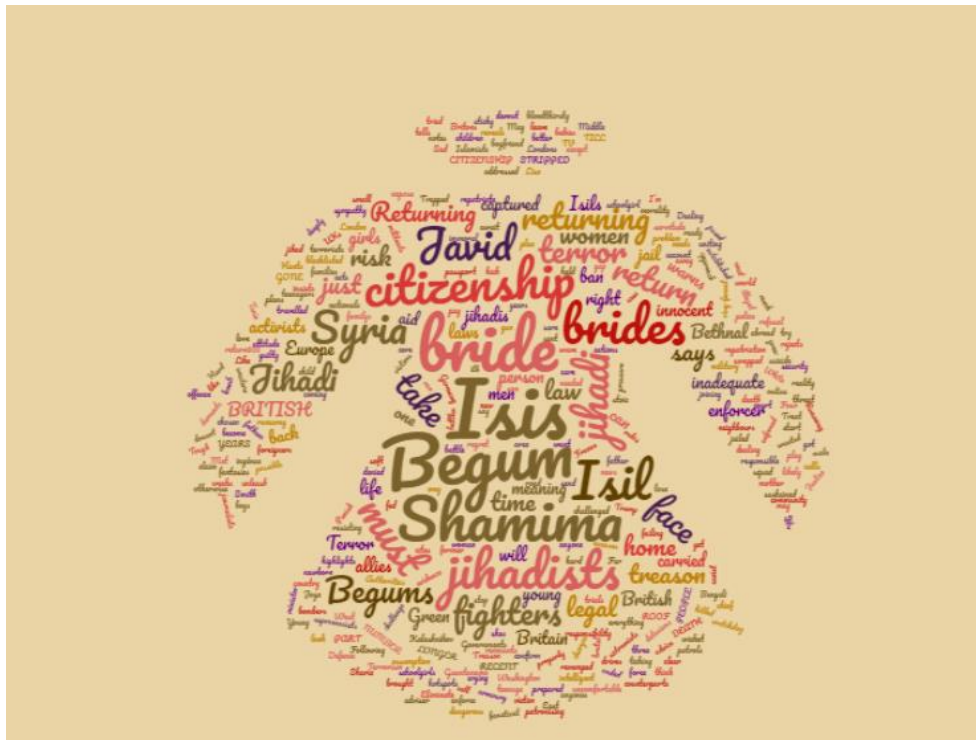


Framing the female foreign terrorist fighter

A THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF HOW HEADLINES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM MEDIA PORTRAY THE CASE OF SHAMIMA BEGUM

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study adopts a criminological perspective to investigate how newspaper headlines surrounding western-raised female Foreign Terrorist Fighters (FTFs) are being framed by the British media. This investigation employs a case study approach, to thematically analyse how narratives surrounding a high profile British FTF, Shamima Begum, were framed by headlines of British newspapers once she requested repatriation to the United Kingdom (UK) after four years as a FTF in Syria. When Begum left UK in 2015, aged 15, the media narrative leaned towards suggestions of Begum being considered to be a victim. Therefore, this study looks at how the more recent newspaper headlines frame Begum's more complex narrative in 2019 when the UK was faced with the conundrum as to how to respond to the repatriation request of a British-born female FTF who was also heavily pregnant at the time. Therefore, the focused timeframe of the study is from February 2019, until August 2019. Only the headlines of British newspapers were examined to see how the snapshot of the framed narratives surrounding Begum during this time were presented. The aim was to investigate from a criminological perspective whether the choice of framing was creating a societal perception as to whether the FTF is a perpetrator or victim, according to the societal "trial by media" that newspapers often inspire. Whilst objectivity is always an issue, this study is not designed to make any judgment either way in regards to the Begum case or her agency in her FTF experience but to simply raise awareness as to how narrative around perpetrators or victims can create societal and individual biases and can serve to reduce or increase fear of the "other". This study demonstrated that the framing chosen by the media increases the level of bias with the focus on the security risk and punishment aspects of the discussion surrounding Begum's situation. This is important to be aware of as this in turn significantly contributes to greater racial, ethnic or religious tension within society. Unless we address how perpetrators and victims are discussed, then we increase the risk of greater racial, ethnic or religious tension within society which can create a multitude of other societal and criminological issues.

Keywords: Female foreign fighter, Victim, Perpetrator, bias, framing

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CVE	Counter violent extremist
EU	European Union
Europol	The European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation
FTF	Foreign terrorist fighter
ICSVE	Centre for the Study of Violent Extremism
Interpol	International Criminal Police Organisation
ISIS	Islamic State of Syria and Iraq
RVE	Radical violent extremism
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICRI	United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute
UNOCD	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

1. INTRODUCTION

Whilst the phenomenon of foreign terrorist fighters (FTFs) is not new, there has been a marked increase in the number of FTFs over the past five years. Between 2014 and 2019, it has been estimated that over 40,000 FTFs from 110 countries have travelled to Syria and Iraq to join the caliphate declared by the so-called “Islamic State of Syria and Iraq” (ISIS¹) in 2014 (UNOCD 2019). With this migration and subsequent return migration of many of the FTFs, there has been a rise in global security concerns. Coupled with this, there has been a proliferation of media narratives from every perspective, along with researchers from a multitude of disciplines attempting to explain the motivations of groups or individuals who become involved in radical violent extremism (RVE).

A FTF is defined by the United Nations (UN) as an individual who:

“travels to a State other than their State of residence or nationality for the purpose of the perpetration, planning or preparation of, or participation in, terrorist acts or the providing or receiving of terrorist training, including in connection with armed conflict”.
(UNSC Counter-Terrorism Committee, n.d.).

Whilst there is no formal agreement on the definition of ‘terrorist’, the International Criminal Police Organisation (Interpol 2019) exclusively uses the term ‘foreign terrorist fighter,’ rather than ‘foreign fighter’ which could imply that all foreign fighters are considered to be security risks (potential terrorists), regardless of their role in the RVE group. There are many international laws and resolutions that encourage the criminal prosecution of FTFs, even if they are discovered whilst preparing for and before embarking on any actual travel. The mandate criminalising every element, including preparation, is covered in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolution 2178 from 24 September 2014, as set out by the operative paragraph 6, resolution 1373 (2001), which requires all Member States to:

“ensure that any person who participates in the financing, planning, preparation or perpetration of terrorist acts or in supporting terrorist acts is brought to justice, and decides that all States shall ensure that their domestic laws and regulations establish serious criminal offences sufficient to provide the ability to prosecute and to penalize in a manner duly reflecting the seriousness of the offence” (European Parliament 2015)

The suggestion that all FTF-related offences as outlined in the resolution above should be criminalised in national legislation implies that every FTF would be prosecuted on return to their nation state. However, the reality surrounding whether FTFs can or will actually be prosecuted and what the appropriate

¹ This study uses the acronym ISIS as it is the acronym more prevalent in the British media. However, it is important to note that there are many names and acronyms for this group that has been classified as a terrorist organisation by many countries and International bodies such as the United Nations. These include but are not limited to such as Da'esh, IS (Islamic State), ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant)

sentencing for this type of crime should actually be, is quite complex. This complexity can often be intersectional in nature, especially when societal perception tends to assume that some FTFs, such as female FTFs raised in a western² society, are more likely to be victims rather than perpetrators of RVE crimes. The aim, purpose and research question will be outlined more fully in 1.1. However, at this juncture it is pertinent to note that the focus of this intersectional criminological³ study is to explore how easily newspapers can frame narratives that can influence public perception such as whether the western-raised female FTF should be regarded as a criminal, or a victim or perhaps her experience could be considered in the realm of the victim/perpetrator nexus?

The female FTF is of great interest due to the fact that most become radicalised and embark on the FTF journey whilst in their teenage years, long before they are legally considered as an adult woman. Hence the use of the term ‘female’ being the most appropriate descriptor as it covers all the age ranges of this FTF group. Aside from age, questions surrounding ethnicity, race and country of citizenship of the female FTF is often the focus of intersectional debate. News stories of female FTFs are predominately only presented in the global media when they have travelled from ‘the west,’ often with focus on whether they have dual citizenship or have extended family ties in another country. This is evidenced in the UK by the recent act of stripping FTFs of their UK citizenship (Prabhat 2019), which can only legally happen if they are not made stateless. There are also the issues surrounding transnational marriage and the fate of any children born during the FTF experience. Many of these issues create a multitude of discriminatory narratives that deserve an entire study of their own. Whilst this study is too brief to delve into great detail, it will highlight any findings that have intersectional bias which affect how these female FTFs are considered in a criminological sense. As many elements surrounding intersectional discussions can be specific to female FTFs, many could argue that the trajectory of the female FTF is often more complicated than a male FTF due to their greater vulnerability.

Newspaper narratives surrounding female FTFs are framed as ‘Jihadi bride’, ‘runaway schoolgirl’, ‘brainwashed’, ‘groomed’ or ‘victim’ (Cole 2019; Buck 2019; Drury 2019; Wallis 2019). This suggests a clearly sexist narrative suggesting that females cannot independently have the same extremist ideological thoughts as males, unless there is some sort of male-led impetus. It is not often that a female FTF is described as joining a RVE group as a result of her own agency or as a result of her independent ideological viewpoint (de Leede 2018). The default of employing a victim narrative when discussing a female FTF is more common than when discussing a male trajectory into FTF. Ironically, when reflecting on the Ideal Victim framework as outlined by Nils Christie (1986), there is the assertion that society needs to bestow ‘victim status’ on an individual – they cannot claim to be a victim in their own right. This concept means the newspaper narrative surrounding female FTF can enable a society to bestow “victim status” on the female FTF, entertaining the idea that they may have been

² The colloquial phrases ‘western’ or ‘the west’ denotes countries including (but not limited to) those in the EU, Northern America and Oceania. It refers to not just the physical locality of the country but also the influence of different values, ethics, social norms, customs and beliefs, history, political systems, religions and the other elements that are not like those in other parts of the world such as the Middle East and parts of Asia.

