MS Research Thesis

FRAMING OF "JIHADIS" IN INTERNATIONAL PRESS: AN ANALYSIS OF SHAMIMA BEGUM AND DENIS CUSPERT

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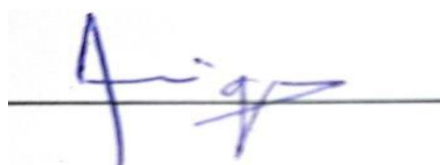**INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD PAKISTAN**

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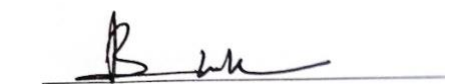
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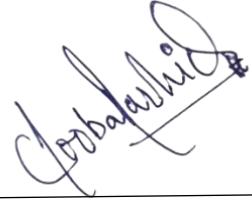
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Declaration

The thesis has been submitted as partial fulfillment of MS/ Ph.D in Media and Communication Studies to the Department of Media and Communication studies. I solemnly declare that this is my original work and no material has been plagiarized and my material quoted from a secondary source has been provided with proper citations and references.

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Date: 25 August 2025

Acknowledgement

All praise and gratitude are due to Allah Almighty for bestowing upon me the strength to successfully complete my work. I want to extend my heartfelt thanks to all my teachers who have played a very important role in shaping my educational path.

Dedication

My heartfelt devotion is dedicated to my parents, who were always been there for me

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the framing of jihadists in international press, specifically comparing the portrayals of Shamima Begum, a British-born woman, and Denis Cuspert, a German former rapper turned ISIS propagandist. Through a quantitative content analysis, the research examines how gendered frames influence the media's representation of these individuals, using episodic and thematic frames as outlined by Iyengar (1991) and the four framing functions of Entman (1993): problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendations. The analysis highlights significant gender differences, with male jihadists like Cuspert often depicted as ideological actors and threats, while female jihadists like Begum are framed in terms of victimhood or manipulation. The study also identifies the influence of cultural contexts, comparing Western and non-Western media narratives. The findings reveal the persistence of gendered stereotypes in media portrayals, reinforcing societal biases and shaping public perceptions of terrorism and radicalization. This research contributes to understanding how media framing, influenced by gender and cultural factors, constructs public attitudes towards jihadism and informs policy responses.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Previous records of women involvement in terrorism and political violence date earlier to the contemporary concept of a jihadi bride (Alison 2009; Bloom 2012; Eager 2016; Nacos 2005; Sjoberg & Gentry 2008; Von Knop 2007). The idea that women have entered into participation roles in many situations is quite new but research has gone against this turn of events as the participation of women has always been performed in different situations. The role of women in the jihadism is between pro-political activists and fighters and should not be overlooked the importance of generalizing the meaning of the word as it is now filled with stereotypes. Not merely does this ratio counter the idea of terrorism being practically an entirely male activity, but it is also an indication that the current female jihadist represents a set of issues that should be examined thoroughly through advanced and extreme forms of social science (Caskey & Smith, 2019). With increased scholarly interest in women participating in terrorism, especially with ISIS, has shown a greater comprehension of the complexity of their activities. Researchers seek to have a better comprehension of terrorism by examining the impetus, patterns and impacts of female involvement. This research expansion does not only contribute to the shattering of stereotypes, but also it also makes obvious the necessity to extend the border of social science studies to focus on the complexity of the contemporary female criminals who act as terrorists.

1.1 Background

Islam has become the hot topic of discussion in the new era of the post-cold war, post-9/11. The discourse background that has contributed to the counter-narrative of the Islamic world is the clash of civilizations story (Huntington, 1993), which was augmented by the discourse of war on terror in which Muslims were depicted as oppressed women (Alsultany, 2013). A systematic process of diseased imagination by western scholars, novelists, colonial administrators, orientalists, anthropologists, historians and travel writers brought about a culmination that led to the discourse wherein the inferiority of the Orient was portrayed as inferior to the west (Said 1978). In the same discourse, there is the representation of the subjugated female which is comprised of the Oriental women as the ones being subdued, they are further seen as submissive, voiceless, seductive and promiscuous (Shabanirad & Marandi 2015). Muslim women are still located at the nexuses of gender, islamophobia and orientalism in the contemporary debates of Islam; most of the time they are depicted as oppressed and requiring to be saved (Abu-Lughod 2002; Alsultany 2013). Khalid (2011) reveals that the

construction of Muslim women concerning the western gaze has been in the place of othered victimization, furthermore, the orientalist and Imperialist conception of the west dominated in its superiority and the Islamic world inferior as concerns race-gender intersection. Second, the post-Cold War and post-9/11 Islam-in-Western-media coverage has contributed to the establishment of a specific brand of discourse, which more often than not tries to frame Muslim individuals as agents of cultural antagonism to others, including jihadis, but a person of only one such type and subject of the cultural abuse being female. The Clash of civilizations rhetoric and War on Terror rhetoric has resulted in the production of images that either equate the Muslim man with innate violence or radicalism and the Muslim women as oppressed and helpless women in need of liberation. Such dichotomy is also carried down to how jihadis are framed with women, like Shamima Begum, presented as being vulnerable or brainwashed and men, like Denis Cuspert, presented as base violent and ideologically motivated. That context fits into classical ideas of orientalism whereby Muslim characters are equated to things out of which the western ideas of the world can be extracted. The lack of diversity and the image of Muslim women as docile, in need of emancipation, and that Muslim men are potential doers of violence will result in these stories becoming a part of the public image and the promotion of an image of Islam and Western lifestyle as incompatible. Nothing here about gender, race, and religion in news reporting is mere storytelling about the jihadists, rather the jihadis are positioned within broader frames that echo colonial imagination of a backward and dependent East that had to be subjugated to the West. In the same style, the construction of the jihadis by the media is not so much neutral as it is much more historically and culturally biased in that it influences the way the Muslim identity is represented throughout the world.

The concept and the actual practice of jihad have immensely influenced the history of Islam. It seems that there is a commonly shared in the media belief that motivation in terrorism (or participation in a terrorist cell) is inherently male as the males are usually portrayed as committed to an idea and ready to do anything to accomplish their goals (Kimmel, 2018). In the case of ladies, they need another or special reason to execute terrorist activities or become a part of a terrorist organization. This opinion point of view has been popular during the last few decades, especially concerning the establishment, work, and outcomes of the Islamic State (ISIS) (Krona & Caskey, 2023). Nevertheless, when it comes to gendered motivations of jihadism, it is essential to note that the connection might create a very simplistic view of an otherwise complex issue. The person, the social environment, and ideological input are relevant

in the study of jihadism. One can examine all these attributes to provide a better understanding of the motivation behind the actions of both male and female jihadists.

In aggressive Islamic radicals, there has been virtually nothing done on masculinity. The exploration of the illustration of the previous Al Qaeda leader, Osama Bin Laden, and the way his open pronouncements revealed and generated a jihadist global dominant masculinity is sought by Messerschmidt and Rohde (2018). The makers are of the view that the examples of jihadists of males acting as guardians of the ummah are best seen as an extreme type of hegemonic masculinity as coined by Bin Laden. Ummah is often addressed as either she or her and the victims are depicted as defenseless and requiring protection by male jihadists. In a more recent study, it was found out that traits of masculinity are a key factor in terrorist groups that employ young warriors (Vale, 2022) and propaganda (Roose et al., 2022). The studied connection between masculinity and jihadism demonstrates minute pitfalls of jihadist identity construction. The concept of jihadist global hegemonic masculinity can be considered as an illustration of the fact that gender relations (embodying the notions of protection and lack of it) are inextricably associated with extremist thinking. Recent study about the place of juvenile soldiers and propaganda shows how different forms of masculinity influence and affect organisational activities and behaviours of jihads.

He questions the established principles of masculinity and portrays the daily routine of militant jihadists through poetry, music, emotionality, intense feelings, and vulnerability. This novel definitely fills out the stereotypical images of the male Islamic militants. In addition, Pearson notes that the majority of academic discourse of radicalization in militant Islamists has largely omitted the various implications of masculinity, since male terrorists are generally believed to resort to violence as the method of expressing powerlessness, resentment, and marginalisation (Pearson, 2018).

Yet, the point is that research works devoted to male terrorists representation through the prism of gender theory still do not exist. Having neglected gender when talking about motivation in the above manner and on top of that with stereotypical and dominant media portrayals of female jihadist terrorists in the above manner, a further analysis of gender representations on male terrorists is required. The inclusion of the gender gap in the debate about male terrorists is quite important in attaining overall pattern of radicalization. Studying the gendering and expression of masculinity, scholar can gain a richer insight on the male

jihadist fascination and mechanism and thereby break traditional assumptions and establish a more subtle discussion of jihadism.

Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert were chosen as two subjects of this study, as they are particularly high on the list of the media coverage. On settling in Syria in 2015, Begum started attracting a lot of attention in the United Kingdom especially after she started begging to be allowed back home since the end of the ISIS caliphate in 2019. Denis Cuspert, in his turn, was one of the high-ranking ISIS propagandists who used his former popularity as a musician and rap artist in Germany to recruit the German youth into the extreme movement during 2014-2018. Both cases were high-profile to the extent to which each country gave significant press coverage to them. Their stories presented a great chance to gather qualitative information and hence this was employed to carry out qualitative evaluation of the gendered variations on how the journalists covered the male and female ISIS members.

Once ISIS took power hundreds of men (foreign fighters) and women, (popularly called as Jihadi Brides) migrated to the new caliphate, arriving in the country from all parts of the world. Both images by orientalist of muslim women as submissive, and ideologies of muslim women as oppressed by muslim men in the war on terror, apparently seem to have been defeated by their own will by becoming a jihadi bride (Azeez, 2019). As research presented in this paper was held on the basis of the comparison of male and female jihadists basing on the news media coverage of the two most popular cases: Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert. Using the study design allowed splitting the discussion between the similarities and differences in the representation of each of the figures including Shamima Begum, who in the age of 15 had entered Syria to join ISIS, being a British-born woman, and Denis Cuspert also known as Des Dogg a German rapper who also joined ISIS, in the media with regard to the allegations of the possible gender prejudices in the media coverage. The material also helped draw a comparative picture between the Western and non-Western media framing where it was found that both had equal chances of using gender-stereotypical lenses when covering the issue of jihadism. Based on Framing Theory as well as the Feminist Theory, more particular the gender performativity idea developed by Judith Butler, the research employed a quantitative content analysis approach because it was used to establish and discuss patterns of biasness and framing in media discourse about these people.

1.2 Problem Statement

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This paper was devoted to the quantitative content analysis of the way how female and male jihadis i.e. Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert are framed in the Western and non-Western newspapers. In particular, it discussed how episodic and thematic frames were used to spell out the concept of gender in the framework of male and female jihadis, and how the representation of jihadists in the media was linked to gender stereotypes therein. The study was also intended to establish similarities and differences in the representation of male and female jihadists by Western and non-Western newspapers in terms of whether the representations were based on the same pattern of gender bias or not. The main research question was how media presentation supported the larger story of jihadism and more specifically the gendered perspective. In Western and non-Western newspapers, episodic frames (which cover events on an individual basis) and thematic frames (which locates the events in larger context of society or political aspects) were discovered to have different implications in developing the situational awareness of male and female jihadis among the masses. We analyzed gender perspective in the context of Denis Cuspert and Shamima Begum. Denis Cuspert was constructed more so to fit into ideological aspects, the religious militants, or the direct threats, whereas the Shamima Begum was more likely to be vested in frames of either the victimization or the manipulation, or the abnormal member of society. Such constructs were also found to shape general opinion and lead to gender-based biases in attitudes towards extremism in society.

The analysis carried out in the work also revealed a strong lack of comparative studies between Western and non-Western media in terms of such presented sex-gendered structures. In such a way, this paper attempted to resort to comparison and contrast of the cultural, political and ideological constructs which form media narratives in these contexts. It was discovered that the western media framed jihadism in the context of the War on Terror, and it serves as an enemy of the western values and security. To the contrary, jihadism in Eastern media was more oriented on local socio-political conflicts and frustrations. The variations in the frames played a key role in the perceptions and reactions of the global audiences about terrorism and gender roles. In treating these dynamics, the authors tried to unravel the intricacies of media depiction of extremism. The aim was to provide a more refined and solid echo on the reaction of media representations to the formation of attitudes towards gender and terrorism with an emphasis on the role played by media in the shaping of a language and policy intervention.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The relevance of this study was also in analysis of representation of the male and female jihadist in western and non-western media, which was a very important issue in globalized

effects of jihadist activities. As a result of its theme, language, and narrative structure analyses, the study accessed the existence of biases, nuances, and inconsistencies in media representation of male and female jihadists. It challenged gaps between western and non western view and attempted to find out whether non western coverage of media was more like or unlike western media coverage in terms of dependence on gender stereotyping. Finally, the study helped to have a better insight into the process of media discourses construction- this construction that helps to form a certain vision of people who participated in the jihadist activities. The research also proved that it was possible to show how the construction of jihadists in terms of gendering may affect the global reaction to terrorism in terms of policy makings as well as societal reception. So offering a micro-level analysis of storytelling and framing tactics on the Western and non-Western media, the study allowed contrasting the intercultural patterns of biasness, illuminating the question as to whether the depictions were similar or opposed in the context of culture or not.

1.4 Objectives of the research

The list of the research objectives is as follows:

1. To compare and contrast the mediated approach of episodic VS thematic framing in the press coverage of Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert
2. To examine the application of Entman's four functions of framing (Problem Definition, Moral evaluation, Casual Interpretation and treatment recommendation) in press coverage of Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert across different countries
3. In order to explore gender pattern in the coverage of Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert

1.5 Research Questions

The research questions are listed below:

- RQ.1 How do international press vary in the episodic and thematic framing, used to address Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert?
- RQ.2 How do the functions of the Framing as stated by Entman (Problem definition, casual interpretation, Moral evaluation and treatment recommendations) apply to the reporting of Muslim jihadis?
- RQ.3 What are the gender specific patterns of the coverage of Shamima begum as opposed to Denis cuspert

1.6 Delimitations of the Study

      The delimitations of this study were determined by the fact that it deals with a very small range of high circulation newspapers, and it leaves out the electronic media which includes the presence of television, radio, and online media. Such a strategy came out as necessity because of time and material considerations and hence it was the best strategy that could be implemented at the time. Analysis thus was done on relatively few widely read newspapers, which was attempted based on the large circulation and influential ability of these newspapers on society opinions. Though such selective attention enabled us to be more specific, at the same time it narrowed the scope of media forms considered. The study was not aimed at becoming a review of all magazines, but a narrowed focus at some of the most read in the world. Why these outlets? The reasons are the fact that they have such massive reach and are regarded as having the ability to direct the narratives of the people. It was however noted that the omission of other media sources including the internet, television, and local media, could have led to missing possible alternative views that could have well provided a better explanation of media framing. Moreover, the study did not include detailed conversation of the cultural background of non-western media knowing the enormous diversity and intricacy of the media environment of the world. Looking at a smaller number of newspapers in particular regions, the research sought to create the trends and patterns that may not represent the whole world in terms of application but still, could be able to demonstrate such trends as exaggeration or bandwagon framing. This demarcation presented a case that in the future a further study should be conducted that expands the frame and encompasses a broader variety of culturally and regionally diverse media material to present a more extensive view on gendered media representations within the scope of jihadism.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Review of Related Literature

