenses Act defines Rape thus:

“Rape is the carnal knowledge of a female of sixteen years or above without her consent.”

Section 99 adds, “Whenever, upon the trial of any person for an offence punishable under this Code, it is necessary to prove carnal knowledge or unnatural carnal knowledge, the carnal knowledge or unnatural carnal knowledge shall be deemed complete upon proof of the least degree of penetration.”

Section 41, which specifies grounds on which the application of force may be justified in the case of consent, subsection (g) states:

(g) “a person may revoke any consent which he has given to the use of force against him, and his consent when so revoked shall have no effect for justifying force; save that the consent given by husband or wife at marriage, for the purposes of marriage, cannot be revoked until the parties are divorced or separated by a judgment or decree of a competent Court.”

The latter part of the above section by extension excludes the possibility of marital rape where marriage is seen as automatic consent that is only revoked by divorce. This exclusion of marital rape was however amended under the Domestic Violence Act (A. A. Ampofo, 2008)

The boundaries of rape drawn under the above definition are limited to forced carnal and unnatural carnal knowledge. ‘Unnatural’ carnal knowledge is quite ambiguous in its boundary definitions but is generally taken to mean sodomy perpetrated by an adult on a male child. ‘Forced carnal knowledge’ implies forced penetration of the vulva using a penis. It is still unclear if this definition includes the use of other objects other than the penis for forced penetration. Also, if the vulva is the only orifice which falls under the bracket of ‘natural carnal’ knowledge what is implied is this definition of rape allows only for cases where a woman was a victim of the assault and excludes men as possible victims of sexual assault.

Under the broader term of ‘sexual violence,’ defined by the World Health organization, rape falls in the category of Sexual violence which is —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 workl (World Health Organization, 2011). The World Health Organization further acknowledges the wide spectrum through which coercion can be used, whether through blackmail, threats, physical and psychological intimidation to actual physical force (World Health Organization, 2011).

Rape here includes rape within marriages or dating relationships, as well as rape by strangers.

Susan Brownmiller suggests that defining rape is a gendered process.

“To a woman the definition of rape is fairly simple. A sexual invasion of the body by force, an incursion into the private, personal inner space without consent—in short, an internal assault from one of several avenues and by one of several methods—constitutes a deliberate violation of emotional, physical and rational integrity and is a hostile, degrading act of violence that deserves the name of rape” (Brownmiller, 2013, p. 177).

This definition broadens the possibilities of other acts of violence to be identified as rape in so far as they sexually invade the private space of the victim without consent. Brownmiller’s *Against our Will: Men, Women and Rape* has been widely credited with changing the public attitudes about rape by redefining rape from the common perpetrator’s (males) point of view to the victim who was mostly female.

Thus, she analyses rape and the culture of rape through the lens of gender theory. She argues that rape, when defined from a patriarchal point of view, was a matter of theft or defacing of property, a man’s property, —injury to the purity or chastity of a man’s estate instead of to the victim’s bodily integrity (Brownmiller, 2013); daughters and wives were the property of fathers, husbands and brothers (Brownmiller, 2013, p. 21). This then saw compensation to men for a woman’s rape and the irony lies in that it is compensation to the very group that enables the culture of rape to thrive by their viewing of women and girls as property (Brownmiller, 2013). Brownmiller cites examples from the attitudes and beliefs of the early Hebrews, where rape was nothing more than the theft of a man’s daughter’s virginity for which he could have got a respectable price for from a prospective husband (Brownmiller, 2013, p. 19). Brownmiller argues that rape, defined under such parameters, does not lend to it the gravity the crime of rape deserves and calls for a redefinition:

“When rape is placed where it truly belongs, within the context of modern criminal violence and not within the purview of ancient masculine codes, the crime retains its unique dimensions, falling midway between robbery and assault. It is, in one act, both a blow to the body and a blow to the mind, and a "taking" of sex through the use or threat of force. Yet the differences between rape and an assault or a robbery are as distinctive as the obvious similarities. In a prosecutable case of assault, bodily damage to the victim is clearly evident. In a case of rape, the threat of force does not secure a tangible commodity as we understand the term, although sex traditionally has been viewed by men as "the female treasure"; more precisely, in rape the threat of force obtains a highly valued sexual service through temporary access to the victim's intimate parts, and the intent is not merely to "take," but to humiliate and degrade. This, then, is the modern reality of rape as it is defined by twentieth-century practice” (Brownmiller, 2013, p.177).

2.3 DEFINING RAPE CULTURE

Culture encompasses a myriad of characteristics that essentially define and give an understanding to a particular group of people's worldview, their interpretation of the world around them and how interpretations of this translate into how they relate to world and human phenomena. This formulation of a worldview can happen a priori, as well as empirically and is reflected in the shared patterns of behaviours, interactions, cognitive constructs, and understanding usually learned by socialization. Thus, culture is expressed in language, beliefs, religion, cuisine, national dress, and the arts (music, dance, film, theatre, etc.). With this preliminary sense of what *culture* denotes and connotes (Klamer, 2003). I will attempt to forage through what a rape culture could mean through existing literature on the subject.

Cultural beliefs and misconceptions run so deep that even in the face of the law, they may take the upper hand. Marxist theory raises very strong arguments about the power that various media possess in establishing ideologies in the mindset of a people, thus enslaving them to an oppressor. For example, in art: 'Commercial art which sets out from the lowest common denominator is at once a useful soporific drug intended to keep the masses in a state of stupefied contentment, while at the same time making a few capitalists exceedingly rich' (Trotsky, 1972). Traditional media, that is, television, radio, print and digital media, and religion also play centralized roles in socializing us to a cultural ideology or ideologies. In the 21st century, the world is largely coloured by how the media informs us, particularly with the revolution of social media. Marxist philosopher, Louis Althusser in advancing Marxist theory on Repressive State Apparatuses, introduced his theory of Ideological State Apparatuses, which differ from the former in that whereas Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs) are public in nature, for example State institutions like the army. Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) are private institutions. The crucial point of difference between the RSAs and ISAs, however, is that whereas the RSAs use violence to establish the ruling class over the ruled, ISAs are even more fatal in that they use ideology. (*The Anthropology of the State: A Reader*, 2009). Thus, a manipulation of the mind is a major function of ISAs. Althusser defines 'ideology' as 'the system of the ideas and representations which dominate the mind of man or a social group' (*The Anthropology of the State: A Reader*, 2009). Althusser also posits that Ideologies are usually propagated through dominant ISAs such as religion, the family, school and the communications (media: television, radio, print media and in the 21st century, social media can be included here). Althusser's most profound statement which forms an important basis for my arguments in this paper is that

ideology represents the imaginary relationships of individuals to their real conditions of existence.' (*The Anthropology of the State: A Reader*, 2009, p. 100). Althusser goes on to explain the need for an imaginary transposition of life on 'a small number of cynical men who base their domination and exploitation of the 'people' on a falsified representation of the world which they have imagined in order to enslave other minds by dominating their imaginations' (*The Anthropology of the State: A Reader*, 2009, p. 101).

Whereas in Marxist theory, the oppressor who uses ideology to maintain power and ownership of capital is the bourgeoisie and the capitalist, I will argue in this paper that the oppressor who perpetuates rape culture is the institution of Patriarchy. I will also attempt to show, by borrowing from Althusser's theory of ISAs that Accra's culture (expressed through religion, popular and generalized belief, family structure, etc.) and media are the dominant Ideological State Apparatuses manipulated by patriarchal ideology to establish a thriving rape culture.

Brownmiller's 1975 *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape* introduced a revolutionary angle to the discourse on rape: the power dynamics involved between genders. She defines rape as —a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear (Brownmiller, 1975, pp. 6–7). She asserts that, —Rape is not a crime of lust, but of violence and power (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 15). This also brought to the fore the argument of gender stratification being a subtext in the violence of rape. The introduction of the dynamic of power play in the discourse of rape instantly takes rape from the domain of an outlier incident to that of a *culture*. This is because it suggests a certain recurrence and a system that keeps this recurrence in place. In the text, Brownmiller gives several examples of what this system looks like by examining the psychology of rape,

rape itself and patriarchy, rape and cultural law as well as judicial law, rape and religion as well as rape and gender socialization, placing these ideas in various settings: rape in communities, rape and race relations, rape in war, rape in prisons, rape during slavery and even rape in the animal kingdom where Brownmiller claimed that no zoologist had ever observed animals raping in their natural habitat (Brownmiller, 2013, p. 13), a point which many scholars have called out as highly untrue (Alcock, 2001).

In the chapter, *The Mass Psychology of Rape: An Introduction*, Brownmiller argues, “Sigmund Freud, whose major works followed Krafft-Ebing's by twenty to forty years, was also struck dumb by the subject of rape. We can search his writings in vain for a quotable quote, an analysis, a perception. The father of psychoanalysis, who invented the concept of the primacy of the penis, was never motivated, as far as we know, to explore the real-life deployment of the penis as weapon. What the master ignored, the disciples tended to ignore as well” (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 12). The disciples here refer to other prominent psychologists who were believers of Freudian theories and based their works of his ideas. She stresses this point in later chapters that ideas of the primacy of the penis, and its breeding of an egocentric masculine view of the world, which were solidified by the ground-breaking research of Freud contributed the maintenance of a rape culture.

Indeed, throughout the book, Brownmiller explores many examples that show rape as ‘a societal problem resulting from a distorted masculine philosophy of aggression’ (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 400); that men learn rape in a society which treats women and their bodies as a subordinate, a commodity. In this way she forms, perhaps, the first reported structure of the existence of a systemic rape culture.

Lauritsen accuses Brownmiller's essentialist ideology of rape of being based on absolute male guilt and absolute female innocence, and this 'reductionist' view of the world makes her 'dishonest' in her selective presentations of other people's ideas on the subject (Lauritsen, 1976). He further disagrees with Brownmiller's assertion of a rape culture through a patriarchy that pats men who rape on the back, disagreeing with her argument that, "Man's discovery that his genitalia could serve as a weapon to generate fear must rank as one of the most important discoveries of prehistoric times, along with the use of fire and the first crude stone axe. From prehistoric times to the present, I believe, rape has played a critical function. It is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear" (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 13). Lauritsen counters this point with the argument that if there was such a system, why was there the existence of a death penalty for male rapists in some states? He further accuses her of causing 'rape hysteria' and 'fear-mongering' (Lauritsen, 1976). He further disagrees with her redefinition of rape from the 'female point of view' (Lauritsen, 1976) and her inclusion of the concept of consent as a deciding factor of rape, which stated, 'If a woman chooses not to have a intercourse with a specific man and the man chooses to proceed against her will, that is a criminal act of rape' (Brownmiller, 1975). He questions her logic of 'to proceed against her will' arguing that, "I daresay that if every man just said, 'all right then, goodbye,' as soon as a woman said 'no' to him, there would be a lot of shocked and frustrated women in the world" (Lauritsen, 1976). He also questions the validity of a woman's will citing Freudian theory of the unconscious part of the mind as a reliable study to show that using the will as a deciding factor for rape will be problematic, stating that "Rape fantasies play an important part in the erotic psychic life of many women, as witness merely the prominence of the rape theme in the

‘confession’ magazines and the ‘romance’ books read by millions of them. He raises a final strong objection to her —female definition of rape” (Lauritsen, 1976) pointing out that her definition only allows for only male offenders and female victims, thus does not account for the reality of female offenders and male victims.

Famous black feminist activist bell hooks, and American political activist and academic scholar Angela Davis criticized what they saw as Brownmiller’s non-intersectional approach to dealing with the topic of the rape of black women. hooks acknowledges that Brownmiller places enough attention to the systemic rape of black women by white men during slavery, however she fails to connect how this system of brutality in the past contributes actively to today’s casting of the black woman in the role of whore (Bell Hooks, 1981), which perpetuates the black woman’s asexual abuse. Though this is largely true, Brownmiller does draw a connection between the rape of black women during slavery to the common occurrence today of black women being less likely to be believed when they report rape (this is in the context of American society).

Angela Davis accuses Brownmiller of fuelling the —black rapist stereotypel by focusing heavily on the idea of the black male rapist hungry for white women as a means of retaliation to the brutality of white men. Brownmiller makes an interesting argument on the contextual linkage between white male patriarchy and the false alarms of white women’s rape accusations against innocent black men (Brownmiller, 1975): ‘We white women,’ she states, ‘did not dangle ourselves, yet everything the black man has been exposed to would lead him to this conclusion and then to action, in imitation of the white man who raped "his" woman’ (Brownmiller, 1975, pp. 253, 254). This, Angela Davis argues, downplayed the graphic reality of black men being lynched by the false whims of a white woman (Davis, 2011).

Rape Culture as defined in *Transforming a Rape Culture*, also argues that gender stratifications made by a patriarchy forms the foundation of the institution of rape. According to this book's definition, Rape Culture, among other things, is —a complex set of beliefs that encourage male sexual aggression and supports violence against women. It is a society where violence is seen as sexy and sexuality as violent. In a rape culture, women perceive a continuum of threatened violence that ranges from sexual remarks to sexual touching to rape itself. A rape culture condones physical and emotional terrorism against women as the norm...In a rape culture, both men and women assume that sexual violence is a fact of life, inevitable...However...much of what we accept as inevitable is in fact the expression of values and attitudes that can change (Buchwald, Fletcher, & Roth, 2005).

In a series of essays from professors, research scientists, educators, acclaimed writers, poets, activists, scholars, feminist activists, rape crisis counsellors, rape prevention educators, Church ministers, theologians, playwrights, theatre directors, journalists, *Transforming a Rape Culture* examines all aspects of culture that perpetuate or encourage rape to thrive. From examining notions of masculinity in men's sports, sexual harassment in pre-school, the Church's reactions to marital rape, to rape in the army, this book establishes the existence of a rape culture by demonstrating how it plays out in varying human cultural situations, the underlying motive showing how rape is allowed to exist and thrive due to denoted harmful gender stereotypes and their institution in society.

Michael Parenti's views on Rape Culture are similar. He argues that rape culture manifests through the acceptance of rape as an everyday occurrence, and that it is viewed as a male prerogative. Parenti demonstrates what the effect of such a

worldview can have in dealing with cases of rape where there is victim blaming and the reluctance by authorities to go against patriarchal cultural norms. (Parenti, 2011)

From the above definitions, a ‘culture’ of rape suggests not just the occurrence of rape but also an establishment of enduring conditions through which rape is allowed to thrive, though these conditions can be contentious depending on who is having the argument. However, scholarly work has established various media by which a rape culture can be determined, and these include markers such as societal beliefs and prejudices about gender and the consequent gender socialization, an institutionalized culture of violence, an acceptance of this violence, a culture of misogyny and intimidation (Buchwald et al., 2005, p. 219), education, language, religion (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 21), the system of masculine entitlement (coined as ‘Patriarchy’ by feminists), the media, and their accompanying consequences.

A rape culture, therefore, is a prevalent mentality in a culture of a group of people that inadvertently or advertently creates a healthy environment and institutes a fertile breeding ground for the incidence of rape to thrive. A society with a rape culture is one that, through its expressions of culture, creates and encourages a pervasive mindset towards the acceptance of rape and makes murky the language around rape, thus making it quite easy for rape’s assimilation and acceptance into a society. Rape culture allows for a socialization of this pervasive acceptance of rape, hence a naturalization of rape into society through cultural expressions such as language, family socialization, the arts, history, media, education, politics, etc. These various media by which a rape culture is taught, may encourage a particular perception, in this case a warped perception, and worldview about the normalization of rape. These misconceptions are largely socio-cultural and I argue, in this paper, that they arise from cultural beliefs and practices about male and female relations, as well as gender conceptions about sexuality.

In the section ‘Signs of a Rape Culture,’ I will stress the characteristics of Rape Culture as highlighted by various studies.

2.3.1 Patriarchy

In issue 6 of *Feminist Africa*, a revolutionary continental gender studies journal produced by a community of African feminist scholars, patriarchy and African women’s sexuality is centralized and problematized through dialogue, intellectual and activist research and strategy discourse.

African feminist problematizing of Patriarchy acknowledges the specific nuances by which Patriarchy operates in within African cultural spaces, an important character of which is its indigenous and colonial modus operandi.

On the nature of Patriarchy and how it operates within African cultural spaces, Chipso Hungwe observes the intersection in collaboration between colonial, missionary and indigenous patriarchy in ‘Putting them in their place: “respectable” and “unrespectable” women in Zimbabwean Gender Struggles:

“It is clear that when it came to controlling women, the various patriarchies (colonial, rural, missionary and indigenous) often collaborated across racial lines. Examples from Zimbabwe, South Africa and Kenya suggest that African male elders were prepared to collaborate with white colonial officers in order to control the mobility of “unrespectable” women” (Hungwe, 2006, p. 37).

In this is the analysis that the nature of patriarchy for African women is one that draws roots from indigenous patriarchal systems that are made even more complex with the advent and imposition of colonial patriarchal culture. This is a key concept in African feminist problematizing of patriarchy, because it opens up the conversation to the more nuanced and specific modes by which African women experience and have to tackle with

Patriarchy, as opposed to the misconception of feminism as the domain of white women, thus white women's experiences of patriarchal oppression.

In analysing the possibilities of a rape culture, patriarchy and how African women experience it forms the crux of all research.

Therefore, the following sections of this chapter would be an exploration into related literature on patriarchy within Africa and how it operates within socio-cultural spaces and through cultural mediums such as Religion (the theological and spiritual), language, gender (the cultural interpretation of gender, power relations and sexual culture), and human institutions (family, society, war).

2.3.2 Religious sustenance of Patriarchy and Rape Culture

In Adams' essay 'I Just Raped My Wife! What Are You Going to Do about It, Pastor?: The Church and Sexual Violence,' she examines how 'God-talk', where images of control, authority, and maleness combine in traditional representations of God as Father, and encourage a deep seated patriarchy where the man assumes 'Father' or 'leader' role (Adams, 2005, p. 86). Adams states in her essay, "Were we to replace the harmful monarchical language about God – king, ruler, lord, sovereign – with language that embedded God within the world, the abuser would lose the sacralized reinforcement of authoritarianism" (Buchwald et al., 2005, p. 87). Adams argues that Christian traditions provide excellent raw material for authoritarianism that proclaims women as the harbingers of sin (for example, the story of Eve in the garden of Eden, a 'Jezebel' who lures men to their downfall, Delilah betraying Samson), and therefore women must submit to men to prevent another human 'spiritual disaster.' These beliefs, though they may be just beliefs, provide legitimations for rapist behaviour (Buchwald et al., 2005). This is because, Adams argues, it provides legitimate reasons for an abuser to justify his abuse:

“Just as an abuser twists everything – claiming as reasons for his actions such things as...taking a job, or refusing to have sex – how much more salient are selected texts from the Bible about women being obedient or sinful” (Buchwald et al., 2005, p. 87).

Adams further warns that a victim may see Jesus’ suffering as a model, thus, she would see her suffering as her cross that she has to bear with dignity, her self-sacrifice (Buchwald et al., 2005). This is used as an example of rape culture because abusers or rapists use a warped interpretation of religion to turn a blind eye to their violence and secondly, a victim is silenced by her beliefs. Adams further admonishes,

“The church must proclaim that God is not male, and that the male – especially in his own home – is not God. It must challenge the domination-subordination model of the God-human relationship and proclaim that for victims of rape and battering, sin is not self-assertion, love is not self-sacrifice, and forgiveness does not involve condoning or excusing abusive behaviour. The Church has been unable to do this, in part, because marital rape and battering have been seen as interpersonal problems rather than widespread institutional violence against which the church must take a firm stance” (Buchwald et al., 2005, p. 88).

This point brings to the fore the issues of gender and how closely related beliefs, practices and taboos around gender are to a thriving rape culture. Our projections of masculine and feminine (and their accompanying characteristics) are projected on our spiritual and religious ideas of a God or Supreme Being. These projections come back in a reverse cyclical movement to feed our notions of gender roles and particularly, how this plays out in sexual relationships, with the male as ‘God-ordained’ dominant/taker/aggressor and the woman as receiver/submissive, whom sex happens *to* not *with*.

However, these contentious points can raise many counterarguments. Christians argue that the message of Jesus Christ is not one of eternal suffering (as a counter-argument to the victim seeing Jesus’ self-sacrifice as a model) but of hope, love and eternal compassion. In this, it can be argued, lies a liberating model for any victim of abuse or

rape, to no longer see themselves as ‘deserving’ of their suffering but instead deserving of love and justice.

Rape is also talked about several times in the Christian Bible. In many accounts, rape seems to be condoned as women are viewed more as property. Deuteronomy 22:28 – 29 provides an example of normalized rape by condemning a victim to marry her rapist and remain with him for the rest of her life:

“If a man happens to meet a virgin who is not pledged to be married and rapes her and they are discovered, ²⁹ he shall pay her father fifty shekels of silver. He must marry the young woman, for he has violated her. He can never divorce her as long as he lives.”

In this, the victim is forced to marry her rapist. Women were mere property; their sexual services to be exchanged for other property, the most valuable woman being a virgin. A woman’s virginity was so high on the scale of expensive goods in this culture, that Deuteronomy 20 states that if a married man finds that his wife was not a virgin, she should be stoned to death:

“²⁰ If, however, the charge is true and no proof of the young woman’s virginity can be found, ²¹ she shall be brought to the door of her father’s house and there the men of her town shall stone her to death. She has done an outrageous thing in Israel by being promiscuous while still in her father’s house.”

Deuteronomy 23 offers a point of view about victim’s guilt, which persists today:

“²³ If a man happens to meet in a town a virgin pledged to be married and he sleeps with her, ²⁴ you shall take both of them to the gate of that town and stone them to death—the young woman because she was in a town and did not scream for help, and the man because he violated another man’s wife. You must purge the evil from among you.”

