

Research Article

From Activism to Collective Remembrance: The Transforming Rhetoric of Campaign Slogans in the #BringBackOurGirls Online Movement on Twitter

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Abstract

This paper explores the evolution of slogans and hashtags in the #BringBackOurGirls online campaign, seven years after the abduction of 276 schoolgirls in Chibok, Northeastern Nigeria. It highlights the shift from an urgent call to activism to a broader focus on collective memory. An Aristotelian rhetorical analysis of tweets from 2015 to 2021 identifies two distinct rhetorical contexts in the memory activism of the BBOG campaigns. The first frame embodies hope, resilience, and recovery, exemplified by slogans like “Hope Endures,” “Never to be Forgotten,” and “Until All Are Free.” The second frame underscores accountability and responsibility, with slogans such as “No More Excuses” and “No More Delays.” Findings suggest that slogans in memory activism play a pivotal role in expressing the collective memory and shared experiences of a group within socio-political movements. They act as emotional principles, encapsulating community sentiments and aspirations. This shift fosters unity and purpose among members who collectively advocate for accountable governance. By linking personal narratives with collective history, these slogans ensure that the struggles and resilience of affected communities are remembered and preserved over time. This research ultimately deepens the understanding of how slogans and hashtags shape the legacy of online campaigns, underscoring the significance of memory in the ongoing pursuit of justice and accountability.

Keywords

#BringBackOurGirls, Memory Activism, Slogans, Hashtags, Collective Memory, Social Media, Social Movements

1. Introduction

The *Bring Back Our Girls* (BBOG) movement, sparked by the abduction of 276 schoolgirls from Chibok, Nigeria, in April 2014, became one of the most globally recognised campaigns advocating for human rights and social justice in Africa. The online campaign leveraged the power of social media, particularly X (formerly known as Twitter), to amplify the call for the girls’ safe return from Boko Haram’s (BH) captivity. The hashtag #BringBackOurGirls (#BBOG)

quickly gained global traction, with celebrities, world leaders and influential global figures, including former U.S. First Lady Michelle Obama, sharing them online to draw attention to the tragedy [1]. Initially, the movement’s slogans and hashtags were tools for mobilisation and persuasion. The immediate and urgent call to action was directed at the Nigerian government, world leaders and international community to unite the schoolgirls with their families. Over time, how-

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ever, the discourse within the BBOG movement shifted to include remembrance and commemoration of the historical event.

This paper contributes to the growing body of research that explores the influence that digital activism and collective memory have in shaping social movements. Scholars like Zappavigna and Gerbaudo underscore that hashtags, serving as digital slogans, are not merely tools used for mobilisation, but also function as digital symbols of collective identity, remembrance and memory [2, 3]. Social media campaigns that went viral such as #MeToo and #SayHerName exemplify how hashtags can transform personal narratives into collective calls for justice and social action. For instance, the #MeToo movement highlights how digital slogans can capture collective experiences of social injustices, promoting a sense of global solidarity that inspires policy changes that have tangible effects beyond the digital space [4]. Similarly, the #BringBackOurGirls online campaign uses emotionally charged slogans and hashtags to advocate for accountability and the liberation of the Chibok girls who remain unaccounted for. The online campaigns also emphasise the importance of keeping the memory of the Chibok girls at the forefront of public discourse. By examining the rhetorical evolution of the slogans and hashtags used in the campaign, this paper emphasises the role digital activism plays in sustaining campaigns and movements long after the initial traction from mainstream attention.

This paper also contributes to the field of rhetorical studies by applying Aristotle's ethos, pathos, and logos in contemporary digital contexts. Scholars such as McGregor argue that digital rhetoric plays a critical role in shaping public opinion, mobilising support and participation. This is achieved through the credibility of notable world leaders or celebrities and the emotional resonance of their messages [5]. By analysing the rhetorical evolution of slogans in the #BringBackOurGirls campaign, this study establishes a link between classical rhetorical frameworks and contemporary digital communication methods. It also builds on the work of Gerbaudo who describes the spontaneous nature of digital activism whereby organised actions of the group are imbued with a sense of collective purpose. [2]. This paper situates itself at the confluence of these fields, offering insights into the ways in which digital rhetoric enhances the visibility and progress of social justice movements amid an ever-evolving technological and digital environment.

Sloganeering and the use of hashtags provide a framework for the collective memory of an online campaign, helping sustain momentum and objectives of the cause, even when initial fervour fades. Zappavigna asserts that hashtags enable an ambient affiliation that creates digital communities where users of the platform can participate in a social cause without need for formal membership [3]. This social media characteristic is especially important for causes that rely on digital platforms like the #BringBackOurGirls campaign. This is because the transition from mobilisation for immediate action

to remembrance and commemoration relies heavily on the symbolic power of hashtags to maintain visibility and relevance over time. By shaping narratives around social justice, memory, accountability, hope, and liberation, slogans and hashtags embed the values of a movement into the cultural consciousness of societies. In doing so, they not only mobilise participants through persuasion or calls to action but also serve as enduring reminders of broader socio-political struggles.

Research on digital activism suggests that online campaigns often experience a transformation as they evolve over time, shifting from immediate calls for action to broader narratives that sustain public interest and collective memory [2, 6]. In the case of the BBOG campaigns, this shift was marked by the emergence of new hashtags and slogans that emphasise hope, resilience, remembrance, and accountability. Scholars have argued that digital symbols can serve as enduring representations of social movements by embodying their core values and in the process, ensuring that critical issues remain in public discourse [7, 8].

The BBOG movement's evolution over the years illustrates this broader pattern, as its discourse moved beyond initial mobilisation and advocacy practices to a sustained campaign and commitment for justice and accountability. This evolution highlights how digital discourse, particularly through hashtags and campaign slogans, not only mobilises individuals but also keeps them engaged with the cause over time. Hashtags like #NeverToBeForgotten and #HopeEndures have become more than rallying cries; they are reminders of a shared struggle that compels ongoing engagement to keep the memory of the Chibok girls in public discourse until all the girls are reunited with their families. Thus, the progression of the online discourse within the #BringBackOurGirls movement from 2014 to 2021 highlights a shift in advocacy strategies, moving from simple hashtags and campaign slogans to enduring symbols of hope, commemoration, memory, and resilience. These hashtags do not only underscore the ongoing fight against injustice but also embody a collective commitment to ensuring that the narrative of the Chibok girls remains prominent in public consciousness, particularly for those who are still held captive. This transformation illustrates that protest slogans and hashtags have become essential tools of remembrance, forcing society to confront difficult truths and advocate for sustained change. Ignoring this shift would diminish the power of long-term advocacy in preserving the memory and plight of the remaining captive Chibok girls, risking further silence and inaction on critical human rights issues.

