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"Why Girls?": A Content Analysis of the #BringBackOurGirls Movement and the Transnational Significance of the Chibok Girls

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'Why Girls?': An Analysis of the #BringBackOurGirls Movement and the Transnational Significance of the Chibok Girls

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Abstract

In the 2016-2017 academic year, I researched the transnational advocacy campaign #BringBackOurGirls, which was created in response to the kidnapping of 276 girls from Chibok, Nigeria by the Boko Haram. Boko Haram has committed many atrocities from 2011 to the present. However, the broader humanitarian crisis did not receive nearly as much attention as the kidnappings of the Chibok girls. Therefore, we must ask, why this is the case?

This thesis contributes to the literature by introducing a theory of event adoption to describe the relationship between an event-based advocacy campaign and Transnational Advocacy Networks. My research seeks to understand how the campaign was able to gain international support and leverage pressure on the Nigerian government. To do this, I explored factors related to the Chibok kidnappings and the #BringBackOurGirls Campaign. I researched transnational advocacy literature, digital activism, and the Global War on Terror to explore the relationship between the #BringBackOurGirls campaign and Transnational Advocacy Networks.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

On the night of April 14th, 2014, 276 girls were abducted from their school hostel in Chibok, Nigeria by the Nigerian insurgent group Jama'atu Ahlis Suna Lidda'awati Wal Jihad, more commonly known as Boko Haram.[1] In a video recording released three weeks later, the leader of Boko Haram, Abubakar Shekau, claimed responsibility for the kidnappings. In the video first obtained by Agence France-Presse, Shekau proclaims: "I abducted your girls. I captured your girls. I will sell them in the market; I swear by Allah. There is a market for selling humans. Allah says I should sell. He commands me to sell. I will sell women. I am selling women."[2]

A photo of the girls held captive by Boko Haram militants.

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[1] Zerrougui, Leila. "Bring Back Our Girls. Bring Back Our Children." *UN News Center*. UN, 13 Apr. 2016. Web. 13 Oct. 2016.

[2] Abubakar, Aminu, and Josh Levs. "'I Will Sell Them,' Boko Haram Leader Says of Kidnapped Nigerian Girls." *CNN*. Cable News Network, 6 May 2014. Web. 13 Oct. 2016.

This incident was one of many violent actions committed by the group, which includes suicide bombings, attacking security forces, and recruiting child soldiers. However, the Chibok kidnappings demonstrated that the group was exploring new forms of terror. In this case, Boko Haram was specifically targeting women and endorsing the enslavement of women. This was previously unknown as part of its operations.

Given that political tension and insecurity in Nigeria were reaching dangerous levels, the Chibok kidnappings were yet another issue confronting the then President, Goodluck E. Jonathan. However, this brazen act against innocent school girls elicited a different response from Nigerians. Though they feared the terror of Boko Haram, Nigerians took the street with outcry and protests against Boko Haram and demanded that the government act.[3]

Members of the ruling party believed that the mounting unrest created by Boko Haram was a conspiratorial effort to undermine Goodluck's presidency, which played a part in how the government addressed the issue. Party leaders expressed doubt about the abductions; some of them did not believe that the kidnappings had occurred.[4] The First Lady of Nigeria, Patience Jonathan, ordered the arrest of one the leaders of protests for impersonation, when she attended a meeting on behalf of the parents.[5] Unfortunately, President Jonathan also canceled his visit to Chibok to meet with the parents of the kidnapped. He explained his decision stating that: "These girls are not held in Chibok...If the President goes to Chibok today, it does not solve any

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[3] Nossiter, Adam. "Nigerians Hold Second Day of Protests Over Mass Abductions." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 30 Apr. 2014. Web. 10 Aug. 2016.

[4] "Nigeria: As Women Nationwide Weep, Kema Chikwe Insults Grieving Nation... 'Show Me Photos of Abducted Girls'" *All Africa*. All Africa, 1 May 2014. Web. 3 Sept. 2016.

[5] Robins-Early, Nick. "Nigeria Arrests Protest Leader Calling For Government To Save Kidnapped Girls." The Huffington Post. TheHuffingtonPost.com, 05 July 2014. Web. 26 Oct. 2016.

problem."[6] The poor choices of the country's leadership made it harder to sympathize with the administration and easier to take fault with it.

After a month of what appeared to be a complete lack of action on the government's part, the "Bring Back Our Girls" campaign spread from the borders of Nigeria into the transnational world of social media.[7] The hashtag 'BringBackOurGirls' was tweeted and retweeted by people all over the world. Protests were held in London and Los Angeles, in addition to those held in Nigeria. The Twitter trend captured the attention of high profile leaders and celebrities internationally, who showed their solidarity with #BBOG. The one of the most notable figure joining the hashtag was the First Lady of the United States of America, Michelle Obama, in a photo holding a #BBOG sign. The hashtag morphed into a full-fledged campaign designed to pressure the Nigerian government into retrieving the girls from Boko Haram.

This thesis seeks to answer the following questions related to the emergence #BBOG movement. How did the #BBOG campaign secure the endorsement or support of Transnational Advocacy Networks? And subsequently, how is this event and advocacy campaign engaged within these networks? This paper will argue that the significance of #BBOG campaign and the Chibok kidnappings to transnational advocacy agenda lies in the broader environment of international politics, particularly the context of the Global War on Terror. I hypothesize the #BBOG campaign was able to make the plight of the Chibok girls a humanitarian imperative by its use of universalization to appeal to distant audiences and its alignment with emergent issues on the agendas of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the West, such as the United Nations. I expect to observe Transnational Advocacy Networks

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[6] "Why I Did Not Go to Chibok - Jonathan - Vanguard News." *Vanguard News*. N.p., 17 May 2014. Web. 14 Oct. 2016.

[7] Ansari, Azadeh, and Tia Brueggeman. "Demand for Return of Hundreds of Abducted Schoolgirls in Nigeria Mounts." *CNN*. Cable News Network, 4 May 2014. Web. 13 Oct. 2016.

 or NGOs using the Chibok kidnappings and the #BBOG campaign to further their issue based campaigns and objectives.

I will analyze digital publications and artifacts about the Chibok Kidnappings by the #BBOG movement, Transnational Advocacy Networks, and media outlets by conducting a qualitative content analysis. Secondly, I will use the same method to explore the ways in which the Chibok girls and the #BBOG movement is adopted by Transnational Advocacy Networks in the West. In order to investigate how Transnational Advocacy Networks engage the Chibok abductions, we must consider the emergent issues present on the transnational advocacy agenda in relation to the condition of women in Nigeria. In understanding the structural foundations of transnational advocacy and the local context of the event, we can explore how the movement operates at locally and transnationally in relation to how Transnational Advocacy Networks engage the kidnappings and the #BBOG movement. Then, we can draw conclusions about the nature of the relationship between Transnational Advocacy Networks and the #BBOG movement.

A screenshot of First Lady Michelle Obama's Twitter post

The efforts of #BBOG and the social media campaign drew attention to Nigeria and raised questions regarding the government's competency. President Jonathan reportedly paid $1.2 million dollars to a public relations firm to manage the narrative of the kidnappings.[8] From the government's behavior, it was clear that the government was out of touch with the sentiments of its citizens and failed in its responsibility to protect them. The administration made matters worse with the offensive stance it assumed in the face of a national tragedy.

Two years later, the government has not been able to achieve the emancipation of all 276 girls. 58 girls have escaped, and 219 are still hostages in the Sambisa forest, where Boko Haram

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[8] Wilson, Megan R. "Nigeria Hires PR for Boko Haram Fallout." *TheHill*. The Hill, 04 Feb. 2016. Web. 14 Oct. 2016.

takes refuge. #BBOG is still agitating for the girls' rescue by the new administration of President

Muhammadu Buhari. On October 13, 2016, President Buhari successfully negotiated for the

release of 21girls from Boko Haram. However, there are still 195 Chibok girls missing.

It must be stated that the Chibok kidnappings are not the only case of gender-based

violence against girls or act of terrorism to occur in this period. Also, the Government Secondary

School where the girls were taken was not the only school targeted by Boko Haram. For

example, the Boko Haram militants killed 59 male teenagers in the Bun Yadi Secondary School

a few months prior to the Chibok kidnappings. Therefore, we must ask what distinguishes the

Chibok kidnappings from other devastating events in Nigeria. [9]

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This paper is situated in literature concerning digital activism and transnational advocacy.

It builds on previous theories and offers an additional explanation advocacy today as a process of

event adoption. Though the Chibok kidnappings occurred in Nigeria, the #BBOG social media

campaign has managed to secure enduring support from individuals, state actors, and non-

governmental organizations overseas. A point of inquiry for my research will be to explain: Why

did the Chibok kidnappings become a widely known event outside of Nigeria? How did t#BBOG

secure support of for its advocacy campaign? Lastly, what is the significance of the Chibok girls

and the development of the #BBOG advocacy campaign to transnational advocacy more broadly.

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[9] Nossiter, Adam. "Islamist Militants Blamed for Deadly College Attack in Nigeria." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 25 Feb. 2014.

Digital Activism

A distinct aspect of the #BBOG campaign was its ability to raise awareness and generate political pressure regarding the kidnappings. The campaign used social media as a tool for domestic and transnational activism harnessing the communications power of digital technology. #BBOG has demonstrated that the internet is a powerful tool for communication and that if used wisely it can have significant implications for political activity and civic engagement.

Social movements can be conceived as a coordination of people and their actions to effect change. The proliferation of civic activism on the internet can be explained by five ways or modes of using the internet suggested by Denning (2007), which are collection, publication, dialogue, coordination of action, and direct lobbying of decision-makers (Denning 2001). Collection, in particular, refers to understanding the internet as a reservoir of information that significantly undermines restrictions or censorship imposed by the government. "The web alone offers several billion pages of information, and much of the information is free. Activists may be able to locate legislative documents, official policy statements, analyses and discussions about issues, and other items related to their mission" (Denning 2000). Therefore, the impact of the internet and digital technology on activism is profound in providing greater access to information and communication amongst people.