A woman needs to scream for help to validate her as a victim of rape, invalidating the many contextual what-ifs – a view still many still have today (Brownmiller, 1975).

Brownmiller puts the section of Deuteronomy in context when she argues that in ancient Babylonian and Mosaic law, slavery, private property and the subjugation of women were facts of life: “Written in its origin was a solemn compact among men of property, designed to protect their own male interests by a civilized exchange of goods or silver *in place* of force wherever possible” (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 19). Thus, a lot of old Testament law in the Bible may have been curated by the patriarchal culture of the people. For this, Brownmiller questions the legend of Portiphar’s wife, who pestered the virtuous Joseph to ‘lie with her’ to no avail and later cried rape, thereby ‘putting a good man down’ as is termed in today’s lingo. Brownmiller insists that this is ‘the male Hebrew side of the story’ and that this legend has been re-created in many ancient cultures where a beautiful woman of the enemy camp or opposing group tries to sully the name and prowess of a virtuous man from the side of the storyteller’s culture (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 23).

Reflecting on Faith, Feminism and Fundamentalisms, African Feminist Theo Sowa worries about similar patriarchal interpretations and performance of African Christianity, and what this means for women’s rights:

“We are seeing a rise in very conservative Christianity – a type we haven’t seen for a very long time. Very Conservative in so far as going back to some of our old traditional value systems that tell women certain messages about how we should behave, what our place in society is, and these are battles we thought we had [already] fought” (Forum, Sowa, Chigudu, & Win, 2016, p. 200).

The treatment of rape in Islamic law has come under scrutiny under the topic of a rape culture, and one finds that much like in the old testament of the Bible, a system of patriarchy influences interpretations of religious (in this case, Islamic) law.

In “*Women living under Muslim Laws*”, Mehdi argues that, “Pakistan is a Muslim patriarchal society, where a feminist interpretation of Islam has not really developed. The process of the Islamization of laws has reinforced the already deeply rooted and staunch notions of male domination in Pakistani society” (Mehdi, Rubya Khan, 1997, p. 100). She goes on to describe how because of this phenomenon, a movement of Islamization was a movement that made men feel powerful enough to control their women. (Mehdi, Rubya Khan, 1997). Examining the offence of Rape in Islamic law in Pakistan (where societal laws are not separate from religious laws, thus are non-secular), Mehdi delineates Rape as defined by the Zina Ordinance VII of 1979:

... if he or she has sexual intercourse with a woman or man, as the case may be, to whom he or she is not validly married in any of the following circumstances, namely

- (a) against the will of the victim,
- (b) without the consent of the victim,
- (c) with the consent of the victim, when the consent has been obtained by putting the victim in fear of death or of harm; or
- (d) with the consent of the victim, when the offender knows that the offender is not validly married to the victim and that the consent is given because the victim believes that the offender is another person to whom the victim is or believes herself or himself to be validly married.

These laws stress the importance of free and voluntary consent by virtue of human worth and dignity as opposed to consent derived through any other means but freely and voluntarily. However, as Mehdi points out, this law excludes the possibility that a man may be guilty of raping his wife (Mehdi, Rubya Khan, 1997, p. 101).

A verse of Qur'an that is often used to support this view is as follows:

“Your wives are as a tilth unto you, so approach your tilth when and how you will...” (Quran 2:223).

Once again, religious language, which is open to interpretation under patriarchal lens may be used as a tool for condoning violence against women. Mehdi states that despite the law, the standards of proof of rape are so difficult to meet that there is very little possibility that a rapist would ever be punished for rape (Mehdi, 1997).

Writing about women living under Islamic law in Sudan, Hale in this same journal interviewed Taha Ibrahim, a lawyer and vocal critic of Sharia law, noting his response as, “Islam knows two sorts of male/female relationships (1) buying her—as a slave—and he can do anything with her he likes—violate her in any way...he also owns his own children and can sell them...(2) marriage: in Islam the relationship is based solely on buying and selling... he owns her... he owns her sexual parts... to such an extent that, if she is ill and cannot give him what he wants at any time he wants, she cannot collect alimony. So, with the dowry he buys her sexuality.” (Mehdi, 1997, p. 77).

She, however, concludes her essay by reiterating how Arab custom and patriarchy is perpetuated in the name of Islam, giving credence to the notion that it may not be about the religion but rather the lens through which it is interpreted. Pakistan is a Muslim patriarchal society, where a feminist interpretation of Islam has not really developed (Mehdi, 1997, p. 99).

2.3.3. A Language of Rape

Transforming a Rape Culture examines how language is a powerful medium by which a rape culture is established and encouraged to thrive through various means: silencing, obscuring, re-naming, euphemizing, etc. Speaking about the consequence of silencing in language, Adams' says in her essay *I Just Raped My Wife* that silence not only immobilizes victims but encourages the behaviour of perpetrators: —As long as violence is both invisible and unnamed, it is tacitly, although perhaps unintentionally, condoned (Buchwald et al., 2005, p. 81). She argues that victims need to be able to give a name to their 'terror and violence' in order that their victimization ends and they can progress to become survivors. Silencing, blocking the process of naming violence, not only protects the perpetrator but encourages the violence to continue. Her essay further explores how the Church facilitates this process by manipulating, or rather, silencing, certain parts of the language, thus blocking an open dialogue.

Dale Spender's seminal work *Man Made Language* argued that there is a heavy anti-woman, sexist bias in language, citing as an example that in English language, there are 220 words for a sexually promiscuous woman and only 20 words for an equally promiscuous man (Spender & Bardin, 1985). Helen Benedict argues that this situation "not only reflects the culture of rape but encourages it, because it portrays women as sexual objects, fair prey for the hunter-man" (Buchwald et al., 2005, p. 125). She categorically names English as a language of rape. She demonstrates how in the reportage of rape by newspapers, the media tends to euphemize the rape and give it 'attractive' features (Buchwald et al., 2005, p. 126). For instance in its description of female victims, you find words describing her looks ('pretty', 'vivacious', 'attractive'), her behaviour ('flirtatious', 'scantily clad') and the violence of rape as simply an act of sex ('fondled', 'caressed', 'had sex with', even 'lovemaking'). One would be hard pressed to find a male victim of a crime being described thus "Friends described Robert Smith as a pert, vivacious boy who liked to flirt in the bars" (Buchwald et al., 2005, p. 126). The effect of

this type of language, Benedict argues, is that it makes this seem as though rape is the victim's fault, thus, it is to say the rape did not happen (Buchwald et al., 2005, p. 125).

2.3.4. Law and Rape Culture

Mehdi describes most accurately the murkiness in law in distinguishing between consensual sex and rape: "The law of rape is unique in its nature, in the sense that...in practice the distinction between consensual sex and rape is very difficult to define in most cases, because non-consent is so difficult to establish legally. In the process, the Government used Islam to deny women their rights. Women were made special victims of these laws" (Mehdi, 1997, p. 99).

In Ghana, the situation is not very different. Though consent in Ghanaian law has been defined, its demonstration and recognition is not as straightforward. Also, the interpretation of consent by culture, despite the existence of law, is polarized, where consent is treated with a lot of skepticism. In her research *The Treatment of Consent in Sexual Assault Law in Ghana*, Archampong demonstrates how Consent was interpreted in some Ghanaian courts:

"A woman's claim that she did not consent to sex needs corroboration, a requirement that is not stated in statute but is an English practice that has become accepted in Ghana's courts. When an accused person raises the defense of consent in a rape trial, and given that the standard of proof is that of proof beyond reasonable doubt, the courts appear to rely more on corroboration, requiring the complainant to prove beyond her word that she did not consent to sexual intercourse with the accused person. Thus, the evidence of witnesses, medical evidence, circumstantial evidence etc. are the kind of corroborative evidence required. Without such corroborative evidence, the courts are unlikely to find that the woman was raped, relying only on her word. For instance, when a woman is raped and she fails to report promptly to the police and to hospital she is queried as to whether it was not because she had consented to sex with the accused person. The courts operate with the idea that every woman who is raped should and would report to the police station or

hospital promptly, ignoring the traumatic nature of rape and the different ways in which women react to that kind of violent experience.

While some may rush to report, others may coil into their shells and so do nothing for a while” (Archampong, 2011).

Archampong also raises some concerns about the interpretations of consent in courts:

“In the judge’s view, so long as nobody in the accused person’s house heard the complainant shout, the complainant did not struggle, there was no evidence of recent perforation of the complainant’s hymen and no bruises on the complainant and the complainant did not speak up upon her mother discovering her and the accused and asking what the complainant was doing in the accused’s room, then the complainant had consented to the sexual act. However, it is also probable that all these facts may have existed and still the complainant would not have consented to sexual intercourse with the accused person” (Archampong, 2011).

Archampong further demonstrates that there is no ‘right’ way to respond to rape, an idea a rape culture perpetuates. If the interpretation of consent is murky, it also hinders victims’ and possible victims’ knowledge about their rights (Archampong, 2011).

In her research on rape in Congo during the civil war, Carlsen describes a similar situation in the court’s response on rape: “When victims are able to bring their rapists to court, harsh sentences are rarely imposed. Judges tend to display a discriminatory attitude toward victims, often finding the woman at fault for the rape. Rather than use an expensive and weak judicial system, victims are led to reparations mediated by local authority officials and tribal leaders. These out-of-court settlements rarely recognize the rights of the victims or the gravity of the rape” (Carlsen, 2009, p. 476).

2.3.5 Rape as an institutionalized weapon of War

Time Magazine states in one of its much-publicized articles on rape, *Survivors of Wartime Rape are Refusing to be Silenced*, that “Rape in war is as old as war itself. But the intimate nature of sexual assault means that the horrors often go undocumented, sanitized out of history books and glossed over in news accounts that focus on casualties and refugee numbers” (Baker, 2017).

The International Criminal Court has declared rape a war crime and rape is composed of the following four elements according to Article (7) (1) (g) -2:

1. The perpetrator exercised any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership over one or more persons, such as by purchasing, selling, lending or bartering such a person or persons, or by imposing on them a similar deprivation of liberty.
2. The perpetrator caused such person or persons to engage in one or more acts of a sexual nature.
3. The conduct was committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.
4. The perpetrator knew that the conduct was part of or intended the conduct to be part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population. (“Elements of Crimes,” 2011, p. 8)

However, despite this, rape remains very much part of war. In *Against our Will: Men, Women and Rape* Brownmiller’s seminal work on rape, examining rape as a war weapon, is relevant work in examining a rape culture. She places rape in war as a consequence of patriarchy and the ideology it encourages:

“War provides men with the perfect psychologic backdrop to give vent to their contempt for women. The very maleness of the military—the brute power of weaponry exclusive to their hands, the spiritual bonding of men at arms, the manly discipline of orders given and orders obeyed, the simple logic of the hierarchical command “confirms for men what they long suspect, that women are peripheral, irrelevant to the world that counts, passive spectators to the action in the centre ring” (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 32). She continues to argue that in a system that normalizes the killing of another human, rape becomes a —by-product of the necessary game called war. Thus, even though rape as a weapon of war has been declared a war crime by the International Criminal Court it still persists today. In “*We are going to rape you and taste Tutsi women*”: *Rape During the 1994 Rwandan Genocide*, Mullins echoes this observation: “When women are property, women are plunder. Women have historically been considered spoils of war” (Mullins, 2009). This analysis of war time being a charged space for masculinity enactment is also echoed by Carlsen who argues that sexual violence during wartime is “motivated by the desire to exert control and power over women” and men who are perceived as feminine (Carlsen, 2009). Rape is a direct product of patriarchy, which places absolute power in one type of masculinity (Brown, 2012, p. 7) thus women, men who are perceived as feminine and other genders, are excluded and their ‘lesser’ place on the hierarchy driven home particularly during this period.

The much publicized example of Boko Haram’s kidnap of 276 girls from a Government Secondary School in Chibok to be given as ‘wives’ to members of the Terrorist group, the Democratic Republic of Congo being named the ‘rape capital of the world’ (Brown, 2012), ‘buck-breaking’ during slavery (Green, 2017) where black male slaves were raped by their white masters in front of their families to establish a power hierarchy, and rape during the civil war in Sierra Leone are a few of numerous examples of systemic rape used as a weapon of war. Rape is a weapon that instils fear,

intimidates and psychologically breaks down the mental health of a people through shame, humiliation and degradation of self-worth. Rape during war comes with numerous consequences; from contracting diseases to a diminished capability of returning to their normal lives the same. For men in an ethnic group whose women have been physically and psychologically brutalized (or they themselves), the rape serves as a means of establishing their weakness and in a sense, impotency. This is particularly so in patriarchal cultures where women's bodies are owned and controlled by men, because here, the men failed to protect their women (Brown, 2012).

In an investigation of sexual violence used during war in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo run by the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative and Oxfam International, it was found that mass rape was used —during cultural and ethnic cleansing as a means of polluting bloodlines and forcibly impregnating women to produce 'ethnically cleansed children' (VanRooyen, Bartels, Kelly 2010, p. 5). These 'ethnically cleansed' children have the blood of the enemy group and are often recognized as children of the enemy thus are open to stigma, maternal rejection and abandonment, and no sense of belonging to any group (VanRooyen, Bartels, Kelly, 2010).

Carlsen also places the psychological motivations of rape in war in the context of masculine enactment, stating that it is "motivated by the desire to exert control and power over women and men who are perceived as feminine." The rape that occurs during conflict "is a by-product of a system of patriarchy where power relations are hierarchical and motivated by masculinity" (Carlsen, 2009).

The next chapter examines rape, rape culture and gender roles.

2.4 Gender

In the above discussions on rape and rape culture, there is a frequent reference to masculinity and femininity and the roles or perceived roles they ought to play or not. This points to the linkages between rape, culture and the cultural narratives on Gender, the interpretation of gender roles as linked to the modus operandi of the nature of patriarchy.

Thus, Gender is an important conversation to have in examining a possible rape culture. A study of gender theory and how gender roles are decided and played out in society, as one would find in the report of case studies in chapter four, opens up to the reality that what people believe about theirs and others' gender roles is reflected in sexual behaviour. For instance, how a man treats a woman during sex, whether a man can report rape without being ridiculed, how a woman expresses or does not express her likes or dislikes during sex or who is generally perceived to be at fault for rape or abuse is influenced consciously or unconsciously by perceptions of gender people are socialized with, this chapter would attempt to show.

This chapter examines gender theory as posited by gender theorists, and through those lenses, examines what gender myths and misconceptions perpetuated in culture are. It will also examine the concept of Masculinities, as well as the theory of a hegemonic masculinity and how this feeds into an institutionalization of sexual violence.

2.4.1 On Gender Stereotypes, Power Relations and Sexual Culture

French feminist and philosopher Simone de Beauvoir quotes Aristotle in *The Second Sex* as saying “The female is female by virtue of a certain lack of qualities” (de Beauvoir, 1953).

She then goes on to expound on gender and power imbalance where men are perceived as the full human, ‘real’, whereas women are ‘othered’:

“And St Thomas in his turn decreed that woman was an ‘incomplete man,’ an ‘incidental’ being. This is what the Genesis story symbolises, where Eve appears as if drawn from Adam’s ‘supernumerary’ bone, in Bossuet’s words. Humanity is male, and man defines woman, not in herself, but in relation to himself; she is not considered an autonomous being... Thus Monsieur Benda declares in Uriel’s report: ‘A man’s body has meaning by itself, disregarding the body of a woman, whereas the woman seems devoid of meaning without reference to the male. Man thinks himself without woman. Woman does not think does without man.’ And she is nothing other than what man describes; she is thus called ‘the sex’, meaning that the male sees her essentially as a sexed being; for him she is sex, so she is it in the absolute... He is the Subject; he is the Absolute. She is the Other” (de Beauvoir, 1953, p. 9).

This imbalance in perceptions of woman and man brings in a conversation of power in the gendered relationships between men and women: who wields the power and who is to submit to the power.

“Now woman has always been, if not man’s slave, at least his vassal; the two sexes have never divided the world up equally; and still today, even though her condition is changing, woman is heavily handicapped. In no country is her legal status identical to man’s, and often it puts her at a considerable disadvantage. Even when her rights are recognized abstractly, long-standing habits keep them from being concretely manifested in customs... In addition to their [men] concrete power they are invested with a prestige whose tradition is reinforced by the child’s whole education: the present incorporates the past, and in the past all history was made by males.” (de Beauvoir, 1953, p. 15).

de Beauvoir describes women as complicit in this othering:

“Refusing to be the Other, refusing complicity with man, would mean renouncing all the advantages an alliance with the superior caste confers on them. Lord-man will materially protect liege-woman and will be in charge of justifying her existence... The man who sets the woman up as an *Other* will thus find in her a deep complicity. Hence woman makes no claim for herself as subject because she lacks the concrete means, because she senses the necessary link connecting her to man without its reciprocity, and because she often derives satisfaction from her role as *Other*” (de Beauvoir, 1953, p. 13).

Power and who wields it over another based on gender differentials is an important conversation to have, particularly, around the discussion of a possible rape culture. This is because rape is not about sexual desire but about power (Jewkes R; Sen P; Garcia-Moreno, 2002)

Gender thus plays a pivotal role in the institution of rape culture: the perception of which roles each gender must play, the suppression of one gender and the lording of another based on perceptions of these roles, who is usually blamed in rape or sexual abuse cases (Grubb & Behavior, 2012). This may just provide a context for a culture of violence that maintains a system of rape as we shall examine from previous studies below.

Learning Gender through the main avenues of family, religion, education (Boakye, 2009) has a significant impact on a culture of rape. The ideas of femininity and masculinity are not inborn but taught by society (Buchwald et al., 2005). A person may be born with a sex determination but does not possess innate knowledge of what being a girl or boy, or man or woman, means (Buchwald et al., 2005, p. 214). Thus, teaching girlhood and boyhood has been a societal function that starts from the family and is taken up by other social institutions, such as schools and religious institutions. In Accra, much like in most societies, when a child is born, he or she is born into the first most relevant institution of socialization: the family. The child's preliminary ideas of his or her gender are learnt at the feet of the mother (A. Ampofo, Boateng, & Shefer, 2007). If the child is a boy, in time, his father will take over the role of socialization to teach him 'how to become a man'. A girl remains under the tutelage of her mother (A. Ampofo et al., 2007). The domestic family structure in itself is a socialization tool (A. Ampofo et al., 2007). Ortner posits a universalized theory that the woman's —body seems to doom her to mere reproduction of life, thus makes her closer to nature and to home. Whereas man is closer to culture, superior to nature, and the world outside of home, creating legacies (Ortner, 1972).

Girls generally grow up in an atmosphere of gender-based pressure that defines femininity under very strict, subservient roles (Buchwald et al., 2005). Buchwald, Fletcher and Roth assert a universal approval, thus encouragement, for girls to be meek, docile, agreeable, obedient and submissive (Buchwald et al., 2005), not self-aware independent beings with their own rights. Buchwald argues that this does damage to girls growing up and creates a rape culture in that "the idealized woman, painted as Madonna, was portrayed with her head down, gaze lowered and averted. Girls were trained for subservience not for personal satisfaction..." therefore when contrasted with the entitlement and aggression of the hegemonic

masculinity, "...the fear of being sexually assaulted is simply not on a man's mind as it always is on a woman's" (Buchwald et al., 2005, p. 225).

Orton, a rape prevention educator, also highlights this state of fear for women from his experience working at a Rape Crisis centre in Texas where he describes a world which creates in women a sense of being at risk simply because they are women (Buchwald et al., 2005, p. 237).

Brownmiller makes references to 'female fear of an open season of rape' and female victimization in her analysis of the mass psychology of rape (Brownmiller, 2013). Rape, according to Brownmiller is a process of intimidation by which —all men keep all women in a state of fear (Brownmiller, 2013, p. 15), a thought which echoes the earlier assertion that rape is about power.

However, the gender dynamic to creating a rape culture does not affect only women. As seen in chapter one, the institution of a hegemonic masculinity means that there are consequences as well for men. These are the consequences of inflicting a hegemonic masculinity on men and boys such that notions like "'a real man' cannot be raped or sexually abused" silences male victims of rape or sexual abuse.

A discussion of power is a window into analysing who has agency and who is denied agency. This is because rape or sexual assault requires coercion in various forms (Jewkes R; Sen P; Garcia-Moreno, 2002).

The World report on violence by the World Health Organization posits about coercion and agency:

"Coerced sex may result in sexual gratification on the part of the perpetrator, though its underlying purpose is frequently the expression of power and dominance over the person assaulted.... Coercion can cover a whole spectrum of degrees of force. Apart from physical force, it may involve psychological intimidation, blackmail or other threats – for instance, the threat of physical harm, of being dismissed from a job or of not obtaining a job that is sought. It may also occur when the person aggressed is unable to give consent – for instance, while drunk, drugged, asleep or mentally incapable of understanding the situation" (Jewkes, Sen, and Garcia-Moreno, 2002, p. 3).

In the situations described in the above quote, the common denominator is the fact that the assailant takes away the agency of his or her victim whether it is by use of physical force to overcome the other person's body or psychological intimidation that disregards the victim's agency to consent or not consent.

On gender stereotypes and the subsequent misconceptions, as has been seen in the previous chapter in discussions on masculinities and femininities, human beings perform a multiplicity of masculinity and femininity, yet societal ascriptions to gender force us into dualities:

“Gender stereotypes are rooted in dualisms such as passive/assertive, strong/weak, irrational/rational, gentle/forceful, emotional/ distant and, as such, form a significant part of our everyday language and understanding. Without wishing to discount the importance of class, ethnicity, race and cultural capital, our sex/gender identity is probably most central to how we see ourselves and how others see us: it transcends all cultural boundaries, is not limited by access to wealth or education and is, other than via the surgical and legal processes of gender reassignment, unchangeable... These [myths] include the notion that gender is destiny; the belief that men are natural knowledge holders; the understanding that women are marginal to ‘his’ story; and the idea that a traditional gender dichotomy is a natural state and contributes to a ‘healthy’ society. Such ideologies and myths are rarely absent from any society or any culture” (Blackwell, 2012).