³ As Victimology is considered a subset of criminology, the term ‘criminological’ when used in this study includes victimology unless it is highlighted that the two areas of criminology and victimology are to be discussed separately,

coerced, or alternatively to deny them the frame of “victim” and assume that the female FTF have utilised their rational choice and perceive them in a less sympathetic light. Despite many newspaper headlines dubbing them “Jihadi brides” and assuming they are after “Jihotties” (Speckhard & Shajkovci 2018) to marry, it is more likely another female FTF they know personally or online who recruits the female FTF. For many female FTFs, it may have been a combination of scenarios that could be described as the victim/perpetrator nexus (UNICRI 2016). This is basically when they enter into FTF as a victim, and then become perpetrators due to their situation, akin to having ‘Stockholm syndrome’ as the family of British-born female FTF Shamima Begum once attributed to her involvement in ISIS (Bannerman 2019). Whilst every case is unique, the victim/perpetrator scenario is often the case for many female FTFs, for whom the stereotype of their trajectory is often not as well understood as that of the trajectory of the male FTF.

However, prior to any exploration of how western-raised female FTFs are perceived from a criminological perspective due to media framing, it is important to note that it can be difficult to make any clear statements surrounding the prosecution of any individual FTFs from statistics currently available, such as those from The European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation (Europol 2019). This is especially true for the United Kingdom (UK), the focus country of this qualitative study. Whilst most European Union (EU) Member States break down terrorism convictions by category (Right-wing, Left-wing, Jihadist, Ethno-nationalist and separatist terrorism along with single issue terrorism), the UK does not specify a breakdown by ‘terrorist type’ in their statistics. The UK has submitted statistics to Europol outlining they have had 329 individuals in concluded court proceedings for terrorist offences between 2016 and 2018. (See Appendix 1 for details (Europol 2019)). However, in February 2019, the British newspaper *The Independent* reported that the UK security minister, Ben Wallace, stated:

“around 40 people have been successfully prosecuted so far – either because of direct action they have carried out in Syria or, subsequent to coming back, linked to that foreign fighting” (Dearden 2019).

This figure indicating the number of prosecuted British FTFs is quite small in comparison to the 329 concluded terrorist cases in UK courts since 2016. That figure of 40 prosecutions is said to represent only 10 percent of the estimated 400 FTFs that have already returned to the UK and settled back into life in Britain to some extent (Dearden 2019). The statistics also seemingly lack sub-categories of ‘FTF’ versus ‘home grown attacks on EU soil’ in the ‘Jihadist terrorism’ category of the EU statistics. This means that any comprehensive research investigating number of FTF prosecutions needs to be more extensive, especially when the breakdown of FTF prosecutions by gender is not clarified in the broader Europol statistics. This sort of information would have to be discovered on a case by case basis and as the outcome of this research is not dependent on criminal convictions, I utilised an in-depth gendered study by Ester E.J Strømme (2017) to ascertain that male FTFs are more likely to face criminal prosecution than female FTFs. This is despite research by Julia Lisiecka and Florence Gaub (2016) finding that female FTFs account for approximately twenty percent of the total FTF population. In fact, Europol figures indicate that forty percent of all FTFs from the

Netherlands are female, with twenty percent of FTFs from Finland and Germany reported to be female (Strømme 2017). These figures prompt the question as to why females have a lower prosecution rate. Is the stereotypical narrative of the female as a victim correct or is there a societal and stereotypical gender bias that does not allow us to perceive women in the same way we do men? Whilst both the definition of FTF and the UNSC resolutions surrounding FTFs are gender and race neutral, the reinforcement of the stereotypes surrounding female FTFs could be perceived to exist in the UNSC Presidential Statement (S/PRST/2014/21) which indicates a victim narrative when discussing female radicalisation:

“violent extremism is frequently targeting women and girls, which can lead to serious human rights violations and abuses against them, and encouraged Member States to engage with women and women’s organisations in developing counter violent extremist (CVE) strategies” (UNSC 2014).

As Strømme (2017) highlights, if a gendered perspective of stereotypical societal narrative does exist and subsequently influences our legal and policy responses, this could create gaps in our security structure. This consideration that a gendered, intersectional narrative bias can have far reaching implications for national and global security is what motivated this study. Having a greater insight into how the narrative of the female FTF is framed and perceived by society is important to the field of criminology. It could open a more thoughtful discussion by society in regards to the reality of criminological or victimological situations that can contribute to female radicalisation. This in turn can assist with real community collaboration to help counter radicalisation, de-radicalisation and help prevent re-radicalisation.

1.1 Research aim, rationale and questions

As mentioned briefly above, this research is a qualitative study designed to investigate what narratives are being constructed to discuss western-raised female FTFs. The data collection and thematic analysis will be couched in a case study approach focusing on newspaper headlines that frame the individual trajectory of one high profile female FTF, 19-year-old British-born Shamima Begum. This narrow focus on one individual is purely designed to provide a snap-shot of how the headlines of newspapers in England frame the narrative surrounding Begum's February 2019 request for return to the UK after four years as a FTF. The impetus for return is the collapse of ISIS territory in Syria and forcing Begum into a refugee camp (Wedeman & Said-Moorhouse 2019). The aim is to investigate how the frames constructed by newspaper headlines reporting on Begum's situation can create a societal perception of the female FTF from a criminological perspective. Therefore, the research question that this study will be answering is:

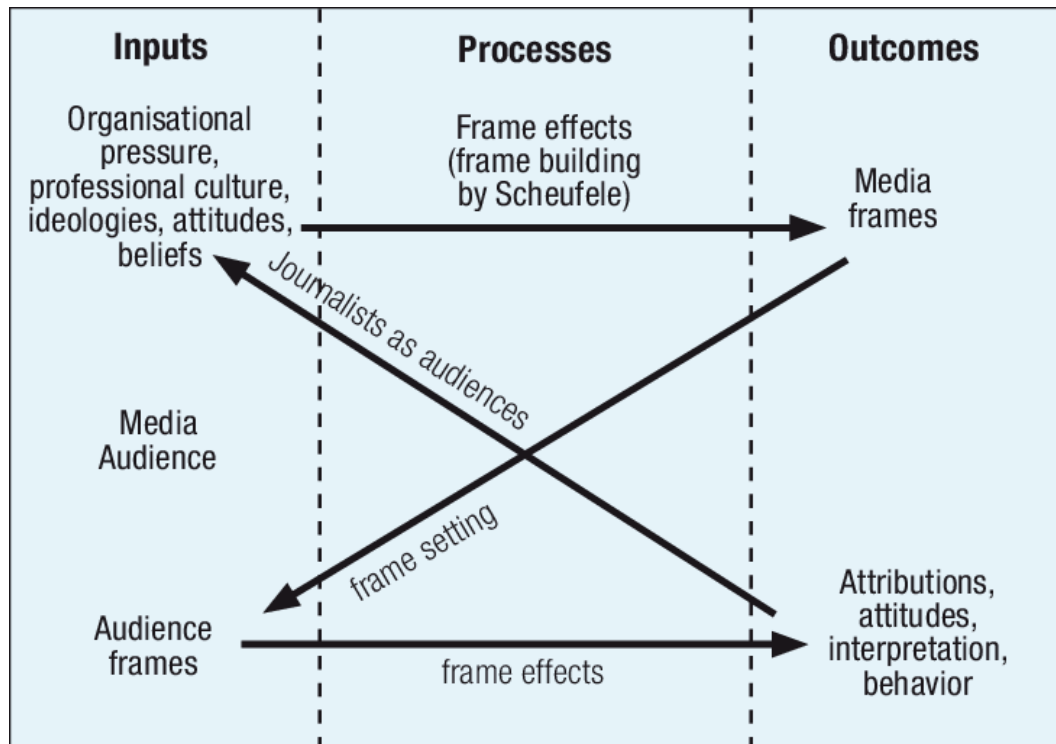
- How can the practice of frame setting by newspaper headlines affect societal and individual bias towards female FTFs in relation to assumptions that they are criminals or victims of crime themselves?

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The literature explored in this section focuses on how the perception of the female FTF can be framed from an interdisciplinary lens.

2.1 The use of framing when constructing narratives

The concept of “framing” in a media or academic narrative is to construct “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events” (Scheufele 1999). The frame enables the narrative to flow in a way that presents the events, issues and any moral dilemmas in a way that can highlight or obscure elements depending on the agenda behind the messaging. Dietram Scheufele (1999) developed a model describing the processes that are involved in construction of a media frame. These include frame building - how the frames are chosen; frame setting - consideration of influence of frames and how they will be perceived; individual-level effects of frames in relation to how frames can impact thought, subsequent behaviours or attitudes; and the concept of ‘journalists as audiences’ (ibid.)



Picture 1. Scheufele D A, (1999) Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1), 103-122.

Therefore, as Scheufele and Iyengar (2014) observe, the effects of framing are not due to differences in *what* is being communicated, but rather to variations in *how* a given piece of information is framed for delivery. Whilst it could be assumed that the narrative constructed by newspapers has considerable power over the public’s perception, the reinforcement theory created by Joseph Klapper suggests that “the media are more likely to reinforce than to change readers pre-existing attitudes and beliefs which have already been developed by cultural, religious and social institutions” (Klapper 1960). Therefore, as Chibnall (in Liebling et al.

2017) highlighted, the narratives created by newspaper journalists are a reflection of “shared morality and communal sentiments” of the reader demographics.

