Parliamentary views on returning IS-affiliated women to the Netherlands
Bon, Francisca Sophie

Parliamentary views on returning IS-affiliated women to the Netherlands

Master Thesis – MSc Political Science

Leiden University

Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences

Student: Francisca S. Bon

Student number.: 1656422

Supervisor: Dr. C. C. van de Wetering

Second reader: Dr. J. B. Schulhofer-Wohl

Date: January 17th, 2022

Word count: 9957

Abstract

Terrorist group IS has proved to be more successful in recruiting Western women than any other jihadist terrorist group. Due to the fall of the caliphate in 2019 more than 20 Dutch women now seek to return. Gentry & Sjoberg (2021) show that politically violent women are often understood as victims, which in turn affects policy decisions. In this research, Postmodern Public Administration Theory (PPAT) and Doty's Discursive Practice Approach (1993) are combined to expose the dominant discourse on returning Dutch IS-affiliated women. Although the women who seek to return are portrayed in the debates in a neo-Orientalist and traditional way, the findings of this study show that the Second Chamber of the Netherlands does not regard IS-affiliated women as victims, but as perpetrators.

Table of Contents

Introduction

Female terrorism is not a new phenomenon, yet IS-affiliated female terrorists specifically have caused a media frenzy, a surge in research and political uproar (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2021). IS proved to be successful in recruiting more Western women than any other jihadist group in the past (Ibid.). Since the start of the civil war in Syria in 2011, more than 80 Dutch women have gone to Syria to join terrorist group 'Islamic State of Iraq and Syria' (ISIS, or IS in short) (Nyamutata, 2020; AIVD, 2017). As a result of the collapse of the caliphate in 2019, an estimated 5,000 Western IS-affiliated men and women wish to return to their home countries (Meines et. al, 2017). To grasp the portrayal of IS-affiliated women, the literature has largely focused on discourse analysis of the media (Auer et. al, 2019; Pearson, 2018; Martini, 2017; Van der Pas et. al, 2017; Roggebrand & Vliegenthart, 2007). Literature shows that violent women are often portrayed as wives, brides, or victims (Butler, 2007; Gentry & Sjoberg, 2021). Their behavior is not attributed to political ideology or conviction, but to the notion that violent women are merely understood to be 'coerced, controlled, or insane' (Ibid.). Scholars have not yet focused upon political discourse and how IS-affiliated women are understood in this realm. The political realm is ultimately responsible for the policies that affect IS-affiliated women, which is why I argue that political discourse analysis requires attention (Fischer, 2003). Political discourse analysis will provide valuable insights because the discursive elements of political interaction, including interaction among political representatives, make up the public discussion in a democracy (Uhr, 1998). This sparks the research question whether IS-affiliated women are understood as victims or as perpetrators in the parliamentary debates in the Netherlands?

To answer the research question on the portrayal of IS-affiliated women in the Netherlands, I will rest upon feminist, Neo-Orientalist, and Postmodern Public Administration Theory (PPAT

hereafter). First, I will summarize how violent women are generally understood as "mothers, monsters, or whores" in the literature by drawing on Gentry & Sjoberg (2021). Secondly, I will elaborate on the link between feminist theory and Neo-Orientalism to describe the contemporary imperialist perceptions on Muslim women in the West. For example, Muslim women are often, though not always, perceived in the West to be oppressed through cultural symbols like the veil. Notable is that assumptions like these are publicly stated by high-profile politicians like UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson, who has not received any further scrutiny by other government officials for making such remarks (Sa'di, 2020:2507). Moreover, the 9/11 terrorist attacks have affected the way in which the West often understands Muslim women as the Oriental other (Said, 1979; Sa'di, 2020:2507).

I will elaborate on the theoretical framework of PPAT and the argumentative turn. This approach is used to facilitate and clarify communication rather than to pose which group is right, which makes it suitable for political discourse analysis (Rosenau, 1992:86-7; Ibid.). In line with the argumentative turn and the focus on the way in which texts shape and construe a social reality, I apply the Discursive Practice Approach based on Doty's (1993) analysis of government documents on US interventionism in the Philippines. Through her take on the Discursive Practice Approach, she shows how texts are important measures to expose how a perception or reality is constructed, and what actions can follow on a government level.

The research aim is to expose the dominant discourse on returning IS-affiliated women in the Second Chamber of the Dutch government. Based on the focus on victimization of politically violent women in the literature, the expectation of this research held that IS-affiliated women would mostly be seen as victims rather than perpetrators, as mothers rather than active agents in a terrorist organization. The Discursive Practice Approach has been applied to 7 debates, 37 pages

of text and 3 Dutch special agency reports over the course of 7 years. Based on this analysis, it is concluded that the dominant discourse in the Second Chamber of the Netherlands holds women equally accountable for participating in terrorist organization IS compared to their male counterparts.

Literature review

Women in terrorism

Female terrorism is not a new phenomenon, nor is literature on women in terrorism or on female political violence (Elshtain, 1987; Stiehm, 1983; Martini, 2017:60). Scholars have unpacked the (media) sensation around female suicide bombers (Ibid.; Ali, 2012; Brunner, 2007a; Brunner, 2007b). Much has been written on understanding the role of IS-affiliated women within the organization (Gielen, 2018; Bakker & Bont, 2016; Khelghat-Doost, 2016; Saripiri, 2015). Additionally, scholars have focused on the depiction of female IS terrorists in the media, through social media such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram, as well as mainstream media, like newspapers and tv shows (Pearson, 2018; Martini, 2017). This literature shows a trend in finding that these women were incited by personal circumstances, or coerced by their male partners, to engage in violent behavior, rather than out of political conviction or choice (Ibid.).

In contrast, Gentry & Sjoberg (2021) offer state-of-the-art literature on the way in which scholars have typically disconnected violent women from their agency. The first argument of the book holds that 'women's involvement in political violence is systemically denied, denigrated, or assumed to be driven by personal, and thus apolitical forces — and hence explained away by 'maternalism, mental instability or deviant sexuality' p. 41' (Eade, 2016). The woman as an agentic being is diminished, and her violent actions are attributed to her being either 'coerced, controlled, or insane', while men who commit political violence are viewed as autonomous

decision makers (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2021:44; Eade, 2016). This point is consistent with Butler's (2007) argument that the literature often sees violent women not as perpetrators of political persuasion or ideology, but as personally incompetent and therefore violent. These authors thus argue that women's political violence is always understood differently than men's political violence.

Butler (2007) has found that politically violent women expose the social construction of gender, and thus destabilize the gender construct which ascribes women to be inherently more 'nurturing and peace-loving' (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2021). Gentry & Sjoberg (2021) draw attention to the authors who have engaged with the problematic gender-subordinating narratives in development, feminist and gender literature and the media (Auer et. al, 2019; Pearson, 2018). These narratives argue that women are inherently more 'nurturing and peace-loving' than men, and that men who commit political violence adhere to the expectation of masculine behavior (Ibid.). Notable is that men are somehow more expected, thus less wrong, to be involved in violent behavior.