2. The Rhetoric of Persuasion on Social Media Platforms

The study of rhetorical persuasion on social media platforms often utilises Aristotle's foundational framework of

ethos, pathos, and logos. In this context, these rhetorical principles can be adapted to a networked context, where the credibility of social media users (ethos) the emotional appeal of their message (pathos), and the logical foundation of their arguments (logos) play more pronounced roles in the act of persuasion due to the brevity and immediacy of social media posts and interactions. The rhetoric prevalent in social media is increasingly cultivated towards the enhancement of ethos, with influencers, celebrities, activists, and politicians striving to establish their credibility through consistent and authentic interactions and messaging with other users in the digital space [5]. This approach to ethos is vital on platforms on most social media sites like Twitter, Facebook and Instagram, where the perceived credibility and authenticity of the messenger can have as much impact as the message shared itself.

The role of authenticity and credibility remains a fundamental aspect of persuasive rhetoric in the digital space. Social media users perform for multiple and in most cases a heterogeneous audience simultaneously [9]. In such a diverse environment, constructing credibility involves balancing personal authenticity with strategic self-presentation. The perception of authenticity plays a significant role in social justice movements and advocacy campaigns. Activist narratives on Twitter through their posts and other interactions that blend personal stories with fact-based advocacy are likely to resonate more with other users of the platform. This approach to authenticity does not merely aim to present an idealised self-presentation, but instead it prioritises and emphasises transparency and relatability by effectively engaging audiences and fostering trust in the cause.

Hashtags have emerged as essential tools in social media rhetoric. In digital activism, they function as both organising mechanisms and persuasive devices that mobilise participation in the campaign. By grouping and organising posts around a shared symbol, hashtags contribute to the creation of a digital public sphere which provides a platform where users can collectively express their opinions, engage in advocacy, and foster a sense of community and belonging. Zappavigna argues that hashtags operate as “ambient affiliations,” facilitating the generation of shared spaces where a group of collective users can form communities and interact with each other without the need for formal membership [6]. Hashtags like #MeToo and #BringBackOurGirls have not only facilitated widespread engagement but have also amplified personal narratives, reinforcing collective, emotional and ethical appeals that encourage social action [4]. Hashtags also embody what Gerbaudo describes as “choreographed spontaneity,” [2] where users experience and display a sense of coordinated action while simultaneously retaining the flexibility of decentralized participation. This dual function positions hashtags as strong rhetorical tools as they support both individual expression and a sense of collective momentum. This

synergy helps movements to gain visibility and emotional resonance from users.

Hashtags and slogans do not only encapsulate complex ideas into concise phrases but also evoke emotional (pathos) and logical (logos) appeals that resonate with other users of the social media platforms. They function as digital markers that foster a sense of unity and solidarity within online communities which enables users to participate in broader discussions [9]. By cultivating a collective emotional experience, hashtags and slogans used in online campaigns elicit pathos, creating bonds that enhance engagement and mobilisation. They also complement this emotional resonance by enhancing a logical framework that simplifies complex issues. The use of slogans complements this emotional appeal with a logical framework that simplifies complex issues. Slogans encapsulate the core message of a movement or campaign into memorable phrases, thereby enhancing the persuasive impact of the message when the words are constantly repeated in the discourse [7]. By combining emotional resonance and clear logical assertions the influence and effectiveness these slogans have in propelling the discourse around these movements in the digital space is greatly amplified.

Also, slogans used as hashtags operate within social media platforms to cultivate a collective identity and social proof, which are both critical elements of logos and pathos. Hashtags do not only invoke emotional responses but also create a logical narrative that can prompt real-world action [6]. This dual capability of hashtags and slogans not only engages existing followers or members of a collective but also works to persuade sceptics by presenting a comprehensive and emotional narrative that aligns with logical pleas that can inspire tangible action in the real world.

3. Materials and Methods

I employed mixed-method research that combined computational analysis of publicly available datasets from Twitter with qualitative observation of the communicative context and dynamics of social media conversations on the #BringBackOurGirls online campaign. The data was collected using Barrie and Ho’s *academicwitter* model, an R package that accesses the Twitter Academic Research Product Track v2 API endpoint [10]. Search queries included the hashtag of the movement and the user handles of its co-conveners (#BringBackOurGirls, @obyezeks, @AishaYesufu, @BBOG_NG) from 23 April 2014 to 30 April 2021 (8 years). A total of 34,506 tweets were retrieved and analysed see [table 1](#) below for the break down. The hashtag and search terms were chosen to examine the BBOG movement from the perspective of its founders and key activists.

Table 1. A cross section of the Twitter profile of conveners of the #BBOG movement.

| Name | Twitter Handle | Profile Description | No. of Tweets |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|---------------------|---------------|
| Aisha Yesufu | @AishaYesufu | Co Convener | 17,394 |
| Obiageli Ezekwesili | @obyezeks | Co Convener | 7,377 |
| The official page of the movement | (@BBOG_Nigeria | Organisation | 9,735 |
| | | Total | 34,506 |

Subsequently, I used the Leximancer software to perform a qualitative analysis of the collected data. Leximancer is a software tool that conducts quantitative content analysis using a machine learning technique. It identifies the main concepts within a text and how they are interconnected. The software then proceeds to conduct a thematic analysis and a relational (or semantic) analysis of the data [11]. Leximancer provides counts of word frequencies, and the co-occurrence of concepts identified in the data. Once a concept has been identified

by the machine learning process, Leximancer then compiles a thesaurus of words that are associated with that concept, thereby giving it its semantic or definitional significance. From the analysis on Leximancer the concepts developed from the data points toward different themes and concepts that were dominant throughout the years. See table 2 below showing of the cross section of concepts (slogans), used by the different co conveners on Twitter feeds from the 23rd of April 2014 till the 30th of April of 2021.