2.1.1 Jihad, Gender and Security Dynamics

Jihad means to struggle or to strive in a noble cause to a goal with determination, rather than holy war (in Arabic battle is harb, rather than what is holy is muqadassa), as in the mediaeval Christian expression crusade (war for the cross), when Muslims say jihad. It still remains rather religious and militaristic (Knapp, 2003). This term jihad or in some cases sixth pillar of Islam became famous to the Western press after the 9/11 terrorist attack on the world trade centre and the Pentagon but the non Muslims are still in illusion as to the meaning of jihad as understood in the Islamic realm. Pathologically in Arabic, the term jihad translates as dedicating all one can and the efforts they have, but this is provided that the word jihad is given the word al-juhdu, but in case some jihad is taking all the crux of the word al-jahdu, it means trying hard and doing the task unnecessarily (Hakim, 2016). In Islam, Shafi yi scholars considered jihad as the best of the religious teachings or fences that safeguard the foundations of the religion, jihad as the protector of the Islamic nations and Muslims as it is fighting among the infidels in the name of glorifying the Islamic religion (Hakim, 2016). One of the greatest fundamental precepts of the Islamic faith is jihad since jihad is a vehicle to reach greatness, glory, and sovereignty (Hakim, 2016). It is based on that that jihad becomes mandatory and imposed until the day of judgment. All the countries that evacuate the duty of jihad would feel offended, and would be attacked by the rivals, their honor would become humiliated by Allah and they will be dominated by the mean and indecent person. Jihad has been commanded which must be obeyed by Muslims and this has been confirmed in the al Qur`an where specifically jihad has been mentioned at least forty one times in different tense; eight in the Meccan surahs and thirty three in the Madaniyah surahs and the purpose of which is the jihad is a basic concept which the Muslims must follow in running their life (Hakim, 2016). Jihad, in the religion of Islam, can be translated into meaning fight or struggle and it is an Arabic word which is formed by jihad al-juhdu and al-jahdu, which refers to strive or exert self effort, the nominal equivalents to effort and struggle. Those belonging to Shafi*iyah explain that jihad means a struggle in the path of Allah against the infidels so as to respect and defend Islam which is a lesson of Islam. It becomes a tool to glory and domination. The Jihad is a mandatory action to Muslims up to the Day of Resurrection. Failure in this duty is claimed to bring about disgrace and humiliation to the hands of morally decadent forces both of which are the paramount characteristics in the meticulous reproduction and revival of dignity and integrity of the Muslim

community in the world order. The Subject: Quran uses the word jihad 41 times emphasizing the role of great importance that jihad plays as well as jihad is part and parcel of everyday life of Muslims. Although violence is a common association with the term jihad in the real sense it encompasses a broader scope of the Islamic ideas such as personal development of faith and social reforms. This fact of misunderstanding of the term contributes in creating a misconception regarding Islam and it is important to note that the contextual discussion should be employed to establish a better understanding of its different meanings and application in the Islamic world. Educated dialogue is vital to the process of breaking preconceptions and striking the groundwork of intercultural understanding.

Women participation in armed conflict and peacebuilding is among the debatable topics in academic and development literature (Khan, 2021). As the international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) are adopting a gender focused approach of dealing with peacebuilding, peacekeeping and security. The goals of peace and cohesion in the society can be strengthened or compromised by activities that are gender-related. The involvement of women in conflict and peace building is an issue of the recent discussion in the academic field signaling a healthy area of research. Such a gender focused strategy is becoming imperative not only in enhancing more effective and encompassing peacekeeping and security operations, but also in the general assessment of international agencies led by the United Nations. With controversies still abuzz there is also slowly coming to the realization that a necessity of expert judgement is the need to run through a maze of gender specific activities in a bid to arrive at an all-encompassing long term peace and community harmony.

Nevertheless, when speaking of international trends related to gender sensitive security discourse and policy debates, In Pakistan women have largely come up as passive subjects as opposed to active agents (Khan, 2021). This has always been concentrated on the traditional roles that women adopt in the culture namely mothers, daughters, sisters, wives. The fact that women participate in extremist/ violent movements/organizations is ignored and it falls under the radar because of various reasons. To begin with, it is a social code and a cultural interpretation that, similarly to war, violent extremism belongs to the male sphere and women are mere spectators in this area (Khan, 2021). This misplaced idea also brings about the idea that, because women are unseen in the public area, they must use the opportunity provided by private meetings to ensure that they play their part as mere supporters, donors and facilitators. They are perceived as helpless people and the target and not source of violence. Consequently, there is a shortage of academic literature and policy discourse on gender participation in

extremist groups by women. It is important to dispel these myths to have in-depth understanding of the role of women in security dynamic. By acknowledging women as a possible leader and active participant of extremist organization, we will be able to alter the policy and rhetoric to the idiosyncrasies of their involvement. It is necessary to bring a more subtle appraoches into academia and policy circle that will help to shed light onto the complexity of the women engagement in extremism organization that would clear the pathway to more effective counterterrorist measures.

2.1.2 Portrayal of Female Jihadism in Media

The Palestinian woman wants to be called Suha, which is Arabic name meaning a dim star, has her hair neatly pulled off her face, and her nails are well manicured. The paragraph that followed this initial sentence describes the onset of a suicide bomber, Suha, a member of Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, stating that she is barely 5 ft tall, fair-skinned and pretty with a quick handshake and smile. The ghastly appearance of her bodyguards was juxtaposed to the frontal drawing of a ravishing young lady who was bent on becoming a human bomb so that she can kill others (Zoroya 2002; Nacos 2005)." Whether it is coincidence or not, the paradox of a beautiful woman being a suicide terrorist and a stern-looking man being a person who is, most likely, glad to be alive was shown to the reader of this article that appeared in one of the biggest U.S. newspapers as early as in April 2002. Three months earlier an American news magazine published an article with the same idea which connected male hormones with terrorism. According to the authors, testosterone always played a significant role in terrorism even among secular bombers and kidnappers such as Baader-Meinhof gang in Germany and Red Brigade in Italy (Dickey & Kovach 2002; Nacos 2005). This indicated to the reader clearly that men are the ones who perpetrate acts of terrorism. Along with that, one could not but notice the tone behind the message: women are not the terrorist type. It emphasizes on how media framing often uses stereotypical gender roles to create various images of male and female jihadists. In the case of Suha, the emphasis on physical traits (fair skin, small frame, and beauty) can position her in the category of unlikely terrorists, which will create a semblance of the paradoxical concept, which would not be easily attributed to her male counterparts. It is for example similarly how in your description between Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert one can look into how the international press is applying gender lenses to the former and to the latter in a meaningful manner. A case in point of Begum being typically presented to be seen as weak or apologetic and Cuspert as being courageous or absolutely committed which pertain to masculinity and to violence respectively can be given. This framing conveys implicitly to

audience who fits the profile of a terrorist, and this casting of stereotypes assumes that men are masculine and women feminine or ignorant. Thus, gendered framing is supposed to reinforce the established stereotypes and influence the understanding of the role of males and females in the jihadist affairs.

Similarly that there is no evidence that men and women engaging in politics have different essential reasons of venturing into politics, and a difference in their competencies in distinct policy areas, neither is there an evidence that men and women joining in terrorism have a fundamental difference in their terrorist recruitment, motivation and ideological enthusiasm, and their ferocity, however, when the same is echoed using female terrorists, it accords to news coating that meets the patterns of gender prejudice in the media regarding women in politics specifically and more expanded to break stereotypes regarding genders in the whole society, in other words, news coverage Applying such a notion of gendered framing presented by Nacos (2005), scholars regularly argue that the media are consistent in representing the gender biases of the society and gendering media representational practices in such a way that gives women involved in acts of terrorism or in politics an out of place, somehow focused on their otherness character. Scholars who utilize Nacos often point to the fact that such treatment of women minimizes the female agency of acts of violence or political action, representing women in such a way that they exemplify their emotional and weak nature, unlike the male counterparts As it is noted by Nacos, this inclination toward the gendered stereotyping, which refers female terrorists to traditional femininity or at least to the soft side, at least, makes it easy to downplay in significance their motives and violence in comparison with that of similarly-looking male counterparts. As can be seen in cases like Shamima Begum to that of Denis Cuspert, this framework gives us an opportunity to (s)see by which the press can act upon using these gendered framings, even further enveloping the current societal judgements instead of giving an impartial portrayal.

2.1.3 Gender Dynamics in Jihadism and Challenging Stereotypes

The concept of gender is crowned with a contextualism of the amazingness. In that regard, masculinity and femininity are not always fixed but varies with culture, time and society. Nevertheless, even during the epoch of political violence and riot roles of men and women may be distinguished. As a manifestation of the conception of political violence, masculinity is militarized and linked to violence in the dimension of the research on political violence, only to be dependent on feminine forms of non-violence, assistance and emergency. Based on this, men spend most of their time as fighters and protectors of women and children

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with the women taking the heroic role of the house wife, the sacrificial mother and the loving wife. Femininity in appalling combat denies ladies the place in the sun and they are treated as victims, rather than member of the crime-conducting party (Mahmood, 2019). Moreover, gender ideology contributes extremely to the creation of the ideas of masculinity and femininity in the process of the construction of jihadists in media. Such images are often supported by the existing stereotypes of gender and violence as masculine which defines the male jihadi as an a priori violent and ideologically motivated fighters or aggressors and femininity with its helplessness and victimization. All these gender assignments have been incorporated into an assumption that men are violent perpetrators and women are circumstantial (passive) providers of casualties that has helped lead into a story of women being passive and that they can become prey of a man with whom he can manipulate or shape up. Considering the example with Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert, there is a tendency in the media to formulate it in such a way that it is ideologically motivated behavior of such an individual as Cuspert, the militarized masculine, and that the former case often due to the delusions of romanticism and emotionality, or passion that appeals to the stigmatized character of the protagonist of the profession of housewife or martyred woman. All these are all put into the bigger picture of women as victims or even more pedestrian as complicit victims instead of agents, where violence and extremism are understood as a man-only domain. Such distorted framing can be seen as one of the manifestations of how gender roles simultaneously pin and limits how the rest of society sees such a complex human individual in a war, thus, propagating a social construct that poses men as saviors, and women as not-agents, or decision-makers whose actions are predetermined.

They are not traditionally seen as perpetrators of violence and instead need to be protected by the gallant and naturally violence-oriented men. Here, femininity also strongly correlates to women's biological capability to give birth, implying that they are largely life-givers as opposed to life-takers. The narratives on masculine and feminine roles are dictated by patriarchy, hyper masculinity and cultures of misogyny in violent extremist organizations. This is also evident in the structure of Islamist terrorist groups in Pakistan – males make up the majority of those mobilized to fight (Mahmood, 2019).

It can be noted that this paper is not going to disassemble the concept of masculinity and its influence on the radicalization of men within the terroristic organizations. The presence of gendered assumption of masculinity and femininity are interdependent and thus one strengthens the other. Therefore, outlining the overall positions and demands of men in these groups will lead to a more accurate description of women positions and radicalization path.

With regards to Islamic terrorism, the male role encompasses the engagement in aggressive jihad to protect the ideology or the objectives of their groups, and the female role is to adopt an auxiliary posture by offering their support to the men in defending and furthering violence by adding complementary roles (Mahmood, 2019). Generally, the masculinity and femininity positioning of violence and nonviolence, respectively, in terrorism leads to three most fundamental misunderstandings about female participation in terrorism in Pakistan. First, the expectations about men being the agents of violence in their occupations whereas women occupations are peaceful is considered to be strict and never-ending. Second, women are used as second-hand actors or recruits because they are seen to be non-violent in a violent group. Such a reasoning can be matched with the notion of the insignificance of women to the overall working of the group since they are a minority of the total membership. Third, the motivations among women are represented as subjective and women-like. To give one example, men are said to enter extremist groups due to political motives, whereas the involvement of women is explained by personal (feminine) motives (Mahmood, 2019).

Maintenance of the gendered view not only advocates the existing social prejudices but also reaffirms the profound picture of the women and their freedom in the extreme organization. It is noteworthy that one should admire the nature of masculinity and the dimension of feminine nature as a parabola which helps to explain the complex mechanism that led to the involvement of women in jihadism. The exposure of the fallacies of these myths and the acknowledgment of the motivate difference that drives women would help us devise better counterterrorism strategies that target the different form of radicalization in women and men. It is rightfully so that the much needed mature approach must be provided to question the heavily entrenched biasness and to learn a more down-to-earth perception of gender relation towards jihadism.

2.1.4 Difference in the treatment of men and women ISIS members

Will it make a woman charged, found guilty, and convicted as ISIS member less dangerous just because she is a woman? Unfortunately, this seems to be the thinking of the US criminal justice system. Women of Islamic state are less prone to convictions compared to men. Females are less sentenced, and in case a woman is charged, her sentence is less harsh than those of men (Jones, 2019). 178 people have been indicted in the United States in crimes in connection with the Islamic State. In summer of 2018, the mean aggravated term of incarceration on guilty males was 13.8 years. In comparison, overall sentencing on women was a mere 5.8 years. However, prosecuting the ISIS members of different genders in different ways in the court does not only fail to respect justice, it also rocks counterterrorism and

jeopardizes security (Jones, 2019). The difference in criminal responsibility of men and women ISIS members paints a picture of gendered double standard in the criminal justice system. Much of the modern inclination to view women as less dangerous in general (even in an extremist situation) is based on societal stereotypes of women as inherently being less violent than men. Not only does this approach go against the principle of judicial neutrality, but it also has an impact on the national security arena since there is a potential risk of underestimating the threat that female extremists pose. It is crucial to recognize women as capable agents in those settings because gender leniency might worsen the counterterrorism capacity. Unless equal attention is paid to female members of ISIS as it has done to the male members, the judicial system will be conveying the message that the wrongs committed by women in the entire range of the hoop of extremist acts are not that serious or bad.

As a matter of fact, women and men are most likely to be attracted to ISIS due to similar reasons. The reason why they join is because they want to be part of a religious movement, they want economic empowerment, political movement and also they want to be out of social or cultural alienation. ISIS also has women and men in the active position as recruiters and warriors. The active role of women in ISIS has attracted greater attention of the policymakers, which is why nowadays the Islamic State women are more frequently investigated and prosecuted. In 2016, 26 percent of women were among those arrested on terrorism charges in Europe as compared to 18 percent in 2015. However, the punishing of men and women of the Islamic state differs greatly (Jones, 2019). Jihadi brides are given lighter sentencing due to the belief that female sex is victimized. It is common to think that women members have been misled to be part of the group because they either lack knowledge or are naive. Transcripts of court cases in the United States reveal judges appealing to the trope of jihadi bride in an attempt to explain that the reason women joined the group and gave them material support is because they had been deceived. In the international level, the Islamic state women are portrayed as jihadi brides, mothers of the caliphate, helpless women, and naive girls. Such representations of women diminish them as they express their participation in terms of an absence of knowledge and an inclination to be carried off by the prompt of promises of romance and adventure (Jones, 2019).

US criminal Justice system treats male and female ISIS differently which is discriminating and sabotages counter terrorism efforts. The data on disparities in sentencing cast doubt on the ability of the court to act impartially and whether this may affect the security of the nation. The assumptions that women are not as guilty as men are and that they are usually

victims disregards that innumerable circumstances compel men and women alike to become a part of ISIS. The simple story undermines justice but it further creates attitude that destroys the need of women independence and rally behind crusade extremism.

The convoluted area of gender relations, jihadism and security. It shows the necessity to possess a comprehensive understanding of men and women role in extremist group, resist stereotyping patterns, to accept a great variety of causes of their participation.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

In this study, the authors attempted to discuss the ways of how male and female jihadists/terrorists could be framed in the media, in particular, paying attention to the features of language, imagery, or framing. Based on the Framing Theory, the study examined both the Western and non-Western media representations to figure out how these representations changed the attitude of society and faced gendered stereotypes. It focused on framing occluding other versions of the story and creating uneven, Black and White dimensions in the depiction of individuals connected with terrorism.