As stated in the above quote, our sex/gender identity is centralized in how we see ourselves and how we see others, therefore, socially constructed and harmful gender stereotypes can be said to play a crucial role in our sexual relations and a possible rape culture. For instance, a man who aims to match up to a social construction of men as aggressors and possessors and a woman socialized to be non-expressive during sex presents a situation where the woman’s agency and capacity for consent or non-consent is taken away.

Another example of a crucial and harmful way gender stereotyping is crucial to the conversation on a possible rape culture is in the field of pornography. From personal experience and focus group discussions conducted for this study, pornography has been a space for which the hegemonic masculinity has been allowed to play without any reins.

The usual trends in the sequence of a porn video are usually as follows: A long period of time is usually dedicated to the woman giving the man pleasure. In a video that is about an hour long, thirty minutes can be dedicated to filming the woman giving the man a blowjob. A glorification of the phallus, the ultimate symbol of manhood, has to be undertaken with enough emphasis. Very little time is usually dedicated to pleasing the woman; lubrication of a woman's vagina before actual intercourse is not given as much importance as the arousal and hardening of a man's penis. On the other hand, if time is dedicated to pleasing the woman, it is largely done in such a way as to promote the man's image of virility. The actors most times portray damaging and hurtful sex as pleasurable. However, the biggest sexual misconception popularized by pornography is that the women never orgasm. The video ends when the man achieves his orgasm. For quite some time, women's orgasms were thought to be a myth. Pornography, normatively, does not promote shared pleasure. The danger with pornography is, it often makes sex look like a King Kong-and-Jane affair, where the man overemphasizes his masculinity at the expense of the woman's sexual pleasure and denigration. Audre Lorde posits on pornography: "Pornography is a direct denial of the erotic, for it represents the suppression of true feeling."

Pornography emphasizes sensation without feeling. However, there are new directions in the pornography industry to promote more sex-positive and female-centred porn that presents a very different narrative to what has generally been the norm. In conclusion, with this context of gender stereotyping, power relations and their effects on sexual culture, the next few sections explore the conceptualization of gender, the cultural prescriptions and the notions of masculinity and femininity.

2.4.2 Gender and African Colonialism

African scholars have argued that the institution of gender was radically different before the violence of colonialism. Oyěwùmí, for instance, argues that Yorubas ‘do not do gender’ and that gender is a colonial construct. Oyěwùmí states categorically that,

“The social categories ‘men’ and ‘women’ were non-existent, and hence no gender system was in place. Rather, the primary principle of social organization was seniority, defined by relative age. The social categories ‘women’ and ‘men’ are social constructs deriving from the Western assumption that physical bodies are social bodies, an assumption...I named ‘body reasoning’ and a ‘bio-logic’ interpretation of the social world” (Oyěwùmí, 1997, p. 31).

Oyěwùmí also questions the nuclear family as the basis on which western feminist concepts about gender are rooted. Yoruba families are more extended than nuclear, which means there is a radically different structure of differentiation or non-differentiation. Therefore, these western feminist concepts that are universalized and are used to theorize about Africa are fundamentally flawed. African realities interpreted on these western claims are distorted (Oyewumi, 2002).

Aidoo, in discussing the Akan of Ghana, raises very different arguments about gender before colonialism. She argues that gender differentials did exist, however, unlike the weaker, ‘delicate’, and inferior role women were assigned to in Victorian England, African women were strong and fiercely independent. Unlike the culture of the colonizers in Africa, according to Aidoo, men and women shared the tasks of empire building. She illustrates this by examining the lives of some strong Fante and Ashanti women in political leadership and outside political leadership. With colonialism, however, came a new indoctrination, where African women’s roles were reduced to the western gender construct of womanhood and their power and independence was stripped from them. She bemoans this, saying, “The tragedy of the colonial experience for the African Woman then is that she has been set backwards and has been made to function in this century as if

on sufferance of colonial and post-colonial men, both European and African” (Aidoo, 1985).

However, Apusigah raises strong arguments against Oyěwùmí’s and by extension, Aidoo’s, blaming colonialism for the African gender problem today. She argues that “gender has cultural specific framings and multiple significations and as such its meanings differ from culture to culture. It will therefore be misleading and indeed colonizing to impose meanings that are oblivious of cultural diversity and its shaping and framing of social relationships and interactions. However, I will be quick to add that in today’s world, the fact of women’s subjugation is real and we cannot pin this solely on colonialism” (Apusigah, 2008).

The problem of gender has in fact, been exacerbated by colonialism. However, we must not overlook the injustices done to women in some African cultures (pre-colonially and post-colonially) based on their gender. In some patriarchal African ethnic groups, even though farming was mainly the woman’s job, she was not likely to own her own land which is distributed by the lineage to men of the lineage (Tripp, 2004). Also, with colonialism, neo-colonialism and (or in the form of) globalisation, many African societies today are riddled by a serious gender problem which is not just defined by local cultural stratifications, but also western cultural gender stratifications. More and more families in urban areas like Accra are becoming more nuclear, and developing as a sort of hybrid between the Western systems and African systems of extended families, thus, we may be inheriting the flaws of the western nuclear family from which western feminists like Ortner drew the basis for the western gender problem. Despite this, there has been an advantage of globalization in that many countries today have instituted progressive and

protected laws around women's rights and agencies, and global organizations like the UN, of which many African countries are member states, require that countries work towards achieving gender equality and equity on all levels.

2.4.3 Femininity

Another very important concept to unpack is the feminist perspective of femininity. This section will provide a general overview into discourses on femininity. Femininity, what it is, its ideal by those who belong to the category, and its ideal as crafted by patriarchy is a big conversation which has been discussed, given form and given reality in different media of feminist discourse such as through academia, and through fictional literature.

In Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, she ruminates philosophically on what femininity has been under patriarchy:

“If there is no such thing today as femininity, it is because there never was. Does the word ‘woman’ then have no content? It is what advocates of Enlightenment philosophy, rationalism or nominalism vigorously assert: women are, among human beings, merely those who are arbitrarily designated by the word ‘woman’...But nominalism is a doctrine that falls short...Certainly, woman like man is a human being...Clearly no woman can claim without bad faith to be situated beyond her sex” (de Beauvoir, 1953, p. 5).

Comparing masculinity and femininity to electrical poles, she contemplates on the ‘otherization’ of woman where a masculinity has meaning in of itself but femininity “does not think of herself without man” (de Beauvoir, 1953).

De Beauvoir raises a relevant dynamic to the definition and conceptualization of femininity, which is the gendered power structure that is an inevitable part of a discussion on femininity. Through patriarchy, according to feminist theorists, women have been

made subordinate to men, and they only achieve higher status if they perform a prescriptive set of normative feminine behaviour defined by patriarchy (Collins, 2002).

Tamale states how, “[i]n effect African women are relegated to second class citizenship. Domesticating women subordinates their citizenship, as women are less likely to participate in those activities that are associated with citizenship...Society, which perceives them as wives and mothers, persistently refuses to register them in in a non-domestic space” (Tamale, 2004)

Like the concept of a variety of masculinities, there are a variety of femininities, though a dominant femininity with specific characterizations is made hegemonic (Collins, 2002). These specific characterizations Collins identifies as beauty, demeanor, marriage and family arrangements, sexuality, and race (Collins, 2002). This hegemonic femininity is popularized through the cultural mediums such as through the family institution and the media (Cole & Zucker, 2007).

In sexual relationships, a patriarchal definition of femininity is therefore supposed to centre masculinity in its expression. Women are taught to mute themselves or silence their desire whereas men are taught the opposite.

Women who are sexually assertive are generally sanctioned by labelling and other-ing them as whores or sluts (Tamale, 2011). And there is a contradictory idea that women are supposed to be virginal yet men are allowed to be wildly expressive and pursuant of their sexual needs. Nigerian feminist writer Chimamanda Adichie in her Ted Talk “We Should All be Feminists” references the paradox of this contradiction:

“We teach girls that they cannot be sexual beings in the way girls are. If we have sons, we don't mind knowing our sons girlfriends but our daughters boyfriends, god forbid...we police girls. We praise girls for virginity but we don't praise boys for virginity and its

always made me wonder how exactly this is supposed to work out...” (—We should all be feminists,” Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie | TEDxEuston – YouTube,” 2013).

Audre Lorde states on this muting of female erotic desire and consequently agency to pursue one’s desire:

“Women have been taught to suspect the erotic urge, the place that is uniquely female. So, just as we tend to reject our blackness because it has been termed inferior, as women we tend to reject our capacity for feeling, our ability to love, to touch the erotic, because it has been devalued. But it is within this that so much lies of our power, our ability to posit, our vision. Because once we know how deeply we can feel, we begin to demand from all of our life pursuits that they be in accordance with these feelings...”(Lorde, 2012, p. 53).

To expand on this beyond the subject of erotica to who is to blame in cases of sexual violations, below is a relevant point Adichie makes about the female body and shame:

“[We have been] raised to think of women as inherently guilty. And they have been raised to expect so little of men that the idea of men as savage beings with no control is somehow acceptable. We teach girls shame, close your legs, cover yourself. We make them feel as though by being born female they are already guilty of something and so girls grow up to be women who cannot say they have desire. They grow up to be women who silence themselves...and they grow up to be women who have turned pretense into an art form” (“We should all be feminists | Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie | TEDxEuston - YouTube,” 2013)

This shame silences and in cases of sexual violations promotes victim-blaming and protects the perpetrator. By setting masculinity and femininity at these great odds, with man as taker and who is allowed to take as much he wants while woman is supposed to receive and compromise, one sets up a predator-prey situation between the two, particularly in sexual situations. This therefore gives rise to normalizing abuse or rape.

However, through the same mediums including artistic cultural mediums such as feminist literature [through writers like Ama Ata Aidoo, Buchi Emecheta, Alice Walker, Chimamanda Adichie], and feminist and women empowerment activism, there has been a movement to “forge self-definitions of self-reliance and Independence” (Collins, 2002).

It is therefore through this lens, acknowledging the contention of femininity and who defines it, that this study seeks to research a possible rape culture in Accra, analysing a gendered society, and how this gendering perpetuates a harmful and violent rape culture.

2.4.4 Masculinities

“The term masculinity signifies a collective gender identity and not a natural attribute. It is socially constructed, fluid, resulting in diverse forms across different times and contexts, and mediated by socio-economic position, race, ethnicity, religion, age, geographic location and other local factors, making it more appropriate to refer to *masculinities*”(A. Ampofo et al., 2007). The authors’ mention of *masculinities*, suggests that there is no single reality of masculinity but a range of masculinities. Masculinity defines male behaviour and other physical and social traits they must adopt such as dress, qualities they must possess and what they should succeed at in order to succeed at masculinity (A. Ampofo et al., 2007). Arguments have thus been raised about a hegemonic masculinity which has become the dominant form of masculinity society generally ascribes to and pressures males to become in order to be ‘real men’ (Morrell, 1998).

“Hegemonic masculinity is described as the dominant form of masculinity in a society and pertains to the relations of cultural domination by men. In addition to being oppressive for women, hegemonic masculinity silences other masculinities, placing these in opposition to itself in such a way that the values expressed by these other constructions of masculinity do not have currency or legitimacy, and presents a version of how men should behave and how putative ‘real men’ do” (Morrell, 1998).

In Ghana, boys and men who fail to live up to this form of masculinity are ridiculed and named, in Akan being referred to as *bemaa-basia*, 'female man' or '*kojo basia*'" (A. Ampofo et al., 2007).

On the multiplicity of Masculinities as opposed to the myth of one masculinity, Ratele states in his article *Male sexualities and Masculinities* (Kopano, 2011).

"Some of the most important lessons we have learned from the critical study of men concerns their diversity, their multiplicity and their differences. We know that men are not all the same. We know that there is more than one expression of masculinity'. And we know that Gay Masculinity is one form of African Masculinity" (Ratele, 2011, p. 408)

From the definition of 'Masculinities' above, one notes that there is no single masculinity but different masculinities because men occupy the whole gamut of economic positions, race, ethnicities, geographic locations, emotionalities, etc.; all these various positions men occupy will define men and their masculinities very differently, even for men who occupy a single geographic location (Tamale, 2011, p. 406).

Also, by nature, one boy or man is different from another, meaning; everyone possesses an individualism that is his own. However, gender roles as assigned by society have proven more of a social construct and not based on the natural inclinations of human beings. A hegemonic masculinity is formed and all other masculinities silenced by ridicule or made taboo.

What are the ideal traits of the hegemonic masculinity and how does it link to sex, rape and rape culture? In a study conducted of 30 Ghanaian boys aged between ages 11 and 15, Adomako Ampofo, Boateng and Shefer's discoveries fit perfectly with the portrait of the hegemonic

masculinity. Adolescents were chosen because “styles of gender and social interaction between males and females are ‘rehearsed’ during adolescence” (A. Ampofo et al., 2007, p. 41).

Research carried out with and among adolescent boys around the world suggests that viewing women as sexual objects, use of coercion to obtain sex and viewing sex from a performance-oriented perspective often begins in adolescence or even in childhood and may continue into adulthood (A. Ampofo et al., 2007, p. 41)

The definition of manhood (the hegemonic masculinity) gleaned from this study positions the ultimate man as the provider of the home. Ideally, his wife should not need to work but stay at home to tend to his domestic needs while he solely provides money and resources for the home. Girls are socialized to seek a man that can support them (A. Ampofo et al., 2007).

“The Victorian moral principle of the male breadwinner and overall head of the household has created a situation where today men feel compelled to ‘provide’ for their families and experience their masculinity as threatened if they are unable to fulfil this role” (A. Ampofo et al., 2007).

This statement is revelatory of the fact that Ghanaians inherited some flaws of the Victorian patriarchal era.

Household chores are not ‘manly.’ Boys begin to relinquish house chores like doing the laundry sweeping or cooking in adolescence (A. Ampofo et al., 2007). It is an important marker of the transition to manhood. Those are women’s duties. The ultimate man must lead and control the woman and not the other way round. A man who is controlled by his wife is usually referred to (insulted) as a woman.

Decision-making in the home is the prerogative of a man. His wife must seek his permission before she takes certain actions, like visiting her parents. It is the status of marriage that confers these rights on a man (A. Ampofo et al., 2007). In light of the above reference, a wife seems more like a glorified slave and can be at risk to aggression from her male protector. Ironically, 5212 cases of 17655 cases reported to the Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit of the Ghana Police service in 2014 were cases of wife battery and assault. Many women, due to the socialization, also seem to accept violence from intimate partners as inherent to the relationship.

In all of these descriptions of the hegemonic masculinity, one crucial point is the subtext of violence (Hickey, 2001; Hearn, 2012). In “Challenging Violence in Schools: An issue of Masculinities”, Mills states:

“Through hegemonic masculinity, the attributes of strength, rationality and supremacy over those (constructed as) ‘inferior’ become normalised referents around which masculine performance is produced and policed... hegemonic masculinity is not only signified by violence but that it is also a signifier of violence. To be sure, masculinity is signified by violence when acts of violence and domination are deemed legitimate as a means of defending this subject position.” (Hickey, 2001)

Ramphela, talking about situations in South Africa, identifies violence as the anchor on which this hegemonic masculinity rests. Through violence a man becomes a man and through violence he expresses confusion of his de-gendering. This de-gendering occurs when the traditional definition of manhood has been made irrelevant in a time of racial, economic and political subjugation. They express their confusion by beating up their women, female bodies they have been socialized to despise, who are now playing key roles in their facilitating their survival in a harsh world (Ramphela & Das, 2000).

Adomako Ampofo also highlights how men experience their masculinity as threatened if they are unable to fulfil this role.

2.4.5 The Hegemonic Masculinity and sex

In sex and sexual relations, Ratele (2011) asserts that in many parts of post-colonial Africa, a significant theme of being a man revolves around sex:

“Manliness is closely associated with our sexual partner(s), the sexual appeal of our partner(s), the size of our penises, the claims we make about our sexual stamina, whether we can maintain a healthy erection and how virile we are” (Ratele, in Tamale, 2011, p. 399).

Under the umbrella of being a ‘real man,’ matching up to the stereotype of a hegemonic masculinity, women are viewed as simply sexual objects. The more women a man can ‘bed’, the more ‘manly’ he is; a man is encouraged to ‘sow his wild oats’ (Ratele, 2011). Kopano Ratele asserts that “fucking women might be an important theme in the narrative of how a male is identified as appropriately manly in different cultures” (Ratele, in Tamale, 2011, p. 413). The image of the ‘player’ or in more outdated terms, ‘playboy’, is a glorified image in popular culture. In music, particularly hiphop, both Western and Ghanaian, it is not uncommon to hear rappers boast about their stacks of cash and their ‘girls’ (women are often reduced to girls as property and equated to stacks of cash). The image of woman as ‘gold digger’ is quite popular too, in not just hiphop but also in Ghanaian folklore (Oduyoye, 1995, p. 47). Painting the picture of a woman as a gold digger has the subconscious effect of giving men the justification to despise and disrespect women’s bodies. Ghanaian teenage boys growing up are socialized by these criteria of manhood and internalize the misconception that it is okay for a man to cheat in relationships because to achieve manhood, a man must be in multiple relationships.

It is actually a fun and gleeful conversation between men about their multiple relationships and the ‘exciting’ risks involved in being caught. A man gets praise from his fellow men from being a suave ‘player’, and even admiration from women because he is living out the ultimate masculinity, ‘expressing the might of the dominant masculinity’ (Ratele in Tamale, 2011, p. 411). The emotions and humanity of women do not play centralized roles here. This gender socialization is disseminated via sociocultural mediums (Ratele in Tamale, 2011, p.415).

From personal experiences and focus group discussions convened for this study, below are some findings made:

In relationships, men are socialized to be the one that does the approaching, the ‘chasing’ (playing the leadership role). A woman must expect to be approached or chased (she follows). A woman who plays the leadership role by doing the approaching is considered as too sexually liberated, and in base terms, a whore. In public spaces in Accra, every woman is virtually the prey to any man (if she is not accompanied by another man). Any man who ‘wants to take a shot’ (Ratele in Tamale 2011) can approach her because of the sense of entitlement the hegemonic masculinity teaches men. This does not end when it comes to professional environments like offices. It is not uncommon to find male work colleagues asking female colleagues for hugs and passing sexual comments about their looks and clothing in a work environment. The woman’s body is generally perceived as the man’s property though he may have to go through certain social conventions to declare rights of ownership. However, the frightening truth is, with or without social conventions, there is the general perception that a woman’s body is to be owned not shared by agreement and her consent. Sex is perceived as something a man takes from a woman.

In sex, the general perception amongst modern Ghanaians is that a man loses nothing, but a woman loses her virtue. This mindset places the man in a superior position and women as helpless in acknowledging their sexuality.

Therefore with these ideas about a patriarchal hegemonic, and heterosexual masculinity, rape culture is perpetuated amongst people who are in the LGBTQI+ [Acronym for persons who identify as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Pansexual, Trans, Queer, Intersex, while ‘+’ makes accommodation ‘for everything on the gender and sexuality spectrum that letters and words can’t yet describe’ (Gold, 2018)] community in homophobic environments. In Ghana, being homosexual is against the law classified under “unnatural carnal knowledge” and “sodomy.” Ratele examines how the power structure of the hegemonic masculinity affects male same-sex desire:

The mere existence of male-to-male African sexuality makes those who swing that way objects of fear and hate within the dominant sexual system. Males who like penises instead of vaginas are made into outlaws...an outsider within societies in which patriarchal heterosexual masculinity is normative. Men who love other men end up as objects of homophobic rage because such love disturbs a cornerstone of patriarchal heterosexual power in that it shows that men are not of one mind and feeling when it comes to sexuality. Men who eroticize men instead of women engender a potential crisis in ruling ideas of true masculinity (Ratele, in Tamale, 2011, p. 408)

One can see how, in the same vein women who sexually prefer other women challenge the system of power in a patriarchal, and heterosexual hegemony that requires women to be desire pots for men. In some patriarchal societies, corrective rape of women who love women is a common practice in order make them ‘straight’ (Harrison, 2009). In South Africa for instance, thirty-one lesbians have been reported murdered in homophobic

attacks since 1998, but support groups say the actual number is probably much higher because crimes on the basis of sexual orientation are not recognised in the South African criminal justice system (Harrison, 2009)

2.5 Institutionalized Sexual Violence

The discussion on gender and the ideas of a hegemonic masculinity and femininity, how gender stereotypes are disseminated and imbibed, draws in the discussion of institutionalization; that is the institutionalization of notions and beliefs about gender and the consequent institutionalized violence that comes with it. The idea of institutionalized violence presupposes that violence is widespread and ongoing (Buchwald et al., 2005, pp. 89, 90). This is therefore a relevant discussion to have on the subject of a possible rape culture. As discussed in reviewed literature in chapter one, rape is violence, thus understanding the nature of how violence is institutionalized is crucial to the study of a possible rape culture in Accra. Institutionalized violence expresses itself through various human institutions such as the system of law, the institution of marriage, religious institutions, family systems, etc; Adams argues here that there are interrelated factors to institutionalized violence:

- a. The failure to acknowledge another's inviolability
- b. Ongoing conditions of abuse and injury
- c. A series of denial mechanisms that deflect attention from the violence. This includes false naming and no calls made for accountability.
- d. Institutional violence targets 'appropriate' victims, where appropriate victims are people to whom rape is 'natural and inevitable because they are not viewed as the normative person but as property.'

e. Identifiable detrimental effects on society as a whole (Buchwald et al., 2005, p. 95)

The incidences of prison rape (more specifically, men's rape of men in prisons) have become institutionalized in that prison rape is a consequence of the violent subculture's definition of masculinity. Those who proved physical strength triumphed and those who were weaker (classified consciously or subconsciously as 'women') were most in danger of abuse and rape (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 267).