Table 2. A cross section of major slogans used for the campaign at each anniversary.

| Year | Concept* | Description | Thesaurus |
|------|---|---|---|
| 2014 | #BringBackOurGirls #BringBackOurDughters | Foundation and mobilisation of the movement | BBOG, Chibok Girls, abduction, days, Chibok, abducted, missing, parents, school, terrorists, missing, school |
| 2015 | Never to be Forgotten | One Year anniversary | citizens, daily, abduction, days, favourable advocacy, waiting, CryingToBeRescued, alive, demand, demanding, 1 year |
| 2016 | Hope Endures | Second Year anniversary | Nevertobeforgotten, Cryingtoberescued, advocacy, days, campaign |
| 2017 | No more excuses #3YearsTooLong | Third year anniversary | Ngrpresident, Take, time, lives, long, government, President: Mbuhari, government, Nigerian, Nigerians, 3 years |
| 2018 | No more delays #4YearsTooLong | Fourth anniversary | Ngrpresident, too long, negotiate Mbuhari: government, Nigerian |
| 2019 | They will never be forgotten # 5YearsTooLong | Fifth anniversary Dapchi abductions | citizens, advocacy, favourable, time, 5 long years |
| 2020 | six long years #6YearsTooLong | Sixth anniversary | Time, long, six years, days |
| 2021 | Until all are free #7YearsTooLong | Seventh anniversary | Seven years, freedom, free, rescue, days, now, alive |

*The concepts comprise of the hashtags and key slogans used for the online campaign on Twitter (X).

4. Discussion

Each year, the #BBOG movement incorporated additional slogans to the movement, such as #NeverToBeForgotten,

#HopeEndures, #NoMoreExcuses, #3(4,5,6,7)YearsTooLong, No More Delays, #UntilAllAreFree, drawing attention to the ongoing plight of the Chibok girls still held in captivity. These new slogans established the movement's evolution from hashtag activism to a profound commitment to practices cen-

tred on commemoration and remembrance. The dominant phrases that emerged over the years turned into addendums that supplemented the original slogan and hashtag. The phrases were used as chants, songs and slogans for the movement's campaigns and as accompanying hashtags online to the original hashtag #BringBackOurGirls.

Accounts of the official BBOG (@BBOG_NG) page, leaders of the movement on Twitter established the communicative memory of the girls; Obiageli Ezekwesili (@obyezeks) and Aisha Yesufu (@AishaYesufu). Each co-convenor is an expert in a different field, which enhances their credibility in their discourse and advocacy campaigns. These activists establish the ethos of this analysis. Their expertise and experience in different fields depict what Aristotle describes as *phronesis*. This characteristic shows the individual is of sound sense [12]. It is the character of the speaker depicted through their useful skills and practical reasoning in their organisation of their campaigns. Aina et al in their research conducted for Action for Empowerment and Accountability Research Program (A4EA) state that the #BBOG organisation was structured to have four key offices: Head of the movement, the strategic team, the communication team and the sit-out team. The organisational structure assigned responsibilities to members based on their expertise. Ezekwesili and Yesufu were in the head office, with Ezekwesili as the primary authority in command and decision making and Yesufu the second [13]. As leaders of the movement, a collection of their social media interactions and discourse offers valuable insights into the aims and objectives of the BBOG movement, providing a clearer understanding on the cause for which they are advocating amidst the global attention drawn to the campaign.

Obiageli Ezekwesili, who is also known as Oby, is the Senior Economic Adviser for the Africa Economic Development Policy Initiative and a prominent advocate for the #BringBackOurGirls (#BBOG) movement. Her contributions to #BBOG are grounded in her expertise across economics, education, politics, and advocacy. Describing herself on her Twitter profile as a "passionate believer in the public good of nations," Ezekwesili's experience spans numerous leadership roles. She served as Nigeria's Cabinet Minister of Solid Minerals (2005 to 2006) and later as Minister of Education (2006 to 2007), where her advocacy for transparency earned her the nickname "Madam Due Process" reflecting her commitment to a procurement reform and anti-corruption efforts [14]. Her achievements in public accountability led to her appointment as Vice President for the Africa Region at the World Bank in 2007, where she focused on economic growth and poverty reduction across Africa [14].

As co-founder of #BringBackOurGirls, Ezekwesili has leveraged her extensive platform to champion human rights and draw international attention to socio-political issues in Nigeria. Registered on Twitter in 2009, her following surged to over 1.4 million amid her leadership in the #BBOG movement, reflecting her influence in the public sphere. In a

pinned tweet, she expresses a commitment to truth, stating, "No greater joy than being a person of truth. It is the ultimate Ace for Peace." This declaration aligns with the ethical standard of *arete* [12]. This underscores her belief in integrity and stability through truth, even when faced with opposition.

Aisha Somtochukwu Yesufu is a Nigerian socio-political justice activist and entrepreneur. She is known for co-founding the #BringBackOurGirls movement alongside Obiageli Ezekwesili and other co-conveners. In addition to her significant participation in the #BBOG movement, she also played an important role in the 2020 #EndSARS movement, which advocated for social justice against police brutality in Nigeria. This movement led by Nigerian youths called for the dissolution of the Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) due to documented systematic cases of extortion, abuse, unlawful detentions, and killings. Yesufu's iconic image from these protests adorned in a hijab/burqa and defiantly raising her fist emerged as a significant symbol of resistance and solidarity [15, 16]. Her role in both movements highlighted her commitment to human rights and catalysed her reputation as a socio-political activist. Her active participation in these movements is influenced by her extensive presence on social media, where she mobilises followers and engages in discussions on national issues through her posts and online interactions.

The official Bring Back Our Girls page @BBOG_Nigeria acted as an important ethos in the rhetoric of persuasion and advocacy. Although not the personal profile of an individual, but that of the collective. It became the platform that officially shared the sentiments and ideologies of the campaign. Functioning as a reliable page that provided a credible source for information related to the movement and news pertaining to upcoming events or updates related to the abducted Chibok girls, as well as their families and communities. With a following of over thirty-three thousand (33k), the page is dedicated exclusively to serve the movement's objectives by disseminating necessary information and at the same time, serve as a platform to document essential details about upcoming events, procession sessions and more. The wallpaper of the page is a banner with the pictures of the abducted Chibok girls still held in captivity. This visual representation gives assurance to the user that this is a credible source to get reliable information about the organisation and campaign.