The #BBOG movement is a high profile movement that has used social media, the internet, and other digital means for activism and political protest. This phenomenon of non-traditional activism or the use of innovative forms of protests within social movements is known as cyber-activism. It is the use of the internet in support of an agenda or cause, and in pursuit of social and political change (Denning 2001). Utilizing the internet for activism takes various

forms such as creating websites, setting up social media accounts, posting and sharing material on these platforms, and forming networks or virtual communities in which information is exchanged and discussed.

Social media platforms have dramatically transformed the power dynamic in public communications by providing traditional consumers of media the tools to engage in the production of information and the ability to participate in to discourses. In addition, it has opened a line of communication between geographically distant and socially removed populations, such as between celebrities and ordinary citizens or between populations in the West and in developing countries. Journalist, academics, activists, politicians, students, and other groups of citizens, in general, can consume and produce information on the same platform (Bruns and Burgess 2012).

In terms of activism, social media allows individuals to watch and learn about political activities and human rights conditions from primary sources. In this age, such information is not only produced and transmitted by the media, but by the accounts of ordinary individuals shared on social networks. The effect of these platforms is that people do not have to depend on the media as a mediating entity between themselves and distant populations. As a result, social media users enjoy greater proximity and connection with other people around the world, because people are able to articulate their concerns and share their experiences without relying on the media as an intermediary. This poses a challenge to the power of the media as the controller of information (Albrechtslund 2008).

Therefore, for many people around the world whose voices were isolated murmurs or silenced, social media has provided a means for them to project their voices across space. The use of digital technology to watch political activity and human rights in domestic and

international contexts has created participatory surveillance, a process in which people collectively monitor and speak out against injustices. The conventional understanding of surveillance is that it is the supervision of dissidents, criminals, and opponents of system of power; however, participatory surveillance diverges from this hierarchical and oppressive etymology (Albrechtslund 2008).

However, political discourse and the connection of passionate individuals in cyberspace are not enough to achieve political gains in the real world. Concerted political action requires other components and methodologies that will form a cohesive and organized strategy. Dallas Lawrence (2010) has outlined the elements necessary for meaningful digital activism; they are integration, listening before engaging, using online discussion to prompt offline activity.

In making the shift from digital activism to offline activism challenging groups will encounter the Transnational Advocacy Networks that structure and shape advocacy in accordance with the established norms of non-governmental instutitons and international law. This body of research is concerned with the political and structural aspects of international norms, humanitarian aid, the promotion human rights, and the expansion of principled ideas between non-governmental organizations, activists, and needy populations (Bob 2005, Carpenter 2001, and Carpenter 2007).

Transnational Advocacy

Research on transnational advocacy focuses on issue emergence, the process and explanations regarding why particular humanitarian issues become priorities for Transnational Advocacy Networks. Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) encompass organizations, figures, and institutions engaged in the promotion of causes, "principled ideas, and norms, and

they often involve individuals advocating policy changes that cannot be easily linked to rationalist understanding of their interests' (Keck and Sikkink 1998).

Carpenter (2007) explores three theories of issue emergence: 1) The intrinsic nature of the issue based on its attributes, such as perceived vulnerability and innocence; 2) The grafting thesis, which holds that issue emergence is heavily influenced by how the problem fits preexisting frames or draws upon preexisting moral norms; 3) Lastly, the norm/political entrepreneur explanation that highlights the role of motivated individuals who rally others within TANs through lobbying efforts or by initiating a campaign. For Carpenter (2014), the internationalization of an issue is a product of politics between actors and the internal dynamics of the networks themselves, as opposed to external factors such as the intrinsic nature of issues, the targets of influence, or the broader political environment. Theorizing issue adoption within TANs is useful when thinking about why activist groups in the developing world acquire support and why events are adopted by TANs.

Similarly, Bob (2005) rejects the idea of benevolent non-governmental organizations and a sympathetic global civil society. He finds that groups must market their cause and compete for resources to further their objectives. However, his research findings illustrate that securing international support depends on the sophisticated qualities of the group, as opposed to the need.

These theoretical explanations for issue emergence are relevant for analyzing the strategies of #BBOG and its relationship to transnational advocacy. However, there are particular aspects related to the #BBOG campaign that need to be accounted for in modeling a framework. A focus on the groups and how they project and market their grievances is a more appropriate approach for analyzing #BBOG, which began as a grassroots or local response that became an international movement. Carpenter's (2007) structural thesis of issue emergence emphasizes

actors within TANs as the primary drivers of advocacy, which takes away from the efforts of those in proximity to the conflict.

Transnational Advocacy Networks are organized around issues or problems that are constructed as dangers to human welfare and the stability of the international system. These established issues are not only humanitarian and development imperatives that organizations and individuals concern themselves, they also serve as the dominant frames regarding how social problems are conceived, discussed, and addressed. Issues in transnational advocacy represent distinct subject areas and constructs that organize the ways in which humanitarian problems are formulated, understood, and promulgated transnationally.

Drawing upon the Marketing of Rebellion, Bob cites that there are many challengers and causes in need of recognition and a platform to have their voices heard, however, only some of these challengers and causes receive foreign support and achieve international acclaim. The likelihood of securing assistance is dependent on a group's ability to fashion itself in accordance with the norms and transnational advocacy agenda. They must also convey its message in a way that will resonate with distant audiences.

The Global War on Terror and the Hyper-visibility of the Chibok Girls

The broader context shaping international politics concerning insurgency and terrorism is the military campaign known as the "Global War on Terror." The campaign that began during the administration of President George W. Bush continued under the Obama administration with some modifications. President Barack Obama stated, "We must define our effort as a boundless 'Global War on Terror,' but rather as a series of persistent, targeted efforts to dismantle specific

networks of violent extremist that threaten America.[10] Though the United States committed to

counterterrorism efforts in the Trans-Saharan region and the Middle East, terrorist organizations

such as, Boko Haram, ISIL, were growing and becoming more deadly.

In 2014, the schism within Al-Qaeda led to an even greater conflagration of the conflict

in Iraq and Syria--the creation of the Islamic state of Syria and the Levant.[11] ISIL pushed the

boundaries of past terrorist activity by seizing territory in two countries. Most notably, it is

distinguished by its extreme brutalities, but also by its highly sophisticated branding and

organizational structure. The co-author of the book *ISIS: The State of Terror* describes how ISIL

appeals to other extremists. ISIL "markets itself as a strong, defiant group that is supported by

religious scripture and prophecy. Unlike other terrorist organizations, it doesn't present itself as

the underdog"…"From a marketing perspective, what they're selling is the image of strength."[12]

These unprecedented developments and the innovative marketing of extremism influenced and

emboldened other groups and persons outside of Syria and Iraq, such as Boko Haram to unleash

indiscriminate acts of violence.[13]

ISIL founded a Caliphate in Syria and Iraq, but it maintains a decentralized and multi-

divisional hierarchical structure that allows other terrorist groups to pledge their allegiance to the

state and remain relatively autonomous in their local environments.[14] The implication of this

development is that groups in other regions of the world do not have to vie for local support.

ISIL's global vision has emboldened other violent extremist groups to compete to realize its

imperial aspirations by imposing their will on populations around them. Any individual who

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[10] Shinkman, Paul D. "Obama: 'Global War on Terror' Is Over". U.S. News & World Report. 23 May, 2013. Web.

[12] Petroff, Alanna. "ISIS: The Most Successful Terrorist Brand Ever?" *CNNMoney*. Cable News Network, 7 May 2015. Web.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Simpson, Cam. "The Banality of Islamic State: How ISIS Corporatized Terror." *Bloomberg.com*. Bloomberg, 9 Nov. 2014. Web.

does not pledge allegiance to the state is viewed as an apostate and can be persecuted or even killed. These developments lend local insurgencies and terrorist operations a global character.

Though Boko Haram views the Nigerian state as its primary foe, the contours of the conflict between Boko Haram and the Nigerian government possess a global character. Inherent in Boko Haram ideology is anti-Western sentiment, hence the name Western education is a sin. Boko Haram expressed support for ISIL on multiple occasions, and in March of 2015, it officially pledged allegiance to ISIL. Boko Haram has actively implemented the ideology of ISIL by seizing territory, persecuting religious minorities and Muslims, and perpetrating large-scale acts of violence against women.

While Boko Haram operates regionally, its subscription to ISIL's ideology has international implications.[15] The expansion and persistence of Boko Haram in many ways represents the resilience of ISIL and its ideology.[16] The human rights violations and the adoption of the imperial ideology of ISIL heightened the destabilization in the region and is a threat the not only to Nigeria, but the United States and the international system. According to the 2015 Counterintelligence Report, Boko Haram surpassed ISIL as the deadliest terrorist group in the world. "Deaths attributed to Boko Haram increased by 317 per cent in 2014 to 6,644.[17] ISIL was responsible for 6,073 terrorist deaths." The Counterintelligence Report also found that private citizens were increasingly the targets of terrorist groups. From 2013 to 2014, civilian deaths increased by 172 percent compared to the total number of the deaths, which rose by 80 per cent.[18]

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[15] Alkhshali, Hamdi, and Steve Almasy. "ISIS Leader Accepts Boko Haram's Pledge of Allegiance." *CNN*. Cable News Network, 12 Mar. 2015.

[16] Nossiter, Adam and Kirkpatrick, David D. "Abduction of Girls an Act Not Even Al Qaeda Can Condone." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 07 May 2014. Web. 19 Mar. 2017.

[17] "Global Terrorism Index 2015" (PDF). Institute for Economics and Peace. November 2015.

[18] "Global Terrorism Index 2015" (PDF). Institute for Economics and Peace. November 2015.