To get deeper into the issue of gender difference in representation, Gender Performativity Theory was also utilized in the framework of the study with the most popular values attributed to Judith Butler. This theory was used to explain social construction and performance of gender identities especially in media discourses. In this light, the study presented critical analysis of the manner through which actions and appearances of male and female jihadists were presented on gendered terms.

Moreover, the research included Feminist Media Theory and Moral Panic Theory in order to supplement the approach of framing. This cross-theoretical analysis permitted further examination of how the media established a different construction of moral constructs and social fears in relation to men and women. Taken together, these frameworks offered interesting knowledge regarding the frame construction, the gendered voices and the ideological preferences in international media coverage.

2.2.1 Media Representation and Framing Theory

Similar to power, the media has an unmatched power to change the perspective of the people in manners that cannot be pursued by others. When persuasion is combined with the media, it is immeasurable as compared to any other medium (Krona & Caskey, 2023). Then,

the full potential of the media is its ability to transmit information to virtually every corner of the sphere of the people (sometimes within minutes) to manipulate the mood of the masses, and invent the account of the masses, which is often established as the standardized truth, and even powerful truth. Unlike other organizations, media is addressing numerous groups of people simultaneously, and is socializing issues in a manner that is very powerful as regards to their cultural, social and political histories. This strength is particularly present when it comes to the development and formation of the perception of the people about such disturbing matters-- say jihadism. Through the device of selective wording, language and visual story- telling, the media does not only inform but it also promotes as it codes a particular ideological belief and bias into the mind-scapes of the populace. This justification is aimed at the objective of the studies of framing and subtle effects of framing in the media and this is applicable in cases of gender and terrorism. By highlighting certain features of an occurrence or an individual and omitting those that can be thought of as insignificant as far as approval to society or politics is concerned, the news media create views. The process cannot be shaped by any other power other than one to shape what people think as well as what they think about what they think, thus serving as one of the motivating principles of the establishment of a common ground of thinking. Such an understanding also shows the enormous potential of media in shaping of such complicated challenges like jihadism in the context of gendered stereotype of such a narration, as well as that culturally laden narrative that directly shows its force in the perception of the population and policy making. The media also plays an important role not only in providing details of but even of supplying meaning of the given data to the recipient (Entman 1993). The building of actuality is more powerful than reality itself to the extent that people base their foundation not on the truth but on their understanding of constructs, which is a crucial way of creating pictures in the mass media and frames that are often propagated by news.

Another important approach through which news media broadcast and inculcate specific ideas in minds of its viewers and readers is framing (Entman 1993). One useful device used by the news media to direct and control the perception of the people is framing meaning laying stress on a story and de-emphasizing or underemphasizing other parts of a story. In addition to this, media constructs stories that actually make the audience know what event, problem, or individual they should interpret. Framing does not only present information, as it also, economically, educates individuals, rather subliminally inculcating beliefs, values, and predispositions, in those who are the target of it. In this practice a significant influence is created regarding the building of communal discourse and views mainly in controversial topics

like terrorism where framing can entrench stereotypes or shape the public opinion. Framing uses the notions of selection and salience; framing entails a process of selecting some features of observed world and underlining these features in a communication text (Entman, 1993). In investigating some topic in the public, frames will entail outlining issues of concern, analysing causes, ethical decision making and offering solutions. Entman believes that there are four areas where frames can either be found; as in the speaker, the text, the recipient, and the culture. Frames can be defined in terms of what they exclude and what they include, and they tend to emphasize some part of reality by relative obscurity of some other side. The differentiated choice has a close connection with the culture settings, i.e. the frames tend to coincide with established social values, norms and beliefs. By telling stories, journalists do not only pass information; they are constructing stories that confirm or refute what the society values.

In this respect, frame can be seen as perspectives or language concerning the world, which implies what has to be seen and how (Gitlin, 2003). Identifying the role of media and journalists is applied by Entman who is pointing out that the main role of a reporting frame in selecting and highlighting some aspects of reality and obscuring others is to create a coherent narrative about problems; thus it becomes important to recognize media and journalists as significance makers who have the power to instruct and inform how the social world should be perceived. Framing theory draws its understanding on the basis of the agenda setting issue which holds that mass media and journalism can be able to select the matters of concern to their population (agenda-setting) and the manner the population is to comprehend such matters (framework) (Mccombs & Shaw, 1972). According to the study of the U.S television news, Iyengar (1991) discovered two various news frames-episodic and thematic. The episodic story concentrates on detail and is immediate, precise, and divorced of historical reference or sequence or any larger meaning. On the contrary, thematic stories are critical and offer more context and background of a problem. According to Iyengar, episodic framing affects complex issues by turning them to the point of anecdotal account and media audiences making cause errors by not attributing responsibility to problems properly (Iyengar, 1991).

Episodic framing is concerned with discrete events, portraying the issues as individual events and do not put them in their historical or contextual narratives. The popularity of this paradigm is that attention may be usually paid to single occurrence of violence or single protest, and not to the background factors which generate the context of such event. In line with this, a motley audience is introduced into broken stories with no acceptable logic and story flow, producing not more than a hollowness of image of the totality. Instead, the thematic framing assumes a

general perspective by giving some background and supplying it with information, which makes it possible to draw connections between the separate events and the patterns or the systemic processes. Perspective with the thematic framing of narratives makes viewers ponder over the structural, historical, or social factors that comprise a problem, making them able to understand a problem in depth and having a bigger perspective. However, Iyengar warns that the occurrence of episodic framing in the media is likely to be a product of audience choice to lay blame on the individual and not on the factor of systematic or institutional origins. The way to this deception can potentially become the way to the ineffective public discourse and policy formation, as the problems of high complexity are being oversimplified into the stories with no depth.

Among those theories to be employed in explaining the role of media in the formation of specific attitude towards the reality in the population, there is a framing theory which details how the media can not only select what to cover but also what to leave out in relation to such reality. Entman (1993) wrote that it is by definition of framing: a few numbers of the component of a perceived reality are chosen and brought into light of a communication. Frames are special intents to define problem, diagnose causes, make moral judgements and suggest remedies

According to the current case, entman four-part model of framing will be used according to which the following will be discussed:

- Definition of the problem: how the issue is defined
- Causal definition-Who or what is held responsible
- Moral judgement: This is the procedure of making judgment.
- Treatment recommendation: What can be recommended as solutions

Besides that, the chosen topic on reporting news is categorized on the basis of the definition of episodic and thematic framing given by Iyengar (1991). Frames of such episodes are oriented to dwell on individual cases or personal histories, which are in most cases emotional or rely on anecdotal and thematic frames to place the events in the wider social or political context. Such a dichotomy can particularly be used in the context of the given work since it will enable us to familiarize ourselves as to whether male and female jihadis are more personally or structurally oriented.

Summing up the models mentioned above, created by Entman and Iyengar, it can be concluded that it is possible to make a subtle analysis of facts related to the narrative constructions made use of by the international press in reporting about Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert.

2.2.2 Feminist Theory

This paper compares the portrayal of the male and female jihadists in the muslim and western books, with the help of feminist theory i.e. it will endeavor to know the kind of gender inequality, the Judith butler theory of gender performativity to know how the norm of gender is created. Generally speaking, these terrorists break up the image of women as peaceful, life givers, violent life-takers and even as being made of the domestic and the secretive since terrorism belongs to the political domain. Otherwise stated, they soften the dividing line of famous dichotomy of men as the just warriors and women as the beautiful souls of Elshtain. According to the War on Terror and colonialist ideologies, Muslim women are defined as beautiful souls that require defense against Muslim men, who are painted as unmanageable creatures (Elshtain 1982; Azeez 2019; Abu-Lughod 2002). Abu-Lughod indicated that when you salvage someone, the connotation is that you are saving her out of something which is present (2002). This poses a huge problem with this paradigm of saving. Also, you are shielding something on her behalf. In other words, Muslim women were made to look like they have to be liberated to attain the women status in the West. Instead, male terrorists are viewed in very generalized, stereotyped ways (Azeez, 2019). It disparages the existence of a certain official narrative on terrorism, which scrutinizes the antagonists by essentialistic factors such as their evil mindset or evil ideology, instead of scrutinizing very carefully the rationale behind their activities (Kundnani, 2015). A lot of scholarly research has been conducted on the representation of women within the radical organizations. Sjoberg says that when it comes to media and the literature on the subject behind the scenes, the description of women in terrorist organizations is often gendered as women are often referred to as women terrorists and not simply terrorists who are women- making their gender a leading focus when describing their motive to commit the act of terrorism (Sjoberg, 2009). In her book on women, men and war, Elshtain (1982) states that the perceptions of men and women in the conflict scenario are grounded on two pictures. Women are taken as Beautiful Souls and males as Just Warriors. Opposition to violence and war are considered to be the two features of the Beautiful Soul. The comparison of the role of women is made as a Beautiful Soul in the image of man as an incorrigible beast (Elshtain 1982; Azeez 2019)). The concept of the Just Warrior (Elshtain, 1982) describes males as warriors, yet it must have women in place as a secondary line of defense to keep everything in line, to be, as she puts it, both friends and support troops that assist the Just Warrior so that he/she may be able to continue fighting on that which is necessary. According to Hutchings (2008), there is a belief that men are innately fit to fight

since they are treated to be violent, rational, risk aversive and pugnacious but this is not the case with women. The media and scholarly discourses on terrorism have developed highly self-reinforcing stereotypes of Muslim men and women that support both colonial and orientalist approaches to that phenomenon. The latter characters are helpless women who are waiting to be rescued by the abusive Muslim men, who are usually depicted as violent and uncontrollable in nature. Not only can this framework explain about the complexities of the roles of each of the sexes in political violence, but also it maintains a dichotomy (between men as aggressors and women as passive victims). Just as the Beautiful Soul concept, in which women are shown as non violent, in need of protection, and righteous, men are characterized as just warriors and inherently violent in nature and driven by the desire of power. Guaranteeing Muslim women and Muslim men preferential treatment in the setting of violent extremism, such a tactic does not concern what drives both the sexes to commit violence equally in extremist groups, the scenario which makes no distinction over the presence of political, social and psychology concerns. The situation in which women are described as women terrorists rather than the simple terrorists, females are put under scrutiny because of gender, and their agency is deconstructed, made orderly and simplified explanations of women-motivations in contrast to the variability of analysis required of them as agencies. These discourses written by male terrorists are largely overpowered by the accounts of the devilish ideologies or warrior mind-sets that enforce and even further eliminate their personalities and cast them in demon proportions. This gendering process does not imagine the psychological and political aspect of radicalization, in addition to the structural causes that are common to the males and the female terrorists.

In stopping their performance of gender, they mock its reality considering that gender is performed, and it is only as real as its performance (Butler, 1990). They reveal social construction of the discourse and lead to destabilization of gender itself leading to destabilization, which is denaturalizing and questioning claims of normativity and originality with which gender and sexual oppression has sometimes worked (Butler, 1993). Its capacity to subvert conventional gender is by participating in practices that belonged to the opposite gender. Such jihadists go against the societal expectations revealing gender expositive aspect and threatening the current norms.

Media representation of terrorism is not complete without gender discourses, as femininist studies had demonstrated (Nacos, 2005; Bogan and Jackson 2024), It raises concerns on how the reality of female involvement contradicts the cultural understanding of them as

serene, nurturing, and beautiful souls (Bogain & Jackson, 2024). Just as the feminist scholarship has shown, gendered assumptions surround the portrayal of terrorism in the media. Women are also expected to be nurturing, peaceful, and beautiful souls and these things do not go in line with violence. When done by the women then it leaves the system in shock because that is not what the women are expected to do. This is also what the media would portray as they either refer to the women as the victims of the manipulative men or abnormal women who have stepped out of the line of normal female behavior, but rarely do they consider these women to be politically motivated. And such sort of portrayals feeds into stereotypes of men who are born aggressive and women who are born peaceful. When the media focuses on such gendered reportages, they will forget about the complex political motives and personal motives that push women into the world of terrorism. As feminist scholars argue, such construction deprives women of any agency and starts viewing them as objects rather than considering them active subjects of their politically violent activities.

It has been found that news stories concerning women involvement in politically aggressive projects, which attempt to reinstate the ideas of hegemonic conceptions of gender, include two predominant storylines (Gardner, 2007). The first can be explained as the storyline of the not real terrorists. This discredits the ideological agenda of women and puts more focus on individualistic reasons of getting involved by limiting the role of women in agential political violence to men (Parashar 2011; Sjoberg 2007; Toivanen and Baser 2016; Bogan and Jackson 2024). The second narrative, the so-called not real women, does not deny the violence of their participants but restores the correlation of women and peace by defining it as an abnormality and referring to their sexual dysfunction or even failing motherhood to base their antics, or their badness, craziness, or grief (Åhäll 2012; Melzer 2011; Sjoberg and Gentry 2008; Bogan and Jackson 2024). Rearticulations of essentialist understandings of gender through the media discourse enable the exceptionalization of violent women, seeing that they, in turn, make it possible to construct the rest of the decent and behaved women as the universal feminine non-aggressive assemblage (Krulišova 2016; Bogan and Jackson 2024). These two stories not real terrorists and not real women are indeed used to preserve conventional gender roles in the sense that they do not depict violent women as subjects or political agents, but as singularities. The fact that they (the female terrorists) are written off in the story of the not real terrorist, are not accepted as having any form of ideology behind the paths they follow, the acts are caused by emotions of weaknesses or being duped. It almost implies that the political violence is a men-only game and the women are just their victims, not the active participants in the dynamics.

The "not real women" narrative appreciates the possibility of women being violent as well, but once again it reinforces the idea of distinguishing between the deviant and the normal. It does that by highlighting alleged mental instability or sexual deviance or failure in their status as say mothers or daughters thus highlighting violent women as anomalous therefore further forwarding the image of women as essentially nonviolent maternal creatures. Not only does that reinstate the correlation between gentleness and femininity, but it will also at least a little ominously threatens doom to those who step out of line regarding the outlined gender norms. Nonetheless, the two tales serve in ways of neutralizing the danger of female aggression in order to reproduce the essentialist conceptions of gender by marginalizing these women to the larger feminine whole. This is done by them through making the distinction between good woman who are passive and nurturing and deviant women wherein aggression is not a state of possibility but is discussed as an aberration. The media adopts this so-called narrative approach so that the ideologies of femininity in the society are unperturbed and not threatened by the fact that women are numerous actors in the political field.

In an attempt to investigate the gendered aspect of the media coverage, this paper integrates the views of a feminist school of thought in media. The concept of symbolic annihilation was brought about by the scholars like Tuchman (1978) who argued that women are either little represented or misrepresented in the accounts of media. In terroristic discourses, it usually includes the disproportionately strong focus on the features of appearance of women, their emotions and motherly roles, and the support of masculine stereotypes such as violence, leadership or aggression. Such representation not only contributes a new layer of misrepresentation of the complexity of women in extremist movements but also goes in favour of gendered binaries: men as active force of violence and women as naive followers of or casualties respectively. Further, the violence that occurs when it is perpetrated by women is considered to be abnormal, and a matter of trauma or madness, or in tandem with coercion as compared to any political act or ideology. It once again points to the excessive employment of patriarchal values, according to which female deviance is understood as unnatural and, thus, should be interpreted as a moral sign. These types of coverage are an example of how gendered assumptions influence media discourse not just in the visibility or invisibility of the place of women and men who took part in terrorism, but in the ways the experience of such individuals can be referred to a possibility of action and contribution to the events, and how such possibility can be evaluated in moral terms. So symbolic annihilation is not the problem of absence-it is the problem of polysemy and overtones of presence and the construction of how these presence

gets constructed to cope with the expectations that surround femininity and masculinity in the society.