4.1. A Rhetoric of Memory: "Never to be Forgotten"

Leading to the first anniversary of the abductions of the Chibok girls in 2015, the expression "never to be forgotten" resonated throughout the #BBOG discussions on Twitter. The phrase became a prominent slogan and an accompanying hashtag to the existing #BringBackOurGirls. The expression cultivates a perception of authenticity and credibility by engaging the users of the social media platform to take part in the collective responsibility of reflecting on the nation's past

experiences. Resonating with a mutual understanding and appreciation of the importance of remembering and honouring the Chibok girls as daughters, sisters and important members of the society. The abduction narrative represented an unprecedented event in the country, becoming an unforgettable experience for both the citizens and the nation at large. Aisha Yesufu describing the event in a tweet asserts that the abducted Chibok school girls "...are not just numbers. They are children that went to school and never came back home. Their parents are waiting #ChibokGirls...#NeverToBeForgotten...#BringBackOurGirls" @AishaYesufu. This statement captures the deep pain and unresolved grief the abductions caused their families who are still waiting for the return of their daughters. It also serves as a powerful reminder that there are human faces in the form of daughters, sisters and students behind the numbers and statistics. The plea here is one of remembrance, a call to not let the world forget these young girls who were snatched from their families and communities and had their future stolen from them. Young girls whose empty seats at the classroom desks and absent footsteps in the house haunt their parents and communities daily. Yesufu urges netizens to remember them is to honour their humanity and the enduring pain inflicted on their families and immediate community. It is also a call to justice, which demands that the world does not look away to the plight and suffering of the victims. As indicated by the hashtag, #NeverToBeForgotten serves as a reminder that remembering the past is not a passive action. Rather, it is an active action that propels the demand for continued calls for justice and change where such tragedies are no longer perpetuated. For the parents and immediate community, remembering is an act of love, a persistent plea for the return and total restoration of the dreams of their daughters. To the advocates sharing the posts on social media with hashtags ensures the schoolgirls will not be forgotten because they have chosen to be carriers of the memories of the girls and demand that humanity does not turn its back on the innocent victims.

In 2019 and 2020, another variant of the slogan emerged in the online discourse, "*They will never be forgotten*". This phrase was used mostly with tweets that mentioned all cases of abducted women and girls by Boko Haram at different times between the period of 2014 to 2019. The expression depicts two constructs; Firstly, it is an expressed determination and persistence to keeping the memory of the Chibok girls alive on the digital space. It also expresses the futurity and implementation of different strategies and methods to keep the discourse of the girls and their plight a dominant conversation in the digital space and the society. The reference to "they" in the slogan was an advocacy for the Chibok girls, Leah Sharibu and Alice Nggadah who were also abducted by Boko Haram. In February 2018, 112 schoolgirls aged 11 to 19 were abducted from their school in Dapchi. All the schoolgirls were later released, except for Leah Sharibu (aged 14 at that time) who had refused to renounce her Christian faith. Alice Nggadah, a humanitarian aid worker

with UNICEF was also abducted in March of 2018. In a post by the movement's official handle states "We invite you to join today's march for 112 #ChibokGirls #LeahSharibu #AliceNgaddah All other abductees. Our demand has been & remains - #BringBackOurGirls Date: Tuesday 22nd January 2019 Time: 9AM Venue: Unity Fountain, Abuja... They will #NeverToBeForgotten #BBOG" @BBOG_Nigeria. These three separate experiences were used as cases to represent all the women and girls who were captured at different occasions and were being held in captivity by BH. The post resonates with the enduring spirit of remembrance and the relentless pursuit of justice for all the victims of Boko Haram's abductions. It calls out, not just to netizens but to the nation, and the rest of the world to be compassionate, and active in the face of prolonged pain and suffering. Each name mentioned #ChibokGirls, #LeahSharibu, #AliceNgadda, embodies narratives of loss, of waiting, anticipation and of hope that has remained resilient. The march organised is a symbol of resistance against forgetting. It is a public declaration that these victims will not be forgotten nor abandoned. To participate in the march is to remember, to be the voice of the victims. The hashtags #NeverToBeForgotten and #BringBackOurGirls are more than just rallying cries; they are commitments to hold the memories of the victims until they are liberated and brought back. Through remembrance, the victims are honoured, and through collective action, the rest of the world is reminded to be hopeful in the fact that their lives are not yet lost but are waiting to be salvaged. The call to participate in the march on social media, serves as a bridge between memory and action, between grief and hope, and it stands as a declaration that the fight for the victims continues until they are all liberated.

The hashtags and slogans on remembering the plight of the victims of BH have been wrapped in emotional pleas since their inception and use on Twitter and other social media platforms. This emotional appeal is what Aristotle describes as pathos. The technique involves the act of influencing the audience by stimulating specific emotions based on their beliefs, consequently guiding them towards the desired response. The words 'never to forget' profoundly stirs sentiments that elicits emotions on two opposite spectrums. It evokes the feelings of sorrow, grief and loss on one hand and at the same time feelings of respect, recognition and honour on the other. The emotional appeal of the hashtag prompts the reader of the tweet to form an emphatic connection with the message the conveners are appealing to. The emotional appeals employed included the technique of telling true life stories of the girls and information the Chibok girls themselves do not know. These emotionally charged stories use empathy as a persuasive tool and invoke catharsis. Aisha Yesufu recounted two stories of two Chibok Girls on the 5th anniversary of the girls in 2019.

"... Her mother died of stroke in 2015. The mother never had BP until after her daughter's abduction. Her father & eldest brother were shot dead by Boko Haram in front of

their house in 2017 #ChibokGirls #5YearsTooLong #NeverToBeForgotten..." @AishaYesufu.

"... was the youngest amongst the #ChibokGirls. She was 15 and now 20. Her Mother has been battling heart related problems since her abduction and had stroke a few weeks ago #ChibokGirls #5YearsTooLong #NeverToBeForgotten..." @AishaYesufu.

Incorporating personal and empathetic narratives heightens the emotional appeal of pathos. If the reader of the tweet can put themselves in the shoes of the Chibok girls, they may be moved to join the movement or to even eulogise and remember them. The tragedy that befell the first story of the Chibok girl and her family in the first post invokes empathy for the girls and other victims in the story. Consequently, in the event of her release from BH's captivity, she would be forced to relive a renewed sense of trauma, discovering that her captors had also taken the lives of all her family members. This family's suffering vividly illustrates ceaseless distress and sorrow, marked by recurring afflictions that remain difficult to process with the passage of time. The hashtags "#5YearsTooLong", and "#NeverToBeForgotten" are not just mere slogans, they evoke emotions of pain and suffering and function as a collective plea for remembrance. They remind us that Each victim of the abductions carries a distinct story and personal trauma, despite having endured similar experiences while in captivity. The second post draws the reader of the tweet to the pain and suffering of the mother of one of the Chibok girls who developed a health condition with her heart that resulted in a stroke. Adding such stories and sympathetic characters in the campaign to remember the girls and advocate for their freedom makes the reader of such tweets get to know the girls, their experiences and plight and hence feel attached to them. Subsequently, evoking empathy on the reader of the tweet. The reader may experience a variety of unpleasant emotions and hence feel the need to share the information to their timelines or join the movement thus increasing the visibility of the stories online. Amy Coplan sees empathy as "a complex imaginative process in which an observer simulates another person's situated psychological states while maintaining a clear self-other differentiation" [17]. The empathic feeling for others serves as a rhetorical strategy, representing a deliberate and purposeful decision to establish a connection with someone else, in this case, the Chibok girls and their families. It is also an involuntary and emotional reaction to the experiences of others that may occur frequently when one encounters the information once again, or when the subliminal thoughts resurface. It involves an emotional reaction that is matched to someone else's circumstances than to one's own. The arousal of empathy becomes possible through perception-taking, where one tries to imagine how they would feel in the victim's situation. The reader of the tweets may also be impacted and or persuaded through the imagery used in the tweets.