Gentry & Sjoberg's (2021) work on women and political violence showcases multiple crucial insights on societal perception of women in general, and therefore, societal perception of women's capacity to participate in political violence. However, in order to prove their arguments, they draw heavily on individual cases of politically violent. As argued by Eade (2016), these specific cases are not only extraordinary because the violent acts were committed by women. The selected cases are extremely violent to begin with, which raises the question whether these cases are representative, or whether they are outliers (Eade, 2016). However, Gentry & Sjoberg (2021) have undoubtedly developed a new way of thinking on politically violent women's behavior as agentic and conscious possible perpetrators.

Neo-Orientalism and women in terrorism

The literature makes a distinction between neo-Orientalism and neocolonialism. Neocolonialism is associated with a developed, wealthy, and often Western country that exerts power over a less developed, less wealthy, and non-Western country. This showcases a similar relationship to the imperialist relationship between a colonizing and colonized country. In contrast, neo-Orientalism is a category of contemporary embodiments of Orientalist thought. The Orient, as first conceptualized by Said (1979) originates from the late-eighteenth century British and French understanding of the Other, i.e., the Occident. The Other has never been identified based on a specific geographical region, culture, or language, but stems from the experiences and descriptions of Westerners in then colonialized regions (Ibid.). Orientalism is inextricably linked to the power structure of the dominant West in relation to the inferior Other. "Ideas, cultures and histories cannot seriously be understood or studied without their force, or more precisely their configurations of power, also being studied." (Said, 1979).

Common IR literature does not typically focus on women as agentic and possible perpetrators. The lines between the role of perpetrator and victim in global conflict are often unclear, therefore critiques from the postcolonial and critical feminist direction have questioned these mainstream conceptions (Chowdhdry & Nair, 2002:2; Shepherd, 2009). The postcolonial move in IR literature is comparatively more attentive to the imbrication of race, class, and gender with power (Chowdhdry & Nair, 2002:2). Such attentiveness has led to different questions and directions in the literature and has shown an effort to criticize common conceptions of global power, hierarchies, and relations (Ibid.). For example, the term neo-Orientalism is often associated with critical Western attitudes towards Islam, which have worsened due to the 9/11 attacks (Mitra

et. Al, 2017; Sa'di, 2020). The attacks caused anti-Muslim attitudes in the West to rise and were subsequently enabled through derogatory statements made by high-profile politicians like US President Bush at the time (Mitra et. al, 2017). Contemporary critiques of the "Orient" and Islam often revolve around cultural symbols like the veil, which is seen as a sign of oppression of Muslim women. Yet the veil is used by some Muslim women as an affirmation of their commitment to their religious identity and Islam (Shepherd, 2009:41). This is particularly relevant to this research subject, because neo-Orientalist attitudes that portray Muslim women as victims of their own religion are still present in politics today (Mitra et. al, 2017; Sa'di, 2020).

Though Said's (1979) establishment of neo-Orientalism has been the foundation for a lot of research, Sa'di (2020) calls for a more contemporary understanding of this phenomenon. Sa'di addresses the arguments that it is impossible to think about neo-Orientalism in the current global climate without considering the effects of 9/11, as well as the contemporary portrayal of Muslim women. The 9/11 terrorist attacks have affected the way in which the West often understands Muslim women as the Oriental other (Said, 1979; Sa'di, 2020:2507). Sa'di focuses on the link between feminist theory and neo-Orientalism as important measures to understand the contemporary imperialist perceptions on Muslim women in the West. Orientalism is often 'used as a manifestation of Muslim barbarity and backwardness' (Mitra et. al, 2017:226). This manifestation can be understood in two ways: one way is that the constructed image of the evil Oriental male justified Western interventionism and imperialism (Ibid.). This was even seen as a moral imperative and correlates with the rhetoric of "white men saving brown women from brown men" (Spivak, 1999:287; Ibid.). The second way is that Oriental women are historically understood as non-agentic, in need of rescue and incapable of making decisions or enacting violence. The Oriental women is inextricably linked to sensuality, which Said (1978) described as

"they express unlimited sensuality, they are more or less stupid, and above all they are willing and submissive".

The tendencies of feminist Orientalism, meaning the subordinate descriptions of, and attitudes toward the "Other" woman, can be identified based on three factors (Abrahamian & Paidar, 1996; Mitra et. al, 2017). The first characteristic is the assumption that women in the West enjoy full freedom in their society while Muslim women are oppressed. The second characteristic is that the West understands Muslim women to be merely victims of a patriarchy and to have no agency in a possibly desired societal transformation (Ibid.). This combines into the third characteristic which holds that Muslim women are understood to have no unique aspect or identity for themselves and that they are all living under the same conditions. There is a notion that the Western world should rescue all Muslim women from practices such as forced marriage, the veil, and genital female mutilation (Ibid.). Contemporary neo-Orientalist conceptions thus specifically undermine Muslim women's capacity to engage in political violence as perpetrators.

The neo-Orientalist view understands Muslim women as oppressed and passive victims, based on the tropes typically attributed to women, as well as to Muslim women. Martini finds that Muslim politically violent women are not only perceived to challenge the gender order, but also the neo-Orientalist view on Muslim women in Western societies (Martini, 2017:460-471). Her research findings indicate that Muslim women are understood to challenge the gender construct as well as their religion. They do not fulfill society's expectations of femininity, and they challenge their religiosity because they do not adhere to traditional religious conceptions of being docile, oppressed, subservient and caring. According to Martini, media analysis is important, because the media's depictions of women joining IS through the Neo-Orientalist view 'frame political phenomena and convey a particular knowledge about them' (p. 458). Martini argues that our

understanding of these women prevents providing an effective response to radicalization dynamics (Ibid.).

Historical context of Muslim immigration and integration in the Netherlands

Before providing the analysis of the parliamentary debates, the socioeconomic and historical background of Dutch politics and Muslim immigrants will be briefly discussed to provide context for the political discourse on (returning) IS-affiliated women. The sociopolitical context of Muslim communities in the Netherlands is largely shaped by its 'immigration histories, immigrant integration policies, the demographic and cultural position of Muslim immigrants, and the institutionalization of Islam within their boundaries' (Ozyurt, 2013:243). Most Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands come from Morocco and Turkey, and initially migrated through guest-worker programs to work in low-skilled and semi-skilled jobs (Ibid.). Although the majority of the Muslim immigrant groups in the Netherlands are now second or third generation, they are still affected by their family legacy's low-income social status (Ibid.).

