



Media and
Communications

Media@LSE Working Paper Series

Editors: Bart Cammaerts, Nick Anstead and Richard Stupart

Stories Untold?

A qualitative analysis uncovering the representation of girls as victims of conflict in the global south

TESSA VENIZELOS

Published by Media@LSE, London School of Economics and Political Science ("LSE"), Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE. The LSE is a School of the University of London. It is a Charity and is incorporated in England as a company limited by guarantee under the Companies Act (Reg number 70527).

Copyright, Tessa Venizelos © 2017.

The author has asserted their moral rights.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means without the prior permission in writing of the publisher nor be issued to the public or circulated in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published. In the interests of providing a free flow of debate, views expressed in this paper are not necessarily those of the compilers or the LSE.

Acknowledgment

This dissertation is first and foremost dedicated to Molly and the bravery, vulnerability and resiliency in which she shared her life with me. This dissertation is also dedicated to the people of Gulu in Northern Uganda, who live boldly and without fear, who love wholly and deeply, and who give unremittingly to the world around them. Moreover, this dissertation is dedicated to the survivors of captivity all around the world. May their stories be told truthfully, powerfully and without restraint.

Abstract

This study evaluates the impact of how global news conglomerates from the United Kingdom and the United States construct and frame girls' narratives as victims of conflict in the Global South. Through a dual contextual thematic analysis and critical discourse analysis, this study aims to evaluate the research question, 'What contradictory discourses are in evidence in representations of girls as victims of conflicts in the Global South by media outlets from the U.K. and the U.S.?' In evidencing how tropes of girlhood and development are imposed on the narratives of girls' abductions by Boko Haram in Nigeria and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in Uganda, twenty-six news articles were selected from four platforms from the UK and the US: *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. The analysis was conducted through a conceptual framework that fused postcolonialism, generally, postcolonial feminism and media representations of victims of conflict. Through exposing overarching themes and drawing out discursive practices that substantiate colonial ideologies, the analysis indicates that girls' narratives as victims of conflict are used in order to validate broader narratives suggesting the development of girls from the Global South, and the development of the Global South as a whole, to Western ideals of modernity, empowerment and achievement.

1 INTRODUCTION

He didn't choose where or when he was born.

But, because he's here, he matters.

... Years before Gavin was born, the course of my life changed entirely by another boy.

... After spending a few weeks with Jacob, he told me something I would never forget.

... Everything in my heart told me to do something. And so I made him a promise:

'We are also going to do everything that we can to stop them. Do you hear my words? [Do] you know what I mean? We are, we're going to stop them.'

I made that promise to Jacob, not knowing what it would mean. But now, I do

(Invisible Children, 2012).

The Kony 2012 Campaign, launched by a San Diego-based nonprofit organization called Invisible Children (IC) gained over one hundred million views on YouTube. The campaign used the story of a boy named Jacob who was kidnapped into a rebel force called the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) led by a warlord named Joseph Kony. Jason Russell, the filmmaker and founder of IC, used his formed relationship with Jacob to reveal the estimated 30,000 children who had been abducted into the LRA and the nearly 40,000 children who commuted at night to flee the rebel group (GlobalSecurity.org, 2016). Through an emotionally appealing campaign, he made insinuations that the war in Northern Uganda would not end unless the political, economic and militarily global imperial power, the United States, intervened.

When I traveled to Uganda in 2013, I met a woman named Molly. Over the course of one of our visits to a local village, I asked Molly about her experience with the LRA's raids on the surrounding villages. Molly told me that the LRA raided her village and abducted her sister, who had yet to be reunited with her family. Molly explained how she survived the LRA's raids and how her family continues to cope with her sister's absence. While Molly's story has undeniably impacted my life, Molly's story was not shared on a global platform for hundreds of millions of people to see. One year after my encounter with Molly, a rebel group called Boko Haram abducted over two hundred girls in Chibok, Nigeria (Abubakar, 2014). The Western world appeared shocked and appalled, generating a social media hashtag and campaign called Bring Back Our Girls. Still, girls have yet to tell their stories.

For marginalized groups whose voices remain largely inaudible and whose stories are left wholly untold, the exclusion of their voices and the silencing of their narratives necessarily affect the way people learn their experiences in conflict. Often, when victims of mass atrocities are introduced to audiences around the world, their narratives are constructed in light of the agendas and biases of the narrators and authors who are donned the authority of telling of their experiences. In a part of the

world that is cast as underdeveloped, helpless and backwards by Western objectives of development, the narratives of individuals facing conflict in Uganda and Nigeria are scarce. When these narratives do appear in the prose of global news conglomerates from the United Kingdom and the United States, the representation of girls' narratives is even scarcer.

As a result, this study evaluates the impact of this phenomenon. First, this study assesses and compares existing literature that critiques Western ideals of girlhood and how those principles are appropriated to girls in the Global South, that poses postcolonial feminism against neoliberal, liberal, and other general forms of Western feminism, and that theorizes how ideals of girlhood fuse with postcolonial feminism to expose the imbalances of gendered violence between the Global South and the Global North. Second, this study purports a methodological review of contextual thematic analysis and critical discourse analysis and describes how this dual methodology was employed in critically analyzing newspaper narratives of girls as victims of conflicts in Uganda and Nigeria. Third, this study presents and interprets the results of the analysis drawing upon a conceptual framework that evaluates and suggests the impact of constructing female victims' stories through news narratives. Finally, this study offers further suggestions in attempting to create unbiased reporting that actively and unequivocally places girls who were victims of conflict as agents who possess power and authority over their experiences, the course of their current lives and the endeavors of their futures while holding that their experiences and their lives are important and significant in and of themselves.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Throughout the literature review and the analysis, I use the terms Global North and West as interchangeable in reference to the Global South, or non-West, not to essentialize societies that fall within these dichotomies but, rather, to use existing discourses of the Global North and the Global South in order to challenge those very discourses. The dichotomous distinction of these two entities references dominant discourses that compare and contrast the West/Global North as the Occident to the non-West/Global South as the Orient. Edward Said argues that 'as much the West itself, the Orient is an idea that has a history and tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West. The two geographical entities thus support and to an extent reflect each other' (Said, 1995: 5). A body of literature concerning the representation of girls in the Global South exposes theories about global girlhood and girl empowerment, Western imperialism of knowledge production, dominant themes of development and postcolonial feminism that critique and counter neoliberal feminism, post-feminism and, generally, Western feminism. However, as of yet, these theories do not intersect with media representation and portrayal of girls in conflict coverage. Therefore, this study purports important themes and diversions from the literature that

will be significant in working towards accurately representing girls from the Global South through combatting media frames, Western appropriations and dominant themes of modernity and development.

2.1 The Evolution of Global Girlhood

A prevailing theme in the literature explores the relationship between global girlhood, girl empowerment and the Girl Effect and how these Western concepts are appropriated in the Global South through the portrayal and representation of girls as victims. Sarah Banet-Weiser contextualizes the 'girl powering of development,' asserting that in the past two decades, there has been a significant increase in girl empowerment organizations (GEOs) in the US, which 'emerged at around the same time that empowering girls became a central theme in international development discourse; in the mid 2000s, the Nike Foundation coined the term the "Girl Effect" in partnership with the United Nations and the World Health Organization to demonstrate the significance of empowering girls in a global economy' (Banet-Weiser, 2015: 182). Emily Bent and Heather Switzer argue that the Nike Foundation coined the Girl Effect as a "'rallying point" that put girls on the radar of philanthropists, CEOs, government leaders and other influential players in the development community' (Bent and Switzer, 2016: 127). In this way, they claim that the Nike Foundation's objective, through programs and partnerships, brands girls as commodities of untapped resources and economic value for their communities and, arguably, the greater global economy (Bent and Switzer, 2016). However, this objective becomes problematic and begs the question, "At what expense does this "branding" of girlhood become expendable to the interest of Western powers?' Thus, branding girls from the Global South becomes dependent on the collective image of girls from the Global North. As such, the Girl Effect:

relies on an image of empowered girlhood that corresponds with notions of postfeminist neoliberalism and adolescent female exceptionalism, placing the burdens of development on girls in the Global South. Girls in the Global North however are also uniquely situated within this discursive paradigm- representing both the presumed success stories of postfeminist girlpower and the voice of a new generation of potential girlpower subjects in the Global South (Bent and Switzer, 2016: 128-129).

However, many postcolonial feminist scholars have critiqued the Girl Effect and its imposition on girls who are selected by Western agents, governments or developmental organizations for the attributes they embody that align with Western developmental objectives. Ofra Koffman and Rosalind Gill argue that the Girl Effect is selective in its uptake of feminism, as 'it yokes discourse of girl power, individualism, entrepreneurial subjectivity and consumerism together with rhetorics of "revolution" in a way that- perhaps paradoxically- renders invisible the inequalities, uneven power relations and

structural features of neo-liberal capitalism that produce the very global injustices that the Girl Effect purports to challenge' (Koffman and Gill, 2013: 86). Additionally, Koffman and Gill argue that the Girl Effect is not merely another theory or adaptation of development, but that it seeks to result in girls acquiring and embodying independency, agency and entrepreneurialism that form the core of Western discourses of girlhood (Koffman and Gill, 2013).

Agency, here, is connected to a postfeminist paradigm where choice, freedom and empowerment substantiate Western liberal ideologies in a broader women's empowerment movement. Rosalind Gill argues that the concept of empowerment is problematic in its commodification, namely, in 'a context in which fake "empowerment" is everywhere and in which feminist notions of it have been taken up and sold back to us emptied of their political force' (Gill, 2012: 743). Similarly, Rebecca C. Hains argues that in emphasizing certain aspects of femininity and independence from men as a cornerstone of empowerment, mainstream girl power becomes a neoliberal commodification, rather than 'seeking structural changes to the system through collective action' (Hains, 2012: 48). Gill and Haines also acknowledge the danger in individualizing empowerment, arguing that when empowerment is equated with individual achievement, it ignores systematic oppression and structural inequalities (Hains, 2012; Gill, 2012). Sarah Banet-Weiser recognizes that the empowerment of girls is essentially a global economic strategy made by a margin of powerful state actors from the West, where the 'positioning of girls as "in crisis" and in need of empowerment and, simultaneously, as important consumers, has helped to create a market for empowerment. As girls have been increasingly recognized as an important consumer demographic, the power in "girl power" has become an increasingly malleable concept, lending itself to commodification and marketization' (Banet-Weiser, 2015, 183). Mary Cobbett exposes the underlying motives of developmental organizations in their efforts to empower girls from the Global South, disclosing that the concern for the development of girls is not always in the best interest of girls, but in the best interest of development agencies (Cobbett, 2014). She highlights a dichotomous prediction of girls' attributes and actions that problematize their role in the international development scheme through the inequalities they experience as victims and the potential empowerment they experience through their contributions to society as heroines of overcoming conflict. But, while these descriptions 'are strategically useful and [may] contain truth, these constructions also prevent more nuanced understanding of the complexity and diversity of girls' lives and perceptions ... [which] has negative implications for the development practice' (Cobbett, 2014, 310-311). Thus, while Cobbett outlines the problematic construction of girls as either passive victims or active heroines, she misses the more important implication, namely, that this construction not only has negative effects for the development practice, but for girls themselves.

