VICTIMS OR ACTIVISTS?

A Critical Discourse Analysis on the Roles of Women and Women's Activism in the Fight against Boko Haram in Nigeria

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Master's Thesis

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ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this study was to examine the representation of women in media discourses in the context of Boko Haram in Nigeria and the Chibok kidnappings. Boko Haram is a jihadist terrorist group established in Northern Nigeria. The aim of the group is to establish an Islamic caliphate in Western Africa, and the group is well known for its anti-Western ideology, strategical use of sexual and gender-based violence, and mass kidnappings. In 2014, the abduction of 276 schoolgirls from a secondary school in Chibok caused an international out-cry and brought the group under international attention.

In the conflict against Boko Haram, women are often portrayed as mere victims. Therefore, the research questions focused on the roles that women are ascribed through the discourse as well as to examine how their peace efforts are discussed. Furthermore, these questions were analyzed in the broader social context and were reflected against the patriarchal social structure prevalent in Nigeria. The dataset used in this study comprises of newspaper articles from two leading Nigerian newspapers, This Day and Vanguard, and statements from #BringBackOurGirls, a Nigerian women-led movement advocating for the rescue of the Chibok girls.

Research questions were investigated through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which served both as the methodological and theoretical framework for this study. In particular, the study utilizes Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional framework, and examines the wordings used in describing women's roles and activism, as well as the way in which power relations, hegemony and ideology manifest themselves through the discursive practices.

The study discovered that in both discourses, women's roles were portrayed through four different categories: victimhood, agency, relational roles and symbolic roles. The representation of women's activism, on the other hand, falls under three categories, and were represented as awareness-raising, formal advocacy and peace-building as well as negative influencing. The results suggest that the mainstream media discourse is more in accordance with the patriarchal ideology, whereas the discourse generated by the women-led movement provided a more counter-hegemonic voice.

The results reveal barriers in female participation. Therefore, this study recommends further implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in order to enhance women's participation in peace processes. Furthermore, the study recommends increased investments in female education in order to change attitudes on women's roles and enhance gender equality.

Keywords: Boko Haram, gender roles, activism, Critical Discourse Analysis, hegemony, Norman Fairclough

TIIVISTELMÄ

VICTIMS OR ACTIVISTS? A Critical Discourse Analysis on the Roles of Women and Women's Activism in the Fight against Boko Haram in Nigeria

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Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoitus on tutkia naisten representaatiota mediadiskursseissa. Tutkimus keskittyy terroristijärjestö Boko Haramiin Nigeriassa ja vuonna 2014 tapahtuneeseen Chibokin massakidnappaukseen. Boko Haram on jihadistinen terroristijärjestö, joka sai alkunsa pohjoisessa Nigeriassa. Ryhmän tavoite on luoda islamistinen kalifikunta läntiseen Afrikkaan, ja ryhmä on erityisen tunnettu sen länsivastaisesta ajattelusta, järjestelmällisestä seksuaalisen väkivallan käytöstä sekä massakidnappauksista. Vuonna 2014 Boko Haram herätti kansainvälistä huomiota sieppaamalla 276 koulutyttöä Chibokin kylästä.

Naisten rooli kyseisessä konfliktissa nähdään usein vain uhrina. Sen vuoksi tutkimuksen tarkempana tavoitteena on tarkastella millaisia rooleja naisiin yhdistetään eri mediadiskursseissa ja kuinka nämä diskurssit keskustelevat naisten aktivismista sekä rauhantyöstä. Tutkimus tarkastelee näitä kysymyksiä myös laajemmassa sosiaalisessa kontekstissa ja analysoi tuloksia Nigeriassa vallitsevan patriarkaalisen ideologian valossa. Tutkimuksen aineisto koostuu sanomalehtiartikkeleista kahdesta vaikutusvaltaisesta nigerialaisesta sanomalehdestä, This Day ja Vanguard, sekä nigerialaisen naisten johtaman #BringBackOurGirls-liikkeen lehdistötiedotteista.

Tutkimus lähestyy aihetta kriittisen diskurssianalyysin avulla, joka toimii tutkimuksen teoreettisena sekä metodologisena viitekehyksenä. Tutkimus nojaa Norman Fairclough'n kolmiportaiseen kriittisen diskurssianalyysin malliin, ja tutkii aineistossa käytettäviä sanavalintoja ja kuinka ne heijastelevat Nigeriassa vallitsevia valtasuhteita, hegemoniaa ja patriarkaalista ideologiaa.

Tutkimustulokset osoittavat, että naisiin liitetyt roolit jakautuvat neljään kategoriaan molemmissa mediadiskursseissa: naisia kuvataan uhreina ja toimijoina sekä heihin liitetään sosiaalisiin suhteisiin perustuvia rooleja ja symbolisia rooleja. Naisten aktivismia taas kuvataan kolmen kategorian kautta: aktivismista keskustellaan tietoisuuden lisäämisenä, formaalina rauhantyönä ja negatiivisena vaikuttamisena. Tuloksista voidaan päätellä, että sanomalehtien tuottama diskurssi heijastelee patriarkaalista ideologiaa vahvemmin, kun taas naistenliikkeen tuottama diskurssi haastaa tätä hegemoniaa.

Tutkimuksen tuloksista voidaan tulkita, että naisten osallistumisen tiellä on esteitä. Tutkimustulosten perusteella tutkielma ehdottaa, että Nigerian tulee edistää naisten osallistumista rauhantyöhön panemalla toimeen YK:n turvallisuusneuvoston päätöslauselma 1325. Sen lisäksi naisten asemaa ja tasa-arvoa tulee parantaa investoimalla naisten ja tyttöjen koulutukseen.

Avainsanat: Boko Haram, sukupuoliroolit, aktivismi, kriittinen diskurssianalyysi, hegemonia, Norman Fairclough

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACLED   Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project

BBOG   BringBackOurGirls

CDA   Critical Discourse Analysis

CPI   Corruption Perception Index

ISWAP   Islamic State West Africa Province

NAP   National Action Plan

NGO   Non-Governmental Organization

UNFPA   United Nations Population Fund

UNICEF   United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

UNSC   United Nations Security Council

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

For over a decade, the jihadist terrorist group Boko Haram has caused violence and fear in North-East Nigeria and its neighboring countries. The group is best known for its anti-Western, religious ideology and it has declared a holy war against Christians and Muslims that do not follow the correct form of Islam. (Brinkel, 2012, p. 3.) Moreover, Boko Haram is infamous for its strategic use of women and sexual violence as a part of their tactics (Nnam, 2018, p. 37). The group has killed thousands of civilians as well as left millions of people displaced and injured (Amnesty International, 2015, p. 3). Despite both national and international efforts, the terrorist group remains active.

Since declaring independence in 1960, Nigeria has witnessed the emerge of many violent uprisings and terrorist groups, but Boko Haram is often referred to as the biggest security challenge Nigeria has faced since the civil war due to its unique features (Aghedo, 2012, p. 859). Especially the strategic use of women has gained international attention and become a defining feature of the group. Mass kidnappings, rapes and female suicide bombers not only cause fear and destruction in local communities, but also create a discourse of portraying women as passive victims. This hegemonic discourse often seen in news articles and studies undermine women's agency and enforces the unequal gender norms deeply rooted in the Nigerian society.

Previous studies (e.g. Oriola, 2016; Zenn & Pearson, 2014 & Nnam, 2018) about Boko Haram do demonstrate the important role that women have in their strategy, but fail to reveal the full complexity. Women are often portrayed as mere victims and passive targets. Additionally, some studies (e.g. Bloom & Matfess, 2016; Matfess, 2017) also examine women's participation in the insurgency as wives of the members of Boko Haram or as suicide bombers fighting in the frontline. Yet, existing literature and prevailing discourse rarely point out women's efforts in peace-building and activism. Moreover, the existing literature examining discourse (e.g. Osisanwo, 2016; Chiluwa, 2015a & Chiluwa 2013) only focuses on the discourse used by Boko Haram or the way that the group is represented in

different media outlets, but does not examine in detail the discourse representing women in Boko Haram's strategy or media.

Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to study the robust roles of women in the conflict against Boko Haram. This study utilizes critical discourse analysis as a tool to reveal and understand women's roles in the conflict by analyzing and comparing the discourses used by different Nigerian media outlets. Moreover, the study aims to highlight women's activism and peace-building efforts against the group and examines how the discourse used portrays these efforts. In order to create an in-depth analysis, the thesis is focused on one, well-known incident; the kidnapping of 276 schoolgirls in 2014 from a government secondary school in Chibok town in the state of Borno. I approach the topic by applying Norman Fairclough's theory on social discourse. The theory is strongly linked to Gramscian and Foucauldian concepts of hegemony, ideology and power; concepts that are also central to this study.

In the analysis of this study, I am using articles from two major Nigerian newspapers; Vanguard and This Day. As a comparison, I analyze texts and interviews from a Nigerian women-led movement #BringBackOurGirls, which was established by concerned women to address the prolonging case of the Chibok girls and to advocate for their return. The presumption of the study is that the newspaper articles represent a hegemonic discourse that portrays women in mostly passive roles as victims, mothers and daughters; in roles that support traditional gender roles and the patriarchal ideology evident in the Nigerian society. In contrast, I believe that the discourse used by Nigerian women-led organization paints a picture of women as active agents and puts more pressure on the gender norms by offering new alternative roles to women. In other words, my presumption is that the movement represents a counter-hegemonic discourse. Moreover, I believe that the hegemonic discourse has its roots in the broader socio-political context of Nigeria, where women have a subordinate status to men (Nnam, 2018, p. 36), and I aim to examine how these two discourses maintain, challenge or support the prevailing gender norms and roles in Nigeria.

1.2. Research Problem and Questions

According to Klot (2007, p. 8), in conflict situations, women often suffer disproportionally from the consequences, but are rarely considered as active actors in either waging war or building peace. Women are often too simplistically framed as mere victims. This can lead to a hegemonic discourse that in turn maintains as well as enforces gender norms and roles. Based on the existing literature on Boko Haram, I argue that women's roles are often condensed and their active participation undermined.

Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is to study the roles of women in the conflict against Boko Haram through texts published by Nigerian newspapers and Nigerian women-led movement. In particular, this thesis focuses on if, and how, women's peace-building efforts are acknowledged and presented in different media outlets. Furthermore, as Nigeria is a highly patriarchal society where women struggle to achieve full and equal rights (Okunna, 2005, p. 128), I aim to analyze these roles and place them within the particular cultural context of Nigeria.

As the security threat caused by Boko Haram has been on-going since 2002, this research only focuses on the case of Chibok kidnappings in 2014. This case was chosen due to both the abundance of data available as well as the strategical significance of the particular attack. This study examines the discourses generated by both Nigerian mainstream media as well as Nigerian non-governmental, women-led movement. This allows me to challenge and compare the two sources together, highlighting both differences and similarities between them.

The research questions of this study are as follows:

1. In the discourse generated by Nigerian newspapers, what kind of roles are ascribed to women and how is women's activism portrayed?
2. In the discourse generated by the Nigerian women-led movement #BringBackOurGirls, what kind of roles are ascribed to women and how is women's activism portrayed?

3. Do the discourses generated by the two different media outlets enforce or challenge traditional gender norms prevalent in Nigeria? If so, how?

In more detail, the first research question examines the wordings used in the newspaper articles, and aims to reveal in what kind of roles are women represented and how women's activism is discussed. The analysis focuses on questions such as are women portrayed in passive or active roles? Is women's activism presented in negative or positive terms? What kind of value is ascribed to women? The second question looks at the research problem form the perspective of the women-led movement. It aims to reveal differences and similarities between the two discourses. Does the discourse used by the women-led movement offer new roles for women? Does the representation of women's activism differ in the statements published by the movement? Thirdly, the last research question takes the analysis from the word level to the level of social norms. It aims to examine how these given roles correlate with the Nigerian society and gender norms prevalent in it. What kind of images do these discourses give about women? Does the discourse used in the newspapers support patriarchal gender norms? Does the discourse used in the movement's statements challenge these roles?

2. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS A THEORETICAL FRAMWORK

This thesis aims to explore women's roles, their modes of participation as well as social relations and gender norms in the context of Nigeria and Boko Haram. Therefore, I found Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to be a great theoretical framework to gain in-depth knowledge, reveal possible power injustices and to examine both the discourse generated by major Nigerian news outlets as well as the discursive approach striving from Nigerian women's organizations. In particular, Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional theory on social discourse allows me to explore the texts in a thorough way, making it possible to study how the discourse aims to maintain or alter the social norms in Nigeria and vice versa. Additionally, Fairclough's theory introduces some key concepts used in this thesis, including power, hegemony and ideology.

CDA can be considered in two ways. Firstly, it is a theoretical approach used in social sciences. In this theoretical purpose, CDA examines how discursive practices operate in the society, and what kind of impact a discourse can have in the societal structures and vice versa. Secondly, CDA is also a methodology used to examine and analyze texts and their properties. In this chapter, I discuss in more detail the theoretical approach of CDA. Firstly, I introduce CDA as a theoretical framework, define the key concepts, and elaborate on why I chose to apply this method to my study. Secondly, I present in more detail Norman Fairclough's theory on social discourse that serves as the specific theoretical framework of this thesis. Lastly, I briefly introduce the main criticism CDA and Fairclough's framework have faced. The methodological approach is introduced and discussed in Chapter 3.

2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

According to Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009, p. 11-12), the words and language we use do not have a set meaning, but the meaning is shaped by the context we use it in. These usually unspoken rules can be renegotiated and reconstructed – or maintained – in the society. Discourse analysis, therefore, focuses on revealing these different meanings and

connotations we give to words and language, and how they are shaped and altered by the society. (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen, 2009, p. 11-12.) Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009, p. 13) suggest that by studying language and discourse, we also learn about the culture and society the texts are produced in – discourse analysis is not only a tool to learn about the language use but to also learn more about the norms, traditions and power relations of that society. Therefore, I believe that by applying discourse analysis as the theoretical framework of this thesis, I am able to get an in-depth understanding of the roles that women have in the fight against Boko Haram and a broader picture of social norms and power relations between genders that guide these roles.

The basic premise in discourse analysis is that the use of language is not only a linguistic act but it has a social component. Language is central to all human actions and behaviors, and the relationship between language and society is multi-leveled, complex and dynamic. (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2009, p. 13.) According to Wodak and Meyer (2016, p. 6), language use can also carry power, as it is a tool to define and construct the society around it. Not only is the language we use socially constructive, it also reveals our own beliefs, identity and the broader social context, norms and structures the language was produced in. One of the key thinkers in discourse theory, Michel Foucault, also bases his theoretical approach on the relationship between power and discourse. Foucault (1980, p. 93) argues that various power relations exist in every society, and these power relations shape the society. Foucault believes that the power relations need discourse in order to exist, as discourse is the tool that establishes and implements these power relations (Foucault, 1980, p. 93). Furthermore, as discourse analysis is highly interlinked with power it can be used to reveal social problems, uneven power relations as well as domination (van Dijk, 2001, p. 96).

It is this notion of revealing social injustices that separates Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) from other forms of discourse analysis (Amoussou & Allagbé, 2018, p. 13). Blommaert (2005, p. 22) argues that CDA was established to strengthen the interlinkage between language studies and the social sciences, and it was believed that CDA could give valuable input for already existing forms of social critique. According to one of the most prominent names in CDA, Norman Fairclough (1989, p. 1), CDA has two purposes: a

theoretical and a practical purpose. Firstly, Fairclough explains that the theoretical purpose of this methodology is to correct the common underestimation of the importance of language in establishing, maintaining and altering social relationships as well as power relations. Secondly, he believes that the practical purpose of CDA is to enhance the public consciousness of how the use of language contributes to the power relations found in societies, leaving some with more power over the others. (Fairclough, 1989, p. 1.)

Norman Fairclough, defines CDA as follows:

> By critical discourse analysis I mean analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (Fairclough, 1995, p. 132-33)

Similarly, van Dijk (1993, p. 252) suggests that CDA focuses on power relations, specifically to reveal dominance and inequalities. Another prominent name in CDA, Ruth Wodak (2001, p. 2), adds that CDA aims at a critical analysis of social injustices, and examines how these injustices are established, maintained legitimized with language. As the examples illustrate, one premise of CDA is that discourse is inextricably interlinked with power as well as ideologies, and CDA aims to reveal the ideological beliefs and power relations behind the texts.

Another central idea of CDA is the dual relationship between discourse and language and the society. This means that not only do social practices and norms shape the language we use and the discourses we create, but language also has the power to shape and alter social practices - the use of language can establish, maintain or change power relations in societies (Blommaert, 2005, p. 25). This idea of a dual relationship between discourse and society is central to many CDA theories, including Norman Fairclough's, and I will address the topic in more detail when introducing Fairclough's framework.

Fairclough's theory is not the only significant framework coined under CDA. Other dominant names in CDA include, for instance, Teun van Dijk and Ruth Wodak. Although all lumped under CDA, their approaches differ from one another in many ways. Firstly, van Dijk's framework focuses on the analysis of ethnic groups and minorities in media texts (Todolí et al. 2006, p. 17-18). His framework comprises of two levels: micro and macro. The first one focuses on the language use, word choices and other written or verbal interactions. The latter one analyzes the power and inequalities between social groups. (Amoussou & Allagbé, 2018, p. 15.) His framework addresses racism and aims to reveal the stereotypes and prejudice that the media texts reflect. He argues that mass media has power over the status of ethnic groups in societies, and discourse can maintain or even worsen the "ethnic status quo". (Amoussou & Allagbé, 2018, p. 18.) Wodak, on the other hand, is perhaps best known for her discourse-historical approach to CDA. The framework aims to trace back the history of phrases and language used (Blommaert, 2006, p. 28). Wodak argues that discourse has always historical roots and can, therefore, only be understood by examining their historical context as well (Amoussou & Allagbé, 2018, p. 15). This approach allows to examine changes in discourse during different socio-political contexts.

Although the topic of this thesis could be approached through various frameworks under CDA, I found the theory of Norman Fairclough to be particularly appealing and suitable for the study at hand. Fairclough's framework is most commonly used to address language in media (Blommaert, 2005, p. 26). Therefore, it is applicable to analyzing newspaper articles and press releases that form the dataset of this thesis. Furthermore, as the aims of this thesis are multi-leveled, the three-dimensional framework offers tools for multi-leveled, thorough data analysis. Not only does the framework pay attention to specific words used, but it also examines the interpretation of the words and text as well as the context from which the language emerges: it allows me to study what kind of words are used to describe the roles of women and to elaborate on the social impact of them.

In the broad methodologic approach of CDA, three key concepts can be identified: ideology, power and hegemony. Firstly, Blommaert (2005, p. 158-159) notes that ideology has multiple meaning and he gives the concept two, broad definitions: a specific one and a general one. According to the author, specific ideologies serve a specific meaning and are

used by distinct set of people. As examples of specific ideologies Blommaert, (2005, p. 158-159) mentions "-isms", such as communism. General ideologies, on the other hand, are more vague and difficult to define. Blommaert (2005, p. 159) argues that general ideology is not as easy to pinpoint to a certain actor, but is more of a cultural or ideational one. These kinds of general ideologies penetrate all spheres of society, and are naturalized to support social structures and power relations (Blommaert, 2005, p. 159). On the other hand, Fairclough (1992) defines ideology as follows:

> "I shall understand ideologies to be significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination." (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87.)

In other words, in CDA it is believed that the use of language can be ideological, especially when it aims to influence power relations in the society. In particular, ideologies can manifest themselves through the word meanings, presuppositions, metaphors and coherence of the texts (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87). The conceptual use of ideology in this thesis relies on Blommaert's definition of a general ideology as well as Fairclough's definition. The ideology that the analysis of this study pays particular interest to is patriarchy. According to Makama (2013, p. 117), patriarchy refers to an ideology, where men are in a dominating position to women in all spheres of life. Feminist theorists have defined patriarchy "as an unjust social system that is oppressive to women" (Makama, 2013, p. 117). This ideology can manifest itself in multiple ways. For instance, women can be excluded from some economic resources, lack ownership of their own bodies, and be subjected to cultural practices that hinder women's emancipation (Makama, 2013, p. 118).

The second central concept of CDA is power. According to Blommaert (2005, p. 24-25) the idea of power and its different forms are central in CDA, and CDA aims to reveal different forms of dominance, discrimination and control as well as power abuse. Furthermore, Blommaert suggests that not only does CDA reveal these prevailing inequalities and power relations; it also aims to have an impact on the society – to correct the injustice, cause debate and empower people (Blommaert, 2005, p. 24-25). Some of the most famous and dominant ideas of power in discourse were introduced by Michel Foucault. His concept of power is

complex and multileveled. For the purpose of this thesis, it is not meaningful to examine Foucault's conceptualization of power in detail, but to only provide a brief introduction. The Foucauldian view of power argues that power can be found everywhere and it is not only the property of a state – power can be found in all social relations. Furthermore, power is not a resource that one can collect, poses and distribute. Rather, power is something that one can practice. (Foucault, 1980, p. 34.) Foucault defines power as "action over actions" (Gallagher, 2008, p. 397). In other words, he sees power in a more indirect way, as a way to affect the actions of others rather than affecting the other themselves. Moreover, Foucault believes that power itself does not exist unless it is put into action (Gallagher, 2008, p. 398).