As part of the collection of essays on rape culture in *Transforming a Rape Culture*, Marie M. Fortune's essay *Sexual Abuse by Religious Leaders* (Buchwald, et al., 2005) argues that institutional protection agenda uses a range of means to protect religious institutions being accountable for their part in perpetuating a rape culture (Buchwald et al., 2005). Some of these means are their history of non-disclosure to authorities and their non-action (to protect clergymen), allocating a huge amount of funds in legal fees to protect religious leaders while it shuns victims and survivors, and using scripture to avoid action. For example, 'Judge not that you not be judged' (Buchwald et al., 2005, p. 197) or 'Touch not my anointed.' Fortune asserts that this language confuses and distorts reality thus reducing the gravity of the violent action, particularly in the common case where there are liturgies that immediately focus on forgiveness. It develops policies whose sole purpose is to protect the institution from liability and most importantly, it resists reform at all costs (Buchwald et al., 2005). The Catholic Church has come under fire in the last few decades for what was discovered as a massive institutionalized cover up of the rape of altar boys by priests.

Continuing the discussion on institutionalized violence, moving to the institution of marriage, Yvette G. Flores' essay on sexual violence in Latino marriages highlights deep-seated, institutionalized beliefs about men and women's roles in marriage, which perpetuates a culture of sexual violence. She puts into context the central role the *familismo* plays in Latino societies and delineates how the expectations of women and wives in this central structure allows for their sexual victimization (Buchwald et al., 2005, p. 133):

- a. Men are expected to provide materially and women emotionally

- b. Women are expected to anticipate and meet a man's every need, particularly his emotional ones, so he will not even know he has such needs. However,

Flores argues that —if a man is unable to recognize his own emotional needs, he will be incapable of recognizing such needs in others (Buchwald et al., 2005, p. 133)

- c. Within patriarchal cultures, men are socialized to expect (if not demand) absolute loyalty from their partners and children.

These fundamentalist notions of the family institution have such heavy consequences which include the isolation of women in abusive relationships and their continued, thus, institutionalized, victimization. Interviewing a Latina woman (Magda) who had been severely abused and raped by her husband, Flores shares Magda's view of what happened to her: "I was told that as a wife it was my responsibility to have sex with him when he wanted it, even if I didn't. I didn't know I had the right to say no. Besides, when I did, he got mad and hit me" (Buchwald et al., 2005, p. 134).

These ideologies are not far removed from Accra society. Archampong, in analysing marital rape in Ghana as a women's equality issue posits:

“Women are socialized to be passive and acquiescent sexual partners in marriage. This situation under statutory and customary law has led to the denial of women's full personhood and their treatment as their husband's property” (E. A. Archampong, 2010, p. 3).

In a 2005 statistical overview of violence against women in Ghana, findings on rape revealed:

“...Male respondents were asked whether they have forced and had sex with any woman (whether a wife or a girlfriend) against her wishes. Eight percent (8%) of the females said they have had that experience before and 5% of the men also said they had forced sex on their wives and girlfriends. According to the males, this happens when women/girls always request for money from them and deny them sex in return. It is also meant to settle a quarrel between them. In certain cases respondents claimed that some girls challenge men by saying they are sexually weak and some wives deny husbands sex sometimes. On the question of what action was taken after these acts, 59% said they never reported these actions to anybody” (Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2005).

Ghana's 2003 Demographic and Health Survey indicated that there is also a widespread belief that a husband is entitled to sexual intercourse from his wife at his behest and may enforce this entitlement by force. 19.8 per cent of men, and surprisingly 34 per cent of women, consider it acceptable for a husband to beat his wife, if she goes out without telling him. Respondents indicated that to protect their family women are often expected to silently endure abuse and to report husbands or other family members to the authorities may mean being ostracized (Ghana Statistical Service & Noguchi Memorial Institute for Medical Research, 2004)

In other research by the Gender Centre, it was found that 20% of women interviewed indicated that their male partners had prevented them from seeing family and friends and 33% had their partners preventing them from speaking to other men. 10% of women interviewed had their earnings taken away from them by their male partners while 8% were prohibited from going to work, selling or making money (Coker-Appiah & Cusack, 1999).

It is evident from the above statistics that violence within marriage in Ghana may also possess institutionalized beliefs about men and women's roles in marriage which perpetuate a culture of sexual violence.

2.6 SIGNS OF A RAPE CULTURE

From all the discussions above that intertwine research done on gender, rape and rape culture, below are characteristics of a rape culture that have been culled out from the above as everyday signs of a rape culture as they are expressed in society:

- Victim-blaming means that victims are likely not to report a rape for fear of being disbelieved, blamed or being treated like a pariah.
- Examples of Victim blaming are questions like: "Why were you dressed that way?", "Why did you go there at that time?" "Why did you drink?"
- When perpetrators of rape seem to be protected while their victims are shamed making it difficult to report rape and find justice ("I killed stories to save KKD - Journalist claims - Ghana Business News," 2015)
- Heavy stigma attached to rape such that the victim is seen as 'soiled' in some way and 'imperfect'
- When a victim of rape is treated with incredulity and slut shamed.

- When religious leaders, who generally command immense respect in Africa, advise victims to ‘forgive and forget’ their attackers, yet this forgiveness often does not include any language of justice for the victim of rape.
- When you cannot trust media, traditional or social, to call for justice on a victim’s behalf.
- When the media’s reportage to rape allows for re-victimization by promoting scepticism and abuse of victims.
- When society normalizes and trivializes sexual violence
- Using mitigating language to talk about rape. For instance, when the media refers to a serial rapist as a ‘playboy’, and when journalists euphemize rape as ‘sex’
- When a male victim of rape is met with scepticism and ridicule.
- A blurred understanding of Consent
- Where there is the idea of a ‘Perfect Victim’, in whose case society will rally around to protect and punish the attacker. This Perfect Victim is usually a child of toddling age. For all others who do not fit the specifications of the Perfect Victim, the other signs above apply.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has been a review of the key concepts in this research: patriarchy, rape, gender, and rape culture. I have also attempted in this chapter to define rape culture as well as state what everyday signs of a rape culture manifest in. This would prove relevant to the case studies in Chapters four and five. Chapter three explores the theory of consent, and situates its necessity philosophically and culturally in sexual dealings and relationships.

CHAPTER THREE

A Philosophical and Cultural Analysis of Consent and Consent Culture

3.1 Introduction

This chapter unpacks the theory and practice of Consent. It will seek to answer the questions: What is Consent? How does it occur and under what circumstances is it valid or not? What is consent? What does it mean to say that someone consented to having sex with another person? This chapter will also seek to provide a philosophical angle of the value of consent, its necessity in human relationships, particularly sexual relationships for the purpose of this paper.

3.2 Defining Consent

In Snapp's 'A Theory of Consent in Sexual Relations,' he quotes John Kleinig who describes the actions or process of consent thus:

“a three-place relationship, in which A consents to B, rendering it permissible for B to X, A must be an agent of sufficient maturity. By “agent” I mean a rational, autonomous person capable of moral reasoning. Maturity is a relevant factor because we often believe that children, though they may be somewhat rational, are not rational enough to make certain decisions on their own. Children are not allowed to sign contracts, for example” (Snapp, 2016, p. 8).

Why does B have to receive A's consent in order to activate the possibility of action X?

Why does B not simply go ahead to perform action X? For B to have to seek consent in order to render action X permissible, there is an implication that A possesses an autonomy, a natural and legal right to autonomy and agency which B must respect by virtue of natural human rights. Article 1 of the Universal Declaration

of Human rights asserts that, “All humans are born free and equal in dignity and rights” (Assembly, 1995). We believe and live by these codes in a desire to prevent harm, to allow for a peaceful free and fair world without violence or chaos, a world where every human being is given an equal chance to exist and live. Every human being possesses dignity simply because we exist.

In Akan ontology, this belief in a person born with dignity takes on a cosmological level. Antwi asserts that, “this dignity stems from the belief that the individual is created by Onyakopon (Supreme Being). In the Akan worldview, as in all African societies, a person is not “a thing or a number” but something valuable than these. Whether a person is known or not, respect is expected to be accorded to him or her. Respect for an individual, which is accompanied by acceptable good behaviour, is highly regarded in African culture” (Antwi, 2017).

In an excellent analysis of the inherent value of autonomy, Snapp writes,

“Why do we value autonomy though? Without going too deep into philosophy of autonomy, a simple rather uncontentious answer would be that autonomy is a necessary condition, if not sufficient condition, for freedom. If someone is acting autonomously, then they at least have the potential for acting freely. Freedom is something that we value greatly. We can either claim that freedom’s value is intrinsic, in and of itself, or we could justify it in terms of being necessary for an agent’s well-being. Either way, it is obvious that autonomy and freedom are closely linked, and therefore consent and freedom are as well” (Snapp, 2016, p. 10).

Thus to say that Ama consented to Kofi is to say that Kofi acknowledged and respected Ama’s inherent dignity by seeking her consent in order to render his action permissible. Consent draws the line between theft and a gift. It draws the line between breaking into someone’s house and visiting someone (Hurd, 1996). It draws the line between violence and peace in social relations.

For consent to happen, a social context is a necessary condition, because it requires the involvement of two or more parties. Thus, consent may be a defined code for human social relations, which is based on the necessity to exist freely and to do this by acknowledging the natural dignity and right of every human being. Thus, because of this code we live by, every human being possesses sexual rights by virtue of humanity. Snapp asserts that to ignore consent (or dissent as the case may be) is to disregard the autonomy of the person (Snapp, 2016). Consent therefore draws the line between rape and sex.

Consent makes permissible that which would normally be impermissible (Snapp, 2016, p. 9). Therefore, if Ama consents to Kofi having sex with her, she has waived her right to bodily autonomy until such time as she withdraws her consent. Waiving her right does not mean she relinquishes total control to Kofi. It simply means a permission given to engage on Ama's decided terms by virtue of her natural sexual rights over her body. And by virtue of these rights, she can withhold her consent on different levels or withdraw it completely as and when she feels the need or want to. For instance, Ama can consent to kissing Kofi but this does not mean automatic consent to petting or sex. Kofi would need to seek her consent to go further than kissing. Ama, though she gave her consent to share a kiss with Kofi, can withdraw consent at any time she so wishes. In another example, Ama can send or encourage flirtatious messages from Kofi, but this is not automatic implied consent for Kofi to assume this is consent to sex. Intention and information are also very important for what Hurd calls 'valid consent' (Hurd, 1996b). The consent-holder needs to know what and how much they are agreeing to, to decide freely and voluntarily to participate, thus expressing my intent to participate. Snapp writes of Valid Consent:

“Consent is valid if and only if (1) the consent-holder has the same intention as the consent-seeker - the intention being such that if the consent-holder did not hold that intention, then the consent-seeker’s action would be impermissible - and (2) the action which the consent-seeker wishes to perform must match the consent-holder’s mental description of it. To clarify the point regarding matching mental descriptions: if A thinks the surgery she is about to receive is just the removal of her wisdom teeth, but she wakes up to find the dentist took out all of her lower teeth and replaced them with dentures, then the consent was not valid because her mental description did not match the actual act.” (Snapp, 2016)

Consent is also on-going. For instance, if Ama consented to having sex with Kofi last Monday, it does not mean that it is automatic for Kofi to assume she wants sex this Monday. Also, it does not mean if Ama agreed at the bar where she met Kofi that they could have sex, and they end up in her house, kissing and heavily petting, she cannot withdraw her consent for sex. Consent is on-going because of the human code of ethic we live by that recognizes human dignity, thus intrinsic sexual rights.

However, there are situations where even if Ama gives her consent, this consent is considered invalid because of the code of ethics of respecting natural human sexual rights. This occurs when Ama is under any condition that would affect her ability to make rational decisions. These conditions include (but are not limited to): intoxication or drug-induced state (this varies according to person under consideration because of the variance in tolerance levels), extreme mental impairment, immaturity (not being of a sufficient age. Also, this age of sufficiency changes according from country to country), and extreme emotional duress (Snapp, 2016, p. 19). Thus the mental state, intention and information are important factor in discerning valid consent, though admittedly there is contention in cases of inebriation or drug inducement and even levels of emotional and psychological duress. This leads to an examination of the expression of consent and its ambiguous nature.

Entering a sexual relationship contains its risks, be it physical, emotional, psychological, etc, and the expression of consent or non-consent plays a deciding factor in the levels to these risks. Wertheimer argues about there being the need for public communication of consent (Wertheimer, 1996). A clear and enthusiastic 'yes' or 'no' is a clear expression of consent or non-consent. Asking for someone's consent to an act, and having them respond 'yes' or 'no' gives little room for doubt as to whether or not you have permission to proceed (Snapp, 2016).

However, the conversation of expression gets even murkier. Body language can be included in this conversation of consent. An enthusiastic 'yes' and accordant body language is clear, valid consent. But is the clear expression of 'yes' a necessary condition to achieve consent? What about a married couple who have long developed a pattern of behaviour after years of sexual familiarity that does not always include one partner asking, 'can we have sex?' in order to get an enthusiastic 'yes'? For instance, Ama knows from experience when Kofi smiles coyly in a certain way he is expressing interest and consent for sex due to repeated patterns of his sexual behaviour towards her which exhibited this specific behaviour. In such a case, one would be hard-pressed to call it a disregard of consent because they have developed a new and unique personal system of asking and giving consent.

This of course is very different from cases of marital rape, where an enthusiastic 'no' or unwelcoming body language or non-consent expressed in the couple's personally unique system of consent is disregarded. This is also of course a very different conversation in the case of say, Ama and Kofi who met for the first time at a bar. Commencing sexual relations, being their first time, it would be prudent to ask for consent in order to avoid any risks. Kofi cannot assume that Ama's presence in a bar means she is looking for someone to have sex with her.

Therefore, this will not be automatic consent to assume sexual rights over her body. Or if Ama allows him into her home, agrees to kissing and petting, Kofi cannot assume automatic consent without public communication for sex. Assuming automatic consent because of her presence in a bar, for instance, is an example of when consent and gender role-stereotyping come into play.

In cases of inebriation or drug use, the contention is even stronger. A popular point of contention is, if the victim of a rape can use his/her inebriation as proof that their consent was invalid, can an accused rapist who was also inebriated use this as proof that they were not acting as rational agents? Where would responsibility or blame lie? This is even more difficult to answer when one appreciates facts of people having very different tolerant levels to alcohol for instance.

Also, in cases of emotional or psychological duress, the communication of consent is also murky. Ama may agree to sex with her lecturer Kofi, who insists on this in order to not fail her. She may agree to do this, which sounds very much like consent, especially if she is of sufficient age and maturity. However, one needs to ask what informed her decision to consent? Would she have consented to have sex with Kofi otherwise if the condition of failing her was non-existent? In another variation of an example, if Kofi consents to sex because Ama has threatened to end their relationship if he does not, is his consent to have sex under this condition valid? What about cases of peer pressure, particularly in teenage sex? Where is the line drawn? It is therefore important to look at what's informing the decision to consent. Valid and informed consent is extremely important. Consent needs to be given from a place of freedom where one feels 100% sure about their decision.

A description of how Consent is defined in Ghanaian law can be found in Chapter one under section “Law and Rape Culture.”

To include another dimension to this discussion of consent from an African philosophical point of view, I reference the Southern African humanist philosophy of Ubuntu, often translated to mean, “I am because we are.” What does it mean to be human? What does it mean to acknowledge another person’s humanity? It means acknowledging and accepting the intrinsic worth and dignity of every human being and having one’s actions reflect this respect. It means practising the act of seeking consent. Ubuntu asserts that humanity is performative and communitarian; society confers this humanity. Therefore, when a person behaves according to custom, a Sotho-speaking person would say “ke motho” which means “he/she is human.” This is similar to Akan philosophy, Wiredu asserts, where one is not born a person but becomes one through events and experiences that lead one to act ethically (McClean et al., 2010). This is especially relevant in the discussion of Consent, a process, as has been seen above, which is essentially a social act. Snapp asserts eloquently: “Rape is one of the most obvious and detestable examples of a violation of the formula of humanity. It is a complete disregard of someone’s desires and well-being. So to truly value consent is to subscribe to the formula of humanity, at least to some extent” (Snapp, 2016, p. 11).

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to analyse Consent as a philosophy and humanist approach to human action. It has also attempted to unpack the complexities in situations of consent, as well as provide an African ontological point of view of human dignity to provide another angle to appreciating on the necessity of recognizing every human

being's inherent dignity which needs to be respected. This is to provide a backdrop for the case studies analysed in the next chapter where consent is a recurring discussion.

CHAPTER FOUR

On Rape and Sexual Abuse Cases, and Rape Culture

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines interviews with survivors of rape or sexual harassment or abuse and through the interviews seeks to highlight cultural attitudes that defined their experience of rape, sexual harassment or abuse. Questions that this chapter will seek to answer are: How easy is it to acknowledge rape/abuse/harassment? How easy is it to report? Do survivors have a clear sense of what to do or who to go to when they have been raped/abused/harassed? What are their family's/friends'/colleague's/acquaintances' responses to the rape or harassment? How helpful are the justice systems in dealing with rape cases? Do survivors suffer post-abuse trauma and how long can this go on? Are survivors believed and supported? What is the usual treatment given to the perpetrator of the abuse or rape?

As stated in chapter one under Methodology, all names used in all cases are fictitious in order to protect the identities of all parties involved.

4.2 Case Study I

Jane, 19 years of age, was a level 200 student in the university. Her alleged rapist John, 27 years of age, worked part time at the University as a yoga instructor at the University's gym where Jane frequented. They struck a cordial relationship when Jane started dating his friend Kofi. Once, Jane complained to John about some difficulty she was having with some mathematical assignment. He offered to help her

with it when he was free. When it drew close to the date of submission for the assignment, she reached out to send a reminder that he had said he would help her with her assignment. He told her to come to his office in Tema, where his second job was, because he was not on campus. She went to his office and waited while he worked. After, he invited her to follow him home because he had closed from work and was tired and would like to help her from there. She was hesitant, worried about the time she would get back to campus, but she followed. On the way, he said that he wanted to get drinks and they stopped for drinks. Finally, at his home, she hoped they would get to the purpose of what she had come there for but he did not. Instead he locked the door and started making advances on her. She told him ‘no’ repeatedly and said she was not interested in him sexually. He stopped the first time and then went back at making sexual advances while she tried to fend him off with her hands. This eventually ended up with him forcing her down and raping her. And when she tried to push him off, he held her tightly and told her ‘I just want to cum.’ He had an orgasm and promptly fell asleep next to her. In the morning, with very little words but morning greetings, he gave her money for a taxi back to school. Below are reactions she got from people related to her in various ways:

- a. Her boyfriend, Kofi [also a very good friend of the rapist] said he was disappointed in her, called her a whore and a liar and refused to believe her when she told him that his friend had raped her. He later on became verbally abusive to her. He also colluded with his friend John to monitor if she was going to report to the police or not.
- b. Her father was livid and threatened to kill the rapist. He then asked her why she followed him to his house. He then said, “I’ve told you several times not to trust these boys.”

- c. Her mother felt the same sentiments as her father; she was angry that this man had harmed their daughter, yet she questioned her daughter's choices placing some blame on her for the occurrence.
- d. Her older brother believed her but blamed her for the rape
- e. Her cousin who she confided in first and who had also been previously raped but had reported to no one advised her not to tell anyone because of the stigma.
- f. Her friend and classmate reached out to a women's rights organization, which immediately told her she was not to blame herself for the rape. They advised her to go to the police and get a rape kit done at a hospital immediately. To do the latter she needed to get a special form from the police.
- g. She was apprehensive of the case going to court because she had genuine fears of the story being caught by Ghanaian media and she had no trust that her identity would be protected.
- h.
 - i. The police told her they could not take up her case because according to their system, she must report in the jurisdiction the rape happened. She had reported the case in Accra, but she was asked to go to the Tema police station even though that was not where she lived.
 - ii. The police in Tema charged her GHC 20 to buy the medical form she needed before going to the hospital. The officer seeing to her case asked her why she chose to 'give' [the officer's choice of word] her school assignment to someone else do for her, building a narrative that she must be a lazy student who was probably sexually promiscuous to get others to do her work for her.
 - iii. The Police later pleaded with her and her family to drop the case, expressing pity for the rapist who had refused food in the jail. The family refused to.

- i. The hospital found bruises and lacerations in her vagina. She was sore for two days.
- j. In court, the defence lawyer for the rapist called to question the truth of her account of the events because she had waited a day before she reported to the police. He argued that if it was really rape she would have gone directly to the police right after it happened. For her to have waited a day must mean the rape did not really happen. An instant reaction to find justice was more believable than waiting a day.
- k. This case is still in court and has been in court for the last eight months, being constantly adjourned when it is called in court.

4.2.1 Analysis

From the above case, this section seeks to examine the responses around Jane's rape in a bid to have a larger discussion about culture and cultural responses to rape. Jane shall sometimes be referred to as 'Survivor.'

The survivor was reluctant to go to the authorities to report her rape for fear of the stigma against victims of rape, a stigma which would make her an 'other' and somehow imperfect. This stigma usually collides with conversations on marriage and the possibility of a woman 'saving' herself for that. If she fails to do this, she is blamed. This is reflective of earlier discussions on perceptions of femininity in Chapter two on female shame and inherent guilt in the female body. Somehow, though she committed no act of violence but was the receiver of it, Jane felt the shame. Adichie posits how virginity [or chastity] is prized in women but not in men (We should all be feminists | Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie | TEDxEuston -

YouTube, 2013), and this is such that a violation of that even if it was by force would induce the woman to feel shame.

