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# **WHEN 'SCHOOLGIRLS' BECOME 'TERROR BRIDES'**

Exploring the media discourse on (aspiring) female  
'IS' returnees in German and British media

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# ABSTRACT

Miriam Kaiser: When 'schoolgirls' become 'terror brides' – Exploring the discourse on (aspiring) female 'IS' returnees in German and British media

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When women gave up their western lifestyle to join the so-called 'Islamic State' (IS), neo-orientalist narratives that circle the need to liberate women from the oppression of Islam were shaken. The media introduced labels such as 'naïve schoolgirls' or 'seduced brides' to stabilize the discourse and negate political motivations. These labels are challenged in the current debate on returnees. The 'naïve schoolgirls' are now also feared to be terror threats. The discursive shift has given rise to controversial debates about citizenship, human rights and the role of women in terrorism. This thesis explores the discourse on (aspiring) female 'IS' returnees in German and British newspapers through the lens of critical discourse analysis, feminism and postcolonialism. It studies a total of 209 articles from four leading newspapers: The center-liberal *Guardian* (UK) and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (GER, 'South German Newspaper') as well as the right-leaning tabloids *The Sun* (UK) and *Bild* (GER, 'Picture'). The articles were collected from the newspapers' webpages in the timeframe from January 2018 to December 2020. They cover the period from when the topic of returnees first gained substantial media attention to when this study was conducted. The data set was analyzed using S. Jäger's take on Critical Discourse Analysis, which is rooted in the Foucauldian understanding of discourse. It focuses on the process of normalization and the establishing of 'collective images.' The approach allows a structured reduction of the amount of text for the fine analysis and is therefore suitable for large data sets. At the same time, the different forms and layers of discourse are considered, making the approach suitable for online material with text and visual elements. Following a critical analysis of the data, I was able to identify five dominant gendered frames: 1) The groomed girl, much in line with previous stereotypes, 2) The regretful, a woman that made a mistake but eventually realizes the superiority of the West, 3) The accomplice, a woman that has committed violence, yet, as a henchwoman to a man, her agency is limited, 4) The fanatic Islamist, who, deeply entangled in the 'IS' ideology, is considered a terrorist threat, and 5) The social scrounger, a migrant woman and bad citizen that abuses the social system. Regularly, these frames are blended with ideas on motherhood and the role of daughters. Overall, my findings suggest that while some boundaries on what (Muslim) women can do have been widened, the depictions of returnees mostly remain reliant on normalized neo-orientalist ideas of what defines the West in opposition to the Islamic 'Other'. Thus, I argue that the discourse on female 'IS' returnees can only be fully understood in the wider context of the national narratives of Germany and the UK and the exclusiveness of citizenship.

Keywords: women and violence, Islamic State, Critical Discourse Analysis, postcolonial feminism, national narratives

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin OriginalityCheck service.

# CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	8
2.1 Women in Eurocentric Western media .....	8
2.2 (Post)colonial media filters .....	9
2.3 National narratives and the Other.....	12
2.4 Women and terrorism.....	13
3. METHODOLOGY.....	17
3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis and media.....	17
3.2 The Duisburg School.....	20
3.3 CDA with an intersectional lens: Feminism, postcolonialism and national narratives.....	21
3.4 Analysis framework .....	23
3.5 Data collection.....	26
3.6 Ethical considerations .....	30
4. ANALYSIS .....	32
4.1 Topics and statements .....	32
4.2 Two countries, four newspapers.....	36
4.2.1 The Guardian.....	36
4.2.2 The Sun .....	45
4.2.3 Süddeutsche Zeitung .....	51
4.2.4 Bild .....	58
5. DISCUSSION.....	64
5.1 Young and innocent: The groomed girl.....	64
5.2 The regretful.....	65
5.3 The accomplice .....	66
5.4 The fanatic Islamist: A (potential) terrorist .....	66
5.5 The social scrounger.....	67
5.6 Mothers and daughters .....	67
5.7 Shifting frames .....	68
5.8 Neo-Orientalist imaginations of the state and “good citizens” .....	69
6. CONCLUSION .....	72
7. REFERENCES .....	76
8. APPENDIX A: DATA SET .....	81

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFP	Agence France-Presse
ARD	German Association of Public Broadcasters
afog	Working Group Online Research (GER)
BMI	German Federal Ministry of the Interior
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DİTİB	Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs (GER)
DPA	German Press Agency
EU	European Union
GER	Germany
IS, ISIS, ISIL	“Islamic State” (terror organization)
ITV	Independent Television (UK, Channel 3)
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
ZDF	Second German Television

# 1. INTRODUCTION

The topic of European women and their involvement in the so-called *Islamic State* ('IS'<sup>1</sup>) first attracted my attention a few years ago when newspapers were headlining "Women and IS: The dream of an ideal Islamic marriage<sup>2</sup>" (Hermann, 2015), or "IS attracted European girls as brides for the fighters" (Mascolo et al., 2017). Since then, the focus has shifted to female returnees: "Islamic State: Germany must take back another mother" (Luig & dpa, 2019), or "Female IS member from Lohe<sup>3</sup> to stand trial for murder" (Kampf & Kabisch, 2019). The reports fluctuate between portraying the (former) female 'IS' members as weak and naïve, captured for the duty of procreating, and depicting them as terrorists and possible security threats. In the present research project, I delve into these contradictory images and explore how the media presentation of newspapers in Germany and the United Kingdom (UK) relates to previous depictions of Muslim women and women in terrorism.

Existing studies suggest that women have taken various (active) roles within the 'IS' organization (Chatterjee, 2016; Khelghat-Doost, 2017). However, there is also much uncertainty, especially when it comes to the role of single individuals: Was she a recruiter, or maybe a member of the *Al-Khansaa*<sup>4</sup> brigade? Or was she 'only a housewife' – and if yes, does that count as terror support; what does it mean in terms of legal prosecution? Female involvement in terrorist organizations conflicts with and challenges the dichotomous stereotype of men as the

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<sup>1</sup> I have decided to use the abbreviation 'IS' (with quotation marks) or formulations such as "so-called Islamic State" and not the acronym 'Daesh'. This is because the terms 'Islamic State', 'IS' or 'ISIS' are the most prominent in the European media discourse. I believe that it is important to highlight these formulations as problematic since the label state gives false legitimacy to the terrorist organization. My perception is that many Europeans do not have a good understanding of the origin of the Daesh naming and the connotation in Arabic. Using 'Daesh' might thus divert the attention from problematic labels that currently dominate the media and public discourse.

<sup>2</sup> All citations of German references and media were translated by the author if not stated otherwise.

<sup>3</sup> Town located in Lower Saxony, Germany.

<sup>4</sup> All-female unit to, among others, enforce rules regarding women's clothing; often also called the "morality police".

perpetrators and women as the victims - the narrative most present in research on women and war (Coulter, 2008, p. 54). Already in 2014, researchers highlighted that "[t]he profile of this cohort [Europeans joining the 'IS'] differs from the norm; there are a higher proportion of women, they are younger, and they are less likely to be known to the authorities" (Obe & Silverman, 2014, p. 6). By 2016, an estimated 3,900 – 4,300 Europeans had joined 'IS'. The majority of them came from just four countries: France, Belgium, Germany, and the United Kingdom and the percentage of females was estimated at 17% (van Ginkel et al., 2016, p. 3).

After the collapse of the self-proclaimed caliphate, hundreds of foreign 'IS' suspects have faced or are facing trials in Iraq. In addition, regional authorities in northeast Syria have detained around 43,000 foreigners linked to the terrorist group. The majority of them are women and children (Human Rights Watch, 2021). At first, it was only a few Central Asian states that flew out their citizens. NGOs point out that "[i]n stark contrast, repatriations by Western European countries have been piecemeal, despite far greater resources" (Tayler, 2019). Human rights experts as well as the Autonomous Administration in north-east Syria have repeatedly urged foreign governments to take back their citizens (AFP, 2021). In February 2021, UN experts pointed out that a total of 57 states, including 14 EU countries as well as Norway, Switzerland, and the UK, still have citizens in the camps. In an official letter, the experts highlight the inhumane conditions in the camps and urge the affected states to repatriate women and children (OHCHR, 2021).

Germany and the UK, the case studies for this thesis, are both amongst the states that have been reluctant to repatriate their citizens. For the two countries, the estimated number of (former) 'IS' members ranges from 700 to over 1000 (Deutsche Welle, 2020; van Ginkel et al., 2016, 33, 40). While similar with regard to the level of total numbers, the countries are different when it comes to other aspects that might influence the discourse. This includes their history and current relationship with Muslim citizens as well as its relationship with Islamist extremist groups.

In Germany, the discourse on Islam is closely intertwined with different waves of migration. Until the 1960s very few Muslims lived in the country. It was through labor migration from Turkey and Yugoslavia that the Muslim population grew

(Thielmann, 2008, p. 2). To this day, Muslims of Turkish origin make up almost half of the Muslim population in Germany (Pfündel et al., 2021, p. 42). Initially the workers were thought of as temporary visitors. Dynamics between the so-called 'guest workers' (*Gastarbeiter*) and the German population changed after the recruitment stop in 1973. Workers started to bring their families and became more organized with several religious associations being formed in the 1980s (Thielmann, 2008, pp. 2–6). The focus shifted from temporary labor migration to permanent settlement. Nevertheless, citizenship remains protected by the necessity to demonstrate 'German-ness' and ideological compliance. Potential new citizens need to undergo a test which includes, amongst others, questions on sexual morals. Applicants have criticized that even as an entirely non-violent believer it is easy to be singled out (Averesch, 2006) and also the UN has highlighted the process as discriminating (dpa, 2008). This shows that while the country has on paper adjusted its citizenship law from a strict *jus sanguinis* to a *jus soli*, in practice the idea of the former remains.

German politics continue to vacillate between the upholding of a *German Leitkultur*, the idea of one dominant culture, and the concept of a multicultural society (Spenlen, 2015a, p. 23). The debate escalated especially in the wake of the so-called 'European refugee crisis' and the perceived 'opening of borders' by Chancellor Angela Merkel in 2015. It did not stop at verbal blows; there was also a great increase in acts of violence against asylum seekers and assumed Muslim citizens (Deutscher Bundestag, 2017, pp. 2–3). At the same time, right-wing voices in the media and in politics, as well as a growing protest movement, warned of the 'downfall of the Occident', assaults on white women and terrorist attacks.

The discussion on possible Islamist terrorist attacks in Germany is not new. The fear amongst the country's population skyrocketed after it became clear that a group based in Hamburg had been involved in the 9/11 attacks (Boukhars, 2009, p. 307). Lately, the terrorist attack on the Berlin Christmas market by a rejected asylum seeker who was in contact with the terrorist group 'IS' in particular caused great shock nationally and raised questions about the ability to act of the German

security authorities to act (Cesari & Kaya, 2020). Despite a number of native German converts amongst terror suspects, the debate focuses exclusively on migrants (Crisis Group, 2007, p. 12).

As a consequence of the war in Syria, Muslims of Syrian origin now constitute the second biggest group of Muslims in Germany (Pfündel et al., 2021, p. 42). In total, the number of Muslims in Germany is estimated at 5.4 to 5.7 million, equaling about 6.5 % of the population (Pfündel et al., 2021, 37, 39). Around 40% of the Muslims living in Germany are German citizens. 9% have at least one additional nationality (Pfündel et al., 2021, p. 70). More than 95% of the Muslims live in west Germany (Pfündel et al., 2021, p. 53) while levels of Islamophobia are higher in the east (Spenlen, 2015b, p. 25). Similar to the public debate, statistics and research on Islam deal almost exclusively with people with an immigrant background. There are no reliable figures on native German converts (Pfündel et al., 2021, p. 57). Generally, origin does play a role in how susceptible to Islamist extremism people are or are perceived to be. The Minister for Integration in North-Rhine Westphalia highlighted that “We are rather lucky with our Turks who live here, who have known about the separation of religion and state since Atatürk. There is fundamentalism in Turkey, but Turks do not generally feel that Saudis or Osama bin Laden are addressing them in particular<sup>5</sup>” (Laschet, as cited in Crisis Group, 2007, p. 19). This quote also shows that citizenship is not equal to *belonging*. Even after generations people with a so-called ‘migration background<sup>6</sup>’ remain the “Turks”. The formulation “our Turks” is especially interesting as it emphasizes the ambivalent position of these people. They find themselves in a

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<sup>5</sup> While this assessment remains present, in recent years attempts by the Turkish government to increase its influence on the Turkish-Islamic community in Germany through the organization Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs (DİTİB) have strained German-Turkish relations and stoked fears of increasing extremism. DİTİB is the largest Sunni Islamic organization in Germany and a branch of the Presidency of Religious Affairs in Ankara.

<sup>6</sup> The German Federal Office of Statistics defines ‘migration background’ as follows: “A person has a migration background if he or she or at least one parent was not born with German citizenship. Specifically, this definition includes immigrant and nonimmigrant foreigners, immigrant and nonimmigrant naturalized citizens, (late) Aussiedler (ethnic German repatriates) and the descendants of these groups born as Germans.” The foreign designation used in many statistics and administrative procedures, but also by the media, is criticized as racist. It is closely linked to a *jus sanguinis* understanding of citizenship. Only White Germans are real Germans. In contrast to the above-mentioned definition, in everyday use, the term regularly refers exclusively to People of Color and it is also used for non-White people whose parents were born in Germany.



quasi-vacuum between belonging and foreignness. Furthermore, this generalizing statement expresses an almost paternalistic relationship. Overall, this shows how Othering, questions of belonging and the fear of an Islamic influence have shaped and continue to shape the discourse on Islam in Germany.

In the UK, small fairly permanent Muslim communities existed in the cities of Cardiff, Liverpool, Manchester, South Shields as well as London's East End already in the mid-nineteenth century (Ansari, 2002, p. 6). Yet, it was after the Second World War that the Muslim population started to grow significantly. Similar to Germany, labor migration was the main factor. The dynamics were shaped by Britain's role as an imperial and colonial power. Most migrants came after the Indian Partition in 1947 in the hope to find work and were later joined by their families (Rehman, 2007, p. 844) First, the way the migrant workers were perceived was largely shaped by ethnic and cultural differences. Subsequently, religion developed into a distinguishing feature and also influenced self-organization (Weller, 2006, p. 302). Up to today, Muslims of South Asian origin comprise the majority of the Muslim population (Gilliat-Ray, 2011, p. 17).

Prior to 9/11, the UK government was not very concerned about Islamist influences and terrorism. The island was even considered a safe harbor for radical organizations. Yet, with the beginning of the global 'war on terror', the radicals gained wide public and media attention. Soon, legislation became more restrictive<sup>7</sup> (Pupcenoks & McCabe, 2013, p. 175). However, not only radical believers were affected. While discrimination had been an issue from the beginning, the global 'war on terror' and Britain's involvement further complicated the position of any British Muslims. Hate crimes against (perceived) Muslims increased and at the same time many British Muslims were unhappy about the interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan (Pupcenoks & McCabe, 2013, p. 177). The London bombings on the 7<sup>th</sup> of July 2005 further stirred the debate on multiculturalism, Islam as an 'evil ideology', and the role of Muslim minorities in Britain (Rehman, 2007, p. 834). Today, Islam is the second biggest religion in the UK. In 2017, the number of Muslims was estimated to be 3.4 million (ONS, 2018). Compared to Germany,

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<sup>7</sup> While many radical groups were banned and disbanded in the early 2000s, others, such as *Hizb ut-Tahrir* (The Party of Liberation) remain legal and active. Germany, on the other hand, has prohibited any public activities of the organization, whose aim it is to create a global caliphate.

the UK took relatively few refugees from Syria. Nevertheless, the displacement of millions of people caused a wide public and media debate. The discourse followed a “victim-pariah couplet” (Kyriakides, 2017) that fits into the Orientalist, racialized frame of Western knowledge creation.

For both the UK and Germany, Sunni Islam is the most dominant school of thought (Ansari, 2002, p. 6; Sauer & Halm, 2015, p. 396). This being said, it is important to stress the diversity of Muslim communities in both countries. The overview provided in the previous paragraphs merely scratches the surface and thus cannot grasp the complexity of the Muslim life. The idea behind this brief overview is rather to provide a general idea on how the historical and recent background of the countries might affect the current discursive dynamics on female ‘IS’ returnees.

In taking these two similar but different countries as case studies, my thesis analyzes the debate on female ‘IS’ returnees for two big players in European politics. The two case studies also allow me to point out differences as well as similarities and cross references in the discourse threads on (Muslim) women, security, human rights, and citizenship. My research focus on how the women as nationals are portrayed in relationship to their country. I study ideas and images that are normalized within the “discursive swarming” (S. Jäger, 2015, p. 8). I do this using a Critical Discourse Analysis framework and an intersectional feminist lens. This means that I understand discourse as a social practice that is shaped by, but can also reproduce or change, power inequalities. My intersectional approach draws from postcolonial feminism and aims to uncover power inequalities related to gender and race, which are both understood as social constructs.

The media is an actor that mirrors but also influences the social discursive dynamics. In the context of terrorism, media can easily become an accomplice: “If terrorism is seen as political theatre performed for audiences (...) clearly the mass media plays a crucial role. Without massive news coverage the terrorist act would resemble the proverbial tree falling in the forest” (Nacos, 2000, p. 174). Thus, studying media offers an interesting perspective on female ‘IS’ returnees. The media material I have selected encompasses 209 articles from four major online newspapers. They have been published between 2018, when media first turned its attention to returnees and end of 2020, when I collected the data. For

each country, I have selected a right leaning tabloid and a center-liberal broadsheet. I analyze the British *Guardian* and *The Sun*, and for Germany I have selected *Süddeutsche Zeitung* ('South German newspaper') and *Bild* ('picture'). I focus on online media since digital offerings have grown more and more important over the last decade and are now ahead of print media. Furthermore, the use of online newspapers simplifies the data collection process. By considering both tabloids and broadsheets, I aim to consider diverse political perspectives. Nevertheless, my analysis can only provide information on what is said and considered sayable within a specific space and timeframe.

My findings suggest that while many articles fail to grasp the complexity of the victim-perpetrator overlap, the overall media discourse shows a certain degree of diversity and might thereby expand the mainstream view on what (Muslim) women can do. Yet, the stretching of stereotypes on (Muslim) women often goes hand in hand with a stronger emphasis on neo-orientalist ideas of what defines the West in opposition to the Islamic 'Other'. This pattern was visible in both countries despite their different foci: For Germany, I identified a strong focus on legal aspects, whereas in the UK discourse was more racialized. Thus, I argue that the knowledge creation on female 'IS' returnees can only be fully understood in the wider context of the national narratives.

In the following, I will first introduce the existing literature on (Muslim) women and media, women and terrorism, as well as national narratives. Next, I then discuss Critical Discourse Analysis as my method and theoretical perspective. I focus on the Duisburg School from which I borrow the framework to analyze big sets of media data and highlight how feminism and postcolonialism shape my analysis. In the fourth chapter, I present an overview of the topics and statements present in the discourse. I then turn to the discourse threads of each newspaper and the fine analysis of individual articles. Afterwards, in the discussion in chapter five, I combine the findings of the analysis with my theoretical framework to point out and criticize the discursive patterns. Last, the conclusion presents some ideas for further research.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis looks at the Eurocentric, Western media discourse on female 'IS' returnees through a postcolonial feminist lens. I thus rely on and borrow from the wide range of existing literature on gendered and racialized framings of women as well as from research on women and violence. I start by looking at how women are generally portrayed in Eurocentric media. Next, I add race and imaginations surrounding Islam to the picture. Tracing those ideas from early postcolonial literature to studies published past 9/11 opens a first window into how those ideas and pictures are manifested in national narratives as historically grown, changing patterns of collective imagination. Next, I turn my attention to the violence aspect of my research puzzle: What ideas exist about women and violence and more specifically women in terrorist organizations? Asking these questions will then allow me to position existing research on women and the so-called 'Islamic State' as well as my own research project within the broader context of Peace and Conflict Studies.

### 2.1 Women in Eurocentric Western media

Feminists already criticized the representation of women in the media in the 1960s with the second wave of the women's movement. Early studies concluded "not only that women are underrepresented in the media in both content and production, but that the women that do appear in media content tend to be [...] defined in relation to their husband, father, son, boss and other men, and portrayed as passive, indecisive, submissive, dependent, etc." (Meyers, 1999, p. 10) Women were presented more as objects than subjects with agency. In *Women and Media: A Critical Introduction* (2006), Ross and Byerly point out that while there is still a trend of "male-owned" media to marginalize women and reproduce stereotypes, there is as well significant progress visible, including more involvement of women in decision-making in the media sector and a stronger representation of women in news stories. They link these changes in mainstream media to the steady women's media activism (pp. 231–233). Overall, it becomes clear that positive change has happened, but patriarchal structures are still inscribed

in the media sector. By taking a feminist perspective, this thesis criticizes the remaining inequalities and stereotypical gendered framings.

## 2.2 (Post)colonial media filters

Equally, by taking a feminist *postcolonial* approach, this thesis also aims to deconstruct racialized depictions. With his book *Orientalism* (1978) Said lay the foundation for postcolonial theory. He questions Western representation and highlights the *West* and the *East/Orient* as artificial categories. Said criticizes the underlying power dynamics and points out that only by constructing the oriental *Other* the West can establish, maintain, and justify its own identity and hegemony. In *Covering Islam* (1981), Said highlights the role of Western media as a filter that shares only a particular type of information about Islam with the reader. He highlights that in line with the idea of the West and the Orient as opposing categories, Islam is portrayed as backward, oppressive and conflict-causing.

Later research points out that the media filters change over time. The different media frames can often be linked to political events. In this context, the Iranian revolution has been identified as a major turning point. The rise of political Islam challenged the Western ideal of a secular state. In consequence, the exotic frame present in early media reports on the Arab worlds was more and more replaced by the assumption of an inseparability of politics and religion in Islam, often in combination with the equation of political Islam and fundamentalism (Hafez, 2010, p. 104). The events of 9/11 reinforced this frame and shifted it further to the negative. Islam was more and more often brought up in connection to terrorism (see, for example, Alsultany, 2012; Moore et al., 2008; Saeed, 2007). Alsultany argues that since 9/11, media has incorporated the public discourse on 'good' and 'bad' Muslims. In this discourse, all Muslims are assumed to be bad until they deliver proof for the opposite and show their support for the West. (2012, pp. 14–15). This thesis especially explores how this duality is reflected in European approaches to citizenship.

The patterns described above, have also been identified in German and British media. In a quantitative case study of English newspapers, Moore et al. discovered an overall increase in coverage of Muslims after the terrorist attacks in 2001 and 2005, with the war on terror becoming a "long-running story in its own right"

(2008, p. 10). They identified three topics to be most present: Terrorism and the war on terror, religious and cultural issues, and Muslim extremism (Moore et al., 2008, p. 10). Similarly, Hafez and Richter (2007) have identified a focus on terrorism, extremism and conflict for the reporting on Islam in the public broadcasts ARD and ZDF. Only one-fifth of the reports was identified as neutral or positive. Overall, we can see that the representation of Muslims in Eurocentric media is mostly characterized by stereotypes which are constantly adapted to international dynamics. My research will explore how those patterns change and evolve in the discourse on foreign female 'IS' members.

Previous research shows that the depiction on Muslim women tends to fit the overall negative reporting on Islam. Shirazi (2010) summarizes:

*“The Western media’s representation of Muslim women, whether veils or exposed, passive or wielding weapons, have fit quite neatly into ‘dominant geopolitical discourses’ and have served as the ‘main repositories of the West’s sense of fear, fascination, and superiority vis-à-vis the Muslim world” (p. 6).*

She emphasizes the enduring power of Said's concept of Orientalism, the continued practice of presenting the East and Islam as exotic, primitive, alien, and violent (2010, p. 4). Navarro (2010) adds that Western mass media blends Islamophobia and sexism and thereby creates an image in which Muslim women are “victims of their own culture and a threat to ours” (p. 98). This idea of the victimhood of Muslim women was first discussed by Spivak in her essay *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (1988). She highlights the “collective fantasy” that “white men are saving brown women from brown men” (p. 296). This fantasy establishes the default of the White men as the good guy and the Brown guy as the bad guy. Similarly, Western nations are the saviors whereas states in the East need liberation. These ideas are blind to the objectifying gendered framing that is imposed by the White men (p. 305). Spivak points out that these imperialist images have become the “establisher of the good society” (p. 299). She showcases this in the context of Britain's colonial relationship with India (p. 297)

Yet, these patterns are not limited to the past. Al-Ali and Pratt (2009) highlight how the liberation of women from the oppression of Islam was used as a justifying argument in the US occupation of Iraq. The discursive pattern is traced back to

the ‘women question’ during colonialism. The title *What Kind of Liberation?* summarizes the critical perspective of the authors. Similarly, Shepherd (2006) discusses how the Bush administration attempted to create a feminist narrative for its attacks in Afghanistan. As an example, the author quotes Laura Bush:

*“[...] our hearts break for the women and children in Afghanistan ... because in Afghanistan we see the world the terrorists would like to impose on the rest of us ... Fighting brutality against women and children ... is the acceptance of our common humanity” (Bush, 2001, as quoted in Shepherd, 2006, p. 20).*

The example shows how ideas of the nation often circle stereotypical gendered and racialized framings.

In regards to existing literature on the depiction of Muslim women, it is noteworthy that a lot of studies either look at the depiction of foreign women in Western media (see, for example, Roushanzamir, 2004) or put the focus on migration (see, for example, Farrokhzad, 2006). Farrokhzad has studied the representation of migrant women in German media. She has identified four different stereotypes: 1) the exotic oriental, which lost popularity after the rise of political Islam, 2) the traditional Turkish migrant women, wearing a headscarf, 3) the modern, integrated Turkish women, wearing Western clothes, and 4) the fundamentalist (pp. 75-76). Those depictions are linked to international events and the perception of Islam in general, but also to the Germany-specific history with Turkish guest workers. Regarding the fourth stereotype, Hübsch (2014) comments that female fundamentalists are mostly associated with being married at a young age, having many kids, and a low level of education (p. 254). While these women are perceived as social scroungers and a biological danger, since they might increase the amount of the Muslim population, the connection to terrorism is rather drawn for men.