On April of 2014, Boko Haram abducted the 274 Chibok schoolgirls and threatened to sell them. In this period, Boko Haram was the first terrorist group to initiate in this horrific practice. Boko Haram selected the town of Chibok precisely because of its higher concentration of Christians relative to neighboring towns. The girls at the school were from Chibok and other neighboring towns, and were predominately of the Christian faith.[19]

Similarly, ISIL has waged war on other Muslims, non-Muslims, but particularly on the Yazidis who they view as devil worshippers. After its attacks on the Yazidi community, ISIL condoned the enslavement of "non-believers." ISIL has institutionalized sexual enslavement as a weapon against minorities and commoditized women via trafficking. Boko Haram and ISIL essentially reduced the female body to an object upon which patriarchy and hyper-masculinity is reproduced. They both justify their rape and sexual slavery through their fundamentalist interpretations.[20]

Women and girls are caught in the crossfire between the western military forces and insurgent groups and their struggle for power and legitimacy. Muslim women were hyper-visible in the cultural difference ethos of the Global War on terrorism and in the justification for military intervention. Muslim women were portrayed as a helpless and homogenous population that needed to be saved. The control of women is significant in this conflict because women have become symbolic of values and culture for the West and the Islamic religious right.

The statement of Abubakar Shekau was even more revealing about the group's sentiments and motivations. Women, he said, "should go and marry. Stupid people. Talking about human rights and democracy. Nonsense." Here Shekau expresses his disdain for what he perceives as

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[19] Stein, Chris, and Dionne Searcey. "21 Chibok Schoolgirls, Reuniting With Parents, Tell of Boko Haram Slavery." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 16 Oct. 2016.

[20] Omar, Manal. "Why Women Are a Not-so-secret Weapon for ISIS." *CNN*. Cable News Network, 31 Mar. 2017. Web. 27 Apr. 2017.

westernization and its impact on the lives of girls. They are going to a school as opposed to a marital home. He is attacking education as the underlying factor in contributing to greater of female autonomy and economic independence. Schools and girls are at the intersection of maintaining patriarchal dominance and eradicate Western influences.

While this is the context in which gender and war intersect, the U.S. Senate subcommittee on African affairs and committee on foreign relations hearing on #BBOG presents an additional explanation as to why the Chibok girls are significant. A month after the kidnappings, the committee acknowledged that kidnappings were part of larger pattern of violence and that Boko Haram had terrorized its community for five years. The opening statement by Senator Christopher A. Coons recognized impact of the pressure generated by the #BBOG advocacy campaign. His statement is very significant because it not only speaks to the success of the #BBOG advocacy campaign and digital activism, but to the cynical attitudes of conservative pundits towards the campaign.

> "We are holding this hearing, in part, because of the outpouring of concern from many of my constituents and millions of Americans. The #BringBackOurGirls hash tag, which some pundits have mocked, has been mentioned more than 3 million times on Twitter, and those Tweets, posts on Facebook, Instagram, and others, were from people trying to get our attention and trying to make sure the United States is doing everything it reasonably can to help the Nigerians bring these abducted girls home. Those people deserve to know that we hear you and share your goals."[21]

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[21] United States. Congress.Senate.Committee on Foreign Relations.Subcommittee on African Affairs. BringBackOurGirls: Addressing the Threat of Boko Haram: Hearing before the Subcommittee on African Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States, Senate, One Hundred Thirteenth Congress, Second Session, may 15, 2014. vol. 113-628, U.S. Government Publishing Office, Washington, 2015.

Malala Yousafzai

A photograph of Malala Yousafzai showing her support of the #BringBackOurGirls campaign.

Muslim religious right movements are open about their antipathy toward "Western feminism," They emphatically discredit discourse on women's autonomy "as foreign, Western and anti-Islamic" (Imam 1997). These fundamentalist groups view efforts to empower women as they view westernization– as corruptive. The education of women, in particular, is under attack by the extremist groups in this period. The experience of the Nobel Peace Prize winner Malala Yousafzai exemplifies this issue.

At the age of ten, Malala wrote about living under the rule of the Taliban in Swat Valley Pakistan. In 2009, the New York Times created a documentary about her life, which garnered attention for Yousafzai. She became an activist for education in her native Swat Valley against the dictates of the Taliban. Yousafzai continued to attend school along with other girls. The Taliban decided that they wanted to eliminate Yousafzai and her influence. At the age of 14,

Yousafzai was shot in the head on a school bus. The New York Times article *Taliban Gun Down Girl Who Spoke for Rights* provides a statement by a Taliban spokesman, Ehsanullah Ehsan, regarding the motivations for the attack on Yousafzai:

> He "confirmed by phone that Ms. Yousafzai had been the target, calling her crusade for education rights an 'obscenity'…'She has become a symbol of Western culture in the area; she was openly propagating it,' Mr. Ehsan said, adding that if she survived, the militants would certainly try to kill her again. "Let this be a lesson."[22]

> "The extremists are afraid of books and pens. The power of education frightens them. They are afraid of women. The power of the voice of women frightens them. And that is why they killed 14 innocent medical students in the recent attack in Quetta. And that is why they killed many female teachers and polio workers in Khyber Pukhtoon Khwa and FATA. That is why they are blasting schools every day. Because they were and they are afraid of change, afraid of the equality that we will bring into our society."[23]

On October 9, 2010, Yousafzai had two bullets in her neck and skull, and she was struggling for her life. However, this ordeal only strengthened her commitment to speak out against the Taliban and for Children's education. Yousafzai's story had a profound impact on transnational advocacy on the issue of female education in the context of terrorism and insurgency. After she had recovered, Yousafzai was invited to speak at the Youth Takeover of the UN, organized by the President of the UN General Assembly, UN Special Envoy for Global Education Gordon Brown and A World at School, an initiative from Theirworld. Yousafzai's speech provided an account of the importance education and the ways in which power is at stake on this issue.

A year later, in her acceptance speech for the Nobel Peace Prize, Yousafzai discussed the experience of living under the Taliban, particularly the assault on education. She stated that 400

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[22] Walsh, Declan. "Taliban Gun Down Girl Who Spoke Up for Rights." The New York Times. The New York Times, 09 Oct. 2012. Web. 20 Mar. 2017.
[23] "Malala Yousafzai Speech in Full." BBC News. BBC, n.d. Web. 12 July. 2013.

schools were destroyed and "education went from being a right to a crime." Yousafzai dedicated

her speech to the 66 million girls are deprived of education worldwide, including the Chibok

girls that are still held by Boko Haram. She called on the international community and private

citizens to commit to sustainable development goals for children's education.

The experience of Malala Yousafzai and the Chibok Girls are real life incidences that

occurred in the context of the War on Terrorism. These acts of violence represent the confluence

of war, gender, religious extremism in a way that creates multiple stakeholders for girls'

education. Possible stakeholders for this issue include security apparatus, advocates of children's

education; women's rights advocates, peace advocates, human rights advocates, and private

citizens.

Chapter 3: Research Design

Theory

The Marketing of Rebellion lays out a market-based theory that conceives the interaction

between transnational advocacy networks and insurgent groups as exchanges based on

discrepancies in power, resources, interests, and culture between NGOs and groups. The

marketing perspective explores the ways in which groups have to market themselves to NGOs

and the international civil society at large. It also explores the ways in which NGOs support

groups. However, it does not explore how TANs engage groups that do not establish a patron-

client relationship with NGOs or challenging groups that posses greater power and visibility.

And, more pertinently, what are the implications of such challenging groups on transnational

advocacy. Therefore, I expanded on Bob's framework by exploring a process of event adoption

within TANs in reference to event based advocacy of the #BBOG campaign.

Contrary to popular belief, humanitarian work is not as simple as NGOs searching for helpless populations and rushing to their aid. Advocacy and humanitarian aid occur in the context of a power and resource disparities between local activist and TANs. While there may be moral or ethical precepts motivating NGO activities, they are driven by considerations relating to their own longevity. NGOs have to be strategic about what cases the groups they support, and they must also consider the effect that the decision will have on the organization. Therefore, the choices that groups make are important in understanding why they fail or succeed on the stage of transnational advocacy in relation to the structural biases within NGOs (Bob 2005).

Two factors shaping the exchange are the value of each entity and the need. The value refers to the extent to which one party benefits from establishing a relationship with the other," and the need reflects the necessity of establishing a relationship with a party in order to accomplish its goals (Bob 20). NGOs usually enjoy a more favorable position in this dynamic becuase their concerns, standards, and interests form the structure of transnational advocacy, which groups must navigate to increase their chances of winning support (Bob 21). Local movements with grievances outside these dominant concerns, therefore, have fewer chances of winning NGO allies. The willingness of an NGO to associate its brand, extend its efforts, and allocate its funds to a group is a reflection of considerations that correspond with its organizational needs, priorities, and requirements. NGOs want movements whose grievances and tactics will be viewed as legitimate by the broader transnational civil society or international system.

A distinction has to be made between how events become subjects of transnational advocacy and the study of issue emergence within TANs. Issue emergence is the process by which particular humanitarian problems become priorities within TANs and emergent issues are

broad subject areas that encompass an overarching problem that is constructed in the international system. Issue adoption occurs when an issue is selected out of the issue pool and is championed by a gatekeeper (Bob 2005). Gatekeepers are organizations whose decision to support a cause or group serves as an impetus for other agencies and individuals around the world to mobilize and lend their support.

The abduction of the Chibok girls was a single event out of many acts of terrorism orchestrated by Boko Haram. It was the response to this event that led to the emergence of the advocacy campaign known as the #BBOG. The #BBOG campaign represents a case in which TANs rallied around a local group, more specifically, a pressure group whose self-described aim is to retrieve the kidnapped Chibok girls. The #BBOG campaign did not explicitly pursue a particular advocacy issue or bring attention to a new issue. Therefore, #BBOG is not a case of issue emergence or issue adoption within TANs. With these caveats in mind, I applied the marketing theory to explore the relationship between #BBOG and TANs while going beyond the limitations of the framework.