Her cousin's advice to be quiet about it for this same reason served as a bolster. A point of observation here is that Jane, unlike many, has had a previous education on consent in sexual relationships, and knew her rights and liberties. She understood on an intellectual level that when she expresses her non-consent in a sexual situation, her wishes should be valid and respected. However, as the very opposite happened she went through a period of confusion. She felt 'soiled' and unlikely to be a marriage material' because she was reminded at home and at church that a woman's chastity was invaluable and was her net worth. According to what she knew, she was supposed to have guarded her chastity and if it was taken by force, it was her fault for not guarding it properly. She also had fears of reporting to her parents for fear that her father may want to do harm to the rapist. Her father and mother also hinted at blaming her for the rape because she had made a naïve decision to go with him home. Her father's statement, "I told you several times not to trust these boys" echoes Adichie's theory that girls are taught that men are savage beasts (We should all be feminists | Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie | TEDxEuston - YouTube, 2013), and thus, this labelling does not exonerate her from blame because, somehow, she is supposed to have known better. of the idea expressed under the section on *Femininity*.

Self-blame and victim blaming by society is a very common reaction after rape (Eaton, 2019). This blame plays the first role in hindering victims or survivors of rape from seeking justice. If a victim or survivor of rape is hindered from seeking justice because of societal and self-blame, the rapist then walks free and may feel validated to repeat the behaviour because there has been no social sanctioning of the behaviour. Thus, rape is perpetuated. Her dealing with the fear of the stigma and shame was used against her in court by the defence lawyer when he argued that she could not be believed because she had waited a day to report.

Her boyfriend who completely refused to believe her and accused her of cheating on him chose to slut shame her instead of believing her. This is telling of where people usually feel the blame should lie in non-consensual sexual relationships. He thought she must have seduced him in some way for anything sexual to happen. The idea of seduction here is problematic because it assumes that a man cannot stop himself once aroused [even if his arousal was not instigated by the victim], even if non-consent was expressed. As examined in chapter one, this is a patriarchal belief that is hammered in about a hegemonic masculinity. Men are painted as aggressors and non-thinking beings in sexual situations. This, on a socio-cultural level, excuses the rapist for aggressive behaviour because by inculcating an idea that becomes cultural belief of men as aggressors who cannot help their 'natural' aggression, in a case of rape, women are easily blamed because they 'should have known better.' This sentiment was similarly expressed in her parents' questioning her behaviour, and particularly expressed in her father's comment, 'I've told you several times not to trust these boys.'

There is also a blurred understanding of consent. The alleged rapist ignored the victim's refusal of his sexual advances, disrespecting her voice and body language of non-permission. By questioning why she followed him home, there is the assumption that she ceased to own her body and have a say.

Dealing with the police and court system was also another hurdle of discouragement for the survivor. Her inability to report the rape to the police station closest to where

she lived which was in Accra but had to go back to Tema to report her rape lost her an extra day in beginning proceedings to convict her rapist. This made the process of reportage and seeking justice noticeably harder. One would have hoped for a speedier and more centralized system of reporting to police. The police officer taking Jane's statement also blamed the victim by hinting that she must have been a lazy student; as though her being a lazy student caused her rape. The rapist had been released on bail and re-integrated in society, going back to work with young women in universities as a yoga instructor. The survivor still hopes on a case that has been adjourned continuously without explanation in court for about eight months now.

Comparing this case study to the characteristics of a rape culture laid out in chapter one, one finds that the following apply:

- ❖ Victim-blaming means that victims are likely not to report a rape for fear of being disbelieved, blamed or being treated like a pariah. An example of Victim blaming questions in this case was: 'Why did you go there'?
- ❖ Heavy stigma attached to rape such that the victim is seen as 'soiled' in some way and 'imperfect.'
- ❖ A blurred understanding of Consent. Consent draws the line between sex and rape (Snapp, 2016) as we explored in chapter three. In this case study, the rapist ignored her non-consent, thus violating her natural and legal right to autonomy and agency. And by saying to her "I just want to cum", we hear the perpetrator seeking sexual gratification, however, according to the WHO report on sexual violence states that this is frequently "the expression of power and dominance over the person assaulted."

- ❖ When it is difficult for the victim to find justice.

In the above case we see how learned behaviour (Buchwald et al., 2005) (A. Ampofo et al., 2007), and societal attitudes were instrumental in creating a system for rape to have occurred, and for it to continue to thrive. The rapist is out of jail barely tied up to a court case that is constantly adjourned and is working again around young women in a university.

4.3 Case Study II

In 2014, popular media mogul Kwasi Kyei Darkwah, also known as KKD, was a headline in Ghana's media for allegedly raping a 19-year-old girl at a hotel in Accra. She reported the case to the police, seeking justice, but because of the celebrity of the person involved, it became viral. Below are highlighted cultural reactions surrounding the alleged rape:

- a. The survivor, who has spoken about her initial dream of wanting to be a radio and TV personality thus was star-struck at meeting KKD, was heavily apprehensive of reporting the alleged rape.
- b. KKD denied allegations and called the alleged rape 'a super bout of sex' and 'making love' during an interview on Starr FM. He was to give many such interviews on Ghanaian radio and TV stations, facilitated because of his Godfather-type affiliation with Ghanaian media, publicizing his 'side of the story,' re-victimizing her while the survivor was forced to hide and remain mute because of verbal and social media abuse.
- c. Because of the viral nature of this case, the media attended court proceedings and reported every stage of it. Myjoyonline.com published the full name of the

survivor in their reportage while Ghanaweb not only published the full name of the survivor but also posted pictures of her.

- d. Click-bait, sensationalized titles were used by media houses to direct traffic to their sites: “KKD Rape Saga: The Inside Story [Part 1]” by myjoyonline.com, “KKD and **** Had Sex in Two Different Positions” by modernghana.com, “Blow-by-Blow Account of How KKD ‘Raped **** in the Bathroom” by peacefmonline.com. The survivor’s name has been deliberately removed from above headlines though her name was actually published by these media houses.
- e. Mitigating language was used to refer to the alleged rape. A headline by Starr FM on Youtube described the alleged rape as ‘Romancing.’ In the modernghana.com headline above, the alleged rape was described as had sex in two different positions, which uses mitigating and reductive language by describing the alleged rape as simply ‘sex in two different positions.’ This has the effect of normalizing what was a possible violent act to readers. ‘In a CCTV video posted by starrfmonline, the media house’s described the alleged rape as “time for the action indoors.”
- f. Many Ghanaians through traditional and social media accused the survivor of trying to “bring a good man down.” In many Facebook posts by Ghanaians sharing their opinions on the case, the question of why she went up to the hotel room with him in the first place was repeatedly asked. One Facebook user put up a picture of the survivor and stated that he was deliberately putting up her picture for all to see her and shame her for trying to ‘bring a good man down.’
- g. Pastors were brought in to convince the survivor to forgive KKD

- h. There was a public wrangle with KKD and the media about the age of the survivor. He insisted that she was not 19 but 22, in a bid to mitigate the severity of the case.
- i. The survivor stated that since the media hype around her alleged rape case, she had not been able to appear in public without attracting hushed gossip and finger pointing, while KKD boasted on Multi TV's Red Carpet Show that "[The rape case] has affected the brand KKD. People have become kinder to me, people have become more embracing of me and I think another thing that it's done for the brand is redirect the energies of the brand towards those who want to soar" (Broohm, 2015).
- j. The survivor dropped the case citing the media frenzy and social media abuse as making it unbearable for her to continue (Aglanu, 2015). In the Nolle Prosequi filed by the state, it states, "The victim...states that she is highly traumatized by the events of the day of the incident and its aftermath and so is not in the right frame of mind to appear before the court" (Aglanu, 2015). She is reported by myjoyonline.com as saying that she believes God will heal her and soothe her pain.
- k. The survivor spoke to this writer about a continued depression she has lived under since the incident. She has since moved out of Ghana as at the time of writing this chapter.

4.3.1 Analysis

The survivor spoke about previous intentions to pursue a career in Ghanaian TV and radio, a space KKD occupies as a veteran broadcaster and is widely respected as one who trained many of the current juggernaut TV and radio personalities. KKD was to her an idol. The power differential that lies here made this case a difficult one to be consensual from the start. It is difficult to get free and informed consent from a person one has authority / power over. If one idolises them, it severely impairs one's ability to give consent that is free from influence, as seen in Snapp's philosophical dissertation on Consent in chapter three. Paradigms like these come with strong sexual vulnerabilities that can give the appearance of consensual sex when it's actually exploitative or of someone abusing their power. There was a silencing of the survivor that also occurred because she was pit against the celebrity power of KKD. He actively used various media platforms to discredit her voice and push one side of the story.

The media reportage that came with the celebrity of the case broke the Ghana Journalists Association Code of Ethics (Ghana Journalists Association, 1994) that states that a journalist must "avoid identifying victims of sexual assault." The life and mental health of the survivor was put in danger by publishing her name and her pictures. This facilitated an open season of re-victimization, through abusive victim-blaming and slut-shaming which forced the survivor to eventually drop the case.

The use of mitigating language, such as 'have sex' or 'romancing' for 'alleged rape' as described in section above, serves to discredit the severity of the situation as well as tacitly, though perhaps unintentionally, condone the alleged violence.

In celebrity rape cases, one finds that the victim or survivor has to deal with more severe backlash from fans and admirers of the celebrity in question. In this case, she had to face a lot of social media abuse and shaming. The accusation of ‘trying to bring a good man down’ was common in this case, fuelled by the popular notion that male celebrities constantly have to deal with false accusers who are looking for cash or fame. One finds that this is silencing of the victims’ trauma and perpetuates negative public opinion against rape or sexual abuse victims whose rape or abuse was by a celebrity. This therefore serves as a public sanctioning of victims of sexual abuse by celebrities and discourages them from seeking justice. This is another avenue by which rape or abuse is encouraged to continue thriving.

Pastors are often called in to mediate in rape and sexual abuse cases. However, as in this case, a philosophy of forgiveness is usually preached which protect the rapists from facing any real consequences for their actions and a forgiveness that does not include justice for the victim.

There is also a blurred understanding of what consent is in this case study as well. In an interview on Starr FM, KKD states, “The thing is, I do not see how a lady who does not like you would kiss you so passionately.” This statement shows a misunderstanding of the continuation of seeking consent. For instance, as seen in chapter three, a person may consent to kissing but may not want to have sex. Also, the question of why she followed him to the hotel room also expresses a culture’s misunderstanding of consent. There is an assumption in this question that once a woman follows a man to a hotel room she has consented to have sex and no longer has any rights over her own body. This belief delegitimizes the natural sexual rights and agency a woman has over her own body, as though she hands over ownership of her body to the man once she follows him to a hotel room.

The survivor in this case eventually had to move out of the country to find healing as she could find no smooth passage to justice in Ghana where the media had played a huge role in re-victimizing and traumatizing her. This was despite the State's willingness to pursue the case in court.

Below are signs of a rape culture that the factors of this case reflect:

- Victim-blaming means that victims are likely not to report a rape for fear of being disbelieved, blamed or being treated like a pariah.
- When perpetrators of rape seem to be protected while their victims are shamed making it difficult to report rape and find justice (“I killed stories to save KKD – Journalist claims - Ghana Business News,” 2015)
- When a victim of rape is treated with incredulity and slut shamed.
- When religious leaders, who generally command immense respect in Africa, advise victims to ‘forgive and forget’ their attackers, yet this forgiveness often does not include any language of justice for the victim of rape.
- When the media's reportage to rape allows for re-victimization by promoting scepticism and abuse of victims. The abuse on social and traditional media
- The media's language surrounding the alleged rape was mitigating, reducing the severity of the allegation. as seen above referred to the alleged rape as
- Where there is the idea of a ‘Perfect Victim’, in whose case society will rally around to protect and punish the attacker. In this case, the survivor did not in any way satisfy the idea of the Perfect Victim. Her movements were

generally questioned and regarded with scepticism – “Why she was there?”
“Why did she follow him?”

In all of this we see how societal attitudes in victim-blaming and abuse pushed the survivor to drop the case and to leave the country.

4.4 Case Study III

Ama works at an institution in Accra. One Monday morning, she came in to work feeling ill. The human resource manager noticed this and asked her to rest in a couch in a room upstairs in their building. As she lay down with her eyes closed, not falling asleep yet, Joe, who also worked in the same institution, bent over her and kissed her on the lips. Joe is well known in the office for being flirtatious and sometimes crossing boundaries. She confronted him and he initially seemed surprised at her confrontation. First, he pretended he did not know he had kissed her on the lips. However, when she kept insisting for an explanation, he acquiesced saying, —You have the right to be offended but I’m surprised that you are offended. When she pointed out that that was sexual assault, he responded, that if she wants to be professional, she should not have been lying in the couch in the first place because she was in an office.

Below is the transcribed conversation of the altercation A = Ama, J= Joe:

A: What was the meaning of that?

J: But you were asleep

A: No, whether I was asleep or not, why would you come and kiss me on the lip?

J: Did I kiss you on the lip?

A: Didn't you?

J: It's your dreams.

A: Its me, my dreams ? Why, when you're kissing me on the lip I won't feel that?

J: So that's why you were on air saying that thing you said?

A: Yes of course! I didn't mention your name but it happened and I know it happened. Why did you do that. It's wrong.

J: You were lying on the sofa, then I came and I did [makes the sound of a playful kiss]

A: No, you actually did kiss me on my lip.

J: Yes?

A: Why did you do that?

J: Is that what you were having problems with?

A: So I'm not supposed to have problems with that? No , you mean I don't have to have a problem with that?

J: Because I heard you on radio and didn't event think...

A: Wait ! So what you did is right, that's what you're saying?

J: Me, I'm even surprised that it worried you

A: You're surprised it worried me ! You don't respect my personal space and you're surprised it worried me

J: No, you have the right to be offended but I'm surprised that you are offended

A: Why're you surprised that I'm offended?

J: Because I didn't even see that as...you were lying in the couch and that is not even a place to lie if you really wanted to...

A [Cuts him]: Do you know I wasn't feeling well that day?

J: I didn't know

A: But you don't have to know that I'm not well. Do not kiss me !

J: So you have the right to be offended, do you understand the difference?

A: But you're surprised that I'm upset?

J: I didn't even know you were sick

A: It doesn't matter

J: You were lying there on the couch and I came and [sound of kiss] then it offended you which is your right...

A: But do you know what you did was wrong?

J: No its not

A: Its not wrong?! It's okay to just pounce on any woman and kiss her on the lip?

J: Jesus

A: Do you know that is sexual harassment? It is! It's actually assault because there is a physical contact. Do you know?

J: My friend my friend, don't come and give me all that. You were lying on the couch...

A: Uncle Joe, Uncle Joe, Uncle Joe [in a warning tone]

J: Don't give me all that. Listen...if you want to take that ...you were lying on the couch which if you come to work you're not supposed to lie in the couch

A: My boss asked me to lie in the couch

J: So why didn't you go upstairs and lie on the couch?

A: I was upstairs. Why where was I? Wasn't I upstairs?

J: That is the office. So me, I thought, if you wanted to rest, that's not the place you should come to rest so when you were lying there...

A: Uncle Kofi, this is on record oo. Whatever you're saying is on record

J: Yes. Record but I'm telling you that's not the place to come and rest. If you're in an office you go upstairs somewhere to rest

A: Fine!

J: So you have the right to be upset, that's alright

A: Fine, so because I am relaxing on a couch in an office, it's okay to come and kiss me, that's what you're saying

J: No, that's not what I'm saying

A: So why am I telling you it's assault and you're telling me I shouldn't give you that? It is sexual assault!

J: My friend, my friend, take your matter and go because really if you really want to be professional you can't come and lie in the couch when people are supposed to be sitting there

A: So everyone who lies in the couch should be assaulted sexually is that what you're saying?

J: No that's not the point

A: Ok that's fine! [storms off]

She reported the case to her HR Manager whose response was that that was his character, so she should not take him seriously. Ama reported to someone higher up than the HR Manager before she was taken seriously. He was forced to apologize. Though this was not justice enough for her, she was persuaded by her bosses to accept the apology and let the issue go. Joe gives her the cold shoulder at work everyday now.

4.4.1 Analysis

Like previous cases, there is a blurred idea of what consent is and respecting women's boundaries by the perpetrator. He was genuinely surprised that his actions were called out in what would seem like the first time. This speaks of a long history of his behaviour being enabled by his colleagues. As seen in *Transforming a Rape Culture*, a culture of acceptance of his behaviour had been normalized. The HR manager stated as much when she asked Ama not to take him too seriously.

Though Ama hoped for more sanctioning than an apology, she acquiesced considering she had planned to use social media to shame him and the company for their reaction. But she accepted another form of justice, so to speak, in order to make peace. Meanwhile Joe is righteously indignant and not remorseful about the whole incidence, which he did not interpret as a lesson on consent, but that of dealing with a 'too known' colleague.

4.5 Case IV

In a series of group discussions and sessions with high school and university students around consent in sexual relationships, participants were taken through certain sexual or abusive situations and asked to state whether they thought it was a myth or a fact, and to explain the reason for their choice. The following situations were asked of them:

Myth or Fact?

- a. 'Real' men cannot be raped

- b. 'No' [when a female sexual partner says it] does not really mean 'no', it means yes.
- c. The only time 'no' means 'no' is when it is screamed
- d. A rapist is often someone you know
- e. It's okay to pressure someone into having sex. It's part of the chase [ie. They can hear a 'no' the first time but it does not mean 'no', instead it means an opportunity to continue trying till it is a 'yes']
- f. If a date pays for your dinner/movie, etc., you do not owe him (or her) sex.
- g. When men become sexually aroused, they have to have sex and cannot stop
- h. It's not okay to have sex with someone who is drunk or passed out who may have given you a go-ahead in their drunken state.
- i. If she was wearing short clothes she was asking for sexual attention.
- j. If someone consents to have sex, his/her partner has the right to continue even if he/she changes his/her mind.

The most contentious and polarized situations that inspired a lot of debate were situations a, b, c, e, g, i, j.

4.5.1 Analysis

In situation (a), the definition of 'real' was left to participants' beliefs of what a 'real man' was and what characteristics he must have in order to be a 'real man'. The view that agreed that 'real men' cannot be raped associated 'real men' with characteristics such as physically strong, leader, head of home, aggressive, heterosexual. They defined rape as an act that only required physical force.

Rape, in this view, could not be perceived as caused by subtler coercion such as: disregard of expressed non- consent, emotional or psychological control. Therefore, according to their conception of rape, a woman could not rape a man; only another man who was physically stronger could rape a man.

A second layer of the meaning of 'real' was also given to mean a man who was not weak, or a 'sissy'. This suggested a hint of victim blaming. They would blame a man for his weakness or 'sissy-ness' and not his rapist if he were raped, a learned behaviour of social sanctioning of men who did not match up to the hegemonic idea of masculinity.

Another important feature of this view was that its adherents were both men and women, teenaged boys and girls. The view that stated that this was a misconception associated men with characters and behaviour who fit a range of masculinity expressions. Gender expression was less rigid in this view and an expressed argument was that a man's body could be aroused even though he may not want to have sex at all.

Point b, c and e were especially contentious. The view that agreed that "'no' does not really mean 'no', it means 'yes'" argued that girls and women are taught to play 'hard to get', thus her 'no' was a sign that she required a little more persistence from the other sexual partner. This idea was hinged on the perception that the process of a sexual relationship was a 'chase' with women as the 'receptors' while men were the 'givers.' This therefore justified the masculine role of pressuring the feminine till she gives in. This pressure varied in levels and perception, Thus the question of 'when does pressure become rape?' was heatedly debated.

Also, a woman had to make herself an ‘attractive’ receptor by playing hard to get otherwise she was associated with the characteristic of ‘cheap’ or ‘loose’, not ‘sexually assertive’ or ‘confident.’ This was because by doing that she was taking on the perceived masculine role of ‘giver,’ ‘aggressor’ and this was socially sanctioned as ‘unattractive.’ This was directly linked to point c with the perception that if a woman really meant her ‘no’, in order to distinguish it from the playing-hard-to-get ‘no’ she had to scream it and physically fend off her abuser in order to be heard and her wishes respected.

Most men and teenaged boys agreed with the point that when men become sexually aroused, they have to have sex and cannot stop. The issue of ‘blue balls’ was cited as a genuine scientific reason, a slang term for a condition of testicular pain caused by prolonged sexual arousal in males without ejaculation. Though, as conversations of consent and bodily autonomy became deeper, participants agreed that even with the condition [though there is no proof that such a condition exists in all males], to violate someone’s body and cause pain to them to alleviate your pain was morally wrong. The argument for this point was further hinged on the notion of men being aggressors who could not control themselves sexually so women should not ‘tempt the lion’ – words from a participant. Thus, in cases of rape of women, how victims presents themselves was brought up for examination as an important and valid explanation. Thus, participants agreed with point (i) that if she wore sexually revealing clothes she attracted her rapist who could not help himself.

Also, questions about why the victim positioned herself for rape was generally seen as a valid question to ask: why did she go to his office that late? Why did she follow him home? These questions suggest that in cases like this, the victim of rape shared some blame.

This was further linked with point (j) which stated that if someone consents to have sex, her partner has the right to continue even if she changes his/her mind. Arguments for this position in the focus group discussions reiterated point (g) that once men were sexually aroused, they could not stop. Therefore, for one to consent in the beginning and to withdraw that consent later was not seen as acceptable. So, if a man who had sexually aroused and chose to continue after consent given is withdrawn, it was difficult for participants to view that as rape.