The political debate on Islam in the Netherlands can be characterized by left-wing politicians who are held responsible for 'welcoming and pampering Muslim immigrants', while the political right is accused of 'ignorance, hate-speech, and merciless politics' (Van Liere, 2014). Both parties do agree on their integration failures, since they 'have publicly declared that Dutch integration policies have failed, and that urgent policy change is therefore required.' (Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007). The relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims in the Netherlands has increasingly become polarized on the issues of religion and gender (Maliepaard & Alba, 2016). For example, Pim Fortuyn, an anti-Islam politician in the Netherlands in the 2000s, portrayed the 'Left' as the reason for the failed integration of Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands (Van Liere,

2014:192). When Fortuyn was assassinated by Folkert van der G., his death was portrayed as another failure of the 'Left' (Ibid.). This sparked political tension on the topic of integration of Muslim immigrants, and Muslims felt excluded from the debate, 'which contributed to the radicalization of young Muslims.' (Ibid.; Demant et. al, 2009). Thus, radicalization in Dutch society is not a new phenomenon (Vidino, 2007). However, IS attracted unprecedented numbers of Western men and women to participate in their 'jihad' (Nyamutata, 2020). Therefore, the Dutch case on the political discourse will provide useful insights due to its sociopolitical, historical background with Muslim immigrants and radicalization.

Theoretical framework

Feminist IR theory

What is feminist IR theory? According to Harding (1986), IR theory has largely been focused on the security-seeking behavior of powerful states in an anarchical environment. The questions that IR feminists ask are different questions and they use different methods to answer them (Narain, 2014). Feminist scholarship in general is transdisciplinary and admittedly political due to its connection to the women's movement (Ibid.). It aims to understand unequal gender hierarchies in societies and their effects on the subordination of women, with the goal of changing them (Ibid.). Feminist IR theory focuses on the general question: where are the women? (Sjoberg, 2009). Typically, IR scholarship does not explicitly research through a gendered perspective (Tickner, 1992). This research fits in the grand theory of feminist IR theory as put by Tickner, in combination with the argumentative turn in public policy as defined by Fischer (Fischer & Gottweis, 2012). A potential weakness of feminist IR theory is its politicized nature. The question of "where are the

women" can make it appealing to focus on data on women specifically, potentially to an extent that might not be representative (Walby, 1988).

Literature on politically violent women shows that violent women are often, though not always, perceived to be suppressed, violated, or abused in their lives regardless of their race or religion (Fitzroy, 2001). These findings put an emphasis on the personal circumstances through which 'the violent woman' has been shaped, while this emphasis does not seem to apply to violent men. Men, in a way, are expected to be violent by nature, while violent women fail the expectation of feminine tropes. Potential violence, abuse, denigration, and subordination in men's private lives are not discussed as thoroughly in the literature, nor in the political debates on their potential retrieval (Griffiths, et. al, 2009).

IS-affiliated women were initially often seen as victims rather than agents, and some were arguably punished to a lesser degree than men upon their return to the Netherlands (De Bont et al., 2017). Ironically, the perception of women being victims rather than agents thus might have served them in their favor upon their return to the Netherlands (AIVD, 2017). In contrast, Gentry & Sjoberg (2021) argue that women need to be seen as active decision makers and agents of their behavior, even if this violent behavior challenges mainstream perceptions of femininity. Women's behavior cannot be seen as an isolated product of their negative experiences and potential victimhood (Fitzroy, 2001). Therefore, research must also turn the narrative around. Do we look at men's personal circumstances, traumas, negative experiences, and victimhood, when we discuss retrieval and reintegration of Dutch male nationals who engaged with IS? Though it is not the purpose to address how IS-affiliated males are perceived, it is worthwhile to consider what factors shape how we see violent men in comparison to how we see violent women. For example, domestic violence, in shapes and sizes, and to all genders, is known to be a root of societal problems

stemming from individual derailment (Narain, 2014). However, participation in a terrorist organization must be addressed equally in the political arena.

Postmodern public administration theory (PPAT)

Postmodern public administration theory (PPAT) is used to facilitate and clarify communication rather than to pose which group is right, which makes it suitable for the analysis of the parliamentary debates on IS-affiliated women (Fischer, 2003:222; Rosenau, 1992:86-7). Fischer's understanding of PPAT includes the argumentative turn that he identified in public policy in 1993 (Fischer & Forester, 1993). 'Fundamentally, the argumentative turn is founded on the recognition that language does more than reflect what we take to be reality. Indeed, it is constituent of reality, shaping—and at times literally determining — what we understand to be reality.' (Fischer & Gottweis, 2012:392). The theory rests on post-empiricist epistemology by putting social meaning at the core, with the aim to understand social reality and the shared beliefs that it stems from (Fischer, 2003:222). The strength of this theory is that it does not focus on computed data, which risks overlooking its social context. The variables are interpreted in the situational and the social context in which they take place (Ibid.; Innes, 1998).

The post-empiricist perspective is different from the rationalist or positivist perspective in that it looks at ideas and values as variables rather than at empirical factors. Interest-based materialistic explanations hold that people act based on their self-interest through the rational actor model (Goldstein & Keohane, 1993). This explanation is refuted by post-empiricists because interest itself is shaped by ideas (Fischer, 2003:22). Conversely, post-empiricists hold that 'political action, like action generally, is shaped by the discourses that supply it with meaning' (Fischer, 2003:23). The point of this research and discourse analysis is not to provide a policy

analysis or to provide a better option. The point of this research is to analyze what makes Dutch politicians have certain beliefs about IS-affiliated female terrorists in parliamentary debates. PPAT offers the framework to do so because it considers societal, social, and political circumstances.

Doty's Discursive Practice Approach and PPAT

Doty (1993) applies a version of the Discursive Practice Approach (DPA) in her research to expose the dominant attitudes toward the Philippines to showcase how the US justified its interventionist policies. PPAT and DPA are therefore linked due to the goal of exposing the underlying assumptions in texts that construct a world or reality. The aim of this approach is to expose what is often being said, but also on what is explicitly not being said. The complexity of discourses lies in the various kinds of subjects to be created while positioning subjects to face one another. For example, within the traditional discourse on leadership, it is impossible to think about exceptions or deviations. In this conversation there is no discursive space for 'outliers' such as black women as CEOs or single mothers as successful entrepreneurs. Thus, this discursive space shapes the direction of the conversation and limits the ways in which leadership can be seen.

Policy makers – the members of the Chamber in this research – 'also function within a discursive space that impose meanings on their world and thus creates reality' (Shapiro, 1988:106, 116; Doty, 1993:303). By using an approach that focuses on the discursive practice as the unit of analysis understands how this 'reality' is produced and maintained and what practices are enabled by it. Central to these discourses is what 'reality' is constructed by them, rather than the policy decisions that are made. By using this approach, the analysis of the parliamentary 'discourses can reveal the necessary but not sufficient conditions' of this practice (Ibid.). Doty's (1993) DPA does not aim to provide an interpretation of the statements issued by the individual. Rather, she provides

an interpretation of 'what the discursive practices *do,* which does not necessarily coincide with individual motivations, perceptions and intentions.' (Doty, 1993:306).

