



Subjectivity and judgment from the male sphere in the *Mail Online* news articles about Shamima Begum and Mohammed Emwazi

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Abstract

This paper studies subjectivity in the *Mail Online* journalism with a focus on judgmental reporting from the male sphere. The Background research presents the current paradigm of what is acceptable when writing subjectively in journalism and concludes that it is acceptable and is no longer seen as the antithesis to objectivity. However, there remain rules as to what is too much subjectivity such as ‘falsehoods’. The background continues and discusses what the male sphere is, what it means to report from the male sphere, and how one must behave within this sphere to be a ‘true’ woman or ‘true’ man. The study located and categorised both Direct and Indirect Judgment from the male sphere in articles from the *Mail Online*. Articles about Shamima Begum and Mohammed Emwazi were chosen because of their similarities and because of the very different way reporters chose to present their stories. Locating and categorising Judgment using the framework Appraisal and Journalistic Discourse Theory worked well with the ideological focus of the male sphere. The theoretical framework allows for individual subjective utterances to be categorised as Direct Judgment as well as whole extracts to be analysed, and categorised as Indirect Judgment. The results show that in the case of Shamima Begum, negative Judgment was inferred from the male sphere in the form of Indirect Judgment which needed to be read in context. In the case of Mohammed Emwazi both positive and negative Judgment was inferred which was both Direct and Indirect. Both actor’s results directly correspond to Judgment of gendered characteristics from the ‘Male Sphere’ explained Background. This paper concludes with a discussion of the judgments from the male sphere of both actors with examples from the extracts, finishing with limitations of the study and future research considerations.

Keywords:

indirect judgment, male sphere, subjectivity, appraisal and journalistic discourse theory, shamima begum, mohammed emwazi, daily mail, mail online

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1. Introduction

The *Mail Online* is the online version of the *Daily Mail* newspaper and is part of a tradition of British tabloid newspapers that use subjectivity to create sensational headlines and judgmental articles. This research paper explores how subjectivity in the language the *Mail Online*, can infer judgment from the ‘male sphere’.

When the news spread in February 2015 of three schoolgirls, who left the UK to join ISIS in Syria, it became a popular story in the UK media. There were discussions that the schoolgirls had been groomed and sympathy in the media was evident. However, when *The Times* interviewed Shamima Begum, one of the schoolgirls, in a camp in Syria the media changed their ideological position from a *victim* to a *threat*. What had changed? She was still only 15 years old when she left the UK. She had still been the victim of grooming. The thing that had changed was that she showed no *remorse* in *The Times* interview. This *lack of remorse*, an utterance you will see, is used repeatedly to invalidate Shamima Begum’s right to be seen as a child and protected as one. As Rosalind Gill states, ‘[...]we are to fear women with power, yet admire women with the status of victim’ (Gill, 2007, p. 120). The *remorse* that the press had needed to see evident in her interview in order to validate her as a victim was not there and so, Begum was instead presented as ‘a real threat’ (Masters, & Regilme, 2020, p. 352).

There was at the same time in the media, no problem with presenting Mohammed Emwazi as a ‘real threat’. The identity of a masked ISIS terrorist was revealed to be a British man who was dubbed, ‘Jihadi John’. The approach the media took when covering Jihadi John was one of either macho cruelty, or bullied schoolboy, with very little in between.

In order to study this further, news articles about Begum and Emwazi from the *Mail Online* will be analysed using a framework from *Appraisal and Journalistic Discourse Theory*, a type of appraisal theory (Iedema et al., 1994). Appraisal theory has been used as a framework in both qualitative as well as quantitative studies to study discourse in the media, analysing utterances for Subjectivity and Judgment, ‘judgment expressions, which express evaluations of objects and actions in relation to social and personal norms;’ (Soo-Guan Khoo et al., 2012, p. 861). It is an important element in journalism as the writer’s position and choice of utterances impacts the reader’s opinion, ‘specifically from analysing how lexical choices journalists make betray their ideological positioning both in terms of the content as well as the

context of the news report' (Collen, 2016) For this study, subjective language choices made by the reporters to infer judgment from the 'male sphere' and further how this is potentially a limited narrative.

The research question that this study addresses is:

- In view of Appraisal and Journalistic Discourse Theory, how do the *Mail Online* reporters utilise subjectivity to infer judgment from the male sphere?

2. Background

In this chapter I will present **Subjectivity in journalism (2.1)** which looks at how journalists use subjectivity in reporting, its impact on reader experience and how the idea of subjectivity in journalism is changing. In section **(2.2) Judgment of gendered characteristics from the 'Male Sphere'**, the phenomenon of reporting from the perspective of hegemonic masculinity is discussed and contains ideas of what a **'true' woman** is when viewed from this sphere. There is also a paragraph on how to be a **'true' man** from the male sphere. The chapter concludes with section **Appraisal and Journalistic Discourse Theory, (2.3)** from which much of the framework for this study comes. Table 1 shows how subjectivity can be introduced into language and Tables 2 and 3 demonstrate how Judgment can be introduced through subjective language as not only Direct Judgment but also Indirect Judgment which is explained in sub-section **Indirect Judgment 2.3.1.**

2.1 Subjectivity in journalism

The following four articles look at subjectivity in journalism.