2.2 Postcolonial Feminism

Many critiques of how theories of girlhood are appropriated to girls from the Global South stem from postcolonial feminism. In order to understand the impact of postcolonial feminism for the representation of girlhood, it is necessary to understand how postcolonial feminism situates itself as a critique against neoliberal feminism, post-feminism and, generally, feminisms of the West. Simidele Dosekun defines post-feminism as 'a contemporary cultural sensibility proclaiming that women are "now empowered," and celebrating and encouraging their consequent "freedom" to return to normatively feminine pursuits and to disavow feminism as no longer needed or desirable' (Dosekun, 2015: 960). Dosekun argues that post-feminism is malleable across national and cultural borders and is still able to be adapted to girls from the Global South who are able to buy into it (Dosekun, 2015: 966). However, her analysis problematically assumes that post-feminism is the appropriate avenue for awarding women and girls of the Global South equal representation to their Western counterparts. In this way, Dosekun's analysis diminishes, or altogether ignores, Western attempts to colonize the rest of the world through its dominant ideologies, culture and politics. Ultimately, Dosekun's analysis of post-feminism ignores theories of girlhood that cast girls who do not align with their objectives in the oppressive shadow of the West. Her analysis assumes that ideas of post-feminism are powerful because they originate from the West and, simultaneously, ignores realities that suggest that any idea about femininity and feminism would be equally powerful if it did not originate from the West. Similar to the notion of post-feminism, transnational feminism is posed as a solution to contradictory and oppositional feminisms, especially those that essentialize girls and women in the Global South. Johanna Brenner asserts that women from the Global South are impelled to defend their nations and cultures against Northern hegemony,

that treats western practices as the measure of progress for women and for society and thus legitimises neo-colonial domination. Northern feminists have participated in this kind of "universalising" political discourse, and denied that modernisation shaped by non-western cultures might offer women more dignity, power, and respect. In this, they have made it easier for anti-feminist forces in the Third World to define feminism as a part of the Northern-imperial project (Brenner, 2003: 27).

Although Brenner acknowledges structural inequalities through Western representations of women from the Global South, she does not attribute possible causation to inequalities wrought in Western imperial and colonial conquests of nations, knowledges and cultures through global capitalism and monopoly over the global economy. Because Brenner's analysis of transnational feminism poses a weak critique against how neoliberalism is employed through the Girl Effect and Western ideals of

girl empowerment, it continues to portray girls from the Global South as victims, needing assistance from powerful and capable Western women.

More critical analyses employ postcolonial feminism in order to expose how feminism intersects with imperial ideologies that inherently structure the positions of women within the feminist movement. Postcolonial feminism, then, is used as an ideological tool to counter paradigms of feminism that have allowed some women's concerns to be voiced, while silencing the voices of those women who do not fall neatly into the ideological interests of the West. According to Kalpana Wilson, approaches to gender equality that are framed within neoliberal developmental agendas, 'and the specific models of material development they are embedded in,' rely on and reinforce 'existing patriarchal structures and gender relationships of power' as well as remain 'central to sustaining neoliberal capital accumulation' (Wilson, 2015: 807, 808). Wilson notes the power of hegemonic ideologies disguised by transformative ideals and agendas,

and their incorporation into dominant narratives- a practice central to the construction of hegemony in a Gramscian sense- is also always a strategy to undermine and defuse critical concepts which challenge the basis of the existing order, and to derail or marginalize resistance which is informed by them; it also implies the possibility of counter-hegemonic interventions' (Wilson, 2015: 808).

Therefore, when girls and women are framed within a homogenous category, their singular and simplistic representation substantiates 'the political economy of disposability, of racialized policies,' discourses of Western girlhood and girl empowerment and practices implemented by the Western advances of development (Wilson, 2015: 826). Additionally, Celia Roberts and Raewyn Connell posit that knowledge production has undeniably influenced how Western paradigms and ideals have imposed on cultures, policies and economies of the Global South. They demonstrate how Western theories have reached a hegemonic status where feminist theory, in particular, 'though it grew out of social movements, is now embedded in a knowledge economy where the universities and publishers of the United States and western Europe are central' (Roberts and Connell, 2016: 135). Thus, throughout much of the world, the Global North acts as colonizers of knowledge, even through feminist movements, constructing a world where the Global North is the unprecedented knower, the predominant teacher, the experiential instructor and the benevolent developer to the Global South that is cast-typed as in need of development. Roberts and Connell argue that feminism, 'as a democratic movement, as a struggle for justice in gender relations' has a significant task 'in contesting and re-making the global economy of knowledge' (Roberts and Connell, 2016: 139).

As such, other scholars challenge what feminism would look like if its movements were rooted in the Global South as opposed to the Global North. In analyzing imperial feminisms, Raewyn Connell argues how the Global North has employed constructions of identity to the Global South, which, in turn, have influenced how the world receives Global Northern gender imperatives and developmental agendas. But, she exposes how these constructions of identity are distinct products of the Global North: '[t]heir key issues and approaches, that is, their "problematic", reflect the cultural, political and economic situation of the metropole- the right, capital-intensive and militarily powerful countries of the North-Atlantic region. Gender theory as we currently know it is Northern theory' (Connell, 2011: 104). Connell argues that understanding gender relations is indispensable to understanding the relationship between the West and the non-West, indicating that Western exploitation and colonization of the non-West is not a concern of global development, but of 'cultural domination and gender democracy' (Connell, 2011: 105). More than that, Western intervention imparts a deeper understanding of how its control on gender relations, its dominance in the spread of democratic and modernistic values of gender and culture, shape the relations of the world, allowing certain societies to advance to Western standards of development while keeping those that challenge their hegemony at bay. Sarah Banet-Weiser and Kate M. Miltner explain how global structures of power intersect with gender relations and feminist ideals, creating hierarchies within feminist movements, for example, that curtail White women's needs and wants to the forefront of the movement (Banet-Weiser and Miltner, 2016: 172). Recognizing the advances of feminism, then, is complicated by racial, social and colonial imbalances and inequalities that prioritize the voices and narratives of White/Western women over all others.

J. Olka-Onyango and Sylvia Tamale address why the inclusion of voices of women from the Global South are indispensable to feminism. They argue that, in fact, local politics are 'compounded by the frustrations and tensions set in motion by global forces' (Olka-Onyango and Tamale, 1995: 702), where Western ideals of justice and development were embedded in pursuits of the West to conquer and control the non-West. Olka-Onyango and Tamale argue that women were doubly colonized, first by Western advances of justice and development, morals and ethics, education and assimilation, and second by local men who inherited these values of dominance over and subjugation of women (Olka-Onyango and Tamale, 1995: 724). Thus, an understanding of the histories of oppression of women and girls from the Global South is essential to achieving ideals of feminism transnationally and globally. Moreover, Valerie Amos and Pratibha Parmar challenge that the advancement of White women's rights comes at the expense of oppressing or silencing Black and Third World women:

[The] "herstory" which white women use to trace the roots of women's oppression or to justify some form of political practice is an imperial history rooted in the prejudices of colonial and neo-colonial periods, a "herstory" which suffers the same form of historical amnesia of white male historians, by

ignoring the fundamental ways in which white women have benefitted from the oppression of Black people (Amos and Parmar, 1984: 5).

They counter the alleged benevolence of Western epistemologies for Black and Third World women, instead exposing how the imposition of Western social and economic systems on the transformation and emancipation of what the West deems as feudal and traditional societies as Eurocentric, ethnocentric and, ultimately, contributing to the 'continued oppression of women in these societies' (Amos and Parmar, 1984: 6-7). Additionally, they note the vast differences in the advancement of women's rights across geographical boundaries, acknowledging that the positioning of Black women in racist societies causes them 'to organize around issues relating to [their] very survival. The struggle for independence and self determination and against imperialism has meant that for Black and Third World women in Britain and internationally, sexuality as an issue has often taken a secondary role and at times not been considered at all' (Amos and Parmar, 1984: 12). Drawing upon earlier formed arguments of the ideological production of knowledge that affords Western women significantly more authority than their non-Western counterparts, Chandra Talpade Mohanty relates the intellectually and practically-created 'third world difference' to colonization. She states that "Western feminisms appropriate and "colonize" the constitutive complexities which characterize the lives of women in these countries. It is in this process of discursive homogenization and systematization of the oppression of women in the third world that power is exercised in much of recent Western feminist discourse' (Mohanty, 1991: 54). Consequently, the ways that images and representations of women are constructed through relations of power that Western women dictate in their narratives of feminism, on the one hand, perpetuate the colonization and oppression of women from the non-West and, on the other hand, sustain the hegemony and imperialism of Western ideals of feminism. Moreover, she declares that essentializing women and reducing their ambiguities to one dominant culture constructs a 'set of universal images of the "third world woman," images such as the veiled woman, the powerful mother, the chaste virgin, the obedient wife, etc. These images exist in a universal, ahistorical splendor, setting in motion a colonialist discourse which exercises a very specific power in defining, coding, and maintaining existing first/third world connections' (Mohanty, 1991: 73). The way women and girls are essentialized through images that use their cultures, attributes and femininity to subvert them to their Western counterparts is even more evident in Western narratives of non-Western women and girls. In fact, Mohanty's critiques may be applied to the ways news narratives of girls in conflict are framed in order to reflect patriarchal innocence and Western-defined empowerment through their victimhood.

2.3 Representations of Gender and Violence in Media

A number of scholars explore the relationship between gender relations and intrastate violence, transnational violence, or merely how gender norms and customs affect gender relations within war

schemes, abductions, physical violence and sexual violence during wartime. Erin Baines exposes how gender relations contributed to the specific ways that the LRA perpetrated violence in Northern Uganda, where the roles of girls and boys as abductees in the rebel force 'are differentiated on the basis of sex and gender expectations: young men are more likely to become active combatants and young women are more likely to become forced "wives" and mothers' (Baines, 2011: 477). But, Baines argues that gender relations do not fix girls' roles in conflict; rather, gender relations intersect with different structures of power, privilege, race, ethnicity, age or class in order that girls assume many different roles and forms of agency in conflict (Baines, 2011: 481). Baines states that 'personal stories that bear witness to violence move beyond Manichean tendencies of telling a story of such horrendous circumstances, shedding light into the "half tints and complexities" of a contemporary grey zone. As such, they are unparalleled sources of information about the operations of gender, power, violence, and human agency' (Baines, 2011, 483).