In this research, I will apply the same approach by using Doty's concepts of *presupposition, predication,* and *subject positioning* (Ibid.). These fit in the theoretical framework of PPAT because they focus on what to read between the lines. *Presuppositions* stand for the notion that statements 'rarely speak for themselves' and assume an awareness of background knowledge that is generally taken to be true (Ibid.). *Predication* represents the way in which certain qualities are often ascribed to subjects or objects. An example mentioned in the literature is that women are often ascribed adverbs and adjectives such as 'nurturing and peace-loving', which are in turn not adhered to by politically violent women (Auer et. al, 2019; Pearson, 2018). *Subject positioning* stands for the various relationships that are established between subjects and objects due to their associated predications and presuppositions. Examples of certain relationships include the ones of *opposition, identity, similarity,* and *complementarity*.

These three concepts together produce a "world", and simultaneously work together in establishing relationships between several subjects by attributing traits to them. I will clarify the application by illustrating an example of the way in which IS-affiliated women are discussed in the Chamber. In the example below I provide an excerpt from parliamentary debates on the repatriation of female terrorists to the Netherlands. This is an excerpt from a politician from the Dutch political party for farmers 'BoerBurgerBeweging' (BBB).

> "Ilham B. did not travel to just any wrong foreign club, because someone pulled the wool over her eyes. She was 19 years old, mature, and very capable of making her own choices; a grown woman, completely sane. Completely sane! In fact, convinced of what she was getting into, this grown woman decided to join genocide perpetrators, killers, sadistic killers, extreme

fundamentalists with no ounce of compassion and compassion, sadistic slave drivers. The fact that she is now getting back to Schiphol on a private flight against the will of the Tweede Kamer because she misses stroopwafels, Gouda cheese and central heating, is a hard blow in the face of Yazidis, Assyrians, Alaviten, Shiites, a Kamerlawites, Armenians, the Druze community and all other groups that have ever suffered the horrors of IS."

The politician appoints the following traits to the Dutch IS-affiliated woman: 19 years old, thus mature, very capable of making her own choices, naïve, privileged and completely sane. This is in line with Gentry & Sjoberg (2021) who showcase that sanity is an important factor in describing violent women, since they are often described as 'coerced, controlled, or insane'. While Ilham B. is not found to be insane by this politician, it can be concluded from the excerpt that the politician finds her naïve, since she made this decision herself and no one 'pulled the wool over her eyes'. The IS-woman's appeal to her Dutch citizenship is because she misses the comforts of Dutch foods such as stroopwafels and Gouda cheese, as well as privileges like central heating, according to the politician. The fact that she might get on a 'private plane' is disturbing because this would attribute her a specific status that she doesn't deserve since she joined a terrorist group. She has lost these rights, as well as the rights to empathy from her Dutch fellow citizens. IS is not seen as a religious group, but solely as a group of killers without personal identity.

Implicitly, it becomes clear that the speaker is inscribed with different qualities (Doty, 1993:307). This Dutch politician is established as a subject that is rational, morally superior, and aware of the privileges of Dutch citizenship. Moreover, the politician is established to be apt to accurately describe the personal circumstances in which the IS-affiliated woman made her choices and why these were inherently wrong (Ibid.). These

findings correlate with the neo-Orientalist argument that the West tends to describe Muslim women as a group, rather than as individuals with their own personal convictions and motivations (Said, 1979). These qualities combined create a particular kind of subject that represents the Dutch IS-affiliated woman. In the parliamentary discourse, this woman represents all other IS-affiliated women, who are understood as agents of their own, though terrible, decision-making process and should be punished for their actions.

Presupposition

As Doty (1993:312) states, 'meanings are dependent on binary oppositions'. Binary oppositions are responsible for the so-called deeper structure of the discourse, relating to what Doty calls the 'operative principles'. These can also be understood as background assumptions with a binary relationship. Several oppositions can be deducted from this excerpt. The fact that this woman is an adult, rules out the possibility of being naïve, according to the politician. This woman is sane, thus she cannot be regretful of her decisions to join IS. Lastly, she joined a terrorist group, which inherently opposes her rights and privileges that she holds as a Dutch citizen. Important to note is that there is overlap between the different concepts, thus this analysis fits into the following concept of *subject positioning* as well.

Subject Positioning

These texts mostly share a similar logic. First, it's the relation of the politician and the terrorist to the Dutch state and privileges associated with it, such as typical Dutch foods and other comforts. The politician describes the return of the female terrorist as a hard blow in

the face of the victims made by IS' terrors. Yet this sentence is formulated in a parallel with the Dutch privileges she appeals to by returning to the Netherlands. Thus, her return can be understood not only as a hard blow in the face of the victims, but also of all Dutch citizens. Through this example it becomes clear that while *predication, presupposition* and *subject positioning* can be analyzed as separate categories, they exist together and should be considered as such (Doty, 1993:303). A neo-Orientalist power structure is also apparent in the debate, in which the 'Orient', in this case, Muslims, are generalized and ridiculed for their beliefs by the 'Occident', being the members of the Dutch parliament.

Methodology

The main purpose of this research is to understand how IS-affiliated women are portrayed linguistically through a ritual of parliamentary debates in the Second Chamber to understand the constructed reality that follows (Doty, 1993:302). I will analyze seven selected debates from the period of 2014-2021 from the Chamber. The debates are originally in Dutch and are translated for the purpose of this research. The debates can be seen as government documents, 'which, as speech acts, produce and justify certain social practices' (Kroninck & Rousseau, 2015: 549). As mentioned, the aim of this approach is to expose what is often being said, but also on what is explicitly not being said. I seek to achieve an analysis of the 'opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language' (Kroninck & Rousseau, 2015; Wodak, 1995). As exemplified by Kroninck & Rousseau (2015), this is the appropriate approach to find the 'broader assumptions, structures and/or meanings [that are theorized] as underpinning what is actually articulated in the data' (Braun and Clarke 2006).

This research acknowledges that is important to understand who are returning and why to shape appropriate government responses. But what exactly is it that shapes this understanding? Various attempts have been made to analyze government responses to returning IS-affiliated men and women (Speckhard & Ellenberg, 2021; Coolsaet & Renard, 2018). There is an important distinction between 'foreign terrorist fighters' (FTFs) and 'returnees'. Returnees have distanced themselves from the IS ideology, and mostly want to get their lives back on track (De Bont et al., 2017:38). FTFs still adhere to ISIS' radical and violent ideology, which makes that they can be seen as soldiers on a foreign mission (Ibid.). Both groups consist of men and women. Speckhard & Ellenberg (2021) show that different policy strategies should be tailored based on gendered experiences within the terrorist organizations. As the research by argues, '[i]f and when ISIS FTFs (foreign terrorist fighters) are repatriated, these gendered aspects of their experiences must be addressed in efforts to rehabilitate them and reintegrate them into society' (Ibid.). There is no evidence to believe that all IS-affiliated women participated in violent activities. However, how female terrorists are represented in the political discourse affects the actions that will follow (Ali, 2012).