The #BBOG campaign was created in response to a specific event (the Chibok kidnappings) and it was not a campaign addressing a broader advocacy issue; it explicitly called for the girls to be rescued from Boko Haram. Also, advocacy on behalf of the girls was not initiated by an NGO nor was public support for the #BBOG cause activated by an NGO. However, TANs have latched on the Chibok abductions as significant to their issue-based campaigns. Therefore, I am proposing a theory of event adoption as an alternative to a theory of issue emergence and issue adoption to explore the relationship between the kidnapping of the Chibok girls, the #BBOG campaign, and the TAN agenda; and, to explain the process by which

advocacy networks adopt and frame particular humanitarian crises or events in relation to emergent issues.

For the purposes of this paper, I have defined an "event" as a single situation, or negative phenomenon related to a political injustice or a human rights violation—it does not encompass the entirety of a protracted conflict. #BBOG represents an immediate response and a call to action in reference to a specific event (the Chibok kidnappings) and it did not specifically engage the humanitarian crisis in Northeastern Nigeria or the war between Boko Haram and the Nigerian government more broadly. The activism of #BBOG began specifically for the Chibok girls. Furthermore, #BBOG did not emerge championing a broad based issue or advocacy topic, such as gender-based violence, indigenous rights, or environmental degradation from the outset.

To provide a contrast between a group that is focused on an event and one that addresses a wider conflict, I will briefly describe the Ogoni, one of the cases Bob discusses. The Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) formed in order to challenge the structure of Nigeria's federation regarding resource allocation and the minority rights. MOSOP later changed it strategy to maximize support from NGOs by emphasizing the environmental pollution frame against Shell as opposed to minority rights. The change in framing was the factor that shifted the tide in MOSOP's favor, previously, NGOs were reluctant to back the group. Another aspect that is differs from #BBOG is that MOSOP did not center its activism in reference to a single event or oil spillage, it made a case to TANs based on sustained and systemic economic exploitation and environmental degradation in the Niger Delta. Therefore, #BBOG is unusual because it did not use the larger humanitarian conflict to build a solid case for its advocacy or the severity of their need. Also, #BBOG did not emphasize a broader advocacy issue to explain its problem—it only called for the Chibok girls to be returned to their families.

Central to Bob's marketing theory is the framing of conflicts as a requesite for securing the support of TANs, #BBOG's event-based advocacy forces us to rethink his model. The theory of event adoption identifies the relationship between events and the emergent issues on the transnational advocacy agenda. Therefore, I am analyzing the ways in which TANs use current events as examples to support and further their organizational objectives. This can take the form of referencing current events on their platforms or linking current events to the broader issues and humanitarian objectives.

Methods

In analyzing the content used online media, websites, and social media artifacts. I used four concepts to organize my research, which describe exchanges that occur between groups and TANs, which Bob outlines as substantive, ethical, tactical, cultural and organizational matching. The importance of these matching concepts to transnational advocacy is that groups whose characteristics happen to fit these criteria are more likely to emerge from their obscure positions and win the support of NGOs. This is a highly strategic process in which groups package themselves and "frame their causes to match the interest and concerns of transnational actors" (Bob 27).

Bob describes framing as dynamic and mutual; therefore, it is a process that both NGOs and groups engage in as they interact with one another. Typically, NGOs have more power, influence, and credibility than groups and movements; as a result, they do not experience the same pressure or tension to adapt themselves. However, matching involves accommodation on both sides and even powerful NGOs may be changed by their interactions with seemingly weak insurgent groups (Bob 27). Lastly, the conflict itself shapes extent and direction to which a group

or issue is framed. I will begin by establishing the emergent issues, dominant frames, and discourses present within TANS, and then I will cross-examine this information with the documents and artifacts to identify evidence of these matching attributes.

Cultural Matching

Cultural Matching rest on the claim that all local movements reflect the cultural patterns dominant in their home communities, some of which may be inappropriate or may not resonate in the developed world (Bob 33). Groups must understand NGO screening standards, decision-making, and the subtle personal preferences of NGO staff, which reflect their backgrounds as "often articulate, college educated, well-traveled leaders" (Bob 33). NGOs prefer groups with organizational structure and procedures that as issuing written statements, lobbying, have mission statements directors, and other regularized procedures.

Tactical Matching

The groups' needs must be within bounds of what NGOs can provide based on their specializations and standards actions. Whether they provide material or rhetorical support, NGOs have different tactics and methods for approaching advocacy. Some NGOs "specialize in researching conditions on the ground, others in targeting institutions such as the United States or World Bank, and still others in using mobilization techniques such as letter-writing, dramatic action, or disciplined protest" (Bob 35). It is important that groups are aware of the tactical differentiation among NGOs in order to secure the appropriate form of assistance and to achieve their desired outcomes.

Organizational Matching

Organization matching reflects the cost/benefit analysis that NGOs make in the context of their moralistic motivations. NGOs also have to contend with matters that relate to their survival and growth, and these considerations affect their decision to adopt groups. Therefore, NGOs are more likely to adopt groups that can benefit their organization as a brand. "The cost of support has four aspects: the direct and immediate expense of backing a movement; the long term risks of associating with it; the transaction cost of deciding on support; and the opportunity cost of selecting a particular client rather than others" (Bob 37).

Ethical Matching

NGOs are rooted in norms of the West and ethical matching encapsulates norms in the international system and how they circumscribe what is considered a legitimate or illegitimate grievance, what mode of protest is justified or unjustified. Even though, groups usually live in contexts that are rough and have to respond to such pressures with tough tactics, peaceful and non-violent tactics are posited as the appropriate form of protest as opposed to violence. As a result, "NGOs recognize these different political contexts, their ethical standards may prevent them from supporting movements with radically different rules of engagement" (Bob 36). Therefore, it is up to the groups to find ingenious ways to present themselves and rationalize their tactics to a western audience.

Substantive Matching

Substantive matching relates to the ways in which NGOs articulate their missions. NGOs are usually organized around particular issue or set of related issues. They tend to occupy small

niches addressing smaller sub-issues or advocacy areas. Understanding the politics within TANs and issue emergence explains the prominence of certain issues at any particular time. This is to say that the priorities of TANs are not set in stone, they shift in relation to real circumstances and politics in the world. More often than not, the particular set of problems that dominate the advocacy sphere and the organizational niches "reflect broad agreement among powerful publics in the developed world about today's most important social problems" (Bob 29). Movements with may fall to the wayside if their conflicts and needs do not relate to the dominant concerns of the day.

Therefore, the responsibility is largely on the groups to perform the extra work and create seamless connections between the political and cultural currents in the West and their localized problems. For example, Bob describes universalization as strategy by which "movements emphasize the universalistic aspects of their parochial conflicts" (31). Correspondingly, challenging groups might alter the framing of the problem to fit an existing issue or present their conflict as an issue as one that affects many or that has brooder significance so as draw the attention of distant audiences.

Methods

This research design uses qualitative content analysis as a method of inquiry. The #BBOG campaign is a movement that relies heavily on digital media to reach millions of people. Digital communication has been the primary method of communication of #BBOG from the very beginning of their movement, and #BBOG has tailored its message in a concise and direct manner to suit the communication style of social media platforms. #BBOG also provides information on its websites regarding the status of Chibok girls, how to join the movement, their

work, and their responses to the media, political figures, and other organizations. The digital activity of the advocacy campaign will provide the necessary information to pursue this research.

The most appropriate method to conducting this research is content analysis. Content analysis permits the systematic and objective study and analysis of communication that is already produced. Content analysis allows the documents and images to speak for themselves in the sense that they are reflective of the context and time in which they were produced. I will use the communication and information produced by the campaign and NGOs to draw conclusions about the #BBOG campaign and event adoption.

I will analyze primary source documents, such as social media artifacts (tweets and Facebook posts), news articles, official statements, and press releases to collect information on #BBOG and to study communication between the state actors, non-governmental organizations, and other stakeholders on this issue. Furthermore, I will evaluate the #BBOG campaign focusing on the matching criteria identified by Bob (2005) to describe my research and structure the findings of the content analysis.

If Bob's marketing model of advocacy holds true, then, we can expect to find examples of the various matching processes within documents produced by the #BBOG movement and in the statements by individuals in the movement. Secondly, we would also find NGOs engaged in adoption or using the event of the Chibok kidnapping and the #BBOG movement to support their causes.

Chapter 4

Primary Research

Bob conceives transnational advocacy as a support market in which "vast local needs and limited international resources produce sharp differences in power" (Bob 20). Furthermore, the relative power of each party hinges on "the value of each party to the other reduced by the need of each party for the other. Value means the extent to which one party benefits from establishing a relationship with the other" (Bob 20). These value and need considerations tend to favor NGOs. NGO support has great significance for the movements looking to advance their causes. NGOs. There are many potential clients, groups and movements, in need of NGO support. And, by having multiple options before them NGOs can be selective and choose groups that best meet their requirements. On the other hand, in the context of endemic ignorance and indifference in the West about the conditions faced by challengers, groups have limited options but to approach all who will listen. The power asymmetry in transnational advocacy creates a structure in which the concerns, requirements, and preferences of NGOs establish norms that groups must conform to increase their chances of gaining the support of distant audiences and gatekeepers.

In this section, I present the findings of my research using the marketing framework provided by Bob (2005). These questions were how did the #BBOG campaign secure the support of Transnational Advocacy Networks? Second, how is the event-based advocacy of #BBOG engaged within the transnational advocacy landscape? This section contains the content analysis of previously produced information relating to the emergence of #BBOG and its activity. The findings of the content analysis are organized according to the five forms of exchange detailed in the methods section: cultural, tactical, ethical, substantive, and organizational matching. I have separated my analysis into three sections. The first section provides information about the origin

of the #BBOG organization and its organizers. Next, there is an exploration of the characteristics

that define #BBOG as an organization using the cultural, tactical, and ethical matching

frameworks. The last section concerns the substantive and organizational matching which reflect

the interaction between #BBOG and TANs.