Susan McKay exposes how gender norms of girls in conflict, in turn, essentialize the roles of girls in conflict to sex slaves and child-bearers. In doing so, she complicates how gender norms interplay with girls' roles in conflict, suggesting that girls, though once victimized through their abductions, may also display 'resiliency, agency, and ability to resist- although usually not successfully- their oppressors' (McKay, 2005: 391). However, although McKay exposes tensions in applying gender norms to girls in conflict, her analysis of girls' agency in conflict is problematic. While she refrains from framing girls who are abducted into conflict as victims and, thus, reducing them to objects, she falsely attributes them true agency. While some girls may choose to perpetuate violence and remain with their respective rebel forces, they do not do so under conditions of absolute freedom and autonomy. The 'agency' the girls are attributed when they choose to remain with rebel forces, then, is an agency that is not free of oppression, but is one that is afforded to them with limitations. While McKay argues that some girls, in fact, volunteered themselves to the rebel forces, she ignores the structures that surround the girls' 'choice' to enter into conflict. Furthermore, this structurally embedded choice, with limited scope and oppressive boundaries, is made more apparent when it is compared to the choices of girls in Western societies who are not faced with the same structural circumstances that would lead them to 'voluntarily' join an armed group (McKay, 2005: 388). Alternatively, Roxanne Krystalli argues how instances of sexual violence and rape in wartime reflect deeper-rooted structural violence in governments, systems of oppression, global hegemony and the imperialism of Western-defined ideals on non-Western societies. She declares that strategic rape 'may also occur when it is perceived to be permissible within a system even when there is no direct order. Violence can be strategic at any level of the hierarchy; even at the individual level, there are strategic decisions about rape taken on the basis of gender, ethnicity, race, religion, or other factors' (Krystalli, 2014: 592). Therefore, analyzing the roles of girls in conflict requires ideologies to be unlearned and

preconceived gender norms to be complicated so that girls are not prescribed a homogenous set of circumstances that award them the same gendered roles in conflict.

The aforementioned theories about the development of girls in the Global South, postcolonial theories of feminism and theories of the representation of gender and conflict intersect with theories of media representation, which necessarily impact how girls are framed as victims of conflict. Shani Orgad argues, 'For many people, media representations are the main, if not the only, place that they come to know the world' (Orgad, 2012: 254). Media framing and representations contribute to the construction of girls under a Western concept of girlhood which ultimately silences them and perpetuates the hegemonic privileging of Western voices over non-Western voices. Kasey Butcher explains that assuming Western ideals of girlhood ignores certain aspects of the systematic and essentialist construction of girls as vulnerable girls, 'namely that their youth and their assumed innocence makes them more vulnerable to those who seek to manipulate or abuse them. On the other hand, by constructing the girls as innocents, those who represent the victims also largely ignore the voices of the girls ... themselves, leaving the job of telling their stories to adults, the media and the government' (Butcher, 2015: 403). Consequently, overlooking how constructions of girlhood are produced and maintained through narratives and discourses of girls in conflict allows systems of power to remain in place, while empowering some girls at the expense of oppressing others 'separated by something as arbitrary as a border' (Butcher, 2015: 418). Similarly, Helen Barents argues that the way narratives are framed reflect deeper implications of power that are bound in relationships between different economies, societies and political entities between the Global North and the Global South. She states that narratives that polarize the essence of girlhood between dichotomous attributes and agents 'are inextricably bound within, dependent on and reproduced by political and social economies of power, privilege, and presence on a transnational scale. The framings of girlhood as they manifest in the consumption by the Global North of stories from the Global South replicate and reinforce neocolonial narratives and consciousness' (Barents, 2016: 517). Barents' arguments can be applied to how media sources use narratives of girls as victims of conflict in order to justify their own ideologies and discourses of development, in general, of girlhood in the Global South, and of the need for Western intervention. Where girls' narratives are constructed by Western ideals and agendas, their portrayal attempts to draw a particular political response from audiences through assumptions and connotations about 'other' worlds and 'other' girls (Barents, 2016).

3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Although the literature presents themes that expose a Western agenda to develop girls in the Global South, the literature overlooks how these ideals of girlhood intersect with the power of media

conglomerates to dictate narratives of girls from the Global South in order to validate broader ideologies of the need for the development of the Global South to Western standards of progress, modernity and empowerment. Therefore, in my study, I will fuse frameworks of postcolonialism that exposes Western imperialism, postcolonial feminism that exposes the hegemony of White and Western women and media representations of victims' narratives that employ tropes of girlhood that frame girls from the Global South as the objects of Western development. First, Christopher Pawling defines postcolonialism,

which derives from Derrida and Foucault [and] criticizes western cultural theory as an "anthropocentric" discourse, in that it is centered on the narrative of Western Man who brings wisdom from outside to those "in ignorance" in the Third World. Hence, western power is bound up with a certain theory of knowledge or "epistemology", which is based on a particular "power-knowledge" relationship to the colonial Other who is deemed to be an inferior subject (Pawling, 2011: 143).

Therefore, applying a conceptual framework that exposes the dominance of the West in its colonization and oppression of the non-West reveals deeper insights about why the West intervenes in non-Western conflicts. Furthermore, a postcolonial feminist framework exposes why girls of the non-West become the objective interest of Western development. Finally, throughout the construction of the world's discourses, events and paradigms, there exists a Western imperialism that dominates, generally, the production of knowledge. If certain nations do not fall into a Western standard of development and progress, they are often cast into the periphery. The sharing and narrating of news occurs as a subset of this production of knowledge, where events are framed and information of those events is controlled according to Western interests, and through Western dominance of discourses and practices. Therefore, my study will draw from the aforementioned frameworks in order to analyze how the representation of victims and their stories by individuals from the West, groups or organizations from the West, or media platforms from the West impact upon the construction of knowledge surrounding these conflicts and girls themselves.

For this study, I selected two conflicts, girls' abductions by Boko Haram in Nigeria and the LRA in Uganda, in order to draw deeper parallels and oppositions about how theories of girlhood and development are imposed on various societies, groups and individuals within the Global South. Many scholars including Susan McKay argue that a growing interest in global girlhood has been illuminated by the work of international developmental organizations. Still, the experiences of girls are generally 'subsumed under the larger categories of "women" and "females" so that their presence in fighting forces has been shrouded, and girls have been widely perceived as lacking agency in perpetuating acts of terror' (McKay, 2005: 386-387). Finally, because media play an important role in

spreading and advancing developmental agendas, the framing of girls by powerful Western news conglomerates becomes essential to spreading discourses of Western development. As such, my study aims to examine the following research question:

What contradictory discourses are in evidence in representations of girls as victims of conflicts in the Global South by media outlets from the U.K. and the U.S.?

4 METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 Methodological Theories

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an important empirical approach for this study as it exposes 'existing social realities as humanly produced constraints' which undeniably impact human lives and amount to differing conditions within societies in an uneven global order (Fairclough, 2012: 10). Norman Fairclough describes how CDA is both normative and explanatory: evaluating the impact of social realities against a globally esteemed standard of values and principles and explaining how these constructs, events and realities exist both in tension with and intricately bound within structures, institutions or forces (Fairclough, 2012: 9). Encarnacion Hidalgo Tenorio defends how CDA challenges accepted social norms and conventional principles that structure the world's composition of societies by 'detecting, analysing, and also resisting and counteracting enactments of power abuse as transmitted in private and public speech' (Tenorio, 2011: 187). Furthermore, Chik Collins and Peter E. Jones declare that 'as an integral product of the real historical development of particular communities, discourse reveals traces of that development, of its twists and turns, and significant moments of change and reconstruction' (Collins and Jones, 2006: 53). CDA, then, recognizes how social contexts embedded in discourses partly structure a hierarchy of ideologies and practices that dominate how various nations and societies relate to one another and exist alongside one another. Specifically, CDA is concerned with the construction and manipulation of power. W. Phillips and M. W. Jørgensen assert that 'power does not belong to particular agents such as individuals or the state or groups with particular interests; rather, power is spread across different social practices. Power should not be understood as exclusively oppressive but as productive; power constitutes discourse, knowledge, bodies and subjectivities' (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 13). But, as a socially and contextually embedded empirical practice, CDA is not only concerned with what is said, but with what is silenced and excluded. Rosalind Gill argues that without an understanding of the social, political and cultural contexts of texts, analysts could not perceive of alternate versions of events or phenomena that narratives seek to depict. Without an understanding of how discourse is embedded in a complex relation of social, political and cultural constructs, analysts would be

incapable of noticing the impact of silence and the, often systematic, power in rendering some experiences, narratives and voices silent (Gill, 1996: 147).

As a complementary approach to this study, a thematic analysis necessarily substantiates the power relations, dominant social norms and hegemonic ideologies that are drawn out through discursive patterns. V. Braun and V. Clarke explain how a thematic analysis can be an essentialist or realist method, a constructionist method, or a fusion of the two, namely a contextual method. As a contextual method, it realizes how individuals construct meaning from their own experiences, but also how broader social conditions, structures and institutions impose on and affect the very construction of these meanings, simultaneously attributing significance to material limits of society (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 9). In another vein, a thematic analysis is a hybrid approach that combines inductive and deductive analysis. Recognizing the significance in both approaches, an inductive analysis allows researchers to signify phenomena through the process of interpretation, encoding information and developing themes that emerge from the data itself. However, before conducting an in-depth analysis, it is equally important for researchers to develop a template of codes derived from themes based on the research question and conceptual framework. In this way, researchers conduct a deductive analysis, testing preconceived theories and hypotheses (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006: 83).

4.2 Methodological Limitations

Many critiques of CDA condemn its lack of structure and rigidity and denounce it for not paying enough attention to historical tenets that structure discourse (Tenorio, 2011: 195; Collins and Jones, 2006: 52). Moreover, as a methodological approach, CDA is subjective, making it difficult for researchers to disregard their own biases and opinions in the processes of evaluating discursive patterns and searching for societal and heuristic implications (Janks, 1997: 330). As a result of the methodological limitations, Rosalind Gill argues that it is imperative for researchers to 'render the familiar strange,' or unlearn their own ideologies, which 'involves changing the way in which linguistic material tends to be seen, so that instead of seeing discourse as reflecting underlying social or psychological realities, the focus of interest shifts to the ways in which accounts are constructed and to the functions that they perform' (Gill, 1996: 144). In undertaking an authentically reflexive and transparent approach to the methodology of CDA, researchers become involved in the intimate interrogation of their own biases and in how their assumptions and upbringings have constructed their own worldviews (Gill, 1996: 145). It becomes essential, then, for researchers to assume a humble approach to CDA where they reflexively evaluate why they judge certain passages the way that they do and in what ways their own biases may frame the larger societal constructs they impose on the meaning of certain texts and narratives. For the purpose of my own study, I was made aware of how my own experiences in Northern Uganda, and how the relationships I formed with people in

Northern Uganda, framed the way I interpreted how Ugandans were represented in the news narratives selected for my study. I was also made aware of how familial, cultural, societal and educational institutions framed the worldviews I assumed while growing up in a Western society and how those views could be imposed on passages and larger narratives of victims' experiences in Global Southern conflicts.