It is unrealistic to offer a developed policy analysis since governments are still in the process of policy making ("ISIS Foreign Fighters after the Fall of the Caliphate", 2020). An important outside factor to be considered is the judicial aspect of this subject, which often restrict the possibilities that are mentioned in the parliamentary debates, such as the option to retrieve IS-affiliated children without their parents. The political discourse is subordinate to the general concern of international law that associates women with being mothers, which gives them a less vulnerable legal position than men, who are unlikely to be referred to as fathers (Berg, 2019). The Dutch court has ruled that the State must actively try to retrieve IS children with Dutch ties to the

Netherlands (Ibid.). This has culminated in the discussion whether children should be separated from their mothers. While this is a common debate in the legal arena, it is important from a scholarly standpoint to understand the political discourse to address the serious threat of female violence (Speckhard & Ellenberg, 2021).

Case selection

The debate in 2014 provides the first example in which IS-affiliated women are explicitly discussed. The plenary reports of the parliamentary debates are selected based on their subject headings and relevance for the debate. This relevance is based on the purpose of the meeting. The subject headings indicate that the debate specifically has been prepared for and requested by the Chamber. By selecting based on subject headings, rather than on definitions or terminology, I circumvent the problem of overanalyzing certain definitions while overlooking others. Members of the parliament for example address certain subjects briefly to prove a point, draw a parallel, or to ask for an update from one of the ministers. These specific texts are not considered to be relevant for the scope of this research and are therefore left out of the analysis. Debates are intertextual documents, meaning politicians might refer to certain texts. The texts that parliamentary debates refer to are documents such as reports from the Dutch General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD) (2017), the National Coordinator for Counterterrorism and Security (NCTV) (2021) and Europol (2019). I accessed the transcripts of the parliamentary debates online using the Chamber's website. These texts provide reliable insights due to the 'official provenance' of these documents (Danto, 2008).

In line with PPAT, it is important to look at what influences the mental representations and social opinions that are not explicitly stated (Kroninck & Rousseau, 2015: 550; Van Dijk, 2001:

11). For example, female terrorists are often described as mothers, wives, or brides, while male terrorists are never described as fathers, husbands or grooms. There are zero statements made by politicians about any male terrorist to be expected to bare the custody of a child. There are two things that can be deducted from this observation. First, politicians still see the woman, terrorist or not, as the main responsible caretaker for the children. Second, politicians are restricted by limitations of the judiciary, because custody is automatically appointed to the mother when the parents aren't legally married or registered, or when the father has passed (Ministerie van Justitie en Veiligheid, 2019). More findings like these will be described in the analysis section.

I have selected the following debates based on their subject heading and relevance as described above.

1. Approach to Dutch jihad fighters (2014)

2. Administrative measures to combat terrorism (2016)

3. Terrorism and the potential return of ISIS-affiliated women (2018)

4. Problems surrounding the return of jihadis (2019)

5. Preventing jihadists from returning to the Netherlands (2019)

6. Justice and Security Budget 2021 and the expected return of IS-affiliated Angela B. (2020)

7. Bringing IS women and their children back to the Netherlands and the repatriation of Ilham B. (2021)

From analyzing these debates, I identify four themes that exemplify the discourse on returning IS-affiliated women. The themes are (i) the traditional view on women, which sees women as mothers, brides or wives and associates women with activities such as cooking, taking care of the children and doing laundry, (ii) IS-affiliated women are seen as terrorists, and pose a similar threat as male

terrorists (iii) IS-affiliated women have lost the right to Dutch citizenship due to their decision to join IS (iv) IS-affiliated women are victims, because they followed their husbands and are now in a situation they didn't intend for themselves or their children. I have summarized the findings in Table 1. Predicates and Practices, as conceptualized by Doty (1993).

Findings on the views on IS-affiliated women in Dutch parliamentary debates

TABLE 1. Predicates and Practices (449 words)

Traditional view on women	Women as terrorists	No right to Dutch citizenship	Women as victims
wives of ISIS male terrorists (D66, PVV, GroenLinks, VVD)	IS-women are possessed, just like the men who travel to IS (PvdA)	fight against everything this country stands for – freedom, peace and justice – (PvdA, SP)	women become invisible and go unpunished (GroenLinks)
mothers, solely responsible for custody of their children (D66, PVV, GroenLinks, VVD, Grapperhaus, Groep van Haga, FvD)	both men and women are trained for terrorism (CDA, PVV, Europol, AIVD)	revoke Dutch citizenship from jihadists with double passports (PVV, VVD, Grapperhaus, Groep Van Haga)	women tend to get lower sentences than men, equalize the judicial procedure (PVV)
to be taken along to Syria by their husbands (D66, GroenLinks, CDA)	jihadists – male, female, undefined – (PVV)	repatriation financed by Dutch taxpayers is a hard blow in the face of the real victims [Yezidis] (BBB, FvD, CDA, VVD, PVV, SP)	women and children should not be in refugee camps (D66, PVV, GroenLinks, VVD, Grapperhaus, PvdA, CDA)
to have mainly engaged in supporting activities such as cooking, baking and doing the laundry and dishes (PVV, VVD)	women are active decision makers and agents in the jihadi struggle with IS (PVV, VVD, D66, CDA, SP)	should be tried in Syria or Afghanistan, even if this means death penalty (VVD)	consider the separation of mother and child (D66)
jihad brides (PVV, VVD)	the law applies to everyone, regardless of gender (Grapperhaus)	have lost the right to appeal to Dutch rule of law (VVD, PVV, FvD, CDA, BBB, Groep Van Haga)	
IS-brides (PVV, VVD)	to never use 'IS-brides' as a word again (VVD)	sentences for terrorists in the Netherlands are too low (VVD, FvD, PVV)	
IS female terrorist has convinced other women to join because of the delicious food (PVV)	IS-women are described to have been worse than men (PVV, SP, FvD)		
these people aren't women, they are terrorists (PVV) (1)	women show no remorse for what they've done (D66, SP)		
	IS-affiliated women should not have the right to consular assistance or repatriation (PVV, VVD, PvdA)		
	women should not be underestimated as terrorists (Europol, AIVD, NCTV, VVD, PVV, CDA, SP)		
	women went there voluntarily (VVD, PVV, BBB, CDA, FvD, D66, GroenLinks, Grapperhaus, SP)		
	Dutch national interest to repatriate women in order to prosecute them appropriately (PvdA, GroenLinks)		
	women have lost the right to custody of their children due to there IS-affiliation (vKa, GroenLinks, PvdA, Grapperhaus)		
	no sympathy for the women who are still in the refugee camps (VVD, SP, PVV)		
	these people aren't women, they are terrorists (PVV) (2)		

