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Going to Town with Privacy

Exploring Voyeurism and the Motivations behind
Exposure of Online Secrets

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Going to Town with Privacy: Exploring Voyeurism and the Motivations behind Exposure of Online Secrets

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Abstract: The study explores what influences as well as motivates the recording and publication of sex acts online for public consumption. Despite the increasing bombardment of the online space in Ghana with nude images and videos, research on the phenomenon is scanty. We examined the phenomenon and motivations behind such publications by the youth in Ghana, analyzing two young Ghanaian ladies. Three in-depth interviews of two young Ghanaian women were analyzed using the qualitative method of inquiry. Analysis of interviews revealed that one of the women publishes her own nude images and videos from a sense of frustration, with a view to seeking attention, gaining financial rewards, achieving social recognition, and having fun. The analysis further revealed that monetary gains, awards, and media attention motivate the publication of nude images online. Sexual exploitation was also identified as a factor that influenced the teenager to record her nude video.

Keywords: Online Space, Nude Images, Videos, Sexual Exploitation, Youth, Teenager, Ghana

Introduction

Over the years, advances in technology, cultural dynamism, and social attitudes, coupled with easy access to recording devices such as mobile phones, have transformed the landscape of what is published on the Internet. In Ghana, nude images have flooded the cyberworld. Pornography and related videos of nudity, as well as secretly recorded sexual experiences of people easily find their way into the public space through the Internet. People are only too eager to publish their experiences, including private experiences such as sexual encounters between couples and nude photographs, that are usually kept strictly private. In the same vein, access to this online content is almost limitless. Encountering sex videos and nude photographs, which some refer to as “soft porn,” on the Internet is commonplace nowadays. Sex videos and photos flood the online space with a disregard for privacy. The youth appear to be the main culprits in this subculture. Young women have usually been at the receiving end of this voyeuristic act from men. It is also true that some young women post their own nude images to attract the male gaze for material benefits. Recording one’s own nudity and publishing it online vis-à-vis secretly recording others’ nude images and publishing them online may not be new in Ghana. In light of this, I explore the situation in Ghana. A recent publication on the website of Koenig and Owen reports that one John C. Kelly, a prominent Morgan Stanley investment manager, was arrested and held in custody for secretly video recording and publishing the videos of his sexual escapades with three unrelated women online (Owen 2014). Although people’s recording of their own “obscene acts” and publishing them online for public consumption may not be a new subject of discussion, the motivations behind seeking to make public what must be kept secret are now being discussed (Kaledzi 2017). In Ghana there have been several instances of either some “celebrities” recording their own nude images and posting them online or people’s nude images being leaked by others (Tali 2019; Danyels 2018). The

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phenomenon has been attributed to several factors, including the advent of the camera and the proliferation of media, especially new media. Carrabine puts it thus:

Ever since the birth of the camera it has been accused of upsetting the divide between public worlds and private selves, transforming the very act of looking and giving rise to a whole series of characterizations of this condition: the society of spectacle, the politics of representation, the gendered gaze and so forth, are among the more well-known. (2014, 134)

According to Karikari, Osei-Frimpong, and Owusu-Frimpong (2017), the last few years have seen an increase in the use of social media in Ghana owing to the availability of random connectivity throughout the country (also see Adzovie and Adzovie 2020). Further, the report states that Ghana was among the first few countries in Africa to achieve connection to the Internet. In addition, Ghana is among a few African countries with a vastly liberalized telecom market. The report puts the number of Facebook users in Ghana at 2,900,000 as of November 15, 2015, according to Facebook statistics. To put the study in perspective, we probe the following: First, what influences people in Ghana to record others' or their own nudity? Second, what motivates Ghanaians to publish nudity online for public consumption? Finally, what effects does published nudity have on victims in Ghana?

Literature Review

Theoretical Framework

The theory of planned behavior (TPB) and social learning theory serve as a framework for the study. TPB is an elongation of reasoned action theory (Fishbein and Ajzen 2011), which was necessitated by the original model limitations in dealing with behaviors over which people have incomplete volitional control. The theory postulates that general attitudes and personality traits are entailed in human behavior; however, their influence can be recognized by merely observing encompassing, conglomerated, valid samples of behavior (see Figure 1).