The Foucauldian view of power believes that without freedom, there cannot be power (Foucault, 1997, p. 292). For power relations to exist, the subject of power has to have some freedom over their actions, and freedom not to obey the person exercising the power. If that freedom does not exist, power cannot be exercised. With no freedom, the concept at hand is not power but coercion. Despite seeing freedom central in power relations, Foucault also notes that power relations can be extremely dominating and asymmetric. (Foucault, 1997, p. 292.) The study at hand is mostly interested in the power relations between genders, and examines how these power imbalances manifest themselves in the texts analyzed.

Thirdly, another central concept of CDA is hegemony. When defining hegemony, it is vital to introduce the ideas of Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci's perception of hegemony is perhaps best described as "cultural dominance" through "soft power" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 166). In his writings, Gramsci identifies two ways in which the bourgeoisie dominated the rest of the society: through coerced control over economy and state and through consensual control over culture and ideas (Blommaert, 2005, p. 166). In other words, Gramsci believes that power can be divided into two categories: direct power through authority and commands, and hegemonic power (Gramsci, 1979, p. 119). Todolí et al. explain this Gramscian definition of the concept well:

> "Fairclough and other analysts of discourse take up Gramsci's concept of hegemony to explain the winning of consent in the exercise of power. Hegemony is relations of domination based upon consent rather than coercion, involving the naturalization of practices and their social relations as well as relations between

practices, as matters of common sense –hence the concept of hegemony emphasizes the importance of ideology in achieving and maintaining relations of domination." (Todolí et al., 2006, p. 26.)

In other words, hegemony is a subtle form of dominance over the whole society. When applying this definition to the study at hand, hegemony refers to the male-dominant society, where women are given certain roles and excluded from other ones. Through consensual power, i.e. hegemony, these roles are then legitimized in the society. The hegemony has been established in the society in a subtle way, and I believe that media publications have a role in normalizing this hegemony through publications over time.

However, Gramscian view of hegemony notes that whenever a hegemony exists, there is also a counter-hegemony (Katz, 2006, p. 336). Gramsci suggests that since the hegemony established marginalizes some groups of the society, those groups tend to organize through the civil society. Hegemony and counter-hegemony can be seen as two movements that influence one another. (Katz, 2006, p. 336.) When applying this idea to this thesis, the presumption of this study is that the newspaper articles favor more hegemonic discourse that portrays women through a patriarchal ideology. In this hegemony, women represent the marginalized group, and therefore, the discourse used by them to challenge this unjust system represents counter-hegemony. The discourse used in the major newspapers has an impact and informs the discourse that the civil society movement creates. However, the counter-hegemonic discourse also forces the newspapers to readjust their language, thus, making broader social change possible.

In the study at hand, power, ideology and hegemony are central in answering the third research question. The discourse used in mainstream media (in this case the Nigerian newspapers) to describe women's roles and activism in the case of Chibok kidnappings, shapes one's perspectives on society and gender norms. According to van Dijk (1993, p. 250), power and dominance are not forced upon the society, but rather the society is subtly persuaded to believe in the legitimacy of such power relations. Therefore, the roles that the hegemonic discourse of the Nigerian newspapers produce have an impact on the representation of women in the Nigerian society; it defines and limits women's roles. However, just as the power relations are established and maintained through language, the
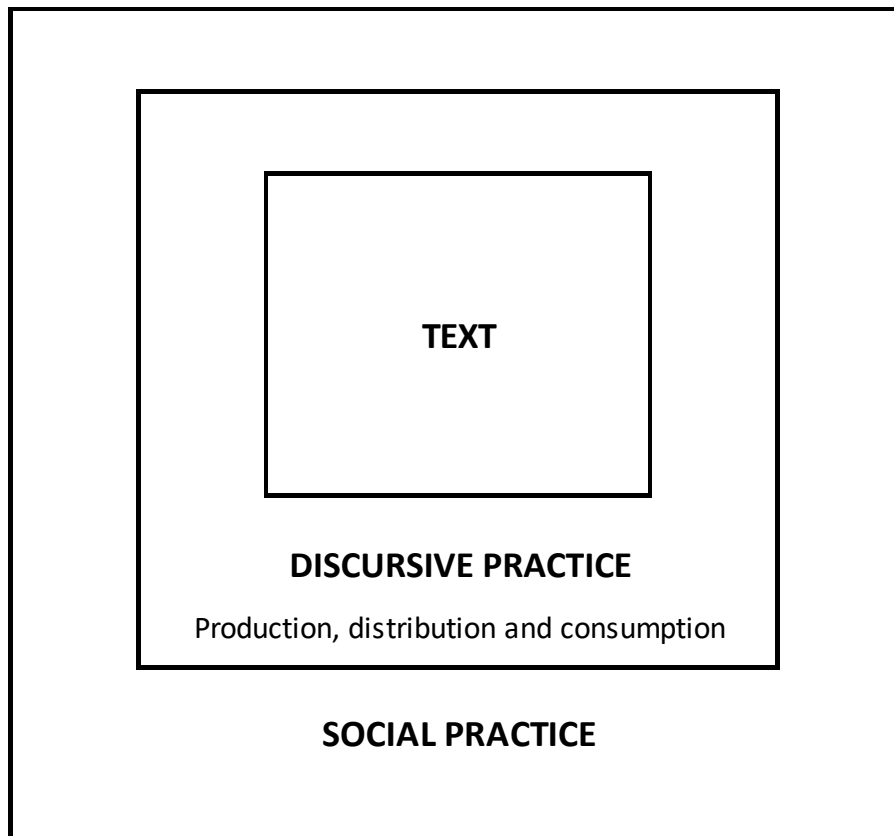
power relations can also be altered or challenged through it: counter-hegemonic discourse can bring about new roles and representations. I am interested if the discourses correlate or challenge patriarchal ideology and current power relations between genders: do the roles ascribed to women follow the patriarchal idea of women's place in the society or do the text offer roles outside this ideology?

2.2. Norman Fairclough's Framework

Norman Fairclough, one of the founders of CDA and the most prominent name in the methodology, is a British Professor of Linguistics working at Lancaster University (Lancaster Academia, 2019). Fairclough sees language as a social phenomenon and a mode of action that both shows our attitudes on the topic and shapes norms, attitudes and societies. Moreover, Fairclough believes that discourse and social structures are highly interconnected as not only do social practices shape the discourse, but discourse is also socially constitutive. (Fairclough, 1992, p. 63-64.)

Fairclough's theory consists of three dimensions, combining micro, meso and macro levels of language in its analysis. As shown in Figure 1, Fairclough's first dimension is text, representing the micro level of language. The meso-level is analyzed through the second dimension, discursive practice, and the macro-level by the third, social practice.

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Source: Fairclough (1992, p. 73)

Figure 1. Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional framework

Firstly, Fairclough's first dimension, text, examines what is being said and how. In his framework, text can include both written and verbal communication as well as images and videos – or a mixture of them. In the first dimension, the text is analyzed at the word level. This means paying attention to the vocabulary used, grammar as well as cohesion and structure of the text. (Fairclough, 1992, p. 73-78.) In short, vocabulary analyses the choices of words and their different meanings. Grammar looks into how these words are bind together to form sentences. Cohesion looks at the bigger picture and pays attention to how these sentences are combined, and how the text as a whole is formed into a coherent text. Lastly, the structure of the text focuses on how the text is structured as a whole and how it represents a certain type of text, like news articles in the case of this thesis. (Fairclough, 1992, p. 73-78.) As this thesis aims to reveal the roles given to women in the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse and to study how women's peace building initiatives are represented, it is not fruitful to analyze the grammar of the texts. Furthermore, as all the texts represent media articles and press releases, the analysis of this thesis will not go into detail

on the structure of the texts. Therefore, this thesis will mostly focus on analyzing the vocabulary of the texts.

In more concrete terms, Fairclough believes that discourse is a deliberately chosen collection of words that express our attitudes on the topic at hand; discourse is a way to express our opinion and attitudes. For instance, using the word 'terrorist' or 'freedom fighter' gives a very different idea of the person (Fairclough, 1992, p. 77). In fact, the words represent opposing ideas, the former being highly associated with negative and dangerous ideas and the latter giving a more positive, even brave, idea of the person. Fairclough also notes that even in the first dimension, all texts are subject to interpretations, making it possible to reach different conclusions depending who is analyzing the text.

Secondly, Fairclough's theory (1992) identifies discursive practice as the second dimension. In this dimension, Fairclough's theory focuses on the production, distribution and consumption of the text, taking the analysis from word level to text level. Fairclough claims that the way texts are produced differs in different contexts. Moreover, texts are meant for different kinds of consumption and audiences, and the target audience guides the text production. (Fairclough, 1992, p. 78-79.) Therefore, it is important to keep all these aspects in mind then analyzing a text.

Todolí et al. (2006, p. 14) define Fairclough's second dimension, discursive practice as follows:

> "Discursive practice refers to the set of spoken and unspoken rules, norms and mental models of socially accepted behaviours that govern individuals' thought act and speak in all the social positions they occupy in life. They involve ways of being in the world that signify specific and recognizable social identities: students, mothers, members of an ethnic, gender or sexual group, etc." (Todolí et al. 2006, p. 14)

In other words, discursive practice is influenced by the producer's current society and status in it. When applying this to the data used in this study, i.e. newspaper articles and press

releases, it implies that the texts are subject to the norms and regulations of text production and distribution that prevail in those specific organizations. Furthermore, the texts produced by these organizations are meant for a certain type of consumption that also guides the production.

In more detail, Fairclough (1992, p. 78) argues that the context where the text is produced has an impact on the discourse. For instance, when a news article is produced, the text goes through multiple phases and forms before publication. Many people alter the draft and sources outside the specific newspaper are added. According to Fairclough (1992, p. 78), the production process is shaped by the organizational culture, values and interests prevailing in that specific newspaper and therefore varies in different sources. Furthermore, texts are also distributed in different ways. To Fairclough (1992, p. 79-80), everyday conversations also represent text and discourse, and the distribution of such a communicative act differs to the distribution of reports, political texts or news. The channel of distribution also restricts and shapes the texts. According to Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009, p. 117) news can be published and distributed in multiple ways, and that has an impact on the way the news can be presented. For instance, as I am analyzing newspaper articles and statements, which have been published in newspapers or in other online or offline textual platforms, the texts cannot include sound or video, but only text and pictures.

The way in which texts are consumed is also different in different sources and contexts (Fairclough, 1992, p. 79). Some forms of text, like policy papers or other official reports, are meant to be read in more detail than, for instance, news articles. In addition, the target audience of texts vary and some texts are meant to be read by a large audience, and some only targeted to a specific group. Fairclough (1992, p. 79) also points out how different types of text are associated with different "modes of interpretation". In other words, the type or genre of text (e.g. food recipe, academic article or fictive novels) can guide the way we consume them.

Lastly, Fairclough's third dimension is called the social practice. In this dimension, Fairclough's theory allows room for examining and explaining the relationship between the

text and the broader social ideology and the prevailing hegemony of power. At this stage, the analysis moves from the text level to the level of social norms. Fairclough (1992) argues that language forms the context of our social communities, and in this dimension, it is examined how the text creates opinions, relationships and constructs social practices. Fairclough continues arguing that as language can establish, maintain or alter behavior and opinions, it can be considered as a power tool. Alternatively, as Blommaert (2005) explains, discourse can change the hegemony of the society, and can be used as a tool to unravel social inequalities and oppressive power relations. This third dimension is particularly important considering the topic of this study. By studying women's roles and activism in the two discourses related to the Boko Haram conflict, my aim is also to reveal broader social norms and gender roles behind them. Furthermore, I examine if the discourses generated support the hegemony or challenge it through a counter-hegemonic voice.

Though Fairclough's theory comprises of the three different dimension all explained above, it is important to note that they do not completely exclude each other. In fact, Fairclough (1992, p. 71) suggests that some properties of the text can be under analysis in more than one of the framework's dimensions.

2.3. Criticism

Though groundbreaking in many ways, CDA has also received critical feedback from other scholars. Blommaert (2005, p. 31-33) summarizes some of the main criticism the methodology has faced. Firstly, multiple critics have addressed the issue of CDA's vague use of concepts. The critics' claim that some key terms remain unclearly defined. Secondly, critics point out that the possibility of biased analysis is high in CDA. All analysis done by using CDA as the theory rely on the interpretations of the person analyzing the text. Therefore, there are multiple ways of interpretation, but CDA only takes into account one. (Blommaert, 2005, p. 31-33.)

In order to avoid these shortages affecting the reliability of this thesis, I have provided detailed definitions of the key terms and concepts used in the previous sections of this

chapter. Furthermore, to avoid bias in analysis, I will provide an abundance of examples of the texts so that the readers can better understand my deductions. I will also to my best ability consider and introduce any possible alternative interpretations when needed.

Fairclough's theory has also received critical comments from other scholars, although the theory remains highly valued in the field. Blommaert (2005) argues that Fairclough's framework does not take the social contexts behind the texts into account enough, but is too much focused on the actual texts themselves. As the study at hand addresses social and gender norms, this criticism is something to bear in mind in the analysis. In order to enhance the contextual aspects, I have included a contextual background to give supporting information. Additionally, I will use that background when interpreting the data.

3. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS A METHODOLOGY

As stated before, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is both a theoretical framework used in social sciences and a methodological tool to analyze texts. In this chapter, I focus on CDA as a methodology. I begin by introducing the data used in this thesis. Moreover, I also discuss the data collection process. Secondly, I discuss in more detail the methodological approach of CDA, and explain how texts are analyzed through the framework. Additionally, I give a concrete example of how I have applied this method in the data analysis of this study. Lastly, I conclude this chapter by reflecting on the limitations and ethical considerations of this study.

To support this methodological chapter and to increase the reliability and validity of the data analysis, the Appendixes of this thesis include tables that visualize and represent the coding and categorizing of the data. The roles of women are illustrated in more detail in Appendixes V-VI and women's activism in Appendixes VII-VIII.

3.1. Data and Data Collection

The primary data of my thesis comprises of articles from two major Nigerian newspapers as well as texts produced by a Nigerian women-led movement #BringBackOurGirls. The newspaper articles were collected through an online news platform called AllAfrica. According to their webpage (AllAfrica, 2019), AllAfrica is an independent news source that distributes news from over 140 African news organizations. The two newspapers chosen for this study are Vanguard and This Day. According to their website, Vanguard is an independent, major daily newspaper published in Lagos. The paper was established in 1984 and is read widely in all part of the country. The newspaper aims to provide reliable information raging from sports to politics and business. (Vanguard, 2019.) Similarly, This Day is one of the leading newspapers in Nigeria. Published daily since 1995, the newspaper describes itself as "Nigeria's most authoritative" news outlet (This Day, 2019). The newspaper aims to provide the readers accurate and truthful information from topics related to all aspects of the society.

The newspapers were chosen with two main justifications. Firstly, they both represent the most popularly read newspapers in Nigeria, thus, making them a good representation of the discourse used in mainstream media. In order to assure that the newspapers chosen truly represent the media discourse, I consulted the local researchers from the University of Lagos, one of the largest and most prestigious universities in Nigeria, on the topic. A Professor of Mass Communication was able to confirm that This Day is among the most influential and independent newspapers in Nigeria. Furthermore, my own extensive research revealed, that Vanguard has established itself a status as one of the most independent and trustworthy news outlets in Nigeria. Secondly, the availability of the newspapers online also affected the choices. As I was not able to conduct fieldwork and travel to Nigeria to collect physical newspapers, I relied on online sources.

The articles were found by using AllAfrica's search engine. The engine allowed me to look for articles based on words and phrases, time of publication and source, i.e. by what newspaper the article was published. As the Chibok kidnappings was and is a topic of great interest to the local media, it is needless to say that I could not include all the articles published about the case. Therefore, after careful consideration, I decided to limit the searches to match the anniversary date of the kidnappings each year. By examining the immediate reaction as well as the anniversaries of the incident, I believe that I am able to get a better understanding of the case as well as pinpoint the possible changes in discourse that have occurred during the years.

Using the search words 'Boko Haram' and 'Chibok' as well as limiting the publication date to the anniversaries of the Chibok kidnappings, I was able to gather 35 articles from the newspapers. After a more careful review of the articles, I narrowed the number to 23 as some of the articles only mentioned the kidnappings as a brief side note, thus, making the article not relevant to the study at hand. From the selected articles, eight were published by Vanguard (Appendix I) and 15 by This Day (Appendix II). I was able to collect an abundance of relevant articles that gave me a good understanding of the media discourse. It is worth noting that the volume of the articles published varied a lot depending of the year. Therefore, for some of the years I am not only analyzing the articles published on the exact date of the anniversary, but supplementing the data with articles published a day before or after.

The women-led movement chosen for this thesis is #BringBackOurGirls. Again, there were two main reasons and justifications for including this particular movement. Firstly, #BringBackOurGilrs was established to address the issue of Chibok kidnappings and has gained international recognition and support for its work. The movement has been active throughout the five years of abduction and remains a strong and well-known advocate for the Chibok girls in addition to other captured by Boko Haram since the incident. The second reason for choosing the movement was more of a practical one as not many Nigerian women's organizations have available webpages nor direct contact details online. The main issues I faced during my data collection was linked to locating and contacting potential women's groups. However, I found social media, and especially Twitter, to be very useful in this quest. By messaging the movement through their Twitter page, I was able to establish initial communication and receive contacts to the movement.

The textual material received from #BringBackOurGirls consists of 13 press releases and statements published during the past five years (Appendix III). These include the anniversary statements for years 2016, 2017 and 2018 and other press releases that well represent the work and development of the movement as well as the Chibok incident. The justification for using these particular statements is highly linked to the availability: due to the lack of extensive archives, the movement was only able to send me these statements.

In addition to the media articles and texts published by #BringBackOurGirls, the dataset of this thesis includes a supplementing interview with #BringBackOurGirls spokesperson (Appendix IV). Travers (2001, p. 3) suggests that interviews are the fastest way to reveal the individual perspectives of the participants, and give a better understanding of the topic. As the aim of this thesis is to shed light on women's peace activism, I found it fruitful to include personal accounts from a person representing the women-led movement.

Due to the physical distance, the interview was conducted via phone and the discussion was recorded. The interview was semi-structured, meaning that I prepared a set of questions but left room for changes. According to Galletta (2012, p. 77), using semi-structured interviews allows you to address your research questions, but also leaves spaces for the participants to offer new meanings. I found it to be a very fruitful structure, as it allowed me to ask questions specific to my research problem, but it also allowed the interviewee to introduce new topics and expertise. To avoid any ethical complications, I asked for a verbal confirmation from

the participant to both record the conversation as well as use the answers provided as supplementing data for this thesis. The interview was approximately 45 minutes long and was later carefully transcribed for data.

3.2. Methodological Approach

As an analytical method, CDA approaches power relations and social structures through thorough examination of the different parts of the text. For instance, Fairclough (1992) lists vocabulary, grammar, metaphors, cohesion, and structure of the texts as components that form the data analysis. In CDA, it is assumed that text producers constantly make choices regarding their use of words, metaphors and grammar and that these choices have an ideological linkage and significance. Though these choices can be conscious or subconscious, the words chosen always reflect the specific knowledge, beliefs and values of the producer, and CDA's analytical method aims to reveal these hidden meanings and purposes. (Todolí et al. 2006, p. 9-10.) Therefore, in CDA, it is not enough to conduct a textual analysis on what has been said and how it was said, but there are more factors to include in the analysis: CDA aims to answer why certain topics were discussed in that particular manner, and what are the broader societal implications behind it.

The data analysis of this thesis focuses on the wordings that were used to describe women and their activism. Although vocabulary can be analyzed in multiple ways, Fairclough (1992, p. 76-77) points out three main aspects that can be studied: wordings (what words are used), meanings (what kind of meanings do these words represent) and metaphors (social and political meanings of them). Additionally, Todolí et al. (2006, p. 12-14) list aspects of the text that CDA as an analytical method focuses. Firstly, CDA looks at the vocabulary used and examines how the words manifest ideology and what kind of relationship they attempt to create between the reader and text producer. Additionally, textual analysis looks for metaphors and connotations linked to any word choices. Secondly, textual analysis looks in to the topicality of the text. When the producer chooses what topics to include and what to highlight the most, he creates a perspective. That perspective has an influence on the reader and how they perceive the text. Thirdly, CDA as an analytical method studies any presuppositions and assumptions behind the text. These assumptions are not always directly stated, but something that the producer takes as self-evident. (Todolí et al. (2006, p. 12-14.)

Fourthly, Todolí et al. (2006, p. 12-14) list ambiguity as a subject of examination. Ambiguity usually manifests itself with phrases that can have multiple meanings. Ambiguity can give the producer a lot of power as it leaves room for deniability – it is a tool to exclude oneself from the political process.