Breaking the silence: #BringBackOurGirls

In the midst of the controversy about whether the girls were missing from their school

and the inaction on the part of the government, "there was a total news blackout about the

abduction of the schoolgirls" internationally.[24] Nigerians, mostly women or "mothers" as they

identified themselves, were protesting and asking the government to retrieve the girls, to no

avail. Ibrahim Abdullahi, a Nigerian lawyer, took to social media to raise awareness about the

incident. He reportedly used various hashtags to launch a Twitter campaign, such as

#ChibokGirls, #BornoGirls, and #AbductedBornoGirls. However, none of these tags became

viral like #BringBackOurGirls, which he tweeted after listening to a speech by former Minister

of Education, Obiageli Ezekwesili, about the Chibok girls.

Abdullahi posted the hashtag on Twitter on April 23, 2014. Later that day, Ezekwesili

retweeted Abdullahi, the launching the digital and transnational advocacy campaign known as

#BringBackOurGirls. American film producer, Ramaa Mosley, decided to help spread the

message in the United States on April 25, 2014. Mosley described the hashtag as being more

than a trivial thing. "It's an SOS to the world."[25] The hashtag was retweeted "800,000 times,

including by celebrities Kerry Washington and Chris Brown." It was nearly two weeks before

any major American media outlet covered the story. Today #BBOG has 28,727 followers on

Twitter and 235,830 'likes' and 224,025 'followers' on Facebook.

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[24] Litoff, Alyssa. "'Bring Back Our Girls' Becomes Rallying Cry for Kidnapped Nigerian Schoolgirls." *ABC News*. ABC News Network, 06 May 2014. Web. 16 Apr. 2017.
[25] Ibid.

It was through the hashtag and digital campaign "that most of the media and the world became aware of the abduction."[26] It created an awareness of the plight of the schoolgirls and the people living in Northeast Nigeria. It seems the emergence of the #BBOG campaign was not due to a gatekeeper or prominent figure within TANs. #BBOG emerged outside of this realm, and it seems to have spread precisely because of the lack of recognition and attention for the Chibok girls. This challenges previous scholarship on transnational advocacy that establishes gatekeepers and politics within TANs as the defining factor in successful advocacy campaigns.

Who is #BringBackOurGirls?

On the official #BBOG Nigerian website, the group defines itself as "a diverse group of citizens advocating for speedy and effective search and rescue of all our abducted girls and for a rapid containment and quelling of insurgency in Nigeria." What can be extrapolated from this is that #BBOG views itself as a grassroots and inclusive organization, but also as a pressure group to achieve a particular end. The movement does not list who are the "leaders" of the movement, staying true to its decision to remain a citizen's movement and keep the focus on the Chibok girls. In a press release signed by Obiageli Ezekwesili and Aisha Yesufu, they state that #BBOG is "funded by sacrificial contributions of members for our very negligible needs, is the reason we are solely a Citizens' Movement, and not an NGO." They have deliberately chosen to remain a grassroots organization funded by supporters.

Webpages

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[26] Ibid.

An interesting fact about #BBOG is that the campaign has two official websites. One website is based in Nigeria and the other is based in the United States. The websites are similar in that they serve the same purpose which is to raise awareness about the Chibok girls. They both provide information about the status of the girls and the circumstances of their abduction the importance of rescuing the girls from Boko Haram. However, there are differences between the two web pages that are worth exploring. It is more personalized than the U.S based page, and the voice of the movement is more pronounced.

The Organizers

Bob (2005) places emphasis on the "sophisticated and adept qualities" of challenging groups in their ability to navigate TANs. They must understand how to maximize support and resources from TANs and also gauge the norms and expectations of TANs in order to execute them. Groups must also be able to communicate effectively and transform a local conflict into a subject of international significance. Bob attributes the ability to work within the cultural norms and operational standards of TANs to the backgrounds of organizers or leaders in the movement. Therefore, in terms of cultural matching, it is necessary to establish a profile of key figures or spokespersons in #BBOG to determine whether or not there is a familiarity or exposure to the cultural and operational expectations within TANs.

Bob conceives cultural matching not as having previous work experience in NGOs, but as having a degree of professionalization that will increase the perception of competency and credibility. For groups that adhere to indigenous principles, use histrionic forms of expression, or are poorer and more isolated, adapting to cultural differences and the expectations of NGOs can

prove to be a difficult task. I have identified several #BBOG leaders: Obiageli Ezekwesili,

Hadiza Bala Usman, Aisha Yesufu, and Ramaa Mosley.

#BBOG Nigeria	#BBOG America
Aisha Yesufu Hadiza Bala Usman Obiageli Ezekwesili	Ramaa Mosley

#BBOG Nigeria

Hadiza Bala Usman is the co-founder of the #BBOG campaign with Obiageli Ezekwesili.

Bala Usman holds a Bachelor's Degree in Business Administration and a post-graduate degree in

Development Studies. She began her career as a researcher for a Nigerian NGO and is currently

the Managing Director of the Nigerian Ports Authority. [27] She is credited with creating the red

and white color scheme associated with the #BBOG movement.

Obiageli Ezekwesili is a highly educated civil servant and activist. She holds three

degrees, including one from Harvard University. She served as the Minister of Solid Minerals in

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[27] Akinloye Dimeji, "Hadiza Bala Usman: Buhari to Appoint #BringBackOurGirls Co-founder NPA Director," *Pulse.ng*, Pulse Nigeria, July12, 2016, http://pulse.ng/local/hadiza-bala-usman-buhari-to-appoint-bringbackourgirls-co-founder-npa-director-id5254017.html.

2005 and as the Minister of Education in 2007. In 2007, she was appointed to the World Bank as the Vice President for Africa. [28]

Ayesha Yesufu is described as a private citizen and a businesswoman. She grew up in Northern Nigeria, but she is of Southwestern Nigerian origin. Her experience cuts regional and ethnic boundaries. She is not part of the political establishment in Nigeria. She is known for her confrontations with the Jonathan and Buhari administrations and for being a critic of the political establishment more broadly. Unlike Ezekwesili, Yesufu is not friends with political elites. She is not part of this class nor is she bothered by how her actions are received by them. She is not politically correct or partisan when it comes to her activism, which has angered some. Yesufu and Ezekwesili sign the press releases issued on the #BringBackOurGirls website.

#BBOG America

Ramaa Mosley is an American film director based and activist in Los Angeles. Her work ranges from commercials, music videos, feature films, and documentaries. [29] She directed a feature film called *Girl Rising*, which tells the stories of girls living in nine developing different countries. She played a significant role in #BBOG outside of Nigeria. As a result, she was incorrectly credited with starting the hashtag. Mosley was horrified when she heard of the kidnappings, but she was also disturbed that the story was off the radar of media outlets in Europe and America.

The hashtag posted on April 23, 2014, was already gaining traction when Mosley joined the movement. However, Mosley was instrumental in introducing the issue to prominent figures and celebrities in the West. On April 25, 2016, she retweeted the hashtag to her friends, and then

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[28] "Dr. (Mrs.) Oby Ezekwesili's Bio," *AROCSA*, Association for Research on Civil Society in Africa, http://arocsa.org/dr-mrs-oby-ezekwesilis-bio/.

[29] "Ramaa Mosley Bio," *ADOLESCENT*, accessed April 10, 2017, http://adolescentcontent.com/ramaa-mosley-bio/.

to President Obama. She was horrified by the news, but was motivated to act because she believes that "we [Westerners] have been desensitized to what goes on in Africa."[30] She initially considered going to Nigeria to document the controversy, but instead chose to use social media to raise awareness.

Cultural Matching

Though the movement began in Nigeria because of a local conflict, #BBOG activities show an awareness of NGO screening standards with regards to organizational culture. These four prominent figures in the #BBOG movement are highly educated persons, civil servants, or professionals. The educational and professional backgrounds of the organizers afford the #BBOG movement a sophisticated and worldly character beyond the obscure town of Chibok, Nigeria. These individuals are able to navigate between the local and Western culture. They frequently engage public speaking in Nigeria and abroad. Additionally, #BBOG has regularized procedures and avenues for communication and civic engagement between the organization and the general public. The #BringBackOurGirls Nigeria website issues press releases, editorials, news briefs, and information about #BBOG activities.

Tactical Matching

Tactical matching refers to how groups must approach NGOs that can aid their goals in relation to the specializations and services provided by particular NGOs. Bob conceives this process as one in which groups search for the NGOs most suited meet their needs. It is in this process that a relationship of patronage is established between an NGO and a challenging group.

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[30] Litoff, Alyssa. "'Bring Back Our Girls' Becomes Rallying Cry for Kidnapped Nigerian Schoolgirls." *ABC News*. ABC News Network, 06 May 2014. Web. 16 Apr. 2017.

However, in the case of #BBOG a patron client relationship does not apply. Still, the tactical

frame is important in understanding the tactics that #BBOG deploys in relation to its aims and

NGO norms. As previously mentioned, #BBOG functions primarily as a campaign to raise

awareness and a sense of urgency about the plight of the Chibok girls in Northeast Nigeria.

Therefore, #BBOG functions like a pressure group in order to garner attention and to compel the

Nigerian government to act. An NGO that matches the tactics deployed by #BBOG is Amnesty

International.