The attempt to predict human behavior in all its complexity is a daunting task (Figure 2). To predict, as well as offer explanations for, human behavior, scholars (e.g. Ajzen 2011; Armitage and Conner 2010) have employed behavioral dispositions such as social attitude and personality trait as an important aspect. Social learning theory, as propounded by Bandura (1977), concurs with the classical conditioning and operant conditioning behaviorist learning theories. Social learning theory states that people are surrounded by many influential models such as family members, friends, and characters on television. People imitate the behaviors of these models through observation. Behavior is learned from the environment through the process of observational learning. These two theories are useful to our study because recording and publishing one's own nude images have to do with behavior. Bandura (1977) opines that humans are active information processors and that they think about the relationship between their behavior and its consequences.

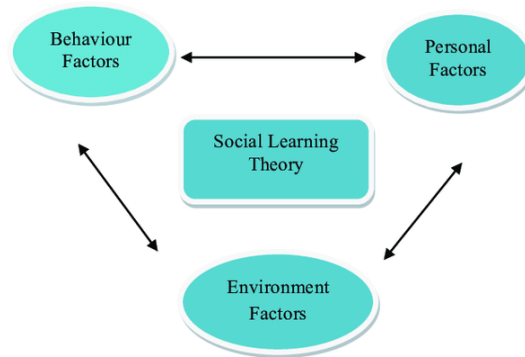


Figure 1: Social Learning Theory
Source: Bandura 1977

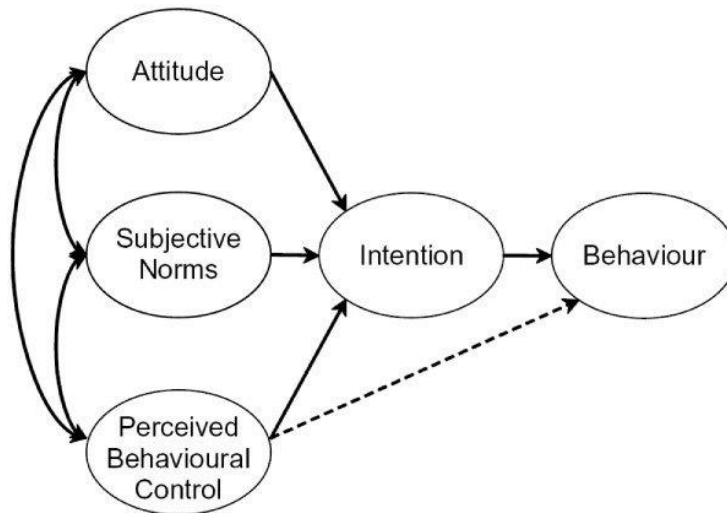


Figure 2: Theory of Planned Behavior
Source: Ajzen 1991

The Ghanaian Youth and Online Media Usage

Young people constitute a rapidly growing majority across the African subregion. According to the United Nations (2019), young people currently make up 19 percent of the entire Ghanaian population. The report further states that the country has the fourteenth largest youth population in Africa, numbering 5,718,000, whereas in Western Africa, Ghana's youth population is second to that of Nigeria. To a large extent, the youth are Internet savvy and tend to explore opportunities available on online platforms. Bernard (2016) posits that although social media has had a positive impact on Ghanaian youth overall, some youth go through negative experiences on the online platforms. Frimpong and Vaccari (2015) investigated Internet trends in Ghana and found that more men than women used the Internet in the country. Their findings also reveal that YouTube was among the popular network sites in Ghana. However, an International Telecommunication Union (ITU) report states that the likelihood of Ghana's youth accessing learning opportunities provided by the Internet is low, because they are exposed to the Internet in later years (ITU 2013). People use online platforms, especially the social media platforms, for varied reasons—to keep in touch with family and friends (Atiso and Kammer

2018), to express views and opinions on social issues, to be abreast of current situations, to do business, and to self-learn skills. According to Atiso and Kammer (2018), participants who were interviewed described social interaction as a major motivator for online usage, and this confirms findings of previous studies (Matikainen 2015; Whiting and Williams 2013).