The stereotypes that have been identified in previous research serve as a template for this thesis. They allow me to track discursive changes and to situate the depictions in a wider context. Furthermore, by shifting the focus from migrant women, to ‘IS’ supporters of various backgrounds, this thesis helps to gain a more diverse understanding of the depiction of Muslim women. Existing literature also highlights that the framings of (Muslim) women do not happen in an empty space.

They are shaped by and for political events. They change, are used as justifications and thus depend on the (national) context in which they are produced. Next, we will thus take a closer look at national narratives.

### 2.3 National narratives and the Other

The previous sections have already suggested that there is a close relationship between gender, (post)colonialism, and notions of nation. The literature on national narratives sheds more light on this. Generally speaking, Said (1994) argues that “[...] nations themselves are narrations. The power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them” (p. xiii). While Said brought up this argument in the context of colonialism, Cooppan (2009) highlights its continued relevance in the age of globalization. She combines nationalism theory and psychoanalysis to explore nations as “fantasmatic objects knotted together by ambivalent forces of desire, identification, memory, and forge” (p. xvii). Cooppan argues, that there is no clear distinction between the national and the international and thus no clear border between the inside and outside:

*“What the structure of national identification conceives of as the outside - the world beyond the border, the cultural other outside the compact - is in fact always already inside, always already present in the very moment and process of nation” (p. xvii).*

Thus, while their storylines change with time, postcolonial national narratives continuously rely on artificial *Others*. As the previously mentioned examples of the Iraq occupation and the attacks on Afghanistan show, one possible Other are Orientalized Muslim women. My thesis broadens and reshapes the argument as I am not looking at Muslim women as migrants or citizens of another country but at nationals and how they are portrayed in relationship to their own country.

Thus, ideas on citizenship play a major role. Diez and Squire (2008) showcase that while the European Union is often seen as a post-national endeavor, citizenship remains very much exclusive. They argue that citizenship is an integral part of national identities and “not only constructed through legal processes, but also through everyday social and political practices” (p. 567). With its focus on media



content, my thesis will mainly look at the discourse surrounding social practices and citizenship but also touch upon legal aspects whenever they are part of the media debate. Studying both Germany and the UK, the authors also highlight differences in how citizenship is defined and practiced in the two countries. As discussed earlier, for Germany the tradition of *jus sanguinis* remains dominant in everyday social practice despite legal changes towards *jus soli* (p. 568).

Britain, however, with its imperial history comes from much more of a multi-national background reflected in a *jus soli* approach to citizenship. Early definitions of British nationality at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are described as “nation-neutral” as they included people living in the UK, the inhabitants of British colonies as well as those of self-governed dominions (Everson, 2003, p. 82). Yet, from the 60<sup>th</sup> on, immigration and thereby also citizenship were heavily affected by debates on securitization. The rights of Commonwealth citizens were limited steadily, and the former *jus soli* law incorporated elements of *jus sanguinis* (Diez & Squire, 2008, pp. 569–570). Overall, we can see that while both countries come from opposite sides of the legal spectrum, *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* are converging more and more. The legal practice goes hand in hand with political and legal practices, which are nowadays strongly shaped by securitization. While some authors argue that globalization has brought “the end of the nation state” (Ōmae, 1996), I argue in line with Cooppan’s work that it is often global phenomena such as migration or international terrorism that revitalize the desire for borders, restrictive citizenship and the imagination of a safe nation. The discourse on ‘IS’ returnees, analyzed in this work, serves as one example.

## **2.4 Women and terrorism**

(Un)existing research on women and violence highlights why a critical approach is crucial for my research puzzle: While questions surrounding women and violence have recently become an important part of feminist research, for a long time, discussions on gendered violence were heavily stereotyped or considered a taboo. Jacques and Taylor (2009) highlight this in research on female fighters and terrorism. They point out that the topic was rarely discussed in academia until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup>-century but notice a significant increase in research on female terrorists after 2001 (Jacques & Taylor, 2009, p. 502).

However, the growing awareness of female terrorism does not mean a break with previous stereotypes regarding female fighters. Kdmoklidze (2009) argues that

*“many believe that these women are yet other victims in the hands of ruthless men, while others emphasize the seriousness of a particular conflict here even women are driven towards taking up arms, seen as a last resort in the eyes of many” (p. 181).*

The latter argument was also brought up in the discourse on the ‘IS’. Yet, existing research suggests that women joined for various reasons and have taken diverse (active) roles within the organization. Perešin (2015) points out that “the motivations of women joining ISIS do not necessarily differ from the motivations of men making the same decision and can vary from one person to another” (p. 34). She discusses a number of push and pull factors which range from frustration with their situation in the West or international politics to difficult family relations (p. 34-35).

Khelghat-Doost (2017) explains that since the ‘IS’ has created “gender-segregated parallel institutions”, women are active at all capacities. The roles range from education and healthcare to tax collection or patrolling streets as part of the female police force. The author points out that “Unlike [other] jihadi organizations, IS has repeatedly shown interest in adopting pragmatic approaches [...] Implementing a gender-segregated parallel institution, with the idea borrowed from the practices of Iran and Saudi Arabia, is an example of such pragmatic approaches”.

Both, the media and state actors, tend to have an oversimplified understanding of female ‘IS’ supporters roles and motivations. Sjoberg and Gentry (2016) explore how gendered misconceptions affect counterterrorism policies. They highlight the persistence of two ideas: 1) women are more peaceful and 2) if they are attracted to terrorism, it is because of their “precarious [status]” and “their vulnerability as women” (p. 25). The authors argue that by limiting women’s agency, actors fail to uncover and address the real motivations of female ‘IS’ supporters. The authors do not negate gendered dimensions of terrorism as such but argue that the influential factor is the gendered structure of the everyday and society as a whole.

In a case study of the depiction of Western women joining the 'IS' in British broadsheet newspapers Martini (2018) identified similar problems. She especially highlights the neo-orientalist nature of the "jihadi bride" narrative and criticizes the "construction the normative 'Muslim woman' in Western society" (p. 471). She points out that the women joining the 'IS' are depicted as 'vulnerable' and 'naïve', 'groomed and enticed', focused on marriage and 'hormone driven', teenagers looking for an adventure, affected by trauma, under the bad influence of Islam and/or male relatives (p. 465-471). In modified forms, these images can also be identified in my own data.

With a timeframe from 2014 to 2017, Martini, focuses on the depiction of women travelling to Syria to join the self-claimed 'caliphate'. My thesis adds to these findings by analyzing a later timeframe that covers the discourse on returnees, in which the women are more and more also described as criminals and security threats. Sjoberg and Gentry (2016) point out why the moment of return is especially crucial to the understanding of gendered assumptions and government policies:

*"if women who join IS really are, as governments and media outlets alike frame them, helpless and manipulated, then they would not be criminals. If the women who join IS really are, as governments and media outlets alike have begun to frame those who would like to return, criminals, then they would not be helpless and manipulated. Both of these framings, then, serve to obscure more than they reveal."* (p. 27)

Given the topicality of this research puzzle, it is not surprising that several authors have addressed the topic of female 'IS' returnees in different regional contexts within a similar timeframe to the present research project. Anita Perešin, Melisa Hasanović, and Kujtim Bytyqi (2021) shed light on the experience of female returnees in the Western Balkans through a combination of data analysis and interviews with returning women. They thereby expand on the question "Why are (European) women joining the so-called 'Islamic State'?" from a retrospective while also reflecting on state action and translating their findings into key factors for reintegration and deradicalization processes.

Yasmin Jiwani (2021), on the other hand, analyses the user comments in reaction to Canadian online media reports on female 'IS' returnees as well as the frames

created by the media itself. She highlights the gendered Islamophobia that characterizes most of the comments and stresses the discrepancy between the popular narrative of Canada as an open, harmonious, multicultural nation and the user comments that “paint a picture of a white nation that is overrun with and taken advantage of by racialized minorities” (p. 54). The present research work adds a central-European insight by exploring aspects of the current media debate in Germany and the UK and its ties to the countries’ national narratives.

### **3. METHODOLOGY**

In the following I introduce Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as my analytical perspective and method. I start by outlining the aims and background of CDA as a research movement and explore its role in media studies to highlight how CDA supports my research goal. Next, I look at the specifics of the Duisburg school, who's approach is applied in this work. The third section then discusses feminist CDA and explores the importance of integrating postcolonial theory for an intersectional reading.

#### **3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis and media**

CDA is “a type of [...] research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in social and political contexts” (van Dijk, 2008, p. 352). It aims to deconstruct seemingly “neutral” surfaces and to make hidden ideological presumptions visible (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 5). CDA is, therefore, a tool that can serve to denaturalize “manufactured” media discourses by analyzing “what goes into its making” as well as the ideological background (O'Keeffe, 2014, p. 441).

CDA as a research movement can be traced back to the 70s, when researchers of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) first started to explore connections between language, power and ideology. In 1985, Fairclough introduced the term Critical Discourse Analysis and further established it in his later publications. Similar to SFL, CDA analyzed the social functions of language. Yet, it was different as it shifted the focus from descriptive linguistics and structural thinking to patterns of unequal power relations (Breeze, 2011, p. 496). Fairclough's work relied on Foucault, who had first shifted the focus from language as such to discourse as “a way of presenting the knowledge about [...] a particular topic at a particular historic moment” (Hall, 1992, p. 291). Nowadays, CDA combines a range of different methodical approaches that are unified by their focus on power and discourse in the context of societal issues (Wodak, 2002, pp. 5–6).

While there are different interpretations of the terms *discourse* and *critical* within the movement, the understanding of *critical* is generally rooted in Marxist ideas and the Frankfurt School. It is seen as a mechanism that can contextualize and explain but also change social constructions (Wodak and Fairclough 1997, S. 260). Fairclough et al. (2011) connect this understanding of critique to an “emancipatory agenda” and point out that “CDA sees itself not as a dispassionate and objective social science but as engaged and committed; a form of intervention in social practice and social relationships” (p 395). Despite taking a clear political stance against injustice, CDA maintains its scientific character through methodological transparency and a systematic analysis. On a very general level, *discourse* is understood as a social practice, in which elements of the everyday contribute to the construction of meaning. Discourse happens within a specific social setting and is therefore shaped by it. However, through the process of meaning-making, it is at the same time socially constitutive. This means that there is a dialectical relationship between the discursive event and its social and structural frame (Fairclough et al., 2011, pp. 394–395; Wodak, 2002, pp. 7–8).

In the context of media, CDA can help to understand content and its social embeddedness. CDA aims to analyze how discourse is shaped by and reproduces and/or transforms society and culture. Thus, when applied to journalistic texts, not only the linguistic details or the design matter, but also the overall societal dynamics, ideologies and power relations that structure the context in which it was formulated (Fairclough et al., 2011, p. 409). Carvalho (2008) highlights that the analysis of journalistic material can be especially challenging to analyze, as it “intersects with all fields of society” (p. 162). Therefore, developing a research framework that grasps all the elements of media content remains an ongoing challenge, especially in the context of changing media landscapes (O’Keeffe, 2014, p. 441).

Over the years, CDA has become more and more recognized and is now used in various fields of social sciences and the humanities. This dynamic has also given rise to criticism. Billig (2003) highlights the importance for self-reflection in the context of a growing institutionalization of the CDA movement and says: “[M]y stance here is not a hostile attack from outside, but one that follows the demand

that critical analysts be self-critical. This means that we cannot use critical terminology unreflexively, as if our own words are somehow magically innocent” (p. 36). As a comment to Billig’s concerns, Breeze (2011) states: “[I]n intellectual terms, a critical paradigm has been established – a critical orthodoxy which may, in its way, be as inflexible, dogmatic and exclusive as other orthodoxies of the past” (p. 518). Other criticism addresses the theory and methods used in CDA. Breeze (2011) summarizes:

*“These critics have brought to light problems with the epistemology and theoretical framework, most particularly the instrumentalisation of theory and the failure to establish an objective standpoint for research. But they have also criticised the type of linguistic methodology that is often applied, as well as the underlying theories of language and communication, and they have shown how CDA researchers may fail to integrate context and audience satisfactorily into their analytical framework, leading to naively deterministic assumptions about the workings of discourse and social reproduction” (p. 494).*

Yet, the author also states “Critical Discourse Analysis offers a promising paradigm for identifying and interpreting the way ideology functions in and through discourse. [...] It would be unfortunate if this important mission were to be undermined by methodological flaws and theoretical shortcomings” (p. 520). Thus, following the call for reflection, she has formulated a list of guidelines to address the challenges. I want to close this section by highlighting some of the aspects which I consider especially relevant for my own work.

Firstly, as CDA uses and combines a variety of theories, it is essential to be precise about the theoretical background of one’s work and make sure the different approaches fit together. Secondly, the analysis - from the data collection to the stages of interpretation and explanation - needs to be done in a systematic way. In this context sufficient time needs to be given to the analysis of the text and the immediate context before it is explained in the wider context of social theory. And last, Breeze highlights that CDA should not remain with the negative of inequality but also tell the stories of emancipation and positive change (pp. 520-521). Aware of the possible pitfalls of CDA, I use the next section to introduce the detailed theoretical framework of the Duisburg school. Next, I then discuss feminism and neo-Orientalism as my analytical lens and political position. The analysis section

gives room to the exploration of the linguistic features of the text before I combine it with social theory in the discussion chapter.

### 3.2 The Duisburg School

With a detailed theoretical and methodological framework, the Duisburg school provides a structure that allows me to counter many of the above-mentioned criticisms. Moreover, it has an excellent toolbox for analyzing big sets of media data as the founders themselves, Siegfried and Margarete Jäger, had a research focus on discrimination and the intersection of the discursive strains on migration and women in Germany media (see, for example, M. Jäger, 1996). Thus, overall, the Duisburg school is a great fit for the present research puzzle. In the following, I introduce the theoretical background before discussing the application of the method in section.

The Duisburg school was established in the 1990s and draws on the linguistic scholar Jürgen Link and his reading of Foucault for its theoretical foundations (M. Jäger & Jäger, 2007). According to Link's interpretation of Foucault, discourses are "regulated, rudimentarily institutionalized ways of speaking as space of possible statements, insofar as they are linked to actions and thereby exercise power" (Link, 2005, p. 18). Based on this, M. Jäger and Jäger (2007) formulate: "[Discourse is a] rhizome-like branching meandering flow of knowledge or social knowledge stocks through time, which may well flow backwards and [creates] the specifications for subject formation and the structuring and shaping of society<sup>8</sup>" (p. 23). Thereby, drawing on Foucault, the relationship of discourse to space and time is emphasized.

S. Jäger warns that discourse cannot be reduced to a "distorted view of reality" but has to be seen in its "own materiality" (2015, p. 35). In relation to what Foucault calls the *power-knowledge complex*, he formulates "Discourses exercise power as 'carriers' of (historically and spatially valid) 'knowledge'; they are themselves a power factor in that they are capable of inducing behavior and (other) discourses. They thus contribute to the structuring of power and domination relations in the

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<sup>8</sup> If not marked otherwise, all translations of German literature have been done by the author.



respective societies” (p. 38). The function of CDA is to make visible the carrier effect and the acceptance of the hegemonial discourse in society.

S. Jäger (2016), highlights the importance of two analytical categories for the process of uncovering: *normalism* and *collective symbols*. Both concepts are adopted from Link (pp. 53, 55). Link defines normalism as “a modern cultural regime [which] routinely produces and reproduces normalities (Link 2006, preliminary remarks). This idea is linked to Foucaults understanding of normality and normalism as discursive, historical categories of modernity (Link 2016, 116) The construction of the normal has a stabilizing function. Normalism is as a controlling authority that prevents chaos by securing fundamental understanding. (Link 1995a, p. 26). Collective symbols are the visual pendant to normalism in language and help exercising controlling power. As “cultural stereotypes,” they serve as a template to differentiate between the normal and deviations. Jäger (2016) defines them as

*“the totality of the so-called ‘imagery’ of a culture [...], the totality of its most widespread allegories and emblems, metaphors, exemplary cases, illustrative models and orienting topics, comparisons and analogies. It contains, in a symbolically condensed and simplified form, the image of our society that is common and valid today and forms a system” (p. 55).*

Overall, it evolves a set of simplified pictures of society, which influences our perception and interpretation of reality. An understanding of these dynamics is crucial for analyzing the interplay of politics, media and the individual and collective consciousness (Jäger 2016, p. 55). In my thesis, I explore normalism, collective symbols and their interplay in written text and newspaper images.

### **3.3 CDA with an intersectional lens: Feminism, postcolonialism and national narratives**

The media discourse that I study in this thesis does not exist isolated. It is part of a bigger whole. As discussed above, I look for normalized gendered and racialized frames, but I also locate them with in the wider context of national narratives to give them the necessary context. I understand a national narrative as a historically grown, dynamic pattern which merges culture, identity, and representation. It is through those patterns that we see, understand, and redefine the nation and

questions of belonging. Linked thereto, national narratives often work as a scheme for storytelling for media actors and in turn, as a scheme for meaning making for the reader. Given the fact, these patterns are historically grown, we have gotten used to their presence. To detect the powerful fabric, it needs an aware reader. Said discusses this problem and points out possible counteractive methods. In *Culture and Imperialism* (1994), he suggests a “contrapunctual reading” to decode the message pattern and thereby resituate the described event. I attempt such a contrapunctual reading by employing CDA.

With its aim to expose power imbalances, CDA naturally goes with both feminism and postcolonialism. Within the movement of CDA, there are authors that have developed a feminist CDA framework (see Lazar, 2007a), as well as researchers that have combined CDA and postcolonial theory (see Sanz Sabido, 2019). Feminist CDA focuses particularly on power relations and ideologies in the construction of gender through discourse. ‘Gender’ is considered as an ideological structure. In this context, ideologies are understood as “representations of practices formed from particular perspectives in the interest of maintaining unequal power relations and dominance” (Lazar, 2007b, pp. 4–5). Postcolonial CDA, on the other hand, is occupied with power inequalities in current social practices that stem from (post)colonial structures. It focuses on “the discursive uses of classifications, which signify the difference between various agents, and contextualizes these uses in relation to the (post)colonial” (Sanz Sabido, 2019, p. 30). Such classifications as expressions and hierarchies of power can, for example, be derived from the work of Said (1978) on Orientalism, which I briefly discussed in the literature review.

My approach to combine feminist and postcolonial CDA is rooted in postcolonial feminist theory. While there might not be an established CDA framework that specifically focuses on postcolonialism and feminism, there is an extensive body of literature on postcolonial feminism which has evolved since the 1980s. Postcolonial feminism criticizes Western feminism for its limitation to White women’s experiences. It argues that mainstream feminism “colonize[s] the material and historical differences of the lives of women” (Mishra, 2013, p. 132) by reducing women to a homogeneous group, ignoring the role of other aspects such as race

or class (Mohanty, 1988). Postcolonial feminism, in contrast, calls for an intersectional perspective. While postcolonialism offers feminism a “conceptual tool box to see multiple sites of oppression” (Parashar, 2016, p. 371), Gandhi (1998) highlights that “the encounter with feminism urges postcolonialism to produce a more critical and self-reflexive account of cultural nationalism” (p. 102). In their combination, feminism and postcolonialism have a strong explanatory potential, both in regard to the everyday and international politics. In the context of the present research puzzle, the intersectional lens permits me to take a nuanced analysis of female ‘IS’ returnees. The notion of Islam makes all women part of the *Other*. Furthermore, knowing about my perspective, also allows you as the reader to take a critical stance towards my analysis.

### **3.4 Analysis framework**

In comparison to other authors, S. Jäger has formulated quite detailed “operating instructions” (2015, p. 9). Yet, he stresses that these are not to be understood as a rigid frame but rather as an open toolbox which has to be adjusted to the individual research topic (2015, p. 109). In the following, I provide a general overview of S. Jäger’s analysis framework. The subsequent sections then describe the application for the present research puzzle looking at both text elements and images.

The Duisburg school aims to “analyze and critique threads of discourse [and their] entanglements [...]” by examining individual discourse fragments in detail and then locating them in the overall context (Jäger 2009, p. 171). The analytical framework consists of six superordinate steps: (1) the thematic delimitation of the discourse thread by the research question, (2) the contouring of the discursive level, understood, for example, as the level of the media or politics, (3) the development of the material corpus, (4) an initial evaluation that captures topics and subtopics, (5) the detailed analysis of selected discourse fragments, which goes deeper into linguistic and content-related aspects, and (6) the overall analysis, in which the results are reflected and considered in larger contexts (S. Jäger, 2009, p. 174)

The fine analysis is the core element of the analysis. It is used to “delicately work out [...] how a discourse is structured in terms of content and form, which means

of action it contains, which argumentation strategies are used, which contradictions and vanishing lines it contains, etc.". (Jäger 2009, p. 172) One or more 'typical' discourse fragments that reflect the discourse particularly well are examined. This is to enable the discourse to be captured as comprehensively as possible with a reasonable expenditure of resources (Jäger 2016, pp. 97-98). The fine analysis is composed of five sub-steps: It considers (1) the institutional setting, (2) the textual surface, (3) linguistic-rhetorical devices, and (4) content-related ideological statements, and finally (5) makes an interpretation.

The steps (1) - (4) can be understood as preparation for the actual analysis and interpretation. The preparatory work enables a systematic presentation of the final results. (Jäger 2009, p. 175) The different analysis steps focus on written texts or text parts, referred to as discourse fragments. (p. 172) Therefore, in the first step, depending on the material to be examined, largely formal criteria such as the medium, the rubric, and the author are recorded. At the same time, the institutional framework also brings the broader context into view. For example, the previous representation of the object of investigation by the medium could be thematized (p. 176). The textual surface is understood to have two different aspects. It is on the one hand, superficial visual impressions, for instance through photos or subheadings. On the other hand, it is in this step that, through a first, superficial examination of the material, the topics of the discourse fragments are collected (p. 175) For this purpose, an extensive summary of the content is formulated. In the third step, the examination of the linguistic-rhetorical elements, a broad spectrum of aspects can be addressed. This includes the argumentation patterns and the structuredness of the text as well as the vocabulary and symbolisms. (p. 175) The part of the analysis looks out for details. S. Jäger, for example, mentions clustering all nouns into meaning fields as one possible step. He notes, however, that this approach is only purposeful and necessary in a few cases, since in most cases one can also work with units that are easier to grasp, such as collective symbols. (p. 182) The analysis step on content-related ideological statements aims at capturing (implied) ideological standpoints. This can include, for example, statements about the image of man or concepts of truth. (p. 184) S. Jäger also refers to the interpretation as the "actual discourse analysis" (Jäger 2009, p. 201). It follows the four preparatory steps of the detailed analysis

and considers the elaborated aspects and particularities in their entirety. The individual discourse fragment is examined for its effect. In this context, it is always to be considered as an excerpt of a discourse. Even though, the notion of steps suggests a linear approach, S. Jäger also stresses the importance of going with the flow. This means, for example, that one should always keep notes of interpretation ideas that appear early during the process. These notes can then be re-evaluated during the analysis, and either be included or discarded (pp. 110-111). Overall, this leads to a structured but natural analysis process.

This research project also includes the images that come with the newspaper articles. S. Jäger (2015) refers to images as “non-linguistical pictures” (p. 63). By doing so, he already indicates that similar to text elements, the analysis is about decoding normalizations and collective images. The visuals add the “showable” to the sayable and thereby complement the findings from the text (p. 67). Drawing back on the ideas of the pictorial turn in the late 1990s which stressed the power of visuals in social and cultural constructs as well Foucault, S. Jäger points out that an image can function as a “communication accelerator/catalyst” (p 67). Nevertheless, he also suggests that sometimes images might have a rather “ornamental function” (p. 68). I agree that there might not always go a lot of thought into the image selection, especially in times of fast-moving online journalism. In the present research project this aspect might even be reinforced by the fact that there is limited visual data available. Yet, I would like to add that these ornaments might be the epitome of normalization. Even if the images are just seen as symbol pictures, it means that they are perceived as intuitive and acceptable which makes them relevant. Thus, I used the three steps of analysis as suggested by S. Jäger to examine all the images included in the data set.

The steps to analyze images are: 1) Describing the content of the image and *semiotic function* of the displayed items, scenes etc. 2) Highlighting the *interactive meaning* of the described elements: What is the viewer’s position in relation to the image content? 3) Last, the image is evaluated in its composition and meaning as a whole. S. Jäger (2015) suggests these steps following Stefan Meier’s framework for the operationalization of visual communication in discourses (p 68).

### 3.5 Data collection

In this section, I outline the data collection process. This includes the selection of the newspapers, the timeframe, the search strings as well as a short description of the data extraction.

This thesis looks at four different online newspapers: Two right-leaning tabloids, the UK-based *Sun* and the German *Bild* (lit: picture) and two center-liberal<sup>9</sup> broadsheets, the German *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (lit: South-German newspaper) and the British *Guardian*. They represent some of the most read (online) newspapers and examples from different political positions.

Tabloids with national reach capture the biggest audience share in the newspaper sector. *The Sun* and *Bild*, which are studied in this thesis, have been the two top-selling newspapers in Europe for decades and are a regular part of everyday life for millions of readers (Brichta, 2011, p. 11). *Bild.de* has more than 24.5 million unique users a month (DWDL, 2020) and *The Sun* reaches around 30 million readers (PAMCo, 2020). As popular newspapers they influence the public discourse with provocative statements. In this context, they are often criticized for “their legal and ethical flaws of reporting [...], and their general ‘lack’ of democratic functions” (Brichta, 2011, p. 12).