The first article by Karin Wahl-Jorgensen, *Subjectivity and Story-telling in Journalism* (2012) analyses subjectivity through appraisals of Affect, Judgment and Appreciation in Pulitzer Prize winning journalism. The author states that objectivity in journalism is impossible, due to 'the subjectivity of language' (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012, p. 305). The paper looks at, amongst other things what the 'consequences' (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012, p. 305) are of 'specific forms' (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012, p. 305) of subjectivity, some of which 'imply particular judgments based on shared normative assumptions' (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012, p. 310) such as moral codes of behaviour. (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012, p. 310). The paper concludes that subjectivity in

journalism ought not to be seen as the opposite of objectivity and therefore further ‘negotiation’ (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012, p. 317) is needed. Overall, the paper is positive towards subjectivity.

The second article, *Valuing subjectivity in journalism: Bias, emotions, and self-interest as tools in arts reporting* by Phillipa Chong (2019) is similar in theme to Wahl-Jorgensen’s article in that Chong views subjectivity as being an established part of journalism but adds, ‘There are specific rules and parameters by which subjectivity is legitimately incorporated into journalism’ and asks (Chong, 2019) how these rules are applied? The paper analyses book reviews for subjectivity, particularly, Bias, Emotions and Self-interest (Chong, 2019, p 430) in traditional formats and blogs, comparing the two with a view to (Chong, 2019) learning what the differences can teach us. The paper concludes that there is a difference between subjectivity in traditional reviews compared to blogs and journalists are able to ‘code switch’ (Chong, 2019, p 439) between the two using subjectivity that is ‘legitimately incorporated into journalism’ (Chong, 2019, p 429) for tradition reviews and rely on ‘mood’ (Chong, 2019, p 434) amongst other things when writing a blog.

The third article, *Between engagement and ironic ambiguity: Mediating subjectivity in narrative journalism* by Frank Harbers and Marcel Broersma (2014), compares two journalists, a British reporter, Robert Fisk and Dutch novelist/reporter, Arnon Grunberg who work in the same field of foreign correspondence and are described by the authors as ‘Narrative journalists’. Similar in opinion/results to both Wahl-Jorgensen and Chong, this paper essentially looks at how much subjectivity is acceptable by comparing two forms of journalism that are by design, subjective. Both journalists are Narrative journalists, however Robert Fisk writes in a way described as ‘personal–engaged subjectivity [which] abides by the fundamental maxims of traditional journalism’ (Harbers & Broersma 2014, p. 639) while Arnon Grunberg’s reporting is not only subjective but also results in actual falsehoods because it, ‘subverts the profession’s claim to truth’ (Harbers & Broersma 2014, p. 639).

Harbers and Broersma begin by describing narrative journalists as being ‘caught in limbo’ (Harbers & Broersma 2014, p. 640) because they are required to report honestly but are also expected to engage the audience using ‘their own experiences, thoughts and feelings as a lens through which to view reality (Harbers & Broersma 2014, p. 640 after Connery, 1990; Hartsock, 2000, Lehman, 1997). This is described as a conflict between what are facts and

‘personal opinion’ (Harbers & Broersma 2014, p. 640) creating an illusion that fact does not actually exist and by ‘organize[ing] and represent social reality through the filters of personal experience and moral judgment, and the individual reporter’s prior knowledge, experiences, values and convictions provide the frame of reference’ (Harbers & Broersma 2014, p. 643) rather than objectivity alone.

The authors use examples to convey this ‘representation of social reality’ such as Fisk’s description of Beirut:

I walked through the deserted city centre of Beirut yesterday and it reminded me more than ever of a film lot, a place of dreams too beautiful to last, a phoenix from the ashes of civil war whose plumage was so brightly coloured that it blinded its own people.
(Harbers & Broersma 2014, p. 643 after Fisk, 2006 p. 1)

Similarly, Grunberg’s description that presumes to know the opinions of someone from their physical appearance, ‘Voting seems something the sheik has never heard of. From his facial expression I gather that what fleas are for a dog, democracy is for people’ (Harbers & Broersma 2014, p. 643 after Grunberg, 2008, p. 260). The paper concludes that both reporters use subjectivity differently, with Fisk adhering to journalistic codes of practice, the ‘objectivity regime’ (Harbers & Broersma 2014, p. 643) and Grunberg adopting a postmodern ‘personal-ironic’ (Harbers & Broersma 2014, p. 651) which in some cases might be problematic.

The fourth and final article, *Attitude and subjectivity in Italian and British hard-news reporting: The construction of a culture-specific ‘reporter’ voice* by Gabrina Pounds (2010) compares British broadsheets with Italian news reporting to see if the broadsheet tradition of objective news reporting is evident in Italian news. The paper, a Critical Discourse Analysis uses Appraisal Theory. Pounds (2010) begins by stating that true objectivity is impossible because all reporting involves the reporter. Further, Pounds (2010) questions the validity of semantic choices of reporters ‘that appears to legitimize objectionable ideological perspectives such as racist, sexist, right-wing views and the linguistic (or other semiotic) forms that realize them’ (Pounds, 2010, p 107). The author continues to explain that recently reporters have begun to introduce ‘stance [that] is invariably encoded at some level (whether the researcher subscribes to it or not!) but that it can be conveyed more or less explicitly to the

readers (Pounds, 2010, p 107). Overall, unlike the first three articles, the author views subjectivity with caution though it is the ‘stance’ that is questionable and not the lack of objectivity.