In the opinion of Van Zoonen (1994), gender is neither biologically determined nor something steady and has been a construction part of culture and media discourse that keeps responding and re-forming cultural and media discourses. Communicative texts in media assume a central role of reinforcing and reproducing such constructions when they keep on representing men and women according to the norms and stereotypes of society. This process is especially visible in the media portrayal of jihadists as a heavily gendered process, which helps shape the perception of actions of such people and moralize their actions. As is seen in the case of Shamima Begum, a young British Muslim woman who went to Syria to join ISIS, the media largely pictured her in terms of victimhood, emotional vulnerability, and, even domesticity. The focus was made to her age, innocence, dress code, or even future motherhood. These characters were tending to delegitimize her political will by implying that, whatever she did regarding terrorism was a symptom of manipulation or grooming or emotional distress, but not a rational ideological decision. Comparatively, the example of Denis Cuspert, the once German rapper and member of the ISIS representing it as one of the most wanted fighters and propagandists, was highlighted with the help of hyper-masculine frames, as his allegiance to violence, extremism and ideological radicalism were displayed. It involved a narration of how he resorted to a feared militant, how he made contributions to the ISIS media and whether he posed a danger to the western society. Such a contrast shows how male jihadists are characterized as the subjects of their own acts and as the accusers of their own acts, whereas female jihadists can be seen as passive agents who need to be salvaged or explained. The theory as put forward by Van Zoonen can help in demonstrating how such gendered representations in media reinforce bigger narratives in the society which childish women and demonise men. They result in uneven lawful and political responses and constitute the minds of individuals, and cannot do this (and indeed do not purport to do this) by being highly objective in explaining what occurred, but through energetic interpretation with regard to strongly held gendered norms.

Such a framework is further underpinned by the gendered approach to moral reasoning developed by Carol Gilligan (1982) who develops a sophisticated yet subtle way of understanding how moral judgments differ in terms of how they are shaped and built on the basis of gender. Gilligan considered that the traditional models of moral development tended to ignore the differences in the way females approach moral issues: generally emphasizing

care, responsibility and understanding in relationships, whereas males tend to be connected to justice, rules and autonomy. Applied in the realm of media discourse, and, in particular, in the given sphere of terrorism and radicalization, this theory makes clear how women are often assessed on the parameters of emotions, vulnerability, and relationships, whereas men are evaluated on the parameters of independent decision-making, ideology, and sanity. When reporting on the figure of female jihadist, such as Shamima Begum, media tends to highlight her age, emotional, or even maternal potential and this, in turn, presents them as victims of manipulation or deception and, therefore, morally forgivable or redeemable. On the contrary, men such as Denis Cuspert are male jihadists and normally seen as agents who are consciously extreme and are therefore seen with even greater discourse of the act. This construction of gender-based morals does not only exercise an effect on the general opinion but also leads to legal and political results. The dimensionality of the lens provided by Gilligan reveals the bias to the un-neutrality in moral judgment in media that reinforces the larger structures of judgement, responsibility, and compassion existing in society.

2.2.3 Moral Panic Theory (Supporting Framework)

Despite being the secondary lens, about the framing and the gender-based lens, the moral panic lens will provide value as a supplementary lens. Moral panic was earlier formulated by Stanley Cohen (1972) and it is a condition in which individuals or a group of people are depicted in media as some menace to the values of the society thus provoking greater anxiety of the individuals. One of the most common elements in this process is the Jihadis, especially those born in the West who join the extremist organizations.

The framework would be especially important in studying the way the media portrays such a person as Shamima Begum, a British-born girl who moved to Syria as a teenager and gained popularity by being referred to as an ISIS bride. Her depiction in the Western media was not just limited to her behavior, but it evoked greater fears in our society, especially about gender roles, which involved national allegiance and the virtue of the feminine sex. She began to represent a symbol of disoriented national identity and disrupted gender-bound rules, which caused moral outrage, and very often these moral emotions were more powerful than rational reasoning. In their work, on the contrary, the media focuses on male figures such as one-time German rapper Denis Cuspert now an ISIS fighter to produce a more traditional, fear-driven discourse of violent masculinity and foreign threat. The ascendancy of Cuspert, who went all the way through a pop culture icon to an extremist fighter, facilitates a typical moral panic-type narrative - one that is based upon age-old fears about radicalized male aggression and the

collapse of society. In including moral panic theory, it has been seen in the study that both the male and female jihadists are not merely reported but created by media discourse of nature that sows and has been sewn, things that are anxious because of some panic. Such constructions tend to perpetuate stereotypes, gender inequality, and certain political views which in turn are used to address making of policy decisions, social discriminations, and even the question of human rights. Moral panic, therefore, is a highly useful prism through which it is possible not only to see how these figures affect us emotionally but also to seek the influence of the media in the construction of collective mind and the national discussion.

This theoretical framework comprising of three theories namely the framing theory, feminist media theory, and moral panic theory is comprehensive as it offers a structure in the analysis of how gender constructs narratives about jihadist individuals in media. It allows to systematically examine the logic of framing, moral evaluations, and the gender distribution of the international news presentation, which provide the basis of the research design, codes as well as data analysis in the study.

2.3 Literature Gap

Although scholarship on the topic of media representations of terrorism, radicalization, and gendered violence is considerably advancing, there are still some of its vital gaps, specifically in the context of the Western-born jihadis through the lens of gendered perspectives.

2.3.1 Limited Comparative Gender Based Analysis of Jihadi Media Coverage

Indeed, much literature has been devoted to the question of media framing of the issue of terrorism (e.g., Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliveira, 2008; Nacos, 2005), yet little has been done to compare the framing of terrorism carried out by media, especially in regard to the mechanisms applied and the narrative patterns used when discussing jihadis (both male and female). Published work also tends to separate women into a distinct category (e.g. in the case of jihadi brides) as a way of reinforcing exceptionalist discourses without necessarily comparing this group with that of foreign fighters or recruiters. Shamima Begum was a popular topic of the media coverage and scientific discussions (Rashid, 2020; Baines et al., 2021), and the debates usually revolve around the aspects of morality, citizenship, or victimhood. This research however characteristically analyses her in isolation and does not contrast her with male jihadis which could adopt more conventional frames of aggression, extremism of ideology, and threat to security like that of Denis Cuspert. Therefore, comparative researches

on framing have an empirical gap that explains the differences in framing narratives about male and female jihadi through normalized framing categories, such as those developed by Iyengar (1991) and Entman (1993).

In addition, this gap in empirics does not only represent a professional omission, but it has concrete implications in the world: processes through which societies digest and react to acts of terrorism take place. Devoid of comparative approach, media remains in the process of reproducing distorted moral orders that not only influence the popular opinion but also institutional practices, such as criminal prosecution, deportation, and de-radicalization policies. The idea is that defining women only in terms of motherhood or naivete can hurt the legal case potential as well as strengthening the belief that they are somewhere atypical and not participants with an intention to act. On the other hand, the habit behind defining male jihadists in terms of threats only contributes to the security-first policy, which does not put much emphasis on rehabilitation or root-cause investigation. This skew is also preventing delicate policy-making in areas like counterterrorism, immigration and national security and they tend to be done based on what the media has to say. Fragmented understanding occurs due to absence of comparative frameworks where gendered framings are perceived as natural or taking place inevitably instead of them being considered constructed and strategic. Therefore, the decision to address this empirical gap does not represent a simple act of academic undertaking but a crucial intervention towards the desire to establish more equal, evidence-based, and gender-sensitive studies of the media. It also introduces a rather promising possibility to interdisciplinarily approach sociology, criminology, and feminist theory, which would allow to interpret the ways of communicating and understanding extremism in the context of global discourse in a rather layered and responsible matter.

2.3.2 Insufficient Integration of Gender and Framing Theories

Most literature about media and terrorism is disjointed. Research on framing theory seldom includes a gendered approach and studies approaching gender as the basic variable of interest and do not code frames, which is defined as framing of information or framing of a problem or cause, etc., in detail. This has been discussed in the literature by the feminist media theory, including symbolic annihilation and gender stereotyping (Tuchman, 1978; Van Zoonen, 1994), but this principle is seldom used alongside with the quantitative framing analysis of the jihadi representations. It does not integrate this with theoretical integration and so there is only a limited understanding of the role of gender expectations as they influence the choice of framing, particularly in respect to moral evaluation and agency attribution. The

present study resolves this issue by using both feminist media theory and framing theory to determine gendered framing structures on a quantitative level.

Such desultory state of current literature presents a serious blind spot in the interpretation of media representations of terrorism, especially with regard to the issue of gender and framing. Although feminist media theorists have persisted to identify the erasure or distortion of women in media coverage a cultural act or a part of it, operationalizing such concepts in the framing analysis is widely used, especially in quantitative research. In majority of framing studies, gender is well or rather partly considered as a background demographic variable and not as a critical lens through which media contents are constructed and received. The resultant effect of this is that it arrives at a shallow understanding of the way in which gender codes are used to create a narrative focus, tone, and moral framing of journalistic operationalization. The approach to feminist media theory has a deficit of methodological integration between the subtle, qualitative points of perspective put forth by feminist media theory and the structural explicitness provided by a framing analysis. In the absence of such an integration, scholarship has not been able to unearth how ingrained gender expectations gently shape the foregrounding of specific distinguishing features of a jihadist individual, e.g. whether a given jihadist finds himself or herself being cast as a victim, threat, ideologue, or as individuals with emotional issues. Specifically, it is clear that the moral categorizations used to address male and female jihadists in current news reports are hardly examined using the lens of gender awareness, meaning that issues of agency and responsibility, as well as legitimacy of emotionality, are not sufficiently addressed. This paper attempts to fill that gap by coming up with a method that integrates the theoretical richness and the application of empirical data. The synergy of the critical thinking offered by the feminist theory of media with the rigor of applying the theory of framing takes the analysis of how assumptions about gender influence the coverage of the news to a better, more nuanced level. By so doing, this research opens the way into a more global and self-reflexive media studies that will be able to acknowledge and explain the myriad of modern terror narratives.

2.3.3 Neglect of Western Origin Jihadis in Global Media Framing Research

Framing studies in the terrorism media research literature have largely targeted very high-profile attacks (e.g. 9/11, Paris attacks, Manchester bombing), Islamic groups as collective threats, or geographic framing (e.g. Arab vs. Western media). There are also no clear concerns about the Western jihadis, especially those having varied racial and gender origins. Examples such as Denis Cuspert (ex German rapper) and Shamima Begum (grew up in Britain,

she is a teenage girl of Bangladesh descent) give a wonderful chance to consider media responses to the breaches in the normal identity. Nevertheless, how such persons are framed in western international press has not been well studied using comparative systematic method.

Although events large-scale terroristic incidents or group depictions of Islamic actors have received extensive academic attention, individual instances presenting normative categories of identity--including the Western-born jihadists of racial and gender backgrounds--have been rather underrepresented. In the absence of comparative media analyses which take an inter Locking investigation of the construction of these people along gender, race and citizenship lines, this gap is very pronounced indeed. Such figures as Denis Cuspert and Shamima Begum challenge images and ideologies of hegemony: the former example can be used to refute the egocentric ideas of the East-West dichotomy since Cuspert used to be a pop culture icon of the West and became an extremist, whereas Begum, as a young Muslim girl born in Britain, complicates the logic of victim and the reliance on it since she neither can be a part of a victim group nor can she be loyal to her ideology under any circumstances. Although there is a lot of hype about such figures in the media, we still have not seen in the literature much systematic research that breaks down how these identities are constructed in different ways, and why. To illustrate another one, the media construction of Cuspert as a hardcore militant and Begum as a manipulated girl raises the question of the layers of societal scripts involving masculinity, femininity, race, and radicalism, which are not theorized in the mainstream research of framing. A structural comparative method is absent, and therefore, it is hard to find out the narrative frames, the codes used in the representations, and their moral verdicts. Accordingly, these unusual jihadist characters present a unique opportunity to analyze the ways in which the Western media struggles to figure out those people, who confuse in the distinctions between us and them. We may gain an idea of the ideological labor engaged in by media by examining the ideological construction of such boundary-crossing bodies, the way in which the media contribute to the national, racial, and gendered discourses of belonging, threat, and deviance.

2.3.4 Lack of Systematic, Quantitative Content Analysis

Whereas the qualitative discourse studies of jihadi representations exist, there is also a limited literature on the quantification of media framing that involves the turns into repeatable sets of coded categories and, notably, across nations and sources of news. This aspect is touched upon in your study, since a structured coding sheet based on the models by Iyengar and Entman is used, which allows replicating the analysis of international newspaper articles as applied to

gender and mechanisms of framing. Such non-quantification is a great setback to generating a wider, in-depth comprehension on the extent to which gendered stories are entrenched in transnational media reports on terrorism. And in the absence of repeatable and repeatable coding mechanisms, it is hard to go beyond aparticular case studies or anecdotal explanations. The quantified comparative method allows researchers to identify trends of representation across contexts and to determine whether some gendered frames, emotional vulnerability, ideological agency, or criminal deviance, are represented disproportionately relative to the gender or the nationality of a subject. The operationalization of the frames into coded variables categorizes the research into the empirical field of study that makes the comparison of various media sources and viewpoints meaningful. This is not only helping to raise reliability and generalizability of the results but also helps in illuminating systematic reproduction of some biases or assumptions in internationally reporting. To give an illustration, the rate at which women are victimized and the rate at which men are posed as threats can be statistically analyzed to capture underlying structural dispositions on the journalistic methods. In addition, there is the value of applying this approach to various news outlets throughout the world so as to reveal the degree to which the cultural, political, or ideological background influences the way media reacts to similar actors differently. It leads to the possibility of comparative analysis that proceeds beyond superficial descriptions and into the subtleties of how different degrees of framing devices interact with socio-political norms so that the introduction of feminist media theory into the study of quantitative communication is enhanced.

Current research makes essential gaps in the available literature, which the study tries to fill. To begin with, the media coverage on male and female jihadis lacks direct comparative analysis and this usually causes fragmentation and bias in the reporting. Second, although each theory of framing theory and feminist media theory have had their own contributions in media research, still, the combination between the two theories is lacking especially in the quantitative study aspects in how gendered framing will be considered in the study. Third, Western-born jihadis, including Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert, are not fluidly observed through intersectional lens taking into account race, gender, and nationality in media coverage around the world. Lastly, a lack of quantitative content analysis in terms of standard or generalized models of coding (Iyengar and Entman) has precluded an opportunity of cross-country or cross-news-source comparative/replicatable understanding. In this study, the researcher addresses these gaps using a theoretically informed and aligned, gender-sensitive, and methodologically

sound content analysis and provides a deeper insight on how gender constructs jihadi frames in international press discourse.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOY

In this chapter, the research methodology, instrument, and procedures to undertake studies on media framing of Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert in the Western and non-Western newspaper have been explained. This chapter was meant to explain the research design, sampling technique, data collection procedure, coding scheme and data analysis procedures that will be employed in the study.

3.1 Research Design

This paper has utilized the concept of quantitative content analysis which is a common approach of investigating patterns in the media texts. The aim was to determine frequency and kind of the different frames of reporting on news about 2 persons related to jihadist movements. Two of the well-known theoretical perspectives were used in the study:

The difference drawn in the work by Iyengar (1991), between episodic framing and thematic framing.

Four framing functions identified by Entman (1993) include the following: definition of a problem, the causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation.

Besides these, gendered stereotypes, emotional tone as well as agency attribution were also examined in order to grasp gender based media presentation.

3.2 Population

The study population was composed of the news articles that were published in the English language western and non-western newspapers within the time span of 2012 and 2025, which mentioned the cases of Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert. It concentrated on articles providing deep reporting or analysis and referred to these people in the context of jihadism or terrorism.