Voyeurism, Privacy, and the Online Space

According to Patrick (2018) and Bagdasarov et al. (2010), it is now easier than it used to be for people to spy on unsuspecting individuals in their private spaces because almost every modern device has a camera attached to it. Bagdasarov et al. further states that some voyeurs go to the extent of assaulting their victims, as well as encroaching on their privacy. Hopkins et al. (2016) accept the fact that voyeurism demands objectification, which is marauding in nature, because it has to do with someone peeping on another without the person's permission or knowledge. Nation talks about "mediated voyeurism," which is the "consumption of revealing images of and information about others' apparently real and unguarded lives, often yet not always for purposes of entertainment but frequently at the expense of privacy and discourse, through the means of the mass media and Internet" (Dobson 2002, 726).

What Motivates People to Post Nudity Online

A lot of things are published online these days, including very provocative, controversial, and deeply personal photos and videos. According to McConnell et al. (2018) and Lenhart, Ybarra, and Price-Feeney (2016), several factors such as expression, identity curation, social connections maintenance, and experiences recording have been identified as key motivations for sharing nude photos and sexually explicit videos online. Mitchell et al. (2012) also refer to sending and/or receiving sexually explicit images (exposed breasts, genitals, or buttocks) or messages through a cell phone as sexting. Their findings reveal that female students reported higher incidents of sending sexting images of themselves as well as receiving these types of images while in high school. Mitchell et al reveal that sending sexually explicit images to a potential boyfriend or girlfriend was a component of romantic relationships or courting practices among the youth. This suggests that being able to woo a prospective romantic partner constitutes a strong motivation for sharing such images. Hence, some young women prefer sending their nude images to their potential boyfriends to attract their attention.

Stroud (2014) opines that the phenomenon of intimate pictures of someone being posted by somebody else is motivated by a desire for revenge (revenge porn) for perceived relational scorn and that this is enhanced by the varying levels of online anonymity. Does this not presuppose that the victim or target is deemed to have been in the know or that he or she is responsible for what happens to him or her? Is it justifiable? No intimate image shared without consent must even attain the classification of "pornography." In a compilation made by Cox (2016) of explanations given by sixteen young women as to why they publish nudity, some referred to desirability as the motivating factor for publishing nude photos and videos online. They reported feeling desirable when voyeurs made nice comments on their published nudity. Some women also publish their nudity online because it boosts their self-esteem and ego, whereas other women find it entertaining and feel in control of sexual attention, besides feeling gratified by the praise and approvals that come in the form of comments. Some also attribute the act of posting their nude photos and videos online to bipolar conditions that make them hypersexual, thereby prompting them seek attention from voyeurs. Others reported publishing nudity online as a form of revenge in order to spite their ex-boyfriends. An ethnographic study conducted by Bindesbøl, Pedersen, and Tjørnhøj-Thomsen (2019) suggests that sharing nonconsensual sexually explicit images or videos is a form of "visual gossip" that promoted social bonding and gender recognition.

Experiences of Victims of Nudity Publications

Anyone who has had their private photos or videos posted online or shared without their consent is aware of how distressing it can be. Lenhart, Ybarra, and Price-Feeney (2016) opine that posting, disclosing, and/or sending someone's nude photo or video to another person without the subject's consent amounts to nonconsensual image sharing, which some refer to as "revenge porn." In many such instances, the photo or video may have been made consensually by people in love. I consider this act as invasion of privacy, which is criminal in nature. However, in most cases these images get leaked by a partner when the relationship hits the rocks. Lenhart, Ybarra, and Price-Feeney (2016) state that the damages caused by publication of images without the consent of the person or persons involved can be heavy, as in the case of permanent reputational impairments to victims. Baruh (2010) opines that voyeurism is an act of spying on other people's privacy and sometimes recording obscene acts for publication online. They assert that this act is devastating to the victims. Several news reports about victims of voyeurism in Ghana have flooded the media space (see Tali 2019; Danyels 2018). It is therefore important to investigate the phenomenon in Ghana.