Aristotle's rhetoric on logos involves appealing to the target audience's rationality and logic. This is in most cases

achieved by presenting facts, evidence and a logical reasoning to the occurrence of an event. Without these factors, arguments may seem weak or unsupported, thus failing to persuade an audience but may do the opposite and create doubts. The logical argument of the slogan implies that remembering the past be it positive or negative is important for establishing social justice, stability and drawing important lessons. It establishes that there are logical reasons as to why certain aspects of the story should never be forgotten. It also establishes the important role of cultural memory in prompting informed decisions and practices for establishing better societies. In providing a deductive reasoning, the movement reiterated their goals by logically keeping record of all BH's perpetrations "We begin our proceedings today on: - Day 1,618 of abduction for our #ChibokGirls - Day 211 of the abduction of #LeahSharibu and 5 #DapchiGirls yet to be accounted for - Day 201 since the abduction of 3 #RannWomen #BringBackOurGirls #WhereIsLeahSharibu #NeverToBeForgotten" @BBOG_Nigeria. Through observation they draw conclusions on the need to act urgently as no child should be denied of their youth and innocence and be held in captivity even for a day. The logical reasoning draws sympathy for all the women and girls held in captivity from 2014. Several posts used this method of tracking the number of days the girls were held in captivity. Typically, an individual standalone post stating the plight of the girls or the duration they had been held in captivity may not be enough to convince a reader. However, the continuous repetition of posts by the collective through tweets and retweets daily presents the facts and a neural connection associated with memory making information about the victims.

The slogan "NeverToBeForgotten" conveys a fundamental message prompting a call to all individuals, from grassroots participants to world leaders to always remember the plight of the girls. It also serves as a rallying call to immediate action, leveraging the use of social media as the medium to disseminate the information. The slogan also encourages people to participate in acts of remembrance and join the conversation online or participate in any offline activity organised by the movement in remembrance of the girls. The message implies that a failure to remember would be considered as a negligent or a dismissive attitude towards the experiences of the girls, their families and the fabric of the society.

4.2. A Rhetoric of Accountability "No More Excuses", "No More Delays"

To mark the third and fourth anniversary, the slogans "No More Excuses" and "No more Delays" emerged as key themes in the online discourse. The slogans were also used interchangeably as hashtags in the online discourse to mark the anniversaries denote strong calls that demand immediate action, each focusing on different aspects of inaction, yet sharing the same objective, the urgency in the demand for accountability, action and immediate results. Both slogans

reflect a frustration with inaction as to how most of the Chibok girls were still held in captivity four years after, hence in unison a cohesive message is conveyed that opposes complacency and advocates for a proactive and intentional action.

The slogan “No More Delays” expresses a clear, urgent and direct call to action to save the Chibok girls. It represents a critical moment where patience and tolerance has been exhausted, and where immediate action is not just anticipated but imperative, acting as both a rallying cry and a pledge. The message of the slogan is clear, the time for waiting is over and now is the best moment for action. In establishing the *ethos* effectively, the co-conveners demonstrate authority and reliability in advocating for urgent action. By constantly repeating the slogan in their online posts, they position themselves as leaders who recognise the problem and are willing to fight for a resolution. “OUR #ChibokGirls DESERVE to be RESCUED NOW! Mr. President @MBuhari, Federal Government it’s already #861 DAYS LATE. WE SHOUT: #NoMoreDelays!!” @obyzek. In this context, Ezekwesili establishes the *ethos* as a voice that comprehends the situation and is prepared to advocate for the victims of the abduction, thereby reinforcing the message’s credibility. The expression of this tweet is an urgent and avid call to action, highlighting the writer’s profound sense of frustration. Writing the sentence “OUR #ChibokGirls DESERVE to be RESCUED NOW!” in capital letters emphasises a passionate and emotional appeal that stresses on the moral obligation of acting urgently for the sake of the safety and well-being of the girls. The phrase “it’s already #861 DAYS LATE” highlights the duration that has passed since the abductions, it stands as a significant reminder of the extended period of inaction. The statistical information on the number of days not only adds weight to the urgency, but also mounts pressure for accountability on the part of the government, thereby establishing a timeline that is deemed unacceptable. The expression “WE SHOUT: #NoMoreDelays!!” with two exclamation marks functions as a resolute demand and a rallying call to action, asserting that any continued delay is unacceptable. “No More Delays” captures the powerful emotion of frustration arising from the unfulfilled expectations that some of the abducted Chibok girls were still being held in captivity 7 years after. The phrase addresses the anxiety of anticipation, the anger and pain of abandonment, and the hope and desire for immediate action. By amplifying the collective pain associated with the loss of time and missed opportunities, the slogan intensifies the emotional pressure, while also encouraging a sense of hope and a sense of urgency for prompt action.

The logical structure of the argument behind “No More Delays” is simple and yet compelling at the same time. The consequences of delay and inaction compounds the problem, waiting has only caused more pain for the victims and their families, hence making any solution planned costlier and more intricate. Logically, the time to have acted was immediately after the schoolgirls were abducted and not seven years later. To avoid future devastations or even history re-

peating itself again, the next best time to act is now. This is because further waiting will exacerbate the problem, hence, finding solutions now is the rational choice. By contextualising the slogan in terms of logical consequences from the experiences of the Chibok schoolgirls we see the reinforced assertion that immediate action is both emotionally gratifying and a rational necessity for achieving the main goal of the #BBOG movement.

The slogan “No More Excuses” serves as a formidable challenge directed to individuals, those in authority and institutions. It represents a critical moment where mere explanations and or justifications are insufficient nor should suffice, compelling the need for concrete results to replace empty words. In addressing the abduction of the Chibok schoolgirls seven years after, the words reflect the frustrations of the advocates and a demand for tangible outcomes and integrity. In a tweet by Ezekwesili states:

“Mr. @NGRPresident? #NoMoreExcuses! Mr President? #NoMoreDelays, Mr President? #DecideNow!! Mr President? #ActNow! #WeWantAnswers!! #WeWantOurGirlsBackNOW!”. @MBuhari Bring Back OUR REMAINING 112 #ChibokGirls! #BringBackLeahSharibu! WE SHALL NOT STOP. No matter what Police NG does” (@obyzek).