Analysis

The data was read with the intention of finding the concepts *predication, presupposition,* and *subject positioning.* The predicates and practices are based on the 'descriptive characteristics, adjectives, adverbs, and capabilities attributed to the various subjects.' (Doty, 1993:310). The abbreviations in the brackets in Table 1. stand for the political parties that found consensus on these statements, meaning that representatives from their parties all said similar things. There is a consensus between most left- and right-wing parties that Dutch IS-affiliated citizens should not be seen as victims, regardless of gender. However, some of the political parties are more conservative or right-wing than others, for example the PVV (Party for Freedom), FvD (Forum for Democracy) and the VVD (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy). The data shows that these parties are more hostile in their statements on repatriation of IS-affiliated women then left-wing parties. The predicates and practices about IS-affiliated women as terrorists and their identified categories in Table 1. "hang together" (Ibid.). Notable is that the traditional description on the role of women, and the traits attributed to Muslim women, are mentioned simultaneously with statements that call not to underestimate them as potential terrorist threats. This is illustrated in the excerpt below.

> "Chair. Not only the IS fighters themselves want to return. They also have wives and children. These are women who were taken along, but also women who sometimes fought just as hard as their husbands. In that regard, women are no different from men at all. They voluntarily traveled to IS territory and did not just do the dishes there. In fact, they have played a crucial role, as the Europol report shows."

This statement is made by a politician from the VVD and exemplifies all four themes from Table 1. To this politician, the traditional view on women as obedient wives or mothers is not mutually exclusive from the conscious and violent participation in a terrorist organization. The statement

"Not only the IS fighters want to return. They also have wives and children." presupposes that the IS-women were mainly there as wives and mothers. However, the men are described as "IS-fighters" and the women are described as "IS-women", which implies that women are not fighters. While the politician explicitly states that there are women who have fought, he describes these women to be taken along by their husbands.

The *predication* in this text describes the traditional woman in a conservative household, as mainly responsible for the children and the dishes. The *presupposition* in this text is that these women are wives and brides who have followed their husbands. This indicated lack of agency is in line with the neo-Orientalist assumption that Muslim women don't take responsibility for their individual position in society (Said, 1979). Strikingly, the politician still sees them as perpetrators rather than as victims. This is a notable finding considering the politician's earlier statement that they followed their husbands, indicating a relationship of leader and follower. This dynamic occurs throughout the debates and raises the question how it is possible that this perception of perpetrator and docile woman exist at the same time. What can be derived from this, is that the IS-affiliated women are not seen as perpetrators based on their emancipated position in Dutch society, since they are described through traditional values.

"Dutchness"/IS

As stated by a politician from SP, both men and women who have joined IS have lost their right to Dutch citizenship in his eyes (SP). It can be derived from this excerpt that the politician holds both men and women who joined IS equally accountable for their participation.

"The men and women [who joined ISIS], the Dutch, the people who were born here or raised here with all the possibilities to practice their religion, get a degree, to find a home and to become a part of our society, but they chose to turn their backs on us, us "dogs and pigs" who should be destroyed."

The presuppositions in this text hold that the living circumstances in the Netherlands are comfortable for everyone, to the extent that they would know better than to prefer Syria above the Netherlands. By saying that men and women in the Netherlands had "all the possibilities to practice their religion" does not take into consideration the Muslim integration history of the Netherlands. For example, the consistent problematic and offensive statements made about Islam in Dutch politics. Additionally, while the politician describes Dutch men and women who have joined IS, they were still invited "to become a part of our [Dutch] society" somehow. This is interesting because these people were already Dutch citizens at birth. Moreover, the politician's *presupposition* holds that when one decides to join IS, they automatically turn their back on Dutch society and therefore lose their right to Dutch citizenship.

There is a hierarchical structure, thus *subject positioning,* in place between the Dutch State (politicians in the Second Chamber who engage in the debate) and the IS-affiliated women who wish to be repatriated. As stated by a Groep Van Haga politician: "As far as we're concerned, the main rule is: anyone who enters military service in a foreign country loses his Dutch citizenship". The Dutch State is positioned above the IS-affiliated women in the parliamentary discourse, because of their (perceived) lack of commitment to, and belief in Dutch values such as law, democracy, freedom of religion. The Dutch State is portrayed as a moral, rational, and knowledgeable subject that encompasses a set of interconnected ideas, values and goals that are expected to be shared by everyone who lives in the Netherlands (Doty, 1993:313).

In contrast, the IS-affiliated women are described to stand for less complex values than these well thought-out rational and societal morals and values that are attributed to the Netherlands. For example, as stated by right-wing FVD politician: "Why do we bring in these obviously hostile foreigners, who have chosen to leave our much too hospitable country for Syria, to terrorize Syria and Iraq, why on earth do we bring those people back to the Netherlands? We should be glad they left." The ideology of IS is portrayed solely as one of murderers, sadist killers and brutal criminals. Again, Dutch citizens who joined IS are depicted as 'foreigners'.

Traditional woman/Terrorist

While the women are described as wives, mothers, and brides, they are still understood as terrorists. This dynamic is illustrated by the following excerpt from a party member of the PVV, an extremely anti-Muslim political party.

> "Since last week or since last month, it has been cabinet policy [to repatriate ISIS-affiliated women and their children, based on the return of Angela B. and Ilham B.]. They [the cabinet] have taken them [IS-women] back and because of that — Mrs Derkzen cannot deny that — a precedent has been set. A lot of terrorists will come, or already have come knocking on Mr Grapperhaus's door, saying: Mr Grapperhaus, you have brought these women back, you have brought these terrorists back — they are not women at all, they are terrorists — and now I want to be brought back too. Then all legal scholars will say: that must also happen. That's how the rule of law works. The question now is: Mrs Derkzen, what will the VVD do about this new cabinet policy? Is the VVD serious and will they soon agree to my motion that says "never repatriate again"?"

The statement "they are not women at all, they are terrorists" is interesting because it represents two categories from Table 1. simultaneously, being *women as terrorists* and *traditional view on*

women. While the politician sees the women as terrorists, it can be interpreted from this statement that a terrorist's identity cannot coexist with the predicates of a "woman". This represents the argument made by Butler (2007) and Gentry & Sjoberg (2021) that violent women break with gender constructs.

Victim/Terrorist

The expectation of this research held that women would be perceived as victims. Surprisingly, the only time that politicians use the word 'victim' to describe IS-affiliated women, is when call to refrain from the perception that IS-affiliated women are victims. One VVD politician notes "Let's listen to the real victims, instead of to the people with remorse and so-called IS brides". More of these appeals are made throughout the debates, as stated by another VVD politician "I was at a symposium at a women's prison this morning. Why did I just go there? To realize once again how terribly dangerous some women can be".