Method

Two known journalists in Ghana conducted YouTube video interviews of two young women, one who is known for recording herself and publishing those recordings online and the other whose nude video (which she recorded herself) got leaked and ostensibly published online by another person(s) who downloaded it and reuploaded it.² The interviews were transcribed, coded, categorized, and analyzed (Fiaveh 2018). Manual coding was employed (Basit 2003). The results were then discussed on the basis of research questions. A qualitative analysis of secondary data from other sources was performed. In addition, the findings were informed by a review of key reports, documents, and published articles, together with websites and blogs. Three video interviews (two from the first respondent, who recorded her own nude images and published them online, and the other from the second respondent, whose nude video got leaked) were retrieved from YouTube. In all, 101 codes were generated—71 codes from one respondent's interviews (28 and 43) and 30 codes from the second respondent's interview. The codes were then sorted, categorized, and discussed.

Background Information about Respondents (Interviewees)

In presenting the findings, it is important to throw some light on the background of the respondents whose interviews were analyzed, in order to be able to follow the discussion properly. The first respondent was born in Suhum, in the eastern region of Ghana, to a Togolese father and a Ghanaian mother. She lived in Suhum and relocated to Accra after high school. She had always desired to become an actress, so she began to network with people in the entertainment industry in Ghana, eventually landing roles in acting in a couple of Ghanaian movies as well as roles as a dancer in some music videos. However, according to her, acting in movies and dancing in music videos did not achieve the popularity she desired, and hence she began to make her own videos and photos (mostly nude) for publication largely on her social media pages. She is currently in her late thirties and had a daughter as a teenager. She has won a couple of awards in Ghana and Nigeria, notably for being the "best dressed celebrity on Vodafone Ghana Music Awards—VGMA on the red carpet." This caught the attention of some entertainment bloggers, who began to interview her. Two of such interviews form the basis for this article. These interviews were downloaded from YouTube and analyzed.

² See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=toqlcIMNAy8;> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h8AtK_033yI; [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PiaKdX230oc.](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PiaKdX230oc)

Second, a young woman, who hails from Berekum in the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana, got media attention when she made a Facebook Live video on her Facebook page, in which she insulted her jilted boyfriend. She was awarded the prize for “Viral Video of The Year” in the 2016 Jigwe Awards. Apparently, a nude video that she had made of herself in a makeshift bathroom structure and sent to her “white boyfriend,” who demanded it some years ago, got leaked onto various social media platforms, ostensibly by her jilted boyfriend, and as a way of defending herself, she had decided to make a series of Facebook Live videos to counter the leaked video. She is a junior high school dropout who currently has a child. The interview analyzed in this study is one of the recent interviews she granted to a blogger, after childbirth, where she expressed remorse and apologized to Ghanaians for making a nude video.

Results

This section presents the results of the study shown in Table 1. The findings of the study were organized in three main categories: a) frustration b) trend seeking, and c) regrets. Under “frustration,” there are six subcategories focusing on what influences respondents to make nude recordings (photos and videos) for publication online, namely: i) desperation, ii) family responsibility, iii) desire for immediate popularity, iv) futile previous efforts at becoming a center of attention, v) lack of recognition, and vi) inferiority complex. The (b) trend-seeking category was divided into two subcategories: i) attention seeking and ii) fun seeking, while the (c) regrets category was divided into five subcategories: i) self-reproach, ii) societal rejection, iii) loss of friendships, iv) ignorance, and v) dropping out of school.

Table 1: Summary of Results

<i>Main Category</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Subcategory</i>	<i>Evidence from Data</i>
(a) Frustration	Expression of frustration for not being “known” after doing all that she did to be “known.”	(i) Desperation (ii) Family responsibility (iii) Desire for immediate popularity (iv) Futile previous efforts at becoming center of attention (v) Lack of recognition, and (vi) Inferiority complex	“It has been 11 years since I came to the industry ... all these things I was doing weren’t selling me”
(b) Trend seeking	She wonders why she couldn’t achieve the trending she desired after doing a lot of acting.	(i) Attention seeking (ii) Fun seeking	“The very first video which made me trend ... When I went to last year’s VGMA, it also trended me because of what I wore.”
Regrets	Displays remorse for the leaked video and expresses her ignorance regarding how the online space operates.	(i) Self-reproach, (ii) Societal rejection, (iii) Loss of friendships, (iv) Ignorance, and (v) Dropping out of school	“It is not my fault and I want to plead with all Ghanaians and the whole world ... I won’t intentionally bring out my naked video like that.”