In addition to analyzing the vocabulary used, CDA as an analytical method also focuses on other aspects of the texts. Fairclough (1992, p. 82-86) notes three important aspects of analysis: the force of the text, coherence and intertextuality. According to Fairclough, when examining the force of the text, one examines the 'actional components' or 'speech acts' of the text (Fairclough, 1992, p. 82). Force can manifest itself in different, direct or indirect, ways. For example, the text can include orders or promises, ask questions or even give threats. Fairclough also notes that the force can be manifested in an equivocal way, giving the producer a change to deny the request if needed. Coherence, on the other hand, looks into how the text is comprised to create a meaningful entirety. Fairclough notes that the coherence of the text is subject to the reader's interpretation. (Fairclough, 1992, p. 82.) Lastly, intertextuality refers to the influences from other texts that can be found in the text analyzed. Fairclough defines it as follows:

> "Intertextuality is basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth." (Fairclough, 1992, p. 84.)

When applying this to the study at hand, intertextuality can manifest itself in multiple ways in press releases and news articles. For instance, the texts may refer to political statements and speeches and include information presented in other newspapers or sources. Furthermore, newspaper articles are often subjected to multiple drafts and the final product includes pieces of these previous versions.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Fairclough's theory allow multiple methods to examine the data and represent the findings. Therefore, it was vital to have a structured approach to the broad dataset. In order to fully utilize CDA's methodology, and provide clear and structured results of the analysis, I chosen to include a thematic approach. According to

Clarke and Braun (2017, p. 297), thematic analysis is "a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into, patterns of meaning (themes) across a dataset". In other words, thematic analysis allows the analyst to reveal commonalities in the dataset – what kind of similar pattern, words and experiences occur when talking about a certain topic (Clarke & Braun, 2017, p. 297). As the aim of this study is to reveal the roles ascribed to women through the discourse as well as to examine in what ways women's activism is presented, it is justified to use thematic analysis to guide the analysis and organize the findings. This allowed me to avoid repetition and take full advantage of the broad data.

Mann (2016, p. 212) identifies six steps of thematic analysis. The steps are presented in Figure 2 below.

Source: Mann (2016, p. 212)

Figure 2. Mann's six steps of thematic analysis

In order to describe the method in more concrete terms, I give an example from the analysis process. For instance, when looking into what kind of roles are ascribed to women through the discourse used, I started the analyzing process by reading through all the data I have gathered. Additionally, I listened to the supplementing interview. As Mann (2016, p. 212) points out, this step is not yet active analysis, but includes initial observations. Secondly, I re-read the data with a more systematic approach, highlighting initial roles and marking them in the text. This step also included the careful transcription the recorded interview to text. In this step, I condensed the raw data into more general meaning units. According to Mann (2016, p. 212), there are many ways to complete the second step. I found the best option for me to be using different colors as codes and making markings by hands in the texts.

Thirdly, after pinpointing the initial condensed meaning units, I started looking into the similarities and differences between them, and grouping them in broader codes. At this point, the analysis started to be more structured and coherent. Fourthly, I examined the dataset

again, keeping in mind the themes for women's roles that had emerged during the previous step of the analysis. I checked if there was any other codes left in the data that were not already included in the initial groups. As the fifth step, I finalized the thematic division of the codes by naming the themes and giving a brief definition to why these specific roles form a coherent theme that is separate from the others. This step also included drawing examples from the dataset. Lastly, I wrote down the analysis based on the analytical work done in the previous steps. As Mann (2016, p. 212) points out, it is important to note that the analysis and writing were highly intertwined. In order to produce an accurate and coherent report of the findings, I kept referring back to the data even during the last step. As the final result, I was able to divide the roles ascribed to women in four well-defined categories, provide examples of the data to support these findings as well as represent the whole dataset in a meaningful, structured and coherent manner.

The outcome of this six-step process is also illustrated in a visual form in the Appendixes of the study: Appendixes V-VI visualize the roles of women, and Appendixes VII-VIII represent women's activism. The first column of the tables introduces the condensed meaning units that were formulated from the raw data during the second step of the analysis. During the third step, these meaning units were combined under different codes, as represented in the second column of the tables. Moreover, condensed meaning units falling under the same code are highlighted by using the same color. Lastly, the third column represents the broader themes that the codes created. This division was finalized during the fifth step of the analysis.

3.3. Limitations and Ethical Reflection of the Study

In qualitative research like the one at hand, issues of accuracy and representativeness can rise. Willis (2006) discusses the issues of accuracy when conducting qualitative research and interviews. Firstly, when the sample is small, it is difficult to make generalizations as the data might not be representative of the whole picture. Due to the nature of this study, I was not able to include all of the articles written about Chibok kidnappings. Furthermore, I had to narrow down the data by focusing only on specific newspapers. Therefore, it is possible that the data used does not give a full representation of the discourse. I believe, however,

that by reflecting the findings against existing academic articles and research, I am able to make more accurate and reliable conclusions.

Secondly, participants might not tell the truth, they might leave out relevant information or the researcher might interpret it wrong (Willis, 2016, p. 9). When conducting the supplementing interview, I paid especial attention to building rapport between me, as the interviewer, and the participant. By introducing my background as well as the purpose of the research and assuring the anonymity of the answers, I believe that the participant felt ease to discuss the topics openly and truthfully. Furthermore, as explained earlier, using semi-structured interviews allow both the interviewer and the participant to elaborate on topics or ask for additional information, making the possibility of leaving out relevant information less likely. Lastly, it is possible that the interpretations are not accurate due to my cultural background, prior knowledge, experiences or any other bias. To avoid this and generate as objective results as possible, I mirror the findings to other research.

There are also some ethical reflections that are important to keep in mind in all research. As the dataset of this thesis includes a supplementing interview, it was of ethical importance to confirm the consent of the interviewee. Kvale (2007, p. 6) highlights the importance of "informed consent", meaning that it is ethically vital to provide detailed information about the topic studied and the design of the research as well as risks and benefits of the study in order for the interviewee to make an informed decision on whether to participate or not. When establishing initial contact with the women-led movement, I already gave details of the study at hand. Moreover, I ensured consent for participation and recording in the beginning of the interview. I also kept the participant informed about the next steps and encouraged the participant to contact me at any point with additional questions, concerns or a wish to withdraw from the study.

Lastly, it is important to note that as this research is a case study that only focuses on one conflict and one particular attack, I do not aim to generalize women's roles in conflicts. However, I do believe that as the data used is versatile and abundant, examining the case of Chibok can reflect women's roles in the whole Boko Haram conflict.

4. CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

In order to understand why women are ascribed certain roles and represented in a certain way in the Boko Haram conflict, it is vital to understand the ideology behind Boko Haram's terror as well as the political, economic and social context they emerged from. In this chapter, I introduce the contextual background of this study. Firstly, I give a brief history of the rise, ideology and strategy of Boko Haram, outline of the Chibok kidnappings and introduce the #BringBackOurGirls movement it sparked. Secondly, I briefly examine the social, political and economic situation of Nigeria, specifically focusing on the role of women in the traditional Nigerian society. Lastly, as I aim to explore women's role in peace-building efforts and activism, I also briefly introduce United Nations Security Council's (UNSC) resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. UNSCR 1325 is a groundbreaking resolution that acknowledges the importance of women's participation in peace-building in order to achieve sustainable peace. Nigeria, among many other countries, has published two National Action Plans (NAP) on the implementation of the resolution. Therefore, it is appropriate to introduce the main features of the resolution as it serves as an important background paper for this study.

4.1. Boko Haram

Boko Haram is a Nigerian Islamic terrorist group most known for its radical anti-Western ideology. The group is infamous for its deadly suicide bombings, kidnappings and other violent attacks as well as the systematized use of sexual violence. (Brinkel, 2012.) The group aims to establish an Islamic caliphate in which the social, legal and political order is based on the literal interpretation of the Koran and the will of Allah (Brinkel, 2012, p. 11). According to Bertoni (2018, p. 3), Boko Haram's violence has reached approximately 15 million people since 2009, over 20 000 people have lost their lives, and more than 2 million people have been displaced since 2013.

The basic ideology behind the militant group is already evident in the name. According to Ordu (2017, p. 35), the name Boko Haram comes from Hausa and Arabic languages, and

translates to "Western education is forbidden". Despite being globally recognized by this name, Boko Haram itself does not use it, but refers to itself with the official name of Jamā'atu Ahlis Sunnah Lādda'awatih wal-Jihad, which Weeraratne (2015, p. 3) translates to "People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad". The former leader and Islamic teacher Mohammed Yusuf officially formed the group in 2002 in Maiduguri, which is the capital of Borno state (Ordu, 2017, p. 35).

Like ISIS, al-Qaida and al Shabaab, Boko Haram can be referred to as a salafi-jihadist militant group (Jones, 2014, p. 2). Jones defines salafi-jihadism through two main characteristics; idealization of old Islam and justification of violent jihad. Firstly, salafi-jihadists like Boko Haram, aim to bring back the old form of Islam that they believe to be the correct, pure form of the religion. They see the contemporary Islam as corrupt and contaminated by Western ideology. Additionally, they believe in Shari'a law that is based on the literal interpretation of the Koran. Secondly, Jones (2014, p. 2) suggests that salafi-jihadist militants believe the violent jihad to be justified and even encouraged to. Participating in jihad is seen as a religious responsibility for all Muslims and a way to get close to Allah. Jihad is also a crucial part of establishing an Islamic caliphate and jihadist militants see killing civilians as just in order to achieve the independent caliphate. (Jones, 2014, p. 2.)

The roots of Boko Haram can be traced to multiple changes in the Nigerian government and society. In particular, declaring Nigeria as a democratic nation in 1999 caused unrest among and between religious entities and served as the spark for the rise of Boko Haram. According to Ordu (2017, p. 35), Mohammed Yusuf was deeply concerned that Nigeria was developing into a secular nation, giving less importance to the teachings of Islam. Thus, Yusuf's aim was to reinforce pure Islam in Nigeria by instituting and following Shari'a law; an Islamic legal system that replaces any other legal frameworks or systems of government as well as serves as a strict guideline for any social behavior. Moreover, Ordu (2017, p. 35) suggests that Yusuf saw Shari'a law as a mean to make Nigeria a more just and equal nation, and to eradicate the social problems the country was battling with.

Though Boko Haram identified itself with radical pro-Islam and anti-West attitudes since the establishment, the violence used grew slowly. Scholars (e.g. Agbiboa & Maiangwa, 2013 & Ordu, 2017) suggest that the first leader Yusuf believed that the group would be able to achieve its desired goals with non-violent means, and that Yusuf did not originally advocate for violence in his religious and political ideology. Nevertheless, a confrontation with his followers and Nigerian security officials led to radicalization among his followers. Similarly, Oriola (2016) argues that the clash with Nigerian police force in 2009, which led to the pre-juridical killing of the founder Mohammed Yusuf, sparked a will to revenge and created a trend of deadly terrorist attacks. Zenn and Pearson (2014, p. 46) continue that Yusuf's murder turned him into a martyr in the eyes of his followers, thus, creating a strong need for revenge. After the confrontation, members of Boko Haram retired to the villages and forests nearby. However, a new leader quickly emerged as Abubakar Shekau took charge or the terrorist group. (Ordu, 2017, p. 39.)

With Shekau in the lead, Boko Haram's violence and attacks increased radically, and the insurgency obtained unique patterns. Iyekekpolo (2016, p. 2211) explains how Boko Haram evolved in their use of machinery, shifting from machetes to more sophisticated weapons, guns and explosives. Iyekekpolo (2016) states that since the radicalization, the group has mostly targeted civilians and their properties. In addition, multiple attacks have been targeted against the Nigerian police and military, public figures and religious leaders. According to Ordu (2017, p. 39), Shekau announced to target both the government and all civilians he believes to be enemies, that is, all infidels that do not follow the right form of Islam. According to Ordu (2017, p. 39), Shekau uses civilian targets to create fear and frustration among Nigerians. This can be seen as a part of the group's strategy to gain followers by turning the population against the government that has been unable to eliminate the group after a decade of terror.

Although violent militarism is by no means a new phenomenon in Nigeria, Aghedo (2012, p. 854) argues that the Boko Haram shows novelty in its insurgency. Aghedo states that Boko Haram is the biggest security challenge to Nigeria since the civil war due to its unique features and patterns. Compared to other terrorists and militants, Boko Haram uses more sophisticated and coordinated attacks. Moreover, it is more daring and even genocidal in

nature, as it targets mostly civilians. (Aghedo, 2012, p. 859.) Aghedo also examines the profile and motivations of the group that show unique features. He profiles the Boko Haram members as mostly jobless, uneducated, poor youth from low socio-economic backgrounds, but with a significant addition of better-off, educated citizens. He argues that the radicalization was due to unequal distribution of wealth and other social injustices throughout the country. Furthermore, the situation in Northeast Nigeria is even worse as the area lacks proper basic infrastructure and human development. (Aghedo, 2012, p. 861.) His study concludes that the main motivations for Boko Harams violence come from the will to end bad political leadership in Nigeria, the opposition of all Western ideas and education, the will to establish an Islamic state as well as to alleviate poverty. Aghedo's findings show that the motivations behind the terrorism are versatile and extreme religious ideology is not the only fueling factor.

According to data published by ACLED, the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (2019, February 11), Boko Haram was most active and fatal in 2015. Since then, there has been a clear decline in the numbers of attacks as well as fatalities, but the group remains active and undefeated. ACLED points out how violence against civilians witnessed a decline between 2016 and 2017 and names increased military responds from the government as well as internal fragmentations within Boko Haram as the main reasons for it. Fragmentation within Boko Haram is common, but the split in 2016 was perhaps the most serious one yet. (ACLED, 2019, February 11). In a declaration by ISIS, Abubakar Shekau was denounced as the leader of Boko Haram and replaced by another member, Musab al-Barnawi. As a response to this, Shekau published a video claiming to still be in charge of the group and indicating clear and severe disagreements among the group. (BBC, 2018, July 16.) According to ACLED's (2019, February 11) analysis, these two fragments have a different strategical approach. The fragment controlled by al-Barnawi, which uses the name Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP), is using remarkably less violence. In fact, the new leader's faction has conducted only 9 percent of the Boko Haram violence.

Despite clear evidence pointing the other way, President Buhari has claimed on multiple occasions that Boko Haram is defeated (Pulse, 2018, December 25). One good, and unfortunate, example of the active status of Boko Haram is the kidnapping of over 100

female students from Dapchi in Yobe State in February 2018 (BBC, 2018, February 26). Though the group is weakened and no-longer controls vast areas in Nigeria or neighboring countries, the group continues its violent quest to establish an Islamic caliphate.

4.1.1. Chibok Kidnappings

On 14th of April in 2014, Boko Haram launched a series of attacks around Nigeria (Chiluwa, 2015b, p. 268). First, the group caused havoc in Abuja, the capital of Nigeria, by bombing a bus station. The deadly attack killed 75 people and injured more than 200. Later that night, the group attacked an all-girl Government Secondary School located in Chibok in Borno state, leading to the kidnapping of 276 girls. (Chiluwa, 2015b, p. 268.) According to a report by Amnesty International (2015, p. 66-67), the attack began late in the evening when members of Boko Haram reached the small village of Chibok and opened fire against the local police and soldiers. In the midst of the fight, a part of the group diverged from the others and headed to the school located nearby. The men were dressed in military uniforms, claiming to have come and save the schoolgirls from the fight that had erupted in the village. The armed men took 276 girls aged 16 to 18, and transported them with vehicles to the Sambisa forest that served as one of Boko Haram's bases. (Amnesty International, 2015, p. 66-67.) During transportation, 57 girls managed to escape, but 219 remained as captives (The Guardian, 2015, February 3).

During the first days after the kidnappings, various misinformation about the number or girls abducted and their whereabouts emerged. According to BBC News timeline, local government officials were unsure of the number of girls missing, and estimated it to be around 100. Later on, the military released a statement declaring that most of the girls were freed and only a handful remained missing. (BBC, 2014, May 12.) On the 19th of April 2014, a military spokesperson confirmed that the previous statements had been incorrect and, in fact, more than 200 girls remained captive. This caused a national outcry as the locals marched to the streets across Nigeria, demanding the government to take more action in finding the missing girls. Moreover, the incident gained international attention and online activism and protests expanded outside Nigeria. (BBC, 2014, May 12.)

In early May 2014, Boko Haram officially announced their culpability for the abductions in a video published by the leader Abubakar Shekau (BBC, 2014, May 12). In the video, Shekau tells that he intends to sell the kidnapped girls as slaves. A few days later, Boko Haram published another video, showing more than 100 of the missing girls. In the video, Shekau pledges to convert the girls into Islam and not to release them until the government releases all captured Boko Haram militants. (BBC, 2014, May 12.)

The government of Nigeria faced strict criticism for its slow response and lack of adequate action to search and rescue the kidnapped girls (Time, 2014, May 11). Furthermore, Amnesty International (2018, March 20) revealed that the Nigerian military had received warnings about a possible attack hours before it occurred, but failed to make the preventive measures needed. Under public pressure, President Buhari announced an investigation regarding the government's responses to the case, but the results were never made public (Amnesty International, 2018, March 20).

According to a timeline provided by the #BringBackOurGirls movement, 112 of the abducted girls remain missing and their whereabouts and wellbeing are uncertain. In 2016, two of the Chibok girls managed to escape from captivity and Boko Haram leader Shekau released 21 girls. In 2017, one girl was found, and Boko Haram faction led by al-Barnawi released 82 girls, leaving the total number of girls missing at 113. In 2018, one more girl escaped from captivity. Now five years after the abduction, 112 girls remain captive.

4.1.2. #BringBackOurGirls-movement

Due to the frustration created by the lack of action and misinformation from the government, mourning parents, friends and other concerned Nigerians soon took matters in their own hands. According to George (2018, p. 311), the parents of the missing girls attempted to look for the girls themselves by organizing searches and trying to track down their daughters. As the girls remained missing, Nigerians soon turned to social media in order to increase pressure and publicity for the case. George (2018, p. 312) explains how two Nigerian women activists coined the hashtag #BringBackOurGirls and started sharing it on Twitter, aiming to

draw international attention – and so it did. The hashtag appeared in millions of tweets and gained support from normal people to celebrities and political leaders. For instance, the former First Lady of the USA, Michelle Obama, as well as the Nobel Peace Prize -winner Malala Yousafzai joined the movement by circulating the hashtag. (George, 2018, p. 312.) What started as a local movement soon expanded as to a global outcry, reaching audience and support from all over the world.

According to the spokesperson of the movement, #BringBackOurGirls expanded from an online campaign to a physical, organized, offline movement just two weeks after the kidnappings. Currently the movement in comprised by two main organs. One of them is responsible for the daily sit-outs and protests and the second organ is responsible for the strategic approach of the movement. Both of these organs are led by a chairperson, who is always a woman. According to Chiluwa (2015b, p. 268), the #BringBackOurGirls movement is not only advocating for the return of the Chibok girls as well as others kidnapped by Boko Haram, but it is also serves as a mean to advocate for a broader set of problems regarding girls' education and women's inadequate rights.

Today, five years after the kidnappings, #BringBackOurGirls remains active. Although the movement has lost some momentum due to the prolonged conflict, the spokesperson of the group says they are determined to continue their daily sit-outs and advocacy until all the girls are returned safely to their homes.

4.2. Instability and Unequal Rights: Nigeria's Economic, Political and Social Situation

With over 180 million people, Nigeria is the most populous country in all of Africa. With its abundant supply of crude oil and other natural resources, it has also claimed the crown of the biggest economy in the whole continent. (World Bank, n.d.) Despite the significant economic growth, development, and two decades of democratic rule, the country continues to struggle with persistent poverty as well as social, economic and political inequalities caused by both external and internal reasons.

Nigeria has a colourful political history filled with colonial oppression, military coups and democratic governance. Controlled by Britain since 1861, Nigeria gained independence in October 1960 (Nicolai, 2004, p. 302). In the first years of independence, Nigeria formed a democratic governance similar to the British monarchy, with governor general and a prime minister in charge together with the elected parliament. The democracy was not long-lasting, and after multiple conflicts and the civil war, the country fell under a military dictatorship in 1965. (Nicolai, 2004, p. 302-303.) With only a few short-lived attempts of democracy, the country remained under military rule for more than three decades. In 1999, Nigeria established a new constitution and declared itself as a democratic nation (Agbiboa & Maiangwa, 2013, p. 387). Though welcomed by a majority of the population, this declaration also sparked unrest between religious groups and governmental actors. Moreover, it served as a spark for the establishment of Boko Haram. (Agbiboa & Maiangwa, 2013, p. 387.)

According to Odo (2015, p. 4), Nigeria is still struggling to establish and maintain viable democratic institutions. In particular, Nigeria has failed to organize credible elections as the recent elections have been plagued by misconduct. Additionally, as the democratic rule has not been able to end the persistent poverty and other social problems, the government as well as the Nigerian democracy is losing legitimacy in the eyes of the population. (Odo, 2015, p. 4.) In February 2019, Nigeria re-elected President Buhari for his second term as the result of the general elections (BBC, 2019, February 27). Though Buhari won the elections with a clear margin of over four million votes, the elections faced a series of problems, delays and accusations of misconduct as well as the lowest-recorded turnout of only 35 percent. Furthermore, almost 40 people lost their lives in voting-related violence (Reuters, 2019, February 24).