4.3 Ethical Considerations

Since I was not dealing with human subjects, I acquired ethical approval from my supervisor and the Department of Media and Communications prior to conducting my analysis. In order to obtain a balance of ethical considerations throughout the analysis, I remained impartial, reflexive and transparent in my approach to the texts.

4.4 Research Design and Sampling

In order to draw out the significance of socially embedded constructs and the way discourses are framed and patterned to sustain dominant ideologies about girls as victims of conflict in Nigeria and Uganda, I conducted a methodology that combined both a contextual thematic analysis and a critical discourse analysis. Through this approach, I was able to draw out how structures of discourses are founded in and rely on overarching themes of Western imperialism, global norms of girlhood, Western ideals of modernity and development and othering. I chose to study two conflicts that, while exhibiting contextual and temporal differences, embody similarities within Global Southern societies that shed light on standards and principles that are purported as global norms by Western societies. While the peak of the LRA's abductions took place from the 1990s until merely a decade ago, Boko Haram's notorious abduction of schoolgirls occurred only three years ago. As such, these two conflicts, while different, evidence the social impact of representations of victims, especially those who are girls, in news narratives and the impact of individuals or groups from the West who assume the authority to narrate their experiences. Additionally, I chose to examine print news as opposed to news that was solely shared online since there still exists a strong imagined community around the consumption of feature news stories detailing conflicts around the world (Anderson, 1991; Thompson, 1995). I chose two platforms from the United Kingdom (UK) and two platforms from the United States (US). As a former colonial power, news platforms from the UK display deeply imbedded insinuations that justify UK intervention in both Nigerian and Ugandan conflicts. On the other hand, because of the dominant position of the US in global politics and economics, news platforms from the US display deeply embedded insinuations that justify US intervention in both Nigerian and Ugandan conflicts. Consequently, UK and US news platforms provide a diverse and comprehensive representation of Western imperialism in the development of the Global South, the appropriation of principles and norms of global girlhood and the framing of victims of conflict in

news reporting. Across both UK and US global media sources, I chose four platforms: *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. The news sources were selected, primarily, for their global and local influence on how audiences conceive of world events and conflict. In order to acquire a greater political representation, I balanced more left-leaning political stances from *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* with more centrist or less left-leaning political stances from *The Times* and *The Washington Post*. While *The Washington Post* is not as centrist as *The Times*, it still embodies a comparative difference to that of *The New York Times*. In order to indicate that, generally, a united Western ideal of girlhood exists and to examine how Western frameworks and discourses of development, modernity and empowerment construct narratives of victims from the Global South, it was necessary to acquire a politically balanced data set of news sources.

I implemented purposive sampling when selecting twenty-six news articles across the four news platforms. Since my study combines both an inductive and deductive thematic approach, but mainly derives from evaluating overarching themes that stem from the conceptual framework and research question, I applied theory-guided purposive sampling (Palys, 2008: 698). In selecting the articles for the data sample, I used the phrases 'Lord's Resistance Army' and 'Chibok schoolgirls' on LexisNexis UK and LexisNexis US sites. From each search across the two conflicts and four news platforms, I discarded news reports that merely covered the conflicts and intentionally selected news narratives that relayed the stories of girls who were abducted. I generally focused on long-form articles, selecting narratives for the majority of the study that spanned a 900-word to 5,000-word count. The results of my sampling process with a breakdown of which narratives dictated girls' abductions in Northern Uganda and which narratives relayed girls' abductions in Nigeria is attached in the appendices (Appendix 1).

I first conducted a contextual thematic analysis, using a coding frame derived from the conceptual framework and research question, which I provide in the appendices (Appendix 2). Analyzing the articles through this macro approach allows for a simultaneous evaluation of theory-driven assumptions and hypotheses and an evaluation of extreme or outlier cases in the data that substantiate the theories being tested. Ultimately, a thematic analysis allows for theories that are driven by Western dominated ideals and hegemonic discourses to be extracted from the data where discursive practices leave them excluded, omitted or hidden. After conducting a contextual thematic analysis which exposes competing, contradictory, or even corroborating discourses and themes across the dataset, I performed a critical discourse analysis which evidences how patterned discursive practices are essential in framing and constructing Western ideologies that purport certain narratives of Western imperialism, global girlhood, development and empowerment. For the purpose of my study, I modeled my approach after Thomas N. Huckins who distinguishes a macro and micro critical discourse analysis. First, he applies frameworks to the whole text, analyzing foregrounding and

backgrounding, framing, omission, manipulation, discursive differences, presupposition and genre. Second, he applies frameworks to the sentence level, analyzing the identification of agents versus patients, the deletion or omission of agents, insinuations, topicalization and presuppositions. Finally, he applies frameworks to words and phrases, analyzing register, modality and connotations (Huckin, 1997; Venizelos, 2017: 6).

5 ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Because the dataset was composed of news sources with different political and national leanings, the analysis exposes variances in how ideologies were presented across the various news platforms. For instance, some narratives from US sources were framed in light of certain national events, like the 9/11 terrorist attack in 2001 and the US declaration of war on terror thereafter. Consequently, the element of time and the national imaginary significantly affect the way these narratives are constructed and reported. However, the totality of the dataset purports the same major themes about Western ideals of development and empowerment, the subjugation of African traditionalism, the justification of Western intervention and activism, instances of othering, the re-victimization of girls as passive recipients of trauma, violence, shame and negligence, and general tropes of Western girlhood appropriated onto non-Western girls.

5.1 Western Modernity versus African ‘Traditionalism’ and ‘Backwardness’

A broader narrative that situates the narratives of girls in captivity by both Boko Haram and the LRA is one that contrasts Western modernity and African ‘traditionalism’, promoting ideals of Western progress, modernity and development at the expense of reprimanding ‘backwards’ cultures across the continent of Africa. The analysis indicates that the commendation of Western modernity and the subjugation of African traditionalism are made apparent in part through discursive difference. In certain instances, statistical evidence or expert opinion is mixed with generalizations which essentialize the continent of Africa to one culture and experience:

Unicef estimates that 250,000 children are suffering from severe and acute malnutrition, with a fifth at risk of dying if they do not receive treatment soon ... The World [Health] Organisation said this week that there were two cases of polio in Borno, in an area that became accessible only recently after being liberated from Boko Haram. There had not been a case of polio in Africa for two years and the continent was on track to be certified polio-free next year. (L, lines 69-70 and 72-74).

These remarks rely on the statistical evidence purported by major development organizations, Unicef and WHO and, thus, development discourses and ideologies that distinguish the developed, advanced and disease-free West from the 'other', here Nigeria.

The narratives of girls' abductions by Boko Haram and the LRA generally acclaim Western ideals of development and use framing and topicalization that foreground the amount of aid that the West gives to African communities. In referring to the LRA raids in Northern Uganda, the British government is given the authority to intervene from the amount of monetary aid it gives to Uganda:

The British Government has a stake in Uganda, having given about £740 million in aid to the Government there in the past two decades, which has helped to build up the country's health and education systems. So we are asking the British Government to speak up for almost two million people in northern Uganda who desperately need help and support. (J, lines 42-46).

Therefore, because of the aid the UK contributes, and because it was a former colonial power, it has donned itself authority to help resolve Uganda's conflict with the LRA and to dictate the future of Uganda's economic and political stability and the betterment of its society. But, while the UK credits itself with legitimacy to intervene in the conflict in Northern Uganda, the narrative omits the amount of money and resources that the UK and other Western powers exploit from Uganda each year. In addition to using monetary value to incentivize its image of modernity and progress, the analysis indicates other ideals that acclaim the advanced West at the expense of homogenizing an inferior Africa. One Western ideal that is continually topicalized through a Western paradigm that contrasts its modernity against Africa's "traditionalism" is that of normalcy. In a feature story by *The Washington Post*, Grace Akallo travels to Washington DC to address Congress regarding the US' role in the conflict in Northern Uganda. While addressing Congress, Representative Diane Watson from California asks her:

"Do you feel they'll ever be normal again? You've learned to use a gun to kill. And I'm wondering how we could really impact on that. And I thought maybe since you've gone on with your education you probably have insights that can help us as we try to help you and others like you." Grace responds, "Reclaiming a normal life takes more than for a child no longer a soldier. I'm going back home. I'm going back to a community that does not accept me. I'm going back to a community where there's no food," Grace explains. "I'm going back to a community that's terrible. Like, I'm used to now getting food from the people forcibly, but I'm going home and I don't have food. Now, how do I get normal again?" (V, lines 128-132 and 133-137).

Here, there is an explicit dichotomy between the advanced Western world and the war-torn African 'other.' There is a Western superiority which attempts to 'help' people who cannot attempt to help themselves and which attempts to understand and comprehend 'another world' distinguished by archaic morals and less progressive ideals of empowerment.

Throughout narratives describing both Boko Haram and LRA conflicts, African communities are generalized and essentialized to traditionalism and violence. The continual foregrounding of rituals among the rebel groups and histories of violence and hostility from both Uganda and Nigeria frame the conflicts as products of cultural backwardness. Moreover, insinuations of Western superiority are indicated through remarks that depict traditional, and sometimes archaic, family values and morals among Nigerian and Ugandan communities. As such, Western ideals of modernity and progress are sustained through the presentation of its superior knowledge and its esteemed way of life:

[Kony] has been helped by the traditional hostility of the Acholi people to the Kampala government and by terror tactics he appears to have learned in south Sudan, where he trains forces. Here, in the vast, lawless region that marks the border between black Africa and the Arab north, where there has been fighting for decades between different rebel militias and the Sudanese government, there has also been a history of child abduction. (A, lines 32-36).

Yet, as is so often the case in African conflicts, the death toll [in Nigeria] has become just another statistic and activists are fighting to keep the sect's atrocities in the public eye through online projects and art. (E, lines 36-38).