Source: Adzovie and Adzovie

Discussion

In this section, we discuss the results in relation to the research questions. Research question (1) sought to examine what influences people to record their own nudity. To answer this question, we analyze the first respondent's interview, which reveals that frustration serves as the main factor in the decision to record one's own nude image and post it online. When people become frustrated from not being able to attain heights they had imagined, it leads them to conduct themselves in ways that appear contrary to societal norms. They become desperate, because it has been identified as one of the subcategories that influence people to record their nudity for publication online. A sense of desperation urges them to do something unusual because other ways to achieve attention were unsuccessful. In her case, she became desperate because the other acceptable means that she had tried, such as playing various roles in several movies and music videos, failed to realize her dream. From the following quote, the respondent displays a form of desperation:

It has been long since I started, it's been 11 years. It has been 11 years since I came to the industry. I used to act in 'Obra', 'Oxford Street'...I've done a lot of music videos. Oh, I've been in many music videos and movies. Recently, I did 'away bus'. So, if Ghanaians say they still don't know me...all these things I was doing weren't selling me. (First respondent: high school graduate in her late thirties)

Family responsibility is the second subcategory under frustration that is apparent in the interview. She claims she became a mother at an early age and feels responsible for her child, thereby needing to attain some success as fast as possible in order to make a living for both of them. This feeling of responsibility puts pressure on her to do anything in order to be able to take care of it. In the interview, she admits to this when she states:

it is not that I just remove my clothes. I have a child I'm taking care of and I want to ensure that my child doesn't lack the things I lacked like quality education, training and others so that my child will be a good person in future so that she will not suffer like I am suffering. (First respondent: high school graduate in her late thirties)

The feeling of responsibility then leads to the desire for immediate popularity. She displays clearly that she is well aware of her behavior vis-à-vis the consequences. However, her needs push her to do it. This confirms Ajzen's (2011) theory of planned behavior. She believes that becoming popular will not only yield financial rewards, but also earn her fame, awards, and the opportunity to rub shoulders with the *crème de la crème* of the industry. This is closely linked to the fact that she feels she had done a lot and hence expected to have attained popularity. However, she realizes that despite all she had done the "popularity" she had been seeking was not forthcoming and that she therefore needs to do something different in order to attain it. The following quote from the interview affirms that she craved popularity: "So that was my first video that made me popular.... That is what has helped me." This partially conforms to one of the reasons out of those listed by Cox (2016) as to why sixteen women published their nude images online. Futile efforts at becoming the center of attention, especially in the media, are closely linked to a sense of desperation and the desire to become popular. She repeats this several times in her interview. Lack of recognition is another subcategory identified as what influences people to record their nudity and share it with the public. In the interview, the first respondent laments that despite her previous efforts to gain recognition she had still not been successful, but that after posting nude images on social media she had achieved some measure of recognition in the form of awards both in Ghana and Nigeria. She credits the nude images

with the recognition she earned. The analysis of the interview also reveals that the first respondent feels inferior (inferiority complex) and that she therefore shares her nude image to attain approval. This is evident in the respondent's comment to a compliment she received from the interviewer: "My brother, Ghanaians say I am not beautiful, but since you have said I am beautiful, then it means I have become beautiful" (First respondent). The statement "I have become..." is instructive in that it triggers a signal that she had an inferiority complex in regard to her appearance, which caused her to share her nude images in an effort to gain approval as a way of dealing with her inferiority complex. This affirms one of the reasons given by the sixteen women for posting nude images online—a boost to the self-esteem.