2.2 Judgment of gendered characteristics from the ‘Male Sphere’

The *male sphere* is an abstract space. Everything that emerges from it adheres to the masculine hegemonic ideal of Normality. Everything that does not conform to this is judged as *abnormal*. In the media, language can be constructed and presented from the male sphere, viewed through the, ‘male gaze using male language and metaphors’ (Burke & Mazzarella, 2010, p. 395). Thus, judgment of gendered characteristics from the male sphere can be one way of actualizing subjectivity in texts that are supposed to be objective, such as news articles.

2.2.1 ‘True’ Women from the ‘male sphere’

Viewed from the ‘male sphere’ women behave ‘naturally’ when in the ‘domestic sphere’, with values within this sphere determining whether or not a woman is a ‘true’ woman or not. **‘Pious, pure, submissive and domestic’** (Welter, 1966, p. 152) were, at the end of the 19th century at least, considered the cardinal values of the *Cult of Domesticity*. These four utterances must surely have subdivisions. Domestic for example embodies the home, the husband and the children as well as herself. There were many periodicals that gave women guidance on how to fulfill the values correctly such as, ‘*The Mother's Assistant, Young Lady's Friend, Lady's Token and A Young Lady's Guide to the Harmonious Development of a Christian Character*’ (Welter, 1966, p. 152)

In concordance, dictionary descriptions offer: *Pious*, ‘devoutly religious’, *Pure*, ‘wholesome and untainted by immorality, especially that of a sexual nature’, *Submissive*, ‘ready to conform to the authority or will of others; meekly obedient or passive’, *Domestic*, ‘relating to the running of a home or to family relations’. (OED) These of course, have opposites which are open to some interpretation but can be: *Sinful, Impure (sexual), Assertive, Public*.

While the gap between public (men) and domestic (women) spheres are less rigid than in the past, they have not seen a full merge. Figure 1. below illustrates this, showing how the spheres between years 1800 and 1990 are merging but not equal. ‘women’s inclusion in the

workforce fails to be matched by men's increased participation in the home' (Jones et al., 2020, p. 6).

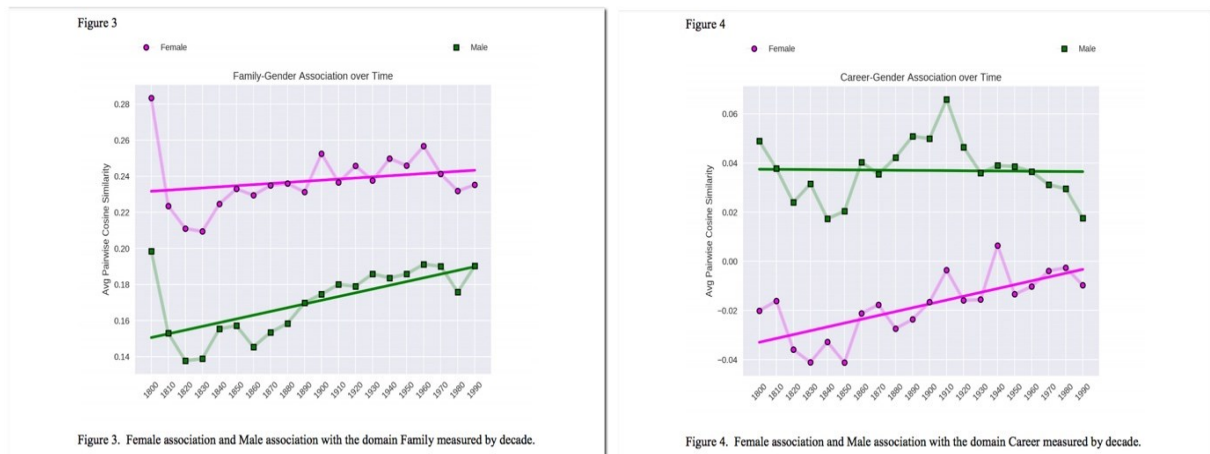


Figure 1. The gap between male and female spheres between 1800 and 1990. (source: Jones et al., 2020, p. 53)

While the gaps are closing, the stereotypes prevail to perpetuate and reinforce the myth of rigid female and male spheres, by such things as women's magazines, lifestyle magazine, 'lad's mags' and the media. The tabloid media use these tropes presumably as this ideal can be polarised effectively, submitting into or omitting from the 'true' woman (or 'true' man) category, characteristics of actors, using the simplest language, creating a *normal* vs *abnormal* dichotomy. For example, 'sending a woman to cover a war or conflict [is] unpalatable' (Gill, 2007, p. 122) because the woman has presumably ventured too far from her natural sphere.

2.2.2 'True' Men from the 'male sphere'

If there are 'true' women, then there must be 'true' men. These men are presented as physically active and sporty as well as, '[from] Rambo-esque heroes to incompetent figures of fun or contempt – with very little in between' (Gill, 2007, p. 32). The 'figures of contempt' are 'beast, fiend, monster', (Gill, 2007, p. 144). As Gill (2007) explains the 'myth' behind this is the 'Insecure child who became monster' (Gill, 2007, p. 145) where the child is described as having 'feelings of insecurity and from experience of being bullied at school' (Gill, 2007, p. 145). This could be argued as the male version of a victim.