Though Nigeria has the biggest economy in Africa, the country has a significant problem of poverty and economic inequalities. According to Venables (2016), the economic situation of the country has long been shaped by oil. However, despite decades of oil export and the possible economic prosperity of such natural resource, the economic and social development of the country has remained relatively modest (Venables, 2016). This phenomenon can be explained by the "resource curse" theory. The theory was coined to explain why the economic growth of a country with abundant natural resources is generally lower and slower

than countries with no such resources. (Venables, 2016, p. 161.) According to the theory, the competition created by natural resource revenues, such as oil in the Nigerian case, can spark unrest and violent conflicts that can prevent social and economic growth. This "curse" is particularly evident in the oil-rich Niger Delta area tormented by militant violence. (Marc et al., 2015, p. 83-84.) In the light of the theory, it is not surprising that Nigeria is struggling with a significant problem of terrorism. With the militant groups in Niger Delta and Boko Haram in the northeast, the Institute of Economics and Peace (2018, p. 6) ranked Nigeria as the third most terrorism-affected country in 2017. Furthermore, the report ranks Boko Haram as one of the deadliest terrorist groups in the world.

Corruption plays also a huge role in the country's stalling economic and social development. According to Transparency International (2018), the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) in Nigeria placed the country as 144 out of 180 countries in 2018. This means that Nigeria is one of the most corrupted countries in Western Africa. This problematic phenomenon deteriorates the impact of investments and aid (Ewetan & Urhie, 2014, p. 48). In addition, revenues from natural sources partly disappear to the use of the wealthy instead of being invested in the socio-economic development of the country (Osita-Njoku, 2016, p. 13). From this can be drawn that corruption affects mostly the poor population and serves the class distinction within the country. The corrupted government prevents the efficient social, economic and political development in Nigeria, which has the largest impact on the already marginalized poor, rural population.

Like the political and economic spheres of life, the social situation in Nigeria is also filled with inequalities, particularly evident between genders. Though women make up for approximately half of the population, Nigerian culture and society are traditionally patriarchal, and women struggle for equal rights. According to the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap report (2018), disparities between men and women are extremely high. The report ranks 149 countries based on their level of gender equality and Nigeria holds the place 133. According to the report, Nigerian women's economic opportunities, health, educational attainment and political empowerment is far worse than men's are. The biggest inequalities can be found in political participation with little to none women in political leadership positions. Furthermore, when comparing the results of previous Global Gender

Gap reports, very little progress has been made to better the economic, social and political status of women. In fact, the educational attainment of women and girls has decreased compared to the data collected in 2006. According to Mora (2014, p. 132), regions where women have limited economic means and lack education are particularly vulnerable to nourish a male-dominated, patriarchal social structure.

According to Okunna (2005, p. 127-128), it is still common in the Nigerian society to consider women subordinate and define them through their relationships to males; women are not considered equal humans with their own rights, but as mothers to their sons and wives to their husbands. Okunna argues that Nigerian women lack many rights compared to men. For instance, in many cases, there are legal barriers for women to inherit land or property. Additionally, women face many harmful practices, including widow-heritage that both limit their freedom of choice as well as violate their human rights. (Okunna, 2005, p. 128.) In addition, Nigeria has high rates of early marriages, teen pregnancies, gender-based violence and female genital mutilation. United Nations Population Fund, UNFPA (2019) estimates that 25 percent of women and girls between the ages 15 to 49 have been subjected to some form of female genital mutilation. Moreover, approximately 43 percent of women in Nigeria get married before they turn 18 years old, and 17 percent before the age of 15. Early marriage is highly linked to adolescent pregnancies and almost 30 percent of women in Nigeria begin childbearing before the age of 18 and nearly 6 percent before they turn 15. (UNFPA, 2019.)

These harmful social practices also have an effect on women's education. According to UNICEF (2019), more than half of Nigerian girls in the northeast and northwest do not attend school. According to Makama (2013, p. 120-121), lack of education is one of the biggest barriers for women's participation in economic and politics. Furthermore, women face a strong social pressure to stay at home and women's education is seen as secondary to boys according to the traditional patriarchal norms deeply rooted in Nigeria. With no formal education, women in Nigeria are highly dependent on their male relatives and lack power to make choices over their own life and body. (Makama, 2013, p. 120-121.) Nigerian society also enforces many traditional stereotypes on how a woman should be. According to Nwabueze's study (2012, p. 228), Nigerian culture defines a good woman as a mother and a wife, who wants to stay home, take care of her husband, and raise the children.

Religion also plays an important role in the Nigerian social context and brings about challenges for women's equal rights and status. According to Agbiboa and Maiangwa (2013, p. 381), the Muslim population in Nigeria strongly believes that the Islamic teachings are the key to a prosperous society. According to Nicolai (2004, p. 301), in 1999 dozen states in Northern Nigeria reinforced Islamic Shari'a law. Not only does the Shari'a law contradict the Nigerian revised constitution, it also restricts women's rights and places them within traditional, patriarchal gender roles (Makama, 2013, p. 127). From this can be drawn that the roles of women in Nigeria are limited by the traditional, male-dominated culture and norms, leaving little room for women's activism and participation in the political spheres or life.

4.3. Placing Women in the Center of Peace and Security: Resolution 1325

Women's involvement in formal peace and conflict resolutions has remained extremely modest. According to data published by the Council on Foreign Relations (2019, January 30), between 1990 and 2019, women only made up two percent of mediators and eight percent of negotiators in all major peace processes. In order to address this imbalance, in 2000 the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) unanimously adopted a new groundbreaking resolution on women's participation in peace and security issues. This resolution, known as UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, was the first of its kind to place women in the center of the peace and security agenda. (Tryggestad, 2009, p. 539.) Furthermore, the resolution is not only unique due to being the first time the council addressed women's experiences, but also as it is the first resolution to pass due to NGOs advocacy attempts; the resolution is a unique example on successful cooperation between different NGOs, governments and UN departments (Hermoso & Sugawara, 2016, p. 68.)

According to Hermoso & Sugawara (2016, p. 69), the resolution addresses the underrepresentation of women through four pillars. Firstly, it aims to increase women's participation in decision making at all levels. Secondly, the resolution addresses gender-based violence in conflict settings and aims to protect women from such violations. Thirdly, it aims to promote women's rights and increase accountability in cases of gender-based violence. Lastly, the resolutions supports gender mainstreaming by urging to consider gender in all peace operations. (Hermoso & Sugawara, 2016, p. 69.)

Though the resolution was adapted almost two decades ago, the progress made has been quite modest. Therefore, the resolution has faced significant criticism in the academic world. Tryggestad's (2009, p. 552) study explains how the criticism towards the resolution is mostly focused on the mere rhetoric commitment to the issue as well as slow and inadequate implementation of the resolution by the UN and the member states. Critics claim that though the resolution was seen as a groundbreaking link between women's issues and the international security agenda, it has made little difference in the actual policies and especially practices of the member states that unanimously adapted the resolution. Despite the criticism, Tryggestad (2009) states that the resolution has created positive change and progress in women's involvement in peace and security issues. The resolution placed women's interests in the core of the UN security agenda breaking the traditional ideas of soft and hard issues. Furthermore, follow-up resolutions focusing on specific aspects of women, peace and security prove that the political will and momentum is still there, and the issue remains in the core of the Security Council's debates. (Tryggestad, 2009, p. 541-542.)

Nigeria is among the countries that have taken this resolution as part of their national policy. Nigeria has launched two National Action Plans (NAP) in order to implement the resolution. The first NAP addressed the period 2013 to 2017. According to PeaceWomen (2019), the first NAP included several gaps such as insufficient monitoring and evaluation tools. Moreover, the first NAP did not address emerging issues such as violent extremism. These gaps and lacks formed the basis of a new NAP, addressing the period 2017 to 2020. According to PeaceWomen (2019), this second NAP included more detailed monitoring and evaluating plans, and addressed the emerging security issues better than the first one. Despite the improvements, adequate funding remains an outstanding issue, and Nigeria has not yet successfully implemented the resolution (WILPF, 2017, July 10). For instance, gender representation in formal decision-making through parliament is extremely unbalanced, with only 5,5 percent of the representatives being female (UN Women, 2019, February 6).

5. LITERATURE REVIEW

One of the main reasons why I chose to study women's roles in the conflict and their involvement in activism in the context of Boko Haram is due to the lack of previous work done in this perspective. However, there is a broad selection of previous literature regarding the main topics of this study. Boko Haram itself has generated an increasing amount of scholarly articles as well as books that explain in more detail the establishment and evolution of the insurgency as well as their strategic use of women. A few studies also examine the discourse used by the group or other outlets when describing the insurgency. In addition, there is an abundance of research of the topic women, peace and security. Those works include general theories as well as case studies that examine the issues, assets and restrictions of women's involvement in peace-building from both historical and contemporary perspectives. Moreover, there are also studies addressing the counter-hegemonic discourse produced by women's peace organizations.

In this chapter, I introduce the key literature regarding Boko Haram and women in peace-building. The first part focuses on Boko Haram's strategic use of gender-based violence and women in their attacks as well as discourse linked to the group. Secondly, I examine in more detail the literature involving women's participation in peace-building and the counter-hegemonic discourse of women's organizations.

5.1. Strategical Use of Women and Discursive Choices of Boko Haram

The existing literature on Boko Haram is mostly focused on the evolution of the terrorist group, their evolving strategies, and trends in their attacks (e.g. Iyekekpolo, 2016; Ordu, 2017; Oriola, 2016 & Zenn & Perason, 2014), some briefly presented already in Chapter 4. However, for the purpose of this thesis, it is more meaningful to examine in more detail the studies that address gender in Boko Haram's strategy. Recent studies (e.g. Oriola, 2016; Zenn & Pearson, 2014 & Nnam, 2018) about Boko Haram show an increase of interest in their strategic use of women and the war they are waging against them. Oriola (2016) argues that earlier literature about the group first portrayed women as mere victims of the

insurgency until a new wave started that looked more into women's agency. However, literature was still lacking a comprehensive analysis of sexual and gender-based violence in the Nigerian social context. Furthermore, Oriola and Zenn and Pearson (2014) as well as Nnam (2018) argue that Boko Haram's strategic use of gender-based violence has roots in the patriarchal history and structure still prevailing of Nigeria. According to Zenn and Pearson (2014, p. 47) world witnessed a change in Boko Haram's operational strategy in 2012 when the group first instrumentalized women, and made the use of female suicide bombing and gender-based kidnappings their signature attacks. According to the scholars, this shift was motivated by the government actions as the Nigerian security forces kidnapped multiple women suspected to be the wives of Boko Haram members. After the abductions, the new leader Shekau published a video pledging to revenge, kidnap government officials' wives, and make them his servants (Zenn & Pearson, 2014, p. 48). Zenn and Pearson's study shows, that the cycle for gender-based violence and abductions was ultimately created by the Nigerian government.

Zenn and Pearson (2014, p. 49) state that the police forces' tactics and mass arrests have made male members of Boko Haram vulnerable, thus, incenting the group to utilize more women in their attacks. Boko Haram started using women as bombers, shooters and arms smugglers as well as in domestic work taking care of the houses and men. Moreover, Zenn and Pearson (2014, p. 49) argue that male members started dressing up as women in order to avoid arrestments and draw less attention. Nnam's (2018, p. 35) study supports this suggestion and argues that women have more natural behavioral traits that spark less suspicion within security personnel and the public, thus, making it easier to succeed in attacks. Zenn and Pearson's (2014, p. 49) study explains how Boko Haram is targeting Christian women, and has increased its use of sexual violence. In fact, 45% of the group's victims are women. Captured women have faced different forms of violence ranging from coerced marriages and unwanted conversion to Islam to torture, rape and murder. Zenn and Pearson (2014, p. 50) continue to explain how the gender-based violence has roots in Sharia law that portrays women as inferior to men, promotes strict gender roles and sees women as the property of their husbands. However, the scholars note that this is not a unique feature nor only a religious ideology, but rather a continuum of the government's tactics and discrimination of Christian women especially in Northern Nigeria. Boko Haram has just taken it further with its systematic rapes and kidnappings (Zenn & Pearson, 2014, p. 52).

Oriola (2016) goes into more detail in the roles that women play within Boko Haram. Similarly to Zenn and Pearson (2014), Oriola identifies the origin of gender-based violence in the government's actions, and the wider ideology in Northern Nigeria about women's social role and status. Oriola states that though the group uses cruel violence against women, they still recognize women's crucial role in building the future and new generations. Therefore, Boko Haram uses systematic rapes to ensure continuity, conceive children that they can later abduct and raise according to the group's ideology. However, Oriola (2016) continues that not all rapes are meant to produce a new offspring, but to also cause fear and shame in the communities of the women. In addition, women are used as a supplement to the groups killing machinery as suicide bombers and frontline fighters as well as in domestic work taking care of the men and houses. Furthermore, Oriola states that kidnapped women serve as a tool for bargaining with the government in order to achieve their demands such as freeing captured members of the group.

Oriola's study (2016) concludes that Boko Haram's war against women has had huge structural and social consequences. According to his study, Chibok kidnappings served as a turning point and made Boko Haram a globally recognized terrorist group with an active and destructive was against women defining their brand. Furthermore, gender-based violence enforces strict structural gender roles and domestic dominance of males. The violence also enforces women's second-class status and prevents them from achieving complete, equal citizenship. Oriola's study shows that Boko Haram's strategic use of gender-based violence is a production and continuum of Nigerian patriarchal infrastructure.

Another study by Bloom and Matfess (2016) agrees with the prevalent idea in existing literature about women being coerced into acting as suicide bombers. Bloom and Matfess (2016, p. 105) argue that utilizing women in suicide attacks is common among terrorist groups, but women have a disproportional position in Boko Haram's operations when comparing to other insurgency groups.

Though agreeing with the previous studies introduced, Bloom and Matfess (2016) and Matfess' (2017) studies on gender and Boko Haram argues that seeing women as victims

and strategic tools of warfare does not paint the whole picture and disregards women's voluntary participation in the group's operations as wives or fighters. Bloom and Matfess (2016, p. 109) argue that most women participating in Boko Haram's operations are forced to do so. However, some women also participate willingly. Yusuf originally created a relatively female-friendly atmosphere providing community help and Islamic education for women that lead to the improvement of the women's social status (Matfess, 2017). Matfess (2017) argues that Yusuf was a strong believer in the gendered division of labor therefore emphasizing the importance of marriage and wives as well as treating the women well at home. Moreover, joining the group often meant an improvement in the quality of life of the women as the group had strong social infrastructure that allowed also the women to advance their own interests. As many of the women participating willingly in the insurgency were poor or homeless, making joining the group more appealing. (Bloom & Matfess, 2016, p. 112.) Matfess (2017) calls this patriarchy trading. Voluntary female fighters, on the other hand, joined the group in search of redemption and revenge as well as due to existing family ties with members. Matfess (2017) also reminds that women's experiences inside Boko Haram vary due to hierarchies and power structures. Furthermore, the emotional attachment to the group as well as willingness to act in operations can also be due to "Stockholm syndrome" (Bloom & Matfess, 2016, p. 113).

Although most literature linked to Boko Haram focuses on the evolution and tactics of the group as well as the group's strategical approach to women, a few studies also address the discourse linked to Boko Haram and how the topics are discussed in the Nigerian as well as international media platforms. Firstly, Osisanwo's (2016) research examines the linguistic strategies used by four Nigerian newspapers when describing Boko Haram. The study uses Van Leeuwen's framework of representational strategies as its theoretical framework, and combines Critical Discourse Analysis and systemic functional linguistics as the methodological approach. Drawing examples from the texts, Osisanwo's (2016, p. 346-359) discourse analysis reveals roles that the newspapers studied give to Boko Haram members. They are presented mostly in highly negative terms and the roles given include terrorists, militants, attackers, religious fundamentalists, killers, criminals and abductors. Osisanwo's (2016, p. 359-360) discourse analysis suggests that the negative representation is fueled by the fact that the general public does not agree with Boko Haram's ideology, thus, suggesting that the attitudes of the citizens have an impact on the discourse used. This negative image

is created through various discursive strategies (e.g. categorizing and differentiating, condemning and appealing for emotions) and supported by linguistic strategies (e.g. providing roles to different actors through exclusion, passivation and association). Osisanwo (2016, p. 360) concludes that the discourse used in the media aims at orientating the readers to have a negative perception of Boko Haram.

The existing literature also addresses social media discourse. In particular, Innocent Chiluwa has conducted multiple studies related to social media discourse and Boko Haram. Firstly, Chiluwa's (2013) study examines the discourse used in Twitter to discuss issues related to Boko Haram. The study includes tweets from supporters and members of Boko Haram as well as others who do not identify with the group. Chiluwa's study sees discourse as a pragmatic act, and the method used in the data analysis aims to identify these acts. Furhermore, Chiluwa's (2013, p. 88) analysis also identifies speech acts that are used in the tweets related to Boko Haram. The analysis of the tweets reveals acts that both support and condemn Boko Haram. The tweets include blaming the Nigerian government and the Western world for the uprising, condemning Boko Haram as well as Islam as well as acts of support for the group and its ideology (Chiluwa, 2013, p. 90-97). The discourse used in some tweets even demands Nigeria to be split in two and support Boko Haram's aim of forming an Islamic caliphate (Chiluwa, 2013, p. 98). Chiluwa concludes that the tweets about Boko Haram are an expression of emotions, ranging from anger to extreme happiness. Chiluwa's (2013) study is a good example how discourse can express people's attitudes in direct or indirect ways.

Secondly, as the previous study examined the discourse used both by supporters of Boko Haram and people who denounce their acts, another study by Chiluwa (2015a) focuses only on the discourse used by Twitter accounts belonging to Boko Haram and Al Shabaab insurgents. The qualitative discourse analysis studies the stances that tweeters take and through which they present themselves, and focuses on the lexical and grammatical stances the writers take (Chiluwa, 2015a, p. 214). The study reveals that attitude markers (discourse that expresses the writers' feelings and emotions) and self-mentions (use of pronouns that express proposition) are the most used means to take a stance in radicalist discourse (Chiluwa 2015a, p. 233). These stances are used to present positive attitudes towards the

insurgency and the ideology as well as to negatively evaluate others (Chiluwa, 2015a, p. 214).

I believe that the discourse-related research on Boko Haram is not sufficient and does not cover many important aspects of the conflict. To my best knowledge, there is no existing literature that examines discourse on women's roles in the Boko Haram conflict. No studies have been done on how media outlets portray women in the case of Boko Haram or how their activism is presented. Therefore, I believe that the study at hand serves as an important addition to the existing literature and provides a thorough insight to the discourse linked to Boko Haram and women in media as well as an encompassing outline of women's roles in the conflict.

5.2. Women in Conflicts and the Counter-Hegemonic Discourse

Scholarly literature includes thorough examinations of women's participation in peace activism and reasons for their exclusion of formal peace-building (e.g. Porter, 2003; Karam, 2010 & Shulika 2016). Firstly, Porter's (2003) study examines international conferences and resolutions that address women's inclusion, and evaluates their implementation as well as the remaining barriers for women's participation. According to Porter (2003, p. 245), women's participation in peace-building was first addressed in the Beijing Conference and the Platform of Action (PAF) created on the basis of it. Porter explains that this was the first international commitment to include women in peace-building. Porter's study, however, reveals that the progress made in the first five years remained modest and women's inclusion in decision-making before, during and after conflicts was still extremely unproportioned. Furthermore, the gap between policy and practice was evident (Porter, 2003, p. 254). Porter (2003, p. 262) argues that women are the least represented in formal peace negotiations despite the awareness of women's unproportioned suffering from conflicts. She continues to note that women's inclusion is vital for sustainable peace for three reasons (Porter, 2003, p. 249-250). Firstly, though women might not be active combatants, they are affected by the conflict and the peace agreement. Since conflicts have witnessed an increase in the use of sexual and gender-based violence as a strategical weapon of war, women's suffering has

increased significantly. Secondly, Porter states that women's inclusion is vital for inclusive social justice, and thirdly, women can bring forth issues to the negotiation tables that men might disregard. (Porter, 2003, p. 249-250.) Porter's study (2003, p. 248) also reveals reasons used to justify women's exclusion with lack of education, lack of leadership positions and lack of negotiation or combatant skills as the most distinct.

Porter's study (2003, p. 255-256) also reveals that the definition of peace-building that the United Nations promotes excludes many informal dimensions where women's participation is the most pronounced. She explains that women make their voices heard in informal community events and advocate for peaceful existence. However, Porter feels strongly that women have to be included also in the formal dimension, as women's involvement in crucial for providing the best framework for reconstructing societies, stabilizing communities and enhancing democratic legitimacy by addressing all affected citizens. (Porter, 2003, p. 255-256) In addition, Porter (2003, p. 260) adds that women's movements advocate for peace across cultural, ethnical and political divisions. This is a unique feature within women and not as evident among men. However, Porter notes that she does not assume women's peacefulness nor promote gender stereotypes, and recognizes women's roles as combatants, terrorists and violent participants in conflicts. Porter (2003) concludes that cultural stereotypes and inadequate implementation of international commitments remain as the biggest obstacles for women's full inclusion. She argues that as not obeying the PFA or other commitments do not cause any sanctions, many nations lack the will to efficiently implement them. Moreover, altering laws does not automatically reflect in reality and changing cultural attitudes is even more difficult.