To answer research question (2), "what motivates people in Ghana to publish nude images online for public consumption," the first respondent's second interview was analyzed. The analysis revealed trend seeking as one of the motivating factors for posting nude images online for public consumption. According to this respondent, she sought to trend on social media, which she claimed yielded her financial dividends. She revealed that she got more offers to appear in music videos as well as act in movies when she trended on social media. In her answer to why she recorded and posted nude images online, she responded thus:

The very first video which made me trend was when I went to Takoradi and was wearing a small swim wear and squatting in front of a small boy....When I went to last year's VGMA, it also trended me because of what I wore...and I have been telling people that I get paid for whatever I do on social media. (First respondent: high school graduate in her late thirties).

From the analysis, we find that "attention seeking" and "fun seeking" were the factors that motivated the first respondent to post nude images online and that there is a striking similarity between reasons people have cited for posting their nude images online and what the respondent in this study alludes to, as asserted by Cox (2016). In regard to research question (3), on the effects that the publication of nude images had on victims, the interviews of the first and second respondents were analyzed, and one main category, (c) regrets, was identified and five subcategories, namely, self-reproach, societal rejection, loss of friendships, ignorance, and dropping out of school, were identified. From the analysis, both respondents displayed varied forms of regret. The first respondent appears to be fully aware of the consequences of publishing her own nude image online but imagines that it is the only way for her to "get to the top" in her chosen career, acting. The other respondent appears to be remorseful about her actions. Although she did not leak her own nude video on social media, she initially felt that it was right to run with the hype that came along with the leakage, especially because she received some form of endorsement from the public in the form of an award for trending on social media. This inadvertently encouraged her to make a series of Facebook Live videos, insulting people she thought leaked her nude video and calling their bluff in attempting to tarnish her image in public. Little did she know that her action would earn her some disapproval, especially from her immediate environment. In her interview, she admits she was completely oblivious of the wide reach of the Internet. Again, as a teenager, she was overwhelmed by the attention she was receiving from the Ghanaian media, especially from entertainment news bloggers—the radio interviews and nomination for the "most viral video" award. However, she regrets the incident because it cost her friendships and respect. She was rejected by the same society that initially appeared to be hailing her and became a school dropout. From the analysis of the interview of the second respondent, she was completely ignorant of how wide the Internet is and how viral her videos went. According to her, she had thought that the circulation of her leaked video was limited only to her immediate environment, Berekum, and that hence once she had deleted it from the individual who had supposedly leaked it, it would disappear forever, only to realize that people had downloaded and saved the video on their mobile devices and were sharing it on many social

media platforms. She also claimed that at the time she made her Facebook Live videos, she had not seen her leaked video. However, after discovering the vastness of the online space, she began to regret, first, the nude video she had recorded and shared with her white boyfriend and later the Facebook Live videos she had made to counter the leaked nude video, ostensibly, to spite her jilted Ghanaian boyfriend. The following quote affirms this:

I don't know how the video managed to come out, and it wasn't my fault that it came out. I was chatting with a white man, and the white man said he was coming with his friend to Ghana so I should get my friend so that when they come to Ghana, my friend meet his friend and I said that I can't so he should go wherever he wants and get a lady for his friend. Then the white man conversed with the person and he thought that the person was my friend so should he see my video, it wouldn't be nothing. After it came out, many people thought that I brought it out, so they are angry with me and some are insulting me. It is not my fault and I want to plead with all Ghanaians and the whole world that it is not my fault to bring my video out-naked video. I won't intentionally bring out my naked video like that, so I beg everyone. It has been a long time since I did the video. When I did it, I hadn't been popular. I was chatting with my white man boyfriend and... (Second respondent: junior high school teenage dropout)

We believe that details of the foregoing quote suggest sexual exploitation. The “white man boyfriend” clearly exploited a naïve teenager, who was ignorant of a lot of things. The white boyfriend’s demand for a nude video from a teenager amounts to exploiting, or preying on, her. It could also be linked to this teenager’s environment, which influenced her to oblige, as postulated by Bandura (1977). The environment has an influence on people’s behavior. The following quote from the respondent displays how ignorant she was of how the Internet operates:

It was one of the boys who leaked the video that called me and showed the video to me that he had deleted the video, I am the one that took the phone and deleted the video but he had hidden the video and was showing it to people. (Second respondent: Junior high school teenage dropout)