Amnesty International is an NGO that specializes in publicizing information and

mobilizing public support regarding human rights violations. It is an urgent action and crisis

response network that calls on its 7 million members to mobilize and act in order to address or

put an end to a crisis. Amnesty International investigates governments, private individuals, and

conflict areas regarding human rights violations, and then it publicizes its findings to

governments, NGOs, and the general public. According to the Amnesty International website,

"Human rights change starts with the facts. Our experts do accurate, cross-checked research into

human rights violations by governments and others worldwide."[31] Amnesty International's

website also describes its tactical approaches to advocacy:

> "**Advocacy and Lobbying**
> We use our analysis to influence and press governments, companies and decision-makers to do the right thing.
> **Campaigns and Action**
> Through petitions, letters and protests, campaigners worldwide press for action from the people and institutions who can make change happen."[32]

The advocacy tactics deployed by #BBOG mirror that of Amnesty International. #BBOG

permits individuals and groups around the world to join the movement. On its various platforms,

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[31] "Amnesty International." *Home*. Amnesty International, accessed April 15, 2017, https://www.amnesty.org/en/.
[32] Ibid.

#BBOG provides instructions and options for people to get involved by writing and calling their local government and demanding that they help. #BBOG shares information and recruits people to join "the social media march" on Facebook and Twitter; and planning a rally or march.[33] It calls on its supporters to mobilize and organize to pressure their local leaders and bring the issue to their attention. The #BringBackOurGirls U.S. website even provides a letter template for people to contact elected officials. Similar to Amnesty International, #BBOG is open to those who want to join, and they can become members and ambassadors of the organization. In addition to 'following' or 'liking' #BBOG on Twitter or Facebook, #BBOG provides many opportunities for people to be involved in their movement and fight for the rights of the Chibok girls around the world.

Ethical Matching

Ethical Matching considers the extent to which challenging groups meet the norms of TANs in terms of the legitimacy of the conflict, the mode of engagement, and protests. Groups must adhere to ethical principles established in the international system. These principles determine the legitimacy of a grievance and what mode of protest is justified or unjustified. TANs are less likely to support groups that engage in violent tactics and have radically different rules of engagement than those demonstrated by advocacy groups in Europe and North America.

The alarming circumstances related to Boko Haram, the security forces, and the government was documented by Amnesty International and the State Department. [34] The failures and exacerbations of the conflict by the Nigerian authorities is an undisputed issue. The

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[33] Litoff, Alyssa. "'Bring Back Our Girls' Becomes Rallying Cry for Kidnapped Nigerian Schoolgirls." *ABC News*. ABC News Network, 06 May 2014. Web. 16 Apr. 2017.

[34] "Amnesty International," *Nigeria: Trapped in the Cycle of Violence*, Amnesty International, 1 Nov. 2012. Web.

statements of the government regarding the kidnapping conveyed a disposition of irreverence at the highest levels of government. It was this official stance that created the catalyst for Nigerians to organize protests for the Chibok girls. Therefore, mothers of the #BBOG campaign and their supporters charged a legitimate complaint against the government and media.

In terms of its branding and mode of engagement, the #BBOG campaign describes itself as "disciplined and committed," which conveys that its mode of protest is non-violent protest and agitation. #BBOG is purposeful in its presentation and its actions. It is more than a sporadic or trendy digital display (clicktivism) as some have tried to assert.[35] #BBOG has an acronym that represents the core values of the movement or "HUMANITEEDS." [36] It stands for hope, unity, motivation, affability, nationalism, integrity, transparency, empathy, and equity. #BBOG has also explained the symbolism of its signature red and white logos, posters, and dress code. Red symbolizes danger and alarm about the incident and the experience of the missing Chibok schoolgirls. It also reflects the passion, love, and conviction that energizes the #BBOG movement. White symbolizes the innocence of the girls in their pursuit of "knowledge through education, in spite of the odds, in order to better their lots and that of their families and community."[37]

On the #BringBackOurGirls Nigeria website, #BBOG defines itself and articulates its organizational ethics. On October 17, 2016, the Peace Corps of Nigeria and the Africa Support and Empowerment Initiative organized a fundraiser titled the "Official Inauguration and Signing

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[35] Richinick Michele, "Conservatives Mock 'Bring Back Our Girls' Hashtag," *MSNBC*. NBCUniversal News Group, May 13, 2014, http://www.msnbc.com/morning-joe/conservatives-mock-bringbackourgirls.

[36] "The Bring Back Our Girls?" *Bring Back Our Girls*, #BringBackOurGirls,11 Apr. 2017, http://www.bringbackourgirls.ng/?page_id=1604.

[37] "The Bring Back Our Girls?" *Bring Back Our Girls*, #BringBackOurGirls,11 Apr. 2017, http://www.bringbackourgirls.ng/?page_id=1604.

of Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on the Chibok Girls Endowment Project" using the #BringBackOurGirls logo at their event. In response to this event, #BBOG denounced the unsolicited use of their brand. Stating that, "we have carefully built our reputation as a "well-organized" and "disciplined" global movement that is completely self-funded."[38] In this statement, #BBOG asserts the integrity of its efforts and expresses that it has worked to establish a brand and credibility within transnational advocacy.

Another example was the open letter to Governor Christopher Christie in which #BBOG expressed disappointment regarding his dismissive tone in a passing remark about Hillary Clinton, citing a fallout concerning a hashtag campaign and the abduction of schoolgirls in Nigeria. They demanded that he publicly apologize for his comments and that he also include a Global Call to Action to rescue of the girls. Interestingly, #BBOG went further to appeal Governor Christie's values, stating that a sincere apology "will be the only indicator that you truly believe in the American values of freedom of life, love and the pursuit of happiness."[39] In this case, the #BBOG Nigeria invokes the ethos of a Western nation to further its aims with an American political figure.

Therefore, #BBOG actively protects its image from those who seek to belittle or compromise their efforts. #BBOG has established a brand as citizens' movement with ethical principles and standard modes of operation. But more importantly, this illustratesan understanding of what TANs view as "acceptable" means to effect change–means that will enhance, but not detract from the credibility of the movement.

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[38] Ezekwesili Oby, and Yesufu Aisha, " URGENT DISCLAIMER: #BRINGBACKOURGIRLS PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENT " *Bring Back Our Girls*, #BringBackOurGirls, 17 October 2016, http://www.bringbackourgirls.ng/?p=2737.

[39] Ezekwesili Oby, and Yesufu Aisha, "Open Letter to Governor Chris Christie from the #BringBackOurGirls Movement," *Bring Back Our Girls*, #BringBackOurGirls, 21 July 2016, http://www.bringbackourgirls.ng/?p=2683.

'What's on the Advocacy Agenda?'

In this section, I will explore the emergent issues or prominent issues on the TAN agenda in 2014 in relation to the rise of the #BBOG campaign. I will begin with the primary gatekeeper of transnational advocacy and humanitarian efforts which is the United Nations.

The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund or UNICEF is a sub-branch and program of the United Nations Economic and Social Council. It provides humanitarian assistance to mothers and children in 190 countries. Under its provision for child education, UNICEF designates a separate section for "girl's education and gender equality." It recognizes that there is a gendered dimension to educational access and outcomes that result in disadvantages and exclusion. UNICEF identifies lack of education for female children as a determinant that produces social, health, political, and economic vulnerabilities in society. This emphasis on girl's is summarized in this official UNICEF statement:

> "Girl's education is both an intrinsic right and a critical lever to reaching other development objectives. Providing girls with an education helps break the cycle of poverty. Educated women are less likely to marry early and against their will and are less likely to die in childbirth. They are more likely to have healthy babies and send their children to school. When all children have access to a quality education rooted in human rights and gender equality, it creates a ripple effect of opportunity that influences generations to come."[40]

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, more commonly known as UNESCO, initiated the 'Education for All Global Monitoring' a campaign in 2011. It was created to protect schools as safe places and to ensure the human right of education.

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[40] "Girls' Education and Gender Equality," *UNICEF*, UNICEF, July 23, 2015, https://www.unicef.org/education/bege_70640.html.

"UNESCO's report showed that half of the world's out-of school-children live in countries affected by conflicts. The UN Security Council followed up in July of that year with a resolution to enhance education in conflict zones." In May of 2014, the Director General and UN Special Representative for Children in Armed Conflicts, Leila Zerrougui, together with UNICEF and partners, published a Guidance Note on that resolution.[41]

Substantive Matching

Substantive matching relates to how NGOs articulate and construct humanitarian problems. Having an awareness of the issues that dominate the advocacy sphere and how these issues, conflicts, and incidences are framed is crucial for challenging groups in terms of maximizing their success.

The primary method that #BBOG is engages in substantive matching is through universalization. Universalization is a concept which describes a process or tactic that challenging groups use to lend broader significance to a conflict or issue. Universalization is as much a rhetorical choice as it is a political strategy. It enables #BBOG to situate the Chibok kidnappings into an existing frame and present its conflict as an issue as one that is connected to others. It serves to heighten the sense of urgency, draw the attention of distant audiences, and harness existing support for other related conflicts or campaigns. This is not to say that the problem presented is fictitious or exaggerated, but that groups have to be strategic in how they present their grievance in a manner that will aid rather than hinder their struggle. #BBOG has engaged in the universalization of the kidnappings for this purpose.

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[41] "Backing Universal Education, UN Educational Chief Condemns Nigerian Abduction," *UN News Center.* United Nations, May 13, 2014, http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=47782#.WPYOJmWMCb8.

The first example of universalization lies in the name of the movement. In the initial days of the protest, the mothers in Nigeria held signs with personalized or localized terminology, such as bring back our "daughters," where are my "sisters," or rescue our "Chibok" girls. Similarly, out of the various tweets Abdullahi posted on Twitter, the more general and non-localized slogan of "bring back our girls" has resonated around the world.

The second example is the existence of distinct two websites for #BBOG, one based in Nigeria and the other based in the United States. Beyond the differences in location, there are differences between the websites in terms of content, tone, and authorship. The distinction between the websites is that they target different audiences, one focusing domestic concerns and the appeals international supporters. There is less emphasis on specific issues or less issue-based appeals and references on the Nigerian webpage, in comparison to the American webpage.