Whilst the frame is dependent on a multitude of factors as described above, there are also differences in relation to the type of narratives within the frame. A study by Zizi Papacharissi and Maria de Fatima Oliviera (2008) found that the US newspapers engage in more episodic coverage of RVE events whereby the UK newspapers adopt a thematic coverage. In addition to this, it was revealed that in general, the UK media adopts a more diplomatic evaluation of events than the US narrative which adopts a more militant approach. Research by Brigitte Nacos suggests that

“when exposed to episodic framing of terrorism, people are more inclined to support tougher punitive measures against individual terrorists; when watching thematically framed terrorism news recipients tend to be more in favour of policies designed to alleviate the root causes of terror” (Nacos 2005).

Therefore, the way individuals respond to framing ultimately affects micro, meso and macro levels of society. This includes everything from the way people perceive, discuss and interact with other members of societal in- and out-groups on a daily basis. The effects of framing are important to be aware of in regards to criminology and victimology due the influence these frames have on societal attitudes surrounding perpetrators or victims of crime which can create public pressure to influence policy formation. These policies in turn affect how people are treated institutionally and societally. It can also affect the results of elections, as people vote on policy decisions that they perceive to affect both human rights issues along with national security.

2.2 Intersectionality in narratives

This perception that framing can reinforce existing beliefs (Klapper 1960), but framing also provides a good example of the Thomas theorem which stresses that “it is not important whether or not the interpretation is correct - if [people] define situations as real, they are real in their consequences” (Thomas & Thomas 1928). The intersectional bias in social (and media) narratives have been known to have self-fulfilling real-life consequences that can “gradually influence a whole life-policy and the personality of the individual themselves” (Merton 1948). This is important to acknowledge when narratives surrounding RVE activity are seen to demonstrate bias when stereotyping individuals by race, religion, age, nationality, class and gender. Intersectional bias which reinforces stereotypes of individuals, in turn, perpetuate the sensationalist news cycles of reporting on so-called ‘religiously-inspired’ RVE activity in which Islam is thought to be a factor. This bias ignores the reality that more deaths attributed to RVE activity are a result of right wing supremacist or anti-Government factions (Serwer 2019). It is important at this juncture to note that religious leaders do not consider terrorism to be condoned or inspired by religion. There are, however, terrorist groups that exploit religions as their excuse for terrorist activity.

2.3 Interdisciplinary research of female FTFs

Whilst there is a growing body of research into the motivations of female FTFs, it is predominantly from a psychological perspective. One of the most prolific researchers in this field is Anne Speckhard who, along with co-authors and the

International Centre for the Study of Violent Extremism (ICSVE), has interviewed hundreds of female FTFs including returning western-raised female FTFs. In a 2018 study by Speckhard and Ardian Shajkovci, they outline ten categories identified by their extensive research that could be used to explain the psychological profiles that could motivate a female to become a FTFs. These are:

True Believer – Believes that the terrorist group represents the true Islam and seeks to help build its Caliphate. Often tired of conflicting social demands if living in the West, suffering from mainstream marginalization and facing demands for purity.
Avenger – Angry over geopolitics, discrimination, marginalization and secondary traumatization (graphic images from the conflict zones) and believes the group can address these issues and will change the world for the better. Sometimes seeks revenge for death, harm, arrest, torture or other grievances done to her group.
Joiner – Seeks to belong, relates to “fictive kin” of ummah, seeks protection and fellowship of the group, sisterhood, love,
Becoming Someone – Seeks significance, purpose, on quest for a positive identity, a mission in life.
Adventurer – Looks for fun, romance, adventure, sexual and otherwise, follows “jihotties”
Romantic – Falls in love or is seduced into loving. She follows her heart into the group.
Materialistic – Seeks material rewards, joins for a salary, better housing, better life, including criminal gains.
Submissive – Adheres to traditional roles, obeys husband, brother or father and follows him into violent extremism. Also, those coerced by blackmail, rape, etc. economically dependent, etc.
Escape Artist – Runs away from real life problems, difficult home, oppressive conditions, seeks to gain her independence from oppression, hoping to better her life.
Redemption Seeker – seeks to purify self for past “sins”, gangsta history, or debauchery in past. In the extreme this includes the suicidal, desperate and depressed woman who becomes convinced that dying, as a “martyr” is her best option for redemption and to escape her painful circumstances. Gangsta criminal type who converts, or reverts, to radical Islam often continues her life of crime and continues to work her criminal network in behalf of the group and often becomes a criminal leader.

Table 1. Motivational and vulnerability sets for females seeking Jihad (Speckhard & Shajkovci 2018)

Whilst this is only one element of the comprehensive work in this field conducted by Speckhard et al, these ten categories have been included in this paper to provide an interdisciplinary lens in which to reflect upon whilst assessing the frames utilised by the British newspaper headlines from a criminological theoretical perspective. It is important to note that none of the psychological categories truly suggest a victim narrative. Almost all can be attributed to rational choice actions. Therefore, there is need for more synergy of description that could also reflect the criminological or victimological reasons for becoming a FTF.

2.4 The case study of Shamima Begum

In order to better understand the phenomenon of how a British-born female FTF is perceived by the British public through analysis of headlines alone, it was important to find a good subject to use as a high-level case study for this research. The trajectory of radicalisation of Shamima Begum was the perfect media story to follow as she is such a high profile British-born female FTF. Whilst there is not a lot of published academic research surrounding Begum to date, Begum's story is well known from a high level of exposure in the mass media.

Anthony Loyd (2019) who writes for *The Times*, met a heavily pregnant 19-year-old Begum in a Syrian refugee camp, Al-Hawl on 13 February 2019, with the meeting resulting in Begum requesting to be repatriated to the UK after 4 years as a FTF. Al-Hawl had been established for ISIS family members after ISIS lost the last of its stronghold in Syria and according to Relief Web (Harvey 2019) the camp housed 73,000 people in June 2019. Al-Hawl is a far cry from the East London suburb of Bethnal Green where British-born Begum grew up, went to school and subsequently left the UK from in 2015. At that time, Begum was 15 years old and having been recruited online by other female FTFs (Fisher 2019), left with two other girls from school, Amira Abase and Kadiza Sultana, resulting in the media dubbing them the “Bethnal Green Trio” (ibid.).

The initial media stories were framing the girls as victims of radicalisation, with the Metropolitan Police Commissioner at the time, Sir Bernard Hogan-Howe, stating that “they would not be treated as having committed a crime if they returned home” (van Ark 2019). As the age of criminal responsibility in the UK is 10 years of age (Govuk n.d), this support was important otherwise the Trio would be tried under UK and International law. None of the Trio took him up on his offer, with all girls marrying FTFs quickly on arrival. Sultana was killed within the first year and the whereabouts of Abase in 2019 is unknown (Perraudin 2019). Begum married a Dutch FTF and had three babies who died shortly after birth, including the baby born in February 2019 shortly after her request for repatriation. Now in August 2019, Begum's FTF husband is in the Netherlands and Begum is alone in Al-Hawl, having been stripped of her British citizenship for being a FTF and considered a risk to UK security (van Ark 2019). The loss of British citizenship is not unprecedented. 104 individuals were stripped of British citizenship in 2017 alone (ibid.). The difference for Begum is that she currently holds no other citizenship which means she has been rendered effectively stateless, meaning she is “a person who is not considered as a national by any state under the operation of its law” (UNHCR n.d) which is against both international and UK laws. The UK Government asserts that she can leverage her mothers Bangladeshi citizenship, however, that appears to be problematic (van Ark 2019). Begum has no lived experience of being in Bangladesh and the Bangladeshi government has indicated that she would face the death penalty there (Busby 2019). In August 2019, the London Metropolitan police requested all unpublished material on Begum held by the media, under the 2010 Terrorism Act in order to prepare potential prosecution (Waterson 2019).

Whilst this section has provided a good overview of the trajectory and turning points of Begum's lived experience since becoming radicalised, the case study approach employed for this study is merely to provide a framework for high-level exploration of the British headlines that are framing her FTF experiences.

3. MATERIALS & METHODS

This qualitative case study employs a social constructivist philosophy and adopts a thematic content analysis. As Alan Bryman (2008) highlights, qualitative content analytical approach has traditionally been used in relation to analysing media content as it allows for greater focus on details and construction of frames. The thematic analysis is designed to help answer the research question of this study through identification of themes present in UK newspapers. As this study utilises a case study approach, only headlines pertaining to a specific British-born female FTF, Shamima Begum will be analysed. At this juncture it is also important to note as this is a highly politicised topic, the concept of objectivity must be raised. Whilst as a researcher I was attempting to not make a judgement about Begums motivations, and have attempted to purely present the facts as they presented themselves. As this study has a constructivist approach, objectivity is not expected. As Mary K. Rodwell (1998) phrases it, “constructivism takes full advantage of the richness of the interaction complexity in all its subjectivity, but this does not mean rigour is sacrificed”

The rationale behind the use of this case study approach as part of the method is to gain an in-depth, real-life insight into the phenomenon of how the female British-born FTF is viewed by the British public via the frames constructed by newspaper headlines. The use of the case study is to “investigate contemporary phenomena within its real-life context” (Yin 2009). Despite giving an insight into the complexity of Begums case in section 2.4, the analysis of the data will focus more on the high-level themes derived from the headlines in order to assess how the framing techniques used in communications can create bias in regards to how the female FTF is viewed in a criminological sense. Whilst this case study stands alone as its own analytical unit, it is hypothesised that it will produce results that could be applicable to the way other female FTFs are portrayed in the media.

3.1 Materials & Collection

The aim of the data collection for this study was to identify British newspapers with headlines that referenced Shamima Begum. The dates chosen for this study were between February 2019 to July 2019. This timeframe was selected as it was in February that a heavily pregnant Begum asked to be repatriated after four years as a FTF and this study is designed to investigate how the British newspapers framed the aftermath of her request to return to the UK.