Karam's (2010) study also addresses women's involvement in peace-building the ways conflicts shape women's lives and multiple roles of women during and after conflicts. Karam argues that women are portrayed as victims rather than actors due to patriarchal structures of societies, but in reality, women play multiple different roles. Karam points out some positive developments in the field and states that women's representation has increased, and women's movements have regained power in building civil societies that consider the needs of women. Nevertheless, female representation in formal peace negotiations is lacking

behind and preventing sustainable peace as women's issues, needs, experiences, demands and hopes are not represented in the negotiation tables. (Karam, 2010).

However, Karam argues that the consequences of war and armed conflicts on women are not only negative as conflicts also offer a possibility for transforming the policies, patriarchal social structures and furthering the women's agenda (Karam, 2010). With insights to cases and conflicts around the world, Karam demonstrates how women's movements begin their attempt to organize and network during the conflicts when peace negotiations are not yet on the table. By sharing information and knowledge, women's movements aim to advocate the women's agenda. Furthermore, the movements aim to legalize and institutionalize their agenda by influencing, for instance, the new constitutions of the recovering states. (Karam, 2010.)

There are also studies conducted specifically in the African context. In Africa, women's involvement in peace-building has long roots in history and is not a new phenomenon, though the topic lacked scholarly interest until the last few decades. In her article about women and peace-building in Africa, Shulika (2016, p. 18-19) argues that women's participation was first internationally recognized during the United Nation's International Decade for Women 1975-1985 and later complimented by multiple international agreements such as the United Nation's Security Council's Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. However, Shulika's (2016) study sheds light on the historical perspectives in Africa long before these agreements and policies took place. In the African context, women in peace-building was influenced by colonialism and increased globalization. Shulika's (2016, p. 12) study shows that pre-colonial women in multiple African countries were valued as the mothers of the next generation, as creators of existence and continuity, and were responsible for teaching the cultural and moral values of the society. Furthermore, women participated greatly in economic activities that also opened a path for political participation and decision-making (Shulika, 2016, p. 14). Shulika (2016) argues that women were proactive in different forms of governmental influencing, decision-making and conflict resolving. This, however, changed after most African countries were colonized and influenced by the West (Shulika, 2016, p. 15). According to Shulika's study, colonialism

had a huge negative impact on African women's status, and introduced a strict, gendered division of labor that excluded women from formal peace-building.

According to Shulika (2016, p. 15-16), colonialism changed the nature of the conflicts in Africa by introducing increased militarism and weaponry. Furthermore, women had to adapt their conventional role's to match the new dimensions of conflicts. Shulika (2016, p. 18) states that as women were excluded from formal peace-building, they mobilized themselves in grass-root organizations advocating for peace and equal human rights for all. Shulika explains how this was largely motivated by the will to address women's disproportioned suffering and victimization that rose from the increase in the strategic use of sexual and gender-based violence. Shulika (2016, p. 24-25) concludes that despite multiple international agreements guaranteeing equal participation, women's activities are restricted by the lack of access to resources and the lack of proper implementation of such policies. Shulika's study shows that the gap between policy and practice continues to limit women's involvement in post-colonial Africa.

The discourses produced by women's peace organizations and movements are highly understudied. However, some exceptions exist (e.g. Pouzol, 2013; Chirindo, 2016 & Chiluwa 2015b). Pouzol (2018) examines women's peace activism and discourse in the Israel-Palestine conflict. She argues that women's grassroots activism and the discourse it promoted played a significant role in the peace work and deconstructing national identities. Pouzol's study suggests that the counter-hegemonic discourse had an impact on the traditional gender roles (Pouzol, 2018, p. 65). Furthermore, the feminist discourse shaped the definition of peace to have more emphasis on human security than territorial conquering (Pouzol, 2018, p. 67). Women's organizations in Israel and Palestine also offered a platform for marginalized groups, such as the LGBTQ community, to raise their voices through the discourse used. Pouzol argues that the women's organizations left their mark in new political discourses: the activism created a counter-hegemonic discourse to peace that challenges the hegemonic ideology of military responses (Pouzol, 2018, p. 50).

Chirindo's (2016) research is a sociolinguistic study on Wangari Maathai's rhetoric. Maathai is a Kenyan environmental and peace activist, and a Nobel Peace Prize laurate (Chirindo,

2016, p. 443). Chirindo (2016) explains how Wangari's nomination was vastly discussed in mass media with negatively charged discourse. Wangari's idea of positive peace was not received without doubt. She did not see peace as an absence of war, violence or conflict, but as an active effort to do something in order to build and maintain peace. In her work, Wangari combined environmental aspects with peace and democracy, and she approached peace through, for instance, planting trees (Chirindo, 2016, p. 444). Chirindo (2016, p. 446) explains how Wangari's rhetoric utilized native words from Kikuyu language to advocate for peace, but also to raise awareness on the interlinkages of peace, democracy and environment. Chirindo (2016, p. 456) concludes that Wangari's rhetoric had a significant impact in both the discourse used in mainstream media as well as activist movements. Chirindo suggests that due to the rhetoric used by Wangari, discourse combining peace to environment have secured its place in media. Chirindo's study is a great example of the impact that a counter-hegemonic discourse can have.

Similarly, the discourse used by women-led organizations has not been sufficiently studied in the case of Boko Haram. When familiarizing myself with the existing literature, I came across one great and highly relevant exception. Innocent Chiluwa, known for studies on discourse and Boko Haram, conducted a research on the discursive features of #BringBackOurGirls movement's texts in social media (Chiluwa, 2015b). The study includes tweets and Facebook posts and comments written by members of the movement and other supporters. The study combines appraisal framework with critical discourse analysis to evaluate the stance of the movement's discourse. Chiluwa's (2015b, p. 271) approach to discourse assumes that texts are not only a way to distribute information, but they also reveal attitudes and emotions of the writer regarding the topic at hand. The study reveals that most of the stances taken in the online discussion are negative in nature (2015b, p. 286). Writers directly judge the Chibok kidnappings and represent Boko Haram in negative terms (Chiluwa, 2015b, p. 275-278). Moreover, the discourse also portrays negative attitudes and stances towards the Nigerian government (Chiluwa, 2015b, p. 280). The kidnapped girls are represented through their victimhood and innocence (Chiluwa, 2015b, p. 281). Furthermore, the discursive structure of #BringBackOurGirls discourse includes commands and requests for acts such as "write" and "share" (Chiluwa, 2015b, p. 277). Chiluwa (2015b, p. 286) concludes that in order for an online campaign to be successful, it must also mobilize itself offline. Chiluwa suggests that the increased national and

international efforts to rescue to kidnapped Chibok girls is a sign of success for the #BringBackOurGirls movement.

Due to the lack of discourse analysis done addressing women's peace activism, I believe that the study at hand brings value to the existing literature. Furthermore, with Chiluwa (2015b) as the only exception, women's counter-hegemonic discourse has not been studied in the context of Boko Haram. To my best knowledge, no study has examined the discourse generated by the mainstream media to describe women's peace activism in the fight against Boko Haram.

6. FINDINGS

In total, the analysis of this thesis covers 23 articles collected from the newspapers and 13 statements (Appendix III) published by #BringBackOurGirls movement. From the newspaper articles, eight were published in Vanguard (Appendix I) and 15 in This Day (Appendix II). The dataset sums up at 116 pages of text. Furthermore, as the data covering the women-led movement's discourse is significantly smaller, I conducted a supplementing interview with the spokesperson of the movement (Appendix IV). This interview is approximately 45 minutes long and included in the analyzed data.

The aim of this chapter is to give a coherent and structured report of the main findings of the data analysis. As the analysis is theory-driven, it includes examining the data through Fairclough's framework. Additionally, in order to serve the purpose of this particular thesis, I have approached the broad dataset through thematic analysis, which I have explained in more detail in Chapter 3. The findings are presented under two main headlines that are in accordance with the research questions of this thesis.

6.1. Roles of women

This section focuses on the first parts of the research questions: what kind of roles do women have in the abduction? The analysis examines the discourse generated by Nigerian newspapers and the discourse generated by #BringBackOurGirls separately, and sums up the main differences and similarities between them. Through the careful thematic analysis, I was able to find four main themes or categories that the discourses offer for women: victimhood, agency, relational and symbolic roles (Figure 3). The results of the thematic analysis are also illustrated in more detail the Appendixes; Appendix V provides a visual presentation of the coding and categorizing of women's roles in the discourse generated by #BringBackOurGirls, and Appendix VI on the newspaper discourse. These four themes will be presented in more detail and supported by evidence from the data, keeping in mind the three-dimensional framework provided by Fairclough (1992).
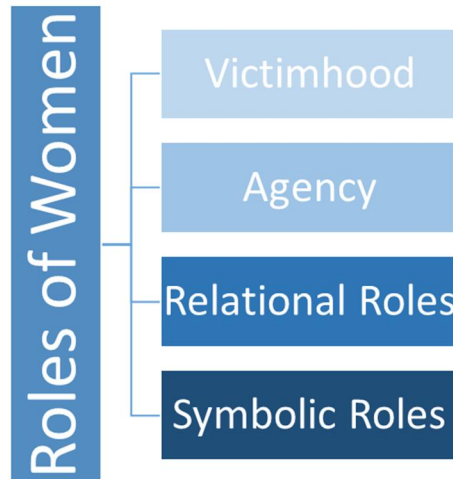
Figure 3. Thematic categories of women's roles

6.1.1. Victimhood

The first category of women's roles emerging from both of the discourses is victimhood. As illustrated in Appendixes V and VI, this broad theme becomes evident in the different dimensions represented by the various codes: shared victimhood, direct victimhood, indirect victimhood, coercion and stigmatization. All the codes under this theme include passive roles that victimize the girls who were kidnapped. This role is particularly prevalent in the discourse generated by the Nigerian newspapers, as they use all the forms of victimization stated above. Victimhood is also present in the statements from #BringBackOurGirls with differing tones and connotations, but the statements do not include coercion or stigmatization. As the role of victimhood leaves little to none room for women's agency, I argue that this role maintains the power relations between genders, and fits in well in patriarchal ideology. Furthermore, as this role is significantly more dominant in the discourse used by Nigerian newspapers, I argue that the newspapers represent a hegemonic discourse that reflects (and therefore maintains) this ideological hegemony of patriarchy that can be found in the Nigerian society.

Firstly, I analyzed the wordings used in the mainstream media discourse that promote the role of victimhood. As illustrated in Appendix VI, both newspapers use direct, indirect and

shared victimhood, as well as coercion and stigmatization in their discourse. Firstly, both newspapers directly use the word "victim" when referring to the Chibok girls. For instance, the abducted girls are describes as the "victims of this terrible crime" (This Day, 2015, April 15a), and as the "219 young victims" (This Day, 2016, April 14b). Referring to the girls directly as victims represents direct victimhood, making the role explicit and clear. Although the victimization of the girls is clear in almost all the newspaper articles, the victimhood is also described in more subtle way; through indirect victimhood. The newspapers uses terms such as "missing girls", "innocent girls" and "abducted girls" when referring to them. For example, one of the newspaper articles includes a quote:

> ""It is unfortunate that the innocent girls were captured virtually unchallenged and government was unresponsive for over two weeks and one year on, it deeply hurts that no concrete information is available as to the whereabouts of our missing girls from Chibok," Dabiri-Erewa said." (This Day, 2015, April 14b)

The words and phrases used indicate a passive role, representing the girls as more of objects or targets of Boko Haram's terrorism – as victims. Furthermore, the newspaper articles also offer some examples of shared victimhood by mentioning others affected by Boko Haram's violence. For instance, one article by This Day gives a great example:

> According to her, men and women, boys and girls, Christians and Muslims, have been killed, abducted and brutalized by Boko Haram during a reign of terror which has affected millions. (This Day, 2015, April 14a)

The quote explicitly indicates that Chibok girls, or women in general, are not the only targets of Boko Haram's terror. However, this shared victimhood is not as evident or common as direct or indirect victimhood in the discourse generated by the Nigerian newspapers.

In addition to being victims of kidnapping, the girls' victimhood includes other forms: women are also victims of coercion. For instance, the Chibok girls are victims of coerced marriage, rape and conversion to Islam. In one article (This Day, 2015, April 14a) a woman rescued from captivity shares her experiences of how "she was raped repeatedly, sometimes by groups of up to six fighters". She continues to explain how "some of them [abducted girls] refused to convert [to Islam]" and were then killed and "buried in a mass grave in the

bush" (This Day, 2015, April 14a). Furthermore, the girls' victimhood also manifests itself through forcing the girls to act as suicide bombers:

> "Apart from the boasts of Abubakar Shekau, Boko Haram's leader that he had "sold" or married off the girls, it is speculated that some of them may have been radicalised to become suicide bombers while others might have become mothers and victims of serial rape." (Vanguard, 2016, April 14b)

Using the phrase "married off" (Vanguard, 2016, April 14b) indicates that the women were forced to become wives against their will, thus, being victims of coerced marriage. Furthermore, the girls "have been radicalized" (Vanguard, 2016, April 14b) implies that they were victims of mental coercion and abuse. All these roles given and the language related to them give very little agency and highlight the victimhood.

The victimhood continues to follow the girls even after being freed from abduction, but takes a new form: stigmatization. As the years go by, some of the abducted girls are freed or rescued, but they are given little to none voice or agency. The newspapers refer to them by using terms such as "escaped victim" (This Day, 2015, April 15b) or "freed bride" (Vanguard, 2016, April 15), highlighting the persistent stigma of victimhood through the abduction. For instance:

> "People call me a Boko Haram wife and called me a criminal. They didn't want me near. They didn't like me," Zara said as a tear slowly slipped down her cheek.
>
> She now sits inside the small walled compound around her house, afraid to go outside because of the cruel insults of the neighbourhood children - messages of hate learned from their parents."(Vanguard, 2016, April 15)

The quote indicates that after being a "victim" of abduction and Boko Haram's violence, the escaped girl faced another kind of victimhood. Now the girl struggles to reintegrate in the society as she is scared of "cruel insults" (Vanguard, 2016, April 15) – she has become the victim of stigma and rejection of her community.

Turning the focus of the analysis to the statements by the #BringBackOurGirls movement, the data analysis reveals that victimhood is also present in the discourse generated by the movement. As illustrated in Appendix V, the analysis revealed that the statements use shared, direct and indirect forms of victimhood. Although the discourse does not emphasize the victimhood as much as the newspapers, the statements from #BringBackOurGirls also bring out the role of the Chibok girls as victims. The statements represent direct victimhood by using terms such as "victims of abduction" (e.g. #BBOG, 2017, November 14), "victims of terrorism" (e.g. #BBOG, 2016, April 14), and "victims of Boko Haram" (#BBOG, 2016, April 14). However, the statements favor indirect victimhood, and describe the girls as "kidnapped women" (#BBOG, 2017, October 12) and "abducted" girls (e.g. #BBOG, 2017, July 27). However, the language used in the statements highlight shared victimhood; the fact that the Chibok girls or women in general are not the only victims of violence in Nigeria. The statements include multiple mentions of other women who have been abducted, for instance, the "Daphci girls" (e.g. #BBOG, 2018, April 19) and "Lassa women" (e.g. #BBOG, 2017, November 14). Furthermore, the statements refer to male victims of abduction, such as the "Lagos schoolboys" (e.g. #BBOG, 2017, August 1). An interview with the spokesperson confirms this:

> "As to the aspect of women being viewed as victims, I think, naturally, because the Chibok girls are all women, a lot of people might see that as women being victims. However, throughout the period of the on-going insurgency war, we have had men and women being victims of kidnappings and violence." (#BBOG, personal communication, 2019, March 7.)

The spokesperson continues furthers this argument by giving examples of attacks targeted against schoolboys and how all genders have suffered due to the violence.

In accordance with Fairclough's (1992) framework, the texts were also analyzed on the level of social norms. In the third dimension, social practice, Fairclough argues that discourse can establish, maintain or challenge power relations and norms of the society. The role of victimhood seems to be in accordance with the broader social norms prevailing in Nigeria. Furthermore, previous literature on women's roles in the conflict against Boko Haram (e.g. Zenn & Pearson, 2014; Nnam, 2018 & Oriola, 2016) also put much emphasis on the role of victimhood. As explained earlier, the Nigerian society is highly patriarchal, and places

women in strict gendered roles. This passive role of victimhood maintains these power relations between genders and leaves the patriarchy unchallenged. According to Mora (2014, p.133), patriarchal ideology lies on the premises that women are dependent on men. The victimization of women in the case of Chibok is a good example on how such ideological thinking can be detected in media discourse; women are victims that need to be saved.

However, there are clear differences in the volume and directness of victimization between the two discourses. Statements from #BringBackOurGirls tend to favor more indirect wording regarding to victimhood. According to Fairclough (1992, p. 77), these alternative wordings carry a political and ideological importance. Thus, the use of indirect victimhood can be sign of conscious or subconscious efforts to challenge the patriarchal role of victimhood. Moreover, the discourse used by the movement's statements as well as the spokesperson put much emphasis on the fact that women are not the only victims. The fact that all the pupils abducted from Chibok were women makes it inevitable to make notions to female victimhood. However, the movement's discourse balances out the uneven power relations among genders; women are not the only victims that need to be saved, but all genders are negatively affected by the violence of Boko Haram and the insufficient action by the government to stop it. By highlighting the shared victimhood regardless of gender, the women-led movement distinguishes itself from the patriarchal ideology.

6.1.2. Agency

Secondly, as a contrast to the role of victimhood, the analysis reveals a more active category: women as agents. As evident in the visual presentation of the analysis (Appendixes V & VI), women's agency is presented through female fighters, leaders and activists in both discourses. Although women are not given as much voice or space as men in the newspaper articles, the discourse of mainstream media offers some good exceptions by introducing women's agency and their active roles. However, the active role of women is the premise and presumption of all statements representing the discourse used by #BringBackOurGirls, clearly marking a difference in the two discourses. Based on the analysis, I argue that the discourse produced by #BringBackOurGirls strongly challenges the patriarchal ideology and

male domination over women. Furthermore, the discourse used by the movement aims to have an impact to the power relations between genders as it placed women in the center of public lives traditionally dominated by men. The discourse used in the newspapers, however, shows some indication of a counter-hegemonic voice, but is more subtle in challenging to social structures.

In the discourse produced by Vanguard and This Day, some room is left for women's agency. Firstly, the discourse introduces a role of female activists. In addition to passive roles, women are also referred to as "activists" (e.g. Vanguard, 2016, April 14a) and "protesters" (e.g. This Day, 2017, April 14a). For example, an article addressing the reactions of the delegates in the National Conference gives space for comments from the women participating, and gives them a more active role:

> "Drawing the attention of the conference to the abduction of the schoolgirls, a former Minister of Women Affairs, Aisha Isma'il, said it was for this reason that all the women at the conference agreed to dress in black attire as a sign of protest of the insecurity in the country." (This Day, 2014, April 16a)

By using the phrase "sign of protest" (This Day, 2014, April 16a), the paragraph highlights women's active efforts and their role as activists and protestors. The same article also includes statements from two other female delegates, giving value to their thoughts and comments and emphasizing women's agency. Women are also referred to as "ambassadors" (e.g. This Day, 2015, April 15a), underlining their agency in protests regarding the Chibok kidnappings:

> "As a mark of remembrance and to maintain the pressure on the federal government to find the girls, 219 children who served as ambassadors of the BBOG group, representing the 219 kidnapped girls in captivity, yesterday marched to the Ministry of Education in Abuja." (This Day, 2015, April 15a)

Using phrases like "to maintain the pressure" and pointing out how the girl ambassadors "marched" highlights women's agency (This Day, 2015, April 15a). Furthermore, one article (This Day, 2017, April 14b) also includes a picture of #BringBackOurGirls campaigners.

The picture shows women in the forefront of a protest, holding signs and banners. Including this picture increases the sense of agency and provides proof of the active role women have.

The agency and activism of some individual women are also emphasized in the newspaper articles and the role of female leaders is introduced. The articles make references to individual women like the Nigerian "activists, Dr Oby Ezekwesili and Miss Hadiza Bala Usman" as well as international actors like the "Pakistani teen activist, Malala Yousafzai" and "America's First Lady, Michelle Obama" (Vanguard, 2016, April 14a). The agency of the women is discussed in a positive light, explaining how their action "triggered off the historic #Bringback Our Girls (BBOG) protest around the world" (Vanguard, 2016, April 14a).