Female attributes are also used to belittle men. Commenting on a woman's appearance is a known tactic by the media to belittle a woman and can also be a way of belittling a man if the

comments place him in the ‘domestic sphere’. A male Iraq War protester’s appearance was described by a reporter as “a lovely looking lad’ and went on to describe his (blonde) hairstyle, before attacking the naivety of this position’ (Gill,2007, p. 117). This treatment, as Gill states, was to ‘put the man in his place’ (Gill,2007, p. 117).

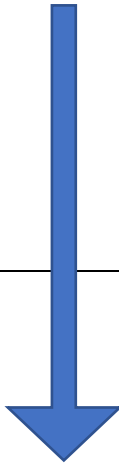
2.3 Subjective judgement by Appraisal and Journalistic Discourse Theory

Appraisal and Journalistic Discourse Theory (Iedema et al., 2014) is a branch of Appraisal Theory which looks at how subjectivity and objectivity can be formed and established in journalism through language, centrally syntactic, lexical and grammatical choices. Appraisal and Journalistic Discourse Theory provides frameworks for how *direct judgement* and *indirect judgement* – the two forms of subjectivity are actualized in journalism.

2.3.1 Direct Judgment

Understanding the actualization of direct judgement requires understanding how subjectivity in general is actualized by means of language, and how the degree of language impact on subjectivity increases. Individual utterances can be regarded as subjective, such as the use of ‘first person pronoun’ (Iedema et al.,1994, p. 24). Other use of utterances considered in the theory to make the journalism subjective is modality as well as ‘non-core’ words. A non-core word is a word chosen to add subjectivity or judgment where the core word would have been more appropriate for factual journalism, or even omitted entirely (‘non-core’ lexis is associated with all authorial voices, but it not considered subjective unless the tokenised Judgment is explicit’ (Iedema et al.,1994, p. 24). Table 1. below shows how subjectivity can be introduced into text. This has a hierarchy of impact, from Measure to Judgment, in their degrees of impact on enacting and introducing subjectivity.

Table 1. Ways of introducing ‘subjectivity’ into text with increasing impact from Measure to Judgment (source: Iedema et al.,1994, p. 27)

| | | |
|-----------|---|--|
| Measure |  | <i>a little, lots, for ages, etc.</i> |
| Affect | | <i>sad, distraught, desperate, confident, etc.</i> |
| Intensity | | <i>adverbs: very, somewhat, etc.</i> |
| Modality | | <i>should, might, will, may etc.</i> |
| Judgment | | <i>insensitive, stupid, bad, etc.</i> |

Note: the vertical arrow in the table indicates the increasing degree of impact on subjectivity from Measure to Judgement.

As seen in Table 1, Judgement is the strongest form of realizing subjectivity. Appraisal and Journalistic Discourse Theory specifically categorise Judgment in subjective language as two things – *Social Esteem* and *Social Sanction*, as seen in the following Table 2 and Table 3.

Social Esteem further involves three sub-categories, *Normality*, *Capacity* and *Tenacity* in both *positive* and *negative* ways. Social Sanction also involves two sub-categories, *Veracity* and *Propriety*, again, in both *positive* and *negative* ways. When deciding if an utterance is a Judgment one can compare the word with those in the tables and either match the word exactly, or find a word that is close in meaning. For example, ‘She is lazy’ is straightforward and would be **Judgment of Social Esteem. Tenacity = Negative** because the adjective *lazy* indicates a negative inclination of a person. Sometimes, classifying an expression into one specific category is not straightforward. For example, ‘wonderful’ in ‘She is wonderful’ can be a **Judgment of Social Esteem. Normality = Positive**, as the word can entails the images of *normal*, *remarkable* and so on. However, if ‘she’ were to perform an act then instead of **Normality** the word would indicates **Capacity**. For example, ‘She drove wonderfully’, **Judgment of Social Esteem. Capacity = Positive**.

Table 2. Judgments to do with Social Admiration or Contempt (source: Iedema et al., 1994, p. 14)

| SOCIAL ESTEEM | Positive (admire/be captivated by) | Negative (hold in contempt/pity) |
|------------------------|---|---|
| Normality (usuality) | <i>normal, outstanding, lucky, remarkable</i> | <i>peculiar, odd, eccentric, unlucky, abnormal</i> |
| Capacity (ability) | <i>competent, powerful, graceful, beautiful, witty, fashionable</i> | <i>weak, incompetent, ugly, stupid, foolish, incapable, unfashionable, dated</i> |
| Tenacity (inclination) | <i>plucky, heroic, curious, resolute, self-reliant</i> | <i>cowardly, rash, apathetic, obstinate, vexatious, lazy, servile, complacent</i> |

Table 3. Judgments to do with Social Sanction - moral right and wrong (source: Iedema et al., 1994, p. 14)

| SOCIAL SANCTION | INSTITUTIONAL PRAISE (i.e., positive) | INSTITUTIONAL BLAME (i.e., negative) |
|------------------------|---|--|
| Veracity (probability) | <i>honest, frank, real, genuine, credible</i> | <i>deceitful, fake, bogus, dishonest, deceptive</i> |
| Propriety (obligation) | <i>right, good, ethical, kind, generous, loyal, forgiving</i> | <i>wrong, evil, sinful, mean, cruel, greedy, arrogant, corrupt</i> |

2.3.2 Indirect Judgment

Aside from expressing judgment directly by means of specific language items such as ‘She is *lazy*, he is *wonderful*’ and so on, it is also possible to express judgment indirectly ‘through cultural context’ and syntactic construction (Iedema et al., 1994, p. 19). For example,

compare the two following extracts that Iedema et al. extracted from *The Times* and *The Guardian*.