3.3 Sampling

In order to carry out the study, the author descends to the large purposive sampling where, in addition to the moment of hearing about Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert in the press and media de facto to the day of the writing, all the available and possible news articles on the two people were added (cutoff 2025). The thing is that what such a non-probability approach ensures is not the sampling of but the investigation of the entire population of the discourse of the media in question.

Inclusion criteria:

- The articles to be written need to place an emphasis either on Shamima Begum or Denis Cuspert directly.

- The articles must be written in English, or have an authorized translation into English

- Articles should be based on the sources of the high reputable international news (i.e., the guardian, BBC, the New York Times, Al Jazeera, Der Spiegel, etc.).

- Copies, those with minimum details and information of the news and the entire pay-walled were not taken.

The methodology assures the reader of its exhaustiveness and longitudinal nature in noting the developments in the frames.

3.4 Operationalization of Variables

Variable	Subcategories Removed	Definition and Example Keywords/Phrases
Framing Type	Episodic Thematic Mixed	Focus on individual (episodic) or societal context (thematic). Example: "She was 15 when she left" (episodic), "Youth radicalization" (thematic).
Problem Definition	Threat to security Victim of circumstances Ideological extremism	How the individual's role is framed in society. Example: "ISIS threat", "Security risk", "Lost child", "Radicalized ideology", "Danger to UK".
Causal Interpretation	Personal choice, Brainwashing, Socioeconomic factors, Political grievances	Reason given for joining jihadism. Example: "She chose to join", "Groomed by ISIS", "Poverty-stricken", "Marginalized community", "Anger at West".
Moral Evaluation	Sympathy, Condemnation Neutral	Judgment of actions or character. Example: "Changed woman", "Unrepentant", "Monster", "Humanized", "Sympathetic tone", "Victim of war".

Treatment Recommendation	Punishment, Rehabilitation, Deportation No clear recommendation	Proposed response by society or state. Example: "Revoke passport", "Send her back", "Let her rot", "Needs help", "No solution provided".
Emotional Language	Fea Anger Disgust Sympathy Pity	Emotion-laden words or tone used. Example: "Terrifying", "Betrayal", "Unbelievable", "Sad case", "Poor girl", "Sympathetic".
Agency Attribution	Self External	Who is shown as responsible for action. Example: "She decided to go" (self), "ISIS groomed her" (external).
Physical Description	Absent Present	Mention of looks/clothing. Example: "Black veil", "Hijab", "Beard", "Tattoos", "European features", "Arab-looking".
Maternal/Masculine Role	Victim/Misguided woman, Groomed/Manipulated, Violent/Agentic woman, ISIS bride (stereotype), Jihadi masculinity, Family/Paternal role, Neutral/No gendered frame	Gender-role framing or stereotypes. Example: "Young mother", "Lost child in camp", "Soft-hearted woman", "ISIS bride", "Aggressive male", "Father figure", "Neutral".

3.5 Coding Procedure

3.5.1 Codebook Development

A prior coding sheet was based which could be used to facilitate the aspect of content analysis and meet the available literature and ideas. Generally, 5 dimensions were in the coding sheet

1. General Meta data: these contain certain variables like the name of the publication, day of the publication, the country where the publication has been made as well as the gender of the journalist.

2. The articles discussed in both the frameworks are either; episodic or thematic as explained by iyengar (1991)

3. The 4 basic functions of Framing attributed to Entman are as follows; these are the functions of Framing analyzed:
   - Problem definition
   - Casual interpretation
   - Moral evaluation
   - Treatment recommendation

4. Gender Specific Representation: in the case they were limiting it to the dimensions which tended to be involved in the gendered discourse such as;
   - Emotional language
   - Agency attribution
   - Physical description
   - Family/Maternal role

3.5.2 Intercoder Reliability

A piloting run to determine reliability of the coding process was done by using a random sample of 10 percent of the data set. Two independent coder-trainer were trained on with the use of codebook. Their coded were compared by Cohen Kappa (k) test whereby reliability was determined at k >-0.75 in validation that the coder had a good agreement and consistencies between them. Under this process, the coding validity and replicability of the coding was guaranteed to the entire dataset.

3.6 Data Collection

Various sources of unexceptional fame were searched to obtain a wide coverage of the media with articles. These were newspaper archives like the Guardian Archive Newspaper archive and the New York Times archive along with the academic databases like LexisNexis and ProQuest Global News stream. Moreover, they were retrieved on official media websites, media monitoring services, and in the open-access repositories. Systematic downloading of the retrieved articles was performed and the articles he stored in chronological order and catalogued by publication name, country of publication and

journalist information, when known. The methodology helped to enable consistency and traceability during the data collection.

3.7 Data Analysis Techniques

3.7.1 Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics were used, such as frequencies and percentages to sum up the data on the distribution of each variable in the data set. The descriptive measures gave a summary of the way in which different frames and attributes were mentioned in media coverage. In particular, these statistics were employed to view the differences in the way Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert were portrayed along the dimensions of the types of frames used, gender-coded features, and moral assessments.

3.7.2 Inferential Statistics

The relationship between the gender and various framing variables in the subject was determined using inferential statistical methods. To determine the relationship between gender and type of framing, categories of framing functions, emotional language, agency attribution and physical description, chi-square tests of independence were used. In places where the expected cell frequencies were too little to fulfill chi-square assumptions, Fisher Exact Test was made use of where necessary. Cramer V as the measure of the strength of significant associations was computed as the indicator of the effect size. All statistical computations were executed in SPSS (version XX) and the statistical significance bracket was defined as $p < .05$.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

All the sources of the information incorporated in the research were easily accessible news sites. It did not include human subjects in the study; there was no personal identifiable information collected or made available. The work had been performed using the right

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Demographics/ Descriptive Statistics

The analysis results are provided and explained in the present chapter by means of the descriptive and inferential statistics to comprehend the difference between the portrayal in the media of two important personalities, Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert, in various newspapers. The four functions of the typology described by Entman and the kind of frames that were deployed in the coverage of these individuals by the newspapers chosen have been investigated by the use of descriptive statistics. The difference in the manner in which these figures have been reported in the media was tested by using inferential statistics that involved the testing of significance. The information has been based on 183 newspaper publications, such as The Guardian, The Sun, The Daily Mail, The Daily Mirror, The Dawn, Express Tribune, Al Jazeera, Arab News, News International and The Fader. Among these you had 154 articles targeting Shamima Begum and 29 articles on Denis Cuspert. The categorical data was used to detect possible differences through Chi-Square test.

Based on the table. 1 below, The Guardian and Daily Mail occupy most of the articles in that they respectively have 23.4 % and 23.0 translation into media narrating. The full contribution of Sun stands at 15.3 percent with other programs being of a lower rating like Dawn (7.2 percent), al-Jazeera (5.3 percent), and Daily Mirror (3.3 percent). Among the less frequent contributors, one can mention Express Tribune, Arab News, News International and The Fader. Its data consists of the missing data amounting to 12.4 percent and 87.6 percent of the information is fine in the form of the articles.

Table. 1 Frequency and Percentage of Newspapers

Newspaper

	Frequency	
The Guardian	49	23.4%
Daily Mirror	7	3.3%
The Sun	32	15.3%
Daily Mail	48	23.0%
The Dawn	15	7.2%
Express Tribune	5	2.4%

Al Jazeera	11	5.3%
Arab News	6	2.9%
News International	7	3.3%
The Fader	3	1.4%
Total (Valid)	183	87.6%
Missing (System)	26	12.4%
Total (All Cases)	209	100.0%

Episodic framing which aims at cases of single occurrences and events comes out as the most common as observed in table. 2 below (43.1 %). Another broader structural or contextual analysis is Thematic framing which is detected in percentage of 28.7. The least is the mixing of framing which stands at 15.8 with scarce incidences of applying mixed views.

Table. 2 Frequencies & Percentages of Framing Types (n = 183)

Framing Types

	Frequency	Percent
Episodic	90	43.1%
Thematic	60	28.7%
Mixed	33	15.8%

There were different media framing patterns as shown in table. 3 below in designing of the problem, causal analysis, moral judgment as well as treatment prescription. In the definition of the problem, the greatest prevalence (41.6 percent) of binary-coded people-as-a-threat-to-security is followed by ideology-as-extremism (28.2), the smaller groups have people-as-victims-of-circumstance (4.8 percent) or no explicit framing (12.9). Causal interpretation: To define the cause of actions, in most articles (66.5%) high levels of agency perception were given and less was done to refer to brainwashing (14.8%) and the social economic involvement (5.7%), of more exterior interpretation or rather of more structural vision. Regarding the moral judgment, it is split over the feeling sympathetic (41.6%), and condemnation (31.1%), having also articles that did not judge (14.8%). The last question on treatment recommendation also did not present a clear recommendation on how individuals

such as these people should be treated since the category that garnered the most, 45.5 percent, did not give a clear indication of the expectation rather soon the next categories, which were rehabilitation (16.3), deportation (13.9), and punishment (12.0), are the ones most likely to give the overall outcome of the response and these offered more of a question mark, or indecisiveness, on how individuals like these should be treated.

Table. 3: Frequencies & Percentages of Entman's Four Functions (n =183)

Entman's Four Functions

		Frequency	Percentage
Problem Definition	Threat to Security	87	41.6%
	Victim of Circumstances	10	4.8%
	Ideological Extremism	59	28.2%
	Neither	27	12.9%
Causal Interpretation	Personal Choice	139	66.5%
	Brainwashing	31	14.8%
	Socioeconomic Factors	12	5.7%
Moral Evaluation	Condemnation	87	41.6%
	Sympathy	65	31.1%
	Neutral	31	14.8%
Treatment Recommendation	Punishment	25	12.0%
	Rehabilitation	34	16.3%
	Deportation	29	13.9%
	No Clear Recommendation	95	45.5%

Just as in the next table. 4 the results of the analysis indicate that there is a great number of gendered and emotional patterns in media coverage. As far as emotive communication is concerned, what is likely to be said most is sympathy (44.5 percent), then pity (15.8), negative emotions like anger (12.4), fear (10.5), and disgust (4.3) are less likely to be said and therefore, there is a tendency to place subject people, particularly the female

specimens, in a more sympathetic posture rather than in an aggressive one. On agency attribution the levels of self-agency (66.5) show the extreme ideas of plexus with regard to agency attribution when the individual responsibility is kept referring the actions to the conscious will as agent where as, the levels of external attribution (14.8) and no agency (5.7) show the lower levels respectively of plexus with regard to agency attribution. Moving to the physical description, nearly a half of the provisions fail to include any such physical description (48.3%), which is not a sign of any significant inclination towards objectification. The portrait of the framing between the maternal/masculine, however, is somewhat bifurcated: despite the proportion of the largest portion involving non-gendered/neutral framing (24.9%), in other articles authors resort to gendered framing: ISIS bride (17.7) and jihadi masculinity (13.9). The frames victim/misguided woman (11.0 per cent), family/ paternal role (11.5 per cent), violent/ agentic woman (4.8 per cent) indicate in their turn that framing of the discourse of extremism was also gendered with females being more prone to be positioned in relationally or passive frames and males in ideological or violent ones.

Table. 4: Frequencies & Percentages of Gendered Portrayal Variables (n=183)

Gendered Portrayal Variables

		Frequency	Percent
Emotional Language	Fear	22	10.5%
	Anger	26	12.4%
	Disgust	9	4.3%
	Sympathy	93	44.5%
	Pity	33	15.8%
Agency Attribution	Self	139	66.5%
	External	31	14.8%
	Both	12	5.7%
Physical Description	Absent	101	48.3%
	Present	82	39.2%

		Frequency	Percent
Maternal/Masculine Role	Victim/Misguided Women	23	11.0%
	Groomed/Manipulated	8	3.8%
	Violent/Agentic Women	10	4.8%
	ISIS Bride (Stereotype)	37	17.7%
	Jihadi Masculinity	29	13.9%
	Family/Paternal Role	24	11.5%
	Neutral / No Gendered Frame	52	24.9%

4.2 Research Questions/ Hypothesis Testing

RQ.1: How do international press vary in the episodic and thematic framing, used to address Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert?

It analyzed how newspapers of different countries differed in opposing episodic and thematic framing in their coverage of Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert, showing that there are important differences in coverage of both figures as they appeared in different media.

The result on the framing types (Episodic, Thematic, Mixed) as presented in Table 6 below depicts the direct difference in the coverage between Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert. Most of Shamima Begum coverage is episodic (90 out of 154 articles), whereas Denis Cuspert is covered mostly thematically without the use of episodic coverage (24 out of 29 articles). Table 7 below shows that the results of the Chi-Square Statistical test indicates that the relationship between the type of framing that is done and whoever is being covered is statistically significant, since the Pearson Chi-Square value indicated is 43.207 and the p-Value is .000, secondly it shows that Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert differ significantly in the type of framing done to them. On top of that, there is a moderate to strong relationship (CramerV = 0.486) between the type of framing and the case with the relationship being statistically significant (p-value = .000) as shown in Table 8 below.

Table. 6: Framing Type (Episodic vs. Thematic) by Gender

Case Name

	Episodic	Thematic	Mixed	Total
Shamima Begum	90	36	28	154
Denis Cuspert	0	24	5	29
Total	90	60	33	183

Table. 7: Chi-Square Test: Framing Type × Gender

Test

	Value	df	Sig. (p-value)
Pearson Chi-Square	43.207	2	**.000**
Likelihood Ratio	51.154	2	**.000**
Linear-by-Linear Association	13.954	1	**.000**

Table. 8

Measure

	Value	Sig.
Cramer's V	.486	.000

RQ.2 How do the functions of the framing as stated by Entman (Problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, treatment recommendations) apply to the reporting of Muslim Jihadis?

The four functions of framing, defined by Entman, namely, problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendations, among the media influenced how the Muslim Jihadis are presented to the public and affect their knowledge and beliefs about this group of people. Such functions classified the Muslim Jihadis either as security threats, unfortunate victims of circumstances, or extremists driven by their ideological beliefs, as well as classifying such an act as either an individual decision or as force-driven by external factors and what are the recommendations on the way to treat them i.e. should they be punished, rehabilitated or should they be deported. The Chi-Square

findings were that there was a significant difference in the framing of these individuals as portrayed by different newspapers indicating an existence of media representation patterns depending on these functions of framing.

The table 9 below illustrates the disparities in the distribution of gender with regard to Problem Definition. Quite a number (55.8%) of females are in the category of Threat to Security whereas, only 3.4% of males are in this category. The proportionately large number of males who were suspected to have had Ideological Extremism was 82.8 percent as compared to only 22.7 percent of the females. This category, the victim of circumstances is entirely located in the females only representing 6.5 percent whereas none of the men belong to this kind. The group consisting of either of them is 14.9% of the female, and 13.8% of the male. Observations of Table 10 below, which gives the result of Chi-Square test carried out, indicate that there is a statistically significant relationship between gender and gender in as much as a Pearson Chi-Square value is 43.276 (p-value = .000). This association is also confirmed by the value of Likelihood Ratio (46.687) and Linear-by-Linear Association (21.527) where p-values are also significant (.000). In addition, Table 11 below shows the values of Cramer V and Phi values which are both large and moderate indicating that there is a moderate to strong relationship between the variable Problem Definition and gender with a value of 0.486 (p-value = .000).