4.6 Case Study V

In a high school, Akua, fourteen years of age, was allegedly raped by a classmate of the same age. They had been sexual with one another before this, where she had sent him nudes of herself via phone conversations and kissed in the school bathroom. He showed these nudes to his friends.

On the day that the alleged rape happened, they had snuck to the bathroom to kiss. He then pressured her into having sex with her. She was a virgin and told him she was not ready to go that much further. He had persisted and coerced himself into her without a condom.

The next day, he had told all the boys in their class that she was 'cheap' and that she had let him have sex with her. What followed was a school slut-shaming by her classmates and schoolmates with the girls in her class making her seem 'dirty' and 'morally wrong' and the boys taking liberties to grab at her buttocks and breasts without her consent because they had stereotyped her as 'easy.' She was heavily

depressed and without any real friends. Her fervour for studying and school activities such as theatre went, and she developed an attitude of defiance to shield herself from all the abuse that came her way. She eventually sought help from the school counsellor who provided a listening ear.

4.6.1 Analysis

Teenage years are the years when children shaking off their childhood begin to perform gender stereotypes that had been instilled in them during childhood. Girls are supposed to play a 'hard to get conquest' while boys are supposed to start to learn to be aggressive chasers. As seen above (Tamale, 2011), it is particularly vicious during teenage years where when boys win the conquest because female integrity is put at stake for being the girl that was 'won.'

The alleged rapist had already learned problematic gendered language of ignoring a girl's wishes, thus already perform a problematic understanding of what consent is. She had already been stereotyped as a 'cheap' girl when she sent her nudes to this boy, and objectified by the alleged rapist and everyone around her. She ceased to be a human being with feelings, desires, wishes and dreams, and simply became a sexpot for all adolescent boys to try to gain their 'manhood' with by sleeping with her. A poor understanding of consent was generally understood here as her label as 'cheap' removed in the eyes of her immediate society any rights she had to bodily autonomy.

At fourteen, she had already learnt the hard lesson of patriarchal objectification of women and had to develop a thick skin of defiance to shoulder the abuse. These teenagers were already performing what larger society taught them about what toxic

manhood was and what a corresponding womanhood was supposed to be. Her female classmates used her as a sounding board to essentialize what patriarchy told them was their ‘purity’, teaching them early what kind of woman not to be, particularly a sexually assertive one.

4.7 Recurring sub-themes in all Cases above

In all the cases above, there are recurring sub-themes I would like to highlight:

- a. Fear – Fear plays a recurring role in various ways; fear of the stigma accorded rape victims, which hinders them from reporting. There was also the fear of further abuse from the society in the KKD case that caused the victim to drop the case.
- b. Blame – blame plays a recurring role in many of the cases above. Victim-blaming is recurrent where some respondents believed that how the victim was dressed was partly to blame. Blame is laid at the victim’s feet for their chosen location and behaviour prior to the rape. In the sexual assault case at a workplace, the perpetrator blamed the victim for being where she was not supposed to be, that is, she should not be lying on the couch. Self-blame also happens where victims blame themselves for somehow not doing enough or falling short of guarding their chastity properly.
- c. Consent – Consent is a big discussion in all these cases; a blurred understanding of consent, or a deliberate choice to ignore verbal and bodily expressions of non-consent for various reasons including internalized gender role stereotyping as seen in chapters before this. Thus, one notices how consent is tied to perceived gender roles. In Case study I, the perpetrator took the victim’s presence in his home as consent. In Case study II, people on social media interpreted the victim’s choice of location as consent, thus

justification for the alleged rape. In Case study V, the victim's agency to give or not give consent is taken away because she has been stereotyped as a slut, in turn because she did not adhere to the general rule of behaviour for femininity. She was seen as too sexually assertive for her gender by sending her nudes in the first place, therefore, she was labelled a slut. From discussions in previous chapters, this is society's way of socially sanctioning behaviour straying too far from the gender stereotypes. This label removed all agency she had to consent.

4.8 Conclusion

In all the above cases, the following were common trends in all the cases. Gender stereotyping which insisted on fitting perceptions of masculine and feminine roles within certain parameters that were not to be crossed was a common feature. This facilitated a general blurred understanding of consent, and thus a contentious acknowledgement and definition of rape. Another common feature was the poor record of real justice for victims and survivors of rape. In the cases described above, all the rapists were able to pick up their lives, while victims or survivors left to carry the burden of the trauma or negotiate for a lesser justice than they would have demanded otherwise.

CHAPTER FIVE

Ghanaian Social Media and Rape Culture

5.1 Introduction

Social media has come to embody the space for the world's biggest conversations in the 21st Century. It is arguably the world's one big conversation on everything, a cacophony or melody of voices from every part of the world. Thus, it is a relevant sample space to study patterns of thinking and behaviour. A marketplace of opinions, and in many cases, a form of court of public opinion, social media serves as an important study of modern society. The way history books are lenses with which to view an event in history, that is the role social media might play for this time in human history – a lens through which future generations can have a peek into what our lives were like in this century. Social media captures the zeitgeist of our times, the dominant thought patterns and cultural attitudes, our philosophies and goals for the future, our fears and oppressions and our revolutions. Therefore, a study into rape culture would need to include conversations about the subject on social media.

This chapter seeks to draw connections between thought patterns and attitudes around social media conversations on gender, sex, abuse and rape by examining social media trends and conversations of Facebook, Twitter and Whatsapp. I will be examining a number of popular hash-tags and trending topics within 2015 to 2017 in this chapter. A trending topic occurs when a specific topic is popular for discussion on social media amongst twitter users. The hashtag is a social media tool that is included specifically in tweets or Facebook posts to mark them as relating to a topic so that people can follow the conversation when they search the hashtag online. It also serves as

a collation and categorizing tool for specific conversations.

5.2 #Shashii, Gender stereotyping and Rape Culture

The #*Shashii* is quite a popular hashtag that has been trending on and off on Ghanaian twitter for the past five years. ‘Shashii’ is Ghanaian derogatory slang for a sex worker. Now the word has been broadened to mean not just a woman who is actually in the business of selling sex, but to incorporate all women who do not fit a specific Ghanaian gender status quo of prescribed sexuality, rules which are largely prescribed by a patriarchal system as shall be seen below.

To get a sense of the street lingo and popular cultural definition of *shashii*, this is a definition in the words of a Ghanaian hit song of the same title, ‘Shashee woowo’ (a variant spelling of the same word). The artiste, Stay J, defined *Shashee* as “this girl, she dey love boys too much, this guy he dey love girls too much...she be what? Shashi wowo.” According to this popular song, a *shashii* was a girl or guy who had sexual or romantic relationships with many members of the opposite sex. However, women who seem to have multiple sexual partners or are in any way sexually liberated are more slandered with the label than men with multiple sexual partners as shall be seen below. These are sample tweets from Ghanaian twitter users sharing their opinions of #**Shashii**

- a. Always the bridesmaid, never the bride #Shashii
- b. #Shashii girls are undateable
- c. #Shashii. Some girls have a new man every other week smh [internet shorthand for ‘shaking my head’]
- d. That girl who kisses and fucks everybody #Shashii

- e. When she says, “Damn you look so good and —can I have your number?”
#Shashii
- f. A #Shashii will date this cartoon for money [twitter user attaches a picture of a cartoon man standing next to cartoon money]
- g. #Shashii girls be like; —I’m still a virgin but...! [Twitter user attaches the picture below:]



- h. She’s a #Shashii when she tells you the brand of condom that is high quality
- i. University campuses are the biggest hideouts for #Shashii girls. The culture in those places makes them seem classy but you dey lie
- j. She go ts3r3 ii body small but as you catch bed, top skills she go give you more dan Ronaldhino. U for know say she be #Shashii [Translation: “She will play hard to get, but when you start to have sex, you will find out how skillful and knowledgeable she is about sex. When that happens you should know then that she is #Shashii]

- k. #Shashii is a girl that does nothing to promote the integrity she has
- l. When she walks half naked on the street in full awareness #Shashii
- m. #Shashii but she goes to church every Sunday

Some twitter users were aware of the viciousness of this trend and aired their opinions:

- n. I think to call any lady #Shashii is a low blow so I'll stay out of this one. Knock yourselves out disrespecting women [Twitter user attaches an emoji of a sad face]
- o. Oh but you pipo too. How can you trend #Shashii. Thought we were over that?
- p. When a brother is tryna say a girl is #Shashii but he has more side chicks than King Solomon
- q. I believe the need for girls to be respected. I'm not having fun with this #Shashii trend

5.2.1 Analysis

This trending conversation was galvanized twitter trolling shaming of Ghanaian women who did not fit the status quo. According to the tweets above,

1. A woman is probably a *Shashii* if she is not married by a certain age or having problems sustaining relationships that lead to marriage.
2. A woman who has had multiple sexual partners is not dateable because there is a general perception expressed in these tweeted opinions that a woman loses her value if she has had multiple sexual partners.
3. A *Shashii* is a woman who quickly changes sexual partners. Women should not have dated too many men. The concept of a 'body count' refers to the

number of people someone has been with sexually. For women, ‘body counts’ must be low.

4. A woman who has sex before marriage is shashii
5. A woman cannot show that she is skilful in bed. If she does, she must be shashii.
6. A woman who initiates a relationship with a man is shashii. Societal opinion requires that the man do the ‘chasing’. It is too forward for a woman to do this, and if she does, she must be sexually promiscuous, therefore of lesser value, ‘shashii.’
7. There can be no ‘spiritual purity’ in a girl who is perceived as shashii.
8. A woman who is perceived as dressing skimpily by patriarchal standards is perceived to be loose with her sexuality.

For the Hashtag *Shashii* to be created and for it to be talked about so much as to make the hashtag trend from time to time on Ghanaian twitter is reflective of a dominant patriarchal institution of policing women’s bodies, slut shaming, and judgment by the court of public opinion that is played out on social media. A lot of these tweets are reflective of the following opinions:

That a woman and her body are objects, prizes to be won. A woman somehow loses her value during sex, therefore, a woman who has had a vague number of sexual relationships can be denounced as being of ‘reduced value.’ Women’s sexuality and desire must be muted.

A woman who is perceived as of ‘reduced value’ or as a Shashii, is treated disrespectfully by men who do not regard her humanity as worth the respect. Thus her needs and wants are not given attention to. Her agency is removed in sexual

situations. It is assumed her consent is given to whomever and whenever because she is perceived as promiscuous. How this may play out in a sexual situation is that can most definitely end in abuse or rape. Beyond this, if she were generally seen as promiscuous, it would be hard for her report of rape to be taken seriously because of the notion that she probably invited it. This is a general characteristic of rape culture [as discussed in Chapter One], in that societal systems make it difficult for victims or survivors to seek justice, yet protect the perpetrators. Also, society is quick to blame the victim.

In the next section, this discussion on the misconceptions of sexual behaviour, as fuelled by preconceived gender stereotyping, but through the avenue of a national conversation on short skirts as a cause or not for rape.

5.3 Otiko Djaba, Short Skirts and Rape Controversy

Ghana's former Minister of Gender, Children and Social Protection, Otiko Djaba, sparked social media outrage 2017 when she was reported to have told school girls at Krobo Girls Secondary School, "In conclusion, I want to say to you, be bold, be confident, and be respectful. If you wear a short dress, it's fashionable, but know that it can attract somebody who would want to rape or defile you. You must be responsible for the choices you make."

Making this direct link between rape and what a person wears shifts blame from the victim to the rapist. It is hinged on the notion that men cannot control themselves and that the female body, even a female child's body tempts therefore it is the responsibility of minors and adult women to cover up to avoid attracting the uncontrollable desire of men to prevent cases of abuse or rape.

This issue sparked a national trending conversation by Ghanaian social media users on the topic of Consent and rape culture.

Using her facebook platform, Professor Akosua Adomako Ampofo of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana provided a historical contextualization to opinions like what the Minister expressed. Below is an excerpt of her Facebook post:

“If we take the case of rape, women are disproportionately the victims of rape and men are disproportionately the perpetrators. This is because rape is about exerting power and control, and men generally have more “power” in society than women do. omment

...The problem that everyone who has criticized her remarks refers to, is the link she made between short dresses and rape. There are many reasons not to wear a very short dress—so as not to draw unwanted attention to oneself, to dress to suit the occasion, to provide a professional appearance, to not expose one’s underwear if you want to climb a bus or cross your legs—but risking rape is not one of them and the connection is tenuous at best and dangerous at worst since it makes the victims responsible...the onus not to rape falls on the man (or woman) who may feel inclined to rape, and not the target. Secondly, years of rape studies have shown there is no connection between the way a woman (or man) is dressed and rape.”

Film director Nicole Amarteifio, partnering with Ghanaian social media influencers, put out a video titled “It’s not about the Skirt” in direct response to the minister that went viral. Published in April 2017 with the hashtags #ItsNotAboutTheSkirt #LetsTalkConsent #EndRapeCulture, the video, in the form of a public service announcement, sported the actors holding up skirts of different length to show that people with short skirts and ankle length skirts also get raped, thus it was not about the length of a potential victim’s skirt. They stressed in the video that rape was not about desire but about power. The video was published on Facebook and Instagram platforms and served as a public education campaign against perpetuating rape culture.

#LetsTalkConsent, a form of twitter citizen activism to educate the minister and the wider populace on the dangers of victim blaming and rape culture, was a trending

topic on Ghanaian twitter for three days, 29th – 31st March 2017 after the Minister's comments. Below are some tweets with the hashtag:

- a. Folks raised in patriarchy, we are heavily socialized as agents of rape culture. We must silence the agents in our heads #LetsTalkConsent
- b. Stop victim blaming! #EndRapeCulture #LetsTalkConsent
- c. Teaching boys to keep their hands to themselves will go a long way. I learnt this in Fante class in primary school #LetsTalkConsent
- d. Rape culture is perpetuated when we don't ascribe equal value to what men and women contribute to society #LetsTalkConsent

5.4 On Pepperdem Ministries: Cooking and Gender Backlash

This trending issue is being highlighted in the chapter because of the term 'slavery' used in this public gender discussion and how it was generally defined by Ghanaian society on the media.

Pepperdem ministries is a Ghanaian feminist social and traditional media advocacy group who states their mission as: "The purpose of our probing, interrogating and theorising is to facilitate learning, un-learning and re-learning of the narratives both male and female have been operating by in order to establish a better approach to our socialization. The issues we technically address are certain ingrained gender norms and how partial it can be against women" (pepperdemministries.com). They surged into popularity between 2017 and 2018. Their feminist advocacy is dedicated to using both traditional and social media for the above purposes, thus their views are published on these platforms.

In February 2018, Pepperdem sparked a discussion on the gendered expectations of work in Ghana, with a facebook post that questioned Ghanaian societal norms that

expect women to be responsible for cooking [representative of care work] because of their gender. This sparked a viral debate on Ghanaian radio stations and social media about the roles women are expected to play. I shall attempt, in the analysis of this social media reaction, to connect these perceptions to Ghanaian attitudes towards women and how this facilitates a rape culture.

Sections of their post which are now deleted off social media because of the vast abuse the advocacy group received stated:

“If your wife after work still manages to cook for you while you fart on the sofa watching football or playing games, that’s your house matter. If some other man is not too bothered about stomach infrastructure and after the day’s hard work tells the wife not to bother or the wife herself chooses not to bother, that is also “somborri’s” house matter, not your own. If you want to praise your SLAVING [emphasis by pepperdem] or hardworking or loving wife, whatever adjective you find suitable, pls go ahead without suggesting that she defines what womanhood totally entails.”

There was an escalation in the general conversation about gender roles; where a man’s place is supposed to be in the family structure and where a woman is supposed to be. Below are some reactions by Facebook users:

- a. “Hmm when some women sit on radio and tell the whole world that when you cook for your husband it is slavery, they must be suffering from some kind of mental disorder. Keep buying fried rice and chicken and bofloat and coco for him wai. Ebufu sem.” [*Ebufu sem*’ Translation in context: Stupidity]
- b. “How the hell did they get onto that platform, anyway?
Managerial responsibility at that station needs to be looked at.”

- c. “A programme like that can destroy homes and marriages instead of keeping home together. This rubbish must stop and that programme taken off air, children are being defiled, girls being raped, are those not more important to talk about?”
- d. “Are they women or are they sex dolls?”
- e. “Unless you’re an atheist or worshipper of Satan you must disagree with these so- called pepperdem. God was clear. After the fall he told the woman that **YOU WILL DESIRE YOUR HUSBAND BUT HE WILL RULE OVER YOU** [Emphasis by the facebook user]. That talks about leadership. So whether you like it or not, according to the bible, men have been given authority over women. Simple.”
- f. “It’s only those who do not love their husbands that refuse to cook and wash their clothes. Or is it also the case that men who work hard to take care or spend on their wives are slaves?”
- g. “These women will continue to be single. The men will continue to use them saa cuz they have no value. Fast food gals shame on u...disgrace to womanhood.”
- h. “These are a bunch of disgruntled ladies who have outlived their marital period.”
- i. Sugardem GH was formed as a group of opposing opinion by radio media personality Afia Pokua, as a conservative foil to Pepperdem. Sugardem’s mission statement as publicised on their Facebook page is to “promote the values of a virtuous woman in supporting the man. Proverbs 31:10-31.” Afia Pokua wrote in a Facebook post as a reaction to Pepperdem and a debate on women and cooking roles, “I want to assure men that we shall cook for you. Wash for you, massage you, feed you and “bed you”; all we ask is you SUGAR US TOO. We will even lick for you...we are ready to battle anyone or group that wants to pepper you. We were born to support you, not to compete for power. Our job is to see you happy and successful so that you will support us

too...OSEYYYY SUGARDEM...OSEYYYY SUGAR US ALL...GOD
BLESS OUR MEN.”

5.4.1 Analysis

These reactions reflect a societal belief in there being specific roles women must play in the home because of their gender, cooking being a key duty in playing this role. One Facebook user above even hints that this is actually a divine ordinance, for women to be ruled by men, as does Afia Pokua ‘we were born to support you, not to compete for power.’” Pepperdem ministries, by challenging this entrenched belief that has become a way of life, received accusations that they would be bringing chaos and disruption to a systemized way of life. If women are ‘assigned’ specific tasks based solely on their gender and these tasks seem to be something they have no freedom to freely choose to do, it may seem that this is a society that does not recognize the full humanity and agency of women. Often women being able to cook for their husbands is linked to being able to provide sexual services when he wanted them. The rules surrounding a woman’s sexual duties are as stringent as her cooking duties, if not more so, because of a cultural belief that marriage is consent to give these services. It goes beyond consent to become ‘duty’ as one sees from the tweets above.

5.5 Ladies Dress Decently – Viral Whatsapp Message

The following message was being circulated on Ghanaian Whatsapp during the time of this research in 2016/2017:

"LADIES DRESS DECENTLY"

One young lady arrived at a meeting wearing clothes that were quite revealing her body parts. He took a good look at her and made her sit. Then he said something she will never forget in her whole life. He looked at her straight in the eyes and said;

"Lady, everything that God made is valuable in this world, is well covered and hard to see, hard to find and hard to get...Where do you find DIAMONDS??... Deep down in the ground, covered and protected. Where do you find the Biggest PHILIPPINE PEARLS?? Deep down at the bottom of the Palawan Ocean, covered up and protected in a beautiful shell. Where do you find GOLD?? Way down in the MINE, covered over with layers of rock and to get them, you have to work hard and dig deep down to get them. RIGHT?? He looked at her with serious eyes and said;

"Your BODY is SACRED and UNIQUE." You are far more precious than DIAMONDS, PEARLS and GOLD, and your body should be well covered too. "So," he added, "if you keep your TREASURED MINERAL just like diamonds, pearls, and gold deeply covered up, a REPUTABLE mining organization with the requisite machinery will fly down and conduct YEARS of EXTENSIVE EXPLORATION. First, they will contact your government {FAMILY}, sign professional contracts {WEDDING}and mine you professionally { LEGAL MARRIAGE}. But if you leave your PRECIOUS MINERALS uncovered on the SURFACE of the EARTH, you always attract a lot of ILLEGAL MINERS to come and mine you illegally. Everybody will just pick up their CRUDE INSTRUMENT and just have a dig on you just freely like that. Keep your bodies DEEPLY COVERED so that it INVITES PROFESSIONAL miners to chase you. Let us ALL ENCOURAGE our SISTERS, DAUGHTERS, WIVES, and FRIENDS to DRESS WELL DECENTLY...AM I TALKING SENSE?
SHARE SHARE SHARE THIS POST TO EDUCATE SOMEONE"

5.5.1 Analysis

In this message, the problematic ideas that are presented are:

- a. A woman's worth is dependent on men. She is essentially his object, and she must guard her body, not necessarily for her own good but for what will be her greatest honour is if she is picked: marriage – “Keep your bodies DEEPLY COVERED so that it doesn't INVITE PROFESSIONAL miners to chase you.” The idea of ‘chase’ suggests a conquest to which woman is objectified as the prize.
- b. Marriage is problematically defined as ‘mining’ which gives the hint of women having a lack of agency. The metaphor of ‘mining’ seems to suggest marriage or sexual relations as something that happens *to* her instead of *with* her. She is to sit tight, guard her chastity ferociously and be grateful when she is ‘picked’ for marriage.
- c. It is posited that if she does not adhere to these rules of dressing decently she validates ‘illegal miners to come and mine you illegally.’ This hints the idea that in cases of sexual assault or harassment, if she was not dressed to society's perception of decency, she is to blame and not her abuser. This ignores the fact that rape or sexual assault is about power and not desire.

With this conversation on feminine role stereotyping and patriarchal expectations, the next section analyses a social media conversation that problematized this experience via twitter conversations.