News articles were gathered through NewsBank, a database accessible through Malmö University. This method of data search and selection was due to the expectation of obtaining a rich sample of headlines from a broad, diverse demographic across England. The main search criteria was ‘Shamima Begum’ that I then then coupled this with terms in a variety of combinations with words such as ‘victim’, ‘security risk’, ‘criminal’ or ‘offender’ after her name. This was searched in ‘all text’ then the search was refined to capture articles from newspapers only. These results were then filtered to only capture newspapers from England, UK. The total search results with the above criteria was 1,803. Many of these headlines were excluded due to not being relevant, or if they mentioned Shamima Begum as a reference point to frame another news story which was not directly related to her. After that initial cull, a remaining 390 were considered worth assessing. From these, duplicates of the same news headline

repeated in different publications were removed from the final selection of articles, leaving a total of 379 for the analysis. Considering that I would reach thematic saturation with the nationally circulated newspapers alone, I removed all regional newspapers and through further search refinement, only included nationally circulated newspapers, with the exception of the London freesheet with its significantly high readership of 2,665,000 (Newsworks 2019). This resulted in the final 292 articles to analyse. As this analysis was of headlines alone, it was vital to only include what was relevant for this study. On completion of the data refinement, the list of relevant news articles was downloaded into word document format and can be found in Appendix 2. Due to this study being conducted in Sweden, I did not have hard copies of these newspapers readily available, so all references were strictly from the digital articles News Bank provided. The constructivist nature of this research dictated that all headlines within scope contributed towards understanding how the framing could affect societal and individual bias towards female FTFs. Therefore, all relevant headlines regardless of location or article type within the publication (including news articles, editorials, features or letters) were included to fully assess what frames readers could be exposed to via headlines in newspapers.

Therefore, the data collection for this study identified 292 newspaper articles that explore the trajectory of Shamima Begum’s FTF experiences. The headlines are to be analysed thematically in order to obtain a high-level understanding of how individual or societal perceptions could be constructed by the newspaper audience. It is important to note that other researchers attempting to replicate this study may not make the same choice of inclusion due to their research design, philosophy or aim of study.

The headlines that emerged from the data collection were from a selection of ten nationally circulated UK newspapers, with a selection of formats – the more serious ‘broadsheet’ with the long, vertical pages and the smaller and more sensationalist ‘tabloid’ newspaper. In addition to those, one free newspaper, or ‘freesheet’ that is distributed widely in London, with its aforementioned circulation of over 2,665,000 (Newsworks 2019), was also included. The freesheet numbers are significant hence its inclusion in this study despite it not meeting the criteria of being a nationally circulated newspaper. The names of the publications chosen for this study, along with their categorisation of political leaning are described in table 2 below.

Political Leaning	Broadsheet	Tabloid	Freesheet
Centre left	The Guardian The Observer	Daily Star The Mirror	
Right-wing, conservative		The Sun The Express	
Centre-right, conservative	The Telegraph Sunday Telegraph The Times The Sunday Times		Evening Standard

Table 2. List of newspapers selected for headline analysis (Statista 2019)

Each of these publications in Table 2 above, have a readership of over half a million each, aside from the Sun which, aside from the freesheet, has the largest circulation of over 1.4 million (Statista 2019). These publications, being nationally circulated, also have a broad diversity of reader demographics, including a multitude of ethnicities, religions, diverse social statuses and political leanings (ibid.).

3.2 Thematic Analysis

Given the nature of this study, thematic analysis was the most logical choice as the analysis needed to be determined by the framing process employed by each newspaper as discussed in 2.1. Thematic analysis is perfect for identifying, analysing, organising, describing and reporting on themes found in the data set (Braun and Clarke 2006). As the construction of themes for this analysis was inductive and data driven, all 292 headlines needed to be considered individually. Thematic analysis was perfect for this headline analysis as only key features needed to be considered. There is a minimal emphasis on the language structures used as it is focusing on the key messages from the large data set this study is investigating.

I followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) six step process for conducting thematic analysis. This involves familiarising oneself with the data prior to creation of initial codes and categories, searching for themes, reviewing them, defining the themes and then producing the report. For this study, this involved assessing each newspaper headline individually and coding each into the themes that were derived from the data. If a headline appeared at all ambiguous or subtly nuanced, I had to make a judgement call as to how the headline may be interpreted by the reader within the publication's demographic.

The diversity of themes in this rich data set, coupled with the limitations of the length of this paper, means that these themes have been contracted into only four categories of theme. Therefore, this analysis is framed to provide a more general understanding of these themes. If this was a larger paper, I would have been interested in extrapolating further. The themes uncovered are found in table 3 on page 16.

Rationale as to how themes were derived and how headlines were coded (see Appendix 3 for headlines per theme)			
Security Risk	Punishment	(Lack of) Remorse	Normalisation
Headlines that alluded to Begum or other FTFs (including children of FTFs) being a risk to the UK. Headlines focusing on officials, experts, ex radicals that see her as a danger, and even those just suggesting she wants to return when also calling her a Jihadist suggests she is a security risk	Headlines that alluded to the various options for punishment, including issues surrounding citizenship, legal aid, finances and where FTFs should be punished (UK vs elsewhere). It also included when family, neighbours or others spoke out about punishment in any form (including lack of punishment). There was also inclusion of headlines in which they were comparing the victims of terror as a justification as to why FTFs should be punished more harshly	Headlines that alluded to remorse, lack of remorse, expressing remorse, victimisation (self-appointed or by society), sympathy, shame, regrets, Begums perspectives as to how she is suffering (indicating she is showing remorse for herself/ and potentially or not others)	Headlines that normalised any element of her FTF experience. Housewife, bride, wanting a boyfriend, her age, choosing this trajectory, book deal. Anything that alluded to Begum comparing the situation in Raqqa to attacks in UK as something logical, or simply those articles suggesting she returns (as if from a holiday) and suggesting that this experience should be seen as “normal” such as “put yourself in her shoes” scenarios

Table 3. Explanation as to how themes were derived. See details in Appendix 3

3.3 Reliability and Validity

This qualitative research utilises a highly interpretive method whereby themes could be coded in many different ways depending on the researcher’s perspective. In saying that, as the method only uses headlines, without any context of the article, I believe that this research has a fairly good level of replicability if the same data set was used (references can be found in appendix 2 sorted by newspaper). Whilst the newspaper headlines used in this study were selected due to following the trajectory of a specific female FTF, this research method can be reproduced to assess the scenario of other FTFs.

3.3 Ethical considerations

The ethics considerations for any qualitative research include consent, anonymity, withdrawal and communication as to how the material would be used. In saying this, given the nature of this research, the ethical considerations of this study were minimal. As the philosophical stance of this study engaged a constructivist perspective, the secondary data gathered from published newspaper articles that are available to the general public was carefully considered to be relevant to answering the research question and not designed to add unnecessary harm by making any additional or personal moral judgements of the subject. Instead, I

relied on the data to speak for itself within the thematic analysis. In addition to this, I was cognisant of the advice of Alan Bryman (2008) who has indicated that it is unnecessary to obtain consent from journalists or those quoted or discussed in articles. This includes anyone mentioned specifically by name in the newspaper headlines, even if they have not anticipated that the content of these articles would be used for research purposes.

4. FINDINGS

The purpose of a newspaper headlines is to attract the reader to the story. Therefore, it is assumed that the themes derived purely from the headline could possibly provide an insight into how the entire story would be framed by the author. As this study is limited to the analysis of the headline, the remainder of the content is not part of this analysis. The focus of analysis will be on the question posed by this research – how does the frame setting of headlines create bias or assumptions in relation to the readers attitudes and perceptions of female FTFs?

As discussed in 3.3, this analysis will investigate the themes using raw data. Throughout analysis it is important to keep the research question in mind to ensure it is being answered from this analysis.

The themes that emerged from the data are indicated below in diagram 1.

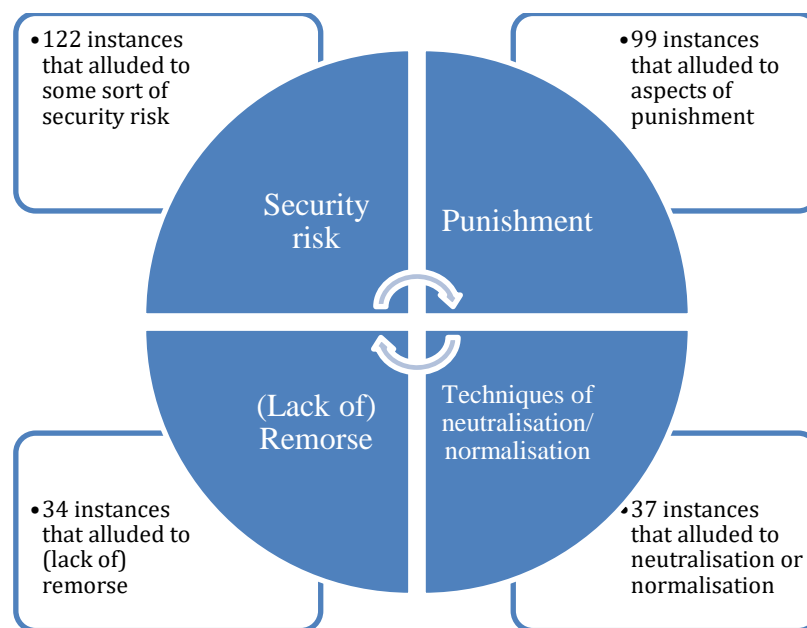


Diagram 1. Themes that emerged from the data - for analysis.