Table. 9: Problem Definition by Gender (Counts &Percentages)

Problem Definition

	Count (Female)	Count (Male)	Percent (Female)	Percent (Male)
Threat to Security	86	1	55.8%	3.4%
Victim of Circumstances	10	0	6.5%	0.0%
Ideological Extremism	35	24	22.7%	82.8%
Neither	23	4	14.9%	13.8%

Table. 10: Chi-Square Test: Problem Definition × Gender

Statistic

	Value	df	p-value
Pearson Chi-Square	43.276	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	46.687	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	21.527	1	.000
Valid Cases	183		
Cells with Expected < 5	2 (25.0%)		

Table. 11

Measure

	Value	Sig.
Cramér's V	0.486	.000
Phi	0.486	.000

Table 12 below indicates how distribution of Causal Interpretation by gender indicates that most of Shamima Begum (female) are in the category of Personal Choice (72.7%) starting with 112 and 27 respectively in the same category, in the case of Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert (male) respectively. The examples of coverage of Shamima Begum that are referred to 18.8 percent of all the coverage were attributed to brainwashing, whereas the cases chronicling the experience of Denis Cuspert were split between only 2 percent. The "Socioeconomic Factors" make up 7.8 percent of Shamima Begum coverage with none being found with Denis Cuspert. The results of chi-square test of independence of two variables as shown in Table 13 below indicate that a Pearson Chi-Squared statistic of = 5.834, which is computed in Table 13 below and p =.120. This implies that the gender has not had any statistically significant correlation with the causal interpretations given to Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert. The Likelihood Ratio (8.291) and the Linear-by-Linear Association (5.005) however, has a significant p-value, .040 and.025, respectively, and this means there is a weak association between the causal interpretations and gender. Additional

reasons to suggest a weak relationship deriving between gender and the designated causal interpretations are provided by Cramer V and Phi (0.179, p = .120). Additional statistical insights on the connection between "Causal Interpretation" and gender as shown in Table 14 below below will be of further assistance to determine further details on such associations.

Table. 12: Causal Interpretation by Gender (Count & Percentages)

Causal Interpretation

	Count (Female)	Count (Male)	Percent (Female)
Personal Choice	112	27	72.7%
Brainwashing	29	2	18.8%
Socioeconomic Factors	12	0	7.8%
Total	154	29	100.0%

Table. 13: Chi-Square Test: Causal Interpretation × Gender

Statistic

	Value	df	p-value
Pearson Chi-Square	5.834	3	.120
Likelihood Ratio	8.291	3	.040
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.005	1	.025
Valid Cases	183		
Expected Count < 5	4 cells (50.0%)		

Table. 14:

Measure

	Value	Sig.
Cramér's V	0.179	.120
Phi	0.179	.120
N of Valid Cases	183	

Table 15 below indicates that there is a big variation in distribution of "Moral Evaluation" on the basis of gender. Of the coverages on Shamima Begum (female), most are sympathetic (42.2%), whereas none of the Denis Cuspert (male) articles are of that type. Also, Shamima Begum falls into such categories as neutral (20.1%) and condemned (37.7%). By comparison, the coverage of female slightly right-wing musician Denis Cuspert is less mixed (100 percent of the articles are condemnatory), but there are also no papers supportive of Cuspert or not reacting to him at all. Table 16 below showing the results of the Chi-Square test of independence shows us that the relationship between the evaluations of good and evil as explained by the concept of Moral Evaluation and gender is statistically significant with p = 0.000 and the Pearson Chi-Square = 38.026, having (2) degrees of freedom. This shows that gender is a major determinant in regard to the kind of moral judgement accorded to Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert. The Likelihood Ratio (p-value 0.000: 49.234) and Linear-by-Linear Association (p-value 0.000: 29.948) also present significant results, and the presence of the meaningful relationship is further proved. More so, a Cramer and Phi value of 0.456 (p = .000), indicating moderate to high association, between gender and moral evaluation, is stated in Table 17 below. The statistical finding shows that gender is rather important in the virtuous judgment of such people as Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert because women are described more sympathetic and neutrally whereas men are vastly condemned.

Table. 15: Moral Evaluation by Gender (Counts & Percentages)

Moral Evaluation

	Count (Female)	Count (Male)	Percent (Female)	Percent (Male)
Condemnation	58	29	37.7%	100.0%
Sympathy	65	0	42.2%	0.0%
Neutral	31	0	20.1%	0.0%
Total	154	29	100.0%	100.0%

Table. 16: Chi-Square Test: Moral Evaluation × Gender

Statistic

	Value	df	p-value
Pearson Chi-Square	38.026	2	.000

Likelihood Ratio	49.234	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	29.948	1	.000
Valid Cases	183		
Cells with Expected < 5	1 (16.7%)		

Table. 17:

Measure

	Value	Sig.
Cramér's V	0.456	.000
Phi	0.456	.000
N of Valid Cases	183	

Table 18 below illustrates the differences between Shamima Begum (female) and Denis Cuspert (male) in the matter of allocation of the variable of Treatment Recommendation based on their respective gender. The recommendations issued to Shamima Begum concern the treatment vary and punitive treatment is given in 16.2% of articles, rehabilitation in 22.1 and deportation in 18.8 percent. Another big proportion of 42.9 percent of articles about Shamima Begum do not provide any solid suggestion. Comparatively, the reports of Denis Cuspert only generate no definite suggestion (100 per cent) with zero recommendation on punishment, rehabilitation, or deportation. According to the outcome of the Chi-Square test of independence as shown in Table 19 below, the relationship between the focal variable known as Treatment Recommendation and gender is highly significant because there is a significant relationship between the two variables. These statistical values, Pearson Chi-Square and p are 31.922 and 0.000 respectively, hence the right conclusion in line with these values is that, there is a significant difference in treatment recommendations between Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert. The Likelihood Ratio (43.088), as well as the Linear-by-Linear Association (24.265), has p-value equal to 0.000 which again testifies to the statistical importance of this difference. Moreover, the values of Cramer s V and Phi, which are equal to 0.418 (p =.000), present a moderate to strong effect of the relationship between gender and treatment recommendations as shown in Table 20 below. Statistical findings indicate that the recommendation of treatment of Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert were highly gender-dependent with several suggestions made in the case of Shamima Begum and no particular suggestion, much less any call to action, made in the case of Denis Cuspert.

Table. 18: Treatment Recommendation by Gender (Counts & Percentages)

Treatment Recommendation

	Count (Female)	Count (Male)	Percent (Female)	Percent (Male)
Punishment	25	0	16.2%	0.0%
Rehabilitation	34	0	22.1%	0.0%
Deportation	29	0	18.8%	0.0%
No Clear Recommendation	66	29	42.9%	100.0%
Total	**154**	**29**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Table. 19: Chi-Square Test: Treatment Recommendation × Gender

Statistic

	Value	df	p-value
Pearson Chi-Square	31.922	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	43.088	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	24.265	1	.000
Valid Cases	183		
Cells with Expected < 5	2 (25.0%)		

Table. 20

Measure

	Value	Sig.	Measure
Cramér's V	0.418	.000	Cramér's V
Phi	0.418	.000	Phi
N of Valid Cases	**183**		

RQ3. What are the gender specific patterns of the coverage of Shamima begum as opposed to Denis Cuspert?

Even such minute details as using emotional language, how much agency is given to these two people, how they are physically described, and what the role of their family is consists of much more considerable differences in the way Shamima Begum, and Denis Cuspert are framed. Table 21 below indicates that there is a major gender disparity in the topic of emotional language of the two individuals Shamima Begum (female) and Denis Cuspert (male). The nature of coverage of Shamima Begum mostly contains sympathy (60.4%) and pity (21.4%), whereas coverage of Denis Cuspert is much emotionally active, with large numbers of fear (51.7%) and anger (48.3%). Also, there is disgust associated with Shamima Begum (5.8), but not Denis Cuspert. The emotional description painted by Shamima Begum contrasts with that of Denis Cuspert, revealing a gender-specific factor in how people apply emotions in their representations. The statistical outcomes of the table 22 below, given by the Chi-Square test of independence, provide the value of Pearson Chi-Square as: 2(4) = 98.758, p = .000, which is a highly significant effect of the visiting behaviour of the variable known as Emotional Language and gender. This implies that the gendering attached to the language of emotions in the media coverage of Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert is overwhelming. The Likelihood Ratio (96.576) and the Linear-by-Linear Association (85.141) also have p- values of .000 which again proves the same. Moreover, Table 23 below has the V and Phi values of Cramer of 0.735 (p = .000) showing that the relationship of emotional language and gender is very strong. It means that the gendering of the emotional frame in the media is incredibly present, with Shamima Begum being framed with more emotionally favorable and pity-stirring wording, and Denis Cuspert with more unfavorable ones such as fear and anger.

Table. 21: Emotional Language by Gender (Counts & Percentages)

Emotion Type

	Count (Female)	Count (Male)	Percent (Female)	Percent (Male)
Fear	7	15	4.5%	51.7%
Anger	12	14	7.8%	48.3%
Disgust	9	0	5.8%	0.0%

Sympathy	93	0	60.4%	0.0%
Pity	33	0	21.4%	0.0%
Total	154	29	100.0%	100.0%

Table. 22: Chi-Square Test: Emotional Language × Gender

Statistic

	Value	Df	p-value
Pearson Chi-Square	98.758	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	96.576	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	85.141	1	.000
Valid Cases	183		
Cells with Expected < 5	3 (30.0%)		

Table. 23

Measure

	Value	Sig.	Measure
Cramér's V	0.735	.000	Cramér's V
Phi	0.735	.000	Phi
N of Valid Cases	183		

Table 24 below presents the analysis of some similarities and differences in the attribution of the agency to Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert. The language Shamima Begum is mostly presented as is the language of a self-agent (72.7 per cent), although a considerable minority of the articles about her (18.8 per cent) put her behaviour into an external context, and 7.8 per cent adopt a mixed position. Denis Cuspert is, by contrast, nearly completely framed self-agentic (93.1 percent), and indeed, there is very little coverage that cites external reasons to describe his activities (6.9 percent). Table 25 indicates that the results of the Chi-Square test does not produce statistically significant association between gender and agency attribution (x 2 (3) = 5.834, p = .120), despite the results of Likelihood Ratio and Linear-by-Linear Association tests depicting slight associations (p = .040 and p = .025, respectively). Moreover, in Table 26, Cramer V and Phi are equal to 0.179 (p = .120) which means that gender and agency attribution have a weak relationship. Here, the findings

indicate that although gender does not seem to play an important role in attributing agency, the coverage of Shamima Begum shows a more intricate approach to agency, where the agency is attributed not merely to the individual, but also to external stimuli, unlike Denis Cuspert, whose agency is less complex, but rather agentic.

Table. 24: Agency Attribution by Gender (Counts & Percentages)

Agency type

	Agency code	Count (Female)	Count (Male)	Percent (Female)	Percent (Male)
None	1	1	0	0.6%	0.0%
Self	2	112	27	72.7%	93.1%
External	3	29	2	18.8%	6.9%
Both	4	12	0	7.8%	0.0%
Total		154	29	100.0%	100.0%

Table. 25: Chi-Square Test: Agency Attribution × Gender

Statistic

	Value	Df	p-value
Pearson Chi-Square	5.834	3	0.120
Likelihood Ratio	8.291	3	0.040
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.005	1	0.025
Valid Cases	183		
Cells with Expected < 5	4 (50.0%)		

Table. 26

Measure

	value	Sig.
Cramér's V	0.179	0.120
Phi	0.179	0.120
N of Valid Cases	183	

Table 27 analysis shows that there is a notable distinction of processes in the utilization of physical descriptions when reporting about Shamima Begum (female) and Denis Cuspert (male) in the media. Whereas physical descriptions applied to 53.2 percent of articles of Shamima Begum, 0 percent of articles of Denis Cuspert contained any physical descriptions. The outcome of the Chi-Square test, Table 28 indicated that there is a statistically significant result between gender and inclusion of physical descriptions since the Pearson Chi-Square value as shown in Table 28 is 27.978 (df = 1), p =.000. It is an indication that female subjects such as Shamima Begum tend to have their physical features narrated through the media articles whereas male subjects such as Denis Cuspert; more often than not, lack any description of their physical appearance. Table 29 also shows the Cramer V and Phi values which are equal to 0.391 pointing to the opposite (p = .000) towards gender with the presence / absence of physical description, which is moderate to a strong relationship between them. This observation agrees with feminist criticism of media representation in which female subjects are consistently objectified or humanized visually by describing their appearance on the other hand, men subjects are depersonalised which reinforces stereotypical representations of gender when it comes to the media coverage of extremism

Table. 27: Physical Description by Gender (Counts & Percentages, n =183)

Physical Description

	Count (Female)	Count (Male)	Percent (Female)	Percent (Male)
absent	72	29	46.8%	100.0%
Present	82	0	53.2%	0.0%
Total	154	29	100.0%	100.0%

Table. 28: Chi-Square Test: Physical Description × Gender

Statistic

	Value	df	p-value
Pearson Chi-Square	27.978	1	.000
Continuity Correction (Yates)	25.867	1	.000

Likelihood Ratio	38.876	1	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	27.825		
Valid Cases	183		

Table. 29:

Measure

	Value	Sig.
Cramér's V	0.391	.000
Phi	–0.391	.000
N of Valid Cases	183	

According to the analysis presented in Table 30 below, it is quite evident that there exists a gendered presentation of the Shamima Begum (female) and Denis Cuspert (male) in the media due to the use of family and maternal roles. Different gendered frames were used to label Shamima Begum with 24.0 percent of the articles introducing her as an ISIS bride, 15.6 percent of the articles putting her in the family/paternal role, and 14.9 percent describing her as a victim/misguided woman. She also fit into other categories of groomed/manipulated (5.2 %), violent/agentic (6.5 %) and more. Denis Cuspert, on the other hand, was exclusively defined within the category of jihadi masculinity (100 percent), being in no way described in other categorizations of family and motherhood. According to the Chi-Square test results (Table 31 (2 (6) = 183.000 p = .000), the relationship between gender and the types of family roles that are assigned to those people is significantly high, yet the interpretations are more covered and textured as far as Shamima Begum is concerned, as opposed to Denis Cuspert. This is confirmed in Table 32 wherein Phi, and Cramer V are at 1.000 (p = .000), which tells that there is an ideal correlation between gender and familial or maternal framing. Such results highlight the extreme difference in how both Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert are described with subtle gender roles, whereas Cuspert is only described using one aspect, masculinity.