In addition to the roles of female activists and leaders, women are also given other active roles. The articles introduce the role of female fighters, giving them active agency in the conflict. Citing a report published by Amnesty International, This Day quotes a testimony from a girl who escaped Boko Haram's captivity:

> ""They used to train girls how to shoot guns. I was among the girls trained to shoot. I was also trained how to use bombs and how to attack a village," Aisha told Amnesty International. "This training went on for three weeks after we arrived. Then they started sending some of us to operations. I went on one operation to my own village."" (This Day, 2015, April 14a)

Not only does the quote give space to a woman's voice, it highlights their agency. The girls "train" and then perform "attacks" and "operations" (This Day, 2015, April 14a). However, it is important to note that whereas the newspapers refers to members of Boko Haram as "terrorists" (e.g. This Day, 2015, April 15a & Vanguard, 2016, April 14), women conducting suicide bombings and other attacks are not. Fairclough's framework includes a famous example addressing the use of different terms such as 'terrorist' and 'freedom fighter' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 75). Fairclough (1992, p. 75) argues that the reasons for combining certain words to certain people or objects is socially motivated. According to Makama (2013, p. 127) women's roles in Nigeria are restricted to traditional, patriarchal gender roles. Using phrases like "made to participate in armed attacks" (This Day, 2015, April 14a) indicate that

the women did not conduct such attacks willingly but were forced to do so. This gives a more positive connotation to the women's agency, but also restricts them to the traditional gender norms that rarely include such agency as waging war.

Referring to women as "suicide bombers" (e.g. Vanguard, 2016, April 14a & Vanguard, 2016, April 14b) instead of "terrorists", and highlighting their unwillingness to participate can also be interpreted in another way. According to Makama (2013, p. 115), Nigerian patriarchal culture allows men to dominate women in all sectors in life. Furthermore, men can utilize the uneven power relations of this ideology to coerce women into actions they would not otherwise take. In the case of this interpretation, emphasizing the coercion of women could be an indication of uneven power relations between genders. However, my stance on the issue is that the discourse used by the newspapers present women's participation in Boko Haram's operations in more positive terms in order to comply the patriarchal gender roles that tend to exclude women from such roles. Thus, making it again a good example of a hegemonic discourse.

Turning the focus of the analysis to the statements published by #BringBackOurGirls, the discourse includes same roles of agency (female fighters, female activists and female leaders), but also adds new dimensions. Firstly, one statement also refer to "female suicide bombers" (#BBOG, 2016, April 6) and reveal the agency of women as fighters. The statement does not take a stand on whether or not the women were forced to act in such a role or did they do it willingly. Secondly, the counter-hegemonic statements give women a role in formal peace-building through expressing their "gratitude for our uniformed men and women in the frontline of battle" (#BBOG, 2017, November 14). Thirdly, the statements underline women's leadership roles in the advocacy movement by listing names of women who are the "phenomenal" and "key leaders" of the movement:

> "We are therefore delighted to present the new Chairperson of our ST [Strategic Team] -- Florence Ozor who is taking over from our indefatigable Aisha Yesufu today. Aisha Yesufu was a phenomenal leader and continues to be on the ST as one of the key leaders of our movement." (#BBOG, 2017, August 1)

The quote indicates that the women in these leadership roles are highly valued and their work is found meaningful. The interview with the spokesperson of the group further supports this role of women as active leaders.

> "So strategically, it is chaired, sort of, or not sort of, it is, chaired by a chairperson who is always a woman. It has always been a woman and it always is a women. --- But then beyond that we have the more prominent members, the core confidant of the movement and other prominent people who are women." (#BBOG, personal communication, 2019, March 7.)

The quotation reveals the importance of women in the movement and also indicates that the movement will continue to give agency to women in leadership positions. This discourse and language use highly contradict and challenge the patriarchal ideology and male hegemony, as it places women in central roles in the public spheres of life, thus, making it a prime example of a counter-hegemonic discourse.

It is also important to note that #BringBackOurGirls is a women-led movement, thus, the movement itself represents women's active participation and agency. Almost all the statements published by #BringBackOurGirls are written by women, highlighting the role of women as activists and giving them agency. The mere existence of such movement challenges the hegemony and patriarchal ideology.

When it comes to Fairclough's (1992) third dimension, the social practice, these roles falling under the thematic category of agency seem to challenge the patriarchal gender norms in Nigeria. This is particularly evident in the discourse used by #BringBackOurGirls movement. As discussed earlier, The World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap report (2018) states that women in Nigeria struggle to participate in the public spheres of life as equals to men, and women's political empowerment is way behind their male companions. Women are expected to stay home, and their social participation is more focused on the private spheres of life. According to the spokesperson of the movement, some women have faced pressure from their family members to resign from the movement and stop advocating for the return of the girls. The spokesperson continues to explain:

"We live in a society that places certain rules on women, one of which is not expecting women to speak out, you know, suppressing the voices of women. In some cases you can have the pressure coming from family members or co-workers or people within the community, trying to silence the voices of women more than they would do for men." (#BBOG, personal communication, 2019, March 7.)

Moreover, the fact that these active roles are also evident in the mainstream discourse could be a sign of change in the societal structures.

The examples drawn from the newspaper discourse indicate that there also exists a counter-hegemonic voice within the hegemonic media discourse. By writing about women's activism, the newspapers stretch the patriarchal ideology and women's traditional roles. However, the fact that women's activism is discussed in the mainstream media can also be an indication of the novelty of such active roles. Disregarding the example presented from the National Conference, the category of agency only includes references to the #BringBackOurGirls movement. In the interview with #BringBackOurGirls, the spokesperson states that protesting has never been a big part of the Nigerian society. Furthermore, the spokesperson argues that a women-led movement such as #BringBackOurGirls was unprecedented in the history of Nigeria until this day. The dataset of this thesis, however, does not reveal what the true motivations are behind discussing women's agency; is it because the producers of the texts consciously or subconsciously challenge the power relations between genders or due to the novelty and scale of the movement, making it impossible to not cover the topic? Nevertheless, it seems like the counter-hegemonic discourse has been successful in penetrating the hegemonic discourse of mainstream media.

6.1.3. Relational Roles

Third thematic category of women's roles arising from the data is the women's relational role. As illustrated in Appendix VI, the mainstream media discourse refers to the Chibok girls as mothers, children and sisters, and also uses the relational role of friendship when describing women. The statements from the women-led movement, on the other hand, use the same relational roles adding the role of women as friends (Appendix V). This is clearly

indicated by the textual properties, i.e. the set of words, chosen to describe the women. Based on the analysis, it is safe to argue that the discourse generated by the newspapers highly promotes this category of women's roles, thus, represent a hegemonic discourse. Therefore, it also enforces and lies heavily on the premises of traditional gender norms and patriarchy, placing women in the private spheres of life, undermining their own identities and agency. When comparing this to the discourse produced by the women-led movement, clear differences emerge. I argue that the use of relational roles in the #BringBackOurGirls movement's statements has a more symbolic meaning.

In many newspaper articles, women are described through their relations to others in the society. The Chibok girls are presented as children of their parents: as "daughters" (e.g. This Day, 2016, April 14b), "sisters" (e.g. Vanguard, 2017, April 13b), "children" (e.g. This Day, 2015, April 14), and "peers" (e.g. This Day, 2015, April 15a), but also as "mothers" (e.g. Vanguard, 2016, April 14a) to children of their own. Though the parents of the Chibok girls are not given much voice in the articles, the girls are systematically referred to as "daughters":

> "The reports are not much to depend on, as the parents have also been reported to be in complete darkness on the update about their daughters." (Vanguard, 2017, April 13b)

The term "daughters" is used in a passive way, almost as an object. This is a good example on how these relational roles emerging from the data are almost with no exceptions passive. The girls are also portrayed as "mothers" for the children they gave birth to during their captivity. The language used when describing the girls as mothers is soft and gives a positive image of the girls – although also victimizing. A picture used by both newspapers (Vanguard, 2016, April 14; Vanguard, 2016, April 14b; This Day, 2016, April 14a & This Day, 2016, April 14b) shows a smiling young woman holding up and lovingly looking at a baby. The same caption is also used in all of the examples. The caption reveals that the girl was kidnapped by Boko Haram, "married off and later had a baby". The caption continues to explain how the girls was able to "learn to love her baby", indicating of the struggles she has faced but how she overcame them and became a nurturing mother. Furthermore, one

article also highlights other women's role as mothers by making reference to the "mothers of the abducted Chibok girls".

The discourse used by #BringBackOurGilrs seemingly also portrays the Chibok girls through their relational roles. However, I argue that the use of relational roles is more symbolic than literal. The statements by #BringBackOurGirls systematically represent the Chibok girls as children by using the words "daughters" (e.g. #BBOG, 2017, April 14) and "sisters" (e.g. #BBOG, 2014, May 6) in their statements by pledging to "continue the work until all our daughters and sisters are safely returned home" (#BBOG, 2014, May 6). In contrast to the newspaper articles, the statements do not refer to the Chibok girls as mothers, but nevertheless introduce the role of women as mothers. Two of the statements include quotes from the mothers of the abducted girls, giving the women in the community more voice and agency:

> "'My daughter said to me she will go to school to become educated so that I care of me [sic], is it in Boko Haram's captivity she will take care of me?' asked Esther Yakubu mother of Dorcas Yakubu one among of missing #ChibokGirls."
> (#BBOG, 2017, April 14)

In this case, the discourse does not give the relational role of women as mothers to the Chibok girls themselves, but to their mothers. As stated above, it is important to note that the use of the words "daughter" and "sister" have a more symbolic role in the counter-hegemonic discourse. The girls are not referred to as actual daughters and sisters but as the daughters and sisters of Nigeria; as symbols. As the symbolic role of the Chibok girls has a significant importance, I have placed it as a separate category for women's roles. This role will be examined in more detail in the next section of this chapter.

When taking the analysis to the level of social norms and to Fairclough's third dimension, it seems clear that these relational roles are very well in accordance with the gender norms in Nigeria. As introduced earlier, multiple studies (e.g. Okunna, 2005 & Makama 2013) indicate that women's role in the Nigerian society is still often determined and described through their relationship to males in the society. Makama (2015, p. 131) argues that this "gender role ideology" is a patriarchal tool to restrict women's roles to the private spheres

of life; as mothers and wives. Women face a strong pressure to stay at home and they are dependent on their sons and husbands. This kind of strong sense of dependency is often evident in patriarchal societies (Mora, 2014, p. 133). According to the spokesperson of the #BringBackOurGirls movement, this way of thinking is particularly evident in the northern parts of the country where the Chibok kidnappings are situated. Therefore, I believe that it is reasonable to state that the roles under this category are introduced into the discourse through the existing societal structures, patriarchal ideology and male dominated power relations. Furthermore, this hegemonic discourse used by the newspapers enables this status quo of power and maintains this patriarchal ideology. As Mora (2014, p. 132) suggests, patriarchal discourses in mass media hinders the positive social change and contributes to the "continuation of patriarchal understanding and reasoning in daily life".

Additionally, it is important to note that in the discourse generated by #BringBackOurGirls, and in some newspaper articles, the relational roles of sisters, daughters and mothers are almost always companied by the word "our". In fact, even the name of the women-led movement includes it. The word can be interpreted in multiple different ways, for instance, it can indicate association or sense of community, belonging and togetherness. Both of these meanings are more positive than negative in tone and show affection and unity. However, the term can also be an indication of ownership of the girls. For instance, one of the newspaper articles state:

> "According to sources, they [Chibok girls] are now 'married' and only their 'husbands' can decide their fates." (This Day, 2018, April 15)

The quote reveals how wives are often regarded as the property of their husbands, and lack the ability to make their own decisions. In patriarchal ideology, it is common for women to lack ownership of their own bodies (Mora, 2014, p. 136). My interpretation of the data implies that the term is mostly used to create a sense of unity and community, but also to mark that the girls are not the property of Boko Haram and should be "returned safely to their parents" (This Day, 2015, April 15a) – their owners?

6.1.4. Symbolic Roles

The fourth theme for the roles of women is perhaps the most prevalent in all the texts from both discourses. In addition to the roles mentioned above, the thematic analysis illustrated in Appendixes V and VI revealed that the Chibok girls are also represented in a more symbolic way, and given a role as symbols of Boko Haram's violence, political power, unity and female education. The newspaper articles utilized two of these symbolic roles, symbols of Boko Haram's violence and symbols of political power, whereas the statements from #BringBackOurGirls also introduced the symbolism of unity and female education. In the light of the analysis, I argue that the symbolic role of the Chibok girls is an example of how the discourse striving from civil society, i.e. the women-led movement, can affect the hegemonic language.

The articles from both newspapers reveal that the term "Chibok girls" was well established in the newspaper discourse and Nigerian society during the first year of abduction; in fact, all the articles published 2015 onwards make reference to the girls as the "Chibok girls". A closer inspection to the vocabulary and language used through Fairclough's first dimension reveals that there is a symbolic meaning behind the term:

> ""The evidence presented in this shocking report, one year after the horrific abduction of the Chibok girls, underlines the scale and depravity of Boko Haram's methods," said Salil Shetty, Amnesty International's Secretary General.
>
> According to her, men and women, boys and girls, Christians and Muslims, have been killed, abducted and brutalized by Boko Haram during a reign of terror which has affected millions." (This Day, 2015, April 14a)

Not only do the "Chibok girls" represent the 276 girls abducted, they represent the victims of Boko Haram's terror in a broader sense. The girls symbolize the violence and suffering caused by the terrorism to all the people in Nigeria, regardless of their gender or religion. The discourse is full of other good example of the symbolic role. The girls' symbolism of Boko Haram's violence is clearly noted through the language, for instance:

> "This is because since this episode came to light, the world began to pay attention to our collective struggle as a nation against radical insurgency." (Vanguard, 2016, April 14)

As the quote reveals, the abduction (or "episode") of "Chibok girls" (Vanguard, 2016, April 14) is the symbol for all suffering caused by terrorism. The girls represent the whole nation's struggles both nationally and internationally.

In the newspaper discourse, this symbolic role of the Chibok girls is also used as a political tool to criticize the opponents and stir up the political status quo, making the girls also a symbol of political power. This symbolism is present in multiple articles through comments from various political actors and comments from the text producers. For instance:

> "Jonathan's inability to defeat the Islamist terrorists and rescue the girls also contributed much to his loss of the 2015 presidential election. Buhari, on assuming office, vowed that his defeat of the Jihadists would not be complete until he sets the girls free." (Vanguard, 2016, April 14a.)

The quote clearly indicates how the Chibok kidnappings and the rescue of the abducted girls had an important role in the presidential elections. The former administration was harshly criticized by the lack of results, and vowing to rescue the girls contributed to Buhari's campaign.

The same symbolic meanings are even more evident in the counter-hegemonic discourse. In fact, the first statement from #BringBackOurGirls from 2014, just weeks after the abduction, already indicate that the symbolic meaning and the term "Chibok girls" was established in the counter-hegemonic language. In addition, the symbolism is present already in the name of the movement. Furthermore, the movement's discourse adds other symbolic meanings to the term. For instance: "But their abduction has remained the symbol among others, for the fight for the education of the girls [sic] child in Nigeria." (#BBOG, 2016, April 6). The girls are not only symbols for the suffering, but also for the importance of girls' education in Nigeria. Not only does supporting girls' education clearly go against Boko Haram's ideology, it also greatly challenges the norms of the Nigerian society. According to Makama (2013, p. 120-121), girls' education is seen secondary to boys. Furthermore, Ebubedike (2018, p. 71) explains that the lack of female education is, in fact, due to socio-cultural

barriers and the patriarchal ideology in Nigeria. This is especially evident in the northern parts of the country (Ebubedike, 2018, p. 71). The symbolic role of the Chibok girls in the fight for female education clearly represents a counter-hegemonic ideology.

The discourse generated by the movement also uses terms such as "our girls" (e.g. #BBOG, 2018, April 19) and "our daughters" (e.g. #BBOG, 2016, April 14). As already discussed, the word 'our' is used to indicate and create unity in the quest of saving all abducted Nigerians, thus, making the Chibok girls also a symbol of unity. It seems like the work and advocacy done by the movement is highly dependent of these symbolic roles of the Chibok girls. The counter-hegemonic discourse uses it to demand change as well as to challenge the Nigerian leadership and societal structure that does not value girls' education. This kind of language use is also evident in the interview:

> "For example, girls are less encouraged to get an education. So that's part of why our movement thinks it's really important for the government to make sure that the Chibok girls were brought back, because the message it would otherwise send is that girls should not go to school, because if they did go to school, they could be kidnapped and nothing would happen." (#BBOG, personal communication, 2019, March 7.)

It is clear that there is a bigger meaning behind the Chibok girls for the movement. Not only do they want the girls back home from captivity, they want this incident to serve as an example; a way for the government to indicate that they value their girls.

When reflecting this symbolic role of women against the broader social norms and Fairclouh's (1992) third dimension, it seems as the symbolic role is used as a tool to challenge the actions and power of the government. However, in the case of the discourse used by the Nigerian newspapers, it does not seem like this symbolic role aims to make a big difference in the gender roles: it portrays women as passive, almost object-like, manner that just serves as a tool to shake the political status quo. Therefore, it seems like this is again a good example of how the mainstream media maintains the ideological hegemony. In the case of the discourse used by the women-led movement, the symbolic role of the Chibok

girls is clearly an indication of a strong, counter-hegemonic discourse that challenges the patriarchal ideology.

In another separate notion, as the counter-hegemonic discourse has portrayed this symbolic role throughout the time period analyzed, whereas it was not initially included in the hegemonic discourse, it can be assumed that the symbolic role was created and integrated by the discourse used by #BringBackOurGirls. Thus, serving as an example of how the counter-hegemonic discourse can infiltrate and change the hegemonic one.

6.2. Women's Activism

This section of the findings focuses on the second part of the research questions: how are women's peace activism presented in the discourses? The thematic analysis of the text revealed three themes through which women's activism is presented: awareness raising, formal advocacy and peace-building, and negative influencing (Figure 4). Again, the results of the thematic analysis are presented in more detail in the Appendixes; Appendix VII provides a visual illustration of the coding and categorizing of women's activism in the discourse generated by #BringBackOurGirls, and Appendix VIII on the newspaper discourse. These categories are examined in more detail and accompanied by examples from the data. Like the previous section, this section also follows Fairclough's (1992) theory.
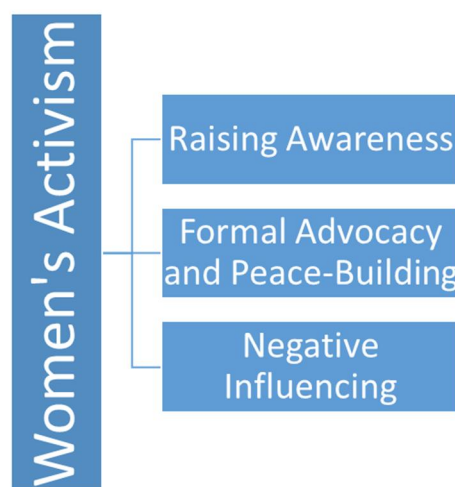
Figure 4. Thematic categories of women's activism

6.2.1. Raising Awareness

The first, and most repeated, thematic category for women's activism is awareness raising. As the visual representations of the analysis reveals (Appendix VII & VIII), there are four codes under the theme: grass-roots initiatives, sharing information, medium of communication and consistent advocacy. All of these codes are present in the discourse generated by #BringBackOurGirls, but the newspaper articles do not describe women's efforts as medium of communication. Furthermore, use of these activities vary in volume in the discourses studied. In this category, the presumption of this thesis is not as evident as in the previous section of the analysis. Regarding the women's activism through awareness raising, the data analysis did not reveal clear differences between the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses. Both discourses seem to present the theme in positive terms, giving value to women's activism. As the theme was still clear throughout the dataset, I will explain the category in more detail and aim to reveal some subtle differences between the discourses.

Firstly, the newspaper articles highlight women's activism as awareness raising. When looking into the theme through Fairclough's (1992) first dimension, textual properties, the wordings used in the articles clearly support this category. The newspapers explain how #BringBackOurGirls "staged marches, protests, had meetings" (This Day, 2016, April 14b) and "held daily sit-outs" (This Day, 2016, April 14b) as well as "a silent protest over the lack of knowledge about the true status of the girls" (This Day, 2015, April 14) to raise awareness of the situation. Additionally, the newspaper articles include detailed descriptions of the activities organized by #BringBackOurGirls. Women's online activism and awareness raising is also presented in the mainstream discourse. A few articles (Vanguard, 2016, April 14b & This Day, 2016, April 14b) include tweets from prominent members of the movement, giving more voice to the women and highlighting their continuous advocacy in social media. These examples represent grass-roots initiatives that aim to raise awareness about the abduction.

As briefly mentioned, these grass-roots initiatives also include silent protesting. One article (This Day, 2014, April 16a) already introduced in the previous section of the chapter makes reference to female delegates in the National Conference. The article explains how all

women unified by wearing all black to protest against the security situation in Nigeria. This protest is described in the article with neutral terms. However, the vocabulary used expresses unity among women as "all the women in the conference agreed to dress in black attire" and their will to draw more attention to the abductions.