Whilst many of these themes could have overlapping narratives, the themes were formed by the number of times the dominant discussion area was mentioned. The frequency of headlines that helped construct each theme is outlined in the diagram above. The most dominant theme was the concept of Security Risk with 122 headlines that fell into this category. There is a lot of complexity within this theme and given the high frequency of headlines involving some sort of security risk and what this entailed, it should definitely be broken down for more minute

analysis in a longer paper as it such a rich area for discussion. However, in this context of this paper, this over/arching theme is appropriate.

4.1 Security risk

The thematic analysis created this theme from the 122 headlines that framed Begum as a threat to themselves or to the UK. Given the high frequency of this theme being framed in headlines, the fear of attack was being reinforced to a readership with “existing attitudes and beliefs which have already been developed by cultural, religious and social institutions” as per Klapper’s reinforcement theory (1960) discussed in section 2.1. This consistent reinforcement evidenced in the headlines appears to create a greater sense of “moral panic” within the readership of the newspaper and the community at large. The concept of moral panic is when “a person or group of people become defined as a threat to societal values and interests” (Cohen 2011). Given the frequency in which the general Muslim population experience indiscriminate discrimination due to the RVE actions of individuals or groups such as ISIS and the FTFs who claim to be acting with Islamic purpose, this moral panic could result in a greater degree of racialisation or hate crimes against the Muslim population.

This theme encapsulates the feeling that there is immediate danger from the female FTF. There is the feeling that they present a scenario in which the UK public is in danger of “others” and that somehow the concept of the “jihadi bride” coming back would simply be to put the UK public in danger

'Hard core' Begum posed security risk, says minister - Terrorism', Financial Times (London, England), 18 Mar 2019, p. 2

The newspaper headlines frame it as though Shamima has a ready army that she will gather on arrival as part of a wider plan to commit the same atrocities in the UK that she did in Syria

'Isil bride cites return of 400 jihadists to UK - NEWS BRIEFING', Daily Telegraph, The (London, England), 16 Apr, p. 1

'THE CONSEQUENCES OF BACKING TERROR - Javid strips jihadi bride of UK citizenship', Daily Mirror, The (London, England), 20 Feb, p

That very real feeling of fear, and that something will happen is cemented by the framing of the concept that Begum is a traitor, which invokes a sense of “us” vs “them” and implies that Begum has rejected the UK and the implied shared values. The framing of the narrative in the headlines below appears to suggest that if you do not share the values, then you present clear and immediate danger and are a security risk to the UK public

'This woman is a danger to the UK she clearly hates', Express, The (London, England), 15 Feb, p. 14

Ames, J 2019, 'Begum case reveals gap in terror advice', Times, The (London, England), 21 Feb, p. 60, (online NewsBank).

'Begum was 'I.S. enforcer on morality squad. Bethnal Green runaway had a Kalashnikov and enforced the rules activists confirm', Sun, The (London, England), 14 Apr 2019, p. 28

'Begum is a traitor to Britain, not Bangladesh - It's right to deprive terrorists of their citizenship, but not to dump unwanted nationals on blameless countries', Daily Telegraph, The (London, England), 21 Feb, p. 23

The most interesting element of these findings is that it is not one newspaper using this framing that highlights the security risk, othering and moral panic. It is found in every newspaper across all political spheres, which is sending a very clear message to the UK public that this is how “we” feel about the threat that the female FTF poses. This is echoed by the Daily Telegraph’s headline

Pearson, A 2019, 'Shamima Begum is the one person uniting the country', Daily Telegraph, The (London, England), 20 Feb, p. 25.

Uniting the country in fear of a security risk is a very strong image to present to a country already at odds as to what to do with these returning FTFs.

4.2 Punishment

The concepts that could be attributed to punishment was the second most common theme, due to the high level of debate surrounding what “we” should do with the FTFs (“them”). This framing was employed regularly in order to create a strong theme reflecting the need for punishment of the FTF. The framing that Begum is not entitled to the same rights as other citizens, implying that with her decision to become a FTF effectively gives up her human and citizenship rights, is a strong theme within the headlines. The Citizenship issue is a major issue within this theme, as whilst it touches upon human rights issues and belonging, most of the framing is suggesting that Begum should lose her citizenship, otherwise she will pose a security risk

'Jihadi brides and the meaning of citizenship: Governments failing to take responsibility for their nationals just kick the risk down the road', Financial Times (London, England), 27 Feb

The concept of Treason is often brought up which brings back a very old feeling of a great betray. Again, the language is very strong and emotive

'If Isil's remnants return, treason charges and trials must await them - Comment', Daily Telegraph, The (London, England), 15 Feb, p. 7

This emotive language is seen in many ways when the framing describes punishment. “Stripping” away citizenship also feels like something vengeful, that is quite an emotive image, especially when it is framed as stripping a “bride”. The headline evokes a feeling of power, but then that is also

'Two more runaway IS brides stripped of British citizenship',
Daily Mirror, The (London, England), 11 Mar, p. 4

The frame adopted by the headlines below has a racist undertone as the stripping of citizenship can only be applied to those with heritage elsewhere (even though this does not strictly apply to Begum). The suggestion of a 2 tier Citizenship, could imply that some Brits are more protected and safer, than others even if they do commit an offence. It again suggests the concept of “we gave it to you now we can take it away again”, or worse, “go back to where you came from”.

'The Saj shoots ... straight into his own foot - Javid has caught the mood on the Isis bride by creating two-tier citizenship', Sunday Times, The (London, England), 24 Feb, p. 26,

'Shamima Begum family challenge Javid's citizenship decision - Relatives say it was unfair to remove UK citizenship when others who went to Isis territory were allowed back', Guardian, The (London, England), 20 Mar, p. 5

The denial of citizenship includes the denial of rights that are afforded to a citizen including their rights and this loss of rights was framed in an “us” vs” “them” comparison as they present Begum as feeling entitled, whereas many of the British victims of a terror attack in the UK have been denied these rights. Within this theme there was a discussion around legal aid as something that if Begum is approved for aid, it will deny “more worthy” British people the same rights

'Jihadi bride claims legal aid and right to return', Daily Telegraph, The (London, England), 16 Apr, p. 6

'Terror victims' families are denied legal aid', Times, The (London, England), 24 Jun, p. 5

Within this theme, was the positioning of Begums family and neighbour as being supportive of her being punished which reflects their need to distance themselves from her actions.

'we know why you don't want her back - family of British Jihadi bride speaks out' Sunday Telegraph, The (London, England), 17 Feb, p. 4

Neighbours divided over return of 'unrepentant' jihadi runaway', Sunday Telegraph, The (London, England), 17 Feb, p. 4

The only member of the Government speaking out for Begum to keep her Citizenship was a political leader that is considered left-wing and not who the readership would support, especially as the newspapers writing about Begum most predominately were more right-wing or right-centre in their politics

'Corbyn brands loss of citizenship 'very extreme", Daily Mirror, The (London, England), 22 Feb, p. 7

4.3 (Lack of) Remorse

The theme of remorse (or lack of it) was an important one when it came to stirring up public perception of Begum's guilt. Begum was often framed in a way that suggested she was not a victim and if she wanted to be treated as one, she needed to emote properly for the audience that was judging her. The framing used was quite condescending and evoked no sympathy in the tone

Shamima, love, start crying next time. Sad teenage girls play so much better on TV' - Caitlin Moran', Times, The (London, England), 2 Mar, p. 5

Regret and remorse go hand in hand, and the framing that Begum had no regrets would also stir up public outrage as there is the concept that if you have done the wrong thing, you should feel bad. To frame Begum as having no regrets, feeds back into the theme of security risk, as if she does not regret it then she may do it again, and on UK soil. It is frames such as these that could evoke feelings of mistrust towards Begum

Jihadi bride 'regrets' speaking publicly', Express, The (London, England), 25 Feb, p. 16,

I had a good time - Brit, 19, gives birth and begs to come home ..but has no regrets', Daily Mirror, The (London, England), 18 Feb, p. 1,

The following headline could also create a mixed feeling surrounding the security of an individual or a community.

'Shamima Begum family challenge Javid's citizenship decision - Relatives say it was unfair to remove UK citizenship when others who went to Isis territory were allowed back', Guardian, The (London, England), 20 Mar, p. 5

Framing a scenario portraying a terrorist expressing something is "unfair" when it is something that the general British population would disagree with, is sure to hit a nerve or two, especially when it is that other FTFs have returned to the UK can cause a feeling of unease amongst the newspaper's readership. Again, that lingering sense of "what are they doing now they are back" albeit simply suggested by the headline, is enough to wreak havoc in the mind of anyone who is already concerned about security issues.

4.4 Normalisation

There was a quite a lot of framing that demonstrated that Begum was normalising her situation, which could put Begum in a poor light as the general British public would struggle with this normalisation of something the general population would consider not to be normal.

'I was just a housewife', Derby Telegraph (England), 18 Feb, p. 12,

'Shamima is not a danger - all she did was sit in the house for three years' - Dutch jihadist fighter defends his British bride and says he wants to take her to live in Netherlands', Daily Telegraph, The (London, England), 4 Mar, p. 8

'We made a mistake' - BRIDE WANTS TO BE A FAMILY', Derby Telegraph (England), 4 Mar, p. 13

The framing surrounding “normalisation” extended to the comparison between Syria and a terror attack on home soil in the UK where children were killed would serve as yet another divisive tool to encourage the UK public to view Begum in a poor light. Frames like this could be considered to create bias and fear for individual safety when considering her return, as if she believes the bombing in Manchester is justified, then she would be viewed as a security risk

'IS bride compares Manchester Arena bomb to military strikes in Syria', Lancashire Telegraph (Blackburn, England), 19 Feb

Throughout all these themes there was a distinct messaging of “othering” - and us vs them mentality with no real feeling that Begum is part of the community needing support, no sympathy for her as a victim at all.