(An extract from *the Times*) Eleven Africans were shot dead and 15 wounded when Rhodesian police opened fire on a rioting crowd of about 2000 in the African Highland township of Salisbury this afternoon.

(an extract from *the Guardian*) Riot police shot and killed 11 African demonstrators and wounded 15 others here today in the Highfield African township on the outskirts of Salisbury.

The Times treatment of the police shooting was by means of a passive construction, leaving the question, 'who was responsible?' open: This contrasted with the coverage by the *Guardian* of the same day which used an active construction, clearly indicating who did what: (Iedema et al., 2004, p. 21). Depending on the choice of utterances and constructions used by a journalist the value judgments the reader places upon them will differ. In these examples, the role of the police is inferred as lesser in the first example than the role of the police in the second example.

Another example of how reporters infer judgment indirectly is shown in the following extract which infers a characteristic or action of *heroic* or *courageous* even though these utterances were not used;

A woman with no experience of rock climbing yesterday clambered fifty metres without ropes or any other form of safety apparatus up a steep cliff in the Blue Mountains to rescue a seriously injured ten-year-old boy who had fallen onto a narrow ledge from the roadway above (Iedema et al., 1994, p. 19).

Therefore, it is important to consider the articles in the study both in terms of utterances, which are both presented in a table as well as discussed, but also in terms of 'indirect judgment' in context as it is, 'precisely within this 'grey area', where 'objectivity' merges into 'subjectivity', that much of the debate about media 'impartiality' and 'balance' is located' (Iedema et al., 1994 p. 27).

3. Material and Method

This chapter presents the material and analytic method used in this study, together with a discussion of pros and cons of using Appraisal and Journalistic Discourse Theory as the analytic framework.

3.1 Material

As material, I have chosen news articles from the *Mail Online* about Shamima Begum, and Mohammed Emwazi. The full texts of, as well as links to the articles are provided in Appendices 1 – 4.

Shamima Begum and Mohamed Emwazi have been chosen because of their similarities and their differences. Both are Muslim. Both grew up in Britain and later left to join ISIS. They were both groomed before they left Britain. These are the similarities. The differences are that they are different sexes. Whether or not they are guilty or innocent is not in debate but rather the way in which the media presents these actors; presentations which could have been exactly the same, therefore it is the way in which they are presented differently that creates interest.

Shamima Begum is a British woman, born in 1999. At fifteen years old she travelled to Syria with two of her classmates to join Islamic State. Begum is still in Syria after having her British nationality removed. On the other hand, Mohammed Emwazi was a British/Kuwaiti man born in 1988. There is a lot of speculation to his role in Islamic State but it is believed that he was a leading figure. He was killed in 2015 by the United States army.

The *Mail Online* is the online version of *The Daily Mail* newspaper. It is considered to be a ‘middle-market’ paper rather than a tabloid or a broadsheet and has won many awards for journalism. *The Daily Mail’s* average age of readership is 58 years old and has more women readers than men. (Wikipedia)

Two articles from the *Mail Online*. The content is different with the first being a news story about Begum’s rape allegation and the second is a reportage piece about her life at camp Roi in Syria. Meanwhile, two articles from the *Mail Online* about Mohammed Emwazi. A news

story about his life in ISIS and a news story when his identity was revealed focusing on his childhood.

3.2 Method: Framework of analysis

In order to analyse articles from the *Mail Online*, I began by reading each article and highlighting Subjectivity as Direct Judgment of singular utterances or Indirect Judgment (based on the context, see section 2.3.1.) relating to the male sphere. This was followed by my own interpretation. You will read in the next section, Pros and Cons that the context affects my interpretation but not the subjectivity quite concretely assigned by article writers. For example, In the sentence, “Other key conservatives, such as TV evangelist Mr P Robertson and renegade Bush challenger Mr Pat Buchanan, will take to the podium to back Mr Bush.” (Iedema et al., 1994, p. 18), the word ‘renegatde’ will always be subjective, but my Interpretation could differ. This is very important. A *renegade* is eccentric in politics making it a Negative Judgment but potentially tenacious in warfare, making it a Positive Judgment. In particular, my interpretations in the analysis will be made, focusing on the male sphere. Further, it would be impossible for every word to be included in Table 2. and Table 3., so words are assigned a category of Judgment based on what I believe is the closest. For example, in Extract 1 in Chapter 4: Analysis and results. I decided that *claims* fits best in the category with *credible*, Social Sanction/Veracity, in Table 3. Finally, Direct or Indirect Judgment relating to the male sphere is discussed in a summary after each extract.

3.3 Pros and cons of using Appraisal and Journalistic Discourse Theory as the framework

As for cons, while the framework is excellent, it is not exhaustive. When using it to determine Judgment inferred in language, Tables 2. and Table 3. provide concrete definitions for categories. However, when the utterance is not explicitly included, a near-guess is necessary. Further, it is necessary to view the whole article in its entirety in order to assign the Judgments. For example, *full and frank* (Extract 2) is Positive in the framework but Negative in context. This reliance on context makes the analyser, me, a subjective inclusion in the analysis. This reliance on context continues, for example, a paragraph that includes a comment from the Home Secretary, ‘No way, no way’ (Extract 4) adds to the overall Negative Indirect Judgment while the utterance itself is simply arbitrary. Further features, such as ‘she KNEW’ (Extract 1) which has been capitalised and repeated several times,

absolutely need to be viewed in context to determine which category of Judgment is being inferred by the reporter.