Table. 30: Family/ Maternal Role by Gender (Counts & Percentages, n 183)

Family/ Maternal Role

	Count (Female)	Count (Male)	Percent (Female)	Percent (Male)
Victim/Misguided Women	23	0	14.9%	0.0%
Groomed/Manipulated	8	0	5.2%	0.0%
Violent/Agentic Women	10	0	6.5%	0.0%
ISIS Bride (Stereotype)	37	0	24.0%	0.0%
Jihadi Masculinity	0	29	0.0%	100.0%
Family/Paternal Role	24	0	15.6%	0.0%
Neutral / No Gendered Frame	52	0	33.8%	0.0%
Total	**154**	**29**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Table. 31: Chi-Square Test: Maternal/Masculine Role × Gender

Statistic

	Value	df	p-value
Pearson Chi-Square	183.000	6	**.000**
Likelihood Ratio	159.987	6	**.000**
Linear-by-Linear Association	0.514	1	.473
Valid Cases	183		

Table. 32

Measure

	Value	Sig.
Phi	1.000	.000
Cramér's V	1.000	.000

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Discussion

The paper critically examined the theme of gender and geography convergence in the media coverage of jihadist by comparing two polar cases of Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert, to determine whether the western newspapers and non-Western newspapers treat both male and female jihadists differently. Descriptive results of the proposed study provide insight on how various media outlets narrativize jihadism in different but noticeable patterns, based on ideological bias, gender characteristics and regional influence. The information shows that most of the articles in the sample were posted by the Western newspapers (60.1%), with The Guardian (23.4%) and Daily Mail (23.0%) leading (see Table 4.1). This confirms the argument given by Powell (2011) that the western media has hegemonic dominance of the discourse on global terrorism, and it tends to perpetuate Euro-centric orientations towards jihadism. The superiority of the Western outlets does not only condition the language and substance of the accounts but also endangers the sidelining of the non-Western voices that could have approached jihadist phenomena with a different cultural or political conception. As to the types of framing (Table 4.2), episodic framing (43.1%) was prevalent when compared to thematic (28.7%) and mixed (15.8%). Individual or event-oriented frames called episodic frames are likely to cover structural reasons behind terrorism and promote individual and subjective perceptions of terrorism (Iyengar, 1991). This negativity could be an indication that media have a tendency to humanize or dramatize jihadist topics by telling story by case since this is what they have done to people such as Shamima Begum. Their weak employment of thematic framing, which puts events into social political or economic contexts, is an indication of the potential loss in being able to impart on the viewers the significance of viewing radicalization as an institutionalized practice, but not instances of deviant behavior. The patterns of coverage are further set out by Entman (1993) in his four different functions of framing which are problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment suggestion (Table 4.3). The most popular definition of the problem was defining the subjects as a threat to security (41.6%), a plot which fits the post-9/11 securitization schemes (Jackson, 2005). Second-most common explanations were ideological extremism (28.2%) and victimhood (4.8%) which was relatively uncommon. These findings indicate that in as much as female jihadist-Islamic extremists such as Begum might be conceptualized in such a way that they are framed as having been manipulated or misguided; the discourse of security risk and agency also continues to be predominant in this subject matter. The personal choice was the most common explanation of

the cause (66.5%), and it strengthened the perception that jihadist violence is likely to be purposeful and ideologically driven, and therefore, one would not feel sympathy. But there were other explanations that were used like brainwashing (14.8 percent) or socio economic factors (5.7 percent) though they were relatively lower. Such alternate framings are usually used to partially de-blame, particularly with respect to female jihadists, which is also notable to the result that Sjoberg & Gentry (2007) made in their study of the gendered discourse of terrorism by women. There was a divided moral judgment, divided between sympathy and condemnation (41.6 per cent and 31.1 per cent respectively). The idea of sympathy would have something to do with women representation, particularly in the Western media who represent women such as Begum in redemptive or even maternal context. In the meantime, the condemnation was more commonly applied to the male bodies like Denis Cuspert. As evident by the high rate of articles that do not present any straightforward treatment recommendation (45.5%), the case could be made that the editorial stance is ambivalent and this reflects an uncertainty of the population and the policies to deal with the returning Isis fighters especially the women who were too young when they left (Lahoud, 2018). The stereotypes in the media representations are also confirmed by gendered portrayal variables (Table 4.4). Pity (15.8%) and sympathy (44.5%) were most dominant as emotional tones, mostly where it related to female cases. These data are similar to earlier works that revealed that female extremists can be infantilized, romanticized, and depoliticized (Nacos, 2005; Winter, 2015). The sheer proportion of self-agency (66.5%) supports a punitive frame but at least in this case, the media provided an opportunity to interpret the issue in a contextualized manner by external attribution (14.8%). On the one hand, this presents some temperance towards objectifying, as physical description was included in only 39.2 percent of the cases; however, the application of such divisions as ISIS bride (17.7 percent) and jihadi masculinity (13.9 percent) also confirm the continued reliance on gendered tropes. Finally, the statistics in Table 4.5 are a reminder of the imbalance experienced in the control of narratives in the world: 60.1 per cent of the content analyzed originated in the West. This confirms the statement that jihadism framing has remained generally Western-oriented and inclined to focus on security, victimology, and personal-level deviance (Lloyd, 2014). Non-western media (39.9%) are also involved in the narrative, but they are represented less than when compared to their western counterparts, which may lay in their lack of international presence or other priorities in the manifest of the editorial work.

The results of RQ1 i.e. episodic versus thematic framing of gendered subjects depicts a drastic deviation of the definitions of male and female jihadists as explained by the media discourse. The 43.207 presented with the Chi-Square test shows that there is highly statistically significant correlation between genders and the framing style meaning that there is no gender-neutral method of constructing media narratives. The evidence shows that Shamima Begum, a teenager British born female who joined the ISIS, was epiconditionally framed in the majority of cases (90 out of 154 articles) with the emphasis on personal experiences and paths, emotional displays, and repatriation requests. The episodic frames are event based and dwell more on individual level narration and this is more likely to result in empathy and moral sophistication (Iyengar, 1991). Such a framing decision corresponds to the past studies on gendering media framing regarding political violence, such that women who engage in political violence are more likely to be humanized or pathologized based on the victimhood, naivety, or emotional manipulation discourse (Sjoberg & Gentry, 2007). In sharp contrast, male former German rapper who started doing propaganda on behalf of ISIS Denis Cuspert was covered by the majority of articles in terms of thematic framing (24 out of 29). Thematic frames concentrate on the larger societal, ideological or structural processes and in the case of Cuspert extreme radicalization processes, extremist propaganda as well as international security threats.

In addition, the value of Cramer V = 0.486 implies the moderate to strong association, and hence the fact that this variation in framing styles is not an accidental result, but it is rather a meaningful pattern that is structured around gender. The importance of these representational patterns is, first, that they shape the way people think about the phenomena (not just the difference between misguided/misled female jihadists and ideologically dangerous men and, therefore, visible policy implications: the former may result in rehabilitation policy but the latter may justify a more punitive approach to counterterrorism). This gendered division of media framing is the essentialist constructions of women as passive, emotional or to be redeemed, and the stereotypes of men being active, ideological and irredeemably violent. The extremely episodic nature in the case of Shamima Begum also has to do with the fascination of the audience with her attraction, her youth and nationality and the debate over the denying of the citizenship which has a legal and ethical issue attached to itself and inspires an emotional narration. On the contrary, the ideological radicalization of Cuspert and his media-savvy propaganda activities are better suited to state-centred, thematic narratives of threat-making. As we have examined, there was something about a sharp interest in the story of the Denis Cuspert to come to radicalism and radical thinking in the coverage of the articles. The coverage

of his promotion as a rapper to an ISIS propagandist was the classic example of structuring thematically of it, based on the activities within the setting of an expanded range of geopolitical interests and approaches to jihadist recruities. Guided comparatively, Shamima Begum coverage has been highly individual and the articles almost entirely used anecdotal, resonating narration and mention of her age, family and victimhood. She was reported by the media as a so-called jihadist bride, the media talked about her pregnancy and she was invited to return to her own country, without covering any of the other aspects and trying to delve deeper into the reasons that led to her conversion and accepting an ideological terrorism.

That tendency was confirmed by the Denis Cuspert coverage in our sample; the coverage of Cuspert concentrated primarily on his militant identity and his immediate threat without focusing too seriously on why he became radicalized in the first place which is what the news headlines in the newspaper The Guardian tell us.

"'Gangsta jihadi' Denis Cuspert killed fighting in Syria"

Conversely, the contextualization was more common in the cases of female jihadi such as Shamima Begum. Her actions were always described as strange or extraordinary and most of the times they required background information like she was a teenanger at the time of her departure or she was being groomed by the Islamic State or her age at the time of departure, as mentioned in below news headlines in UK Newspaper The Guardians

"UK police launch hunt for London schoolgirls feared to have fled to Syria"

"Shamima Begum is just a teenager. Britain should be strong enough to take her back"

The statistical analysis of data shows substantial gendered patterning in the definition of the problem of jihadist involvement in media outlets, which confirms existing research data about gendered security narratives. Chi-Square test revealed a very significant correlation between gender and problem definition, 0 3 = 43.276, p < 0.001 and the Cramers V 0.486 which indicates the correlation/relation between gender and problem definition was selected, with the level of observation to be a moderate and strong. In particular, the largest group of framings in relation to the female focus, Shamima Begum, was the framings that branded her a threat to national security (55.8%) but there was an expanded coverage of other framings: a victim of circumstances (6.5%), ideologically extreme (22.7%) and neutral or creating no

specific image (14.9%). By comparison, Denis Cuspert, the male, was primarily framed on the issue of ideological extremism (82.8 percent), with just 3.4 percent defining him as a security threat and zero percent as a victim (82.8 percent, 3.4 percent and 0 percent respectively). The underlying assumptions exposed in this binary framing have to do with gender hardcoded ideas of intent, agency and moral ability. The more diverse depictions of female jihadist are in line with what can be called by scholars the mother-monster-whore typology (Sjoberg & Gentry, 2007), whereby actions of women in violent extremism can be explained by emotion-based, relationship-based, or circumstance-related explanations. The representation of such women in the media, and, in particular, a British press, often resorts to ambiguous narratives that place Begum both as an actor of dangerous intentions and as a gullible teenager being controlled by other individuals (Lloyd, 2020). This narrator plasticity makes possible public discussions of citizenship, repatriation and rehabilitation not often given male characters. By contrast, male jihadists such as Cuspert are extremely desimplified and characterized as threats of one ideology. His past as a rapper and then his career as propagandist in ISIS conformed to prevailing media stereotypes of hyper-masculine violence and ideological extremism. As Brinson and Stohl (2012) observe, the men in terrorism are quite typically essentialized as those who engage in terrorism violence as part of political violence; this is the message that is being secured in a politically constructed and framed manner. According to a framing theory approach (Entman, 1993), a discrepancy implies that defining a problem is not only the act of identifying a social problem but also the act of defining actors in terms of their identity, intent and legitimacy. In that of Begum, victimhood or ambiguity has been included that reports to the larger anxieties of Western citizenship, race, and gender that can be contested in meaning. In the meantime, Cuspert illustration is more on the level of 1-dimensionality, reaffirming the stereotypical profile of the ideology driven male category of a jihadi terrorist. This squares too with more general gendering discourses which posit women as disrupted by violence in the political field and forced to justify the origin of the violence by the nature of the origin of the violence, namely whether it was a case of having been groomed or weakness of character or emotional fragility or either pregnant with immaturity.

As for Shamima Begum related to victim of circumstances mentioned in newspaper the Guardians

"Shamima Begum was the victim of a cult – she needs help"

As for ideological extremism

"SPEWING TERROR Shamima Begum says Manchester bombing that killed 22 was JUSTIFIED and reveals she wanted son to be ISIS fighter"

Idelogical extremism for denis cuspert was mentioned in newspaper daily mail

Police raise security levels as rapper dubbed 'the Goebbels of ISIS' issues sniper video declaring 'WE WANT BRITISH BLOOD'

The patterns of cause assignment in media coverage to radicalization point to not unimportant patterns of gender influence on journalistic framing. The relationship between gender and causal interpretation was not found to be significant at the conventional level of significance (Chi-square = 5.834 with df = 3) but likelihood ratio testing indicated an association (probability = 0.040) and the linear by linear association indicated that there is a variation that needs to be taken note of (probability = 0.025). The connection between gender and causal framing is moderate yet not insignificant with the small effect size (Cramer V = 0.179). The results show that among the subjects or individuals, the female category as symbolized by Shamima Begum was more likely to be the subject of actions, done as a matter of individual preference (72.7%). Nevertheless, her actions are also externalized by explaining them through brainwashing (18.8), and socio-economic causes (7.8). Conversely, reporting in the media about Denis Cuspert included almost exclusively personal choice (93.1%) as the reason behind his behavior and entirely neglected the possibility of any external (3.0%) or mitigating factors (0.8%). Such distinction of causal framing implies that female radicalization is frequently subjected to a more subtle or sophisticated interpretation. It seems to be that journalists are more inclined to put the participation of women in extremism into context by adding psychological, emotional or social factors. Those stories might be an expression of general assumptions within the society itself about women as not naturally inclined to being violent and therefore, their involvement must be accounted by being manipulated, weak or under pressure. Conversely, male targets such as Cuspert are usually contextualized as inspired by ideology and completely culpable of their acts. The fact that his coverage lacks almost any structural or emotional reason boosts an impression of the radicalization of men as a conscious and logical choice. This helps to create an increasingly hardened and simplistic image of the male jihadist, which sometimes focuses on threat and criminality but not on the causes. Though the statistical relation was not strong, it should not be ignored that the same trend in narrative tendencies appears in the data. They show the gendered construct in media discourse according to which women actions are more likely to be included into the context of the victim or

weakness whereas actions of men are viewed through the prism of agency and ideological commitment. This framing has consequences on the reception of responsibility and risk by readers/ viewers and this influences popular opinions and policy-making and the discourse on terrorism and gender.

As mentioned for denis cuspert in Times magazine

"Cuspert who converted to Islam after a car accident in 2010, left Germany to join ISIS in 2012"

And for Shamima Begum in The Guardian

"Four years ago … it was accepted that she was brainwashed. There was consensus that she was an innocent child who'd been groomed online."

Moral evaluation analysis supports the existence of an outstanding gender gap in the manner through which the media subjects jihadists to moral judgment. Chi-Square test proves that there is a strong correlation between gender and the tone of moral judgment within media accounts $\chi^2(2) = 38.026$, $p < .001$, with a Cramér's V value of 0.456, which denotes the moderate- to strong-effect. These results have definitely established the fact that gender says a lot about the condemned, sympathized with, or neutral depiction of individuals. As the findings indicate, in all the articles presenting Denis Cuspert, moral condemnation was cast on him. This standard framing indicates that the male jihadists are punitive or morally negative only. A similar image of Cuspert as beyond redemption and fully culpable for his actions was strengthened as there is no article that provided a sympathetic or neutral assessment of the person. His image represents a more general trend in portraying radical–right males as dangerous, ideological, and morally corrupt in nature. Conversely, Shamima Begum coverage was much broad and wide. There were also more sympathetic accounts of her (42.2 percent); 37.7 percent of the articles were condemnatory and 20.1 percent were neutral. Such change in the moral framing suggests the idea that female jihadists is likely to be perceived as a morally complex character. The coexistence of sympathy and neutrality in the coverage of Begum indicates that the media is more willing to challenge her guilt, which could be caused by the view of her age, background, or manipulation by other people. This gender disparity in moral judgment indicates an even larger narrative tendency since females in the experience of terrorism tend to be judged more intricately. Female jihadists can be interpreted as being

misguided or used in place of taking full responsibility of what they are doing. It is possible that sympathy and neutrality in moral framing are the outcome of social concepts of femininity, victim, or redemption so it is more difficult to portray women as purely evil characters. The consequences of that kind of framing are great. Male extremist as solely morally deviant in juxtaposition with female extremist presenting a moral ambiguity or sympathetic creates a disparity of perceived agency, responsibility and threat between men and women. It is this gap that can influence public attitude, legally and even policy development of the counter terrorism drive.

A glaring division between genders can be seen in the media constructions of treatment advice given to those people who are directly involved in cases of jihadism. The Chi-Square test has stated the fact that there is statistically significant association between the gender and the kind of treatment recommendation proposed (χ^2 (3) = 31.922, p<.001), the Cramer V = 0.418 indicates that the strength of association is moderate. These results indicate that gender has a determining effect on media conceptualizations of corresponding reactions to radicalized persons. The biggest proportion of articles on Denis Cuspert belongs to no clear recommendation covering of 100 percent of articles. It is a disengagement with policy choices area of his case, that is denoted by this lack of clear punitive and/or rehabilitative framing. It can be an assumption of the media that no more dialogue is necessary since Cuspert, the male jihadist and former rapper turned ISIS propagandist is assumed to be a fixed threat with no redemptive aspect. The media ultimately arguably serves to console the notion of male extremists being beyond repair and unworthy of discussion of re-integration due to the lack of offering punishment or rehabilitation in the form of possible solutions. However, media coverage of Shamima Begum are quite different and they are varied. It is forced to note that although 42.9 percent of the articles also failed to present clear recommendations, the percentage of those who did specify particular measures was also significant: 22.1 percent backed the practice of rehabilitation, 18.8 percent urged deportation and 16.2 percent supported punishment. The existence of such difference presupposes that the media discloses her case in a rather open-ended and controversial manner. The theme of her character is full of active interventions in the social policy of deprivation of citizenship, desderiorization, the boundary of her agency or victimhood. More telling is the fact that Cuspert is not suggested as a case of rehabilitation but rather her case.