The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *The Guardian*, on the other hand, enjoy a reputation as defining mediums for their more in-depth analysis and are leading in the sector of quality newspapers (IfD, 2020; Maiik et al., 2006, p. 359; PAMCo, 2020). *Süddeutsche.de* reaches around 17 million users a month (agof, 2021). *Theguardian.com* and *The Guardian* Mobile App reach around 29 million people (PAMCo, 2020).

For the timeframe, I have picked the years 2018 to 2020. Yet, the phenomenon of returnees can be observed since the first hours of the so-called ‘Islamic State’. Why is this? I aim to shed light on a shift in the media depiction and while people started to return from the war zones in Syria and Iraq already in 2013/14, only

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<sup>9</sup> Depending on the author and topic, the political stance of a newspaper can vary greatly. Simply sticking with labels like left or right, conservative or liberal does not do justice to the complexity of media. The differences we can see are gradient and not binary. Thus, when I talk about right-leaning and centre-liberal, I use these terms to give an orientation and not as precise definitions.

over the last years, this topic has attracted a lot of media attention. To understand this dynamic, it can help to look at the return movement as divided into three waves, as suggested by Handle et al. (2019):

The first wave happened in the years 2013 and 2014. People returned after a short time because the reality in Syria and Iraq did not meet their expectations. At this point, the return to Europe was still easy and mostly without consequences. The second wave took place in 2015 and 2016. The reasons for return were diverse and include the everyday war situation as well as family-related matters. Returnees often opted for the refugee route to return as regular travel routes were blocked and national security services monitored movements in and out of the region. The current third wave was triggered by the collapse of the 'IS'. It is argued that since returnees of the third wave do not return because of disillusion but rather to seek safety after the military defeat, they are still stuck in the ideology and have a high propensity to violence. (p. 5) The fear that those people could commit terrorist attacks in Europe upon their return has sparked a controversial debate in politics and the media.

Earlier studies have looked at the media depiction of women *joining* the 'IS' (Martini, 2018), and this thesis shifts the focus to female *returnees* and those trying to return. I have collected articles that were published between the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2018 and the 31<sup>st</sup> of December 2020. This means that my time frame focuses on the third wave and includes discursive events that are especially relevant for Germany and the UK. These events include the death sentences of Lamia K., a German citizen by an Iraqi court in January 2018, the first investigations against a female 'IS' returnee in Germany in summer 2018, the withdrawal of Shamima B.'s citizenship by the UK government in February 2019 and the death of her son in a camp in Syria later that year. Thanks to the extensive literature on the depiction of Islam and women in Western media, a comparison period is not needed. The thesis draws on existing studies discussed in the literature review to trace discursive changes.

Against the backlash of a theory seeking approach, I choose a set of open and diverse research strings.

English	German <sup>10</sup>
« Islamic State » AND women	« Islamischer Staat » AND Frau
« Islamic State » AND girl	Islamischer Staat AND Mädchen
« Jihadi bride »	« IS-Braut » OR « IS-Bräute »

**Table 1: Search strings**

The data generated by the first two search strings included a multitude of hits for other topics such as the enslavement of Yazidi women by the so-called ‘Islamic State’ or female ‘IS’ supporters that did not travel to ‘IS’-held territory. Articles without reference to the phenomenon of returnees were excluded during the data extraction process. The extra work is justified as it minimizes the risk of involuntarily limiting the diversity of depictions. Martini (2018), in contrast, opted for a more focused data collection and excluded general terms such as “IS – women”. However, she acknowledges that “the terms used to conduct the research may, in part, have returned biased results” (p.463).

The third search string, “jihadi bride”, differs from the two other search strings as it is a lot more specific and suggests a certain valuation. It builds on Martini’s work, in which she highlights the significance of the label in the UK discourse<sup>11</sup> (2018, p. 465). In German media, I found the similar term “IS-Braut” (*IS bride*) and its plural “IS-Bräute”.

Leaving out the search term Daesh does not affect the results as the term is not common in any of the newspapers. It might appear occasionally in quotes but is usually followed by an explanation and never used exclusively.

The articles were extracted directly from the newspapers’ webpages.

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<sup>10</sup> As mentioned previously, all translations are done by the author if not marked otherwise. For the search strings, my intention was to keep the English and German versions as identical as possible, not in terms of the literal translations but more regarding their usage. Therefore, ‘jihadi bride’ was not translated to ‘Jihad-Braut’ but I instead used the search term ‘IS-Braut’ which is frequently used in German media. It was also necessary to search for both the singular (Braut) and the plural (Bräute) due to the vowel change in conjugation.

<sup>11</sup> In her analysis, Martini uses articles from the *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Telegraph* and identified the label “Jihadi Brides” in 50% of all articles (2018, p. 465).



Newspaper	Webpage
Bild	<a href="http://www.bild.de">www.bild.de</a>
Süddeutsche Zeitung	<a href="http://www.sueddeutsche.de">www.sueddeutsche.de</a>
The Guardian (UK version)	<a href="http://www.theguardian.com/uk">www.theguardian.com/uk</a>
The Sun	<a href="http://www.thesun.co.uk">www.thesun.co.uk</a>

**Table 2: Newspapers and webpages**

*Bild* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* offered sufficient search functions on their webpages. For *The Guardian* and *The Sun*, I used the advanced search functions of Google and limited the search to the relevant webpage.

All articles that thematize *female returnees* and *women attempting to return* from the war zones in Iraq and Syria, were included in the analysis with two exceptions: First, articles behind a pay wall were excluded from the data set. This is because the affected articles did not discuss any events that would not be discussed in other articles of the same newspaper. Furthermore, it can be assumed that less people access these articles. Overall, only a small fraction of articles was excluded, and the limitation helped facilitate the data collection process. Second, articles that were marked as taken straight from the news channel of a news agency were excluded too. I decided to do so, as the news pieces were not directly produced by the newspapers. A quick scan of the concerned news pieces showed that they did not introduce any new topics or statements. Often, the articles were newsflash and were later followed up by a longer article on the same topic. Excluding the content from news agencies help to limit the data set and avoid unnecessary repetition.

Further limitations apply to images. In the context of online newspapers, it has become common to include a wide array of images and even videos instead of just the odd picture under the heading. In the used data set, articles regularly included one or several galleries with up to 15 images each as well as video footage. To keep the data manageable, I have decided to focus on the pictures that are initially visible when the article is opened. This includes for example, the first image of the galleries or the thumbnail of the video. This makes sense, as

those pictures are given priority over the pictures further back in the gallery. Similarly, the thumbnail of the video has been created intentionally. The messages included in those pictures will also reach readers that just skim the article, while only some will look through the whole gallery and watch the video.

Rather than allowing any general conclusions, the chosen data helps us to understand what is said and sayable at a given time in the chosen media frame (S. Jäger, 2015, p. 137). Within these specific settings, the data corpus can be considered as “saturated”, since with time I found the same arguments over and over again, rather than discovering new statements and perspectives (S. Jäger, 2015, p. 93). Despite the open set of research strings, some relevant articles may not have been collected. Yet, as I am working with a big data set, it can be assumed that most arguments that are part of the discourse during the analyzed timeframe and within the chosen media actors. Overall, my thesis provides some insights into a recent topic, but it is not able and does not aim to present the discourse with all its facets.

### **3.6 Ethical considerations**

Stressing that this study provides a very specific snapshot rather than generalizable findings is also important regarding ethical considerations. By selecting a specific timeframe and specific newspapers I am highlighting what is said and considered sayable at a certain point in time and giving the stage to certain voices while others remain unheard. I have consciously decided to analyze Eurocentric, Western media with the aim of deconstructing normalizations in Western narratives. Rather than looking at what has actually happened, I focus on specific ways of framing events and people. Consequently, it is highly important that I constantly contextualize the data and my findings.

Furthermore, my own position towards the research topic is relevant. I am a white, female, native German. On the one hand, having lived in Germany most of my life is helpful as I have a deep understanding of the current dynamics as well as underlying narratives. On the other hand, however, it also means that I might find it harder to deconstruct certain narratives as they might seem like the ‘objective truth’ to me, given that I was surrounded by them all my life. This effect is not

limited to my reading of German media, but it also influences how I perceive, for example, discursive cross-references in the UK articles.

Moreover, while I can understand many of the struggles that come with the representation of women, I, as a White woman, have and will never experience racism and gendered Islamophobia. I believe that this does not mean that I cannot deconstruct the Eurocentric Western media narratives, but it means that I must constantly reflect where my analytical perspective might be influenced by the racist patterns that structure the society that I grew up and live in. In order to avoid those ethical pitfalls as much as possible, I chose a concise method which asks me to reflect my own position and closely connect my findings to the text and visual elements. Additionally, I reviewed the literature criticizing CDA to avoid

## 4. ANALYSIS

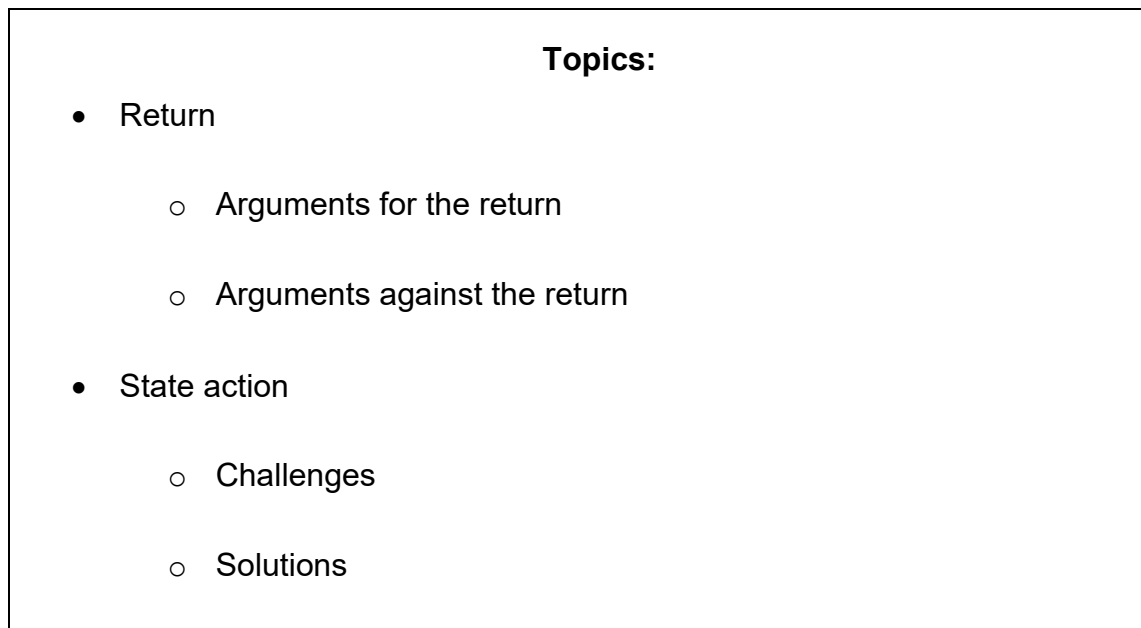
The analysis is based on a total of 209 articles. The data set is composed by 21 articles for the year 2018, 132 for 2019 and 56 for 2020. *The Sun* contributes the biggest fraction with 71 articles, followed by *Süddeutsche Zeitung* with 58 pieces and *The Guardian* with 46. *Bild* has the smallest amount of data with 34 articles.

In total, the articles are written by more than 100 different authors from a variety of newspaper sections. I identified different types of texts, ranging from judicial reports to opinion pieces and letters from readers.

I used the software *atlas.ti* to carry out the analysis. It allowed me to organize the data corpus, keep track of the frequency of certain elements and also provided me with extra tools such as a word cloud function. This was especially helpful given the size of the data corpus.

### 4.1 Topics and statements

The subjects discussed in the articles can be divided into the three big groups with sub-topics<sup>12</sup>:




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<sup>12</sup> The identified topics and sub-topics help to look at the discourse in a more structured way but are by no means separated clearly. We are looking at a “discursive swarm” in which the topics intersect with each other (Jäger, 2015, p. 8).

- Depiction of the women
  - Background
  - Life in the war zone in Syria and Iraq
    - Motivation
    - Roles
  - Self-depiction

**Table 3: Topics**

Within each topic different statements can be identified. I have condensed the debate into 37 statements:

Topic	Statements
Arguments <i>for</i> the return of female citizens of Germany and the UK from the war zone in Syria and Iraq	They should be allowed to return because the countries have legal and moral responsibility for all their citizens.  They should be allowed to return because they do not pose a security risk.  They should be allowed to return to minimize the security risk.
Arguments <i>against</i> the return of female citizens of Germany and the UK from the war zone in Syria and Iraq	They should not be allowed to return because they pose a severe security risk.  They should not be allowed to return because the responsibility is not in Europe.  They should not be allowed to return for reasons of moral and fairness.  Their citizenship should be removed.

<p>State actions</p>	<p>There are various challenges for the states.</p> <p>The issue is complex, and every case is different.</p> <p>There is a trade-off between national security and the citizen rights of the aspiring returnees.</p> <p>It is questionable if the state system is trustworthy.</p> <p>To prevent similar cases in the future, society has to change.</p> <p>The states have the capabilities to face the challenges.</p> <p>The justice system is successful.</p> <p>International cooperation and a European approach can help.</p>
<p>Depiction of the women</p>	<p>Motivation</p> <p>Individual experiences of trauma or exclusion motivated the women to leave.</p> <p>They were looking for love.</p> <p>They were looking for a better life under Islamic law.</p> <p>Leaving was a way to reach empowerment.</p> <p>Roles</p> <p>They had active roles, including propaganda and recruiting, membership of the the Al-Khansaa Brigade, spying and medical support, and raising the next generation of fighters.</p> <p>As Europeans, they often held special positions within the 'IS'.</p> <p>They carried weapons.</p>

	<p>Their role was passive, and they were only mothers and housewives.</p> <p>Their role is unclear.</p> <p>Background</p> <p>They had a broken childhood and were easy to groom.</p> <p>They are a product of our society.</p> <p>They had a perfect life but got trapped in the abbreviation of extremism as young girls.</p> <p>It was their own choice.</p> <p>Life in the war zone in Iraq and Syria</p> <p>Marriage is central to the life of the women under the 'IS'.</p> <p>The 'IS' is brutal, misogynist, racist and homophobic.</p> <p>The women do not regret their decision, and, thus, are not victims but enemies of the West.</p> <p>The women are traumatized and some of them injured.</p> <p>Most of them have distanced themselves from the extremist group</p>
Self-depiction	<p>They acknowledge that they made a mistake and have distanced themselves from extremism.</p> <p>They were young girls when they left and are victims of the 'IS' that deserve sympathy.</p> <p>They do not regret their decision.</p> <p>They were just mothers and did not cause harm.</p> <p>They wish to return and are ready to face trial.</p>

	They wish to return for safety.
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**Table 4: Topics with statements**

It is obvious that a lot of the statements are contradicting each other. The different newspapers stress different aspects and even within one newspaper argumentation patterns vary from article to article and changed with time. To explore these differences and changes, I outline the depiction of the returnees and aspiring returnees divided country and newspapers in the following sections.

## 4.2 Two countries, four newspapers

I start by broadly outlining the topics discussed in the two countries. Secondly, I dive into the findings and the detailed analysis for each newspaper. In the latter section, I point out how the different statements are supported by linguistic and visual features.

Overall, the UK discourse mostly focused on the question whether British women that are currently in camps in Syria should be allowed to return. Related thereto, arguments related to citizenship are frequent. The discourse can be described as polarized. The women are either described as young innocent victims or as dangerous terror threat. The German discourse, on the other hand, mostly circles trials and the situation of women after their return. While the UK discourse focuses on teenagers, most cases discussed in the German newspapers deal with women in their twenties and thirties.

### 4.2.1 The Guardian

As mentioned before, I analyzed a total of 46 articles from the Guardian. The search string « *Islamic State* » AND women created the most hits for the Guardian. The term *girl* played a minor role, and the search for « *Jihadi bride* » was almost insignificant with only two articles. An initial look at the word cloud showed an outstanding 514 hits for the name “Begum” which reflects the focus on the case of the Shamima Begum and the debate surrounding the removal of her British citizenship. The articles mostly looked at women in camps in Syria and Iraq and their wish to return to the UK, with the words “camp”, “return” and “back” all appearing about 100 times. In this context, it is interesting that the term “home” appears 194 times; even more often than the word “British”. The terms “state”



and “security” are equally central to the debate with over 100 repetitions. Last in the list of words with more than 100 hits is “children” with exactly 100 repetitions. This initial finding indicated the role motherhood and the construction of family play in the discourse.

The topic is addressed in different news categories. Most articles can be found under the root categories “UK news”, followed by “World news”. As for subcategories, “UK security and counterterrorism” and “Shamima Begum” are the most prominent. For each article, The Guardian names the author, also providing background information for most of them. Other than in the case of The Sun, the authors have clear focus areas. The articles are mostly news pieces written by The Guardian authors, but the data set also includes three contributions from readers (D446, D491, D555).

While presenting a variety of perspectives, the focus of the Guardian’s articles is clearly on arguments pro return and against the removal of citizenship as a state response. In line with the small amount of hits for “jihadi bride”, Islam and related gendered stereotypical labels are not visible at the surface but only become apparent on closer inspection. In regard to visuals, I identified a small selection of photos that was repeatedly used. This included private photos from before the women went to the war zone as well as footage from interviews in the camps in Syria.

For the detailed analysis, I selected three articles which summarize the frequent arguments and depictions. The reduced data set is composed by the following articles: D496, D469 and D 468.

#### **4.2.1.1 Detailed analysis 1: “Shamima Begum and the UK government’s lack of compassion”**

The article “Shamima Begum and the UK government’s lack of compassion” presents a selection of five readers’ letters and was published on the 19<sup>th</sup> of July 2020. Already the title highlights the positions taken in the article as opposed to the government’s actions. All in all, the article captures a variety of arguments that all conclude that Shamima should be allowed back to the UK.

In the first letter the government’s actions are described as “cruel” and against the law. While the author does see Shamima B.’s decision to join the ‘IS’ as

“wholly wrong”, he argues that Shamima was still young when she left, forced to marry and later influenced by ‘IS’ authorities which lead to her making controversial statements in interviews. The author mentions the death of Shamima’s three children and ironically sums up: “What an appealing five years for a young woman”. The letter continues with two questions: “Has the government no compassion for Shamima Begum? Which of us is mature and competent enough to make lifetime decisions at the age of 15?”. With these two questions the Guardian reader expresses empathy for Shamima B. He formulates an inclusive “us” which destigmatizes Shamima B.’s decision to join the ‘IS’. The letter concludes: “She should be allowed to return and make her case in person “. Overall, the letter describes Shamima B. as young and immature. She is not given full agency for her actions.

The second letter brings up two arguments. First, the author argues that because Shamima was able to leave the country with her sister’s passport at age 15, her current situation is the result of the state’s failure “to protect a minor”. Secondly, the author highlights that citizenship can only be removed if that does not make the person stateless and explains: “In her case, that option is – at the very least – questionable”. The insertion underlines the distrust in the government’s decision making. All in all, the article shifts the attention from Shamima B.’s actions to the responsibility of the state. Similar to the first article, Shamima B.’s young age is a major argument, and also the lawfulness of the state actions is questioned again.

The next reader starts her letter with “Shamima Begum was born in this country before being groomed as a British child to accept abuse, trauma and death as normal. Why do we then abuse her further instead of accepting that our society did not keep her safe?”. The intro stresses several aspects. First, it highlights Shamima B.’s a British citizenship. Second, she is portrayed as a victim of both ‘IS’ and the actions of the UK government. The UK is portrayed as responsible, and the state actions are labelled as “abuse” and later on as “shameful”. The formulation “our society did not keep her safe” suggests that not only the government has responsibility but British society as a whole. Similar to letter one and in contrast to other depictions, it is not the nation that has to be protected but Shamima B.

The fourth comment stresses the need for a fair in-person trial and highlights: “Whether or not a precedent will be set is irrelevant”. The latter aspect is to be seen in the context of ‘aspiring ‘IS’ returnees as a wider phenomenon and the fear that more people will follow Shamima B.’s path.

Similar to letter one, the last letter argues that “the government is profoundly lacking in human understanding or compassion”. In contrast to other depictions, the author rejects the term “groomed”, and sees “it as a case of a girl waking to awareness, and [...] searching to engage with a complex world through religion or social cause”. While her young age is associated with naive actions, she is given a certain level of agency and a religious and or political agenda.

To sum it up, this article discusses Shamima B. as a young citizen that has made terrible experiences and is now about to become a victim of the British state for the second time. State actions are criticized as insufficient, unfair, illegal, and lacking the necessary amount of compassion. The latter points towards an understanding of statehood that goes beyond legal regulations and encompasses an array of values.

The article comes with one image, an in-profile portrait of Shamima B. She is wearing black. Only her face is uncovered. The caption quotes one of the readers’ in her call for a fair trial, and thereby further emphasizes the criticism towards the state. The photo represents a row of rather unspecific portraits that repeatedly appear in the reporting on her case.

#### **4.2.1.2 Detailed analysis 2: “Shamima Begum baby death ‘a stain on conscience of UK government”**

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of March 2019 the Guardian published an article with the title “Shamima Begum baby death ‘a stain of conscience of UK government”” by Aamna Mohdin, community affairs correspondent, and Martin Chulov, Middle East correspondent. Similar to article 1, the title highlights critical government actions. Here, the topic is discussed in the context of the death of Shamima B.’s baby, which can be seen as a discursive event. The article serves as an example for how the newspaper contextualizes current events and refers to the related political debate.

The opening sentences “The home secretary [...] has come under fire for his decision to revoke the British citizenship of Shamima Begum” points out the level of controversy in the debate by using the fire analogy. The article goes on by summarizing the story: “Begum, 19, left the UK in 2015 with two school friends to join Islamic State in Syria and said last month she wanted to return home. But [the home secretary] insisted he would do all in his power to prevent her coming back”. The government is portrayed as strongly opposed to the return. The focus is not on arguments but on power. The authors then quote different politicians, the shadow home secretary, Diane Abbott, the Conservative MP Phillip Lee, the Conservative Party Chairman, Brandon Lewis, and an unnamed government spokesman. While the article also shortly refers to a Kurdish intelligence official and “a friend of Begum” as the sources for story elements, the focus of the article is on political actors in the UK and their arguments in favor of and against the removal of Shamima B.’s citizenship in the context of the death of her baby.

The authors first quote Abbott, from whom they borrowed the formulation in the title: “a stain on the conscience of this government”. The metaphor of the stain underlines the importance of moral integrity in the state system. In the next paragraph, Abbott calls the revoking of Shamima B.’s citizenship illegal in the context of international law and describes her and her baby as “a vulnerable young woman and an innocent child”. Similar to article 1, Shamima B. is portrayed as in need of protection. The notion of the child adds another moral layer and underlines state responsibility. Next, Abbott’s and the home secretary’s approach are discussed in direct contrast: “Abbott called for Begum to be given the chance to have her actions fully investigated – and where appropriate – prosecuted, but said [home secretary] Javid had instead chosen to appease the right-wing press”. This shows that while Abbott describes Shamima B. as vulnerable, she does not see her as entirely a victim but acknowledges that she should face responsibility for her actions in front of court. The home secretary’s actions are further problematized and labelled as populist.

In another quote from Abbott, the article turns its attention to the gendered dimension of Javid’s decision: “What does it say about our government on International Women’s Day that it would allow hundreds of men to return to the UK from Syria and Iraq under similar circumstances, but strip citizenship of a young

women who was groomed as a minor?”. The rhetorical question points out and criticizes differences in the treatment of female and male citizens. The aspect Abbott highlights is especially interesting as it contradicts existing stereotypes in which Muslim men are the true terrorists and women are the victims that need rescue. At the same time, it is also important to mention that has withdrawn the citizenship of male dual-citizens associated with the ‘IS’ and other terror groups (Dearden, 2019).

Like Abbott, the Conservative MP Phillip Lee describes Javid’s decision as populist. He says: “Clearly Shamima Begum holds abhorrent views”, but, ultimately, he comes to the conclusion that Shamima B. “was a child, a product of our society. [...] I think we had a moral responsibility to her and indeed to her baby”. Once more Shamima B.’s age is named as a main factor alongside with the responsibility towards her child. The problem character of her joining a terrorist organization is not denied, but it is not seen as the determining aspect.

The article continues with two paragraphs that talk about the death of Begum’s three children during her in ‘IS’-held territory. Sentences like “A friend of Begum said ‘the baby turned blue and was cold’” draw a horrendous picture of the conditions in the war zone and the camps.

These depictions are followed by Brandon Lewis defending the removal of Shamima B.’s British citizenship: “The loss of any life of any child is absolutely tragic and is a very clear reminder [...] of the danger of travelling out to that are and getting involved. [...] There is no question that the duty of a home secretary in this country is to keep British people safe”. His argumentation clearly puts the responsibility of the people that left the UK to travel to the war zone. Safety is brought up as a major concern. Yet, this adds a contradicting element to his argumentation pattern. While Lewis states that it is a government duty to protect British people, he does not connect this to the rights of Shamima B. or her child as citizens themselves.

The authors end the article with a statement from a government spokesman who argues in a similar manner: “The death of any child is tragic and deeply distressing for the family. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office has consistently advised against travel to Syria [...]. The government will continue to do whatever

we can to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism and traveling to dangerous conflict zones". By saying that the event was "distressing for the family", a national dimension is denied. Moreover, it is argued that the state fulfilled its duty. Thus, the position is opposed to the arguments given at the beginning of the article as well as in document 1, which see the state authorities as (partly) responsible.