Raised by their traditional families to obey authority, particularly religious authority, the girls said they believed Kony's claim that he was "the Messiah – the true Jesus Christ," as Janet recalls. They described him as a "tall, handsome" man whom the rebels called father or Lakwena, the Acholi word for one who serves the holy spirit. Kony would chant for hours, at times waking them up in the middle of the night to lead them in prayers that interwove Christian, Muslim and tribal spiritual beliefs and superstitions. (O, lines 85-89).

In addition to insinuations to African culture, spirituality and customs, that amount to the essentialism of African traditionalism, certain discursive elements acclaim Western ideals of modernity and development at the expense of portraying African communities as less advanced and less developed. The analysis indicates the prioritization of Western ideals, experiences and knowledge, first, through legitimizing Western agents. Often, when Western experts are quoted in the narratives, their names appear alongside an accompanying title, casting their knowledge and expertise above the experiences of the subjects that the narrative attempts to articulate. Their

credentials also don an authority and legitimacy by which they make remarks about the development of African communities and suggest solutions to conflicts that do not involve the West. Second, a prioritization of Western ideals is foregrounded through the presentation of information. The analysis indicates that, generally, information, statistical evidence, biases and opinions are presented in both the introductory and concluding paragraphs of news narratives. This technique situates information that falls between these sections as subsidiary. Audiences, then, will most likely remember what is presented first and last in the narratives.

5.2 Call to Western Intervention

Following from the larger narrative of Western modernity that is appropriated onto various communities affected by both the Boko Haram and LRA raids in Nigeria and Uganda, the analysis indicates a call to Western intervention. Western intervention is tropicalized in a number of ways throughout the news narratives. Often, narratives incentivize Western intervention through foregrounding the monetary aid contributed to the Ugandan and Nigerian economies:

“The only way to solve this is the involvement of the international community. The British should take more interest, being the former colonial power.” But Britain, by far Uganda’s largest donor, has kept largely quiet about the unfolding humanitarian emergency. Like the United States, Britain- which last year gave Uganda almost Pounds 70 million in aid- instead praises Uganda’s relative success in fighting Aids and Mr. Museveni’s enthusiastic implementation of the World Bank’s free market economic policies. When President Bush visited Uganda last week, the subject was not on the agenda. (H, lines 83-90).

Here, the conflict in Northern Uganda is depicted, in part, due to the neglect of Western powers to intervene and to rescue helpless communities subjected to the continual destruction of a rebel group incited by a corrupt and negligent government. Regarding the conflict with Boko Haram, the analysis indicates that remarks generally allude to Western intervention through superior knowledge of rehabilitation:

The priority, it seemed, was not to protect her from unwanted attention after her ordeal but to make her the center of it ... Buhari’s government has been criticized by the Washington-based ngo Refugees International, which told ABC News that Nkeki should be getting immediate care for rape and psychological counseling, rather than being forced into making public appearances. (E, lines 38-39 and 45-47).

Through these remarks, the West is hailed as the hero, purporting a narrative where Western aid could have helped women who were subjected to abduction and communities that were raided by Boko Haram had it not been for the negligence of the Nigerian government. Moreover, the analysis indicates that Western programs that center on approaches of rehabilitation also purport 'decradicalization', an objective that perpetuates a Western view on terrorism seen through a Manichean lens of good versus evil. In addition to rehabilitation and deradicalization programs, Western interventionist approaches are also indicated by suggestions and insinuations that praise dominant Western education:

War Child ... was helping children who had been abducted to return to education. It has designed an "accelerated learning" programme to allow them to catch up ... War Child has helped 2,000 children like Helen where it is one of the few charities operating. With better funding it can help more. (K, lines 40-42 and 49-51).

Western intervention is also topicalized through the activism of Western governments or civil society groups, often purporting Western ideals of development. Discursive foregrounding displays Western agents as the heroes of undeveloped communities subject to poverty, destruction, violence and corruption:

... as Samantha Power, the United States ambassador to the United Nations, toured the camp, she was confronted by hundreds of those women and girls, standing over coal pots, sitting on mats, playing with babies. Ms. Power, who has been touring the region most affected by Boko Haram this week, promised them that President Obama had not forgotten them, that the United States would not rest until all the thousands of women believed to have been kidnapped by Boko Haram have been freed. (R, lines 11-15).

These remarks embody developmental agendas from the West. The analysis suggests that developmental agendas are imposed on the recipients of those agendas from the donors, as personal as individual activists and as corporate as Western governments, who, along with their financial privilege, dictate the wants and needs of the recipients. In addition to financial power, developmental agendas are fueled through Western activism:

On April 29, people across the United States marched in a "Night Commute" to shed light on the plight of children in northern Uganda. In Washington, about 1,200 people camped in a plaza down the street from the Capitol. They crept on the ground, drew pictures and wrote letters to President Bush to ask the U.S. government to appoint a peace negotiator in

Uganda ... "Me and a few other guys went to northern Uganda in 2003 and made this movie. What we found inspired us to make a difference." (V, lines 33-36 and 39-40).

Here, the enlightenment of Western activists enables them to derive solutions for conflicts on another continent. The activism of Western agents actively victimizes the Ugandan and Nigerian governments, the communities affected by raids from Boko Haram and the LRA and, ultimately, the children, specifically girls, who are abducted and physically and sexually abused by the rebel groups.

5.3 Framing the 'Other'

From discourses that prioritize Western ideals, experiences and knowledge above those belonging to other communities throughout the world, various identities are presented as the 'other' throughout the news narratives. The analysis first suggests an instance of othering through discursive framing that polarizes the experiences of boys and those of girls. Through discursive and thematic framing, gender norms are topicalized in the articulation of women and girls' narratives as victims of Boko Haram and LRA abductions:

Nearly all the girls have sexually-transmitted diseases. Boys under 18 do not: concubines are an officers' perk. (B, lines 242-243).

The worst affected, however, are young boys taken at 12 and quickly turned into seasoned killers. Victims of rebel raids describe them laughing into the night. (B, lines 252-253).

The girls told me they had been given to rebel commanders as "wives" and forced to bear them children. The boys said they had been forced to fight, to walk for days knowing they would be killed if they showed any weakness, and in some cases forced even to murder their family members. (J, lines 10-13).

On the road to Gulu, Innocent Opinonya, 14, walked gracefully and with perfect posture. Also walking, but with her back hunched over and her shoulders folded into her body, was his sister Prossy Atimango, who was just 16 but seemed 60. (W, lines 27-29).

In a narrative by *The Washington Post* that contrasts and compares the experiences of Innocent, as a boy, to those of his sister Prossy and of other girls, the children's descriptions reflect dichotomous and polarized gender norms: one highlighting a boy's 'perfect posture' and poise and the other framing a girl's shame, guilt and weakness. Throughout the narrative, Innocent is given agency and his leadership is a central aspect of a storyline that foregrounds the assimilation and empowerment

of a boy, who escaped captivity, at the expense of subjecting the experiences of girls who are continually re-victimized through shame and disempowerment. Generally, the analysis suggests that gender norms are used in a way that reduces the experiences of children in captivity in order to substantiate broader claims and ideologies of modernity, development, terrorism and empowerment. One narrative by *The Guardian* employs gender norms in order to radicalize the experience of a girl soldier who assumed certain aspects of the rebel force:

Others resign themselves to rebel living because they feel their life has been ruined. The attacks on Gulu secondary schools last year were largely the work of a former student of Sacred Heart School, abducted in 1989, who told her victims that she did not see why they should study when she had suffered. (B, lines 249-251).

However, her choice is reduced to tropes of girlhood, framing her unconventional decision as a reaction to her loss of educational opportunity.

Another occurrence of othering that employs gender norms distinguishes younger women and girls from older women. Here, tropes of girlhood are contrasted against gender norms that frame older women as weak, used-up, unproductive to society, and undesirable:

Fatimah Hassan was sitting on a mat on the ground. For four months last year her village was occupied by Boko Haram. But "I was not raped," said Ms. Hassan, 51, "I am an old woman. They wanted the girls." (R, lines 31-32).

Alternatively, the analysis indicates that othering in age occurs between girls themselves, where younger girls are also distinguished from older girls. Here, the analysis suggests that older girls embody more desirable characteristics and qualities for commander husbands:

"The commander gave us husbands, except for the young ones, those below 13," said one former child soldier. "But from 13 onwards, we were all given as wives ..." (I, lines 17-18).

Throughout the analysis, the distinction between the ages of the girls essentializes aspects of girlhood that allow for some girls to be desirable to the rebel force as a whole, and to men as commander husbands, while subjugating girls who do not possess those traits.

A second instance of othering distinguishes both the Nigerian government and military and the Ugandan government and military from the respective rebel forces of Boko Haram and the LRA:

Between 5,000 and 8,000 children have been conscripted in the past three years, according to Amnesty International ... [T]he organisation says children are being tortured, murdered and trained by the LRA to fight government troops. (I, lines 8-11).

When Nigeria's president, Muhammadu Buhari, took power in May 2015, he vowed to crush Boko Haram within a year. While his forces have taken back large amounts of territory from the group, it has remained active, killing hundreds of people in suicide bombings. (G, lines 24-27).

Six years ago, Nigerian security forces clashed violently with Boko Haram members, and the group has been waging unremitting war against the federal government ever since. It recently declared allegiance to the Islamic State, also known as ISIS or ISIL, and its successes over the years contributed substantially to the defeat of the incumbent president of Nigeria, Goodluck Jonathan, in a March election. Thousands have been killed in Boko Haram's war against the Nigerian state, often characterized by the indiscriminate slaughter of civilians. (Q, lines 43-48).

These remarks reflect a foregrounding of both governments warring against the rebel forces. The analysis suggests that, often, the abductions of girls is topicalized in a way that does not frame the experiences of girls as inherently important, but useful insofar as they reflect the competency and responsibility of their respective governments. The narratives framed around the abductions of girls, then, are used constructively in a larger narrative that attempts to either acclaim or reprimand the Ugandan and Nigerian governments, usually according to Western ideals of democracy, modernity, progress and development.

A third instance of othering polarizes Christianity and Islam or, similarly, contrasts Western ideals of culture and religion against those of Islamic societies:

Boko Haram's campaign to impose a medieval Islamic caliphate on Africa's most populous nation has killed more than 3,000 this year ... There is little to laugh at in a group whose methods include burning sleeping schoolchildren, but absurdities abound. The sect, who sometimes lit victims throats to save on bullets, is against western education, "along with the ideologies of America, England, France, China, and the whole world," its leader Abubakar Shekau said in his most recent video. (F, lines 35-36 and 42-45).

Boko Haram, whose name translates as "western education is forbidden", last year pledged allegiance to Islamic State. (L, lines 46-48).

But the men were not wasting time on indoctrination on this night. That would come later, as evidenced by the video released this week, in which the girls who did not escape were seen mechanically chanting verses from the Quran. (P, lines 55-56).