5.6 #BEINGFEMALEINGHANA

In 2015, this hashtag started with a small book club meeting in the capital of Abuja where members were discussing Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's "We Should All Be Feminists." After discussing their own experiences with patriarchy and sexism in Nigeria, they decided to make the discussion bigger. A hashtag was started which went viral in Nigeria and crossed borders to other African countries.

Women in Ghana hopped on this hashtag to share their experiences of everyday sexism. The hashtag, which BBC reports (BBC Trending, 2015) had been mentioned more than 80,000 times on Twitter, was used by both women and men to debate gender identity and describe how women face sexism in their workplace, public places and even in their homes. Below are some tweets from Ghanaian twitter users:

- a. **#BeingFemaleinGhana** means being expected to meet street harassment with a smile and “thank you.”
- b. Many years ago, I was told by a Ghanaian guy “why do you want to do a PhD? Are you trying to scare off husbands?” **#BeingFemaleinGhana**
- c. **#BeingFemaleinGhana** when your aunt is gonna drive you and your male cousin someplace and she asks why you didn’t let him sit shotgun (riding in the front passenger’s seat of a car, next to the driver) “since he’s a guy.”
- d. **#BeingFemaleinGhana** gotta suppress your wild sexual urges. Your husband can sow wild oats but you can’t explore new seeds
- e. **#BeingFemaleinGhana** means you get appointed as EC [Electoral Commissioner] and people are more fixated on your looks than your qualifications and competence
- f. **#BeingFemaleinGhana** means that some of your male colleagues in class will cry because a girl performed better than them in an exam. A girl

5.6.1 Analysis

As in previous cases, it is evident here that gender role stereotyping seems to fuel everyday sexism. Everyday sexism provides the conditions for rape culture to thrive. One twitter user shares above how she feels silenced in the face of sexual harassment, In a society that expects her to be thankful for what is perceived as attention being given to her. This kind of thought makes her seem like an ornament, not a human being with agency. According to the tweets above, being Female in Ghana requires that one accept that she is a second class citizen, whose primary importance is as an object of admiration and lust but not a being of intelligence and agency

In the next section, we shall move to another case of gender stereotyping and normalising domestic abuse via Whatsapp.

5.7 A Whatsapp Case of Domestic Abuse

The following message was shared on Ghanaian whatsapp platforms as a campaign to educate women on their gender roles:

Mrs Clara Oforiwaa Appau could not just imagine what attracted her husband to the poor househelp. But the more she thought about it, the more she got confused. And the fact that her husband, Kofi Boadi Appau, would not say anything beyond his apology troubled her the more.

The fact, however, was that her husband was more worried and scandalised by Nana Aba's four-month old pregnancy than she was. He, however, had nothing to say except his continual prayer for the forgiveness of sins, his remorseful apologies to his wife and his determination to soak in all the insults and abuse she subjected him to without any reply.

Mr Appau was the general manager of one of the country's leading banks, and his wife was the human resource manager of the nation's topmost insurance company. They had been married for 15 years. He was a respected elder of their church, and the youth looked up to him as a role model. His humility and modest disposition, despite his position, were simply matchless. And his moral uprightness was unquestionable.

In a world where all men are often tarred with the same brush with regard to fidelity, Clara often boasted about her husband's commitment: "Even if I catch him naked in the same room with another woman, I will still doubt if anything really happened between them."

So she could not just understand what came over him to have stooped so low to have an affair with this stark illiterate who possessed nothing to attract even the wildest and indiscriminate womaniser. It was the fear of hiring a house help which could entice her husband that she decided against engaging Audrey, the senior high school dropout who looked a bit more presentable than Nana Aba. Mr Appau could also not understand why he could not tame himself against his own house help after he had endured some of the most tempting women of his life.

He had caused the transfers of two of his personal secretaries and requested that he would no longer work with any female secretary because of their seductive tendencies. The most tempting of all was his nightly encounter with, Mavis, the sexy national service lady from the communications unit of his bank, who once traveled with him to Kumasi for a business meeting.

Mr Appau had a presentation the following morning and he asked Mavis to polish it up for him. They had met after dinner and he had given her clear instructions on what to do. So Mr Appau was startled when she said she was at his door and wanted to show him something and seek clarification. He grudgingly agreed and allowed Mavis in, but to his dismay, she was practically naked.

Her night gown was transparent and her protruding succulent breast almost hugged him. As he led her to the table, she found a way of shaking her rounded waist with her hips dancing from the west to the east, causing her Somanya-made beads that lay loosely on her bare and well-endowed backside to vibrate provokingly, delivering an inviting message to her prey.

Mr Appau soon realized the issue she wanted to clarify was no issue at all, but before he found time to ask why she came all the way to his room because of that simple matter, she spoke in the most romantic and seductive voice, which he thought came from above.

“Sir, why do we have to book two rooms and pay so much when the two of us can share this spacious bed and feel even more comfortable?” she asked. Before he opened his mouth, her dainty fingers, which were picking imaginary objects from his close-shaven hair, had travelled down his ear lobes. He was dazed and as he fought hard to say anything, she was on his bed with her knees raised, exposing smooth and well-carved thighs. She wore no pant and when Mr Appau turned, Yaa Mansa, the devil which subdues even the strongest of all men, greeted his gaze. His brown humongous rod lift itself hard in his boxers as he sat in dismay. “You can sleep here and I can sleep here,” she said. “That’s why they gave you two pillows.”

“You devil, get out of my room,” Mr Appau howled after awakening from what appeared to him like a dream. Too shocked to utter a word, Mavis stood up, picked her laptop and made for the door. A few minutes later, she came timidly for her key and went her way.

Despite his ability to ward off these kinds of mounting pressures from women, Mr Appau fell for Aba, his house help, when there was practically no temptation. It was a Saturday afternoon and his wife was attending the speech and prize-giving day of her Alma mata. Aba had just prepared an early lunch of plantain and nkontomire stew and he really relished it so much. The manner in which she served him, made Mr Appau feel like the real boss that he should be. After the meal, he called her to pour him a glass of fruit drink from the refrigerator, after which he complimented her cooking.

Aba only smiled and thanked him for the compliment. Innocently She asked him if there was anything else he wanted.

It was when she turned to go that he could not hold back what he had developed for her of late. He asked her where she was going and she said she was going to take her bath. He then instructed her to hurry up and see him for a discussion, to which she respectfully obliged and took her bath in a matter of five minutes. When she finished he was in his bedroom and invited her in. It was too unusual of him but she could not object to it. “Do you have a boyfriend?” he asked Aba, after asking her to sit on the bed. She shook her head shyly and he went ahead to ask whether she sometimes felt like having a man.

She was too confused to answer. He asked again and she nodded. “I like you,” Mr Appau said and held her close to himself. She was too frightened to protest until he

began to undress her. "There's nothing to fear. It will be over soon," he assured her and went ahead to peel off her clothes.

"Are you in your dangerous days?" he asked.

"No, Sir," Aba said without taking time to understand what it meant. She lay like a piece of log and endured it, for she was too frightened to enjoy anything. It happened once and he could not bring himself to continue, for the guilt had already dispossessed him of his manly prowess. He ordered her to dress up.

He then handed her four GHc50 notes, which shocked her even more than the affair. She was reluctant to take it until he said, "Take it. Buy yourself a new pant." He had seen that not only had her otherwise white pant become brown, but it had also been overused and he nearly tore it into pieces in his hurry. Mr Appau became traumatized and fasted for the forgiveness of his sins. He absented himself from church and felt very dirty and depressed about the act. For fifteen years of marriage, he had never been unfaithful to his wife.

However it was when he was almost recovering from the self-embarrassment that the seed he had sown two months earlier began to manifest. He willingly confessed to his wife and asked for forgiveness.

His insistence that the pregnancy should not be aborted infuriated his wife, and was the cause of her never-ending abuse for days.

To his dismay, however, she woke him up in the middle of one night to apologize to him. "Darling, I'm sorry for the abuse. I have been praying over this for some time now and the Spirit tells me you were bewitched," she said. "I should have

known better that nothing about that girl could ever attract you when you have a wife like me.”

“I don’t think it has anything to do with witchcraft,” Mr Appau spoke for the first time. “That girl has something that you don’t have.”

“What does this dirty thing have that I don’t have?” she screamed.

“She has RESPECT. I cannot justify what has happened, but if Aba has any witchcraft that drew me close to her, then it is her Respect. She makes me feel welcome in my own home. In this house she makes me feel important. It is something you have starved me for the fifteen years we’ve been married. It is a luxury and I easily get swayed by it.”

She could not utter any word but she replied him with tears. They were tears of grief. Tears of guilt. And of regret. Mrs Clara Oforiwaa Appau was a kind of woman every man would dream of having but she lacked respect for her husband and she did not argue when her husband told her what made him fall. She knew it was true.

You may be wondering why I have decided to bore you with yet another tale. I’m not in any way laying the foundation for infidelity. I just want to illustrate the value men place on respect. Men have a big ego and so feel deflated when they are treated with contempt, especially from women. (wives) I’m not calling for worship. For most marriages respect is the missing element in the character of wives, and I have complained for the umpteenth time but without any positive response.

If our relationship, and for that matter our marriage, will succeed, then it will depend on 'respect.' We have to respect each other in order to live together. Make me feel appreciated. Let me know you value me. And treat me the way I treat you. On mutual respect shall we build our marriage and the gates of divorce shall not prevail against it.

5.7.1 Analysis

A kind of cultural, moralistic story, this story sanctions against women's gender behaviour in relation to men. It teaches an extreme form of respect of men where women's bodily agency, autonomy and level of achievement in other areas other than marriage is sacrificed for an ego this writer claims men naturally need to have. Below are highlights of sections of this article that stress certain problematic gender stereotypes:

- a. Mrs. Appau's fear for hiring a house-help was because this house-help might 'entice' her husband. This implies that if anything sexual were to happen between her husband and the house-help, blame would be placed on the house-help's body.
- b. There are many references made to what the writer posits as Mr. Appau's natural needs for respect which were being unfulfilled by his wife: "*The manner in which she [the house-help] served him, made Mr Appau feel like the real boss that he should be*", and Mr. Appau's explanation for his infidelity went thus: "*...it is her Respect. She makes me feel welcome in my own home. In this house she makes me feel important. It is something you have starved me for the fifteen years we've been married.*"

- c. This explanation seems to provide perceived justification for Mr. Appau's rape of the house-help and marital infidelity even though it says that's not its agenda.
- d. There are reminiscent linked references to women as seductress and a religious reference to seductive women as the 'devil', hinting at religious justification for inappropriate manly behaviour [chapter two references this].
- e. Though both husband and wife had highly achieving jobs, this story hints at the compromise of care work that is seen as the woman's duty. This compromise is presented as the catalyst of the events in the story.

5.8 Bantama Gang Rape Case

As stated in my methodology, although the study is about rape culture in Accra, where very necessary I will bring in a case outside of Accra for illustration. Four teenage boys and a young man in his early twenties lured a young girl to a room, pinned her down on a mattress and gang raped her. Around December 2017, in video footage that went viral, filmed by the fifth boy, the girl is seen protesting verbally and physically to no avail. The video became viral and drew national outrage. Calls for arrest and immediate justice echoed in traditional and social media. The twenty-year old ringleader was sentenced to seven years in jail with hard labour, while the other rapists who were minors were referred to the District Court for sentencing.

5.8.1 Analysis

- a. The rapists had no understanding of consent whatsoever and brought the girl to the room as an object to be used.
- b. There was a subtext of boyish bravado and conquest in their attitudes during and after the rape. On a level, this rape they undertook was normalized among

them. None of the boys stopped each other even in the face of the girl's trauma

- c. It is arguable that this case ended in some form of justice because of public outrage fuelled by the viral video.
- d. Despite the graphically violent nature of the video, some social media users still asked the questions: "Who sent the girl to the room? "Why did she follow them to the room?" This echoes the general perceived notion that rape is somehow the girl's fault. This notion is so deeply entrenched that even in a gang rape where the victim could not overpower her assailants, blame must still be found with the female body. It places the rapists in the role of males exhibiting uncontrollable sexual behaviour. Uncontrollable, gender inequality teaches, by their very nature and this absolves them of moral guilt.
- e. The victim was re-victimized by the numerous times this video was shared on all social media platforms. An ethical debate ensued as to whether by showing the graphic video, social media users attracted the needed attention for the rapist to be arrested or whether they perpetuated her victimization
- f. Some media houses in sharing still images of the graphic video, censored the victims face in order to protect her.
- g. In their reportage of the sentencing, myjoyonline.com referenced the incident as follows: —A Kumasi Circuit Court has sentenced a twenty-year old man to seven years imprisonment for defilement captured in a viral gang rape [apostrophe placed by media house] video in a Bantama Suburb in the Ashanti region. The use of defilement suggests the process by which something is made impure. The object of this 'im-purification' is the girl. Though, this is the constitutionally defined term for the action, it is problematic languaging

around rape because it suggests that the victim's worth is somehow compromised. Further on in the article, the writer still referred to it as a case of —alleged non-consensual sexual intercourse, using mitigating language for the act that had been condemned by court and its rapists served with a sentence.

- h. Police had to plead with the populace and media houses to stop sharing the video because it was an offence to circulate obscene material, myjoyonline reported, but not because of the re-victimization of the girl.

In the next chapter, we will be examining the Me TOO movement in Ghana.

5.9 #METOO , a Brewing Movement in Ghana?

An international movement against sexual harassment and assault that went viral on global social media, #METOO has been a powerful example of the inspiration of one public revelation. The phrase was first used by African American activist, Tarana Burke in 2006 as a grassroots campaign for women of color who have experienced sexual abuse. The phrase was later popularized in October 2017 by Alyssa Milano, an American actress, producer, activist and singer, when she encouraged women to tweet it to give people a sense of the magnitude of the problem of sexual abuse (The Guardian, 2017). This was in the wake of the Harvey Weinstein scandal, an embattled Hollywood producer who was accused of sexual predatory behaviour, harassment and rape during his tenure as a powerful movie producer. What followed was a barrage of testimonies of sexual harassment, rape and assault. A distinctive feature about the hashtag was how similar the stories were, which unearthed the repeated patterns and behaviour of sexual predators. Thus, all a victim or survivor needed to do was to say #METOO.

Though the hashtag has been a popular discussion in Ghanaian traditional and social media [also because of the high profile, international personalities who also shared

their stories], it has not yet sparked the widespread sharing of revelatory stories of sexual harassment. A twitter poll investigating how much traction #METOO got in Nigeria and Ghana showed that 50% of twitter users who engaged with the poll in Ghana and Nigeria knew about the movement, but only 8% participated. This could be for many reasons such as the heavy social stigma that is attached to victims of sexual assault, the social sanctioning of people who dare to speak up against their abusers, the media's irresponsible lack of discretion or perhaps, the lack of a spark of inspiration from a courageous survivor ready to risk it all.

Despite this, there was an early, much smaller version of the #METOO movement in Ghana which was started by twitter user @obaaboni using twitter and her blog Ghanafeminism.com. In what became a viral issue, she shared anonymous stories of Ghanaian women, most of them university students, who accused a well-known rapper and lawyer, XO Senavoe, of raping them. Below is an excerpt from two of the stories shared anonymously:

“I made acquaintance with XO years ago, he met me at an event and asked for us to leave to his place. I declined. The following day, he asked me to come over which I declined as well. He was needy, lonely and sad about being an orphan and family issues. Finally I gave in and went to see him, he gave me food and a drink. I did not expect alcohol but could taste it in the drink. He kept pouring and insisted we needed to both be relax to break any tension, I did. Eventually I was very drunk and felt dizzy and he started to undress me but I resisted and tried to get him off and told him I did not want to have sex with him he listened and fell asleep

“When we met he took me to his place and promised to take me back to school, at his place I was tired and wanted to sleep, he insisted I drunk some more, I did drink a little more and told him it was enough. He lay by me and begun to undress me by the time I realized he was on top of me and was about penetrating, I told him no he said it would be ok while penetrating I pulled away and coiled myself at the top of the bed hoping he'd leave me alone/give up but he only pulled me closer to him and spread my legs open I begged him to at least use protection but he did not listen, what seemed like forever it was finally over. I could not sleep

I felt disgusted and wanted to leave immediately, he was asleep. I woke him up and insisted he brought me back to school.”

In all the six other anonymous stories his alleged mode of predation was the same: he attempted to seem vulnerable by talking about his orphaned status, he lured young, impressionable girls who were enamoured with his rapper stardom to his home, plied them with alcohol and allegedly raped or attempted to rape them.

This report by @obaaboni followed a similar pattern as the #METOO movement. Survivors who saw the first stories, felt empowered to reach out to @obaaboni to share their stories on condition of anonymity. Though none of his victims were willing to prosecute in court, they trusted in the court of public opinion which social media provides to find another form of justice and healing. XO Senavoe has not been seen or heard from again on social media.

5.10 Conclusion

In conclusion, I have attempted above to provide a sample of the quality of conversation and quality of attitude around rape and sexual abuse as expressed by social media users. It is evident that because of how big social media conversation is, there are polarizing opinions. In some of the cases above, one encounters the deep-seated misogyny and sexism that aids in propping up a patriarchal society that encourages rape to thrive. However, in cases like the social media outrage at the Minister's comments and the use of blogging and twitter to expose an alleged sexual predator, there seems to be a new wave of Ghanaian opinion that is determined to change Ghanaian society by promoting a more tolerant and less oppressive system that will make it difficult for rape to thrive.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper has sought to probe into what could be the deeper sociological and psychological causes for the cycle of rape in Accra. This chapter will unpack previous chapters, highlighting key themes and making recommendations.

6.1 Does Accra have a rape culture? Gender Inequality, Power and Rape Culture

In all the previous chapters, a recurrent reference has been made to the cultural understanding of gender and gender relations. A society's interpretation of gender roles has been shown above to have a direct influence on sexual relations. Therefore, a system of gender inequality would necessitate a system of an imbalance in power relations during sexual encounters. This power imbalance affects how sex is talked about, how gender roles are defined, where blame is laid during sexually abusive situations and what kind of justice is conferred (Tamale, 2003).

From the above analysis of gender in Accra society, there are signs of accepted standards of gender inequality. Women are generally seen as subordinate to men and they are socially sanctioned to act as so. A woman's body is a site for gender politics. The contention of who owns her body and what she is allowed to do with it or not is a real point of debate. In cases of sexual harassment and rape as seen in previous chapters, this contention becomes especially problematic because of the harm and trauma it inflicts on people, largely women in Accra. If a woman is generally perceived as a sexual object, all her natural human rights to autonomy are generally

disrespected and infringed upon by virtue of her gender. An institutionalization of this perception institutionalizes a system of culturally legitimized rape and abuse.

Defining what may be the crux of the problem has been Accra's cultural choices when it comes to defining and understanding gender and gender relations. Gender is generally understood to fit two general boxes of masculinity and femininity, dualism in interpreting gender roles. Now research points to gender fluidity (Linstead, A., & Brewis, J. (2004) These two categories are defined by certain socially accepted behaviour, which come with sanctions if any of this behaviour falls outside any of the defined categories. Thus, women are generally perceived as subordinate in society, in family, in churches, at workplaces by virtue of their gender expression. Men are perceived as more central to the human narrative and thus are defined in very specific categories as 'leader', 'head of home', 'aggressor', etc. This very specific categorizing of men and women, boys and girls, and the social sanctions that are meted out for not following what I would call the 'gender rules' have had consequences, one of which is Rape Culture as I have attempted to show in this research. This cultural understanding of gender as shown in the cases in previous chapters is not based on the fact of gender expression being a spectrum, instead, the spectrum is suppressed into a binary with strict rules for sticking to these binaries.

This system of enforced gender laws, laws that come with specific prescribed gendered actions, puts people at risk of injustices. For instance, a young woman should not have to bear the burden of worrying if her going on a date with a man will be misconstrued as her giving automatic consent for unwanted sexual behaviour. Women are not the only group that suffers from this. Men who do not match up in various ways to these gender stereotypes also suffer an injustice. Some of these consequences are the indoctrination into a problematic cultural behaviour that blurs an

understanding of consent, and makes it difficult for Accra society to acknowledge rape with men as victims.

Power is also a major discussion here. To talk about cultural systems is to probe into power relations in said system: who has it, who is at the receiving end of it, what are the cultural laws made by it, and what are the injustices created by its imbalance.

Power is central to the discussion of gender inequality because the reason for a system of inequality lies in who wields the most power, on what basis they wield the power and how that power is wielded. In a system of gender inequality, who wields the power is the masculine gender, as argued by feminist theory. The basis on which men wield this power is because of their gender. A patriarchal system privileges power to men. How that power is wielded may arguably be a central cause for rape culture in Accra society as this paper has attempted to discuss. In a patriarchal system where men wield more power, the consequence has been the erasure of feminine humanity and agency, and in light of the topic of this paper, this has meant an infringement on female sexual rights. It has also had consequences on male sexual rights. LGBTQIA+ rights, humanity and agency are also erased under a system of patriarchy. The violence and stigma patriarchy employs to the issue of Ghanaians on this spectrum of sexuality is harsh and silencing and this is evident in this study.

As is examined in previous chapters, rape might just be about power and not desire as is popularly thought. Rape, sexual abuse or harassment typically occurs when the perpetrator who is aware of his/her power physically, emotionally, or psychologically and uses this power to overcome his/her victim by infringing on their body and sexual rights. To language rape as an act of desire is reductive and perpetuates a cycle of injustice where the perpetrator is pardoned by giving him/her justification for the act, and the victim is blamed. Under a system of gender inequality and patriarchy, there is

a systemization and legitimization of this cycle of injustice, thereby allowing rape to thrive in Accra society.