It lays out that the media could perhaps cover female jihadists, particularly young female jihadists like Begum as a redeemable case. This drops under broader gendered ideology that

women would tend to be manipulated or rather forced to join the extremists. Similarly, the element of the deportation in her case can be symbolic of the geopolitical and legal peculiarities that are particular to the establishment of her dual citizenship and citizenship revocation in the context of the UK. Generally, the information can be used to denote more humanized and policy-based conception of female jihadist compared to their male counterpart that often speaks in the unilateral and definite reference. The issue of gender-asymmetry in treatment recommendations demonstrates the fact that gendered assumptions remain operative in particular since the gendered nature of treatment recommendations directly affects not only the way the discussion about terrorism is being framed but also the potential policies and the decisions of the courts. Such a morally dubious grayness that is entailed by women, in contrast to a comprehensive, writ large responsibility of men against men as irredeemable miscreants, is useful in reinforcing binary formations of gender and violence.

As mentioned for Shamima begum in the guardians

"Shamima Begum was groomed. She deserves the chance of rehabilitation"

"Deportation is a cruel punishment for ex-offenders and their families"

The emotional language used for jihadist characters in media coverage shows severe gender differences that echo and transmit to the wider social environment. The findings of the chi-square test (χ^2 (4) = 98.758, p <.001) show a massive correlation in the use of gender and type of emotional language on the news. The value of this relationship is also significant where Cramer's V = 0.735 which has a very strong effect. The male jihadist subject, Denis Cuspert, was iconized only according to high-arousal negative emotions of fear (51.7%) and anger (48.3%). His image in the media is set within the mainstream patterns of male extremists: violent, dangerous, and immoral. There is no sympathy or pity in his coverage which indicates that there is a strict narrative in which redemption or vulnerability is not an option. This binary construct makes male extremists dangerous by nature and reduces their identity to highly vilifiable caricatures. Conversely, emotional positioning used by Shamima Begum is much more diverse and slants heavily on the side of empathetic responses. More than 60 percent of the articles identified her with sympathy and 21.4 percent with pity as a phenomenon of portraying her as a victim or someone to be pitied. Very little of the articles stimulated fear on her (4.5%), and anger (7.8%). It means that the representation of her is gendered in the sense that the women represented through the perspective of punishment of terrorism are likely to be

perceived as deceived, blackmailed, or too weak to be ideologically motivated actors. These variations of emotional framing are comparable to gendered descriptions used in media studies where women were used to make the passive, emotional or relation based contribution and men who were debated to be the active agent of violence. Implication of gendered positions of agency and culpability are instantiated implicitly in the media when Begum is framed in a sympathetic manner, and Cuspert in a menacing one. Such characterizations are not merely describing emotional responses, they determine what people in the mainstream envision and what potential forms of policy action to take by marking those who are redemptive and those who are not. Besides, the sympathy and the feeling of pity used in the case of Begum can be a means of softening her ideological stand and distorting her accountability and lead to a situation of moral ambiguity. Cuspert, in his turn, is never portrayed without fear and anger, which makes him a clear and undeniable threat that has to be punished harshly or even eradicated. Such inequalities reveal how the media creates and reproduces gendered scripts according to which society represents the concept of radicalization, agency and sense of justice. Lastly, the finding shows that emotional language is indeed a gendered language that creates an impression of the menace, the blame, and the humaneness of the perpetrators of violence extremism to its audiences.

As mentioned Denis Cuspert in daily mail

> "German rapper dubbed the 'Goebbles of ISIS' who made sickening beheading videos and called for attacks on britian is killed in a U.S. air strike in Syria"

Examining the agency of the representation of male and female jihadists in media, it is possible to see minor, yet significant differences in framing responsibilities that tend to fall along gender lines. Although not having a statistically significant result ($\chi^2 (3) = 5.834$ p = .120), the overall tendencies in the data present a good source of information with regards to the narrative formation of culpability and agency. The effect size (Cramer V = 0.179) is small, that is, it gets a weak association, and differences in the framing patterns are still pertinent to the knowledge on gendered discourse. In the case of male subjects, especially Denis Cuspert, agency was mostly seen to be in self-determined activity. The dominating percentage of 93.1 of articles positioned his involvement in or contribution to extreme causes as an act of free individual will, and only 6.9 of the articles resorted to the possibility of influence or manipulation and circumstances. This is in line with one of the prevailing media discourses where the male jihadists have been profiled as ideologically driven rational individuals who

took full responsibility in their radicalization. This story is a story that offers minimal margin to stretch, to be a victim, or to provide mitigation. Conversely, the agency of women, especially, Shamima Begum, is framed in more various ways. Although the number representing her as self-agentic remained high (72.7 percentage), the number of articles with other narratives also became substantial. Practically every fifth person (18.8 percent) explained her behavior based on the actions of other people: grooming, brainwashing, or coercion, whereas 7.8 percent made ambiguous or even dual attributions, neither exonerating her nor entirely condemning her. Only a single publication did not give her any agency at all. Such extensive framing of the fates of female jihadists in the Begum case implies that the female jihadist is likely to be perceived through the lens of complexity and possible victimhood. Such images can be based on social attitudes that women are more emotional, more easy to manipulate or less ideologically committed than men. Although these stories are not statistically prevalent, they imply the subtle impact on the entire understanding of the society and policy aspect of women as both responsible and not responsible of their actions, as able to make choices, but at the same time influenced by various other factors. The statistical analysis indicated that the main finding of gender division in attributing agencies did not prove to be significant; the trend however correlates with wider gendered media processes. The discourse of male extremism is more of a binary of agentic representation whereas the discourse of female extremism is less definitive so as to give discursive space that allows to understand women as both blameworthy and as redeemable. This two-sided framing bounces back and supports gendered ideas regarding the definition of autonomy, emotion, and moral responsibility.

The examination of the physical description in the media articles indicates that there is a major gender gap between the representation of a male and female jihadist. The findings suggest a high propensity of adding any physical details whenever women-related subjects are the ones to report, where 53.2 per cent of the articles of Shamima Begum involve use of physical descriptions. Comparatively, in all those articles that dwell on Denis Cuspert, no physical description was included (100%). This connection has been proven to be significant (χ^2 = 27.978, df = 1, p < .001) and the Cramer V coefficient of 0.391 indicates that gender is moderately or strongly connected with the use of physical descriptors. This imbalance represents a situation that is correlated with media construction: the female body becomes a source of representation and often plays a symbolic, emotional or aesthetic role. The use of the appearance, whether to depict Begum as innocent, deviant, young or manipulated reinforces the ideas of femininity, vulnerable or seductive. This frame can be used to humanize her, make

her sympathetic, or, on the contrary, visible and surveilled to ways that transcend ideological critique. The female body, according to the author, is the place of moral and emotional construction. However, the entirely missing physical description of the coverage of Denis Cuspert indicates a less real and de-individualized representation. The representation of male jihadists is generally ideological, violent and threateningly, such that they are denuded of both personality and physical aesthetics. Such depersonalization may add to an aspect of male characters as simply threatening and ideologically dedicated and will support an encompassing narrative having no humanized or situated information. Gendered use of physical description is also suggestive of power structure of representation in media. As we learned, when women bodies take precedence in the coverage, it sends the message of how cultures have long conflated femininity in manifesting itself on their bodies at the cost of political or an ideological depth. Such framing can undermine the agency of women or conversely, this framing can be tactical and used to create the narratives of victimhood, redemption, or seduction. All in all, one can note the high gender discrimination in visual and descriptive part of the media coverage of jihadism. The physical description by the selectivity approach not only presents an assumption of gender in society but, also has a part to play in the way readers perceive male and female signs as having different motivations, guilt and humanity.

"Never go back; Shamima begum said she would rather die than go back ISIS and claimed she was groomed while wearing lipstick or cap"

In Dailymail

"Is Shamima Begum's new look a sham? ISIS bride has ditched the hijab for hair dye and watches GMB from her tent - but behind her makeover, troubling questions remain"

"Upset and angry' ISIS bride Shamima Begum, 21, breaks cover in refugee camp in Syria wearing sunglasses, jacket and leggings after Supreme Court rules she CAN'T return to UK to fight for her British citizenship"

In the discussion of gendered framing via family, maternal, and masculine roles, the following pattern of the media discourse on the jihadist subjects becomes one of the most distinctive: the use of gender to symbolize evil. We can observe that our findings show that

there was an optimal statistical relationship between gender and the categories of applied framing (χ^2 (6) = 183.000, p < .001; Cramer's V = 1.000), which implies that the media images were quite rigid in regard to gender-specific roles. The case of Shamima Begum presents us with a very fractured image: she is represented as a victim or a misguided woman (14.9 percent), groomed/manipulated (5.2 percent), a violent or agentic woman (6.5 percent), an ISIS bride (24 percent), family or motherly (15.6 percent). These frames correspond to tendency of the society to explain female deviance in terms of: relation, emotion or family. In the case of the so-called ISIS bride, the term itself is highly suggestive it downplays the woman as a political or ideological figure by focusing on romance or matrimony and portraying her as decidedly less active, less ideologically committed and by extension less according to the world.

The misappropriation of the terms victim and groomed adds further strength to this story implying that the female radicalization can be interpreted in the context of coercion, manipulation, or naivete and not in terms of belief or choice. In the meantime, the jihadi masculinity is the only tool that is used to portray Denis Cuspert specifically (100%), a specific depiction of men as ideology-driven, militant, and dangerous. There is interestingly no article that presents him in a neutral, alternative or a relation frame. This form of representation reduces individuality of male jihadists and collapses their identities into single violent ideal images. In contrast to the more dynamic and complex profiles of Begum, Cuspert's is fixed and monological, it displays a kind of irredeemable or completely autonomous threat. Such strict media gendering makes known the prejudged stereotypes: men as minded aggressors and females as feeling multi-dimensional, relationship-seeking creatures, or victims of conditions. This kind of framing is not merely descriptive of the standards of journalistic practices, but forms part of a process of creating the perception of terrorism along with blame. The female jihadists are regarded as an aberration and in need of explaining or redemption, whereas the male jihadists are an anticipated result of the phenomenon of ideological pedantry.

5.2 Conclusion

This study was a critical examination of the issue of gender with geography having a visual influence in media representation of jihadists taking into account the comparison of two cases namely, Shamima Begum (female recruit of ISIS) and Denis Cuspert (male jihadist). It was found out that Western media treats male jihadists, such as Denis Cuspert, mostly in ideological extremist and jihadi masculine manner, whereas female, such as Shamima Begum, are presented in more multidimensional way, which tends to adopt emotional, victimized or

manipulated identities. Media representations of gender are based on underlying gender stereotypes that victimize women and label them as ISIS brides and male perpetrators of ideological forces on violent extremism. The trend illustrates the influence of media representation on the way the people perceive and the responses of countries around the world to terrorism. Although images of male jihadist conforms to traditional content of violent masculinity, the female jihadists are under greater spectrum of emotional and relational accounts that are capable of making the boundary between agency and victimhood to not exist in the first place. Additionally, the research also discovered that the presentation of these victims is also affected by the episodic and thematic media practises, wherein the episodic frames dwell more on the individual accounts as compared to the more thematic presentation which projects what is happening to the bigger socio-political picture.

What is significant is that episodic framing, especially in the Western press, frequently results in an individual, as opposed to a structural view of terrorism, bypassing any possibility of contextual learning regarding the origins of the radical. On the whole, the thesis indicates the pertinence of recognizing the role of media discourses, stimulated by gender and territorial prejudices, in realization of the problem of terrorism by the masses as well as in the formulation of policy toward it. It also requires elevation of accuracy to a higher degree and a more balanced approach to how the media is portraying both male and female jihadists to mitigate the effects of the negative stereotypes that can only lead to more in depth approaches towards treating the extremism issue. This analysis does not only aid in the exposition of gender dynamics in reports on terrorism but also raises awareness as well on the role of media in forming international perceptions and policies on jihadism and radicalization.

5.3 Suggestion

As an additional contribution to your research you might consider a more in-depth examination of the issue of intersectional analysis which looks at the issue of how race, nationality and gender effect media depictions of jihadists, especially of the various ways in which western born jihadists such as Shamima Begum and Denis Cuspert, of different ethnicities, are represented. The next thing that you can do to broaden the scope of your media analysis is extending it into digital media, social media, and even television, which might give you a better idea of framing in various media types. Moreover, it may be helpful to conduct a longitudinal study that will show how the image of jihadists changed according to the dynamics in global security and the decline and emergence of ISIS and reflect the evolution of media discourse. The analysis of the use of the frames of male and female jihadists in various regions,

especially in non-Western media, would provide an insight into the impact media has on such cultural differences. Looking at counter-narratives including media practice of the ex-jihadists who repent about extremism may complicate and provide a balanced understanding of jihadism to your study. Finally, a discussion of how media depictions of the female jihadist influence counterterrorism policies and strategies particularly the one that specifically targets women may present the practical outcomes of how depictions between genders are made in the media.

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APPENDIX

Code Book

Variable	Operational Definition	Categories (with codes)	Example Keywords / Phrases
Framing Type	Story focus: individual or societal context	1 = Episodic 2 = Thematic	**Episodic**: "She was 15 when she left", "His music past" **Thematic**: "Youth radicalization", "ISIS recruitment"
Problem Definition	How is the individual's role framed in society?	1 = Threat to security 2 = Victim of circumstances 3 = Ideological extremism	"ISIS threat", "Security risk", "Lost child", "Believed in jihad", "Radicalized ideology", "Danger to UK"
Causal Interpretation	Reason given for joining jihadism	1 = Personal choice 2 = Brainwashing 3 = Socioeconomic factors 4 = Political grievances	"She chose to join", "Groomed by ISIS", "Poverty-stricken", "Marginalized community", "Anger at West"
Moral Evaluation	Judgment of actions/character	1 = Sympathy 2 = Condemnation 3 = Neutral	"Changed woman", "Unrepentant", "Monster", "Humanized", "Sympathetic tone", "Victim of war"
Treatment Recommendation	Proposed response by society or state	1 = Punishment 2 = Rehabilitation 3 = Deportation 4 = No clear recommendation	"Revoke passport", "Send her back", "Let her rot", "Needs help", "No solution provided"
Emotional Language	Emotion-laden words or tone used	1 = Fear 2 = Anger 3 = Disgust 4 = Sympathy 5 = Pity	"Terrifying", "Betrayal", "Unbelievable", "Sad case", "Poor girl", "Sympathetic"
Agency Attribution	Who is shown as responsible for action	1 = Self 2 = External	**Self**: "She decided to go" **External**: "ISIS groomed her", "Radicalized by others"
Physical Description	Mention of looks/clothing	0 = No 1 = Yes	"Black veil", "Hijab", "Beard", "Tattoos", "European features", "Arab-looking"
Maternal/Masculine Role	Gender-role framing or stereotypes	1 = Victim/Misguided woman 2 = Groomed/Manipulated 3 = Violent/Agentic woman 4 = ISIS bride (stereotype)	"Young mother", "Lost child in camp", "Soft-hearted woman", "ISIS bride", "Aggressive male", "Father figure", "Neutral"

		5 = Jihadi masculinity 6 = Family/Paternal role 7 = Neutral / No gendered frame	