The message expressed in this tweet conveys a compelling and urgent call to action to Nigeria’s president (@NGRPresident). In this context, the *ethos* established positions Ezekwesili not just as the convener of the movement but also as an individual who prioritises responsibility and accountability and in return also has the authority to demand same from others. The tweet expresses deep frustration with the lack of progress in addressing the plight of the Chibok girls. The persistent address to “Mr President” acts as a direct confrontation to the Nigerian government and those in authority, insisting on accountability. The hashtags “#NoMoreDelays” and “#NoMoreExcuses” emphasise the message that the time for giving excuses, justifications and waiting has passed. The phrases “Decide Now!” and “Act Now” in the tweet both underscore a collective demand for progress in rescuing the Chibok Girls and a resolution to act in bringing the insurgency and violent attacks on schools and education to an end. The repeated plea for answers from the use of question marks whilst addressing authority points at the collective’s desire for transparency and acknowledgment of the grief and struggle of the victims, their immediate families and communities.

The use of pathos in the tweet intensifies the appeal for accountability by connecting to the social media user’s emotions of disappointment, urging them to channel their feelings, sentiments and emotions into meaningful action by joining the movement or online campaign. The emotional intensity behind the use of the slogan “No More Excuses” in the online campaign is anchored in the frustration and disappointment associated with broken promises and persistent failure to reunite all the Chibok girls with their families 7 years after.

The words speak directly to the emotions of the collective hence sparking their desire to advocate for genuine change.

The logos presented in the argument of the slogan “No More Excuses” illustrates that authentic progress demands both accountability and rationalisation. Excuses are not solutions, they have not and will not solve the problem. It also draws attention to the futility of excuses or the justification of actions or inactions by emphasising on the importance of taking decisive action to overcome obstacles rather than avoid them. The message behind the slogan is concise, it leans towards the collective memory of the group and states: excuses can no longer be acceptable, the time for decisive action is now and the responsibility rests on the collective, every member of the community and nation.

The slogans “No More Excuses” and “No More Delays” both share common themes. They both underscore the need for accountability and responsibility. The former specifically confronts the avoidance of responsibility through the justification of action, while the later underscores the implication of inaction. The fundamental message of procrastination or evading responsibility should no longer be the case. The use of excuses and delays can no longer be tolerated, as the lack of tangible results in uniting the Chibok girls with their families is unacceptable.

The slogans both carry a sense of urgency and demand for change in their advocacy methods. They call for immediate action while opposing complacency. “No More Excuses” underscores that justifications and even valid explanations are no longer sufficient, while “No More Delays” assert that time is of the essence and progress must be made immediately. Both phrases address the challenges to the progress of the objectives of the movement, whether these challenges are psychological in the form of excuses or practical in the form of delays. A shared theme in both slogans is frustration with ongoing action seven years after the abductions. The sense of frustration experienced generates a compelling emotional resonance with the collective, as the words resonate with individuals who fear that the progress of uniting the Chibok girls with their families has been unnecessarily obstructed.

Although the slogans are effective slogans individually, when used together in a narrative or post, they amplify their overall message in a complementary way. Excuses often lead to delays, as these justifications directly or indirectly encourage postponing important action. Together, they represent a comprehensive rejection and dismissal of both procrastination and rationalisation by encouraging the collective, individuals and the government to be responsible and act with a sense of urgency for the Chibok girls and the future of the nation.

4.3. A Rhetoric of Resilience; “Hope Endures”

The slogan “Hope Endures” reflects a strong message of resilience, continuity, and optimism in the face of adversity and social injustice. The phrase symbolises a compelling

statement on the power of hope to sustain individuals or a collective who are experiencing challenges under dire conditions. It implies that hope remains steadfast even in difficult and unpalatable conditions, while underscoring the importance of resilience, optimism and positivity. To mark the second-year anniversary of the abduction of the girls, the phrase hope endures became part of the discourse. It served both as a slogan and a hashtag used alongside other hashtags like #BringBackOurGirls, #Chibok girls etc. In this context, the word ‘Hope’ denotes a belief in positive and favourable outcomes, regardless of obstacles, adversity and ambiguity. It represents a positive mentality that eagerly anticipates a better future, even in the presence of disappointments and difficulties. The word ‘endures’ denotes permanence, longevity and stability. It implies that holding unto hope is not transient, but rather has the capacity to endure challenges over time. Subsequently embodying a message of perseverance amidst adversity. To mark the second anniversary of the Chibok girls’ abductions, Ezekwesili tweeted “Today marks 2 years since the #Chibokgirls were abducted, we continue to keep hope alive. #HopeEndures #Bringbackourgirls” @obyzezs. When over 80 Chibok girls were released after negotiations were held between the government and BH in May of 2017, there was rekindled hope that all the girls would soon be united with their family. The message of hope was kindled even when just one of the girls was found on the 18th of May 2016 with a child. The campaign revived their hope and celebrated the return of the Chibok girl as likened to the parable of the lost sheep in the Bible when the shepherd rejoiced when he found his lost sheep. “1 found, 218 still missing. Truly, our hope endures! Join us as we stand for them this weekend. #BringBackOurGirls #HopeEndures” @AishaYesufu. The ethos of the slogan “Hope Endures” in the tweets is grounded in the character and nature of resilience. It implies that hope is capable of withstanding hardship and time because it is a steadfast quality. Ethically, this concept of resilience builds a sense of credibility because it resonates with human experiences of perseverance. It suggests that hope is a dependable source of strength, no matter how little progress is made. Celebrating the return of one girl though returning with a child, possibly belonging to her captors, rekindled a sense of enduring hope in the cause. This ethos of enduring hope cultivates a sense of trust in the tweeter and advocate, positioning Yesufu and other co conveners as dedicated activists who have chosen to remain committed. Thereby, encouraging others to discover their own strength and resilience and join the campaign.

Although fear and doubt may surface when desiring a better situation or outcome, the resilience to trust that the outcome will become favourable sustains movements, regardless of how long the waiting time may be. In a tweet posted by the official handle of the movement underscores that because the Chibok girls have waited for long, as a collective an enduring hope is required. “ChibokGirls have waited long enough, Just #BringBackOurGirls Now #HopeEndures”

(@BBOG_Nigeria). The slogan “Hope Endures” deeply resonates on an emotional level with the collective. It draws from the ability to use pathos to emotionally muster qualities such as courage, solace, unity and inner strength to keep going. The words resonate with those who may feel emotionally burdened by the plight of the schoolgirls, suggesting that no matter how long the hardship lasts, hope can and will continue to endure. The slogan thus resonates with the emotions of individuals, reassuring them that even in dire conditions, hope endures.