While the article gives voice to different perspectives, the criticism is predominant. Especially Abbott is given a lot of space, whereas advocates for Javid's decision only appear in the last two paragraphs. Through word choices and the depiction of the story the criticism is further supported.

The article also includes two multi-media elements: one photo and a video with an interview extract. The photo shows Shamima B. in a camp in Syria, reading a letter from the British authorities that informs her about the revoking of her citizenship. Again, she is wearing black clothes covering her whole body except her face. The caption thematizes the death of her baby. The image is taken from an ITV interview, which is shown in excerpts further down in the article. While the interview was not conducted by *The Guardian*, the sharing of this specific excerpt is based on a conscious decision by the authors. In the 2 min 44 s long video, Shamima B. expresses her lack of understanding for the authorities' decision. The interviewer repeatedly stresses Begum's own responsibility for her and her son's situation. Yet, the caption focuses on the woman's perspective: "UK citizenship decision is heartbreaking, says Shamima Begum". The media element is thus framed as an attempt to let the woman speak for herself. Putting the emphasis on Shamima B.'s perspective fits the overall critical stance towards the government actions taken by the article.

#### **4.2.1.3 Detailed analysis 3: "What do experts think of revoking Shamima Begum's citizenship?"**

The article "What do experts think of revoking Shamima Begum's citizenship?" from the 20<sup>th</sup> of February 2019 was written by Poppy Noor, whose main topics are race, social justice and community. She has collected seven statements from interviews in other media. The article helps to answer the questions 'Who gets to speak? Who is considered an expert on that topic?'. Furthermore, it brings up the aspect of migration, which was not discussed in the other two example articles.

The selected people are: Farhad Ansari, a lawyer who was the defending counsel in another citizenship case, British barrister Lord Anderson, Nikita Malik, the director of the Centre on Radicalisation and Terrorism, Dal Babu, who is introduced as a “friend of the Begum family and a former Met police chief superintendent”, Nazir Afzal, a former chief crown prosecutor from north-west England, George Osborn, former Tory chancellor, and Myriam François, who is an academic and writer on Islam and the Middle East. The statements were taken from BBC Radio 4’s Today (statement person 1-4), Twitter (statement person 5 and 7), and the Evening Standard (statement person 6).

Ansari and Anderson argue that in Shamima B.’s case the decision to revoke the citizenship is wrong. Ansari calls it the “easy way out”, and Anderson says: “This procedure appeals to home secretaries because it is simpler than all the other options.” Lawyer Ansari states that the UK generally has the necessary legal mechanisms to handle criminal returnees. In his eyes, the issue is that the home secretary did not think that there would be the necessary evidence for a trial. Revoking Shamima B.’s citizenship meant that she could only appeal against the decision in a procedure with mostly closed evidence. Malik, on the other hand, believes that the British state is currently lacking the necessary laws to prosecute in a case like Shamima B.’s and calls for a “treason law”.

Three comments criticize the double standard that comes with the current policy of removing the citizenship of dual nationals. Ansari argues that “the entire policy [...] is inherently discriminatory [...] in how it is applied. [...] It can only be used against children of immigrant parents.” In a similar vein, Anderson talks about “two classes of citizenship” in which people of English parents are privileged: “I [as a person with British parents] would have the absolute right to return to the country I had lived my whole life.” On the flip side, Afzal asks: “I’m born British, born in Birmingham to a family that has worked for the British Army. [...] Is my citizenship conditional?” While this aspect is not specific to female returnees, it highlights the intersectional nature of the problem.

In his comment, Ansari calls the policy not only discriminatory, but also racist. He argues that “there is one case [with a White person] – Jack Letts, who has been accused of being involved with Isis in Syria and has dual Canadian-British citizenship. He has not been deprived of his statehood yet.” However, later in 2019,

Letts British citizenship was revoked (BBC, 2019), which means that the argument of race in a narrower sense has limited explanatory power. Yet, this does not mean that racism did not play a role in Shamima's case. Babu points out that despite knowing of Shamima B.'s radicalization none of the state actors informed her parents. In article D465 he explains this as follows: "There was a lot of Islamophobia. What happened was that they made assumptions. You had a police service with very little understanding of cultural issues, a failure to understand the Muslim community, a group of white men and women [...]" This means that while racism does not grasp the complexity of citizenship cases, it is seen as an element to Shamima's case as a whole. Furthermore, it can be added that through their association with the Islamic *Other* all 'IS' returnees become racialized no matter their skin color.

Osborn and Malik both address responsibility and the position of the child. Osborn points out that "her newborn boy [...] will be one of the most vulnerable British citizens in the world" and criticizes that "the sins of the mother [are] visited in an innocent baby". Malik focuses on the complexity of the case given that the father of the baby is Dutch, but their marriage is only documented by the 'IS'. Malik highlights that "There is a responsibility to ensure the child is given the right to a good life. I don't think that that would be possible from a refugee camp." Overall, this shows once more how Shamima's case is gendered through her role as a mother. The notion of "sins" labels her as a woman that has lost her purity and innocence. Both comments ultimately track the responsibility back to the UK.

The article finishes with François who states that the government's actions are counterproductive as they "confirm the Isis claim that Muslims can never truly belong here in the west."

Similar to article 2, the author gives most space to people that argue against the revoking of the citizenship. Malik is the only one who is skeptical of whether the current laws are sufficient to handle returnees, but even she ultimately concludes that the UK is responsible. Fittingly, also the visual elements are similar to the presentation in article 2. The thumbnail of the video, which the reader finds directly below the headline, shows a different photo of Shamima B. However, the video itself shows the same excerpt of the ITV interview. The caption is identical.



#### 4.2.1.4 Summary

All in all, the results of the detailed analysis match the initial findings of the broad analysis. The example shows that while women's decisions to join 'IS' are seen as wrong, the responsibility is mostly seen on the state side. This is especially since the debate focuses on women who left the country as minors. The system and policies are described as discriminatory. Women like Shamima B. are depicted through a victim lens and given limited agency. The newspaper focuses on the age as well as their role as mothers. Both aspects highlight the gendered aspect of the discourse. The contextual embedding of the visual elements supports *The Guardian's* overall point of view.

#### 4.2.2 The Sun

A total of 71 articles went into the broad analysis for the Sun. The search string «*jihadi bride*» had the most hits. «*Islamic State* » AND *women* generated less data but was more relevant than «*Islamic State* » AND *girl*. Nevertheless, the latter added over ten articles, which shows that the search string was more relevant for *The Sun* than for the data set of the *The Guardian*. The articles are found under the rubrics "UK new" and "world news". Most of them are written by *The Sun* journalists. However, there are also a few that have been written by guest authors that function as experts (see, for example, D378). For the latter, *The Sun* provides information on their background, whereas for its general authors very little to no information is available. The author's pages reveal that each author covers a wide variety of topics ranging from celebrities to war (see, for example, *The Sun*, n.d.). This raises the question whether the authors have the necessary expertise to report on all those topics.

The word cloud showed that similar to the debate in *The Guardian* the focus is on the case of Shamima B. and the question of return and citizenship. Again, her case is discussed also in connection to her child with the term "baby" being listed 149 times. In regard to the conflict, the emphasis is on the dynamics in Syria. The country name was mentioned 447 times, whereas "Iraq" was not significant. Unlike in *The Guardian*, the words "bride" "jihadi" stand out in the word cloud. Another difference is the frequency of the word "terror" which was not significant for the broadsheet but appeared 160 times in this data set. Overall, *The Sun* sticks

out with its drastic depictions of both the situation in Syria as well as the danger for the British society. The broad analysis suggests a slight focus on arguments against the return of aspiring returnees.

Given the limited availability of material, it is not surprising that a lot of photos are similar to those in *The Guardian*. Nevertheless, there are some differences, as *The Sun* regularly incorporates extensive photo galleries and tends to position media content even above the headline in an especially exposed position. Furthermore, the tabloid occasionally also shows scenes from the 'IS' terror attack in Manchester as part of the discourse on female returnees. This is in line with the newspapers focus on terror threats and national security.

For the detailed analysis, I selected the following articles: D368, D410, and D361.

#### **4.2.2.1 Detailed analysis 1: “Jihadi’s baby dead: Shamima Begum’s newborn baby died ‘after turning blue’ following lung infection at Syrian refugee camp”**

The article “Jihadi’s baby dead: ISIS bride Shamima Begum’s newborn baby died ‘after turning blue’ following lung infection at Syrian refugee camp” by Jon Lockett, senior journalist, and Holly Christodoulou, senior news reporter, was published on the 8<sup>th</sup> of March 2019. Similar to *The Guardian*, *The Sun* released multiple articles after the death of Shamima B.’s baby. However, already the title indicates a different focus with a lot of emphasis being put on the circumstances of the death. Shamima B. is called a “Jihadi” and an “ISIS bride”, assigning her a stereotypical role as a woman within the ‘IS’.

The article itself is lacking a clear structure, yet four different topics can be identified throughout the article: 1) depictions of the child, 2) depictions of Shamima, 3) the government response, 4) the response from the family.

The lead mentions the previous death of her other two children and states: “[she] had hoped the child would be her passport back to the UK”. The reification highlights the political dimension of the death. In relation thereto, the child is introduced as “innocent Jarrah, who was a British citizen”. The statement “He was a British citizen” is repeated later as a quote from Begum’s lawyer and highlighted as a subheading. Towards the end of the article the authors claim that Jarrah was named after a “7<sup>th</sup> century Islamic warlord”. Yet, there are diverging opinions on whether this is the actual meaning of the name (Davidson, 2019). The one-sided

presentation in this article draws a line between Islam and violence and thereby feeds into orientalist stereotypes.

Shamima B. is colloquially labelled a “teen”, which taps into the stereotype loaded image of teenage mothers. Overall, the terms “jihadi bride” and “ISIS bride” are the most present, which was already indicated by the title of the article. The authors give a lot of space to the description of the events, the overall struggles Shamima B. is facing in the camp as well as to the story of how she joined the ‘IS’. It is conspicuous that many of the early events are formulated in passive voice and thereby limit Shamima B.’s agency: “She was smuggled over the border to Syria and within weeks was married to Riedijk [a Dutch ‘IS’ fighter]”. Her later actions are in active, see for example “She sparked fury [...]”. The authors also refer to earlier interviews, in which Shamima B. said that she did not regret joining the so-called ‘Islamic State’ and had “a good time”. Overall, there is a mix of depictions that could foster empathy and those that show her as still stuck in the ‘IS’ ideology and therefore a potential danger.

Similar to the article in *The Guardian*, the authors quote the government spokesperson arguing that the responsibility for the child’s death is on Shamima B. and not on the side of the government. The government position is discussed in more detail later on, where the authors refer to an interview with Javid, in which he explains the practical difficulties with helping UK citizens in the war zone in Syria: “If it is possible somehow for a British child to be brought to a place where there is a British consular presence, the closest place [...] might be Turkey [...] – in those circumstances I guess potentially it might be possible to arrange some sort of help with the consent of the parent”. The degree of vagueness in the statement makes it apparent that the government is hesitant to repatriate any citizens.

The explanations of the government are put in contrast to the position of Shamima B.’s family, who see the British system as responsible. The authors write: “In an interview from his home in Bangladesh, Ahmed Ali, 60, said ‘The British immigration system is very informed, the most informed in the world. [...] [H]ow did (Shamima) get there using another one’s passport?’” Similar to the discussion of the government position, the family’s stance is described over several short paragraphs. By referring to his location in Bangladesh during the interview, the article underlines his position as an immigrant.

Overall, the article leaves the reader with a somewhat chaotic idea of the situation. Contrary to the transparent argumentation pattern in *The Guardian*, the position of *The Sun* towards the government actions remains rather unclear. Shamima B. is depicted as a young, overwhelmed mother with an obvious position within the 'IS' as a "bride".

While the tabloid includes parts of the same ITV footage as *The Guardian*, the selected extracts are different. The video starts by showing Shamima B. carrying her son and then zooms in on the baby's face. The scene is also captured in two additional photos below the heading This puts a strong focus on her role as a mother. The video also includes additional footage from everyday life in the camps as well as social media posts and part of an interview with her lawyer. The content is conveyed primarily by subtitles and less by spoken word. In combination with the melancholic, dramatic background music, the format is very similar to emotional video formats known from social media. Further down in the article, the reader is repeatedly shown a photo gallery with ten images. The content ranges from the location of Al Hol and Roj camp to portrays Shamima B.'s husband. The overload of pictures fits both the more personal approach of the article as well as the lack of structure and focus.

#### **4.2.2.2 Detailed analysis 2: "Jihad your chance: 'Evil' ISIS bride Shamima Begum has 'no hope for rehabilitation' says Manchester terror victim"**

The article "JIHAD YOUR CHANCE 'Evil' ISIS bride Shamima Begum has 'no hope for rehabilitation' says Manchester terror victim" by Paul Sims<sup>13</sup> and Holly Christodoulou, senior news reporter, was published on the 19<sup>th</sup> of February 2019.

The article gives voice to several witnesses and or survivors of the terror attack in Manchester in May 2017. It describes their opinion on whether Shamima B. should be allowed to return to the UK. The article was published after Shamima B. had described the attack in Manchester as "justified" because of the Western airstrikes that affected civilians in 'IS'-held territory. The article quotes her saying: "It's a two-way thing because women and children are being killed back in the Islamic State right now" and "I am sorry for all the families who've lost husbands

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<sup>13</sup> The newspaper does not provide any information on the authors and his background.

and sons and brothers. [...] They weren't fighting anyone, they weren't causing any harm. But neither was I." The authors describe the experience of the quoted people in detail. For example, they write: "She was left using crutches after suffering 18 shrapnel wounds, burns and a severed nerve on her leg" or "[He] helped comfort a badly injured 14-year-old girl for an hour after the bomb went off before reuniting her with her parents". The descriptions precede the witnesses' comments and are used to give them legitimacy.

All the interviewed people argue against the return of 'IS' members. Many of the comments are formulated in an us vs. them pattern. One person, for example, says: "They succeeded in killing 22 innocent people who were only there for a concert or picking up their children. [...] I'm stunned by what she's said. If nothing else this just shows the depravity of IS supporters and the reason why none of them should ever be allowed back into this country." The quote shows a uniform idea of who "IS supporters" are, what they think, and how they should be treated. Already in the title, Shamima B. herself is stylized into an "Evil' ISIS bride". In the word "evil" the marker as the other comes hand in hand with the categorization as wrong.

On the opposite side of the "evil" are innocent British citizens. In contrast to the children that attended the concerts, Shamima's baby is not seen as innocent. The person quoted earlier criticizes: "She [Shamima B.] knows if she's allowed to come back – and I pray she isn't – they will give her free housing, healthcare and free education for a child fathered by another terrorist." Shamima B.'s child is defined through the actions of his parents. Shamima B. is depicted as a social welfare scrounger. She is seen as both a financial burden and potential danger to the UK.

The aspect of danger is mentioned in several statements: "There's already so many questions as to whether this country did enough to stop the suicide bomber in Manchester. I don't think this country can take another risk" or "I can't stand the thought of her [Shamima B.] being allowed back. [...] It's making me ill. She's such high risk." The quotes show that the state security system is not seen as trustworthy or able to handle returnees. One person expresses "There is no hope for rehabilitation because they [aspiring returnees] have been indoctrinated into an evil ideology." The passive voice limits the agency of the returnees.

The wordplay in the title “Jihad your chance” points towards the idea that aspiring returnees should not be allowed back as they have given away their chance. In the article, the mother of a victim says: “This girl (Begum) was raised on our streets in our democratic society. She turned her back on her country to fight for these disgusting people. For her now to say that the Manchester attack was a fair retaliation is absolutely sickening. It’s exactly the reason she should never be allowed on British soil again.” The notion of British “soil” and democratic values highlights the importance of nationalism in the discourse, especially in regard to the us vs. them scheme.

The formulation “Jihad your chance” also exemplifies the problematic use of Islamic terms. Similar to “jihadi bride”, the expression suggests a clear connection between jihad and ‘IS’ terrorism and thereby undermines the complexity of the concept and its non-violent forms. The article ends in the same vein by thematizing Shamima B.’s baby’s name: “It emerged yesterday Begum has named her son Jerah after a 7<sup>th</sup> century Muslim warlord.”

Overall, the article shows how a discursive event that is unique to the history of a country can influence the national level of a discourse and shape who is considered an expert. Furthermore, the analysis demonstrates several problematic neo-orientalist elements.

The polarized perspective is also present in the multi-media elements. For example, the newspaper selected part of a BBC reportage in which the reporter states that Shamima B. “helped the enemy of Britain”. The video, which is again positioned above the headline also features footage of emergency personnel from the evening of the Manchester attacks. The victims and survivors of the attack are the focus of the ten-image photo gallery further down in the article. The gallery contrasts images of injured people with those of families showing support for each other as well as impressions from ‘happy days’ prior to the attack. One of the images in the gallery also shows the suicide bomber. Overall, the visuals support the message that White British families need to be protected from brown terrorists. The photos also fit gender stereotypes. There is, for example, the strong husband that puts his arm around his wife to hold and protect her, or a young, innocent girl that is shown with a flower crown.

#### 4.2.2.3 Summary

The detailed analysis shows that Shamima B., as the stereotypical aspiring returnee, is depicted as a 'girl' that has been transformed into a potentially dangerous 'jihadi bride' and fights for her return in the role of an overwhelmed mother. The articles describe a struggling state system which is stuck between legal obligations and the aim of keeping the citizens in the country safe. In this context, the authors get entangled in harmful stereotypes that feed into neo-orientalist discursive dynamics. The us vs. them theme is underlined by the selected multimedia elements.

#### 4.2.3 Süddeutsche Zeitung

I found 58 articles for *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. The search string « Islamischer Staat » AND Frau (engl. « Islamic State » AND women) created the majority of hits. No articles were collected for « Islamischer Staat» AND Mädchen (engl. « Islamic State » AND girl). Except for two articles, all the hits are from the section "politics". One article was categorized as "opinion" (D117) and one as "column" (D126). With the exception of D126, a compilation of readers' letters, all articles were written by the newspaper's staff. The marker "opinion" draws a distinction between articles that aim to transport news and those that are purposefully written from a subjective stance. For most authors, the newspaper provides background on their expertise which can help the reader to contextualize the written. Most authors are either from the section for national politics or work as court correspondents. Nevertheless, there are also 20 articles, where the author is not mentioned.

With the German discourse spotlighting women that are already back, most article in *Süddeutsche Zeitung* focus on trials and related challenges for the state system. Nevertheless, some articles also look at arguments for and against letting people return. In this context, the aspect of security is examined from multiple perspectives. Not repatriating German citizens and leaving them in camps in Syria is discussed as a potential security risk but also the possible threat children of 'IS' returnees might pose is thematized. The articles combine legal analysis and emotional storytelling. Linked to the focus on legal trials, most visuals in the data set are from court scenes.

For *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, I selected two articles for the detailed analysis: D126 and D141.

#### **4.2.3.1 Detailed analysis 1: “Of ethics, repentance and law”**

The article “Von Ethik, Reue und Recht” (engl. Of ethics, repentance and law) is a collection of readers’ letters and was published on the 25<sup>th</sup> of February 2019. The text captures the debate on whether aspiring returnees should be allowed back into the country.

The article quotes eight letters, out of which, four argue that people should be allowed to return. Three people see the responsibility in Syria and Iraq or argued for the removal of citizenship. One letter formulated conditions for a possible return but argued for the revoking of citizenship if those are not met. Seven out of the eight quoted readers carry a male first name. Most comments use the male conjugation of nouns to refer to aspiring returnees in general<sup>14</sup>. Three readers partially differentiate between women and man. This means that while the article, is not specifically about female returnees, it provides the chance to study in regard to which arguments the discourse differentiates between genders.

Most arguments in favor of the return relate to Germany as a constitutional state. The reader in letter 1 argues: “Germany [...] is obliged to create the legal and factual conditions [for due process]”. The second reader underlines that the people are part of the German society: “The constitutional state must arm itself for the eventuality that the lost sons and daughters will soon be on our doorstep.” The state is portrayed in a parental role. The return of the “lost” children is described as a challenge the state has to face: “The only alternative, namely, to pay the Kurds for permanently accommodating ‘our’ terrorists - in a kind of Middle Eastern Guantanamo - is so absurd that there is probably no need to think about it.” The author does not make a qualitative difference between female and male returnees. Both, the “sons and daughters” are seen as a challenge for which the German judicial apparatus needs to “arm itself”. In the second quote, they are

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<sup>14</sup> There is an ongoing debate about gendering in German language. While inclusive grammatical structures have become more and more common over the last years, it is still common to use the male form to refer to groups that include man and women.



summarized in the group of “our’ terrorists”. The latter formulation highlights the returnees as citizens and dangerous outsiders.

The reader in letter 4 goes back in German history. He argues: “Politically persecuted persons enjoy the right of asylum. That was the consequence of political persecution in Germany. But today it is once again: We persecute politically. The threats of the Federal Minister of the Interior towards alleged IS fighters are nothing else. [...] The plan to revoke German citizenship is very reminiscent of the Reich and Nationality Act of 1935.” The author attributes the aspiring returnees a political motivation and labels the state actions as political prosecution, comparing the dynamics with Germany’s Nazim past. Furthermore, the reader is skeptical of Germany’s ability to hold fair trials, as there are limited options to collect evidence. He therefore apprehends “arbitrary proceedings.”

Letter 6 comments on the idea that the removal of citizenship could be justified with the fact that Germans that fought for the ‘IS’ “had performed military service for a foreign state.” The reader accuses the idea provider, an author of *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, of lack of juristic knowledge. He points out the issue of statelessness for persons without dual citizenship and underlines that the law would not be applicable for dual-citizens either, as the ‘IS’ is not and should not be regarded as a state. It is questionable how relevant the argument on active combat participation would be in trials for female ‘IS’ returnees. Nevertheless, the letter is interesting, as it highlights statehood and citizenship as contested spaces.

The author of letter 5 argues for a “return after confession”. He says: “Anyone who joins the self-proclaimed Islamic State and actively fights or passively supports the war against the ‘despicable’ West has clearly spoken and acted against the goals and values of the German state. In doing so, he or she has not only implicitly but also explicitly broken with our state, and the loss of citizenship is logical and imperative.” The reader highlights the importance of national values. Furthermore, he condemns both “actively fight[ing]” for and “passively support[ing]” the ‘IS’. The formulation “he or she” underlines that the author calls for the revoking of citizenship for both male and female returnees. In his opinion, “a return is only possible through active repentance, i.e. the admission of one’s own guilt and conviction by a proper court. To plead ignorance now, seduction, etc.,

means that those consider themselves not capable of guilt.” The author opposes arguments that justify the decision to join the ‘IS’ with young age, a broken childhood and grooming. In his opinion, those point are only to be considered if the person is truly incapable of contracting guilt within the meaning of criminal law. Citizenship is not seen as a basic right but as a privilege that can be lost and has to be re-earned. The illegality of statelessness under international law is not discussed.

Similarly, another reader describes how difficult it was for him to prove his German citizenship. He asks: “Do the [IS fighters] have these documents/certificates [e.g., the marriage certificate of the German grandparents]?” Again, citizenship is described as something that has to be earned. The story and comparison of the author show an element of felt relative deprivation. Furthermore, the statement portrays an understanding of citizenship that is limited to *jus sanguinis*, ignores other ways of getting German citizenship and thereby excludes people that came to Germany as migrants or refugees before gaining German citizenship. It is possible that the readers assumes that the ‘IS’ returnees would struggle to prove their citizenship because they are not citizens *jus sanguinis*. This idea ignores the fact also converts whose families have lived in Germany for generations have joined the ‘IS’.

The author of letter 3 sees the responsibility in Syria. He says: “The German Islamists have not committed any crimes in Germany. However, they have committed crimes in Syria. Why not hand the Islamists over to the Syrian state to be tried there and not in Germany?” Similarly, the reader in letter 8 states: “I do not understand why those who have enthusiastically shared responsibility for murder and manslaughter in Syria are not handed over to the Syrian justice system, as they were in Iraq. This is another form of arrogance towards Syria, which we then take the blame for by feeding the ‘innocent’ women and letting men and women who have acted bestially get off with lenient sentences or none at all.” The statements ignore the fact that while Iraq has said that it wants to hold trials for international ‘IS’ members, the Kurds that are currently responsible for many camps in Syria, have asked countries to take back their citizens. The author of the second quote, uses the formulation “‘innocent’ women”. The inverted commas high-

light his criticism towards the idea that women are blameless. The reader condemns too light sentences and underlines the burden for taxpayers: “we take the blame [...] by feeding [them]”. Thereby, he constructs a us vs them scheme.

The author goes on saying: “As if we still haven't understood what drives such people and that they only mock us with our values.” Again, the issue of opposing values is pointed out. Furthermore, the aspiring returnees are depicted as dangerous and allowing them back into the country is portrayed as suicide: “we turn ourselves into cattle for slaughter”. German citizens are not protected by the state but reduced to the level of farm animals meant to die.

Overall, the arguments for return focus on legal aspects. The arguments against return, on the other hand, are based on values, personal experience, and the need for protection. The arguments in relation to German history, are also interesting in so far as references to third Reich can also be found in the British discourse. While historical arguments appear repeatedly in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, the letter to the editor cited here lacks a clear pattern of argumentation. Women and man are mostly discussed on the same level. The depictions vary from criticism towards the victimization of female returnees, to the use of an infantizing metaphor which portrays the state in a parental role.

The article comes with one photo. It shows a road in Iraq with an ‘IS’ flag next to it and a car driving past. The symbol picture is taken from the DPA data base. The caption asks: “What happens to those Germans who fought for the IS and against our western value system, in which state are their crimes to be sentenced?”. The notion “our western value system” echoes the us vs. them theme also present in some of the letters.