6.2 A Subculture of Sexual Violence

This system of power imbalance through patriarchy has been normalized through cultural avenues and has engendered a subculture of sexual violence. This subculture of sexual violence facilitates the existence of societal conditions that enable rape to thrive. If men are taught that women are objectified prizes to be won, but they have to jump certain hoops to get the prize, if the prize refuses to be a price, violent consequences can emerge. For instance, a man assuming that he is owed sex or romantic interest because he paid for dinner, or a husband assuming lifetime ownership of his wife's body because of a marriage certificate. In both cases, men have been known to exhibit violent behaviour; husbands can become physically abusive, or the date would lock doors or release his dogs to prevent her from leaving.

This becomes a subculture because once all cultural mediums continue to objectify femininity and portray it is something to be owned or possessed by men, we perpetuate a system of gender inequality. Ownership or possession of another human being should be unethical under the basis of basic human rights.

6.3 Consequences of a Subculture of Violence

The consequences of this subculture of violence, analysing previous studies on gender and its connection with a general understanding and respect for consent as has been seen in previous chapters, provide substantial evidence, at least through the cases presented in this study, that Accra has a rape culture. This means Accra is a place

where rape is encouraged to thrive because of the following factors highlighted in previous chapters:

- A repeated cycle of rape
- There are gendered reactions to victims of rape. If they are women, victim-blaming occurs where questions about their personal dress, location and choices are raised as legitimate causes for their rape. If they are men, it is posited as ridiculous.
- Victims of rape are therefore re-victimized and dealing with the trauma is delayed or non-existent
- Rape cases usually end up as a 'he-said-she-said' in courts and justice is difficult to get.
- Understanding of consent is blurred such that perpetrators of abuse or rape cross personal boundaries and find justifications for doing so
- Problematic gender stereotypes are normalized in society
- Religious justification and mitigating language surrounding rape encourage systems of injustice, where rapists are not brought to justice and victims can be re-victimized.

However, rape is generally an act that is heavily frowned upon in Accra society, and in here lies a form of paradox; although conditions exist that encourage rape to thrive, rape is heavily frowned upon.

Accra is currently in the middle of a changing process. It must be acknowledged that there are strong opposing forces that seek to change these normative conditions that encourage rape to thrive. The work of Ghanaian feminists in publicly challenging gender stereotypes on social media, traditional

media and in their everyday lives, the work of brave citizens seeking social media justice in cases of rape where the normal channels of justice fail [such as in the XO Senavoe case], the fact that a conversation on Consent can trend on Ghanaian social media for three days gives hope that the normalizing of a culture of sexual violence, a rape culture, would not be made welcome. In the next section, we will examine what Justice looks like.

6.4 What does Justice look like?

Justice as a form of sanction against rape is hotly contested. In the Bantama gang rape case, the oldest of the five convicted rapists was sentenced to seven years with hard labour. This raised a general argument on social media ~~ab~~ about how meagre the sentence was or how stringent it was. Those of the latter view believed that he was too young for his life to be taken away from him. Others of the former view stressed the serious physical and psychological harm the victim suffered and may not recover from.

Justice is always contentious. However, justice served which includes a program of de-radicalization in addition to or in place of other types of punishments would be effective in dealing with the deeper cause for rape: power imbalance through legitimized sexism and gender inequality. In the case of the Bantama gang rape four of the five rapists were under-aged teenaged boys, while the group leader was in his early twenties. They violently ignored the victim's pleas for them to leave her and acted with masculine boisterousness and derision at her trauma. They had erased the victim's humanity by positioning her as a sexual object all of them could use to achieve sexual pleasure. In a society that normalizes the objectification of women and girls, this was learned behaviour that was exhibited in an extreme act of violence. Their senses were numb to their victim. This is reminiscent of the

Indifference of terrorists who have been radicalized to believe that killing a class of people is a divine duty.

Thorough justice would include a program of de-radicalization where these dangerous patriarchal ideas that legitimize violence are de-programmed from the minds of rapists. A re-education based in equality, equity and human rights should follow the de-programming.

6.5 Recommendations

To contribute to an end to rape culture, below are some suggestions:

- a. Society needs to be educated about patriarchy and rape culture. This should be done by as many social institutions as possible from the family unit and schools, to workplaces.
- b. Family units and school units should teach more progressive ideas about gender. Boys and girls need to be taught that every person has dignity irrespective of their gender or sexuality. It should be taught very early on in a person's education that gender is a spectrum where people fall in varying categories and we must sanction any discrimination towards any gender expression growing up. This early childhood education can be fun such as reading story books to children that are gender neutral in their approach.
- c. Sex should be discussed by guardians and caretakers openly to allow for young people to be able to have a constructive and progressive sex education, instead of relying on harmful pornography or playing out harmful gender stereotypes.
- d. Society should promote a consent culture. This should be reflected on all platforms of cultural media, such as radio, television and social media.

- e. Media houses must be sanctioned if they re-victimize or endanger victims of sexual abuse or harassment in their bid to report rape issues.
- f. Religious education in schools should be replaced with more secular ethics education
- g. There are currently no more rape crisis centres in Accra as at the time of writing this thesis. Setting up accessible rape crisis centres as part of hospital work, NGO projects or government initiatives would go a long way to provide immediate support for victims of rape.
- h. Police and medical bills incurred in the reportage of a rape case should not be at the cost of the victim doing the reporting. Other innovative ways of covering such costs while rape is still a reality in our society can be researched into.
- i. Police departments, who are often the first call in rape cases, should be trained in more empathetic ways of receiving rape cases and not being the first point of re-victimization.

What is a consent culture? A consent culture is a culture in which understanding and respecting bodily autonomy and people's sexual rights, and asking for consent is normalized in popular culture.

Promoting a consent culture can happen in the most basic everyday ways such as teaching children that it is okay to say 'no' to an unwanted physical contact, promoting positive body language or simply asking before you take or borrow someone's property. In sexual situations, consent culture is knowing exactly what and how much you are agreeing to do, to know you have the basic right to make that decision for yourself, to be able to decide freely and voluntarily to participate and to know that you can withdraw your consent when you want to.

Everyday ways by which we can promote a consent culture by individual actions:

- a. Asking for consent before any sexual activity or before becoming intimate in any way
- b. Listening to a person's 'no' and respecting their right to withhold
- c. Avoid angry or pained outbursts when consent is withheld. An angry outburst may cause undue pressure to person withholding consent to compromise on their needs at the time
- d. Respect the likes or dislikes of your partner without pushing boundaries
- e. Avoid street harassment and not enabling such behaviour in public
- f. Placing consent at the centre of the discussion, not what they wore or questioning other personal choices that were made
- g. Speaking up and refusing to be an enabler

A consent culture means an overhaul in our human interactions from language to behaviour¹.

However, there is hope of a consent culture in Accra as was seen in chapter four where examples like the feminist activism of Twitter user Obaa Boni who used social media to reveal an alleged serial rapist who otherwise was not sanctioned by the law, or filmmaker Nicole Amarteifio's viral video 'How Short was your Skirt' that engendered a popular conversation on consent and rape culture.

In conclusion, I hope to have presented a convincing pattern of behaviour that links gender inequality to the societal systems that sustain the incidence of rape in our societies. My aim was to provide a thoughtful cultural analysis of the societal canker of rape that needs to be put to an end. By not accepting this violence as a part of life and

¹ Consent culture would mean the non-promotion of popular rhymes like:

"Georgie Porgie, Pudding and Pie,

Kissed the girls and made them cry

When the boys came out to play

Georgie Porgie run away." A seemingly harmless poem [as are all subtle cultural tools of patriarchy], which was interpreted like this in this rap song titled, —Me So Horny!:

"I'm just like that man they call Georgie Puddin' Pie. I fuck all the girls and I make 'em cry." The subtext of disregarding consent is heavy.

recognizing how it is driven by our values and attitudes that maintain a patriarchal order, we would be a step closer to eradicating rape from Ghanaian society because values and attitudes can change. It is people who can bring that change.

References

- A Rankings Report on The Most Influential Brands And Personalities On Social Media In Ghana A Project By Cliqafrika Limited And Avance Media.* (2016). Retrieved from <https://cliqafrika.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/2016-Final-Ghana-Social-Media-Rankings-Report-CliQAfrica-Ltd.pdf>
- Aglanu, D. (n.d.). KKD rape case was dropped because victim was unwilling to testify – AG - MyJoyOnline.com. Retrieved July 26, 2018, from <https://www.myjoyonline.com/entertainment/2015/April-22nd/kkd-rape-case-was-dropped-because-victim-was-unwilling-to-testify-ag.php>
- Aidoo, A. (1985). Women in the history and culture of Ghana. *Research Review*. Retrieved from https://scholar.google.com/scholar?q=women+in+the+history+and+culture+of+ghana+aidoo&btnG=&hl=en&as_sdt=0%2C5#0
- Alcock, J. (2001). *The Triumph of Sociobiology alcock john*. Retrieved from https://scholar.google.com/scholar?q=The+Triumph+of+Sociobiology+alcock+john&btnG=&hl=en&as_sdt=0%2C5
- Ampofo, A. A. (2008). Collective Activism: The Domestic Violence Bill becoming Law in Ghana. *African and Asian Studies*, 7(4), 395–421. <http://doi.org/10.1163/156921008X359597>
- Ampofo, A., Boateng, J., & Shefer, T. (2007). Multiple meanings of manhood among boys in Ghana. *From Boys to Men*: Retrieved from <https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=7XIPHggltS4C&oi=fnd&pg=P>

A50&dq=multiple+meanings+of+manhood+among+boys+in+ghana&ots=WYUy0TG3s&sig=fVNOorOO5l5OV4hRGNgnH-x0C8nI

AN INVESTIGATION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN EASTERN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO. (2010). Retrieved from <https://www.oxfamamerica.org/static/oa3/files/now-the-world-is-without-me-sexual-violence-in-eastern-drc.pdf>

Antwi, J. K. (2017). The value of a person in Akan traditional life and thought : A contemporary inquiry, 7(2), 198–199.

Apusigah, A. (2008). Is gender yet another colonial project? *African Feminisms*. Retrieved from http://www.myspace.com/www.quest-journal.net/volXX/Quest_XX_Apusigah.pdf

Archampong, E. (2011). The Treatment of Consent in Sexual Assault Law in Ghana. Retrieved December 7, 2015, from <http://theequalityeffect.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/consent-paper-Ghana-EA-JB.pdf>

Archampong, E. A. (2010). *MARITAL RAPE-A WOMEN'S EQUALITY ISSUE IN GHANA*. Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/d4c3/e0f1f3f8f1e283437d56fa31d00dcbd2a853.pdf>

Ardayfio-Schandorf, E. (2005). Violence against women: The Ghanaian case. *Citeseer*. Retrieved from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.564.3095&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

Ariffin, R., Selvaraju, S., Samuel, R., & Lourdes, C. (1997). Shame secrecy and

silence: study on rape in Penang. Retrieved from

<http://www.ponline.org/node/522691>

Assembly, T. G. (1995). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 3–7. Retrieved

from [http://www.maitreyasangha.org/DOCS/2012-The Four Freedoms-UN Charter.pdf%0Ahttp://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR_Translations/eng.pdf](http://www.maitreyasangha.org/DOCS/2012-The_Four_Freedoms-UN_Charter.pdf%0Ahttp://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR_Translations/eng.pdf)

Baker, A. (2017). Survivors of Wartime Rape Are Refusing to Be Silenced.

Retrieved from <http://time.com/war-and-rape/>

Beauvior, S. (1953). The second sex. Retrieved from

<http://14.139.206.50:8080/jspui/handle/1/1222>

Beyond Boundaries: Towards Fluidity in Theorizing and Practice [Editorial]. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 11(4), 355–362. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2004.00237.x>

Blackwell. (2012). *Masculinity-Illusion or Reality?* Retrieved from

http://www.blackwellpublishing.com/content/BPL_Images/Content_store/Sample_Chapter/0745624669/001.pdf

Boakye, K. E. (2009). Attitudes Toward Rape and Victims of Rape, 1633–1651.

Broohm, B. (2015). Rape case has affected me positively - KKD - MyJoyOnline.com.

Retrieved July 26, 2018, from

<https://www.myjoyonline.com/entertainment/2015/October-5th/rape-case-has-affected-me-positively-kkd.php>

Brown, C. (2012). Rape as a weapon of war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Torture, 22(1), 24–37. <http://doi.org/2012-08> [pii]

Brownmiller, S. (1975). *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*. Retrieved

from

https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&q=Against+Our+Will%253A+Men%252C+Women+and+Rape&btnG=&as_sdt=1%252C5&as_sctp=#7

Buchwald, E., Fletcher, P., & Roth, M. (2005). *Transforming a rape culture*.

Retrieved from

<https://www.ncjrs.gov/App/Publications/abstract.aspx?ID=155708>

Carlsen, E. (2009). Rape and War in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice, 214, 474–483.

<http://doi.org/10.1080/10402650903323546>

Coker-Appiah, D., & Cusack, K. (1999). Breaking the silence and challenging the

myths of violence against women and children in Ghana: Report of a national study on violence. Retrieved from

<http://www.africabib.org/rec.php?RID=W00070909>

Cole, E., & Zucker, A. (2007). Black and white women's perspectives on femininity.

Psycnet.Apa.Org. Retrieved from <http://psycnet.apa.org/journals/cdp/13/1/1/>

Collins, P. (2002). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Retrieved from

<https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781135960148>

Davis, A. (2011). *Women, Race & Class*. Vintage. Retrieved from

https://scholar.google.com/scholar?q=+Women%2C+Race+%26+Class+angela+davis&btnG=&hl=en&as_sdt=0%2C5

Elements of Crimes. (n.d.). *International Criminal Court International Criminal Court*

Publication, (11). Retrieved from [https://www.icc-](https://www.icc-cpi.int/NR/rdonlyres/336923D8-A6AD-40EC-AD7B-)

[cpi.int/NR/rdonlyres/336923D8-A6AD-40EC-AD7B-](https://www.icc-cpi.int/NR/rdonlyres/336923D8-A6AD-40EC-AD7B-)

45BF9DE73D56/0/ElementsOfCrimesEng.pdf

Epp, G. (2007). *Encyclopedia of Sex & Gender*. Retrieved from

<https://hcommons.org/deposits/download/hc:15792/CONTENT/christ.pdf/>

Ghana Statistical Service, & Noguchi Memorial Institute for Medical Research

Noguchi Memorial Institute for Medical Research. (2004). *Ghana Demographic and Health Survey 2003*. Retrieved from

<https://www.dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR152/FR152.pdf>

Gilligan, C. (1977). In a Different Voice: Women's Conceptions of Self and of

Morality. *Harvard Educational Review*, 47(4), 481–517.

<http://doi.org/10.17763/haer.47.4.g6167429416hg510>

Green, J. (2017). The Design, Implementation and Evaluation of the Gatekeepers

A collective as a Resiliency Model for Same Gender Loving Men (SGLM) to Facilitate Identity. Retrieved from

<http://search.proquest.com/openview/40619a2c2fe326f16d938794f09a9739/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750&diss=y>

Grubb, A., & Behavior, E. T. (2012). Attribution of blame in rape cases: A review of the impact of rape myth acceptance, gender role conformity and substance use on victim blaming. *Elsevier*. Retrieved from

<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S135917891200064X>

Harrison, R. (2009). Gangs use rape to —cure| lesbians | News | National |

M&G. Retrieved March 26, 2017, from <https://mg.co.za/article/2009-03-13-gangs-use-rape-to-cure-lesbians>

Hearn, J. (2012). A Multi-Faceted Power Analysis of Men's Violence to Known

- Women: From Hegemonic Masculinity to the Hegemony of Men. *The Sociological Review*, 60(4), 589–610. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2012.02125.x>
- Hickey, C. (2001). Challenging violence in schools: An issue of masculinities. *The Australian Educational Researcher*. Retrieved from <http://dro.deakin.edu.au/eserv/DU:30012867/hickey-challengingviolence-2003.pdf>
- Hooks, B. (1981). *Ain't I a Woman*. Retrieved from https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&q=aint+i+a+woman+bell+hooks&btnG=&as_sdt=1%2C5&as_sdtp=
- Hooks, B. (2000). *Feminism is for everybody: Passionate politics*. Retrieved from https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=0au7QbAJH0gC&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=Feminism+Is+for+Everybody:+Passionate+Politics+bell+hooks&ots=2-WymmIoax&sig=NZb76CYrk_RDxfqi_Er9_7Wra44
- Hurd, H. M. (1996a). The Moral Magic of Consent. *Legal Theory*, 2(02), 121. <http://doi.org/10.1017/S1352325200000434>
- Hurd, H. M. (1996b). The Moral Magic of Consent. *Legal Theory*, 2(02), 121. <http://doi.org/10.1017/S1352325200000434>
- Jewkes R; Sen P; Garcia-Moreno. (2002). Sexual violence.
- Lauritsen, J. (1976). Rape: Hysteria and Civil Liberties: A review of Susan Brownmiller's book, *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*. *Gay Liberator*. Retrieved from <http://www.paganpressbooks.com/jpl/RAPE.HTM>

- Lorde, A. (2012). *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches*. Retrieved from https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&as_sdt=0%2C5&q=Sister+Outsider%3A+Essays+and+Speeches+audre+lorde&btnG=
- Mclean, G. F., Gyekye, K., & Wiredu, K. (2010). *Person and community* (Vol. 1). Retrieved from <http://www.crvp.org/publications/Series-II/1-Contents.pdf>
- Mehdi, Rubya Khan, S. et al. (1997). *Women living under muslim laws Femmes sous lois musulmanes*. Retrieved from <http://www.wluml.org/sites/wluml.org/files/import/english/pubs/pdf/dossier18/D18.pdf>
- Merril, D. S. (n.d.). Full text of —Encyclopedia of Rape. Retrieved December 7, 2015, from https://archive.org/stream/EncyclopediaOfRape/EncyclopediaOfRape_djvu.txt
- Morrell, R. (1998). Of boys and men: masculinity and gender in Southern African studies. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03057079808708593>
- Mullins, C. W. (2009). "We are going to rape you and taste Tutsi women": Rape During the 1994 Rwandan Genocide. Retrieved from http://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1004&context=ccj_articles
- Oduyoye, M. (1995). *Daughters of Anowa: African women and patriarchy*. Retrieved from <http://www.africabib.org/rec.php?RID=W00089355>
- Ortner, S. (1972). Is female to male as nature is to culture? *Feminist Studies*. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3177638>

Oyewumi, O. (2002). Conceptualizing gender: the eurocentric foundations of feminist concepts and the challenge of African epistemologies. *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Woman* Retrieved from <http://www.codesria.org/IMG/pdf/OYEWUMI.pdf?802/f381ac6d5c0744dfc843ba154e99973b625a1197>

Oyèwùmí, O. (1997). The invention of women: Making an African sense of western gender discourses. Retrieved from https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&q=the++invention+of+women+oyewumi&btnG=&as_sdt=1%2C5&as_sctp=#0

Oyèwùmí, O. (2005). *African gender studies: A reader*. Retrieved from https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=RIUBDgAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=african+gender+studies&ots=SLr_Uzsbgh&sig=YoVACKl2whajKrr7hBYY6i0iU5U

Parenti, M. (2011). *The culture struggle*. Retrieved from https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=QIhkVEPmyTgC&oi=fnd&pg=PA9&dq=the+cultural+struggle+michael+parenti&ots=cP50CO4ULa&sig=JQ5u6HHWU616ahD4oKJLP_62_So

Ramphela, M., & Das, V. (2000). Teach me how to be a man. *Violence and* Retrieved from https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=7KsEcQnb2VIC&oi=fnd&pg=PA102&dq=teach+me+how+to+be+a+man&ots=GqVq7H32vt&sig=tJsLm2fAtQGY83bF_Kaj7a5hSdM

Rodriguez, C. R., Tsikata, D., & Ampofo, A. A. (2015). Transatlantic feminisms:

Women and gender studies in Africa and the diaspora.

Snapp, I. (2016). *A Theory of Consent in Sexual Relations*, (April).

Social Media Stats Ghana | StatCounter Global Stats. (2018). Retrieved July 31, 2018, from <http://gs.statcounter.com/social-media-stats/all/ghana>

Spender, D., & Bardin, N. (1985). *Man made language*. Retrieved from http://www.plijadur.net/uploads/1/4/9/9/14998972/intro_man_made_language.pdf

Susan, B. (1975). *Against our will: Men, women and rape*. London: Martin Seder and Warburg. Retrieved from https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&q=+Susan+Brownmiller%27s+1975+Against+Our+Will%3A+Men%2C+Women%2C+and+Rape%2C+&btnG=&as_sdt=1%2C5&as_sdt=#0

Tamale, S. (2004). Gender trauma in Africa: enhancing women's links to resources. *Journal of African Law*, 48(1), 50–61. <http://doi.org/10.1017/S0021855304481030>

Tamale, S. (2011). *African Sexualities: A Reader*. Fahamu/Pambazuka. Retrieved from <https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=xSqIrrswbG0C&pgis=1>

The Anthropology of the State: A Reader. (2009). John Wiley & Sons. Retrieved from

<https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=knyumGmLQ7YC&pgis=1>

Tripp, A. (2004). Women's movements, customary law, and land rights in Africa: The case of Uganda. *Pdfs.Semanticscholar.Org*. Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/84b9/20fdb8ba4f7b2a08931017ca4e57dc449373.pdf>

Trotsky, L. (1972). *Art and Revolution: Writings on Literature, Politics and Culture*.

We should all be feminists | Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie | TEDxEuston - YouTube.

(2013). Retrieved July 31, 2018, from

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hg3umXU_qWc

Wertheimer, A. (1996). Consent and Sexual Relations. *Legal Theory*, 2(02), 89.

<http://doi.org/10.1017/S1352325200000410>

World Health Organization. (2011). Chapter 6: Sexual Violence. *World Report on*

Violence and Health, 26(5), 608–630. <http://doi.org/10.1891/0886-6708.26.5.608>