The narration of hope carries a persuasive element that makes its message compelling. It encourages solidarity among individuals and a collective who have endured similar experiences. It demonstrates the resilience and strength of the collective to stand firm in their beliefs even when conditions are unfavourable. In a tweet, Ezekwesili suggests that even in harsh conditions, true hope never dies: “It is DAY852 of OUR #ChibokGirls abduction. Yet our #HopeEndures. True Hope NEVER DIES. It STAYS ALIVE. WE STAND DEMANDING & HOPEFUL” (@obyzezs). The rhetoric of hope is rooted in emotions. It is the act of persuasion based on feelings and sentiments that serves as a rallying cry or a call to action, rendering its message compelling. It is also a collective call to work towards achieving the movement’s objectives and to honour and commemorate the victims. By emphasizing the universality of hope, it creates an emotional connection among the collective, reminding them they are not alone in their fight for justice. The words in capital letters “NEVER DIES. It STAYS ALIVE. WE STAND DEMANDING & HOPEFUL” instils a powerful motivational call to not lose faith but carry on. It evokes visions of resilience that stirs sentiments of pride and courage in the face of adversity, fortifying their resolve to endure and connect with others in solidarity who share in this hopeful expectation.

Ezekwesili describes hope in a tweet as perpetual and infinite faith that is consistent and resilient: “DAY663 of OUR #ChibokGirls. Everlasting Hope Inexhaustible Hope. Unfailing Hope. Unrelenting Hope. Hope against Hope. #HopeEndures, #NeverToBeForgotten!!” (@obyzezs). This tweet implies the unwavering support required to aid the girls. It is an emotional clarion call for readers to maintain unwavering faith, to hope against hope, even amid doubt that their desires may never be fulfilled. It is having hope that the rest of the Chibok girls will be liberated. Consequently, they will not stop the advocacy until all the girls are back. “Today is #YouthDay. 113 of our #ChibokGirls have had a dreadful 1,216 days taken from their youth! We must #BringBackOurGirls #HopeEndures” (@BBOG_Nigeria). Appealing to the youth by highlighting that young girls like them were robbed of their youth and innocence serves as a persuasive tactic. After the first 21 girls were released, Ezekwesili asked in a tweet, “imagine how it feels for parents of OUR 21 #ChibokGirls to behold & HUG their Daughters after 913 DAYS of their captivity. #HopeEndures on!” (@obyzezs). By asking her readers to imagine the joy and emotions of

parents reuniting with their daughters after 913 days of captivity, Ezekwesili instils a sense of hope that the rest of the parents will also experience similar joy and happiness. Thus, the slogan “hope endures” fosters optimism and the expectation that all the schoolgirls will eventually be freed, no matter how long they must wait, thereby appealing to feelings of empathy.

Through logos, the slogan argues that hope is a sustaining force that rationally reinforces efforts aimed at ensuring progress in the advocacy for the liberation of the girls, thereby establishing it as a crucial foundation for the collective campaign. The logical reasoning of the slogan suggests a correlation between the abduction of the Chibok girls by Boko Haram and the advocacy to have them reunited with their families. It indicates that hope is a consistent and enduring element in human existence. The conveners reflect on the importance of education and the need for general sensitisation about extremist behaviours and rationales. Everyone is a key player in the fight against extremism and terrorism. Any form of learning plays a key role in individual personal growth. The importance of having an educated population in diverse fields ensures the growth and development of the nation. Referring to this immense importance, the conveners suggest, “We all need to educate ourselves and others on the dangers of extremism. We all have a responsibility to do so. #HopeEndures #BBOG” (@BBOG_Nigeria). By emphasizing the collective responsibility to educate ourselves and others on the dangers of extremism, the conveners suggest that overcoming terrorism and extremist behaviours is a shared duty. When everyone takes responsibility and becomes sensitised about the dangers of terrorism and the benefits of peaceful coexistence, society will become a better place. Also, the slogan “Hope Endures” offers a logical argument that hope ought to be an important component for survival and progress and not be based on just a temporary feeling. It is essential in building resilience, without hope, it will be much more challenging to persevere.

4.4. A Rhetoric of Hope; “Until All Are Free”

Fundamentally, the words “Until All Are Free” appeals to a shared perception of justice and a commitment to ethical responsibility. The ethos of the slogan asserts that genuine freedom for anyone living in any society is unattainable unless all members share equal rights and liberties. The ethical discourse is grounded in the assertion of the fundamental equality of every person, drawing upon the principles of justice that demand the eradication of discrimination, oppression, abuse and any form of violation. The phrase is inspired by universal ethical principles, spanning from human rights laws to even religious doctrines that uphold and emphasise the sanctity of human dignity to the right to life and freedom. The conveners through their posts and hashtags persuade netizens to embody the virtues of equality, compassion and justice. The principle in the slogan emphasises that the fight for the freedom of the remaining Chibok girls in captivity is the

collective responsibility shared by all members of the society. This assertion implies an ethical responsibility for those who are already free and not affected by the BH insurgency to reflect on their own ethical standing and join in the advocacy to help liberate the victims who have lost their freedom.

“Seven years is too long for Chibok schoolgirls to remain in captivity. Join us as we continue to call for their rescue until they are returned to their families #BringBackOurGirls #7YearsTooLong #UntillAllAreFree” @obyzezs.

Ezekwesili in this post positions herself as a defender of justice, aligning herself with the objectives of the movement by lending moral weight and trustworthiness to the message.

The Pathos of the slogan reflects an emotional appeal of universal liberation from captivity. The words “Until All Are Free” effectively resonates with strong emotions of sympathy, empathy, hope, anger etc, in the collective struggle of emancipation. The emotional impact of the slogan is rooted in its ability to evoke a collective remembering and longing for freedom that was once experienced while also raising awareness and advocating for the suffering of the victims who continue to endure the oppression of BH. Freedom is conceptualised as a work in progress, denoted by the conjunction “until”. It characterises the emancipation as a continuous pursuit amidst persistent oppression by speaking to the urgency anticipated. Hence creating an emotional response to an indifferent or complacent behaviour. Even though the slogan leans more to the emotions of anger, pain and frustration on one hand it also appeals to the emotions of anticipation, aspiration and hope on the other hand. It anticipates a future characterised by complete freedom of the Chibok girls and all other victims of BH, presenting a vision that motivates readers of the post to proactively participate in the clarion call for action. By using the expression “seven years too long”, Ezekwesili highlights the timeframe of the prolonged suffering and injustice endured by the rest of the Chibok girls still held in captivity. It also expresses the pain and trauma the families of the abducted girls have had to endure while waiting for such a long time. Hence, evoking the emotional and cognitive response of sympathy, empathy and indignation. The tweet goes on to make an appeal with the phrase “until they are returned to their families” which makes emphasis on the prolonged emotional trauma of being separated from family and loved ones. The hashtags “#7YearsTooLong” and “#UntillAllAreFree” at the end of the post makes an emotional appeal to social media users by provoking their empathy, consequently serving as a global call to action. The words “seven years is too long” builds a logical argument that seven years is a long period for anyone, especially young schoolgirls to be held in captivity. Mentioning the duration in the post builds a logical argument as to why a call to immediate action is still important. The established relationship of cause and effect in the statement indicates that the longer the Chibok girls are held captive, the greater the urgency for intervention and action.