#### **4.2.3.2 Detailed analysis 2: “Slavery, torture, human trafficking”**

The article „Sklaverei, Folter, Menschenhandel“ (engl. Slavery, torture, human trafficking) by Annette Ramelsberger, judicial reporter, was published on the 29<sup>th</sup> of April 2019. The article showcases the depiction of trials for female ‘IS’ returnees in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. It focuses on the severity of crimes committed by the accused, Jennifer W., but also discusses challenges for the German legal system.

The article refers to Jennifer W. in multiple ways. She is called “IS returnee”, “Islamist”, “mother of a young daughter” and “slave owner”. In another article that discusses her case, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* also uses the term “fighter” (D72). The examples show that Jennifer is depicted as politically motivated (Islamist), actively involved (slave owner, fighter) and in the gendered context of motherhood (mother of a young daughter). Already the enumeration in the title points out the manifold ways of Jennifer W.’s involvement. In the first paragraph, she is depicted as a multiple offender: “Jennifer W. is already on trial for murder, membership in the terrorist organization Islamic State and for violating the War Weapons Act. One would think that's enough. But now the 27-year-old mother of a young daughter from Lower Saxony must also stand trial for further criminal offenses”.

The second paragraph of the article describes her physical appearance in court: “Jennifer W. sits there, her eyes downcast, her long braid plaited, her white blouse ironed. She is silent.” Here, the Jennifer W. is not depicted as an Islamist or fighter, but rather as adapted to Western standards.

The part of the article which describes the offence, carries the subheading: “The little girl was chained in scorching heat. Jennifer W. did not bring water.” Jennifer W. is not portrayed as the principal offender. The sentence that describes the predicate offence is in passive voice. Nevertheless, the sentences underline the horror and highlight Jennifer W.’s complicity. The background to the offence is described in detail: “There [in Fallujah, Syria] she and her husband kept two slaves, a Yazidi mother and her little daughter. The child was repeatedly beaten, forced to drink bitter water from the tap. When she became sick and urinated on the mattress, the IS fighter dragged her into the courtyard and chained her up in the scorching sun. Jennifer W., according to the indictment, did nothing about it. She did not bring water to the child, did not free her. The little girl died. She was five years old.” The court argues that she acted “in conscious and deliberate cooperation with her husband.” These formulations reinforce the image of Jennifer W.’s husband as the main offender and her as his accomplice. Nevertheless, Jennifer W.’s scope of action is clearly stated. She is not defined through the actions of her husband. The child is described as innocent, helpless victim of a brutal crime. Jennifer W.’s role in her death clashes with the stereotype of the nurturing mother and peaceful female.

Next, the article looks at the challenges for the legal system. The authors explain: When [Jennifer W.] returned a year later, heavily pregnant, there were initially no indications that she had committed any crimes. The Office for the Protection of the Constitution did notice that she acted on the Internet. She wrote to her Muslim 'sisters': 'Get married and emigrate to the IS.' But that is not a crime in Germany." The quote highlights that even if the state is aware of peoples involvement with the 'IS', it can be difficult to start legal proceedings. Women that seem to have only been housewives and mothers cannot be prosecuted.

The author then discusses the role of international cooperation: "The FBI provided chat transcripts. These showed that Jennifer W. had been active in Mosul and Fallujah with the IS's morality police, the Hisba. She had addressed women in parks that they should veil themselves properly. There she patrolled with a Kalashnikov." This aspect highlights the complexity and transnational dimension of the dynamics. Furthermore, the section touches upon the roles of women within the 'IS'. It points out the active involvement of female members, while at the same time pointing out the strict rules for them. The involvement of the FBI is discussed from a critical perspective. The author points out that while US-American agents are permitted to entice others to commit crimes, this is forbidden under German law. Yet only because the FBI employee pretended to help Jennifer W. to return to Syria, did the German state find out about her offences: "[I]n the bugged car she told about the girl she let die of thirst. If Jennifer W. had not confided so much to her driver, the police would never have guessed that she was a slave owner." By pointing out the crucial role of the FBI, the final section of this article raises the question to what extent the German system and legal regulation are able to handle the complicated cases of 'IS' returnees.

Overall, the article points out that women (and mothers) have been actively involved in the atrocities committed by the 'IS' and problematizes the fact that the German system is not always able to hold them accountable.

The article comes with one photo which shows Jennifer W. covering her face with a document folder next to her lawyer in court. This is a very common image for court reporting. The caption also comments on the legal procedures. The fact that *Süddeutsche Zeitung* picks these court scenes and not, for example, a symbol picture with a group of veiled women in 'IS' territory, underlines the legal focus.

#### 4.2.3.3 Summary

In the context of female returnees, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* focuses on the prosecution and related challenges. Women are not portrayed as victims. They are described as willing accomplices of the terror group. The arguments are based on legal principles and values. In line with the legal focus of the newspaper, the visuals portray court scenes.

#### 4.2.4 Bild

A total of 34 articles from *Bild* went into the analysis. The search string « IS-Braut » (*IS bride*) generated the majority of articles, followed by the word combination « Islamischer Staat » AND Frau (*Islamic State AND woman*). The search with « Islamischer Staat » AND Mädchen (*Islamic State AND girl*) collected only three articles.

The articles were published under three rubrics: national politics, foreign politics and regional news. Similar to *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Bild* published many articles in relation to court cases. For 13 out of the 34 articles, the reporting of the court case is the main aspect. They are present under the rubrics national politics and regional news. Furthermore, *Bild* also puts a lot of emphasis on people's personal story. The newspaper has selected one case, Derya Ö. where they published a detailed background story and also produced a short documentary series. Most articles under foreign politics deal with the case of Shamima Begum.

In total, the articles are either short news pieces or reports written by the newspapers' staff. For 23 articles, the author is not mentioned. If the author is mentioned, they are named without a specific area of expertise. Generally, the newspaper does not provide background information on the authors. Thus, the authors become almost invisible. Similar to the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Bild* uses many court pictures. However, they also have a lot of almost portrait-like images that mirror the very personal reporting style.

I selected two articles for the detailed analysis: D 4 and D 17.

#### 4.2.4.1 Detailed analysis 1: “Here goes the ex-ISIS bride back to freedom”

The article „Hier geht die Ex-ISIS-Braut wieder in die Freiheit“ (engl. Here goes the ex-ISIS bride back to freedom) by Björn Stritzel and Anne Pauly was published on the 17<sup>th</sup> of December 2019. It exemplifies how *Bild* blends court reporting and personal stories.

The subheading states “Two years and nine months' imprisonment for war crimes - credit for imprisonment already served”. The mentioning of “war crimes” indicates the seriousness of the offence. Yet, the article does not depict Derya Ö. as a threat; the authors rather celebrate the judgement with Derya Ö. and her family members: ‘Her sentence: two years and nine months in prison. But that also means: She is free! The arrest warrant against her suspended until the nature of the remaining sentence (possibly on probation) is decided [sic]. [...] Mother-in-law Heike S. was also happy: ‘She will now spend a lot of time with her son, not being able to see him was a great burden on her.’ ‘When the arrest warrant was lifted, we could hardly believe it for joy at first.’” In line with this, the article only shortly explores her offence and dedicates most space to Derya Ö.’s personal story.

The article contrasts the depiction of the Attorney General’s office with that of Derya Ö.’s lawyer: “However, the representative of the Attorney General stated in his plea that she lacked sincere remorse. In addition, Derya Ö. would have acted in a self-determined manner: By carrying a weapon, she had consolidated the claim to power of the terrorist militia ISIS.” While the Attorney General problematizes that Derya Ö., liked living under ‘IS’ and actively supported the terrorist group, the lawyer argues that it is precisely these statements [that there were also nice moments in the ‘caliphate’] by his client that showed that she had critically examined her own role there [...] Derya Ö. would not simply claim that everything had been terrible, but would also admit the moments that she had enjoyed.” One image depicts a woman that is stuck in a wrong ideology and could be a potential threat to the German society. The other image describes a reflected woman that has acknowledged her mistakes.

In several paragraphs, the authors describe Derya Ö.’s background: “Since the age of 12, she was beaten up by her alcoholic father.” Derya Ö., who was actually gifted in languages, did not manage to graduate from school, and at 16 she was

forced into prostitution. Her pimp abused her, locked her up at home. Via Facebook, she met Mario S. from Leverkusen, who had already joined ISIS.” By entirely explaining her actions with the experiences of her as a child and teenager, Derya Ö. is limited to the world of an innocent girl. The lawyer is quoted explaining her motivation: “She longed for love.” Overall, Derya Ö. is described as a victim. Her offences are explained with a broken childhood. By stressing her languages skills, the authors portray her as a person with potential. They also describe her as a caring mother and family person and willing to reintegrate into society. The authors quote from Derya Ö.’s summation: “‘The time in prison was helpful for me, I want to work on my future.’ She is already looking for a place in therapy for after prison, Derya Ö. explains through tears. ‘I need my family, I made mistakes that I deeply regret.’”

The article comes with a three-minute-long video, in which the prosecutor, the defendant’s lawyer and Derya Ö.’s mother-in-law comment on the court verdict. Next to legal comments, the focus is very much on the reunification with her family and her son. Furthermore, the article references the *Bild* documentary series on Derya’s case. The thumbnail titles: From the red light [district] to ISIS and back. The disturbing story of Derya from the Ruhr area. On the left side of the title, one can see Derya Ö. in a red training jacket with her lips slightly puckered. On the right side, she wears full veil. Only her eyes and hand are visible under the black clothes. With this image, the newspaper contrasts two lifestyles and value systems.

Overall, the article offers a very close and personal view on Derya Ö.’s case. The article makes her seem very human. It is in contrast to patterns of dehumanizing Othering. However, the article thereby also falls short in exploring the complexity of a victim-perpetrator overlap. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the newspaper does not discuss or mention that Derya Ö.’s parents are from Turkey. This shows that while the newspaper reporting does not grasp all the layers of complexity, it manages to avoid some obvious stereotypes.

#### **4.2.4.2 Detailed analysis 2: “British must let ISIS bride back into country”**

The article „Britten müssen ISIS-Braut zurück ins Land lassen“ (engl. British must let ISIS bride back into country) was published on the 21<sup>st</sup> of February 2019 and



is one of several *Bild* articles reporting on Shamima B.'s case. The author of the article is not stated.

The lead of the article says: "Twist in the case of British ISIS bride Shamima Begum (19): Bangladesh refuses her entry. The British will likely have to let her back into the country. A woman who considers the terrorist attack in Manchester in 2017 (22 dead, 116 injured) 'justified'." The paragraph portrays Shamima B. as an enemy of the UK and its citizens. The unpaired half-sentence "A woman who considers the terrorist attack in Manchester in 2017 (22 dead, 116 injured)." expresses bewilderment. The mentioning of the large number of victims underlines the shocking character of Shamima B.'s statement. Furthermore, it also shows that the Manchester attacks are not considered as common knowledge in Germany, whereas in the UK, the attack can be seen as a central discursive event.

The article goes on by outlining the events that have led up to the current state. In this context they refer to the issue of statelessness. Next, the article raises the question: "Will the British Home Secretary be forced to let Shamima Begum into the country just like that?" The formulation "just like that" implies that Shamima B.'s has done something wrong. The emphasis is not on the rights she has as a citizen. Below the question, the article says: "Background: In 2015, Begum, together with fellow classmates from the London district of Bethnal Green, which is largely inhabited by Bangladeshis, traveled via Turkey to Syria to the then ISIS stronghold of Al-Rakka. There, the girls were married off to foreign fighters of the Islamic State terrorist militia. Begum had a son: Jerah (named after an Islamic fighter from the 7th century AD)." It is interesting to note that initially Shamima B. is depicted as a pupil and "girl". Her and her classmates are not given much agency, as indicated by the passive voice in "were married off". Later, in relation to her statements on the Manchester attacks, the article uses the label "ISIS bride". Out of Shamima B.'s children, the article mentions her last son. The authors claim that he was named after an Islamic fighter, which feeds into the orientalist idea of a violent Islam. In a similarly problematic manner, the authors write "the London district of Bethnal Green, which is largely inhabited by Bangladeshis". Shamima B.'s example shows that a lot of people that are read as Bangladeshi do not have the Bangladeshi citizenship. They are British. The statement, thus, highlights a racialized depiction of British society.

The article points out why Shamima B.'s case is different: "In the fight against, the British have already revoked the British citizenship of about 150 people since 2010. However, this will be difficult for Begum. She is still under 21 and has a baby." Her age and role as a mother are mentioned as the complicating factors. Overall, however, her case is seen as part of the post-9/11 war on terror discourse.

The last subheading reads "The Netherlands don't want her either". The section below discusses her marriage with the Dutch Yago R. and highlights the trans-European dimension of the case and citizenship-related responsibility. The authors write: "The Netherlands is very straightforward in its handling of ISIS returnees: there is no longer a home(land) for them there. Their citizenship is revoked immediately." The statement implies that there is an easy solution. The issue of statelessness and state responsibility is not discussed. This creates the impression that the question of returnees is about whether governments *want* to take their citizens back and offer them a "home", regardless of international law.

Throughout the article Shamima B. is referred to mostly as "ISIS bride" or with her last name but also as "woman", "girl", "young ISIS supporter", and "15-year-old". The different terms show a shift in the depiction from the "15-year-old" "girl" that was "married off" to the "woman" and "ISIS supporter" that justifies the Manchester attacks. The narrative changes from innocent youth and victimhood to perpetration and an adult fanatic. Overall, Shamima B.'s case is described as a transnational problem. Within her story, the narrative changes from innocent youth and victimhood to perpetration and an adult fanatic. There is only one picture included in the article. It is a pixelated image taken from AP which shows the woman wearing a black headscarf. It is one of the pictures that appear again and again in the reporting about Shamima B.

#### **4.2.4.3 Summary**

All in all, *Bild* stands out with its personal reporting on certain cases where the accused has been endorsed as a woman in need of help. In this context, migration is not discussed and therefore also not labeled as an issue. In other cases, the newspaper focuses on the potential threat returnees pose to the nation and its citizens. When talking about security, the wording fits into new-orientalist ideas

of Islam, Muslim women and migration. This racialized and securitized perspective on (aspiring) female returnees is especially visible in references to the British discourse.

## 5. DISCUSSION

The analysis shows that the media constructs and normalizes varying images of returnees and aspiring returnees. In the following, I discuss the most present normalisms and collective symbols and condense them into different frames. Some of them are variations of stereotypes that have been identified in previous research on Muslim women and female terrorists, while others differ from previously identified images. The following sections introduce the identified patterns and explore them in the context of intersectional feminist theory.

### 5.1 Young and innocent: The groomed girl

One of the dominant images in the UK discourse was the young, groomed girl. Tricked into the life under the 'IS', she is a victim with no agency and needs to be rescued by the West. Political statements and active support of terrorism are refuted and explained with young age, outside pressure, naivety and (war) trauma. To an extent, this depiction was already identified by Martini (2018) in her research on the media representation of British women joining the 'IS'. She writes: "These women were depicted as objects of conflict and as victims of the men terrorists who, contrastingly, did exercise their agency. The infantilisation of these individuals was observable, and so was the moralisation of the recruiters" (p. 466). What is new, is that the idea of the innocent girls is maintained even if there is evidence for the active involvement of the woman.

The focus on young women and teenagers in the context of the 'IS' has also been pointed out by Sjoberg and Gentry (2016): "Of the fifty-six women who left the United Kingdom in 2015 to join IS in Syria, the media has paid the most attention to the teenagers who have gone, depicting them as malleable and caught in the turmoil of the teenage years." The standing out of Shamima B.'s case shows that this remains true in the discourse on returnees. Nevertheless, particularly the articles selected for detailed analysis of *The Guardian* partially include more nuanced perspectives on young women by acknowledging the potential role of a religious and or political agenda and discussing the need for a fair trial as opposed to complete innocence. In the German discourse, the focus was not on

teenagers but on women end of their twenties to beginning of their thirties. Nevertheless, the pattern of the young and innocent is not irrelevant. The newspaper *Bild*'s analysis of Derya Ö.'s case showed how it can be applied by referring to the woman's childhood background and explaining her actions entirely through her traumatic experiences as adolescent. Moreover, included interviews show that in several cases also the self-depiction of the aspiring returnees from both countries follows the patterns of innocence and manipulation. While their intentions remain unclear, it is obvious that the depiction as a victim is what can ultimately help them to support their claim to return.

## 5.2 The regretful

While the groomed girl image is applied regardless of what the women say about themselves, other depictions draw on returnee's statements. One of these frames focuses on the idea that the women regret their decision to leave the West. They openly acknowledge their mistake and ask to be allowed back. This depiction allows the discourse to return to the idea that Muslim women need to be rescued by the West and that the Western lifestyle is superior. This frame complements what Martini (2018) discusses as "The betrayal of 'Jihadi Brides'" in the context of women joining the 'IS': "these depictions reinforced the Neo-Orientalist idea of superiority of the 'generous' West and constructed their engagement with ISIS as a betrayal. Jihadis were depicted as guilty of their actions in very derogative ways which demonised their actions and irrationalised them" (p.470). Through their wish to return and by acknowledging their guilt, the women confirm the concept of betrayal and the idea of Western superiority. Overall, by adopting the Western narrative, the regretful woman becomes an ideal 'IS' returnee. The case of Derya Ö, as described by the newspaper *Bild*, highlights the notion of regret as a catalyst for empathy. If a woman does not (yet) fit into this frame, regret is often formulated as a condition for return - and thus her rights as a citizen. This idea was present in both the German and the British discourse (see, for example, D126 from *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and D378 from *The Sun*).

### **5.3 The accomplice**

In contrast to the previously discussed images, the accomplice is defined through her active role within the terror organization. Her offences are discussed in detail and linked thereto she is granted political motivation. Nonetheless, she is ordinarily not the main perpetrator. The predicate offence is committed by men. This means, that the discourse has shifted from the idea of total oppression and zero agency to acknowledging women's active involvement. Yet, the idea of complicity limits her role. An example for the accomplice is the case of Jennifer W. as described in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Questions arise in the context of whether the current laws and state systems are prepared to prosecute female accomplices. This is strongly connected to the narrow understanding of what constitutes terrorism which has shaped law making in the past.

### **5.4 The fanatic Islamist: A (potential) terrorist**

The fanatic Islamist is deeply webbed into the 'IS' ideology. She is an enemy of the West and poses a severe security threat. Her mindset is depicted similar to that of male 'IS' member. This depiction was especially visible in the argumentation of articles from *The Sun* (see, for example, D391).

As discussed in the literature review, previous studies have shown that the argumentation regarding the danger posed by Muslim extremist women to Western states was primarily based on biological-racist arguments. The fear was formulated that women would continuously increase the proportion of the (undesirable) Muslim population through high birth rates. With the debate on returnees, Muslim extremist women are now also seen as (potential) terrorists within the traditional understanding of terrorism. While this image has not been completely absent before, it was only applied to single cases and not to a whole group of women.

Within the discourse on returnees, there are two opinions on how to deal with the fanatic Islamist. One group argues that their citizenship should be removed to keep the country safe. Only in some cases the issue of statelessness is discussed. The other group acknowledges the potential threat but believes that the state has responsibility for its citizen under any circumstances. Especially in the case of young women the state is held accountable for not keeping them safe.

This aspect once more highlights how the discourse on female 'IS' returnees is intertwined with general understandings of the state and its responsibility towards citizens.

### **5.5 The social scrounger**

The social scrounger frame points out that the returnees might not only be a threat but that they will also be a burden for taxpayers. It is rooted in the idea that by joining the 'IS' the women lost their citizenship rights/ 'privileges'. The argumentation is not limited to the women but also applied to their children. For example, it is presented as unfair that the children would have access to free education upon their return. The social scrounger framework also questions whether the women are truly willing to reintegrate into the Western society. It is said that their return is solely motivated by the idea of free health care, education and the social welfare state as a financial safety net as opposed to a feeling of national belonging. Previously, the idea of the social scrounger has been identified in the discourse on migrants and their role in both British and German society. Related thereto, in the current debate, the stereotype was most present in *The Sun* and the more racialized debate in the UK (see, for example, D349 and D352).

### **5.6 Mothers and daughters**

In many cases the different frames are blended with gendered imaginations of family and motherhood. The depictions range from young and overwhelmed mothers to mothers that actively took part in violence against children.

Two depictions were especially frequent and appear in contrast to each other. One portrayal frames the women as failed mothers and daughters that have brought suffering to their families. It is argued that they left behind worrying family members and exposed their children to the war situation in Syria and Iraq. Other depictions use motherhood as an argument to frame the women as especially vulnerable. In some cases, the child becomes the central reason. It is argued that the women should be allowed back because the child is innocent and vulnerable. Especially in the case of young women, the latter frame shifts the focus from the perceived failure of the women to state responsibility. It is pointed out that the state would have been responsibility to keep the women safe by preventing them

from migrating to 'IS' territory. Their precarious situation is seen as the consequence of a failure of the state security apparatus. All these ideas were especially present in the discussion about Shamima B. in *The Guardian*. Yet, also in other cases such as the one of Derya Ö. in the German newspaper *Bild* motherhood and family played a major role in the reporting.

While some articles mention women as mothers as well as the crimes they have committed, this is not specifically thematized or pointed out as a shocking contradiction. This can be seen as a shift in comparison to previous perceptions in which violent mothers were seen as especially contradicting ideas of femininity. This was especially visible in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung's* reporting on Jennifer W. Her being a mother was not addressed in the context of her complicity in the death of a child enslaved by her and her husband.

In reference back to the fanatic Islamist frame and the idea of returnees as social scroungers, parts of the discourse on returnees also reproduces the idea that other than a White mother, the Muslim mother is not holy but is an annoyance or even threat to the European (Christian) state. Furthermore, the mother theme also highlights differences in gendered framing. Many men return from the war zone as fathers, yet the discourse stresses parental responsibility almost exclusively in the case of women.

## 5.7 Shifting frames

As mentioned before, the listed depictions do not mark separate discourse stings, they overlap and are combined in different ways within articles and the discourse as a whole. One common pattern that I identified was that women were depicted as 'groomed schoolgirls' through a lens of victimhood when talking about their journey from Europe to Syria. Yet, once the articles shift their attention to the women's offences, they are described as 'evil', 'terrorists' or 'slave owners'. The alternation and increase of attributed agency happen once the women do not fit the female stereotype of non-violence anymore. These changes highlight the complex challenges that the phenomenon of returnees presents to the discourse. The questions 'Who are they?' and 'Where do they belong?' is continuously answered anew. Unsurprisingly, the shifting from 'groomed schoolgirl' to 'terrorist'



is the most prominent in *The Sun* as both, the topic of the groomed girl and the fanatic Islamist, are the most pronounced in the UK tabloid.

### **5.8 Neo-Orientalist imaginations of the state and “good citizens”**

What is inherent to most depictions of returnees or aspiring returnees is the idea that the West won. Ultimately, the women want to return to their old lives and need rescuing. By maintaining the binary construction of the West and Islam, the identity of the West itself is saved. The debate on citizenship gives room to a detailed discussion on national values and “good citizens”. In this context, gender works as a burning lens. Women do not only have to fulfil the standards for a good citizen but also those for ‘good women’.

As such, the debate on returnees is embedded in the wider discourse on citizenship. As part of the national identity, citizenship is not limited to legal aspects. Its practice encompasses a complex social construct rooted in values and duties. Only those that successfully perform the “good citizen” belong to the nation. While White people are generally assumed to belong until they violate the social rules, any non-White person has to prove and keep proving its conformity and loyalty to get and maintain the citizen status. The women that joined the ‘IS’ are generally seen as people that have violated national values and their duties as citizens and therefore do not belong anymore. Similar to the wide definition of citizenship, the state is not simply understood as a legal entity, but as part of an emotional national and individual identity. Thus, the discourse frequently refers to the state as ‘home’. The focus on values and identity instead of rights, offers an easy justification for the revoking of citizenship for aspiring ‘IS’ returnees in the context of protecting home.

In Germany, legal aspects have a strong influence on the discourse. Among other things German history is brought up as an argument to strengthen the importance of citizen rights. This aspect was primarily discussed in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, whereas the *Bild Zeitung* echoed voices that call for tighter laws for returnees in general and for returning women in particular. In this context, the UK practice of revoking citizenship is referenced. In 2019, Germany amended its citizenship law. It is now possible to revoke the citizenship of Germans with dual citizenship who

have taken part in combat operations of a terrorist organization abroad<sup>15</sup>. However, due to the prohibition of retroactivity, the law remains irrelevant for those returning from 'IS' for the time being. Furthermore, compared to the UK, the wording is very narrow. Thus, even with a view to the future, it is not possible to revoke the citizenship of people who have actively supported a terrorist organization, but outside of direct combat operations. Linked thereto, in a court ruling from 2018, the judges of the Federal Supreme Court pointed out that merely living within the territory controlled by a terrorist organization is not in itself to be considered participation, nor is mere formal or passive membership<sup>16</sup>. Thus, unclear evidence can make it difficult for the justice system to prosecute female returnees.

Some voices fear that the women, despite posing a potential security threat, will have to be released after their return. The struggle of state systems to correctly address women's involvement in terror organizations has previously been thematized by Sjoberg and Gentry (2016), who point out that stereotypical ideas of women and terrorism lead to problematic counter terrorism measures. Yet, while the discourse and the political dynamics show that these problems generally remain, for the years 2019 and 2020, the German media discourse focuses on a range of cases in which women have been successfully prosecuted.

In the UK, criticism towards the system mostly addressed Islamophobia. The analysis of the example articles has shown that Muslim parents were treated as potential terror accomplices rather than trustworthy partners for the police. Furthermore, the practice of revoking citizenship was highlighted as discriminatory, as it establishes a two-class system of citizens. The citizenship of any person with a migrant background of some sort is made conditional. This aspect highlights how being a 'good citizen' becomes a must for anybody who is not automatically perceived as part of the nation. This aspect once more underlines the relevance of the discourse's embeddedness in the wider context of national narratives.