As for pros, when focusing explicitly on the ideologies of the male sphere, (2.2) navigating the categories in Table 2. and Table 3 is a much more straightforward task. If the writer is not writing from the male sphere, *shy* would very much depend on the context. However, when judging a male from the 'male sphere' a judgment for *shy* is Normality = Negative, because physical prowess and aggressivity is judged as positive, so to be *shy* would be *abnormal*. Further, judging a female would be positive, Normality = Positive, because to be submissive is valued. Therefore, even though context is extremely important, the values of a 'true' woman and a 'true' man from the male sphere are specific, making the framework function very well.

4. Analysis and results

In this chapter, four articles will be presented and analysed according to the framework in section 3.2. Beginning with the reporting of Shamima Begum in 4.1 followed by the reporting of Mohammed Emwazi in section 4.2. The comparisons and contrasts will be discussed in section 5. Each extract will be analysed like the example given in 3.2. with subjective utterances chosen because they form Judgment from the male sphere. The Interpretation is my own while the Judgment is from Table 2. and Table 3.

4.1 Subjectivity and judgment from the male sphere in news articles about Shamima Begum
The first article is a news article and the second article is a reportage. The articles have been chosen, as the content is different with the first being a news story about Begum's rape allegation and the second is a comment piece about her life at camp Roi in Syria.

4.1.1 Article 1

The first Shamima Begum article, *Shamima Begum claims ISIS husband raped her in Syria in bid to regain UK citizenship - as terror expert says 'she KNEW' what she was doing and is only showing remorse because she wants to return to Britain'* is by Ed Riley (2019) and is a news article with text and images. The images are not in the appendix but can be found using the URL. The text accompanying the images is present and I have considered this for

analysis. It is a news article. Extracts from the article are analysed for Subjectivity and Judgment (Tables 2. & 3.) from the male sphere (section 2.2). The full article is found in appendix 1.

Extract 1.

(Headline) Shamima Begum *claims* ISIS husband raped her in Syria in a bid to regain UK citizenship – as terror expert says '*she KNEW*' what she was doing and is only showing remorse because she wants to return to Britain

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|-----------------|--------------|---|
| <i>claims</i> | veracity | Is it true? |
| <i>She KNEW</i> | veracity | It was not rape because she was consensual. |

In this extract 1, the reporter chooses the utterance, *claims* which places the uncertainty of the veracity of Begums *claim*, that is, is it true? The reporter answers this question himself with the subjective utterance, *she KNEW* which makes the answer, yes, it is true. However, by stating that *she KNEW* invalidates the claim of rape, because if *she KNEW* what she was doing, then it is not rape but consensual sex. Therefore, this is an **Indirect Judgment of Social Sanction** (Table 3). This is Judgment from the male sphere in two ways. Firstly, by being *deceitful* and claiming to be raped, Begum is not behaving as a 'true' woman (section 2.2) should which is *pious*, **Veracity = Negative** (*deceitful*). Further, by not having been raped but actually having had consensual sex at 15 years old, and without *remorse* until now, Begum is Judged from the male sphere as *impure*, (see section 2.2) **Propriety = Negative** (*sinful*).

Extract 2.

'She *had full and frank knowledge* of what she was doing. She was *fully committed* in the murders or the group who carried out the murders.

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|-------------------------|------------------|---|
| <i>full [and frank]</i> | adj. measurement | Begum had <i>all</i> available knowledge. She knew right from wrong |
| <i>[full and] frank</i> | veracity/honesty | This knowledge was genuine |

| | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|--|
| <i>fully [committed]</i> | adv. intensifier | Focus on commitment. ‘all of’ |
| <i>had</i> | implying past tense | Begum <i>had</i> the knowledge all along |

In the first part of extract 2, the reporter’s use of subjectivity states that Begum had all of the knowledge available to her when she decided to have underage consensual sex. This places the blame on her and removes any doubt that she had been foolish. Therefore, it is **Indirect Judgment of Social Sanction** (Table 3). **Propriety = Negative** (*deceitful*). In the second part of the extract the reporter introduces the idea that Begum is also a murderer. This is **Direct Judgment of Propriety = Negative** (*evil*). These judgments are from the male sphere because Begum is judged for not behaving as a ‘true’ woman should which is *pious* and *pure* (see section 2.2).

Extract 3.

‘She is *only showing remorse* as she wants to come back’

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>only</i> | intensity | A conditional. |
| <i>remorse</i> | non-core/affect | - |

In extract 3, the utterance *remorse* suggests Begum is accepting some level of responsibility for being raped; that she is sorry it happened. The reporter chooses the subjective utterance *only*, inferring a condition, in this case, *showing remorse* because she wants to come back. This creates an **Indirect Judgment of Social Sanction** (Table 3). This Judgment is from the male sphere in two ways. Firstly, it Judges a woman for being deceptive for *only* using her situation for gain. This presents her as *deceptive* rather than the acceptable *pious*, thus, **Veracity = Negative** (*deceptive*). Secondly, it Judges Begum for being raped, **Propriety = Negative**, (*sinful*) as she has been *impure* (see section 2.2).