Publicly, Boko Haram members decry the tyranny of Nigeria's federal government, which is mostly Christian in a nation where Muslims, nearly half of the population, have long complained about being marginalized. The militants rail against secular education and demand strict Islamic observance. The group has declared allegiance to the Islamic State. (X, lines 53-55).

Through these remarks, the analysis indicates that the Nigerian government's war against Boko Haram is prominent throughout narratives of girls' abductions. The analysis, again, suggests that the girls' abductions is purposed narratively, discursively and thematically in order to make insinuations about Islam or Islamic communities and to generalize terrorism and reduce it to Islamic roots. Thus, as the narratives topicalize the girls' abductions by Boko Haram in order to insinuate that Islam and Islamic communities are inherently evil due to their implied ties to terrorism, they allow themselves to make larger claims about a Western offence on global terrorism and Western intervention in nations affected by terrorism where incompetent governments do not possess enough authority to act effectively.

A fourth occurrence of othering that recurs throughout the narratives distinguishes both the Chibok girls in Nigeria and the St. Mary's girls in Uganda:

Kony prized the St. Mary's girls above the other abductees, keeping them closely guarded and telling them they would one day be his ministers when he took over the Ugandan government. In the meantime, however, he gave them as wives to commanders. (O, lines 95-97).

In a feature story by *The New York Times*, a chairman of a local governmental agency distinguished the abductions of the Chibok girls, which gained global media attention, to those of women and girls from the beginning of Boko Haram's presence in Nigeria. He claims that the Chibok girls' mass abduction:

"[does not] even represent 0.1 percent, not even 0.1 percent, of the entire abduction of girls" ... Reports provided to the Nigerian government estimate that up to 9,000 women and girls have been abducted since the start of Boko Haram's insurgency. Mr. Ahmad believes that at

least 13,000 more are unaccounted for, and likely even more from areas that are too dangerous to assess. (T, lines 37-41).

The distinction of both groups of girls suggests that they embody certain attributes of girlhood that appeal to Western interests and ideologies of development, femininity and empowerment.

5.4 Girls as passive recipients

The girls who have been abducted by Boko Haram and the LRA constitute one distinct group that is often presented as the 'other' in the data set. The analysis suggests that girls, as victims, are often portrayed as passive recipients of the actions of their abductors, of trauma, tragedy and abuse, of the shaming of their communities, of the neglect of their governments and of the development schemes of Western organizations and agents. First, the analysis indicates that girls' abductions are often topicalized in order to make a larger claim about their incompetent and irresponsible governments. Girls as victims, then, are reduced to objects that attempt to prove a point about the neglect of their governments and the need for Western intervention:

The government has been at war with the radical Islamist group Boko Haram for years, but the accounts of the girls who escaped show how easily the group was able to overrun a state institution in a region already under emergency rule. (P, lines 15-16).

The release of the 82 girls was a significant victory in the Nigerian government's fight against Boko Haram. Its campaign under President Muhammadu Buhari has diminished the group so substantially that officials were unconcerned about releasing five detained Boko Haram commanders in exchange for the girls. (S, lines 16-18).

The analysis indicates that, often, girls' accounts do not shed light on their own experiences, but substantiate biases that feed dominant ideologies of terrorism. For instance, girls are often seen as objects or pawns in the government's negotiations with Boko Haram. They are framed as an essential part of the Nigerian government's victory over Boko Haram, but merely as parts of the plan.

Additionally, the analysis indicates that the girls' experiences in captivity and their rehabilitation after escaping from captivity are used objectively in order for Western ideals of enlightenment and modernity to confound tropes of global terrorism:

The 1996 raid on St. Mary's briefly brought world attention to a vicious civil war that has played out in the remote reaches of northern Uganda since the mid-1980's. But the Lord's

Resistance Army, the rebel movement responsible, has continued to abduct and kill – at a rate that American officials say makes other terrorist groups across the world seem tame. (N, lines 8-11).

When she finally spoke, Ogebe and Ezi Mecha- an American of Nigerian descent helping the girls transition into U.S. culture- stood on either side to steady and hug her. At the end of her brief remarks, Patience delivered a message of forgiveness. The Boko Haram extremists don't know that they are doing wrong, she said. If only they knew God maybe that would make them stop. So, she said, "pray for Boko Haram" (Z, lines 60-64).

In this *Washington Post* narrative, Patience is used in a ploy to turn terrorist groups like Boko Haram into the victims of Western enlightenment, superior knowledge and progressive culture. From Patience's words, the rest of the world is enticed to offer sympathy for Boko Haram who does not know any better. These remarks suggest that the rest of the world use their enlightenment, modernity and intellect to pity the backward and wayward ways of terrorist groups. Furthermore, girls as victims of abductions are also used as passive objects in order to legitimize and justify a Western stance on immigration:

It may be that Mary and Ella would not be arrested and persecuted if returned to Uganda, though there are reports from human rights organisations that returning asylum seekers in Kampala have been detained and ill-treated by the security forces. But there is a more important question to be addressed first: is this the way for Britain to treat a terrified, young woman, a victim of torture and multiple rape, and her two-year-old daughter? (C, lines 95-99).

In this narrative by *The Guardian*, Mary's experience as a survivor of abduction and of rape, by both the LRA and the Ugandan military, is used as a persuasive ploy to legitimize the UK's stance on immigration and the government's disarray of an asylum system.

But, when the girls are not used as passive objects that acclaim Western action against terrorism and Western knowledge that purports a undisputable stance on immigration, they become the victims of their own rehabilitation and reintegration into society:

Some of the more than 2,000 women and children rescued after being abducted by the jihadists are facing the new challenge of being stigmatised in the displaced persons' camps they now have to call home. Many of the women were forced into marriage or sexual slavery, part of a perverse plot to breed a generation of fighters. (M, lines 9-12).

Their stories are always the same: abduction, death, terrifying escapes ... Girls who have children by rebel commanders often assimilate into the rebel movement. Others resign themselves to rebel living because they feel their life has been ruined ... Families have to welcome back adolescents who, a few months earlier, may have been murdering or looting ... "Sometimes they are not welcomed back because of the bad things they did." (B, lines 245, 248-249, 259-260, 261-262).

Discursively, the girls themselves, as well as their experiences in captivity, are generalized and essentialized into a trap of victimization that does not allow them to amount to more than helpless objects in need of saving. Their experiences are generalized alongside other girls' experiences while Western agents, organizations and governments are named as responsible and active. While the girls are framed discursively as recipients of actions of other agents, whether evil, benign, or benevolent, their Western counterparts are not only named and legitimized through their accomplishments, titles and roles, but they are placed discursively as the subject purporting most, if not all, actions.

5.5 Discourses of Western girlhood

The aforementioned themes presented in the analysis substantiate and amount to discourses and tropes of Western girlhood that are appropriated to non-Western girls. The analysis indicates that certain ideals of Western girlhood are continually foregrounded. First, the analysis suggests that girls are continually framed by descriptions that highlight their femininity, purity, innocence, gentleness and docility:

They are in their mid-20's now and burdened by children they were raped to bear; yet as they showed me around Lira or journeyed to Caroline's ancestral village ... they often seemed like the schoolgirls they once were. They are pretty, polite, docile and devout, their personalities blending like their dresses, and it was hard to imagine that they were recently guerrilla girls, as some terrified villagers used to call them. (O, lines 22-26).

In this passage, the girls are framed with powerful connotations that essentialize them as nothing more than 'docile' objects. The docility of girls is generally used as descriptive evidence in order to prove a larger point about the negligence of both the Ugandan and Nigerian governments, more specifically, and the need for development in non-Western regions, more broadly. However, the analysis reveals that when the descriptions of girls are compared to those of boys, tropes of docility, purity, innocence and gentleness clash with descriptions of boys as ambitious, driven and resilient. Framing girls as victims of their own attributes, allows news narratives to use them as victims in order to reprimand their governments, their communities, their nations and their cultures that allow

for violence to occur. For instance, a narrative by *The New York Times* reveals vast differences in the way that Grace, a former LRA captive, and Sam, an aid worker, are framed and identified. While Sam is described, as 'an ambitious, upright young man in a starched white shirt who betrayed just a touch of pride in his authority,' (O, lines 42-43), the girls are often made subservient through descriptions that re-victimize them and portray them as wounded, helpless, tragic and in need of saving. The narrative also describes an encounter between Grace and Sam, who knew each other as children:

He gaped at her. "I'm sorry," he said. But his sorriness seemed tinged with horror, as if to say: I'm sorry you were a killer and a sex slave. I'm sorry you are not the innocent Christian virgin you were raised to be and I was raised to want. I'm sorry. (O, lines 50-52).

The physical manifestations of both Grace and Sam are slanted in order for the author, and narrative as a whole, to confirm biases of girls' experiences as freed captives. The analysis indicates that, often, narratives make insinuations that girls derive their worth from the maintenance of their purity and innocence, and that their communities, their nations, and the supervising Western world, in turn, judge their value depending on the maintenance of Western values of girlhood. The girls are continually topicalized as victims- victims of abduction, physical violence, torture, rape, shame and humiliation, judgment and stigmatization and of the success or failure of their communities situated in the throes of conflict and violence.

Additionally, the analysis reveals that educational drive and achievement recur as major solutions to the trauma the girls endured while they were in captivity.

While training to become a counselor at university, Akello had to undergo a number of tests to assess whether her time in the bush had affected her behaviour. After calculating her test scores, the university counselor pronounced her an amazing woman. It's hard to disagree. (D, lines 76-78).

The closing remarks of Akello's narrative by *The Guardian* depict a Western judged, evaluated and evidenced assessment of Polline's girlhood- affirming strength, resilience and intelligence despite her 'unimaginable' and horrific 'ordeal'. In addition to educational achievement, girls are again reduced to the ideals and attributes they possess, this time, alluding to their career aspirations so long as they align with Western ideals of success, achievement, modernity and development:

"I will be a tailor," she said. Around her, smoke curled from a not-quite-damped fire. Temperatures climbed to 101 degrees. Members of the American delegation were mopping sweat from around their eyes as they trooped to the next stop on their tour. Mummy Ibrahim

looked at their departing backs, smiling. Then she corrected herself. "A businesswoman, I mean. I will be a businesswoman." (R, lines 62-66).