The contextuality of the discourse also became visible in regard to discursive events. In the UK, some of these were obvious, as the debate largely followed

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<sup>15</sup> Section 28, German nationality law.

<sup>16</sup> German Federal Supreme Court, 22.03.2018 - StB 32/17

Shamima B.'s case. Both the revoking of her citizenship and the death of her third baby played a pivotal role in the discourse. Furthermore, the Manchester terror attack was a reference point. In Germany, on the other hand, no current events were repeatedly referenced. While in the UK discourse migration was openly discussed as a security threat, the sample for Germany rather focused on Islam(ism) as the threat. The fact that some of the returnees' parents were not born in Germany is rarely discussed. It was rather Germany's history with Nazism that was referred to in the debate on citizenship. Yet, it is without question that recent dynamics have shaped the depiction of Islam in Germany as pointed out in previous research. These influences mostly remained under the surface in the analyzed discourse thread.

Overall, it has become clear that while the discourse is heavily shaped by the wider Western narrative of superiority, it also varies along with national differences. Actors have referenced the actions of other states to point out issues and or justify their actions.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The topic of female 'IS' returnees and aspiring returnees has been a controversial topic for the past years and will remain relevant with many European women still being stuck in Kurdish camps and others undergoing trials. This thesis aimed to explore how stereotypes on Muslim women and women and violence more generally change in the context of female 'IS' returnees. The case of female 'IS' returnees is especially interesting as it has repeatedly challenged mainstream imaginations of Muslim women. First, by giving up their Western lifestyle to join the 'IS' they challenged the neo-Orientalist assumption that women need to be liberated from the oppression of Islam. This contradiction was overcome by labelling them as groomed girls with no agency. However, in the dynamics surrounding returnees and aspiring returnees this latter stereotype was again contradicted when both governments and the media started to depict the women as potential security threats. Furthermore, my research also explores how the debate on returnees is embedded in and shaped by national narratives in Germany and the UK, two countries that have seen especially many of their citizens join the so-called 'IS'.

I approached the research puzzle using Critical Discourse Analysis, which views discourse as social practice and aims to uncover and criticize unequal power dynamics. It assumes a dialectical relationship between discursive events and their social and structural frame. Inspired by the Duisburg school and Foucault, I focused on normalized depictions and 'collective images'. Adding a postcolonial feminist lens helped me to achieve an intersectional reading. This approach allowed me to point out five frames that are used to depict the female returnees. These include:

- 1) The groomed girl

Young and innocent, the groomed girl is portrayed through a victim lens and has no or very limited agency. The depiction preserves the key idea that Muslim women need rescuing. Originally used to explain why women gave up their Western lifestyle, it is now employed to put pressure on the government. It mainly

appears in the UK discourse, both in depictions by authors as well as self-depictions.

## 2) The regretful

The regretful acknowledges her mistakes and asks for forgiveness and to be allowed back to Europe. Similar to frame 1), this depiction allows the discourse to maintain the idea that Muslim women need to be rescued by the West and that the Western lifestyle is superior. By adopting the Western narrative, the regretful woman becomes an ideal 'IS' returnee. This depiction was mostly found in court articles in the German newspapers as well as in the self-depiction of women in camps.

## 3) The accomplice

Likewise, mostly present in court articles, the image of the accomplice is defined through a woman's active role within the terror organization. Her offences are discussed in detail and linked thereto in some cases also her political motivation. Yet, she is ordinarily not the main perpetrator. The predicate offence is committed by men.

## 4) The fanatic Islamist

The fanatic Islamist is deeply webbed into the 'IS' ideology. She is an enemy of the West and poses a severe security threat. Her mindset is depicted similar to that of male 'IS' members. In the polarized UK discourse, the fanatic Islamist is the counterpart to the innocent groomed girl.

## 5) The social scrounger

The social scrounger frame points out that the returnees might not only be a threat but that they will also be a burden for taxpayers. The idea of the social scrounger has formerly been identified in the discourse on migrants and their role in both British and German society. Related thereto, in the current debate, the stereotype was present in the more racialized debate in the UK.

The frames seldomly appeared in their pure form but are often combined with each other to match the message of the article. Moreover, motherhood was identified as a prominent factor which is blend in with the different frames. Overall, my

analysis suggests that the depictions have to be understood within a wider context of neo-orientalist imaginations of the state in which the West needs an uncivilized, inferior Other. In this context, citizenship can become conditional and a category that excludes people that do not meet national ideas of the “good citizen”. The embeddedness in the national discourses also highlighted differences between the discourse threads in Germany and the UK. In the German data set, the focus was mainly on legal aspects and connected values of citizenship and human rights. In the UK, on the other hand, race and the critique of the system as racist played a major role in the debate.

While many articles failed to grasp the multi-layered dimensions of the victim-perpetrator overlap, the overall media discourse shows a certain degree of diversity and might thereby expand the mainstream view on what (Muslim) women can do. While some arguments reproduce stereotypes on women and terrorism, other parts of the discourse acknowledge that women can be victims, mothers, and part of a terrorist organization at the same time.

In relation to previous research, my findings show how some ideas are transported through the different turns of the discourse on women and violence and women’s involvement in the ‘IS’ more specifically, while others are unique to the dynamic of returnees. By doing so, my thesis helps to expand the literature on women and violence and joins the call for a better understanding of the complex realities of women in terrorist organizations and the gendered dimensions of society that shape their involvement.

Even though media is a highly relevant social actor and plays a crucial role in the perception of terrorism, this thesis only grasps a small fraction of the discursive fragments that form the overall public discourse. Despite analyzing a wide timeframe and newspapers with different political orientations, the findings have to be seen as specific to the particular context of the collected data.

In relation to the foci on legal dimensions and the *Other* within the discourse, I suggest two possible directions for future research. First, I propose that it would be fruitful to look beyond the media debate and include legal documents in the analysis. Especially the German discourse was largely shaped by juridical arguments. Exploring this aspect in more depth would allow a better understanding of

the relationship between violent women, (gendered) understandings of terrorism and state responses. Secondly, a comparison between the depiction of female 'IS' members and female members of other terrorist groups would help further the understanding of how violent women shape and are shaped by national narratives. This could be studied through a historic comparison, for example, with the women in the German left-wing Red Army Fraction or in the current context of increasing right-wing extremism in Europe.

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## 8. APPENDIX A: DATA SET

ID <sup>17</sup>	Titel	Year	Newspaper	Author	Link
2	Achter Prozesstag - Zeugin nimmt ISIS-Braut in Schutz	2019	Bild	Björn Stritzel, Anne Pauly	<a href="https://www.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-inland/achter-prozesstag-zeugin-nimmt-isis-braut-in-schutz-66300558.bild.html">https://www.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-inland/achter-prozesstag-zeugin-nimmt-isis-braut-in-schutz-66300558.bild.html</a>
3	Die ISIS-Braut - Die verstörende Geschichte von Derya aus dem Ruhrgebiet	2019	Bild	no author	<a href="https://www.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/die-isis-braut-die-verstoerende-geschichte-von-derya-aus-dem-ruhrgebiet-61957050.bild.html">https://www.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/die-isis-braut-die-verstoerende-geschichte-von-derya-aus-dem-ruhrgebiet-61957050.bild.html</a>
4	Ex-ISIS-Braut Derya Ö.- Hier geht sie wieder in die Freiheit	2019	Bild	Björn Stritzel, Anne Pauly	<a href="https://www.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-inland/urteil-verkuendet-zwei-jahre-und-neun-monate-haft-fuer-isis-braut-66749454.bild.html">https://www.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-inland/urteil-verkuendet-zwei-jahre-und-neun-monate-haft-fuer-isis-braut-66749454.bild.html</a>
5	ISIS-Braut Derya will vor Gericht auspacken- Heute Prozess-Beginn	2019	Bild	no author	<a href="https://www.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-ausland/isis-braut-derya-will-vor-gericht-auspacken-heute-prozess-beginn-64541632.bild.html">https://www.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-ausland/isis-braut-derya-will-vor-gericht-auspacken-heute-prozess-beginn-64541632.bild.html</a>
6	ISIS-Braut Derya Ö. vor Gericht - »Hinrichtungen waren Normalität	2019	Bild	Björn Stritzel, Anne Pauly	<a href="https://www.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-inland/isis-braut-derya-oe-vor-gericht-hinrichtungen-waren-normalitaet-65136324.bild.html">https://www.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-inland/isis-braut-derya-oe-vor-gericht-hinrichtungen-waren-normalitaet-65136324.bild.html</a>
7	ISIS-Braut verhaftet- Leonora M. kommt zur U-Haft in den „Roten Ochsen“	2020	Bild	Björn Stritzel, T: Scholtyseck	<a href="https://www.bild.de/regional/sachsen-anhalt/sachsen-anhalt-news/isis-braut-verhaftet-leonora-m-kommt-zur-u-haft-in-den-roten-ochsen-74557510.bild.html">https://www.bild.de/regional/sachsen-anhalt/sachsen-anhalt-news/isis-braut-verhaftet-leonora-m-kommt-zur-u-haft-in-den-roten-ochsen-74557510.bild.html</a>
8	ISIS-Braut wird bei den Plädoyers emotional - Drei Jahre Haft gefordert	2019	Bild	Björn Stritzel, Anne Pauly	<a href="https://m.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-inland/isis-braut-wird-bei-den-plaedoyers-emotional-drei-jahre-haft-ge">https://m.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-inland/isis-braut-wird-bei-den-plaedoyers-emotional-drei-jahre-haft-ge</a>

<sup>17</sup> The ID numbers are not continuous, because after the download some items still turned out not to meet the criteria.

					fordert-66613072.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Finland%2Fpolitik-inland%2Fisis-braut-wird-beiden-plaedoyers-emotional-drei-jahre-haft-gefordert-66613072.bild.html&wt_t=1621766092823
10	ISIS-Terrorprozess in Bochum - Frauen mit Waffen und Sprengstoff waren üblich	2019	Bild	Björn Stritzel, Anne Pauly	https://m.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-inland/isis-terrorprozess-in-bochum-frauen-mit-waffen-und-sprengstoff-waren-ueblich-65688510.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Finland%2Fpolitik-inland%2Fisis-terrorprozess-in-bochum-frauen-mit-waffen-und-sprengstoff-waren-ueblich-65688510.bild.html&wt_t=1621766170835
11	Jennifer W. war als „Sittenpolizistin“ bei der Terrororganisation - Deutsche ISIS-Anhängerin in Bayern festgenommen	2018	Bild	no author	https://m.bild.de/regional/muenchen/muenchen/is-anhaengerin-festgenommen-56189746.bildMobile.html
12	Kein Haftbefehl gegen Dschihadistin- ISIS-Witwe lebt unbehelligt in Hamburg	2019	Bild	N. Altendorf, J.-H. Dobbers, M. Zitzow	https://m.bild.de/regional/hamburg/hamburg-aktuell/kein-haftbefehl-gegen-dschihadistin-isis-witwe-lebt-unbehelligt-in-hamburg-61276820.bildMobile.html
13	Leonora Messing- Das kaputte Leben der deutschen ISIS-Braut (19)	2019	Bild	no author	https://m.bild.de/regional/sachsen-anhalt/sachsen-anhalt-news/leonora-messing-das-kaputte-leben-der-deutschen-isis-braut-19-64473006.bildMobile.html
14	Prozessaufakt in Koblenz- ISIS-Braut Lisa R. (29) will aussagen	2020	Bild	no author	https://m.bild.de/regional/frankfurt/frankfurt-aktuell/prozessaufakt-in-koblenz-isis-braut-lisa-r-29-will-aussagen-73545690.bildMobile.html
15	Shamima Begum- Baby von britischer ISIS-Braut ist tot	2019	Bild	no author	https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/shamima-begum-baby-von-britischer-isis-braut-ist-tot-60567886.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fpolitik-ausland%2Fshamima-begum-baby-von-britischer-isis-braut-ist-tot-60567886.bild.html&wt_t=1621766472442

16	Shamima Begum- Briten erkennen ISIS-Braut die Staatsbürgerschaft ab	2019	Bild	no author	<a href="https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/shamima-begum-briten-erkennen-isis-braut-die-staatsbuerger-schaft-ab-60247774.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fpolitik-ausland%2Fshamima-begum-briten-erkennen-isis-braut-die-staatsbuerger-schaft-ab-60247774.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765017392">https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/shamima-begum-briten-erkennen-isis-braut-die-staatsbuerger-schaft-ab-60247774.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fpolitik-ausland%2Fshamima-begum-briten-erkennen-isis-braut-die-staatsbuerger-schaft-ab-60247774.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765017392</a>
17	Shamima Begum - Briten müssen ISIS-Braut wieder aufnehmen	2019	Bild	no author	<a href="https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/shamima-begum-briten-muessen-isis-braut-wieder-aufnehmen-60266688.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fpolitik-ausland%2Fshamima-begum-briten-muessen-isis-braut-wieder-aufnehmen-60266688.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621764950484">https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/shamima-begum-briten-muessen-isis-braut-wieder-aufnehmen-60266688.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fpolitik-ausland%2Fshamima-begum-briten-muessen-isis-braut-wieder-aufnehmen-60266688.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621764950484</a>
18	Shamima Begum- Britische ISIS-Braut (19) vermisst ihren Terror-Gatten	2019	Bild	no author	<a href="https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/shamima-begum-britische-isis-braut-19-vermisst-ihren-terror-gatten-60340204.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fpolitik-ausland%2Fshamima-begum-britische-isis-braut-19-vermisst-ihren-terror-gatten-60340204.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765999717">https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/shamima-begum-britische-isis-braut-19-vermisst-ihren-terror-gatten-60340204.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fpolitik-ausland%2Fshamima-begum-britische-isis-braut-19-vermisst-ihren-terror-gatten-60340204.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765999717</a>
19	Stuttgart- Deutsche ISIS-Braut nach Rückkehr mit 3 Kindern in Haft!	2019	Bild	Alexandra zu Castell-Rüdenhausen	<a href="https://m.bild.de/news/inland/news-inland/stuttgart-deutsche-isis-braut-nach-rueckkehr-mit-3-kindern-in-haft-61071592.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fnews%2Finland%2Fnews-inland%2Fstuttgart-deutsche-isis-braut-nach-rueckkehr-mit-3-kindern-in-haft-61071592.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765980620">https://m.bild.de/news/inland/news-inland/stuttgart-deutsche-isis-braut-nach-rueckkehr-mit-3-kindern-in-haft-61071592.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fnews%2Finland%2Fnews-inland%2Fstuttgart-deutsche-isis-braut-nach-rueckkehr-mit-3-kindern-in-haft-61071592.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765980620</a>
20	Stuttgart- ISIS-Braut jammert vor Gericht- „Ich musste immer kochen“	2019	Bild	Hagen Stegmüller	<a href="https://m.bild.de/regional/stuttgart/stuttgart-aktuell/stuttgart-isis-braut-jammert-vor-gericht-ich-musste-immer-kochen-61647526.bildMobile.html">https://m.bild.de/regional/stuttgart/stuttgart-aktuell/stuttgart-isis-braut-jammert-vor-gericht-ich-musste-immer-kochen-61647526.bildMobile.html</a>

21	Stuttgart- ISIS-Braut Sabine S. (32) muss fünf Jahre ins Gefängnis	2019	Bild	no author	<a href="https://www.bild.de/regional/stuttgart/stuttgart-aktuell/stuttgart-isis-braut-sabine-s-32-muss-fuenf-jahre-ins-gefaengnis-63097870.bild.html">https://www.bild.de/regional/stuttgart/stuttgart-aktuell/stuttgart-isis-braut-sabine-s-32-muss-fuenf-jahre-ins-gefaengnis-63097870.bild.html</a>
22	Terror-Prozess in Düsseldorf - Gericht guckt BILD-Doku über ISIS-Braut	2019	Bild	Björn Stritzel, Anne Pauly	<a href="https://m.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-inland/terror-prozess-in-duesseldorf-gericht-guckt-bild-doku-ueber-isis-braut-64918072.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Finland%2Fpolitik-inland%2Fterror-prozess-in-duesseldorf-gericht-guckt-bild-doku-ueber-isis-braut-64918072.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765923396">https://m.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-inland/terror-prozess-in-duesseldorf-gericht-guckt-bild-doku-ueber-isis-braut-64918072.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Finland%2Fpolitik-inland%2Fterror-prozess-in-duesseldorf-gericht-guckt-bild-doku-ueber-isis-braut-64918072.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765923396</a>
23	US-Präsident Trump fordert-Europa soll ISIS-Kämpfer zurücknehmen	2019	Bild	no author	<a href="https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/us-praesident-trump-fordert-europa-soll-isis-kaempfer-zuruecknehmen-61595430.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fpolitik-ausland%2Fus-praesident-trump-fordert-europa-soll-isis-kaempfer-zuruecknehmen-61595430.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765891890">https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/us-praesident-trump-fordert-europa-soll-isis-kaempfer-zuruecknehmen-61595430.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fpolitik-ausland%2Fus-praesident-trump-fordert-europa-soll-isis-kaempfer-zuruecknehmen-61595430.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765891890</a>
24	Vater von britischer ISIS-Braut- „Sie verdient nicht zurückzukommen“	2019	Bild	no author	<a href="https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/vater-von-britischer-isis-braut-sie-verdient-nicht-zurueckzukommen-60326674.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fpolitik-ausland%2Fvater-von-britischer-isis-braut-sie-verdient-nicht-zurueckzukommen-60326674.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765846251">https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/vater-von-britischer-isis-braut-sie-verdient-nicht-zurueckzukommen-60326674.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fpolitik-ausland%2Fvater-von-britischer-isis-braut-sie-verdient-nicht-zurueckzukommen-60326674.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765846251</a>
26	BGH bestätigt - ISIS-Kämpferin Jennifer W. bleibt in U-Haft	2020	Bild	no author	<a href="https://m.bild.de/regional/muenchen/muenchen-aktuell/bgh-bestaetigt-isis-kaempferin-jennifer-w-bleibt-in-u-haft-68873458.bildMobile.html">https://m.bild.de/regional/muenchen/muenchen-aktuell/bgh-bestaetigt-isis-kaempferin-jennifer-w-bleibt-in-u-haft-68873458.bildMobile.html</a>
28	Jennifer W. festgenommen: Erster Haftbefehl gegen ISIS-Anhängerin	2018	Bild	no author	<a href="https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/isis/erstmal-haftbefehl-gegen-isis-anhaengerin-56187416.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fisis%2Ferstmal-haftbefehl-gegen-isis-anhaengerin-56187416.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765768218">https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/isis/erstmal-haftbefehl-gegen-isis-anhaengerin-56187416.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fisis%2Ferstmal-haftbefehl-gegen-isis-anhaengerin-56187416.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765768218</a>



30	Isis-Kämpfer vor Gericht - Mann von Jennifer W. verweigert die Aussage	2019	Bild	no author	<a href="https://m.bild.de/regional/muenchen/muenchen-aktuell/isis-kaempfer-vor-gericht-mann-von-jennifer-w-verweigert-die-aussage-66031108.bildMobile.html">https://m.bild.de/regional/muenchen/muenchen-aktuell/isis-kaempfer-vor-gericht-mann-von-jennifer-w-verweigert-die-aussage-66031108.bildMobile.html</a>
32	Prozess in Celle - ISIS-Terrorbraut legt Teilgeständnis ab	2020	Bild	no author	<a href="https://m.bild.de/regional/hannover/hannover-aktuell/prozess-in-celle-isis-terrorbraut-legt-teilgestaendnis-ab-71666540.bildMobile.html">https://m.bild.de/regional/hannover/hannover-aktuell/prozess-in-celle-isis-terrorbraut-legt-teilgestaendnis-ab-71666540.bildMobile.html</a>
33	Briten müssen ISIS-Braut zurück ins Land lassen	2020	Bild	no author	<a href="https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/shamimabegum-briten-muessen-isis-braut-wieder-aufnehmen-60266688.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fpolitik-ausland%2Fshamimabegum-briten-muessen-isis-braut-wieder-aufnehmen-60266688.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621764950484">https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/shamimabegum-briten-muessen-isis-braut-wieder-aufnehmen-60266688.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fpolitik-ausland%2Fshamimabegum-briten-muessen-isis-braut-wieder-aufnehmen-60266688.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621764950484</a>
35	Terror-Prozess: ISIS-Unterstützerin will sich „schweigend“ verteidigen	2020	Bild	no author	<a href="https://m.bild.de/regional/frankfurt/frankfurt-aktuell/terrorprozess-isis-unterstuetzerin-will-sich-schweigend-verteidigen-74341792.bildMobile.html">https://m.bild.de/regional/frankfurt/frankfurt-aktuell/terrorprozess-isis-unterstuetzerin-will-sich-schweigend-verteidigen-74341792.bildMobile.html</a>
36	Türkei schob sie nach Frankfurt ab ISIS-Anhängerin am Flughafen verhaftet	2020	Bild	no author	<a href="https://m.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-inland/tuerkei-schob-sie-ab-isis-anhaengerin-am-flughafen-frankfurt-verhaftet-67402980.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Finland%2Fpolitik-inland%2Ftuerkei-schob-sie-ab-isis-anhaengerin-am-flughafen-frankfurt-verhaftet-67402980.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765232082">https://m.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-inland/tuerkei-schob-sie-ab-isis-anhaengerin-am-flughafen-frankfurt-verhaftet-67402980.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Finland%2Fpolitik-inland%2Ftuerkei-schob-sie-ab-isis-anhaengerin-am-flughafen-frankfurt-verhaftet-67402980.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765232082</a>
37	Geheimaktion kurz vor Weihnachten Bundesregierung holt deutsche ISIS-Frauen aus Nordsyrien zurück	2020	Bild	Björn Stritzel	<a href="https://m.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-inland/deutsche-isis-frauen-aus-haft-in-nordsyrien-zurueck-74534454.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F&amp;wt_t=1621765190094">https://m.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-inland/deutsche-isis-frauen-aus-haft-in-nordsyrien-zurueck-74534454.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F&amp;wt_t=1621765190094</a>
38	Wegen Terrorverdacht! - Ermittler nehmen Frau (26) in Bochum fest	2018	Bild	no author	<a href="https://m.bild.de/regional/ruhrgebiet/ruhrgebiet-aktuell/wegen-terrorverdacht-ermittler-nehmen-frau-26-in-bochum-fest-58452288.bildMobile.html">https://m.bild.de/regional/ruhrgebiet/ruhrgebiet-aktuell/wegen-terrorverdacht-ermittler-nehmen-frau-26-in-bochum-fest-58452288.bildMobile.html</a>

42	Ausreise-Hickhack um Shamima Begum: Sohn von ISIS-Braut soll nach Großbritannien	2019	Bild	no author	<a href="https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/isis-braut-sohn-von-shamima-begum-soll-nach-grossbritannien-kommen-60290470.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fpolitik-ausland%2Fisis-braut-sohn-von-shamima-begum-soll-nach-grossbritannien-kommen-60290470.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765049229">https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/isis-braut-sohn-von-shamima-begum-soll-nach-grossbritannien-kommen-60290470.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fpolitik-ausland%2Fisis-braut-sohn-von-shamima-begum-soll-nach-grossbritannien-kommen-60290470.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765049229</a>
45	Briten entziehen ISIS-Braut die Staatsbürgerschaft	2019	Bild	no author	<a href="https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/shamima-begum-briten-erkennen-isis-braut-die-staatsbuergerschaft-ab-60247774.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fpolitik-ausland%2Fshamima-begum-briten-erkennen-isis-braut-die-staatsbuergerschaft-ab-60247774.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765017392">https://m.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/shamima-begum-briten-erkennen-isis-braut-die-staatsbuergerschaft-ab-60247774.bildMobile.html###wt_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bild.de%2Fpolitik%2Fausland%2Fpolitik-ausland%2Fshamima-begum-briten-erkennen-isis-braut-die-staatsbuergerschaft-ab-60247774.bild.html&amp;wt_t=1621765017392</a>
46	Briten müssen ISIS-Braut zurück ins Land lassen	2019	Bild	no author	<a href="https://www.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/shamima-begum-briten-muessen-isis-braut-wieder-aufnehmen-60266688.bild.html">https://www.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/shamima-begum-briten-muessen-isis-braut-wieder-aufnehmen-60266688.bild.html</a>
49	Großbritannien: "Voller Hass auf unser Land"	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Cathrin Kahlweit	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/grossbritannien-voller-hass-auf-unser-land-1.4332644?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/grossbritannien-voller-hass-auf-unser-land-1.4332644?reduced=true</a>
65	Anklage gegen IS-Rückkehrerin erhärtet sich	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Lena Kamof	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamischer-staats-rueckkehrerin-prozess-1.4383963?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamischer-staats-rueckkehrerin-prozess-1.4383963?reduced=true</a>
68	Bundesanwaltschaft: Terroristen-Witwe verhaftet	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/bundesanwaltschaft-terroristen-witwe-verhaftet-1.4593354?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/bundesanwaltschaft-terroristen-witwe-verhaftet-1.4593354?reduced=true</a>
72	Prozess: Mutter des verdursteten Mädchens sagt aus	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Annette Ramelsberger	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-maedchen-verdurstet-1.4512875?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-maedchen-verdurstet-1.4512875?reduced=true</a>
73	Deutsche IS-Unterstützerin im Irak zum Tode verurteilt	2018	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Volkmar Kabisch, Amir Musawy	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamischer-staats-deutsche-is-unterstuetzerin-im-irak-zum-tode-verurteilt-1.3834470?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamischer-staats-deutsche-is-unterstuetzerin-im-irak-zum-tode-verurteilt-1.3834470?reduced=true</a>