Extract 4.

‘Since being part of IS *she says* she has given birth to three children, all of whom died from disease *or* malnutrition.

Ms Patel responded to her plea by simply saying: *No way, no way.*’

Begum, who is now living in an internment centre in Syria, said: *'My mental health situation is not the best'*.

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|-----------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| <i>she says</i> | veracity | The claim is not verified. |

In this extract 4, the utterance *she says*, refers to her children dying *from disease or malnutrition* with *or* a linking word of two alternatives implying she is unsure, or undecided about how her children died. **This creates Judgments of Social Esteem** (Table 2) and **Social Sanction** (Table 3). Further, the extract ends with a statement about Begum's mental health with an arbitrary statement from the Home Secretary, '*No way, no way*' in between. It implies, Begum is mentally unstable so the **Judgment would be Normality = Negative (abnormal)** (Table 2). However, another level of Judgment is inferred of **Propriety = Negative (evil)** (Table 3); could she have killed her own children? These Judgments are from the male sphere as they place the woman outside of her natural domestic sphere which includes the nurturing role of a mother.

4.1.2 Article 2

The second Shamima Begum article, *Is Shamima Begum's new look a sham?* is by Paul Bracchi (2021) and is a reportage article with text and images. The images are not in the appendix but can be found using the URL. The text accompanying the images is present and I have considered this for analysis. Extracts from the article are analysed for Subjectivity and Judgment (Tables 2 & 3) from the male sphere (section 2.2). The full article is found in appendix 2.

Extract 5.

(Headline) 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

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|-------------|--------------|---|
| <i>sham</i> | 'non-core' | A lie, a false presentation of reality. |

| | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|---|
| <i>ISIS bride</i> | 'non-core', moniker | - |
| <i>ditched</i> | 'non-core' | Clothing has been recklessly 'abandoned'. |
| <i>makeover</i> | idiom | Reinvention done by someone else. Fun, frivolous. |
| <i>troubling</i> | affect/measure | Deceitful. |

In this extract 5 the journalist uses subjective language utterances to create both Direct and Indirect Judgment. *Sham* creates **Direct Judgment of Social Sanction (Table 3) Veracity = Negative (fake)** Further, non-core language choices such as *ditched* as well as idiomatic language features such as *makeover* suggest an **Indirect Judgment of Admiration = Positive (self-reliant)**. However, the Judgment refers quickly back to **Indirect Judgment of Social Sanction = Negative (deceitful)**. All three of these judgments are from the male sphere. The negative judgments of *fake* and *deceitful* are opposed to those values of *purity* and *piety*. Further, the positive judgment of *self-reliance* is also a negative judgment from the male sphere as a 'true' woman's virtue is to be *submissive*.

Extract 6.

'But this is not any young woman. This is Shamima Begum, the teenager who fled Britain in 2015 to marry an ISIS fighter. The now 21-year-old who described with *chilling nonchalance* how she 'wasn't fazed' by the sight of a severed head. Who declared how she had a *'good time' with Isis*, and who justified the *bombing of Manchester Arena*'.

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| <i>chilling</i> | affect | Without feeling, 'icy'. |
| <i>nonchalance</i> | judgment | Inclined to not care. |
| <i>good time with ISIS</i> | judgment | Frivolous. |
| <i>bombing of Manchester Arena</i> | affect | - |

In this extract 6, the journalist has included five events that span six years in one paragraph. The result is Judgment both Direct and Indirect. '*Chilling nonchalance/severed head*' creates **Direct Judgment of Social Sanction. Propriety = Negative (cruel)**. Further, the reporter connects '*good time' with ISIS* and the *bombing of the Manchester Area* intensifying the **Indirect Judgment of Social Sanction. Propriety = Negative (cruel)** (Table 3). These

judgments are from the male sphere because they judge a woman who has ventured outside of her domestic sphere to have a ‘good time’. Further, this resulted in her neglect of her domestic duties of care, especially to children, who made up the majority of those killed in the Manchester Bombing creating a further **Indirect Judgment of Social Esteem. Normality = Negative (abnormal)**.

Extract 7.

‘Many, including her own family, would struggle to immediately recognise her. Gone is the black, full-length chador (long, flowing gown) and black hijab which used to frame her face that now *bears the suggestion of a smile*’.

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|--|----------------------|---|
| <i>many</i> | measure | A large number, the majority |
| <i>‘bears the suggestion of a smile’</i> | measure/ judgment | A smile is positive, but this suggests something sly, like a smirk. |

In extract 7, the journalist’s use of subjectivity creates **Judgment of Social Sanction** (Table 3). The use of *many* as an utterance of measure suggests this Judgment is shared by the majority, including her family. This means no one would recognise her ‘new look’ because it is not her real look. Therefore, in this context Begum is *deceitful*. By including *bears the suggestion of a smile*, the reporter reinforces the **Judgment of Social Sanction**. (Table 3.) **Veracity = Negative (deceitful)** suggesting Begum is smirking. This Judgment is from the male sphere because, by being *deceitful*, Begum is not acting like a ‘true’ woman who is *pure* and *pious* (section 2.2).

Extract 8

‘Either way, her *striking new* image has *turned the global spotlight* on to Shamima Begum and her life at al-Roj’.