Analysis of all the headlines in this study, I could tell that they were appearing to frame the female foreign fighter in a way that would make it difficult to sympathise with Begum. Any concept of her being a “victim” are absent after her four years as a FTF. The concept of a FTF as a victim when they are at a distance is seemingly easier to frame than when a country is faced at the prospect of her return.

5. DISCUSSION

As all headlines were directly in relation to Begum, the concepts that implied or stated blatantly that Begum, and others like her are a security risk to the UK demonstrate that the female FTF is considered a perpetrator, not a victim. Whilst the limited academic research in this field appears to suggest that women are being stereotyped, underestimated or considered a victim, this study surprisingly did not often echo these findings. Whilst this study was limited to the framing of the headline only without any further context of the narrative in the story, the messaging first and foremost was the concern for the security for the British society, with the concept of punishment coming a close second. Headlines within themes, especially those surrounding stripping Citizenship, demonstrated there is no exploration of the concept of victimhood or even a victim/perpetrator nexus.

As this study is designed to answer the research question of

“How can the practice of frame setting by newspaper headlines affect societal and individual bias towards female FTFs in relation to assumptions that they are criminals or victims of crime themselves?”

This discussion will focus on the themes that emerged from the data (with some examples using the raw data itself) to illustrate how the headlines frame the perception that Begum is not a victim, but is a rational choice actor

5.1 Themes that suggest elements of Rational Choice

I have taken the main findings from the themes in section 4 that could create individual or societal assumptions that Begum has acted with rational choice and criminal intent when freely deciding to be involved in RVE activity. Analysing the themes that were created from the headline frames, the dominate theme was that Begum and other FTF were a “security risk.”

In the thematic analysis there was also a sub-theme of “othering” that was present within the framing of headlines (sub themes would have been more formally added if this were a longer paper however will be discussed as such here). The construction of “us” and/versus “them” within the headline framing was evident in a multitude of instances. Within these examples were headlines framing Begums family or neighbours as aligning themselves to the “in group” of the greater British society. They supported the punishments given to Begum such as stripping her of her Citizenship or stating that she should not return. These frames suggest that the people closest to Begum are clearly distancing themselves from her, who as a FTF is clearly in the “out-group.” This framing of family, or ethnic community, rejecting their kin, stokes the assumption of the reader that Begum has exercised her own agency when choosing to be involved with RVE and, as one petulant headline framed it, being out of the UK “which she clearly hates”. This framing process reinforcing the same messaging creates the biased societal notion that regardless of age or vulnerability, Begum must have become a FTF purely by choice if her family has distanced themselves from her. This narrative was further strengthened when Begum was “stripped” of her citizenship, a rough imagery designed to further fuel negative assumptions surrounding a woman who was recruited into ISIS whilst still a child. That frame, of a child victim, was not evidenced in this analysis.

Whilst this imagery of “stripping” Begum is degrading, a sub-theme that also emerged to perpetuate the assumption of criminality is also a dehumanising one. Recurring headlines were framed to create a theme suggesting that Begum has a vastly different moral code than the rest of “us” (assuming “we” are as homogenous as “they” are presented to be). This “otherness” and moral difference was reinforced through headlines quoting Begum as allegedly saying “beheading is OK” (Parker 2019), and the additional headlines repeatedly framing Begum with a narrative of being “Hard core” (Bond 2019) and a security risk because she has “connections and skills to be very dangerous” (Twomey 2019) waiting for the “return of 400 jihadists to UK” (Warrell 2019) so she can resume her role as an “I.S. enforcer on morality squad” (Lucas 2019). Being exposed to that sort of framing would contribute to anyone’s fear of crime, moral panic and increased racialisation of “others” which in turn can contribute to hate crimes. The headlines suggesting that Javid has “caught the mood” (Baxter 2019) of the UK public

normalises the concept of the need to punish rather than understand Begum motivations, despite the fact that Begum was originally just a “runaway teen” in who was given victim status when she left. This repeated framing that creates a situation of moral panic also propagates a generalised belief system which Neil Smelser (1962) describes as “the cognitive beliefs or delusions transmitted by the mass media and assimilated in terms of audience predispositions”.

Whilst all themes impact each other, the theme of normalisation or neutralisation influences all of the other three themes the most when it comes to creating public division as it exposes the difference of the “other”. Whilst even the right-wing publications gave Begum a voice to portray her experience as being “just a housewife”, or her husband who had said she was the “perfect wife,” these techniques of neutralisation often do more harm than good when society does not believe that you may live in the same way they do, especially when the framing and narratives utilise dehumanising wording or imagery.

Whilst this discussion of analysis could be extrapolated to cover every theme that had been derived from the dataset, I believe that even this snapshot of how the newspapers frame headlines demonstrates how the framing chosen increases the level of bias and fear of the “other” to the detriment of the native populations safety and security. The findings of this research support Papacharissi and Oliviera (2008) observations that the UK newspapers adopt a thematic coverage however the findings of this study did not demonstrate that the UK media adopts a more diplomatic evaluation of events. Ironically it more supported Nacos (2005) with the headlines more often suggesting the tougher punitive measures. This choice of framing of headlines could be considered to significantly contribute to greater racial, ethnic or religious tension within society.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This study was far too short to truly do it justice and in retrospect I would have chosen a more targeted method of analysis to only focus on one point of inquiry. I needed cut it down a lot down and whilst I do not think it detracted from the goal, I do believe that it could have been done in a different way to make it more succinct. There are also limitations of working with literature rather than participant interaction. Researcher bias and assumptions that are always important to acknowledge when conducting any sort of research.

This study was quite interesting to conduct and it has inspired me to do some further research along these lines. I would also like to extend this study to other countries, such as the USA where I have pointed out in this study, they report on terrorist incidences differently to the UK. I would also like to do a comparative study as to what the newspapers were saying about Begum 2015 and whilst I had done some initial reflections on this, it would be good to actively compare them. It would be interesting to see how much it has changed from appreciating that she may have been a potential victim to the headlines of today that I felt were much less forgiving in so many ways. I think next time I would also like to conduct a survey of the attitudes of the people that read these headlines to validate the assumptions I have made through this research. I also would like to conduct future research adapting the 10 psychological profiles of female FTFs as posed by Speckhard and Shajkovci (2018) to create a criminological footprint that helps to better profile and prevent the trajectory of the female FTF.

CONCLUSION

This study was able to demonstrate how the practices of frame setting by the media can affect societal and individual biases, especially when discussing criminological or victimological issues. Through the exploration of how the trajectory of a single female foreign fighter is discussed it was evident that media framing can directly impact how an individual or community reacts to events, people or even policies, which can affect how both victims and criminals are treated personally or institutionally. The choice of framing can create almost a “trial by media” that can serve to increase the risk of greater racial, ethnic or religious tension within society, which can create other societal and criminological issues.

This study contributes to the field of criminology as it reminds us to be more vigilant in the way victims or perpetrators of crime are discussed or presented. Creating a moral panic and fear of others is not going to stem the issues surrounding radicalisation of our youth. It will only exacerbate the issues.

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APPENDIX 1

Table 1. Number of verdicts in 2018 per EU Member State and per type of terrorism as reported to Eurojust <https://www.europol.europa.eu/activities-services/main-reports/terrorism-situation-and-trend-report-2019-te-sat>

Member State	Jihadist terrorism	Ethno-nationalist and separatist terrorism	Left-wing terrorism	Right-wing terrorism	Not specified	Total
Austria	35	1	-	-	-	36
Belgium	76	4	-	-	-	80
Bulgaria	1	-	-	-	-	1
Czechia	1	-	5	-	1	7
Denmark	5	-	-	-	1	6
Finland	1	-	-	-	-	1
France	123	18	-	-	-	141
Germany	38	2	-	17	-	57
Greece	-	-	33	-	-	33
Hungary	2	-	-	-	1	3
Italy	15	-	-	-	-	15
Lithuania	-	-	-	-	10	10
The Netherlands	32	-	-	5	-	37
Slovenia	1	-	-	-	-	1
Spain	68	40	8	-	4	120
Sweden	1	-	-	-	-	1
United Kingdom*	-	-	-	-	115	115
Total	399	65	46	22	132	664

* The data provided by the UK was not broken down by type of terrorism and is therefore marked as 'Not specified' and not included in the numbers below.

Table 2. Number of individuals in concluded court proceedings for terrorist offences per EU Member State in 2016, 2017 and 2018 as reported to Eurojust
<https://www.europol.europa.eu/activities-services/main-reports/terrorism-situation-and-trend-report-2019-te-sat>

Member State	2016	2017	2018
Austria	26	18	36
Belgium	136	85	80
Bulgaria	-	-	1
Czechia	-	8	7
Denmark	8	4	6
Estonia	2	2	-
Finland	4	2	1
France	66	120	141
Germany	30	34	57
Greece	3	19	22
Hungary	2	-	3
Italy	11	23	15
Lithuania	1	2	10
The Netherlands	42	46	37
Poland	-	4	-
Portugal	1	1	-
Slovenia	1	-	1
Spain	154	69	120
Sweden	4	3	1
United Kingdom	89	125	115
Total	580	565	653

APPENDIX 2 - UK MEDIA ARTICLES 2019 USED FOR ANALYSIS

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APPENDIX 3 – Themes used for analysis