More consensus on the role of IS-affiliated women as perpetrators is reached in the debates because of a news item from NOS (2019), in which Jezidi women share their experiences with IS-affiliated women in Syria. The Jezidi's are an ethnic and religious minority in Iraq and IS sees them as pagans and heretics (Ibid.). Due to these stories, the politicians are more adamant about blocking the repatriation of IS-affiliated women to the Netherlands. The direct impact of this news item is visible in the excerpt below.

> "Chair, I was really impressed, as the other representatives were, by the stories from Jezidi women who have escaped to the Netherlands and are afraid that IS-women will return. They share how these women have helped to suppress and rape other women, and to sell them as slaves. IS-women have participated in terrible cruelties. These Jezidi women ask for our solidarity. And what did the Jezidi women tell us,

at least to NOS? "The IS-women were worse than the warriors", one 21-year-old woman said. "They would hit the prisoners and help the men rape them". This is what one woman says after being held by IS for four months. Her ten-year-old sister was sold as a slave. "She lived in a house with IS-women. My sister later told me that the female warriors were the worst." Women were enslaved and children were raised to become warriors. They were given the choice between Islam or death. That is the choice the IS-women made. Those IS-women aren't naive people. They were not lured into going there, in contrast, they've become trained and toughened. They are exactly up to date on what IS wants and they still represent this. These women stayed until the very end. They always remained with the caliphate, until the very last moment. They never left."

Agency is an important trait attributed to the IS-affiliated women in this statement. The politician does not engage in dynamics expected from the literature, such as describing violent women's actions based on maternalism, mental instability or deviant sexuality. "They were given the choice between Islam or death. That is the choice the IS-women made" shows that the politician views these women as perpetrators, who are solely to be held responsible for their deeds. "Those IS-women aren't naive people. They were not lured into going there, in contrast, they've become trained and toughened. They are exactly up to date on what IS wants and they still represent this" explicitly opposes the notion that women are viewed to be controlled, coerced or insane when they engage in political violence (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2021).

Conclusion

In this research, I have attempted to prove several points. The first point holds that the way we understand IS-affiliated women has primarily been based on media discourse analyses (Auer et. al, 2019; Pearson, 2018; Martini, 2017; Van der Pas et. al, 2017; Roggebrand & Vliegenthart, 2007). The predominant assumption in the literature holds that politically violent women are often

understood as victims (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2021). By analyzing political discourse instead of discourse in the media, I have found that IS-affiliated women are not mainly understood as victims in the Second Chamber of The Netherlands, but as active agents and perpetrators. This is a significant outcome that opposes the main assumptions held in the literature (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2021).

By applying PPAT, I have aimed to expose the dominant discourse on returning IS-affiliated women (Fischer, 2003). The argumentative turn holds that language shapes how we understand reality. I have linked PPAT to Doty's (1993) DPA to deconstruct the reality on IS-affiliated women that is shaped in the parliamentary debates between 2014 and 2021. Through applying Doty's (1993) concepts of *predicates, presuppositions and subject positionings,* I have found that IS-affiliated women are not victimized in the political discourse of The Netherlands.

A potential weakness of this single case study is that the scope of research is limited solely to the Second Chamber, while the Netherlands has various political, diplomatic and intelligence institutions that are occupied with the concerns of repatriation. It therefore rules out factors that might have affected the political discourse, such as intelligence reports, investigative research, or influential developments in Syria. Additionally, though feminist (IR) theory is admittedly political, applying feminist theory has the weakness to focus on women's data to an extent that might not be representative.

The parliamentary debates show many examples in which a contradictory view on IS-affiliated women is visible. Though Muslim women are described as traditional wives, brides, or naïve women, they are simultaneously described as malicious, monstrous killers. Several power structures have become apparent in the political discourse. The excerpts that discuss the traditional view on (Muslim) women, in which they cook, wash, clean and take care of the children insinuate

a lack of agency as potential perpetrators. A neo-Orientalist power structure is apparent in the debates, in which the 'Orient', in this case, Muslims, are generalized and ridiculed for their beliefs. It can therefore not be concluded from this analysis that IS-affiliated women are seen as perpetrators due to their emancipated position in (Dutch) society. The political motivations behind the views on IS-affiliated women can therefore be further elaborated on in future research.

References

Algemene Inlichtingen- en Veiligheidsdienst. (2017). *Jihadistische vrouwen, een niet te onderschatten dreiging*. https://www.aivd.nl/onderwerpen/terrorisme/dreiging/jihadistische-beweging-in-nederland#:~:text=Jihadistische%20vrouwen&text=De%20rol%20van%20vrouwen%20binnen,strijdgebied%20in%20Syri%C3%AB%20en%20Irak.

Ali, N. (2012). Terrorizing Women. In *Knowing al-Qaeda* (1st ed., pp. 145–166). Taylor & Francis.

Auer, M., Sutcliffe, J., & Lee, M. (2019). Framing the 'White Widow': Using intersectionality to uncover complex representations of female terrorism in news media. *Media, War & Conflict*, 12(3), 281–298.

Bakker, E., & Bont, R. de. (2016). Belgian and Dutch Jihadist Foreign Fighters (2012–2015): Characteristics, Motivations, and Roles in the War in Syria and Iraq. *Small Wars and Insurgencies*.

Berg, S. V. D. (2019, november 11). *Dutch state must repatriate children of Islamic State mothers, court rules*. Reuters. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-netherlands-syria-idUSKBN1XL1J6

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77–101.

Brunner, C. (2007a). "Occidentalism Meets the Female Suicide Bomber: A Critical Reflection on Recent Terrorism Debates; A Review Essay." *Signs* 32 (4): 957–971.

Brunner, C. (2007b). "Discourse – Occidentalism – Intersectionality. Approaching Knowledge on 'Suicide Bombing'." *Political Perspectives* 1 (1): 1–25.

Butler, J. (2007). Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex" In *UNDERSTANDING INEQUALITY* (pp. 145–152).

Chowdhry, G., & Nair, S. (*2002). Power, postcolonialism, and international relations: reading race, gender, and class.* New York: Routledge.

Coolsaet, R., & Renard, T. (2018). *Returnees : who are they, why are they (not) coming back and how should we deal with them ? Assessing policies on returning foreign terrorist fighters in Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands*. Egmont-Royal Institute for International Relations.

Danto, E (2008) *Historical Research: Pocket Guides to Social Work Research Methods*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Doty, R. L. (1993). Foreign Policy as Social Construction: A Post-Positivist Analysis of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy in the Philippines. *International Studies Quarterly, 37*(3), 297–320.