Here, girls display empowerment when they possess educational or career aspirations that achieve Western approval. However, the analysis indicates that, often, girls are either acclaimed or reprimanded according to the Western influenced ideals and ambitions they possess. For instance, if girls attain a certain educational status, they are depicted as empowered, ambitious and intelligent. But, if girls are forced to, or decide to, drop out of school due to trauma they endured in captivity, they are depicted as victims and they are often framed through negative connotations and condescending insinuations that their lives will never amount to what they could be with a 'proper' Western education:

She wants to give Harriett a chance to finish school, something she was never able to do. She wants Harriett to have a normal life, an aspiration that for now seems possible because government forces have secured the region ... "... I feel that she should just grow up among the children here and feel that she is a sister to the children who are here. Nothing else." (U, lines 46-48 and 50-51).

Furthermore, Western ideals of education and achievement are framed as 'normal' and, therefore, embody a global norm of empowerment. The analysis indicates that ideals of a 'normal life' are continually topicalized, especially when they refer to girls growing up under simplicity, purity, innocence and normality, that is purported by Western values and ideologies imposed and appropriated onto non-Western societies.

6 CONCLUSION

Through a contextual thematic analysis, this study drew overarching themes that exposed how news sources privilege Western knowledge, epistemologies, ideologies and experiences over its non-Western counterparts. Through an additional critical discourse analysis, this study evidenced how discursive practices substantiate these broader themes, elevating the expertise and opinions of Western agents and organizations while silencing the very voices that these individuals or groups attempted to uncover through reporting on the abductions of girls by Boko Haram in Nigeria and the LRA in Uganda. The analysis indicated various themes that were theoretically balanced and challenged in the literature review, while exposing discourses that articulated the attributes girls should possess in order to achieve Western purported ideals of development, empowerment, independence and agency. Furthermore, the analysis evidenced how accounts of girls' abductions

were used in order for Western news conglomerates to authenticate their own constructions of conflicts in what they deem to be an undeveloped world.

This study could be further adapted to include narratives from news sources that derive from Nigeria and Uganda themselves. As such, creating a space in order to explore notions of girlhood from media representations of victims of conflicts from the Global South through Global Southern narratives would more comprehensively expose hierarchies within Western feminism that are detrimental to non-Western women and girls across the globe.

As such, the way news is constructed holds unparalleled weight for individuals who cannot travel in time or across geographic boundaries to bear witness to how conflicts shape and construct the experiences of girls throughout different parts of the world. Conflict reporting, then, becomes the primary way by which these audiences learn of these conflicts and of the ways they construct and shape the lives of those affected. When girls are used merely as a narrative ploy in order to substantiate broader claims about their underdevelopment, their victimization, or the neglect and corruption of their governments and cultures, the normativity of storytelling, and the powerful element of storytelling itself, are threatened. Thus, the articulation of girls' narratives as victims of conflict is significant because their very representation allows the watching world to imagine their experiences, often stripping them of their worth and devaluing their impact on the construction of knowledge surrounding the conflicts they are imposed in. When their narratives are altered, their experiences are diminished. When their voices are silenced, their worth is made expendable to the inconsequential achievements of Western ambition.

While in Uganda, I met a girl named Lucy. During the LRA's heightened presence in Gulu, and after the loss of her parents, Lucy sold herself into sex trafficking in order to care for her siblings. If Lucy's narrative was to be told in order to garner empathy for a community framed as helpless, archaic and in need of a heroic Western rescuer, her experiences would be depleted of all the complexities, atrocities, offences, vulnerabilities and acts of courage that amount to the significance of her narrative. If Lucy's story was to be told for the advantage or prestige of any other individual or group other than herself, the implications and impact of her story would be void. Lucy's narrative harnesses an authority that delivers imagery and discursive messages to a world that is not directly exposed to her conflict. Moreover, narratives like Lucy's are passed to the hands of media that may either dictate those narratives in ways that substantiate and justify their own ideologies, values and power, or in ways that represent their subjects' experiences in a complex, unsimplified and unbridled authenticity and transparency to a world that would not know them otherwise.

REFERENCES

- Abubakar, A. (2014, April 16). As many as 200 girls abducted by Boko Haram, Nigerian officials say. *CNN*. Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/04/15/world/africa/nigeria-girls-abducted/>
- Akinwotu, E. (E). (2016, May 23). How Chibok schoolgirl's private ordeal is being preyed on in public; Rather than being given time to grieve and recover, 19-year-old has become the subject of political point-scoring and a media circus. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5JV7-98F1-JCY-G4R5&csi=242772&oc=00240&perma=true>
- Amos, V. and Parmar, P. (1984). Challenging Imperial Feminism. *Feminist Review* 17, 3-19.
- Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Community: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.
- Baines, E. (2011). Gender, Responsibility, and the Grey Zone: Considerations for Transnational Justice. *Journal of Human Rights* 10(4), 477-493.
- Banet-Weiser, S. (2015). 'Confidence you can carry!': girls in crisis and the market for girls' empowerment organizations. *Continuum* 29(2), 182-193.
- Banet-Weiser, S. and Miltner, K. M. (2016). #MasculinitySoFragile: culture, structure, and networked misogyny. *Feminist Media Studies* 16(1), 171-174.
- Bennett, R. (K). (2011, Dec 7). Abducted and forced to marry a crazed warlord - but I survived; Christmas Appeal Rosemary Bennett in Uganda on War Child, a British charity helping abducted children return to school. *The Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=54DV-4F41-JCC9-V4GT&csi=242772&oc=00240&perma=true>
- Bent, E. and Switzer, H. (2016). Oppositional Girlhoods and the Challenge of Relational Politics. *Gender Issues* 33, 122-147.
- Berents, H. (2016). Hashtagging girlhood: #IAmMalala, #BringBackOurGirls and gendering representations of global politics. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 18(4), 513-527.
- Borzello, A. (B). (1997, Oct 11). KIDNAPPED TO KILL; Thousands of schoolchildren have been snatched from their villages in north Uganda to be used as hostage-soldiers by a fanatically religious rebel army. But it was one courageous group of convent girls, pressganged a year ago, who have brought their plight to the attention of the world - including the Pope. A handful who escaped

told Anna Borzello of their terrifying ordeal. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=3TD8-NP30-002D-6235&csi=242772&oc=00240&perma=true>

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3(2), 77-101. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>

Brenner, J. (2003). Transnational Feminism and the Struggle for Global Justice. *The WSF: Challenging Empires*, 25-34.

Brown, D. L. (V). (2006, May 10). A Child's Hell in the Lord's Resistance Army; Years After

She Escaped Ugandan Rebels, Grace Akallo Fights to End a War. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=4JXF-S670-TW87-N2CF&csi=140954&oc=00240&perma=true>

Butcher, K. (2015). Constructing girlhood, narrating violence: Desert Blood, If I Die in Juárez, and "Women of Juárez". *Latino Studies* 13(3), 402-420.

Clayton, J. (H). (2003, Jul 19). 'They tied me up and hacked off my lips'. *The Times*. <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=493N-9JN0-00GN-Y548&csi=242772&oc=00240&perma=true>

Cobbett, M. (2014). Beyond 'victims' and 'heroines': Constructing 'girlhood' in international development. *Progress in Development Studies* 14(4), 309-320.

Collins, C. and Jones, P. E. (2006). Analysis of Discourse as 'a Form of History Writing': A

Critique of Critical Discourse Analysis and an Illustration of a Cultural-Historical Alternative. *Atlantic Journal of Communication* 14(1&2), 51-69. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15456870.2006.9644769>

Connell, R. (2011). Gender And Social Justice: Southern Perspectives. *South African Review of Sociology* 42(3), 103-115.

Cooper, H. (R). (2016, Apr 23). Women Who Fled Boko Haram Tell of Horror and,

Sometimes, Hope. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5JKT-H8J1-DXY4-X12D&csi=140954&oc=00240&perma=true>

de la Cruz, B. (U). (2008, Jul 29). Moving Past Life as a Rebel Slave; Young Ugandan Woman

Cares for Daughter Born in Captivity. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=4T3D-1J10-TW87-N04P&csi=140954&oc=00240&perma=true>

Denselow, R. (A). (1996, Aug 13). INSIDE STORY: THE DEVIL'S BRIDES; They swoop to kill

villagers and snatch youngsters. The girls are married off and raped. Their abductors are the Lord's Resistance Army. Their victims say they are doing the Devil's work. Robin Denselow reports from northern Uganda. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=3TBC-XS30-006X-B2W0&csi=242772&oc=00240&perma=true>

Dosekun, S. (2015). For Western Girls Only? *Feminist Media Studies* 15(6), 960-975.

Fairclough, N. (2012). Critical discourse analysis. In Gee, J. P. and Handford, M. (Eds.), *The*

Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis, 9-20. London, UK and New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Group

Faul, M. (Y). (2015, May 4). Former captives of Boko Haram recount frightening rescue. *The*

Washington Post. Retrieved from EBSCOhost, [libproxy.chapman.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,uid&db=bwh&AN=wapo.cc562958-f1d3-11e4-b2f3-af5479e6bbdd&site=eds-live](http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,uid&db=bwh&AN=wapo.cc562958-f1d3-11e4-b2f3-af5479e6bbdd&site=eds-live).

Ford, L. (D). (2015, Oct 9). Poline Akello: 'Kony commanded someone to look after me ... I

was lucky'; Abducted by the Lord's Resistance Army at 12, Poline Akello was feared dead by her parents. Yet she survived the ensuing ordeal and is now a celebrated humanitarian and budding human rights lawyer. Hers is a remarkable story. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5H3V-7NC1-F021-650N&csi=242772&oc=00240&perma=true>

Gill, R. (1996). Discourse analysis: Practical implementation. In Richardson, J. T. E. (Ed.),

Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for Psychology and the Social Sciences, 141-158. Oxford and Malden: Blackwell.

Gill, R. (2012). Media, Empowerment and the 'Sexualization of Culture' Debates. *Sex Roles* 66, 736-745.

GlobalSecurity.org (2016, Dec 15). The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). Retrieved from

<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/lra.htm>

Hains, R. C. (2012). *Growing Up with Girl Power: Girlhood On Screen and in Everyday Life*, 15.

New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

Huckin, T. N. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In Miller, T. (Ed.), *Functional Approaches to*

Written Text: Classroom Applications, 87-101. Washington, D.C.: United States Information Agency.

Invisible Children (2012, Mar 5). *KONY 2012* [Video File]. Retrieved from

<https://youtu.be/Y4MnpzG5Sqc>

Janks, H. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 18(3), 329-342. doi: 10.1080/0159630970180302

Kelly, J. (M). (2016, Feb 27). Boko rape victims face baby stigma. *The Times*. Retrieved from

<https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5J5W-1541-DY9P-N179&csi=242772&oc=00240&perma=true>

Kelly, J. (L). (2016, Aug 15). Kidnapped Nigerian girls in video plea for freedom; Nigeria. *The*

Times. Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5KG3-WHW1-DY9P-N4NG&csi=242772&oc=00240&perma=true>

Koffman, O. and Gill, R. (2013). 'the revolution will be led by a 12-year-old girl': girl power and global biopolitics. *Feminist Review* 105, 83-102.