Theme – Security risk
The Met demands journalist’s jihadi bride notes
Begum case reveals gap in terror advice
Begums citizenship
International tribunal for Isis offers route to justice - Swedish ministers’ proposal will need careful planning to be effective
Isis bride carried gun
Terror watchdog calls for clear offence on returning jihadists
The jihadist bride
We must do more to sift fact from fiction - Democracy is in danger when falsehoods proliferate to such an extent that establishing the truth appears a futile task
Hard core Begum posed security risk says minister - Terrorism
We can’t wash our hands of Isis fighters - The US is right to argue that failing to repatriate jihadists will lead to a renaissance of terror
Returning Isis brides expose an inadequate legal armoury - Britain must face an uncomfortable reality: some acts that should be illegal are not
MI6 chief Britons have right to return despite security risk
Defence chief: Eliminate Isis bride threat
Isis babies will not be brought home
May rejects call to take back and try Isis fighters
Britons must leave Syria in weeks under Javid terror ban
Javid adviser warns ban on Isis bride could aid extremists - Shamima Begum
Beheaded Britons family split over Begum
Four hotspots for returning women
UK jihadi bride prepared suicide bombers
Isis girls more likely than boys to have chosen jihad for themselves
New definition of Islamophobia risks helping terrorists
Security orders for ex-jihadists are so expensive that many roam free
45000 children of Isis are ticking time bomb
Challenging the jihadi narrative
When I saw my first severed head it didn’t faze me at all
Challenging the jihadi narrative Criticised for not doing enough to take down extremist material tech groups are taking the initiative
Far right stir up hate would use her to
How to stop girls becoming jihadi brides - Yasmin Green is a leading expert in tackling extremist groups online. She tells Will Pavia about her tactics
Isis teenager’s plea to return to UK highlights repatriation challenge - US and its military allies in Syria want captured foreigners sent home but Europe is resisting
Europe battles problem of returning Isis fighters. France and Germany under pressure from Trump to repatriate militants
Treat Isis brides in same way as their men - The assumption Lisa Smith is an innocent abroad just because she’s a woman and the mother of a small child is deeply sexist

Far right and Islamists have the same delusions - White supremacists and western jihadis are sustained by online fantasies and a refusal to accept the world as it is
Jihadi bride carried rifle on Isis patrols to enforce Sharia activists claim
I Don't believe you can be radicalised if your family do their due diligence
Shamima doesn't look like anyone's victim - Young women can be just as devout bloodthirsty and fanatical as young men and its patronising to think otherwise
Jihadi brides are as dangerous as male counterparts
UK grapples with how to deal with Isis returnees :An estimated 400 Britons who fought with extremist group are still in the Middle East
Returning Isis recruits leave authorities with no easy choices - Officials face challenge of de-radicalising hundreds who travelled to join terror group
Lynch-mob mentality
BOMB SECRET OF ISIS BRIDE
ISIS bride must never be allowed back here
JIHADI TEENAGE BRIDE IN £40K SMUGGLE TRAP
Shamima hanging warning
BOMB VICTIMS LEGAL AID BAN - While Begum was quids in
DANNYS SUPPORT FOR JIHADI BRIDE - We can learn what drove her to terror
SHAMBOLIC SUPPORT
We're being stitched up by evil Shamima
More women pose a danger as fanatics brainwash them online
Jihadi bride is target - Kids as young as 6 blast away at Begum photo in firing range
MY GIRL THE TERRORIST - A unique insight into how MI5 responds to information from the public about terror threats
NOT WANTED - ISIS teen loses UK citizenship Javid bid to protect country
Jihad UK kids here
Smug Begum can stay away
Terror rehab fund a farce
Nothing Shamima believes in has ANYTHING to do with being Muslim - COMMUNITYS REVULSION AT I.S. GIRL
ISLAMIC State bride Shamima
MI6 CHIEF: CAN'T BAN I.S. JIHADIS - Brits travel right
Gullible put us at risk from fanatics
10YRS JAIL IF YOU DO A SHAMIMA - NEW LAW IN FORCE TODAY
Terror spot visits illegal
Only UK would let unrepentant terrorist come back home to use the NHS
Begum was I.S. enforcer
IS bride wasn't on package holiday - SCOTS SNIPER HITS OUT AT TEENS RETURN BID HE URGES TERROR TRIAL SHE BACKED GENOCIDE
Begums suicide vests for IS killers
Hubby is linked to bomb plot cell
UK BAN ON I.S. BRIDE HUBBY - KEEP OUT
THE Sun SAYS Keep her out
BRITAIN FAILED BEGUM
Enemy of our country was radicalised while in UK
Extremist turned her back on Britain for Caliphate
Isis would literally kill for this amount of publicity

Its the real victims in Syria who merit sympathy
Probably thousands think the same as jihadist bride
Syrian refugees will be upset at Shamimas return
Why I as a terror attack survivor say jihadi bride must be banished from UK forever -he tells why he desperately hopes that Shamima Begum is never allowed to return to our shores
More than 150 children subject of court proceedings amid fears they are being radicalised by extremists - Urgent reform is needed in the face of a potential wave of women who joined Islamic State returning to the UK with their children
Petition calling for a ban on ISIS members returning to the UK gets 100000 signatures - It would help keep the UK safe from terrorists and their actions the petition
This woman is a danger to the UK she clearly hates
IS brides return may open door to jihadi fighters
Jihadi bride had a rifle and sewed explosive vests on suicide bombers
More wives of fighters want return to UK
WE KNOW WHY YOU DON'T WANT HER BACK - FAMILY OF BRITISH JIHADI BRIDE SPEAKS OUT pregnant runaway TEEN WANTS TO RETURN. British jihadi bride is told: Actions have consequences
Anger as Corbyn is accused of siding with UKs enemies
Jihadi brides can't be trusted warns former Islamic extremist who became spy for MI6
Preachers must be monitored for extremism says Imam
Evil woman must stay away from UK
Time to stand firm on Begum
Ex-extremist warns of jihadi bride threat
All jihadi brides have connections and skills to be very dangerous - TERROR WARNING OVER RUNAWAYS
We'll bring IS children back to UK
No soft option in the fight against terror
Isil bride cites return of 400 jihadists to UK
No ingénue
The Isil bride who now says that she wants to come home to Britain
Begum was enforcer in Isils morality police squad - Bethnal Green runaway had a Kalashnikov and enforced the rules activists confirm
British jihadi brides have had 100 children
Shamima Begum is the product of a Britain that no longer believes in itself
Across the spectrum MPs have gone soft - Their liberal approach to crime epitomises the growing divide between the ruling class and public
Its the Lefts fault we can't try Begum here - Campaigns against tougher terror laws have made it too dangerous to bring the jihadi bride back to Britain
Warning that children will be radicalised if left in Syrian camps
Why should we pay for a brutal Isil enforcer to return?
800 jihadis ready to unleash Isil on the West - US warns Britain and other allies to take back captured fighters or risk wave of terror
US plans to send British jihadists to Guantanamo - Washington fed up with UKs soft approach to dealing with returning terrorists Javid: I will do everything possible to stop jihadi bride coming home
Jihadi wife moved from camp after threats
MI6 refuses to interrogate Isil suspects held in Syria

Neighbours divided over return of unrepentant jihadi runaway
We care more about the guilty than the innocent - Shamima Begum and her ilk must be held to account for their Immoral actions not ring-fenced by excuses
We need a better way to stop Muslim radicalisation
Don't trust jihadi brides says former militant turned spy
Industrial scale plan to handle return of IS Britons - Fears number could eventually exceed 100
Jihadi brides pose same threat as men says ex-terrorism chief
Unrepentant teen will be security headache if she makes it back to UK
RETURN OF I.S. BRITS POSES UK THREAT - PUBLIC SAFETY MUST BE TOP PRIORITY We can't be triumphant threat is here to stay
Runaway teenager is a remorseless supporter of Islamic State says counter-extremism czar
Bomb claim disgraceful says IS brides lawyer
Met chief: IS bride may face arrest if she returns
schoolgirl who fled to join Isis wants to return to UK - Shamima Begum 19 in refugee camp in Syria after fleeing last territory held by Islamic State
Whatever the risk this young Isis supporter may pose she is Britain's responsibility and we cannot afford to shirk it
Church must speak up on Begum return
Shamima Begum and questions of responsibility – hers and ours
Jihadi bride doesn't fit: we need a new language for female militants - Tabloid sensationalism about Shamima Begum flattens Important debates about how much agency these women have
Let Shamima Begum return to UK or risk more terror recruits says expert - Counter-radicalisation expert criticises Sajid Javids reaction saying it feeds Isis narrative

Theme - Punishment

Isis bride should be tried in the Middle East
Legal aid funding
Limbo Justice - Stripping a jihadist bride of her British passport is an unworthy populist gesture
Our taxes paid for Isis brides brainwashing
Tough Justice - Shamima Begum must face the force of law yet the law may be inadequate
Victim or accomplice: the jihadist bride
A controlling husband is no excuse for murder - Setting free a killer because she suffered coercive control sets a bad precedent
The Saj shoots ... straight into his own foot - Javid has caught the mood on the Isis bride by creating two-tier citizenship
Javid accused of exploiting jihadi bride to aid career
Trapped UK jihadists face jail on return from Syria - Under a new law anyone who has travelled to a blacklisted area could be jailed for 10 years with no evidence of terror needed
Convert walked free despite Isis trip
Terror victims' families are denied legal aid
Jihadi brides and the meaning of citizenship: Governments failing to take responsibility for their nationals just kick the risk down the road
Islam is key to rehabilitating Shamima Begum