74	Islamischer Staat: Jugendämter prüfen, ob IS-Rückkehrern Sorgerecht entzogen werden kann	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Florian Flade, Georg Mascolo	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-rueckkehrer-deutschland-sorgerecht-1.4423442?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-rueckkehrer-deutschland-sorgerecht-1.4423442?reduced=true</a>
114	Nach vier Jahren Irak: Frühere IS-Anhängerin kehrt nach Deutschland zurück	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Volkmar Kabisch	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-anhaengerin-deutschland-1.4327187?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-anhaengerin-deutschland-1.4327187?reduced=true</a>
115	Generalbundesanwalt: Mordanklage gegen mutmaßliche deutsche IS-Anhängerin	2018	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/generalbundesanwalt-mordanklage-gegen-mutmassliche-deutsche-is-anhaengerin-1.4268690">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/generalbundesanwalt-mordanklage-gegen-mutmassliche-deutsche-is-anhaengerin-1.4268690</a>
116	Großbritannien: Angst vor der IS-Anhängerin	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Björn Finke	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/grossbritannien-is-anhaengerin-shamima-begum-1.4339856?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/grossbritannien-is-anhaengerin-shamima-begum-1.4339856?reduced=true</a>
117	IS-Rückkehrer: Holt sie heim	2020	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Ronen Steinke	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/meinung/is-rueckkehrer-holt-sie-heim-1.5153833?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/meinung/is-rueckkehrer-holt-sie-heim-1.5153833?reduced=true</a>
118	Syrien: Hunderte IS-Anhänger offenbar aus Gefangenenlager geflohen	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/nordsyrien-is-lager-gefangene-geflohen-1.4638875">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/nordsyrien-is-lager-gefangene-geflohen-1.4638875</a>
120	Irak: Deutsche IS-Anhängerin verurteilt	2018	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Volkmar Kabisch, Georg Mascolo, Amir Musawy	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/irak-deutsche-is-anhaengerin-verurteilt-1.3872579?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/irak-deutsche-is-anhaengerin-verurteilt-1.3872579?reduced=true</a>
122	"Islamischer Staat": IS-Anhängerin darf zurück nach Deutschland	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Volkmar Kabisch, Britta von der Heide	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-syrien-deutschland-gefangene-kinder-1.4672747?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-syrien-deutschland-gefangene-kinder-1.4672747?reduced=true</a>
123	IS-Heimkehrer: "Wir haben ein Interesse daran, dass diese Rückkehr organisiert geschieht"	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Ronen Steinke	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-rueckkehrer-islamismus-pistorius-1.4681617?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-rueckkehrer-islamismus-pistorius-1.4681617?reduced=true</a>
124	Europas Gerichte sind gefragt	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Georg Mascolo	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-kaempferprozess-europa-1.4272295?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-kaempferprozess-europa-1.4272295?reduced=true</a>
125	Prozess gegen Jennifer W.: "Ich habe sie an ihren Augen und ihren Haaren erkannt"	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Annette Ramelsberger	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-prozess-muenchen-jennifer-1.4530917?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-prozess-muenchen-jennifer-1.4530917?reduced=true</a>

126	IS-Rückkehrer: Von Ethik, Reue und Recht	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Readers	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/kolumne/is-rueckkehrer-von-ethik-reue-und-recht-1.4345065">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/kolumne/is-rueckkehrer-von-ethik-reue-und-recht-1.4345065</a>
127	IS-Rückkehrerin: In der Hitze des Kalifats	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Annette Ramelsberger	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-rueckkehrerin-in-der-hitze-des-kalifats-1.4402959?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-rueckkehrerin-in-der-hitze-des-kalifats-1.4402959?reduced=true</a>
128	IS-Rückkehrerin: Sklaverei, Folter, Menschenhandel	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Annette Ramelsberger	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-rueckkehrerin-sklaverei-folter-menschenhandel-1.4426197?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-rueckkehrerin-sklaverei-folter-menschenhandel-1.4426197?reduced=true</a>
129	IS-Verfahren: "Mit der Sonne bestraft"	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Annette Ramelsberger	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-verfahren-mit-der-sonne-bestraft-1.4697216">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-verfahren-mit-der-sonne-bestraft-1.4697216</a>
130	Behörden holen erstmals Kind von IS-Kämpfern nach Deutschland	2018	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Volkmar Kabisch, Georg Mascolo, Amir Musawy	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/exklusiv-behoerden-holen-erstmals-kind-von-is-kaempfern-nach-deutschland-1.3849960?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/exklusiv-behoerden-holen-erstmals-kind-von-is-kaempfern-nach-deutschland-1.3849960?reduced=true</a>
131	Heimkehrer: Die Kinder aus dem Kalifat	2018	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Ulrike Heidenreich	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/heimkehrer-die-kinder-aus-dem-kalifat-1.3818779?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/heimkehrer-die-kinder-aus-dem-kalifat-1.3818779?reduced=true</a>
132	Islamischer Staat:Haushälterin des Terrors	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamischer-staat-haushaelterin-des-terrors-1.4685616?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamischer-staat-haushaelterin-des-terrors-1.4685616?reduced=true</a>
133	Islamischer Staat:Irrwege des Hasses	2018	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Volkmar Kabisch, Amir Musawy, Ronen Steinke	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamischer-staat-irrwege-des-hasses-1.3834894?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamischer-staat-irrwege-des-hasses-1.3834894?reduced=true</a>
134	Islamischer Staat:Deutsche IS-Unterstützerin im Irak zum Tode verurteilt	2018	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamischer-staat-deutsche-is-unterstuetzerin-im-irak-zum-tode-verurteilt-1.3834470?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamischer-staat-deutsche-is-unterstuetzerin-im-irak-zum-tode-verurteilt-1.3834470?reduced=true</a>
135	Islamischer Terror: Fünf Jahre Haft für IS-Heimkehrerin		Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamischer-terror-fuenf-jahre-haft-fuer-is-heimkehrerin-1.4512877?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamischer-terror-fuenf-jahre-haft-fuer-is-heimkehrerin-1.4512877?reduced=true</a>
136	Groko will Dschihadisten ausbürgernde	2018	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Georg Mascolo, Ronen Steinke	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/sicherheitspolitik-groko-will-dschihadisten-ausbuergernde-1.3865700?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/sicherheitspolitik-groko-will-dschihadisten-ausbuergernde-1.3865700?reduced=true</a>
137	Seehofer: Gefährliche IS-Rückkehrer müssen in Haft	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Constnaze von Bullion	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamisten-seehofer-gefaehrliche-is-rueckkehrer-muessen-in-haft-1.4336797?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamisten-seehofer-gefaehrliche-is-rueckkehrer-muessen-in-haft-1.4336797?reduced=true</a>

167	Linda W. zu sechs Jahren Haft verurteilt	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Volkmar Kabisch, Georg Mascolo, Amir Musawy	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/deutsche-is-anhaengerin-linda-w-zu-sechs-jahren-haft-verurteilt-1.3872567">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/deutsche-is-anhaengerin-linda-w-zu-sechs-jahren-haft-verurteilt-1.3872567</a>
169	Mutmaßliche IS-Anhängerin in Frankfurt festgenommen	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-anhaengerin-festnahme-frankfurt-1.4684760">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-anhaengerin-festnahme-frankfurt-1.4684760</a>
171	Jennifer W. wegen Mordes durch Unterlassen angeklagt	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Annette Ramelsberger	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-prozess-muenchen-1.4402663?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-prozess-muenchen-1.4402663?reduced=true</a>
176	Wie Deutschland mithilfe der USA eine Islamistin überführte	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Annette Ramelsberger	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/prozess-jennifer-w-is-1.4434933?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/prozess-jennifer-w-is-1.4434933?reduced=true</a>
256	Bericht: Regierung rechnet mit Rückkehr von mehr als 100 Dschihadisten-Kindern	2018	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/terrormiliz-is-bericht-regierung-rechnet-mit-rueckkehr-von-mehr-als-100-dschihadisten-kindern-1.3816701">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/terrormiliz-is-bericht-regierung-rechnet-mit-rueckkehr-von-mehr-als-100-dschihadisten-kindern-1.3816701</a>
257	Rüsten für die Rückkehr der Terroristen	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Wolfgang Janisch	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/terrorismus-islamischer-staat-bundesanwaltshaft-haftbefehl-1.4334817?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/terrorismus-islamischer-staat-bundesanwaltshaft-haftbefehl-1.4334817?reduced=true</a>
259	Mit doppelter Zunge	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Ferdos Forudastan	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/seehofer-mit-doppelter-zunge-1.4336519?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/seehofer-mit-doppelter-zunge-1.4336519?reduced=true</a>
260	Seehofer stellt Bedingungen für Rückkehr gefährlicher IS-Kämpfer	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Constnaze von Bullion	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamisten-is-rueckkehrer-seehofer-1.4337525?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamisten-is-rueckkehrer-seehofer-1.4337525?reduced=true</a>
261	Die Kinder des Krieges	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Britta von der Heide, Georg Mascolo	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-kurden-usa-syrien-1.4445981?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-kurden-usa-syrien-1.4445981?reduced=true</a>
262	Fünf IS-Anhänger aus kurdischem Gefängnis ausgebrochen	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/syrien-tuerkei-offensive-1.4636912">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/syrien-tuerkei-offensive-1.4636912</a>
319	Vorwurf der Sklavenhaltung	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/terrorprozess-vorwurf-der-sklavenhaltung-1.4640622?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/terrorprozess-vorwurf-der-sklavenhaltung-1.4640622?reduced=true</a>
320	Als "Sittenpolizistin" für den IS	2018	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/terrorvorwurf-als-sittenpolizistin-fuer-den-is-1.4037992?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/terrorvorwurf-als-sittenpolizistin-fuer-den-is-1.4037992?reduced=true</a>
321	Islamisten als Druckmittel	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Daniel Brössler	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/tuerkei-islamisten-als-druckmittel-1.4678846?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/tuerkei-islamisten-als-druckmittel-1.4678846?reduced=true</a>

322	Zwei Frauen nach Abschiebung aus der Türkei in Frankfurt gelandet	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/tuerkei-abschiebungen-islamischer-staat-1.4684747">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/tuerkei-abschiebungen-islamischer-staat-1.4684747</a>
323	USA wollen IS-Anhängerin nicht zurücknehmen	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/usa-dschihadistin-is-hoda-muthana-1.4339493">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/usa-dschihadistin-is-hoda-muthana-1.4339493</a>
324	Sie suchte das Paradies und fand die Hölle	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Annette Ramelsberger	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-prozess-muenchen-skлавенhaltung-1.4439341?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-prozess-muenchen-skлавенhaltung-1.4439341?reduced=true</a>
325	Witwe des IS-Terroristen Denis Cuspert in Hamburg festgenommen	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-islamischer-staat-terrorismus-1.4593900">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-islamischer-staat-terrorismus-1.4593900</a>
326	Zurück in der alten Heimat		Süddeutsche Zeitung	Daniel Brössler	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/rueckholaktion-aus-syrien-zurueck-in-der-alten-heimat-1.5154014?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/rueckholaktion-aus-syrien-zurueck-in-der-alten-heimat-1.5154014?reduced=true</a>
328	Der IS zerfällt - aber was wird aus den Anhängern?	2018	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Georg Mascolo	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-rueckkehrer-der-is-zerfaellt-aber-was-wird-aus-den-anhaengern-1.3924757?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-rueckkehrer-der-is-zerfaellt-aber-was-wird-aus-den-anhaengern-1.3924757?reduced=true</a>
329	Islamismus: IS-Rückkehrerin gelandet	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamismus-is-rueckkehrerin-gelandet-1.4695202">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamismus-is-rueckkehrerin-gelandet-1.4695202</a>
330	Urteile gegen deutsche IS-Anhänger im Irak:"Nun gilt unser Recht"	2018	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Volkmar Kabisch, Amir Musawy, Georg Mascolo	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/urteile-gegen-deutsche-is-anhaenger-im-irak-nun-gilt-unser-recht-1.3840769?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/urteile-gegen-deutsche-is-anhaenger-im-irak-nun-gilt-unser-recht-1.3840769?reduced=true</a>
331	Abschiebung - IS-Anhängerin in Frankfurt verhaftet	2020	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/abschiebung-is-anhaengerin-in-frankfurt-verhaftet-1.4762146">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/abschiebung-is-anhaengerin-in-frankfurt-verhaftet-1.4762146</a>
332	Die Mutter, die ihre Familie in den Terror schickte	2020	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Annette Ramelsberger	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamismus-terror-syrien-1.4832671?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamismus-terror-syrien-1.4832671?reduced=true</a>
333	IS-Anhängerin Jennifer W. bricht ihr Schweigen	2020	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Annette Ramlesberger	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamismus-is-jennifer-w-is-rueckkehrerin-1.5059149?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamismus-is-jennifer-w-is-rueckkehrerin-1.5059149?reduced=true</a>
334	Anklage gegen Brautwerberin	2020	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamischer-staat-anklage-gegen-brautwerberin-1.4890209?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamischer-staat-anklage-gegen-brautwerberin-1.4890209?reduced=true</a>
335	Gericht droht Regierung Zwangsgeld an	2020	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Hannes Munzinger	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-rueckkehrer-gericht-droht-regierung-zwangsgeld-an-1.4822945?reduced=true">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/is-rueckkehrer-gericht-droht-regierung-zwangsgeld-an-1.4822945?reduced=true</a>

336	Nach der Landung ins Gefängnis	2020	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamischer-staat-nach-der-landung-ins-gefaengnis-1.4762977">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamischer-staat-nach-der-landung-ins-gefaengnis-1.4762977</a>
337	IS-Rückkehrerin gelandet	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamismus-is-rueckkehrerin-gelandet-1.4695202">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/islamismus-is-rueckkehrerin-gelandet-1.4695202</a>
338	Seehofer verspricht genaue Prüfung von IS-Rückkehrern	2019	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Nico Fried, Christiane Schlötzer	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/seehofer-is-rueckkehrer-1.4677131">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/seehofer-is-rueckkehrer-1.4677131</a>
339	Ankara schiebt Kämpfer ab	2020	Süddeutsche Zeitung	no author	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/tuerkei-ankara-schiebt-kaempfer-ab-1.4839493">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/tuerkei-ankara-schiebt-kaempfer-ab-1.4839493</a>
346	ON THE LOOSE Tooba Gondal who groomed jihadi brides 'escapes Syrian camp with 800 other extremists as Turkey attacks Kurdish guards'	2019	The Sun	Holly Christodoulou	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10121882/isis-brides-escape-raqqa-camp-turkey-bomb-syria/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10121882/isis-brides-escape-raqqa-camp-turkey-bomb-syria/</a>
349	'I WASN'T IN SYRIA' Brit 'jihadi bride' mum-of-nine 'back in UK enjoying new benefits-funded life on canal boat'	2019	The Sun	Holly Christodoulou	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12352623/brit-jihadi-bride-benefits-uk/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12352623/brit-jihadi-bride-benefits-uk/</a>
352	HOME COMFORTS British jihadi bride reveals she misses FISH AND CHIPS and the NHS after fleeing to Syria to join ISIS	2018	The Sun	Jon Rogers	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/7714029/british-jihadi-bride-misses-fish-and-chips-nhs-isis-syria/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/7714029/british-jihadi-bride-misses-fish-and-chips-nhs-isis-syria/</a>
353	JIHADING HOME? Families of Brit ISIS jihadis are 'plotting to smuggle them from Syria back to UK' intelligence sources claim	2019	The Sun	Jon Rogers	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10032008/british-isis-jihadis-smuggle-syria-uk/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10032008/british-isis-jihadis-smuggle-syria-uk/</a>

356	I FEEL SORRY FOR HER' Former Brit ISIS bride who is now happily re-married says it proves Shamima Begum deserves a second chance back in UK	2019	The Sun	Jon Rogers	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8440673/former-isis-bride-happy-married-shamima-begum-second-chance/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8440673/former-isis-bride-happy-married-shamima-begum-second-chance/</a>
360	RAQ STAR TREATMENT Irish ISIS bride Lisa Smith says she was 'treated differently' in so-called caliphate because of white skin and blue eyes	2019	The Sun	Owen Conlon	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8823033/irish-isis-bride-lisa-smith-says-she-was-treated-differently-in-so-called-caliphate-because-of-white-skin-and-blue-eyes/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8823033/irish-isis-bride-lisa-smith-says-she-was-treated-differently-in-so-called-caliphate-because-of-white-skin-and-blue-eyes/</a>
361	JIHADI JANE Is Shamima Begum back in the UK and what's happened to the Isis bride?	2020	The Sun	no author	not available anymore
362	JIHADI BRIDE THREAT ISIS bride refugees vow chilling vengeance and 'blood up to your knees' as fears grow of brainwashed followers at camps	2019	The Sun	Nicola Stow	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8603129/isis-bride-refugees-vow-vengeance-brainwashed-followers/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8603129/isis-bride-refugees-vow-vengeance-brainwashed-followers/</a>
363	BEGUM ON RUN ISIS bride Shamima Begum and newborn flee refugee camp after death threats from other jihadi wives	2019	The Sun	Stephen Moyes	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8535254/isis-shamima-begum-newborn-refugee-camp-jihadi-wives-threats/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8535254/isis-shamima-begum-newborn-refugee-camp-jihadi-wives-threats/</a>
364	JIHADI SNIDE ISIS bride Shamima Begum branded 'vile' by her own sister after claiming Manchester Arena terror attack was 'justified'	2019	The Sun	Richard Wheatstone	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8484473/isis-bride-shamima-begum-sister-letter/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8484473/isis-bride-shamima-begum-sister-letter/</a>



365	JIHAD CITIZENSHIP FIGHT ISIS bride Shamima Begum is 'not a victim', says Home Office	2020	The Sun	Ben Hill	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/11849227/isis-bride-shamima-begum-is-not-a-victim-says-home-office/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/11849227/isis-bride-shamima-begum-is-not-a-victim-says-home-office/</a>
366	JIHADI'S BABY DASH ISIS bride Shamima Begum 'rushed to hospital with con- tractions' – but fears baby could be taken away from her	2019	The Sun	Hana Cater	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8439683/isis-shamima-begum-hospital-contractions-baby/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8439683/isis-shamima-begum-hospital-contractions-baby/</a>
367	HUMAN FLY-TIPPING' ISIS bride Shamima Begum's lawyer says she was a victim of 'grooming' and 'Britain failed her'	2019	The Sun	Tom Wells	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/9196275/isis-bride-shamima-begum-failed-by-britain/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/9196275/isis-bride-shamima-begum-failed-by-britain/</a>
368	JIHADI'S BABY DEAD ISIS bride Shamima Begum's newborn baby died 'after turning blue' following lung infection at Syrian refugee camp	2019	The Sun	Jon Lockett, Holly Christodoulou	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8593066/shamima-begum-baby-died-thursday-lung-infection/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8593066/shamima-begum-baby-died-thursday-lung-infection/</a>
369	BEGUM'S £30K BILL ISIS bride Shamima Begum's bid to return to Britain has cost taxpayers over £30,000	2020	The Sun	Tom Wells	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/11842413/shamima-begum-30k-legal-aid/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/11842413/shamima-begum-30k-legal-aid/</a>
371	ISIS BRIDE FIGHT ISIS bride Shamima Begum's lawyers moan it's 'not fair' to strip her British citizenship as she launches legal bid	2020	The Sun	Ben Hill	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/11838587/shamima-begum-isis-bride-lawyer-not-fair/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/11838587/shamima-begum-isis-bride-lawyer-not-fair/</a>
372	HIDING IN PLAIN SIGHT ISIS fundraising cell raising cash through Facebook to	2020	The Sun	Mark Hodge	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/13328416/isis-fundrais-ing-cell-brides-camps/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/13328416/isis-fundrais-ing-cell-brides-camps/</a>

	free Western jihadi brides from refugee camps				
373	JIHADI ENOUGH ISIS 'matchmaker mum' and 'Jihadi Jack' among '150 terrorists' who could now return to UK after bombshell Begum ruling	2020	The Sun	Ellie Cambridge, Sophie Jane Evans	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12140207/isis-followers-jihadi-jack-return-uk-shamima-begum-ruling/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12140207/isis-followers-jihadi-jack-return-uk-shamima-begum-ruling/</a>
375	ISIS BRIDE DAD'S PLEA Jihadi bride dad whose daughter joined ISIS with Shamima Begum claims girls 'pose no threat' and should be allowed home	2019	The Sun	Holly Christodoulou, Dann Hall	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8425676/shamima-begum-isis-jihadi-bride-dad-no-threat/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8425676/shamima-begum-isis-jihadi-bride-dad-no-threat/</a>
376	MUM'S THE WORD 'Jihadi bride' mum-of-nine Extinction Rebellion protester charged over press blockade refuses to speak in court	2020	The Sun	Jon Lockett	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12609201/extinction-rebellion-protester-blockade-is-jihadi-bride-isis-syria/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12609201/extinction-rebellion-protester-blockade-is-jihadi-bride-isis-syria/</a>
377	JIHAD IT Jihadi bride Shamima Begum loses legal bid to overturn decision to revoke British citizenship	2020	The Sun	Richard Wheatstone	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10913446/jihadi-bride-shamima-begum-loses-legal-bid-citizenship/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10913446/jihadi-bride-shamima-begum-loses-legal-bid-citizenship/</a>
378	FIYAZ MUGHAL Jihadi bride Shamima Begum must apologise first for a chance to return to Britain	2019	The Sun	Fiyaz Mughal	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8444725/jihadi-bride-shamima-begum-apology-opinion/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8444725/jihadi-bride-shamima-begum-apology-opinion/</a>
379	JIHAD ENOUGH Jihadi bride Shamima Begum told to forget ever returning home to Britain	2019	The Sun	David Wooding	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10027612/shamima-begum-forget-returning/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10027612/shamima-begum-forget-returning/</a>

380	ISIS BRIDE BACK Jihadi bride who lost an arm and a breast as ISIS crumbled is back in Britain	2020	The Sun	Tom Wells	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12406497/jihadi-bride-who-lost-an-arm-and-a-breast-as-isis-crumbled-is-back-in-britain/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12406497/jihadi-bride-who-lost-an-arm-and-a-breast-as-isis-crumbled-is-back-in-britain/</a>
381	SHOW HER MERCY Mum of US journalist beheaded by ISIS killer Jihadi John says pregnant Brit jihadi bride SHOULD be allowed to return to the UK	2019	The Sun	Patrick Knox	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8433763/mum-of-us-journalist-beheaded-by-isis-killer-jihadi-john-says-pregnant-brit-jihadi-bride-should-be-allowed-to-return-to-the-uk/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8433763/mum-of-us-journalist-beheaded-by-isis-killer-jihadi-john-says-pregnant-brit-jihadi-bride-should-be-allowed-to-return-to-the-uk/</a>
382	LORRAINE KELLY Only UK would let ISIS terrorist Shamima Begum back home to use NHS	2019	The Sun	Lorraine Kelley	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8437702/lorraine-kelly-shamima-begum-isis-only-uk/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8437702/lorraine-kelly-shamima-begum-isis-only-uk/</a>
383	TWISTED RANT Remorseless Brit ISIS bride says kids killed in Manchester bombing are just 'victims of war' as she's let back into UK	2020	The Sun	Mark Hodge	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/13560533/samia-hussein-manchester-bombing-victims-isis/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/13560533/samia-hussein-manchester-bombing-victims-isis/</a>
384	ISIS BRITS BAN Sajid Javid warns British ISIS jihadis to leave Syria — or face ten years in jail	2019	The Sun	Steve Hawkes	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/9109747/sajid-javid-isis-brits-terror-warning/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/9109747/sajid-javid-isis-brits-terror-warning/</a>
385	NUDE AWAKENING Shameless ISIS jihadi bride refuses to return home to Oz with her son, 2, because there are 'naked women on the streets'	2019	The Sun	Tariq Tahir	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8721319/shameless-isis-jihadi-bride-refuses-to-return-home-to-oz-with-her-son-2-because-there-are-naked-women-on-the-streets/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8721319/shameless-isis-jihadi-bride-refuses-to-return-home-to-oz-with-her-son-2-because-there-are-naked-women-on-the-streets/</a>

386	HOW'S SPAT Shamima Begum: England cricket stars Michael Vaughan and Mark Ramprakash in explosive Twitter row over Isis jihadi bride	2019	The Sun	Dann Hall	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8452644/shamima-begum-england-michael-vaughn-mark-ramprakash/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8452644/shamima-begum-england-michael-vaughn-mark-ramprakash/</a>
387	BEGUM'S BELIEF Shamima Begum CAN return to UK and challenge British citizenship after winning bombshell bid	2020	The Sun	Ellie Cambridge, Tom Wells	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12138067/shamima-begum-british-citizenship-isis/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12138067/shamima-begum-british-citizenship-isis/</a>
388	JIHADI BRIDE Shamima Begum COULD be a terror threat when she returns to UK, admits her OWN family's lawyer who says she was 'groomed'	2020	The Sun	Abe Hawken	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/uknews/12149622/shamima-begum-terror-threat-lawyer/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/uknews/12149622/shamima-begum-terror-threat-lawyer/</a>
389	JIHAD IT Shamima Begum moans she was an ISIS 'baby machine' and demands to return home as British prisons are cushier	2020	The Sun	Jenny Awford	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10008047/shamima-begum-isis-baby-machine-jihadi-bride-return-british/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10008047/shamima-begum-isis-baby-machine-jihadi-bride-return-british/</a>
390	CAMP OUT Shamima Begum pictured in jeans and hat in refugee camp after being told she CAN return to UK but 'will face arrest'	2020	The Sun	Ed Southgate	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12145658/shamima-begum-pictured-refugee-camp/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12145658/shamima-begum-pictured-refugee-camp/</a>
391	JIHADI BRIDE APPEAL Shamima Begum returning to UK from Syria to fight for her citizenship 'would create significant national security risks'	2020	The Sun	Tom Wells, Holly Christodoulou	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/13272316/shamima-begum-return-uk-supreme-court-risk/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/13272316/shamima-begum-return-uk-supreme-court-risk/</a>