Krystalli, R. (2014). Deconstructing the 2012 Human Security Report: Examining narratives on wartime sexual violence. *International Journal* 69(4), 574-593.

Lacey, M. (N). (2004, Oct 10). Escape From Rebels Leads To a Reunion in Uganda. *The New*

York Times. Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=4DHF-6JPO-TW8F-G307&csi=140954&oc=00240&perma=true>

Leiby, M. L. (Z). (2015, Apr 14). The girls who ran from Boko Haram. *The Washington Post*.

Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5FRV-BFT1-JBFW-C2F9&csi=140954&oc=00240&perma=true>

Maclean, R. (G). (2016, Aug 14). Boko Haram releases video appearing to show Chibok

schoolgirls; About 50 girls are seen behind a Boko Haram militant, who demands the release of fighters in return for freeing the girls. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from

<https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5KFY-WFS1-F021-618X&csi=242772&oc=00240&perma=true>

Mark, M. (F). (2014, Oct 15). Half a year on, Chibok nightmare continues: Missing Nigerian

girls back in spotlight, but activists face growing public apathy. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from

<https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5DC9-41W1-JC8W-64XD&csi=242772&oc=00240&perma=true>

McKay, S. (2005). Girls as 'Weapons of Terror' in Northern Uganda and Sierra Leonean Rebel Fighting Forces. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28, 385-397.

- Mirren, H. (J). (2005, Nov 26). 'I asked what happened to her. She just stared at the ground'. *The Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=4HN8-T790-TX38-S14N&csi=242772&oc=00240&perma=true>
- Mohanty, C. T. (1991). Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses. *Third World women and the politics of feminism*, 51-80.
- Moorhead, C. (C). (2006, Jun 9). : G2: Soft target: In her home country of Uganda, Mary was raped, tortured and imprisoned. She also lost all her loved ones. The Home Office told her she would be safe in Britain - until the panic over immigrants released from jail changed its mind. Caroline Moorehead reports. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=4K4W-WK90-TX37-G1XR&csi=242772&oc=00240&perma=true>
- Nossiter, A. (P). (2014, May 15). Tales of Escaped Girls Add to Worries in Nigeria. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5C6M-96J1-DXY4-X510&csi=140954&oc=00240&perma=true>
- Nossiter, A. (Q). (2015, May 19). Former Captives in Nigeria Tell of Mass Rapes. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5G19-H211-JBG3-633K&csi=140954&oc=00240&perma=true>
- Olka-Onyango, J. and Tamale, S. (1995). "The Personal Is Political," or Why Women's Rights Are Indeed Human Rights: An African Perspective on International Feminism. *Human Rights Quarterly* 17(4), 691-731.
- Orgad, S. (2012). Media representation and the global imagination. Cambridge, U.K.: Polity
- Orr, D. (I). (1997, Sep 19). Ugandan rebels 'use children as sex slaves'. *The Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=3SV3-50Y0-008G-H38N&csi=242772&oc=00240&perma=true>
- Palys, T. (2008). Purposive sampling. In Given, L. M. (Ed.), *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods 2*, 697-698. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Pawling, C. (YEAR). Debating Contemporary Postcolonial Theory: The Limitations of a Culturalist Approach. In Brunt, R. and Cere, R. (Eds.), *Postcolonial Media Culture in Britain*, 142-155. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Phillips, L. and Jørgensen, M. W. (2002). The field of discourse analysis. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, 1-23. London, UK; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi, India: Sage.
- Roberts, C. and Connell, R. (2016). Feminist theory and the global South. *Feminist Theory*

17(2), 135-140.

Said, E., (1995). *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. Harmondsworth, U.K.:

Penguin

Sawab, I. and Searcey, D. (S). (2017, May 13). Chibok Schoolgirls, Freed From Boko Haram,

Still Face a Long Road Home. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5NHX-8SV1-DXY4-X101&csi=140954&oc=00240&perma=true>

Sieff, K. (X). (2016, Apr 4). Freed from Boko Haram, still enslaved by fear. *The Washington*

Post. Retrieved from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5JFR-YPB1-JBFW-C082&csi=140954&oc=00240&perma=true>

Sinclair, S. (T). (2017, Jan 29). Child, Bride, Mother: Nigeria. *The New York Times*. Retrieved

from <https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5MRS-C981-JBG3-6032&csi=140954&oc=00240&perma=true>

Tenorio, E. H. (2011). Critical Discourse Analysis, An overview. *Nordic Journal of English*

Studies 10(1), 183-210. Retrieved from <http://ojs.ub.gu.se/ojs/index.php/njes/article/view/658>

Thernstrom, M. (O). (2005, May 8). Charlotte, Grace, Janet and Caroline Come Home. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from

<https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=4G47-CSV0-TW8F-G351&csi=140954&oc=00240&perma=true>

Thompson, J. (1995). *Communication and Social Context*. *The Media and Modernity*, 10-43.

Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Venizelos, T. (2017). *Critical Discourse Analysis: An Approach to Competing Ideologies of Global Girlhood*, Course MC4M1, London School of Economics and Political Science.

Wax, E. (W). (2004, Feb 13). In Uganda, Terror Forces Children's Nightly Flight. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from

<https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=4BP6-XGX0-TW87-N3DT&csi=140954&oc=00240&perma=true>

Wilson, K. (2015). Towards a Radical Re-appropriation: Gender, Development and Neoliberal Feminism. *Development and Change* 46(4), 803-832.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1- Sampling

| News Source | Narratives of LRA Abductions in Uganda | Narratives of Boko Haram Abductions in Nigeria |
|--------------|--|---|
| The Guardian | 1996 "Devil's Brides" | 2014 "Half a year on, Chibok nightmare continues" |
| | 1997 "Kidnapped to Kill" | 2016 "Chibok schoolgirl's private ordeal" |
| | 2006 "G2: Mary was raped, tortured and imprisoned" | 2016 "Boko Haram releases video" |
| | 2015 "Polline Akello: 'Kony commanded someone to look after me ... I was lucky'" | |
| Total: (7) | (4) | (3) |
| The Times | 1997 "Ugandan rebels 'use children as sex slaves'" | 2016 "Kindapped Nigerian girls in video plea for freedom" |
| | 2003 "'They tied me up and hacked off my lips'" | 2016 "Boko rape victims face baby stigma" |
| | 2005 "'I asked what happened to her. She just stared at the ground.'" | |
| | 2011 "Abducted and forced to marry a crazed warlord- but I survived" | |
| Total: (6) | (4) | (2) |

| | | |
|---------------------|---|--|
| The New York Times | 2004 "Escape from Rebels Leads to a Reunion in Uganda" | 2014 "Tales of Escaped Girls Add to Worries in Nigeria" |
| | 2005 "Charlotte, Grace, Janet and Caroline Come Home" | 2015 "Former Captives in Nigeria Tell of Mass Rapes" |
| | | 2016 "Women Who Fled Boko Haram Tell of Horror and, Sometimes, Hope" |
| | | 2017 "Child, Bride, Mother: Nigeria" |
| | | 2017 "Chibok Schoolgirls, Freed from Boko Haram Still Face a Long Road Home" |
| Total: (7) | (2) | (5) |
| The Washington Post | 2004 "In Uganda, Terror Forces Children's Nightly Flight" | 2015 "Former captives of Boko Haram recount frightening rescue" |
| | 2006 "A Child's Hell in the Lord's Resistance Army" | 2015 "The girls who ran from Boko Haram" |
| | 2008 "Moving Past Life as a Rebel Slave" | 2016 "Freed from Boko Haram, still enslaved by fear" |
| Total: (6) | (3) | (3) |
| Grand Total: (26) | (13) | (13) |

Appendix 2- Thematic Coding Frame

| | |
|-------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1) Girlhood | a) UN definition of girl child |
| | b) UN Convention on Rights of Child: |

| | |
|---|--|
| | “a human being below the age of 18 years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier” |
| | |
| 2) Girl Empowerment What attributes/qualities constitute girlhood? | |
| Social opportunities/ freedoms | a) Freedom in decision-making |
| | b) Possessing general aspirations/ ambitions |
| | c) Drive to attain those aspirations |
| | d) Innocence/ purity |
| | e) Level of reproduction (not bearing children at a young age; non-motherhood) |
| Educational opportunities | f) Level of education |
| Economic opportunities | g) Level of employment |
| | h) Career aspirations/ opportunities |
| | i) Entrepreneurship |
| Self-confidence/ self-esteem | j) Confidence vs. shame |
| | |
| 3) Agency | a) Level of agency |
| | |
| 4) Othering | a) Western girls vs. non-Western girls |
| | b) Othering within the context of African girls |
| | c) Othering within ages of girls |
| | d) Girls vs. boys |

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| | e) Women vs. men |
| | f) Weak vs. strong |
| | g) Christian vs. Islam |
| | |
| 5) Terrorism | a) Boko Haram |
| | b) Islamic extremism |
| | c) Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) |
| | |
| 6) Western Imperialism | a) Western "hero"/ "savior" |
| | b) Western idea of development |
| | c) US governmental aid- monetary aid |
| | d) US intervention- military intervention |
| | e) Western aid- monetary aid |
| | f) Western intervention- military intervention |
| | |
| 7) Responsibility | a) Responsibility of Western governments vs. irresponsibility of non-Western governments |
| | |
| 8) Locality | a) Relational/ contextual |
| | b) Cultural autonomy |
| | c) Traditional specificities |
| | |
| 9) Victimhood | a) Helplessness |

| | |
|--|---|
| | b) Shame |
| | c) Voiceless/ silenced |
| | d) Loss of innocence |
| | |
| 10) Sexual Violence | a) Defilement |
| | b) Rape |
| | c) Forced prostitution |
| | d) Forced marriage |
| | e) None |
| | |
| 11) Non-Sexual Violence (Including physical, emotional, psychological, verbal violence) | |
| | a) Kidnapping |
| | b) Beating |
| | c) Torture |
| | d) Killing |
| | e) Verbal abuse |
| | f) Shaming |
| | g) Public humiliation |
| | h) Forced assimilation |
| | i) Forced to perpetrate violence |
| | j) Forced servitude |

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| | k) Slavery |
| | l) Coercion |
| | m) None |

Media@LSE MSc Dissertations Series

The Media@LSE MSc Dissertations Series presents high quality MSc Dissertations which received a mark of 74% and above (Distinction).

Selected dissertations are published electronically as PDF files, subject to review and approval by the Editors.

Authors retain copyright, and publication here does not preclude the subsequent development of the paper for publication elsewhere.

ISSN: 1474-1938/1946