Jihadi brides and the meaning of citizenship
Punish her say former neighbours of Isis bride
Authorities challenged over British citizenship
Begum family's legal battle
Even Nazis had due process
Runaway is on sticky wicket
Treat the girls as victims pleads lawyer
Begums father says Javid right to take her passport
Bangladesh denies any responsibility for Isis bride - Citizenship
Don't let the Isis bride cash in on terror past
Corbyn brands loss of citizenship very extreme
Two more runaway IS brides stripped of British citizenship
Years wait for Jihadi bride
Is Begum ban just political posturing?
ISIS bride's dad: It's her fault she's stuck there
ISIS BRITS FACE 10 YEARS JAIL FOR BEING IN SYRIA
SHE SHOULD BE IN A BRITISH PRISON - Family of pregnant ISIS bride's recruiter say any parent would rather jail than battlefield death
Brides lawyer raps police for appeal delay
THE CONSEQUENCES OF BACKING TERROR - Javid strips jihadi bride of UK citizenship
TWISTED - EXCLUSIVE: FURY AS FAMILIES SUFFER Manchester bombers brother gets legal aid victims' relatives Don't
IS TEEN GAVE UP RIGHTS
Act of treason - LIFE FOR BRIT BETRAYERS NEW LAW TO TACKLE JIHADIS SAJ BID TO SHUT LOOPHOLES
Sorry but this is not your home any more - She turned her back on her nation & shackled up with killers
Jihadi bride Begum burnt her bridges
IS bride entitled to go for legal aid
Begum deserves terror trial not our sympathy
The moment Islamic State woman arrives lock her up
Rewrite our laws to punish treason
Javid not to blame for death of Begums baby
Should Shamima Begum have access to legal aid? - Some politicians have expressed concern
Javid using jihadi bride as pawn in bid to be PM
Hold your nose: its right IS bride receives legal aid
Holland to slam door on IS bride after Britain strips her of passport
Begum family appeal
Begums citizenship
Corbyn: Let Begum return and get help
Dealing with treason - established 1855
IS bride not citizen
No 10 rejects Trump call over extremists - fighters should face trial
The rules on legal aid Why Shamima Begum could be eligible for public funds to fight her case
Update treason laws
We must repatriate Begum not banish her - National interest is best served by putting Bethnal Green teenager through our own judicial system

We can't just let captured Isil fighters rot in hell - Washington is right that the perpetrators of the caliphates barbaric rule must be brought to justice
650-year-old law of treason could be used against returning jihadists
Isil bride: I'm prepared for jail if I can bring my baby back to UK
NO LONGER BRITISH - THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE BEING STRIPPED OF THEIR BRITISH CITIZENSHIP HAS GONE THROUGH THE ROOF IN RECENT YEARS
Jihadi bride claims legal aid and right to return
Isil fighters can lose citizenship court says
Jihadi bride denied route home via baby's citizenship
Jihadi bride heartbroken as citizenship is torn up - Bangladesh rejects British claim that teenage mother stuck in Syrian camp could claim to be a national
Begums son welcome in UK says Javid but without her
Returning jihadists would face life in jail under Hunts revamped treason laws
Jihadi bride: Britain trying to make an example of me - Taking Begum passport could be seen as racist
Begum is a traitor to Britain not Bangladesh - Its right to deprive terrorists of their citizenship but not to dump unwanted nationals on blameless countries
Treason needs to be properly addressed by our laws
If Isils remnants return treason charges and trials must await them
Family of Shamima Begum hires human rights lawyer
Javid insists Begum is the only person responsible for the death of her newborn son
BRAINWASHED BEGUM: I KNOW I MIGHT NEVER GO BACK TO UK
Shamima Begum must be allowed to return for one simple reason; she's a British citizen
Let people like Shamima Begum lay in the beds they made
Shamima Begum is a Briton not Bangladeshi
I have never made any Briton stateless insists Javid as he is quizzed by MPs over IS bride case
Top human rights lawyer blasts decision to strip IS bride of her citizenship
Shamima Begum – what happened to our compassion? - The way the Home Office dealt with Shamima Begum and her child is a poor reflection on our society
Shamima Begum: decision risks creating second class of citizenship - London mayor says decision to strip citizenship could affect Britons with roots overseas
Shamima Begum would face death penalty in Bangladesh says minister - Family lawyer says chances of Begum being sent to country are vanishingly remote
Shamima Begums case shows us citizenship can never protect our rights - The rules for citizens can be rewritten at a whim we should not let go of the centuries of legal protections that predate them
Shamima Begum family challenge Javids citizenship decision - Relatives say it was unfair to remove UK citizenship when others who went to Isis territory were allowed back
Britain could deradicalise Shamima Begum – with compassion - Many are calling for the Isis recruit to be shown no mercy but treating at-risk young people as individuals has to be the better path
Shamima Begums mother asks Home Office to show mercy - Mother urges department to reconsider decision to cancel teenagers UK citizenship
Shamima Begum citizenship decision sets a dangerous precedent

A British girl has asked to come home. We must meet our responsibility to her - Shamima Begums disturbing case holds a mirror up to a weak vengeful Britain as opposed to the strong tolerant and humane society we could be
Lawyer for Begums family says legal ploy could stop her return to Britain - Citizenship appeal for UK Isis teenager being deliberately delayed
Shamima Begum has a right to British citizenship whether you like it or not - Sajid Javid makes Britain look weak by refusing to take back a groomed teenager – nationality doesn't depend on whim

Theme – Lack of remorse

Begum is now being victimised
I was brainwashed. I knew nothing - Anthony Loyd revisits the Isis bride facing up to a life outside the UK
Shamima love start crying next time. Sad teenage girls play so much better on TV
The Isis bride should say sorry and mean it
She has Stockholm syndrome say pregnant runaways' family
I'm being singled out says Isis bride
You should have sympathy for me
Shamima Begum deserves to come home - The urge to banish a jihadi bride who expresses no remorse is understandable but Britain is better than that
JIHADI BRIDE: LET HER BACK INTO BRITAIN - First Lady of Isis begs for mercy
JIHADI BRIDE WHINES ABOUT BEING FAMOUS - Brit teen mum begs for a second chance
SHOW SOME SYMPATHY FOR ME - Isis brides shocking plea
Difficult to sympathise
Jihadi brides regret over IS-born kids
Mum has no shame
jihadi bride: I had a good time - Brit 19 gives birth and begs to come home ..but has no regrets
Self-centred Shamima should just keep mum
Abbott tot death rant
NO SHAME FOR JIHADI BADDIE
I can't stand the thought of her coming back. Its making me ill d - FURY OVER JIHADI BRIDE MANCHESTER VICTIMS MUM YESTERDAY
Begums got some nerve to play the victim card
Lack of remorse makes girls case unsympathetic
Staggering misjudgement by Begum
Sympathy in short supply after newborn sons death
Jihadi bride regrets speaking publicly
Begum does not regret joining IS
Inside the minds of teenage jihadi brides - As former Bethnal Green schoolgirl Shamima Begum fails to show remorse Joe Shute looks at the motives of young women who joined the terrorist group
IS bride slams move
No sympathy
The internet never forgets but will we forgive?
I wish I had stayed low. I'm just trying to survive here

Lets allow Shamima Begum to prove herself
Shamima must show remorse
I Don't know why my case is any different to others. Is it just because I was on the news?
Former MI6 director says schoolgirl who joined Isis should be given a chance - Although Shamima Begum has shown no remorse Richard Barrett says Britain should be strong enough to reabsorb her

Theme - Normalisation

TILL DEATH US DO PART - Following news that one of the three Bethnal Green schoolgirls who ran away to Syria has been killed Christina Patterson investigates what drives intelligent young women to become jihadi brides
Isis bride lived in fear
of a Jihadist - A young British woman who lived with Isis fighters for four years wants to return
Return of a Jihadist Bride - A young British woman who lived alongside Isis fighters for four years wants to come back. The authorities must decide whether she is more victim than accomplice
Analysis Shamima Begum the 19-year-old
Shamima is heartbroken and alone now having lost our three children - The British Isis brides husband jailed in northern Syria tells Anthony Loyd about torture and tragedy in the caliphate
THE JIHADI BRIDE RESCUER saves the young women who wanted to escape the
caliphate and return to the West
I'm sure she wanted a boyfriend - Like Shamima Begum Tania Joya grew up in London's Bengali community and ended up as a jihadi bride in Syria. She tells how she got out
Shamima a perfect Isis wife
JIHADI BRIDE CHOSE TO WED ME AGED 15 - Holland should take us
BRIDE IN BOOK MILLIONS
I'm not dangerous... I'm just a housewife - ISIS BRIDE PLEADS TO RETURN
Love for baby might save jihadist bride
Tragic baby is real victim in Begum row
MANCHESTER BOMB FAIR RETALIATION - Fury as ISIS bride defends terror attack that killed 22
She had to help injured ISIS fighters before they left hospital - Jihadi brides' role with terror group
ISIS terrorist: Let my jihadi bride live with me in Holland - Fighter wants to be with Shamima
My IS bride is heartbroken says husband
MUMMIES & JIHADIS - I.S. TEEN BRIDE AND HER BABY She says: I was just a housewife but beheading is okay PARADING NEWBORN Shamima Begum glances at baby
HOW DARE SHE! - 22 innocents went to see Ariana Grande and lost their lives in the Manchester bombing. Now I.S. bride says atrocity was justified
Abbotts got it wrong over Shamimas tragic baby
Brainwashed girl did not know what she was doing
Schoolgirl pals who strolled into a war-torn hell

WHY HAVE WE PICKED ON ONE THICK-AS-A-PLANK TEENAGER?
Three-week-old Jerah [...]
Begum nursed wounded IS fighters
Begums husband: We made a mistake - BRIDE WANTS TO BE A FAMILY
IS bride compares Manchester Arena bomb to military strikes in Syria
IS bride: I was just a housewife
Begum is the one person uniting the country
The schoolgirl who swapped London life for Isil servitude - Returning jihadists Shamima Begums stoic attitude to her time as an Isil bride is hard to fathom
Shamima is not a danger - all she did was sit in the house for three years - Dutch jihadist fighter defends his British bride and says he wants to take her to live in Netherlands
Society dehumanises vulnerable pregnant women and new mothers — including Isis bride Shamima
We should have let Shamima return
Isis Briton compares Manchester bombing to western airstrikes - Shamima Begum says she regrets innocent people died in attacks in both UK and Syria
Put yourself in Shamima Begums shoes before you damn her out of hand - We can't know the pressures she was under. Sajid Javid must allow her to tell her side of the story