#BringBackOurGirls Nigeria	#BringBackOurGirls America
A diverse group of citizens advocating for speedy and effective search and rescue of all our abducted girls and for a rapid containment and quelling of insurgency in Nigeria.	This website, our Facebook and Twitter pages are operated by a team of volunteers that started in California, but is now worldwide. We are students, mothers, and activists who are dedicated to the immediate rescue of the 230+ school girls from Nigeria. We are here to share credible and vetted news stories, give people actions they can take and help the community around the world connect for rallies. We are a small part of the social awareness campaign on behalf of the girls. We are not an organization. We are individuals. This website and our Facebook page was founded by Ramaa Mosley

#BBOG Nigeria focuses more on the local conflict on the ground and effecting policy

change in Nigeria. It demands that the Nigerian government improve communications on

security with daily briefings on the rescue of the abducted girls; create communication channels

that help inform the public on safety measures being taken to protect Nigerian citizens; provide

provisions for rehabilitation services, such as counseling and healthcare, as well as witness

protection, to all abducted girls who have escaped or been rescued. #BBOG urges the

government to take measures to ensure the protection of children of school age to curb future

abductions and sexual violence; and to secure the passage of the Violence Against Persons

Prohibition Bill (VAPP BIll) that protects girls to ensure persecution of those responsible for

sexual violence once captured.[42]

While asserting its citizen-centered activism in Nigeria, the #BBOG movement engages

in substantive matching through universalization and by employing the girl education frame. The

U.S. page run by Ramaa Mosley directly quotes UNICEF on the importance of girl education in

promoting economic development and in ending the cycle of poverty. It also references an

excerpt from the Yousafzai speech on the 600 million girls in the developing world in need of

the opportunities to create change.[43] #BBOG America further explains the significance of girls to

NGO development goals, the campaign of an esteemed girl's education activist, and the status of

girls in Nigeria.

> "Only 5% of northern Nigerian girls make it to secondary school. The abducted
> girls were ready to graduate and become doctors and lawyers. They are
> extraordinary, and they need to be rescued and brought home. All girls deserve
> education and protection while at school. Educated girls will share that education
> with their brothers and sisters, impacting their communities and breaking the
> cycle of poverty. Removing barriers such as early marriage, gender-based

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[42] "Home," The Bring Back Our Girls?" *Bring Back Our Girls*, BringBackOurGirls NG, April 11, 2017.

[43] "Home," *Bring Back Our Girls*. BringBackOurGirls US, April 11, 2017. http://bringbackourgirls.us.

violence, domestic slavery, and sex trafficking means not only a better life for girls, but a safer, healthier and more prosperous world for all."[44]

It is revealing that early marriage, gender-based violence, domestic slavery, and sex trafficking are mentioned in the discussion about the significance of girls. However, girl education becomes the dominant issue that is employed by #BBOG to frame the Chibok kidnappings as opposed the those mentioned above. It shows that the organizers are aware of which frame and issue are receiving the most attention with TANs. It also illustrates that the #BBOG America serves to create a line of communication between the Nigerian protesters and audiences in the West by employing the language used by TANs. Although the principal concern of #BBOG the Nigerian government and the Chibok Girls, it is able to situate itself within the context of transnational advocacy issues.

Therefore, as #BBOG stresses that it is the responsibility of Nigerian government to rescue the Chibok Girls from Boko Haram, it also engages in the universalization of Chibok Girls. In the open letter to Governor Christie, #BBOG Nigeria issues a reminder to him and other political leaders, "our #ChibokGirls are global citizens; with equal rights as other citizens of the world, with families that grieve daily, and are from a part of the world that is currently experiencing one of the worst humanitarian crises ever." In short, what #BBOG Nigeria conveys that although the humanitarian crisis is located in Nigeria, the Chibok girls belong to a global community in which universal human rights apply. In this case, they are deemphasizing the local character of the conflict to essentially assert that the Chibok girls should matter to all people.

In 2014, the #BBOG campaign demonstrated an awareness of prominent issues on the advocacy agenda, one of which was girls' education. It effectively framed the Chibok kidnappings primarily as an assault on girls' education, which resonated within the transnational

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[44] Ibid.

advocacy sphere. #BBOG was able to engage in grassroots advocacy geared to addressing the issues in the domestic context. At the same time, it appealed to distant audiences in the West by universalizing aspects of the Chibok kidnappings, using the girls' education frame, and making connections with the story of Malala Yousafzai.

Organizational Matching

Organizational matching refers to the willingness of NGOs to adopt certain groups over others. In the context of the moralistic motivations that guide humanitarian initiatives, NGOs seek to maximize their influence and expand their donor pool. Operational considerations and the power discrepancies between NGOs and groups NGOs permit NGOs to be selective. In short, NGOs consider the cost and benefits of supporting particular groups.

However, in the case of #BBOG, NGOs were not responsible for galvanizing the public concern for the Chibok girls and were not involved in the emergence of the #BBOG campaign. TANs largely ignored the crisis in Nigeria prior the #BBOG advocacy campaign. To better capture this phenomenon, I explored the #BBOG campaign using the concept of event adoption, which describes the adoption of a movement focused on an event (the Chibok kidnappings) by TANs. This concept of adoption describes the phenomenon by which TANs flock to a group that enjoys high value. By adopting a high value group, NGOs can share in the attention, visibility, and activities the of group, which benefits their initiatives.

The #BBOG movement mobilized thousands of people online and offline. It captured the attention of prominent celebrities and leaders, who showed support for the movement. For example, former First Lady, Michelle Obama's #BringBackOurGirls photo alone enjoyed over

49,000 retweets by May 9, 2014. Bob views such occurrences as unusual, but these factors relating to emergence of #BBOG altered the power and need perspective he provides. However, his claim about the abnormality of such occurrences is uncertain when the #BBOG movement is placed within the context other hashtag movements and the activities of "Black Twitter."
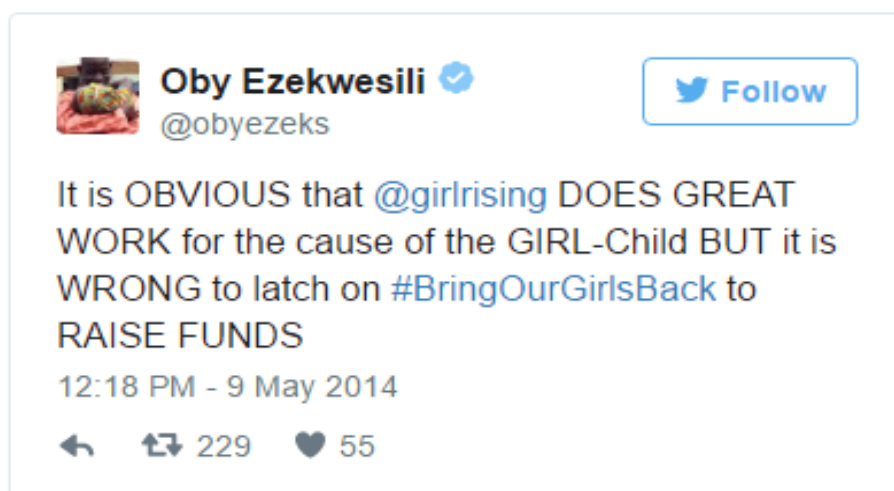
The Girl Rising Controversy

In an article published by NBC News, "Hashtag Wars: Who's Behind the Nigeria #BringBackOurGirls Movement," Helen A.S. Popkin discusses the controversy regarding the #BBOG campaign. It is important to note that after Ramaa Mosley joined the #BBOG movement, she was incorrectly attributed with starting the campaign. According to Popkin, Mosley did not correct those who attributed the hashtag to her until dozens of Twitter users accused her of attempting to benefit monetarily from the viral campaign.[45] This was confirmed by Dr. Obiageli Ezekwesili's tweets in which she expressed outrage at the Girl Rising Project for using the #BBOG hashtag and the Chibok girls to fundraise.

In discussing the importance of proper attribution regarding the hashtag and the #BringBackOurGirls movement, Africana scholar, Kimberly C. Ellis cites the role of Black Twitter, "an extremely active base of tweeters around Black issues." They were responsible for placing the killing of Trayvon Martin on National news in America and the creation of #BLACKLIVESMATTER movement. Similarly, it was the voices of Nigerians, the Nigerian diaspora, Black Twitter, and grassroots initiatives of Nigerian women that fueled the #BBOG campaign. Mosley "essentially stole an African woman's voice, a Nigerian woman's voice, who

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[45] Popkin Helen A.S, "Hashtag Wars: Who's Behind the Nigeria #BringBackOurGirls Movement?" *NBCNews.com*, NBCUniversal News Group, May 09, 2014, http://www.nbcnews.com/tech/social-media/hashtag-wars-whos-behind-nigeria-bringbackourgirls-movement-n100771.

started the phrase and started the movement," Ellis said.[46]

> **Oby Ezekwesili** ✔
> @obyezeks
> [Follow]
>
> How ironic that a US based @girlrising is the one USING a NIGERIAN CAUSE to WRONGLY call for DONORS! Too horrific to be funny. @clancycnn
>
> 11:34 AM - 9 May 2014
>
> ↩ ⟲ 522   ♥ 86

> **Oby Ezekwesili** ✔
> @obyezeks
> [Follow]
>
> It is OBVIOUS that @girlrising DOES GREAT WORK for the cause of the GIRL-Child BUT it is WRONG to latch on #BringOurGirlsBack to RAISE FUNDS
>
> 12:18 PM - 9 May 2014
>
> ↩ ⟲ 229   ♥ 55

> Apparently @obyezeks had been calling @girlrising out, on this scam. NOTE EVERYONE: #BringBackOurGirls has no fund raising arm
> — Tunji Andrews (@TunjiAndrews) May 9, 2014

The Twitter posts of Dr. Ezekwesili on the Girl Rising controversy.