In contrast, the other respondent appeared to be fully aware of the consequences of her actions in terms of publication of her nude images but attributed her actions to the financial rewards and public recognition in the form of awards. She expressed this as follows:

All those things I do on social media, they are all fun and part of my things to keep me relevant ... now, I'm everywhere.... When I started, people were condemning me, saying a lot of things but now I have four awards already.... Normal does not really sell.... So, it's paying me. Anytime I'll go for movie shoot, now I get scripts with big money ... it is not that I just remove my clothes. I have already said whatever I do on social media is not done for nothing sake. I'm paid for it. (Second respondents: Junior high school teenage dropout)

On the whole, the findings of this study bring to the fore questions about how well abreast people, especially women, are regarding social media usage vis-à-vis the consequences of recording and publishing of nude images online. The preceding extract can be linked to Ajzen's (2011) theory of planned behavior. As postulated by the theory, people think about the relationship between their behavior and its consequences.

Implications for Counseling

We believe that everyone needs counseling services. Individuals such as the two respondents need social support in the form of counseling. Our social support systems, if there are any, may be failing us. People must be given the needed guidance to be able to cope with certain situations in life. This highlights the need to establish strong social bonds and support systems that individuals may fall back on. Another implication is that awareness among youth of the world and mutual respect are necessary weapons to combat the act of phishing, which may be absent or inadequate.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The study sought to explore the subculture of voyeurism creeping into the Ghanaian media space, online usage by the youth, and the eagerness to publish nude images online. The following conclusions were drawn and recommendations provided: First, we conclude that the Ghanaian online space has recently been invaded by nude images, especially of teenagers and young adults in Ghana. Secondly, the second respondent's responses in the interview indicates that her nude video, which she secretly recorded and shared with her white boyfriend, leaked through her male friend, and she got carried away by the media attention she received after the leakage. She offered apologies for recording nude videos but also revealed that she did not know much about the online space. This points to the fact that a lot of young people in Ghana such as this respondent are vulnerable and gullible in their use of online space.

Third, the first respondent admits making money from the nude images she shares on social media through advertisements that she posts on her social media pages/handles and endorsements she receives in the form of awards when her videos go viral. The awards, monetary gains, and media attention she receives serve to motivate her to publish more of them. It is also instructive to note that there are teenagers who wrongly copy these acts, oblivious of the consequences that they end up regretting later. Organizers of award schemes seem to encourage the recording and publication of nude images through the recognitions they give to people like the first respondent, especially teenagers, such as the second respondent, who publish their nude videos or whose videos are leaked by their ex-boyfriends (revenge porn). Award schemes must consider the viral nature of videos that not only nominate but that even go further to award people, especially teenagers. Such organizers must take note of the messages they strongly communicate to the public, including teenagers. Awarding people for publishing their nude images encourages others who may similarly feel motivated to publish their own nude images. Furthermore, if a teenager's nude video is leaked and that teenager is awarded, it encourages both voyeurs to leak more of such images and others to record nude images for publication online. The act of secretly recording others and publishing online is criminal and not to be encouraged.

We would like to admit that even though we relied on the interviews conducted by the journalists for our analysis, we do not wholly accept all lines of questions posed by them, since their focus was not entirely aligned with that of this study. That is, we would not have asked certain questions that the journalists posed to the respondents or would have modified some of the questions to put the interviews in their proper contexts. One of those questions was "So, when you met Waakye and he introduced you to 'Obra', was that when Waakye had sexual intercourse with you?"

The foregoing question is a leading question designed to elicit a certain kind of answer from the respondent. The journalists asked leading questions, thereby pushing respondents to admit to things they would ordinarily not admit to. We therefore recommend that journalists refine their questions in order not to go overboard. Furthermore, we recommend that youth who have been so exposed be given moral education and immediately rehabilitated in order to

reintegrate them into society. Suitable employment opportunities that resonate with society's morals must be provided to the youth in order to curb online business obscenity.

Suggestions for Future Study

One of our immediate aims is to conduct a follow-up comparative analysis between underdeveloped and developed countries in order to probe the causes of the popularity of online pornography.

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