392	SPEWING TERROR Shamima Begum says Manchester bombing that killed 22 was JUSTIFIED and reveals she wanted son to be ISIS fighter	2019	The Sun	Sam Christie, Thomas Burrows	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8451694/manchester-justified-shamima-begum-wanted-son-isis-fighter-be-headed-videos/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8451694/manchester-justified-shamima-begum-wanted-son-isis-fighter-be-headed-videos/</a>
393	TOT LOOPHOLE Shamima Begum's baby is British – and could be jihadi bride's ticket back to UK	2019	The Sun	Holly Christodoulou	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8404016/shamima-begum-baby-british-jihadi-uk/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8404016/shamima-begum-baby-british-jihadi-uk/</a>
394	HIGHLY DAMAGED' Shamima Begum's mum fears jihadi bride daughter will 'brainwash' grandchild	2019	The Sun	Jacob Dirnhuber	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8497417/shamima-begum-mum-jihadi-bride-daughter-brainwash-grandchild/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8497417/shamima-begum-mum-jihadi-bride-daughter-brainwash-grandchild/</a>
395	OUT OF TOUCH' Sir Keir Starmer slammed for backing jihadi bride Shamima Begum's return to Britain	2020	The Sun	David Wooding	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12163417/sir-keir-starmer-shamima-begum-support-backlash/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12163417/sir-keir-starmer-shamima-begum-support-backlash/</a>
398	'I WANT TO GO HOME' Whingeing ISIS bride who fled to Syria and boasted she was 'thirsty for Australian blood' demands to be let back into Oz	2019	The Sun	Alahna Kindred	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8634600/isis-bride-fled-syria-demands-return-australia/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8634600/isis-bride-fled-syria-demands-return-australia/</a>
399	NO ENTRY Who is Hoda Muthana? US ISIS jihadi bride who wants to return home from Syria	2019	The Sun	Hana Cater	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8454287/who-is-hoda-muthana-isis-jihadi-bride/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8454287/who-is-hoda-muthana-isis-jihadi-bride/</a>
401	JIHAD' ARREST 'Jihadi bride' Lisa Smith charged with terror offences after being arrested in Dublin over 'ISIS life'	2019	The Sun	Harry Manning, Michael McHugh, Aoife Horan	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10461169/jihadi-bride-lisa-smith-charged-terror/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10461169/jihadi-bride-lisa-smith-charged-terror/</a>

403	JIHADI JAIL BREAK Brit ISIS bride 'terror twins' caught trying to escape Syrian camp to get back to Europe	2020	The Sun	Lottie Tiplady-Bishop	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12486778/brit-isis-bride-terror-twins-caught-escape/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12486778/brit-isis-bride-terror-twins-caught-escape/</a>
404	JIHADI WHINE Brit ISIS bride 'terror twins' say THEY are the victims as they moan about 'suffering' in jihadi prison camp	2020	The Sun	Mark Hodge	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12495134/isis-brides-terror-twins-syria-victims/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12495134/isis-brides-terror-twins-syria-victims/</a>
405	JIHADI JAILBREAK Brit ISIS brides among droves ESCAPING Syrian detention camps as jihadis around world crowdfund to pay smugglers	2020	The Sun	Kevin Adjei-Darko	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12601967/brit-isis-brides-escaping-syrian-detention-camps/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12601967/brit-isis-brides-escaping-syrian-detention-camps/</a>
406	JIHADIS CAGED Brit ISIS couple who tried to sneak back into UK after fleeing Syria jailed in Turkey	2018	The Sun	Gerard du Cann	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/7817293/brit-isis-couple-who-tried-to-sneak-back-into-uk-after-fleeing-syria-jailed-in-turkey/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/7817293/brit-isis-couple-who-tried-to-sneak-back-into-uk-after-fleeing-syria-jailed-in-turkey/</a>
407	TERROR TWIN' FOUND Brit ISIS 'terror twin' teen who inspired Shamima Begum is found alive with young son in Syrian camp	2020	The Sun	Mark Hodge	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12470624/isis-twin-zahra-halane-alive-syria/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12470624/isis-twin-zahra-halane-alive-syria/</a>
408	HELL ON EARTH British ISIS bride Samia Hussein, 25, reveals arm and breast were blown off in Syria air strike in first-ever interview	2020	The Sun	Mark Hodge, Alan Duncan	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12004365/brit-isis-bride-arm-samia-hussein/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12004365/brit-isis-bride-arm-samia-hussein/</a>
409	BRAINWASHED British ISIS schoolgirl Shamima Begum, 19, says seeing severed	2019	The Sun	Charlie Parker	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8425091/isis-schoolgirl-shamima-begum-severed-heads/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8425091/isis-schoolgirl-shamima-begum-severed-heads/</a>

	heads in bins 'didn't faze me at all'				
410	JIHAD YOUR CHANCE 'Evil' ISIS bride Shamima Begum has 'no hope for rehabilitation' says Manchester terror victim	2019	The Sun	Holly Christodoulou, Paul Sims	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8458062/manchester-terror-victim-slams-evil-isis-bride-shamima-begum/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8458062/manchester-terror-victim-slams-evil-isis-bride-shamima-begum/</a>
411	FREE TO KILL Germany admits completely losing track of 160 ISIS fanatics after their return from Syria	2019	The Sun	Christy Conney	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/9472723/germany-admits-losing-track-160-isis-fanatics-return-syria/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/9472723/germany-admits-losing-track-160-isis-fanatics-return-syria/</a>
413	NOT WELCOME ISIS bride Shamima Begum STRIPPED of British citizenship after showing no remorse for fleeing to Syria	2019	The Sun	Jon Lockett	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8463591/isis-bride-shamima-begum-stripped-british-citizenship/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8463591/isis-bride-shamima-begum-stripped-british-citizenship/</a>
416	CONDEMNED TO HANG More than 300 male and female ISIS fanatics sentenced to death by Iraq courts as others jailed for life	2018	The Sun	Jay Akbar	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/6089561/iraq-courts-hand-death-sentences-to-more-than-300-male-and-female-isis-fanatics/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/6089561/iraq-courts-hand-death-sentences-to-more-than-300-male-and-female-isis-fanatics/</a>
417	YOU MADE YOUR BED' Piers Morgan says ISIS bride Shamima Begum should 'go f*** herself' and 'rot in hell' instead of returning to UK	2019	The Sun	Jon Lockett	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8455316/shamima-begum-isis-bride-piers-morgan-returning-uk/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8455316/shamima-begum-isis-bride-piers-morgan-returning-uk/</a>
418	I DON'T TRUST HER' Piers Morgan slams 'dangerous' ISIS bride Shamima Begum as she fights to return to UK from Syria	2020	The Sun	Tom Wells, Britta Zeltmann	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/13281584/piers-morgan-isis-bride-shamima-begum/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/13281584/piers-morgan-isis-bride-shamima-begum/</a>

419	CLOSE TO HOME Shamima Begum 'overjoyed' to see family but 'nervous' about return UK to fight for British citizenship	2020	The Sun	Debbie White	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12156719/shamima-begum-overjoyed-see-family-nervous-return-uk-citizenship/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12156719/shamima-begum-overjoyed-see-family-nervous-return-uk-citizenship/</a>
420	JIHADI SCROUNGER Shamima Begum was paid benefits by ISIS and got twice as much as other jihadis, her fanatic husband boasts	2020	The Sun	Alan Duncan, Mark, Hodge	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/13244106/shamima-begum-benefits-isis-husband/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/13244106/shamima-begum-benefits-isis-husband/</a>
426	BACK ON THE STREET Towie-loving mum, 29, who was first British woman jailed for joining ISIS after taking toddler son to Syria is FREED	2019	The Sun	Brittany Vonow	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8433872/towie-mum-first-british-woman-jailed-isis-son-syria-freed/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8433872/towie-mum-first-british-woman-jailed-isis-son-syria-freed/</a>
427	Y'ALL GO HOME US demands Britain take back its 600 ISIS supporters and their families in Syrian refugee camps	2019	The Sun	Tom Newton Dunn	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10038678/us-demands-britain-isis-refugee/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10038678/us-demands-britain-isis-refugee/</a>
428	TERROR TWIN' FOUND Brit ISIS 'terror twin' teen who inspired Shamima Begum is found alive with young son in Syrian camp	2020	The Sun	Mark Hodge	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12470624/isis-twin-zahra-halane-alive-syria/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12470624/isis-twin-zahra-halane-alive-syria/</a>
430	I'LL GO DUTCH' ISIS bride Shamima Begum plans to get back with jihadi husband and make a new life in the Netherlands	2019	The Sun	Phoebe Cooke	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8467376/shamima-begum-husband-british-citizenship-revoked-netherlands/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8467376/shamima-begum-husband-british-citizenship-revoked-netherlands/</a>



431	HOME A MOAN ISIS bride's family vow to take Sajid Javid to court to STOP him revoking her UK citizenship	2019	The Sun	Jon Lockett, Richard Wheatstone	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8464237/shamima-begum-family-sajid-javid-court-revoking-citizenship/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8464237/shamima-begum-family-sajid-javid-court-revoking-citizenship/</a>
432	FORGET IT Shamima Begum's family demand Government bring her home 'where she belongs' claiming 'she's pregnant and vulnerable'	2019	The Sun	Brittany Vonow	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8434183/jihadi-bride-shamima-begums-family-demand-government-bring-her-home-where-she-belongs-claiming-shes-pregnant-and-vulnerable/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8434183/jihadi-bride-shamima-begums-family-demand-government-bring-her-home-where-she-belongs-claiming-shes-pregnant-and-vulnerable/</a>
433	POINT OF NO RETURN Moment ISIS bride Shamima Begum finds out she's not coming home to UK by reading letter stripping her of citizenship	2019	The Sun	Corey Charlton	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8469844/shamima-begum-news-isis-citizenship-letter-not-home/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8469844/shamima-begum-news-isis-citizenship-letter-not-home/</a>
435	NO SHAME Shamima Begum interview: ISIS bride says she had 'a good time' in Syria and insists horrific beheadings were justifiable	2019	The Sun	Annabel Murphy	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8449511/shamima-begum-interview-isis-bride-good-time-beheadings/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8449511/shamima-begum-interview-isis-bride-good-time-beheadings/</a>
436	NO SHAME Shamima Begum interview: ISIS bride says she had 'a good time' in Syria and insists horrific beheadings were justifiable	2019	The Sun	Debbie White, Sam Christie, Thomas Burrows	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8449511/shamima-begum-interview-isis-bride-good-time-beheadings/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8449511/shamima-begum-interview-isis-bride-good-time-beheadings/</a>
437	BEGUM BLOCKED Shamima Begum's return to Britain is put on HOLD as Government wins right to fight case in Supreme Court	2020	The Sun	Richard Wheatstone	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12276906/shamima-begums-return-to-britain-is-put-on-hold/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/12276906/shamima-begums-return-to-britain-is-put-on-hold/</a>

438	I'M NO KILLER' ISIS bride who 'trained fighters in Syria' begs to come home to Ireland with daughter, 2, and promises 'I won't kill anyone'	2019	The Sun	Guy Birchall	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/9444617/isis-bride-who-trained-fighters-in-syria-begs-to-come-home-to-ireland-with-daughter-2-and-promises-i-wont-kill-anyone/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/9444617/isis-bride-who-trained-fighters-in-syria-begs-to-come-home-to-ireland-with-daughter-2-and-promises-i-wont-kill-anyone/</a>
439	DEVIL'S ADVOCATE Lawyer trying to bring ISIS bride Shamima Begum back to UK said Theresa May has 'Nazi blood'	2019	The Sun	Richard Wheatstone	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8450451/shamima-begum-lawyer-tasnime-akunjee-nazis-lee-rigby/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8450451/shamima-begum-lawyer-tasnime-akunjee-nazis-lee-rigby/</a>
440	JIHAD ENOUGH Faces of Brit ISIS fighters who could return to the UK from monster who led execution of five 'Brit spies' to 'matchmaker' mum who recruited teen girls	2019	The Sun	Sophie Jane Evans	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10042173/brit-isis-fighters-who-could-return-to-uk/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10042173/brit-isis-fighters-who-could-return-to-uk/</a>
442	JIHADI VIRUS ISIS brides from Shamima Begum's former camp claim coronavirus is 'reserved for infidels' and is one of 'god's soldiers'	2019	The Sun	Emily Prescott	<a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/11372417/isis-brides-from-shamima-begums-camp-coronavirus/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/11372417/isis-brides-from-shamima-begums-camp-coronavirus/</a>
445	No 'lone wolf': media urged to take care over terrorism vocabulary	2018	The Guardian	Caroline Davies	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/sep/24/no-lone-wolf-media-urged-to-take-care-over-terrorism-vocabulary">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/sep/24/no-lone-wolf-media-urged-to-take-care-over-terrorism-vocabulary</a>
446	Shamima Begum and questions of responsibility – hers and ours	2019	The Guardian	Readers	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/19/shamima-begum-and-questions-of-responsibility-hers-and-ours">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/19/shamima-begum-and-questions-of-responsibility-hers-and-ours</a>
451	Begum verdict emerges from thin arguments of security v humanity	2020	The Guardian	Dan Sabbagh	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/feb/07/begum-verdict-emerges-from-thin-arguments-of-security-v-humanity">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/feb/07/begum-verdict-emerges-from-thin-arguments-of-security-v-humanity</a>
452	Convicted terrorists less likely to reoffend than other criminals – study	2020	The Guardian	Jason Burke	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/apr/28/convicted-terrorists-less-likely-to-reoffend-than-other-criminals-study">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/apr/28/convicted-terrorists-less-likely-to-reoffend-than-other-criminals-study</a>

454	Hunt rejects headline-driven approach to babies like Shamima Begum's	2019	The Guardian	Patrick Wintour	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/10/jeremy-hunt-rejects-headline-driven-approach-shamima-begum">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/10/jeremy-hunt-rejects-headline-driven-approach-shamima-begum</a>
455	Isis Briton Shamima Begum pleads to return to UK after giving birth	2019	The Guardian	Frances Perraudin, Vikram Dodd	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/17/shamima-begum-who-fled-uk-to-join-isis-has-given-birth-say-family">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/17/shamima-begum-who-fled-uk-to-join-isis-has-given-birth-say-family</a>
457	Isis women driven by more than marriage, research shows	2019	The Guardian	Jamie Grierson	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/nov/03/isis-women-driven-by-more-than-marriage-research-shows">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/nov/03/isis-women-driven-by-more-than-marriage-research-shows</a>
458	Javid advised of 'hostile public sentiment' to Shamima Begum, court told	2020	The Guardian	Dan Sabbagh, Owen Bowcott	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/nov/24/shamima-begum-cannot-communicate-with-legal-team-court-told">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/nov/24/shamima-begum-cannot-communicate-with-legal-team-court-told</a>
459	Jeremy Corbyn defends Shamima Begum's right to legal aid	2019	The Guardian	Owen Bowcott	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/apr/15/jeremy-corbyn-defends-shamima-begum-right-to-legal-aid">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/apr/15/jeremy-corbyn-defends-shamima-begum-right-to-legal-aid</a>
460	Lawyer for Begum's family says legal ploy could stop her return to Britain	2019	The Guardian	Mark Townsend	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/aug/10/lawyer-for-uk-isis-woman-shamima-begum-says-police-building-criminal-case">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/aug/10/lawyer-for-uk-isis-woman-shamima-begum-says-police-building-criminal-case</a>
461	Let Shamima Begum come back, say Bethnal Green residents	2019	The Guardian	Aamna Mohdin	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/14/let-shamima-begum-come-back-say-bethnal-green-residents">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/14/let-shamima-begum-come-back-say-bethnal-green-residents</a>
462	Let Shamima Begum return to UK or risk more terror recruits, says expert	2019	The Guardian	Mark Townsend, Jamie Doward, Daniel Boffey, Nosheen Iqbal	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/16/shamima-begum-isis-extremism-expert-criticises-sajid-javid">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/16/shamima-begum-isis-extremism-expert-criticises-sajid-javid</a>
465	Met police kept families of Isis schoolgirls 'in the dark'	2019	The Guardian	Mark Townsend	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/24/police-kept-families-of-isis-bethnal-green-schoolgirls-in-dark-shamima-begum">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/24/police-kept-families-of-isis-bethnal-green-schoolgirls-in-dark-shamima-begum</a>
467	Shamima Begum 'a bit shocked' that UK has revoked citizenship	2019	The Guardian	Amy Walker, Rowena Mason	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/20/shamima-begum-a-bit-shocked-that-uk-has-revoked-citizenship">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/20/shamima-begum-a-bit-shocked-that-uk-has-revoked-citizenship</a>
468	Shamima Begum and the UK government's lack of compassion	2020	The Guardian	Readers	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jul/19/shamima-begum-and-the-uk-governments-lack-of-compassion">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jul/19/shamima-begum-and-the-uk-governments-lack-of-compassion</a>

469	Shamima Begum baby death 'a stain on conscience of UK government'	2019	The Guardian	Aamna Mohdin, Martin Chulov	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/09/sajid-javid-denounced-shamima-begums-baby-dies-syria">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/09/sajid-javid-denounced-shamima-begums-baby-dies-syria</a>
470	Shamima Begum begins appeal against loss of UK citizenship	2019	The Guardian	Owen Bowcott, Dan Sabbagh	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/oct/22/shamima-begum-begins-appeal-against-loss-of-uk-citizenship">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/oct/22/shamima-begum-begins-appeal-against-loss-of-uk-citizenship</a>
471	Shamima Begum faces 'extreme scenario' in citizenship appeal	2019	The Guardian	Ducan Gradham	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/oct/24/shamima-begum-faces-extreme-scenario-in-citizenship-appeal">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/oct/24/shamima-begum-faces-extreme-scenario-in-citizenship-appeal</a>
472	Shamima Begum family challenge Javid's citizenship decision	2019	The Guardian	Vikram Dodd	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/20/shamima-begum-family-challenge-sajid-javid-over-citizenship-decision">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/20/shamima-begum-family-challenge-sajid-javid-over-citizenship-decision</a>
473	Shamima Begum loses first stage of appeal against citizenship removal	2019	The Guardian	Owen Bowcott	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/feb/07/shamima-begum-loses-appeal-against-removal-of-citizenship">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/feb/07/shamima-begum-loses-appeal-against-removal-of-citizenship</a>
474	Shamima Begum moved after threats in Syria camp, says lawyer	20q9	The Guardian	Matthew Weavers, Nazia Parveen	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/01/shamima-begum-moved-from-syrian-camp-after-threats">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/01/shamima-begum-moved-from-syrian-camp-after-threats</a>
475	Shamima Begum says her 'world fell apart' after losing UK citizenship	2020	The Guardian	Dan Sabbagh	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/feb/17/shamima-begum-says-her-world-fell-apart-after-losing-uk-citizenship">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/feb/17/shamima-begum-says-her-world-fell-apart-after-losing-uk-citizenship</a>
476	Shamima Begum says she regrets publicising desire to return to UK	2019	The Guardian	Haroon Siddique	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/24/shamima-begum-says-she-regrets-publicising-desire-to-return-to-uk">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/24/shamima-begum-says-she-regrets-publicising-desire-to-return-to-uk</a>
477	Shamima Begum still a national security threat, UK supreme court told	2020	The Guardian	Rowena Mason	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/nov/23/shamima-begum-still-national-security-threat-supreme-court">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/nov/23/shamima-begum-still-national-security-threat-supreme-court</a>
478	Shamima Begum's mother asks Home Office to show mercy	2019	The Guardian	Jamie Grierson	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/11/shamima-begum-mother-asks-home-office-to-show-mercy">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/11/shamima-begum-mother-asks-home-office-to-show-mercy</a>
479	Shamima Begum's UK citizenship should be restored, court told	2020	The Guardian	Owen Bowcott	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jun/11/shamima-begums-uk-citizenship-should-be-restored-court-told">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jun/11/shamima-begums-uk-citizenship-should-be-restored-court-told</a>

480	Shamima Begum: baby son dies in Syrian refugee camp	2019	The Guardian	Mark Chulov, Nazia Parveen, Mohammed Rasool	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/08/shamima-begum-confusion-after-reports-newborn-son-may-have-died">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/08/shamima-begum-confusion-after-reports-newborn-son-may-have-died</a>
481	Shamima Begum: Dutch husband wants to take teenager to Netherlands	2019	The Guardian	Poppy Noor	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/03/shamima-begum-dutch-husband-wants-to-take-teenager-to-netherlands">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/03/shamima-begum-dutch-husband-wants-to-take-teenager-to-netherlands</a>
482	Shamima Begum: Home Office to fight court rule letting Isis recruit return to UK	2020	The Guardian	Dan Sabbagh, Nazia Parveen	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jul/16/shamima-begum-wins-right-to-return-to-uk">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jul/16/shamima-begum-wins-right-to-return-to-uk</a>
483	Shamima Begum: how the case developed	2020	The Guardian	Jamie Grierson	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jul/16/shamima-begum-how-the-case-developed">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jul/16/shamima-begum-how-the-case-developed</a>
484	Shamima Begum: Sajid Javid labelled 'moral coward' over baby death	2019	The Guardian	Jamie Doward, Mark Townsend	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/09/sajid-javid-moral-coward-death-begum-baby">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/09/sajid-javid-moral-coward-death-begum-baby</a>
486	Supreme court to rule on whether Shamima Begum can return to UK	2020	The Guardian	Jamie Grierson	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jul/31/shamima-begum-supreme-court-to-rule-on-return-to-uk">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jul/31/shamima-begum-supreme-court-to-rule-on-return-to-uk</a>
490	The myth of the she-devil: why we judge female criminals more harshly	2018	The Guardian	Helena Kennedy	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/oct/02/the-myth-of-the-she-devil-why-we-judge-female-criminals-more-harshly">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/oct/02/the-myth-of-the-she-devil-why-we-judge-female-criminals-more-harshly</a>
491	This government has failed Shamima Begum	2020	The Guardian	Readers	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/feb/11/this-government-has-failed-shamima-begum">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/feb/11/this-government-has-failed-shamima-begum</a>
492	UK intelligence services step up monitoring after death of Isis leader	2019	The Guardian	Daniel Boffey	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/oct/28/uk-intelligence-services-step-up-monitoring-after-death-of-isis-leader-revenge-attacks">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/oct/28/uk-intelligence-services-step-up-monitoring-after-death-of-isis-leader-revenge-attacks</a>
493	UK shooting range uses Shamima Begum image for targets	2019	The Guardian	Mattha Busby	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/27/uk-shooting-range-uses-shamima-begum-image-for-targets">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/27/uk-shooting-range-uses-shamima-begum-image-for-targets</a>
494	UK twins 'held in detention' after fleeing Syria refugee camp	2020	The Guardian	Helen Pidd	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/aug/24/uk-twins-held-in-detention-after-fleeing-syria-refugee-camp">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/aug/24/uk-twins-held-in-detention-after-fleeing-syria-refugee-camp</a>

495	UK will not put officials at risk to rescue Isis Britons, says minister	2019	The Guardian	Amy Walker	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/14/uk-isis-britons-officials-risk-syria-schoolgirl-shamima-begum">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/14/uk-isis-britons-officials-risk-syria-schoolgirl-shamima-begum</a>
496	What do experts think of revoking Shamima Begum's citizenship?	2019	The Guardian	Poppy Noor	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/20/what-do-experts-think-of-revoking-shamima-begums-citizenship">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/20/what-do-experts-think-of-revoking-shamima-begums-citizenship</a>
551	Let her prove herself: Bethnal Green residents on Shamima Begum	2019	The Guardian	Amy Walker	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/20/east-londoners-discuss-case-of-former-resident-shamima-begum">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/20/east-londoners-discuss-case-of-former-resident-shamima-begum</a>
554	Met police seek access to journalists' material on Shamima Begum	2019	The Guardian	Jim Waterson	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/aug/06/metropolitan-police-seek-access-journalists-material-shamima-begum">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/aug/06/metropolitan-police-seek-access-journalists-material-shamima-begum</a>
555	Shamima Begum citizenship decision sets a dangerous precedent	2019	The Guardian	Readers	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/21/shamima-begum-citizenship-decision-sets-a-dangerous-precedent">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/21/shamima-begum-citizenship-decision-sets-a-dangerous-precedent</a>
556	Shamima Begum ruling reignites debate over Britons who joined Isis	2020	The Guardian	Jamie Grierson	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jul/16/shamima-begum-ruling-reignites-debate-over-britons-who-joined-isis">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jul/16/shamima-begum-ruling-reignites-debate-over-britons-who-joined-isis</a>
557	Shamima Begum will not be allowed here, says Bangladesh	2019	The Guardian	Esther Addley, Redwan Ahmend	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/20/rights-of-shamima-begums-son-not-affected-says-javid">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/20/rights-of-shamima-begums-son-not-affected-says-javid</a>
558	Shamima Begum: I am willing to change to keep British citizenship	2018	The Guardian	Mattha Busby	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/22/shamima-begum-willing-to-change-in-plea-to-retain-british-citizenship">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/22/shamima-begum-willing-to-change-in-plea-to-retain-british-citizenship</a>
559	Shamima Begum: Isis runaway asking for sympathy - video profile	2019	The Guardian	Monika Cvorak	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/video/2019/feb/22/shamima-begum-the-controversial-isis-runaway-asking-for-sympathy-video-profile">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/video/2019/feb/22/shamima-begum-the-controversial-isis-runaway-asking-for-sympathy-video-profile</a>