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[46] Popkin Helen A.S, "Hashtag Wars: Who's Behind the Nigeria #BringBackOurGirls Movement?" *NBCNews.com*, NBCUniversal News Group, May 09, 2014, http://www.nbcnews.com/tech/social-media/hashtag-wars-whos-behind-nigeria-bringbackourgirls-movement-n100771.

Though, it appears that Mosely and #BBOG Nigeria have reconciled. This contention is significant because it shows that high value of #BBOG movement. The Girl Rising Project not only sought to adopt or associate with movement, but to profit from its efforts and further its own issue based advocacy. Secondly, Ellis shows that external mobilization outside of TANs concerning tragic events relating to persons of African descent is not an unusual occurrence during this period. The killing of Trayvon Martin and the Chibok kidnappings are two events that were virtually unreported by the mainstream media. Therefore, social media is a powerful tool for advocacy, but it particularly significant for a population whose issues tend to be marginalized. Black people have used Twitter to place pressure on power structures and address injustices.

Interestingly, Popkins states that #BBOG "has been adopted by humanitarian organizations such as Amnesty International and UNICEF in their own campaigns to bring attention to Nigeria's ongoing human rights crisis."[47] Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban Ki Moon and UNICEF condemned Boko Haram and expressed deep concern about the increasing frequency of attacks against educational institutions in Nigeria. Manuel Fontaine, UNICEF Regional Director for West and Central Africa, urged on the Nigerian Government to return abducted children to their families and to take steps to protect access to safe educational environments. [48]

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[47] Popkin Helen A.S, "Hashtag Wars: Who's Behind the Nigeria #BringBackOurGirls Movement?" *NBCNews.com*, NBCUniversal News Group, May 09, 2014, http://www.nbcnews.com/tech/social-media/hashtag-wars-whos-behind-nigeria-bringbackourgirls-movement-n100771.

[48] Fontaine, Manuel, "UNICEF Calls for Immediate Release of Abducted School Girls in Chibok, Borno State, Nigeria," *UNICEF*, UNICEF, April 16, 2014, https://www.unicef.org/media/media_73100.html.

The UN and Education

By May 13, 2014, Irina Bokova, the Director General of the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, described the Chibok kidnappings as "the latest in a string of increasing cases of deliberate attacks against schools, teachers and students, especially against girls' education, in countries across the world."[49] By viewing this event as the latest occurrence of educational insecurity, Bokova adopts the event as part of a larger issue that UNESCO is working to eliminate. Speaking to the "Global Education for All Meeting" in Muscat, Oman, she said "we must never tire in supporting education as a force for human dignity and sustainable development." [50]

Bokova reaffirmed UNESCO's commitment to supporting the Nigerian Government to "bring back our girls", referencing the international social media campaign built around the same phrase."[51] Bokova stressed the importance of the Malala Fund for Girls' Right to Education, adding that the response to acts such as the abductions by Boko Haram "is to provide every girl and boy with quality education."[52] Bokova's use of the slogan "bring back our girls" illustrates that the #BBOG movement influenced TANs and prominent NGOs to highlight the Chibok girls and focus on the crisis in Nigeria. The emergence of the #BBOG campaign and Malala Yousafzai exemplify the timeliness of this issue and the need for UNESCO's educational initiatives.

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[49] "Backing Universal Education, UN Educational Chief Condemns Nigerian Abduction." *UN News Center*, United Nations, May 13, 2014, http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=47782#.WPYd_mWMCb9.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

Amnesty International, Conflict, and Civil Society

#BBOG Tweet: Today is 500 days of consistent daily advocacy." 30 April 2015

"Today is the International Day in Support of Victims of Torture. Amnesty Int'l joined us [the #BringBackOurGirls

movement] this Day 438 of abduction.

Amnesty International has been on the ground in Nigeria reporting on the activities of

Boko Haram and the Nigerian military since 2009. Amnesty International has published reports

about the violence that plagues Northeastern Nigeria and the humanitarian crisis that it created.

Though it is not the patron of the #BBOG movement, Amnesty International has adopted the
Chibok girls and the #BBOG campaign. It issues articles that mirror and commemorate the
activities of the #BBOG campaign, such as observing the two year and 1000th day of their
captivity with #BBOG.[53] Amnesty International has also participated in rallies with #BBOG in
Nigeria.

In an article titled "Nigeria: 1000 days since Chibok girls abduction, government must
redouble efforts to secure freedom of all abductees," Country Director of Amnesty International
Nigeria, M.K. Ibrahim reveals the significance of the Chibok Girls to Amnesty International. He
states that "two years on, the Chibok girls have come to symbolize all the civilians whose lives
have been devastated by Boko Haram." Amnesty International also views the persistence of
#BBOG as vital to the fight for human rights more broadly in Nigeria, which Amnesty
International desperately tries promote in what it calls a shrinking civic space in the country.

> "Amnesty International recognizes the resilience and determination of the
> Bring Back Our Girls (BBOG) campaigners in Nigeria in getting the plight of the
> Chibok girls on the world's agenda and for keeping up the pressure on the
> government by continuing to demand the release of all the girls. Their persistence
> is notable at a time when the civic space for peaceful protests and gatherings in
> Nigeria is rapidly shrinking." [54]

The Chibok Girls are the most prominent subjects of advocacy in the West related to the
humanitarian crisis Nigeria and the #BBOG campaign represents a group that mobilized people
in order to effect change. Therefore, in associating with #BBOG, Amnesty International is

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[53] "Nigeria: Two Years after Chibok Abductions It Is Time to #BringBackOurGirls." *Amnesty International USA*.
2017 Amnesty International USA, 14 Apr. 2016. Web. 17 Apr. 2017.

[54] "Amnesty International," *Nigeria: 1000 Days since Chibok Girls Abduction, Government Must Redouble Efforts
to Secure Freedom of All Abductees*, 2017 Amnesty International, January8, 2017,
https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2017/01/nigeria-chibok-abduction-1000-days-on/.

latching on to the momentum of the campaign and expanding on the sense of urgency and concern generated for the Chibok girls to the overall issue of insecurity and human rights in Nigeria of which it is concerned. Amnesty considers the presence of #BBOG vital to protecting human rights in Nigeria, not only because it is an internationally recognized movement, but because #BBOG is a grassroots movement that engages in persistent and committed activism. Amnesty International is a foreign entity operating in Nigeria and it represents human rights objectives and norms formulated in the West. Unlike the #BBOG movement that was created by Nigerians, Amnesty does not posses a local base of support to the extent of the #BBOG movement. Therefore, Amnesty International views the grassroots activism of #BBOG as having an important role in maintaining civic space in Nigeria, which is vital for Amnesty International's operations in the country.

According to Bob organizational matching is when NGOs choose to support groups that they believe will benefit the organization's objectives or their brand, in turn NGOs provide groups access to powerful publics and support for their causes. In this case, the #BBOG campaign did not establish such a relationship with an NGO to activate support for its cause. Organizational matching for NGOs and the #BBOG campaign reflects an adoption process rather than a selection process. NGOs flocked to #BBOG and sought to affiliate with the campaign. Furthermore, the willingness of NGOs to adopt the Chibok abductions and the #BBOG campaign and as a rallying point for issue based advocacy suggest that #BBOG possessed great value to these NGOs. UNICEF, UNESCO, Amnesty International, and Girl Rising latched on to the #BBOG campaign in various ways, to gain material support, to direct attention to issues and objectives of which they are concerned, and to establish their organizations as working towards the solution.

Conclusion

In 2014, Nigeria was experiencing a three-year insurgency and heightening insecurity and the actions government were ineffective and in some cases disastrous. This is not to say that the kidnapping of the Chibok girls was the only or the most egregious act of violence. The Chibok kidnapping was one amongst a series of injustices and violations that marked everyday life in Nigeria. However, this event in particular was the catalyst that elicited a virulent reaction in the citizenry. By harnessing the power of social media platforms, the #BBOG was able raise awareness for the Chibok Girls and launch a transnational advocacy campaign. The #BBOG campaign used social media to reach distant populations, spread the word, and coordinate transnational protests. Circumventing the barriers of the government, the media, and TANs, the #BBOG campaign utilized participatory surveillance afforded by the social media platforms to establish a base of support for the Chibok girls. This challenging group was able to understand the norms of transnational advocacy and skillfully implement them. #BBOG demonstrated the cultural norms, ethical precepts, tactical methods of TANs in its operations and was able to situate the Chibok kidnappings within the transnational advocacy agenda.

In conclusion, Bob's marketing theory provides a useful framework to explore the relationship between NGOs and needy groups. It details the structure of transnational advocacy beyond morality and needy of groups. Bob's transnational advocacy marketplace presents a hierarchical and patron-client relationship between NGOs and needy groups. NGOs have the power to decide who enters the transnational advocacy space and on what terms. It shows that advocacy is an exchange between two parties that must reconcile different needs, cultures, and rules of engagement. However, the marketing theory has limitations in explaining the emergence of groups that do not posses a patron-client relationship with NGOs and groups that

emerge outside of TANs. The emergence of #BBOG represents a bottom-up approach to advocacy, and a case in which the power of a group is not a negligible factor.

#BBOG rose to prominence without the help or access provide by an NGO. This challenges the power dynamics of the marketing theory and presents significant implications for transnational advocacy. The first implication is that TANs are more likely to engage in event adoption because of the high value of groups. The second implication is that as opposed to solely pursue their aims within TAN structure, challenging groups can pressure TANs to respond to their demands from the periphery of the transnational advocacy structure. I suspect this how #BBOG is able to remain a citizen's movement, not an NGO; and how it is able to deploy the use grassroots and NGO advocacy approaches simultaneously.

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