De Bont, S., Weggeman, D., & Bakker, E. (2017). Life at ISIS: The Roles of Western Men, Women and Children. *Security and Global Affairs of Leiden University, 2017.*

Demant, F., Wagenaar, W., & van Donselaar, J. (2009). *Monitor Racisme & Extremisme*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Eade, D. (2016). *[Review of Beyond Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Thinking About Women's Violence in Global Politics]. Gender & Development: Sustainable Development Goals, 24(*1), 154–156. Abingdon: Routledge.

Europol. (2019, July). Women in Islamic State Propeganda. Europol Public Information. Retrieved from https://www.europol.europa.eu/activities-services/europol-specialist-reporting/women-in-islamic-state-propaganda

Elshtain, J. B. 1987. *Women and War.* New York: Basic Books.

Fairclough, N. (1992) *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Fischer, F. (2003). *Reframing Public Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fischer, F. & Forester, J. (1993). *The argumentative turn in policy analysis and planning*. Durham, N.C., [etc.]: Duke University Press.

Fischer, F., & Gottweis, H. (2012). *The Argumentative Turn Revisited* (1st ed.). Amsterdam University Press.

Fitzroy, L. (2001). Violent women: questions for feminist theory, practice and policy. *Critical Social Policy*, *21*(1), 7–34.

Gentry, C. E., & Sjoberg, L. (2021). *Beyond mothers, monsters, whores: thinking about women's violence in global politics* (2nd ed.).

Gielen, A. J. (2018). Exit programmes for female jihadists: A proposal for conducting realistic evaluation of the Dutch approach. *International Sociology*, 33(4), 454–472.

Griffiths, M., Roach, S. C., & Solomon, M. S. (2009). *Fifty key thinkers in international relations* (2nd ed.). London [etc.]: Routledge.

Goldstein, J. & Keohane, R.(eds.) (1993). *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions and Political Change.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Halperin, S., & Heath, O. (2020). *Political research: methods and practical skills* (Third edition.).

Harding, S. G. (1986). *The science question in feminism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Innes, J. J. (1990). *Knowledge and Public Policy* (2nd edn). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction

Books.

ISIS Foreign Fighters after the Fall of the Caliphate. (2020). *Armed Conflict Survey*, 6(1), 23–30.

Kronick, R., & Rousseau, C. (2015). Rights, Compassion and Invisible Children: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Parliamentary Debates on the Mandatory Detention of Migrant Children in Canada. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 28*(4), 544–569.

Ozyurt, S. (2013). Negotiating Multiple Identities, Constructing Western-Muslim Selves in the Netherlands and the United States. *Political Psychology, 34*(2), 239–263.

Shapiro, M. (1988). The Politics of Representation-Writing Practices in Biography, Photography, and Political Analysis. *Madison: University of Wisconsin Press*.

Sjoberg, L. (2009). Feminist Interrogations of Terrorism/Terrorism Studies. *International Relations (London)*, 23(1), 69–74.

Maliepaard, M., & Alba, R. (2016). Cultural Integration in the Muslim Second Generation in the Netherlands: The Case of Gender Ideology. *The International Migration Review, 50*(1), 70–94.

Meines, M., Ramadan, O., Ranstorp, M., & Radicalization Awareness Network. (2017). *Manual 'Responses to returnees: Foreign terrorist fighters and their families'*. Migration and Home Affairs. Retrieved October 14, 2021, from https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/pages/page/manual-responses-returnees-foreign-terrorist-fighters-and-their-families-july-2017_en

Miller, H. T., & Fox, C. J. (2015). *Postmodern public administration* (Rev. ed.).

Ministerie van Justitie en Veiligheid. (2019, September 27). *Wanneer krijg ik gezag over een kind?* Retrieved December 8, 2021, from https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/ouderlijk-gezag/vraag-en-antwoord/wanneer-krijg-ik-automatisch-gezag-over-een-kind

Narain, S. (2014). Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives of J. Ann Tickner. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies, 21*(2), 179–197.

Mitra, M., Shamsoddin, R., & Ensieh, S. (2017). September 11 and the Outbreak of Neo Orientalism in John Updike's Terrorist. *World Scientific News*, *86*(3), 215–230.

Nationaal Coördinator Terrorismebestrijding en Veiligheid (NCTV). (2021, October 26). Dreigingsbeeld Terrorisme Nederland 55. Retrieved December 8, 2021, from https://www.nctv.nl/onderwerpen/dtn/documenten/publicaties/2021/10/26/dreigingsbeeld-terrorisme-nederland-55

NOS. (2019, November 1). 'IS-vrouwen hielpen strijders bij het verkrachten van onze vrouwen.' Retrieved January 15, 2022, from https://nos.nl/artikel/2308525-is-vrouwen-hielpen-strijders-bij-het-verkrachten-van-onze-vrouwen

Nyamutata, C. (2020). The ideological construction of Western ISIS-associated females. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *19*(5), 766–785.

Abrahamian, E., & Paidar, P. (1996). Women and the Political Process in Twentieth-Century Iran. *Contemporary Sociology, 25*(5).

Pearson, E. (2018). Online as the new frontline: Affect, gender, and ISIS-take-down on social media. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 41(11), 850–874.

Roggeband, C., & Vliegenthart, R. (2007). Divergent framing: The public debate on migration in the Dutch parliament and media, 1995-2004. *West European Politics, 30*(3), 524–548.

Rosenau, P. M. (1992). *Post-Modernism and the Social Sciences: Insights, Inroads and Intrusions.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Said, E. W. (1979). *Orientalism* (First Vintage Books edition.).

Sa'di, A. H. (2020). Orientalism in a globalised world: Said in the twenty-first century. *Third World Quarterly*, *42*(11), 2505–2520.

Shepherd, L. J. (2009). *Gender Matters in Global Politics*. London: Routledge.

Spivak, G. C. (1999). *A critique of postcolonial reason: toward a history of the vanishing present.* Cambridge, MA [etc.]: Harvard University Press.

Tickner, J. A. (1992). *Gender in international relations: Feminist perspectives on achieving global security*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Uhr, J. (1998). *Deliberative Democracy in Australia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press.

Van der Pas, D. J., van der Brug, W., & Vliegenthart, R. (2017). Political Parallelism in Media and Political Agenda-Setting. *Political Communication*, *34*(4), 491–510.

Van Dijk, T. (2001). Discourse, Ideology and Context. , *35*(1-2), 11-40.

Van Liere, L. (2014). Teasing 'Islam': 'Islam' as the Other Side of 'Tolerance' in Contemporary Dutch Politics. *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, *29*(2), 187–202.

Vidino, L. (2007). The Hofstad Group: The New Face of Terrorist Networks in Europe. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 30*(7), 579–592.

Walby, S. (1988). Gender Politics and Social Theory. *Sociology*, 22(2), 215–232.

Wodak, R. (1995) 'Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis'. In Verschueren, J., Ostman, J.-O. and Blommaert, J. (eds) *Handbook of Pragmatics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co, pp. 204-210.