These grass-roots initiatives taken by the #BringBackOurGirls movement to increase awareness are mostly discussed in a positive manner. For instance, phrases such as "the chief campaigner" (This Day, 2016, April 14b) are used when talking about the movement, giving it a positive tone. The articles also highlight the continuity of the movements work:

> "Led by the duo of the former Minister of Education and Dr. Oby Ezekwesili and Hadiza Bala Usman, the group has become a worldwide phenomenon. Week after week, they staged marches, protests, had meetings, all on strategies to bring the girls back.
>
> The group even had a global week of action to mobilise everyone around the world to demand for the immediate rescue of the Chibok girls and end this humanitarian tragedy. Everyday, the group met at the Unity Fountain in Abuja, where they held daily sit-outs despite the elements, praying, encouraging themselves and liaising on the way forward." (This Day, 2016, April 14b)

The vocabulary used in the quote clearly indicates that the writer is impressed by the persistent work of the movement and gives value to it by calling it a "worldwide phenomenon". Again, as already discussed, this can be due to the novelty of such a women-led movement. Furthermore, #BringBackOurGirls is perhaps the only Nigerian-based campaign that has ever created such an enormous national as well as international movement, regardless of the gender of the leaders. Therefore, in addition to the genuine good work that the movement has done, the novelty can be an additional explaining factor on why the movement is discussed in such volume and positive manner.

There are plenty of other good examples on how the language used when describing the awareness raising activities have a positive echo and emphasize the impact of the movements' work. The language gives recognition by, for instance, stating that the movement has kept the kidnapping a "burning global issue" (This Day, 2015, April 15a). Furthermore, one article includes a direct acknowledgement to the women-led movement:

> "Hon Nnenna Ukeje who seconded the motion said apart from making efforts to locate the girls, the BringBackOurGirls campaigners also deserve a mention giving their daily advocacy for the return of the girls in the last one year." (This Day, 2015, April 15b)

One article also gives recognition to another women's organization, Women for Peace and Justice, by stating that it is "one of the foremost groups championing the cause" and giving details of a rally that the organization is holding to mark the anniversary (This Day, 2015, April 14). These two quotes clearly give a positive and active connotation to women's peace activism, and give value to women's work.

The newspaper discourse regularly refers to the consistent advocacy and continuity of the awareness raising of the women-led movement. For instance:

> "That was then. Except for the Bring Back Our Girls (BBOG) group, who has kept faith, the ovation is practically dead." (This Day, 2016, April 14b)

The language used in the sentence puts the movement in positive light. Using the phrase "kept faith" gives recognition for the continuous work of the women-led movement. In other cases, an article "salutes the doggedness" (This Day, 2015, April 14) of the movement and uses other positive wording like "unique humanitarian solidarity" (This Day, 2018, April 13) when describing the movement. However, some negative examples emerge from the data as well. Another article makes reference to the #BringBackOurGirls movement, claiming that the "campaigners appear to have lost heart" (Vanguard, 2016, April 14a). The wording suggests that the activism is not as effective as it was and that their efforts to raise awareness have died out.

In the discourse used by #BringBackOurGirls, awareness raising is also evident as the most explicit and broad theme of women's activism. The statements regularly mention and give details about their grass-roots initiatives like marches, sit-outs and protest organized by the movement. Furthermore, the movement has other awareness raising activities that aim to share information about the issue. These information-sharing efforts include writing press releases and organizing public lectures like the "flagship 2nd Annual #ChibokGirls Lecture" (#BBOG, 2018, April 19). The statements by #BringBackOurGirls also underline the

continuity and consistency of women's activism. Most of the statement mention how many days the movement has been active for and pledges to "continue to sit daily at the Unity Fountain" (#BBOG, 2017, November 14).

As the years go by and the movement becomes more organized and strategic, the movement increases its information spreading initiatives. #BringBackOurGirls (2015, n.d.) introduces a new "monitoring initiative" called the "Citizens monitoring tool" that aims to enable Nigerian citizens to monitor what the federal government is doing to find the girls as well as inform them about any news related to Boko Haram, other terrorist activities and the Chibok girls. The tool allows the movement to "collate all relevant information, organize, analyze and disseminate them" (#BBOG, 2015, n.d.). This is clearly a way to spread accurate information about the actions taken to rescue the girls. By highlighting initiatives like this, the statements imply that spreading information is an important factor in their work.

Furthermore, the statements also indicate that the movement works as a medium of communication between the government officials and the families affected by the abduction. The statements explain how the parents "contacted us to advocate for the rescue of their relations" (#BBOG, 2017, November 14). This was also emphasized in the interview with the movement's spokesperson:

> "Sadly, we're in a situation in Nigeria where often if you're poor and uneducated you don't have a voice. So, for a lot of people the hope came from the fact that BBOG was birth [sic]. And as soon as the movement was birth [sic], they [the people in Chibok community] attached themselves to the movement, to use the movement to amplify their voices and keep the issue relevant." (#BBOG, personal communication, 2019, March 7.)

This indicated that #BringBackOurGirls also raises awareness of the families' situation and helps them to get their voices heard by the government as well as the larger, global audience. Moreover, the spokesperson explains how many of the members of the movement are from the community and personally affected by the abductions. The movement passes on their messages onwards and keeps the abductions in the public agenda, as the poor families in Chibok would be unable to do so themselves.

In the light of Fairclough's (1992) third dimension, presenting women's activism in a mostly positive manner is already an indication of a counter-hegemonic voice challenging the patriarchal ideology. Some subtle differences between the two discourses can be detected. For instance, the discourse used by the women-led movement presents these awareness raising initiatives in a more professional and organized manner, indicating the structural reasoning behind such actions. According to my interpretation of the newspaper articles, women's awareness raising initiatives are given genuine value, thus, perhaps being a sign of some structural changes in the society.

6.2.2. Formal Advocacy and Peace-Building

Secondly, women's activism is also portrayed in a more formal and strategical way, aiming to influence policies through different recommendations and tools, and by highlighting women's roles in the security forces. Not only are the women activists marching on the streets, they are also a well-organized group with skills and knowledge to make policy recommendations for the federal government, and fight in the lines of the organized military forces. As the visual presentations of the analysis illustrate (Appendixes VII & VIII), this theme comprises of two dimensions: strategical advocacy and formal peace-building. These dimensions are evident in both discourses, but used significantly more in the discourse generated by the #BringBackOurGirls movement. In the light of the analysis, I argue that by including descriptions of these more formal ways of activism, #BringBackOurGirls challenges the hegemony through its counter-hegemonic discourse. Moreover, the counter-hegemonic discourse challenges women's traditional participation in peace-building by highlighting them as formal peace-builders instead of grass-roots activists.

The statements published by the movement indicate that women's activism through #BringBackOurGirls continued to develop its strategic approach and portray women's activism as strategical advocacy. One of the statements gives direct recommendations to the government and urges it to "adopt the BBOG-developed Verification, Authentication, and Reintegration (VARS)" (#BBOG, 2016, April 6) system that aims to help identify and reintegrate citizens who have been subject to kidnapping and rescued. The statements also

give other policy recommendations. In one statement (#BBOG, 2016, April 6), the movement also encourages the government to "plan for the establishment of a DNA Analysis Centre in the country" that would help in identifying rescued abductees as well as citizens killed in violence. By introducing systems and recommendations created by the group, the statements indicates that the movement's work has developed from grass-roots activism to more formal advocacy work, aiming to make policy-level changes.

Another example of how women's activism is portrayed as strategical advocacy are the demands published by #BringBackOurGirls. The list of demands include six points, ranging from increasing military efforts to establishing a "structured system of reporting". These demands are repeated in two statements (BBOG, 2017, October 12 & #BBOG, 2017, November 14), thus, being a good example of intertextuality. According to Fairclough (1992, p. 84), intertextuality refers to the relationship between texts and to the traces of other texts within the text. In this case, the same demands are repeated by the same producer, #BringBackOurGirls, in multiple publications. According to Gerhardt and Ayass (2012, p. 81), this is called intertextual repetition. Repetition can be used, for instance, to stress the importance of the topic. However, the repetition is only clear to a reader who has knowledge about the prior texts (Gerhardt & Ayass, 2012, p. 81). Nevertheless, the demands clearly indicate that the movement has a well-planned strategical approach that it follows in its communication efforts and discursive practices.

As a third example of this category, the data from #BringBackOurGirls also marks the formal role of women in peace-building. This form of women's peace efforts is discussed less than the others above, but nevertheless mentioned in multiple statements. The statements also give recognition to women in the army and the Civilian Joint Task Force. They show "gratitude for our uniformed men and women in the frontline of battle for "restoring peace and normalcy to our nation" (#BBOG, 2017, November 14). The same phrasing and wordings appear in many of the statements (#BBOG, 2017, October 12; #BBOG, 2017, August 1; #BBOG, 2017, July 27 & #BBOG, 2015, n.d.), again, representing intertextual repetition (Gerhardt & Ayass, 2012, p. 81). The repetition increases the positive meaning given to the women in the army and indicates that women's formal peace-building is valued and acknowledged.

Turning the analysis to the discourse used by the Nigerian newspapers, the articles also acknowledge these more strategical and formal forms of women's peace efforts. However, the discourse is clearly more focused on the awareness raising and more informal and grass-roots level activities of women. Nevertheless, the hegemonic discourse makes remarks to women's more formal peace work. In an article written by the President of the Nigerian Senate, the President mentions "our men and women in uniform" and continues to state how the military has successfully regained territories from Boko Haram's control (Vanguard, 2016, April 14). By noting women's role in formal peace-building through the army and referring to the work of the soldiers as "significant success", the article gives a positive idea of women as solders and peacebuilders, working towards ending the conflict.

Moreover, one article by This Day (2016, April 14) gives a striking exception to the lack of acknowledgement of women's strategical advocacy in the discourse used by the mainstream media. The long article thoroughly introduces the journey of the movement, their activities and aims. It includes multiple quotations from the leaders of the movement and detailed descriptions of the different events, meetings and marches the group has organized as well as the demands it has imposed to the government. The article gives a very formal, structured and organized image of the movement. By describing the movement's development from an online campaign to a worldwide phenomenon, the article indicates that the movement has developed from Twitter activism to a strategical movement leading the advocacy to find the abducted girls. Furthermore, the article makes reference to the VARS system created by the movement:

> "On the initiative, the group had designed a verification and identification system that would assist in identifying each rescued terror victim easily. Tagged the Verification, Authentication and Reuniting System (VARS), the group said it was holistic for credible rescued victims' identification, adding that the FG should adopt the system." (This Day, 2016, April 14b)

In addition, the article mentions workshops organized by the group and their meetings with the United Nations. Mentioning such high-level meetings clearly gives recognition to the movement as well as highlight the fact that the movement has gained status world-wide.

In the light of Fairclough's (1992) third dimension, it seems like the general lack of emphasis on women's strategical advocacy and participation in formal peace-building in the mainstream media discourse reflects the roles that women usually have in conflict situations. According to Porter (2003, p. 262), women are the least represented in formal dimensions of peace processes. Moreover, Shulika (2016) argues that lack of implementation of international policies continues to hinder women's formal participation in post-colonial Africa. However, the article mentioned above is again an indication of possible change, as it shows women in more formal roles, leading efforts to restore normalcy. On the other hand, the discourse used by #BringBackOurGirls is clearly an example of a counter-hegemonic discourse that placed women in the center of formal peace work.

6.2.3. Negative Influencing

Thirdly, the data reveals one more occurring way to describe women's activism: negative influencing. The visual representation of the analysis (Appendixes VII & VIII) reveal that the theme is evident in both discourses but in different ways. Three dimensions represented by the codes can be detected from the mainstream media discourse: political corruption, negative consequences and lack of action. The discourse generated by #BringBackOurGirls, however, does not include any of these but only responds to the criticism. On the contrast to the three themes of women's activism stated above, this one is negative in tone, and more in line with the patriarchal ideology. However, this is done in a more subtle way: the discourse used does not directly demand women to stop activism and returning to their patriarchal roles, but it can be interpreted as discouraging. I argue that by including these negative tones, the discourse generated by the Nigerian newspapers go in accordance with the ideological hegemony in Nigeria. Furthermore, by addressing these negative comments, the women-led movement challenges the hegemony and is a good example of a counter-hegemonic voice.

In the newspapers studied, women's peace activism is also described and portrayed as negative influencing with hidden agendas and consequences. Interestingly, this category only emerges later on during the conflict and is not present in the initial years. The articles refer to the negative consequences that the movement's advocacy has created. As an example, one newspaper article (Vanguard, 2017, April 13a) states that "fame is now the

greatest obstacle" in reintegrating the rescued girls. Furthermore, the article includes another quote blaming the movement for the struggles to reintegrate the rescued girls in the society:

> "Thanks to the #BringBackOurGirls campaign, so famous are the girls that the Nigerian military says it cannot guarantee their safety if they go home."
> (Vanguard, 2017, April 13a)

The apparent thank you given to #BringBackOurGirls is clearly more sarcastic than sincere in nature, and the quote claims that the girls are unable to return to normal life due to the attention drawn to them by the movement. The quote gives a negative connotation to women's activism and argues that it is causing harm.

As another example, one article (This Day, 2016, April 14b) also discuss the criticism #BringBackOurGirls has faced. They include comments by critics, claiming that the movement is part of political corruption. The accusations range from accusing the movement for losing momentum under the new administration to being paid by the opposition to fabricate the kidnappings for political reasons. For instance:

> "At another time, some critics on the social media tasked the group over their recent purported silence since the assumption of office of the new administration. The critics claimed the BBOG had reduced the tempo of their demands, unlike what they did during the regime of the former administration."
> (This Day, 2016, April 14b)

Though the wording used by the writer does not take a stance on these accusations, including them adds a more negative tone to women's peace activism, portraying them as paid actors with a hidden political agenda. Another article, however, also discusses these accusations:

> "For a group that meets daily in the open, with people joining the focused discussions with the only item on their agenda being the Chibok girls, their families, their welfare and how to enhance the rescue effort, the stigmatisation and hostility by government and their allies is most unfortunate." (This Day, 2018, April 13)

The wordings used clearly indicates that the writer does not believe in any hidden agenda and condemns the government's actions to slander the movement. This, again, is an indication that a counter-hegemonic voice also exists within the more hegemonic discourse.

These emerging negative perceptions of #BringBackOurGirls movement are also evident and addressed in the movement's statements through responding to the criticism. In addition to the negative comments stated above, one statement (#BBOG, 2018, April 19) describe an incident, where the Nigerian police force prevented the movement from having their sit-in by banning their entrance to their usual spot. This banning indicates that the protesting of the movement was perceived in a negative way by the police force and possibly the governmental actors. The statement continues to explain the next steps that the movement will take to correct such injustice, and includes a description of lawsuits the movement will bring forth regarding the issue.

Another way of indirectly addressing the negative accusation is the continuous, and at times rather harsh, blaming of the current government administration for their lack of efforts. As some of the claims presented in the newspapers suggest that the movement was paid by the opposition to put the ruling administration into a bad light, the continuity of criticizing the new administration is a clear indication to the falsehood of such claims. Not only does the movement systematically refer to the "lack of progress" (#BBOG, 2017, August 1), "lack of capacity" (#BBOG, 2017, July 27) and "lack of fierce urgency" (#BBOG, 2017, April 14) of President Buhari's administration, the statements also criticize "the totalitarian inclinations" (#BBOG, 2018, April 19) of the government when discussing the incident where the police force prevented the movement's sit-out. In addition, the movement states that "the government of President Buhari ought to be ashamed" (#BBOG, 2017, November 14) of the insufficient reintegration of the already rescued girls.

This theme presented above is more in line with the patriarchal ideology of women's roles and place in the society. Though it does not directly demand women to stop protesting, it clearly discourages such actions. The discourse used by the movement, however, is a good

example of counter-hegemony, demanding change and fighting for their rights to protest and to be heard.

6.3. Summary of the Results

The first research question of this study focused on the discourse generated by the Nigerian newspapers: This Day and Vanguard. The question aimed to give a comprehensive presentation of the roles ascribed to women in the newspaper articles. Moreover, the question also addressed women's peace efforts and activism, and examined how the discourse generated presents these women-led efforts. The presumption was that the ascribed roles in the mainstream media would be in line with the patriarchal ideology and social structure prevailing in Nigeria. Similarly, the presumption was that women's activism would not be thoroughly discussed, as it does not support the hegemonic power relations.

In the light of the data analysis, I can conclude that the presumption was partially supported. Firstly, the roles of women in the mainstream media discourse fall under four thematic categories: victimhood, agency, relational roles and symbolic roles. In the first category, women are presented as passive victims. The Chibok girls are referred to as victims in both direct and indirect means, but a few articles also refer to shared victimhood, indicating that the Chibok girls, or women in general, are not the only victims of abduction or violence. Additionally, women are also presented as victims of coercion, and the victimhood follows the girls even after their rescue through stigmatization and rejection. The second theme, agency, contradicts the patriarchal gender roles and places women in more central and public roles. Women are portrayed as female activists, fighters and leaders. Moreover, the articles refer to women in uniform and female suicide bombers, giving women a more active role in the fighting itself. Thirdly, women are also portrayed in relational roles. This theme included roles such as mother, daughter, sister and child. In all the roles under this theme, women are presented through their relations to their male companions. Lastly, women are also given symbolic roles. Not only do the kidnapped Chibok girls represent themselves, they also represent the Boko Haram violence in a broader sense. Additionally, the Chibok girls are also a symbol of political power and used as a tool for political power play.

The first research question also addressed women's activism, and how it is presented in the Nigerian newspapers. According to the data analysis, women's activism can be divided into three main categories: raising awareness, formal advocacy and peace-building, and negative influencing. The first category presents women's activism as a way to raise awareness about the Chibok kidnappings as well as Boko Haram's violence through grass-roots initiative and sharing information. The second theme includes more formal and strategical ways of advocating for peace and the rescue of the Chibok girls. Two main topics emerge under this theme: strategical advocacy that aims to make changes in official policies, and formal peace-building through women's participation in armed forces. This category takes women's activism from grass-roots level initiatives to a more formal level, highlighting the knowledge, skills and potential of it. The last category is in sharp contrast to the two others. The newspaper articles also present women's activism in negative terms, highlighting the negative consequences of the campaigning, accusing the movement for lack of action as well as for taking part in political corruption and for having a hidden political agenda.

The second research question of this thesis looked at women's roles and activism in the discourse generated by the women-led movement #BringBackOurGirls. Not only did the question aim to reveal what kind of roles are given to women in that discourse or how women's activism is presented, it also aimed to reveal similarities and differences between the two discourses studied. The presumption was that the discourse generated by the movement would favor more active roles that contradict women's patriarchal status in the society. Again, the presumption was partially supported.

Firstly, roles given to women fall under the same four thematic categories as presented above. The research revealed some noteworthy differences between the two discourses. Firstly, victimhood was much less used in the movement's discourse, and it favored more indirect victimhood. In addition, the discourse highlighted shared victimhood. Secondly, women's agency was the very premises of all the statements published by the movement, and they highlight women's leading roles in the activism and efforts to find the Chibok girls. The third category, relational roles, is not as present in the discourse used by #BringBackOurGirls. The statements do refer to the abducted girls as daughters and sisters, but the words have a more symbolic echo. In fact, the fourth category, symbolic roles, is

strongly included in all the statements and is in the center of the movement's work. In the discourse generated by the movement, the Chibok girls not only symbolize Boko Haram's terror, they also symbolize female education. This form of symbolism clearly challenges the patriarchal ideology of women's status in the society. In addition, the discourse generated by the women-led movement also use terms such as "our girls" and "our daughters" to indicate and create unity in the quest of saving all abducted Nigerians.

Secondly, women's peace activism is portrayed in positive terms and presented as central to the efforts for rescuing the abducted girls. The first thematic category, awareness raising, is presented as one of the most important goals of the movement, and the movement promises to keep campaigning until the girls are found. In addition to grass-roots initiatives, the statements highlight information sharing as a mean of raising awareness. This information sharing is done through writing press releases, creating monitoring initiatives, organizing lectures and holding press conferences. Furthermore, the movement is represented as a medium of communication between the government and the families of the abducted girls. The second category, formal and strategical advocacy and peace-building, is more prevalent in the discourse used by the movement. The statements introduce tools and policy recommendations created by the movement, and highlight the development from an online campaign to a well-organized, strategical offline movement. Moreover, the statements continuously note the role of women in the armed forces and give value to their work in the frontline. In contrast to the newspaper articles, the statements do not present women's activism as negative influencing, but they do contribute to the discussion by responding to criticism.

The third research question of this study examined whether the discourses generated by the two Nigerian newspapers and the women-led movement enforce or challenge traditional gender norms prevalent in Nigeria. The concepts of power, ideology and hegemony were central in answering this research question, and the ideas of Foucault, Fairclough and Gramsci formed the theoretical premises of the analysis. Based on the data analysis, the results are mixed. Firstly, when looking into the ascribed roles, some of the thematic categories support and maintain patriarchal hegemony, while some of them challenge it. The role of victimhood is a clear example of the roles that are in accordance with the patriarchy

and support the hegemony. According to Fairclough, discourse carries ideological meaning, and it can be used to influence power relations in the society: discourse can produce, reproduce or transform "relations of domination" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87). The role of victimhood undermines women's agency and supports the patriarchal gender roles prevalent especially in Northern Nigeria, from where the girls were abducted. Women are seen as victims in need of help. Referring back to Fairclough's notion, the role of victimhood is a tool to reproduce the patriarchal ideology, and highlight women's dependence on men. Although the discourse generated by #BringBackOurGirls also includes this role, the statements highlight shared victimhood; the fact that the Chibok girls, or women in general, are not the only victims of violence. Rather, the terrorism affects the whole society regardless of gender. By making this notion clear, the discourse generated by the movement distinguishes itself from the mainstream media discourse.