The logos of the slogan “Until All Are Free” articulates a

persuasive argument based on the values of equality and interdependence. The phrase argues that freedom is not selective but a basic human right. Hence, equality is a reasonable necessity. It also implies that freedom is interconnected and a collective concept; if a member of a collective or a group of individuals are deprived freedom, it inevitably impacts the freedom of everyone else. This argument is based on the notion that societies function as holistic and integrated systems, whereby the presence of injustice in any part of the structure will threaten justice everywhere else. This presents a logical assertion that unless universal liberation of an individual or a collective is achieved, social justice remains an incomplete notion.

5. Conclusions

Collective memory refers to the shared memories of a group, community, or society, passed down through generations, often shaping identity, social values, and collective action. The memory of the collective in socio-political campaigns often serves as the essential foundation for accountability, urgency, resilience, and the pursuit of social justice. Each slogan used to advocate for the Chibok schoolgirls draws upon the collective memory of past struggles, leveraging them to advocate and call for action, reinforce resilience, and reject any further inaction or biased justifications. The slogans discussed above, while each distinct in the choice of words, interweave to strengthen the collective memory and simultaneously advocate for a call to action rooted in that memory. Collective memory plays a crucial role in the power of remembrance. The slogan “Never to Be Forgotten” invokes the very essence of collective memory. It advocates for the preservation and protection of the past, ensuring that the abductions of the Chibok girls, their plight, struggles and experiences are remembered. The ability to remember the past is crucial in the fight against social injustice and oppression. This is because the collective memory of a group as seen by the efforts of the BBOG conveners holds the power to sustain a cause and keep the demand for justice alive even after years have passed. “Never to Be Forgotten” reinforces the importance of keeping historical injustices alive in the public consciousness, thereby ensuring that future generations understand and recognise the profound implications of past social injustices. It ensures that, advocates who fought against the social injustice, the victims and their stories and lessons learnt remain in the crux of the social fabric. The slogan “Hope Endures” also leans into this narrative by emphasising that hope, built on memory of a past event sustains the struggle and advocacy years after its inception. The resilience of hope is often a testament and reflection of remembered past struggles and experiences; as long as individuals are able to remember the objectives of a cause and what they are fighting for, hope will remain alive. In this context, the collective memory of a group functions as a moral guide, directing society to acknowledge and recognise its past mistakes and to

work towards pursuing a future that works towards the prevention and reoccurrence of such social injustices. The slogan and hashtag “Never to Be Forgotten” used in the online campaigns serves as a protective measure put in place against forgetting these significant events and movements, while “Hope Endures” fosters the enduring spirit of resilience, determination and strength.

The slogans also emphasise that memory serves as a tool for accountability and responsibility. “No More Excuses” and “No More Delays” are slogans that call for both accountability and responsibility from past failures. Collective memory activism through the slogans indicate that excuses and delays have often been used as justifications for inaction and or delayed action. By addressing how the dynamic forces have been employed to stall progress in the fight against terrorism, the slogans outrightly reject further use of these tactics repeatedly as they deem them ineffective. “No More Excuses” constitutes a direct confrontation to historical patterns of evasion and avoidance of action. “No More Delays” similarly draws attention to past trends of postponement and procrastination, serving as a reminder that waiting or delayed action exacerbates the problem. Consequently, memory then serves as a tool that holds individuals and institutions responsible and accountable for their inactions or actions. The recognition of past mistakes and failures, that are embedded in the shared memory of a collective, is accentuated, hence underscoring the importance and urgency for immediate action.

Memory activism using slogans and hashtags also indicates that collective memory upholds the vision for liberation through a sustained hope. The slogan “Until All Are Free” connects deeply with collective memory. It echoes the past struggles for freedom and justice in the context of collective remembering over the years, binding the past, present and future. It asserts that the collective memory of earlier struggles for freedom influences and informs the practices and efforts implored in the present. Hence, memory serves as both an inspiration that provides guidance and at the same time a mandate to ensure the liberation of the victims. Central to all the slogans and hashtags used in the online campaign is the resilience of hope which withstands prolonged suffering. “Hope Endures” is the emotional narrative that connects the collective memory of past struggles to the present circumstances and future aspirations. Hope endures in the BBOG movement because individuals remember the accomplishments that has been made (the release of over 100 girls in 2018), and the faith that in the end, no matter how long it may take, justice will eventually prevail. “Until All Are Free” and “Hope Endures” together suggest that memory is a catapult for perseverance, giving the BBOG movement the strength to continue with their advocacy till the last girl is liberated. With social media platforms and technology, these sentiments of hope and resilience are easily shared to members of the collective globally.

In conclusion, the evolution of the #BringBackOurGirls movement from advocacy to memory activism and remem-

bering in the digital space demonstrates the power of rhetoric in shaping long-term advocacy strategies and the collective memory of the group. Through a careful interplay of ethos, logos, and pathos, slogans and hashtags used for the online campaigns have transitioned from mere words and phrases to become potent representations and symbols of resilience, hope, remembrance, accountability and responsibility. These slogans and hashtags do not only persuade or mobilise support but also serve as enduring reminders of the ongoing struggle for socio-political justice. Thus, ensuring the story of the Chibok girls and their plight remains in the cultural consciousness of the society. The transformation of the online discourse to memory and remembering illustrates that the BBOG movement is anchored in a rhetorical narrative that continues to challenge societal complacency and push for meaningful change. To overlook this evolution risks silence on critical human rights issues. Hence, undermining the very efforts that demand justice and enduring social action that remember the past with the intention of striving to avert the repetition of negative historical events.

Abbreviations

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|------|----------------------|
| BBOG | Bring Back Our Girls |
| BH | Boko Haram |

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Conflicts of Interest

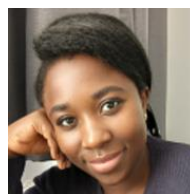
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Biography



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