On the contrary, the second role of agency clearly goes against patriarchal gender norms and hegemony. The newspaper discourse gives surprisingly much room for women's agency and presents it mostly in positive light. The active roles place women in more central positions of the public spheres of life. This could be an indication of a counter-hegemonic discourse existing in the mainstream media. In the statements by #BringBackOurGirls, agency was at the very heart of the discourse, and clearly challenged the traditional gender roles. The movement was unprecedented in Nigerian history in multiple ways. Not only was it the first women-led movement creating such a momentum and drawing international attention, it is the only one in the history of Nigeria regardless of gender. According to the Gramscian view, hegemony oppresses and places some groups in the margins of the society. These marginalized groups then often create a counter-hegemonic movement to battle the unjust cultural dominance. (Katz, 2006, p. 336.) In this particular context, the cultural hegemony in Nigeria supports male dominance and oppresses women, and this hegemony can restrict women's roles in the society. By placing women in the heart of agency, I argue that #BringBackOurGirls provides a perfect example of counter-hegemony. Furthermore, the fact that the mainstream media also presented women in active roles could be an indication of change in the Nigerian society. Perhaps the women-led movement could pave the way for more women-led activism in the future.

The third theme, relational roles, is a prime example of roles that support and maintain traditional gender roles as well as patriarchy. Furthermore, the relational roles reproduce the unbalanced power relations between genders, and highlight women's subordinate status. Relational roles restrict women's roles and exclude them from many public spheres of life. Even if the male companions do not directly coerce the women to stay at home as mothers and wives, Foucault (1980) notes that power relations can become so highly unbalanced and asymmetric, that practicing one's freedom becomes virtually impossible. As this role is evident in almost all the newspaper articles studied, this is a good example of how the mainstream media can maintain patriarchal gender roles, ideology and dominating power relations through their discursive choices. Moreover, I argue that this can have a harmful impact on the development of women's rights in Nigeria. According to Makama (2013, p. 133), promoting gendered, traditional roles institutionalizes gender stereotypes and passes these roles to the next generation. By continuing to define women through their male relatives, women continue to lack identity and agency.

Lastly, the symbolic role is most evident in the statements by #BringBackOurGirls, but also highly included in the discourse generated by mainstream media. However, there is a clear difference in the use of this thematic role. The discourse created by #BringBackOurGirls uses the symbolism to advocate for peace as well as female education. In other words, the movement uses symbolism to transform the male-dominated hegemony and patriarchal ideology. Again, this is a clear example of Gramscian view of counter-hegemony emerging from the civil society. The discourse generated by the Nigerian newspapers, on the other hand, uses this symbolic role as a political tool to challenge the ruling administration, but does not aim to make differences in the gender roles, thus, leaving the asymmetric power relations unchallenged.

When it comes to women's activism, both discourses provide great examples of women's peace efforts. According to Porter (2013), women's participation in peace-building efforts and activism is most evident in informal initiatives, and that cultural norms and stereotypes of women's roles are the main obstacles in women's formal participation. The findings addressing women's activism are in accordance with this notion, as women's activism is mostly presented under the category of awareness raising through different grass-roots

initiatives. Porter (2013) argues that changing these cultural attitudes can be a difficult and time-consuming process. The findings indicate that a lot remains to be done. Although women's activism is mainly discussed in positive terms, the examples are restricted to one women-led movement; #BringBackOurGirls. Yet, the fact that the dataset makes multiple references to women's efforts shows that progress has been done, and women-led movements are given more value and space in mainstream media discourse.

When examining women's activism through the key theoretical concepts of the study (power, ideology and hegemony), introducing women's peace efforts and discussing them in mainly positive light could be a sign of counter-hegemonic resistance aiming to alter the traditional gender norms. However, women's activism is still clearly restricted by patriarchal ideology, masculine hegemony and uneven power relations. The mainstream media portrays women's activism almost solely as grass-roots initiatives and in other informal ways. It seems like the patriarchal ideology still restricts women's participation in formal roles, and masculine hegemony in the highest levels of decision-making and peace mediation remains unchallenged.

Due to the limitations of the dataset, it is possible that the results do not fully represent the general discourse generated by mainstream media or by women-led organizations. Furthermore, I want to emphasize that the findings of this study should not be generalized to represent women's roles or activism in conflicts outside the context of Boko Haram and Nigeria. Despite the limitations, I believe that the results contribute to the existing literature addressing discursive practices in the context of Boko Haram. Furthermore, although the data was limited to the case of Chibok kidnappings, the outcomes give a good insight to the broader conflict against Boko Haram, how women are represented, and how women's activism is discussed in discourse used by different media outlets.

7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was to study gender representations in discourses surrounding peace and conflict. By examining media representations of women, the aim was to reveal roles attached to women in conflict situations, and how these roles reflect the ideology, power relations, and hegemony of the society. Furthermore, the study aimed to reveal where these representations locate women in the context of peace and conflict resolution, and how this correlated with the broader social context. As the findings of the data analysis are presented and summarized in detail in the previous chapter, the purpose of these conclusions is to discuss the meaning of these findings in a broader context, provide concluding remarks, and indicate a way forward by discussing possibilities for further research as well as policy recommendations.

In the context of Chibok kidnappings, women are presented in various roles. Some of the roles present women as passive victims, but some highlight women's agency as leaders, fighters and activists. The versatility of the roles is encouraging and indicates a change in the hegemonic patriarchy of Nigeria. Not only are women represented in the private spheres of life, but also actively involved in the public conversations. However, the results revealed that the discourse generated by the mainstream media favored women's passive roles and victimization. This notion is both in accordance with the presumption of this study as well as the broader context of women in conflict situations. Victimization of women in conflict situations can have a harmful impact on women's rights. Moreover, victimization is a good example of how language matters and how discourses can make a difference. As explained earlier, Fairclough (1992) believes that discourse is ideological in nature, and it can be used to establish, reinforce or challenge the prevailing ideology and power relations. When women are portrayed as mere victims, this presents women as passive, helpless objects suffering from the consequences of conflict. In this case, discourse is used to maintain the patriarchal ideology. To compare, referring to women as 'survivors' instead of 'victims' could be a way to promote gender equality through discursive choices, as it puts more emphasis on women's agency and contributes to altering the status quo between the genders.

On the other hand, one could look at this from a different perspective. In a highly patriarchal society such as Nigeria, the victimization of women in conflict situations can actually be fueled by women's empowerment and the changes that increased gender equality has created in the traditional gender roles. In the case of Chibok kidnappings, the school offered education for young Christian women and girls. As stated before, female education is not valued in the traditional society, and women are encouraged to stay home to be a mother for her children and a wife for her husband (Makama, 2013, p. 120-121). However, as Foucault (1997) notes, when there is power there is also freedom. Though the women are pressured by the society to remain home, some women choose to practice their freedom of choice and seek education. Therefore, targeting these women, whose actions go against the patriarchal gender roles and Shari'a law by seeking Western education, could be a retaliation for breaking traditional gender norms, and a violent reminder of women's traditional place in the society. As long as patriarchy represents the social hegemony, women's quest for claiming equal rights could come with a price. The accountability, however, should lie on the federal government to take adequate action against such violations.

Although women's activism as well as participation in peace and conflict resolution is valued and mostly discussed in positive terms, the representation is limited to one movement. With only a few, brief exceptions, #BringBackOurGirls is the only women-led movement or organization discussed and presented in the data. The lack of representation of female activism and peace efforts can be an indication of the inadequate implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. Despite two National Action Plans, it seems like women still face persistent barriers for their inclusion in peace and conflict mediation in Nigeria. Lack of funding is perhaps not the only reason and there can be various other reasons for the exclusion. In the case of Nigeria and other patriarchal societies, lack of recourses as well as persistent stereotypes and attitudes towards women can make it very difficult for women to participate in formal roles and all stages of peace mediation. Not only do women lack physical recourses due to laws that prevent such things as land heritage, women lack intellectual resources as girls are not as encouraged to get a formal education. Furthermore, traditional stereotypes of women as well as patriarchal gender roles make it difficult for women to break the glass ceilings. Implementing policies such as the UNSCR 1325 alone is not enough, but more work needs to be done to change attitudes.

Moreover, when examining women's activism through the Gramscian idea of hegemony and counter-hegemony, it seems like women's activism in a patriarchal society such as Nigeria serves too clear and distinct purposes. Firstly, it as a tool to advocate for a specific cause. For instance, in the case of #BringBackOurGirls, women's activism aims to advocate for the rescue of the Chibok girls. Secondly, women's activism is also a way to challenge the patriarchal hegemony. Gramsci believes that hegemony creates counter-hegemony, and these two movements influence one another, thus, making the hegemony fluid and subject to changes (Katz, 2006, p. 336). Not only does #BringBackOurGirls advocate for the rescue of the abducted, it also aims to shape the patriarchal norms through their counter-hegemonic voice. Therefore, women's activism can be seen as an important part of broader social change, and should be encouraged by the society as well as the state.

To conclude, the study at hand gives suggestions for further research as well as policy recommendations to be considered. The study revealed important topics and aspects of the Boko Haram conflict that have yet to be thoroughly researched. Although some existing literature (e.g. Chiluwa 2013 & Chiluwa 2015a) does examine the radicalist discourse used by the members of Boko Haram, I believe that further research is needed. For instance, no studies have been conducted on the discourse used in the written ideologies and manifests' of the two sect leaders, Shekau and al-Barnawi. Furthermore, discourse analysis of such texts should be conducted to thoroughly examine the strategic role of women in Boko Haram's ideology. What roles does Boko Haram ascribe to women? What is the importance of women in their strategy? And why is it so?

Furthermore, I believe that women's peace activism remains understudied in the case of Boko Haram, and I propose two different areas that should be addressed by academic research. Firstly, as mentioned above, the research and news coverage of women's activism is almost solely about #BringBackOurGirls movement. I believe that further examination of other means of activism is at place. How do other women-led organizations advocate for peace in Nigeria? What kind of grass-roots initiatives have women undertaken in the areas affected by Boko Haram? Secondly, women's online activism and advocacy remains

understudied. Further studies are required to address how do women utilize social media in their efforts to increase peace in Nigeria? What kind of discursive choices do they make?

The study at hand and the results presented bring forward two recommendations in order to enhance women's status in a patriarchal society such as Nigeria, and to increase women's participation at all stages of peace and conflict reconciliation. Firstly, as already pointed out, Nigeria is still lacking in the full implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, and the gender representation in decision-making organs of the government is highly imbalanced. To enhance gender equality in peace processes as well as political participation, it is vital for Nigeria to provide adequate funding for gender mainstreaming and the implementation of resolution 1325. Furthermore, as the results indicate that reasons hindering women's participation are rooted in the patriarchal societal structure, policy changes are not enough, and work needs to be done to change attitudes as well. By actively promoting, ensuring, and investing in female education, the federal government of Nigeria can contribute to the transformation of patriarchal values and attitudes, and enhance women's inclusion and empowerment. Until these recommendations are successfully implemented, the persistent problem of patriarchy will continue to hinder women's emancipation.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix I: Primary sources: Newspaper articles published in Vanguard

2014, April 16	Vanguard	24 Hours After Abuja Blast - Gunmen Abduct 100 School Girls in Borno
2015, April 14	Vanguard	Chibok Girls - Sambisa Forest to Be Liberated May 29 – NSA
2016, April 14	Vanguard	BringBackOurGirls - Two Years On, Never Again
2016, April 15	Vanguard	Boko Haram Abductions - Freed 'Bride' Laments Stigma Ordeal
2016, April 14a	Vanguard	Chibok Girls - Two Years and Counting
2016, April 14b	Vanguard	Two Years After - Will the 219 Chibok Girls Ever Return?
2017, April 13a	Vanguard	195 to Go! 3 Years Later, and the Chibok Girls' Disappearance Mystery Is Yet to Be Solved
2017, April 13b	Vanguard	Chibok Girls - Three Years After

Appendix II: Primary sources: Newspaper articles published in This Day

2014, April 16a	This Day	Again, Delegates in Stormy Session Over Insecurity
2014, April 16b	This Day	129 Girls Abducted By Boko Haram As Abuja Death Toll Rises to 76
2015, April 14a	This Day	New Report Details Boko Haram's Reign of Terror in North East
2015, April 14b	This Day	House Urges Govt to Find Chibok Girls
2015, April 15a	This Day	The World Remembers Chibok Girls
2015, April 15b	This Day	I Prayed Thrice Before Jumping Out of Vehicle, Says Escaped Victim
2015, April 14	This Day	Chibok Girls One Year After - BBOG Commemorates Anniversary
2016, April 14a	This Day	House Wants More Efforts Deployed Towards Chibok Girls Search
2016, April 14b	This Day	Chibok Girls - a Gaping Wound Two Years After
2017, April 14a	This Day	Police Stop BBOG Protesters From Approaching Ambode's Office in Lagos
2017, April 14b	This Day	Presidency - Nobody Knows Precisely Where the Chibok Girls Are
2017, April 14c	This Day	Chibok Girls - Three Years After
2017, April 14d	This Day	On Third Anniversary, Buhari Restates Pledge to Rescue Chibok Girls
2018, April 15	This Day	98 of 113 Chibok Girls in Boko Haram Custody Dead, Says Salkida
2018, April 13	This Day	Chibok Girls - Four Years After

Appendix III: Primary sources: Statements from #BringBackOurGirls movement

2014, May 6	#BBOG	#BBOG Details of Today's Abuja March
2015, n.d.	#BBOG	#BBOGCOUNTDOWNTO&WEEKS: Week 1 Statement
2016, April 6	#BBOG	Matters arising from the arrest of two female suicide bombers
2016, April 14	#BBOG	Two years without our girls is unimaginable
2016, November 5	#BBOG	Return of another of our abducted #ChibokGirls
2017, April 14	#BBOG	How much longer the pain? #3YearsTooLong
2017, May 7	#BBOG	Return of 82 Chibok schoolgirls
2017, July 27	#BBOG	1200 days too long, no more excuses!
2017, August 1	#BBOG	Where are our 113 #ChibokGirls?
2017, October 12	#BBOG	Mr President, time to act is now
2017, November 14	#BBOG	Promises made must be kept - Where are our #ChibokGirls?
2018, April 19	#BBOG	Post-4th-year Commemoration
208, May 28	#BBOG	#BBOG on the National Day of Mourning

Appendix IV: Primary sources: Interview questions for #BringBackOurGirls movement

Date: 7 March 2019

Questions:

1. Can you briefly tell about the BBOG movement and how it was established?

- What is your role in the movement?
- What is the role of women in the movement?

2. What were the initial reactions of the community when Chibok girls were kidnapped?

- What did the women (mothers, sisters, other school girls) do?
- What did the men (fathers, brothers) do?
- Do you have any concrete examples?

3. Immediately after the kidnappings, how would you describe the role of women (both women in the community and the kidnapped girls)?

- In what kind of activism, if any, did women participate in?
- Do you have any concrete examples of the roles and possible activism?

4. Have the roles of women changed during the 5 years the girls have been abducted? If so, how?

5. In general, what status and what kind of roles do women have in Nigeria?

- Are the roles women have in the Chibok kidnappings similar or different to women's roles in the Nigerian society in general? How?

6. How are women involved in peace building and activism through BBOG movement?

- Is it easy for women to participate in initiatives like #BringBackOurGirls?
- Are there many women who would like to participate?
- Are there any barriers for women's inclusion?

Appendix V. Visualization of data analysis: #BBOG & Roles of women

CONDENSED MEANING UNITS	CODE	THEME FOR THE ROLE OF WOMEN
Reffering to other Nigerians killed by violence	Shared victimhood	VICTIMHOOD
Referring to other Nigerians affected by kidnappings		
Referring to men or boys affected by killings of kidnappings		
Referring to Chibok girls as victims	Direct victimhood	
Referring to Chibok girls as abducted girls	Indirect victimhood	
Referring to Chibok girls as kidnapped girls		
Referring to Chibok girls as missing girls		
Mentioning women in uniform	Female fighters	AGENCY
Referring to women as suicide bombers		
Mentioning individual female activists	Female activists	
Referring to women as protesters		
Mentioning women in leadership roles	Female leaders	
Mentioning the mothers of Chibok girls	Women as mothers	RELATIONAL ROLES
Mentioning the parents of Chibok girls	Chibok girls as children	
Referring to Chibok girls as children		
Referring to Chibok girls as daughters		
Referring to Chibok girls as sisters	Chibok girls as sisters	
Connecting the term "Chibok Girls" to broader violence done by Boko Haram	Symbol of BH's violence	SYMBOLIC ROLES
Connecting the term "Chibok Girls" to other kidnappings done by Boko Haram		
Connecting the term "Chibok Girls" to criticism towards the government	Symbol of political power	
Using the term 'our daughters'	Symbol of unity	
Using the term 'our girls'		
Referring to Chibok girls when discussing female education	Symbol of female education	

Appendix VI. Visualization of data analysis: newspaper articles & roles of women

CONDENSED MEANING UNITS	CODE	THEME FOR THE ROLE OF WOMEN
Reffering to other Nigerians killed by violence	Shared victimhood	VICTIMHOOD
Referring to other Nigerians affected by kidnappings		
Referring to Chibok girls as abducted girls	Indirect victimhood	
Referring to Chibok girls as missing girls		
Referring to Chibok girls as kidnapped girls		
Referring to Chibok girls as innocent girls		
Referring to Chibok girls as victims of kidnapping	Direct victimhood	
Women as victims of coerced marriage	Victims of coercion	
Women as victims of rape or sexual violence		
Women as coerced suicide bombers		
Women coerced to convert to Islam		
Mentioning stigma of kidnappings	Stigmatization	
Mentioning women in uniform	Female fighters	AGENCY
Referrin to women as suicide bombers		
Mentioning women in leadership roles	Female leaders	
Referring to women as activists	Female activists	
Referring to women as ambassadors		
Referring to women as protesters		
Referring to Chibok girls as mothers	Chibok girls as mothers	RELATIONAL ROLES
Mentioning the parents of Chibok girls	Chibok girls as children	
Referring to Chibok girls as children		
Referring to Chibok girls as daughters		
Referring to Chibok girls as sisters	Chibok girls as sisters	
Mentioning the peers of the Chibok girls	Women as friends	
Connnecting the term "Chibok Girls" to broader violence done by Boko Haram	Symbol of BH's violence	SYMBOLIC ROLES
Connecting the term "Chibok Girls" to other kidnappings done by Boko Haram		
Connecting the term "Chibok Girls" to political debates	Symbol of political power	

Appendix VII. Visual presentation of data analysis: #BBOG & women's activism

CONDENCED MEANING UNITS	CODE	THEME FOR WOMEN'S ACTIVISM
Mentioning daily sit-outs	**Grass-roots initiatives**	**RAISING AWARENESS**
Calling for action		
Mentioning protests		
Mentioning marches		
Mentioning organizing meetings		
Mentioning Global Week of Action		
Writing press-releases	**Sharing information**	
Mentioning monitoring initiative		
Mentioning lectures		
Holding press conferences		
Demanding more information for the families affected	**Medium of communication**	
Representing the parents		
Stating the number of days active	**Consistent advocacy**	
Stating demands to the government	**Strategical advocacy**	**FORMAL ADVOCACY AND PEACE-BUILDING**
Giving policy recommendations		
Mentioning VARS-system		
Suggesting a DNA Analysis Centre		
Mentioning women in uniform	**Formal peace-building**	
Discussing the banning of sit-outs by police	**Responding to criticism**	**NEGATIVE INFLUENCING**
Critizising government actions		

Appendix VIII. Visual presentation of data analysis: newspapers & women's activism

CONDENCED MEANING UNITS	CODE	THEME FOR WOMEN'S ACTIVISM
Mentioning daily sit-outs	**Grass-roots initiatives**	**RAISING AWARENESS**
Calling for action		
Mentioning protests		
Mentioning marches		
Discussing online activism		
Mentioning silent protests		
Mentioning organizing meetings		
Mentioning Global Week of Action		
Mentioning lectures	**Sharing information**	
Mentioning the continuity of advocacy	**Consistent advocacy**	
Stating demands to the government	**Strategical advocacy**	**FORMAL ADVOCACY AND PEACE-BUILDING**
Giving policy recommendations		
Mentioning VARS-system		
Mentioning meetings with United Nations		
Mentioning women in uniform	**Formal peace-building**	
Accusing for having a hidden political agenda	**Political corruption**	**NEGATIVE INFLUENCING**
Accusing for fabricating the abductions		
Accusing for being paid by oppostion		
Blaming BBOG for difficulties to reintegrate rescued girls	**Negative consequences**	
Losing momentum	**Lack of action**	