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|---|
| <i>striking</i> | intensifier | - |
| <i>new</i> | intensifier/measure | Her hijab are her real clothes. |
| <i>turned the global spotlight</i> | idiomatic language | Objectifying herself/seeking attention. |

In this extract 8, subjective language used by the journalist intensify her image as well as suggesting Begum is objectifying herself. This creates **Indirect Judgment of Social Esteem** (Table 2). Considering the context of the scenario, this extract uses irony to create a **Negative Judgment = Normality** (*abnormal*). It is Judgment from the male sphere because Begum’s *abnormal* behaviour of seeking attention is far from the Domestic female sphere (section 2.2) and places her in the male public sphere.

Extract 9.

‘She is among a *50-strong* British *contingent* of women and children’

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>among a 50-strong</i> | idiomatic language of intensity | Part of a large group, as many as 50. |
| <i>contingent</i> | affect/non-core | A battalion. |

In this extract 9, the journalist has used subjective language features to create **Indirect Judgment of Social Sanction** (Table 3). When viewed from the male sphere, accepting what a ‘true’ woman ought to be, (section 2.2) the war/military language Judges Begum as dangerous, **Propriety = Negative** (*evil*). Further, the military language removes her and the children from their *normal* female domestic sphere and places them in the *abnormal* male sphere giving the judgment a second level of **Indirect Judgment of Social Esteem** (Table 2). **Normality = Negative** (*abnormal*).

Extract 10.

‘U.S.-born Hoda Muthana, 26, once a high-profile Isis agitator, is a member of her *close-knit* social group, so too is Canadian Kimberly Polman, a mother of three adult children in her late 40s; all three were Isis brides’.

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|-------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>close-knit</i> | non-core/measure/affect | Female camaraderie. |

In this extract 10, the reporter has chosen to position the utterances in a way that makes the inference ambiguous. Did Kimberly Polman take her *three adult children* with her to become *ISIS brides*? By introducing this information, all the women are guilty by association because they are part of a *close-knit group*. By inferring that children were involved makes the **Indirect Judgment of Social Esteem** (Table 2). **Normality = Negative** (*abnormal*). This judgment is from the male sphere as by potentially involving children the women are acting as bad mothers and not behaving correctly from their domestic female sphere. (section 2.2)

Extract 11.

‘Miss Begum was *married off* to a Dutch jihadi with whom she had three children in *quick succession*, all of whom died of disease or malnutrition before she arrived at al-Roj’.

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>married off</i> | idiomatic phrase/‘non-core’ | She was disposed of. |
| <i>quick succession</i> | intensity/measure | Without consideration, viewing the children as a series or collection. |

In this extract 11, the journalist uses subjective idiomatic language features as well as non-core choices to create Judgment that infers Begum is of little value, bore children without thought for their wellbeing and could not even keep them alive/murdered them. This creates **Negative Indirect Judgment of Social Esteem** (Table 2). The Judgment is from the male sphere because it judges Begum both as a *weak* wife, **Capacity = Negative** (*weak*) as well as an *abnormal* mother, **Normality = Negative** (*abnormal*). Wife and mother are both roles from the domestic female sphere, (section 2.2) however, here Begum has been judged to have failed on both counts.

4.2 Subjectivity and judgment from the male sphere in news articles about Mohammed Emwazi

The following two articles have been chosen because of their subjectivity and judgment as well as the difference in content between each other. Article 3 has both positive and negative judgment. Article 4 has only negative judgment.

4.2.1 Article 3

The first Mohammed Emwazi article '*Jihadi John*' *horrified public, emboldened extremists*, (2015), is an Associated Press article from the *Mail Online*. The images are not in the appendix but can be found using the URL. The text accompanying the images is present and I have considered this for analysis. Extracts from the article are analysed for Subjectivity and Judgment (Table 2. and Table 3.) from the male sphere (section 2.2). The full article is found in appendix 3.

Extract 12.

(Headline) 'DUBAI, United Arab Emirates (AP) — The Islamic State group militant known as "*Jihadi John*", who was targeted in a U.S. drone strike, *horrified the world* with his *brutal beheadings* of *hostages*. But his videos, with *sneering* taunts of the West, served as a recruiting tool for those *drawn* to the *dark, bloody world of extremism*'.

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|--|-----------------|---|
| <i>Jihadi John</i> | moniker | Infamous/famous/agent. |
| <i>horrified</i> | affect | - |
| <i>the world</i> | measure | He is infamous around the whole world and not just in the West. |
| <i>brutal</i> | intensifier | - |
| <i>beheadings</i> | affect | |
| <i>hostages</i> | non-core | Nameless, faceless victims. |
| <i>sneering</i> | judgment | Like the Joker/a caricature. |
| <i>drawn</i> | non-core | People choose to be recruited. |
| <i>dark, bloody world of extremism</i> | non-core/affect | |

In this extract 12, the journalist chooses language features that create melodrama. There is **Direct Judgment**, such as *sneering*, but the overall **Indirect Judgment of Social Esteem**. **Tenacity = Positive** (*powerful*) (Table 2) The headline is strewn with subjective utterances that make a very serious event of murder sound like a trailer for a teenage slasher film. This is from the male sphere as it presents the actor as the 'Rambo-esque' figure. (section 2.2)

Extract 13.

‘though the *extremists* carried out other *mass killings*, rapes and enslavements *in their march* across Iraq and Syria’.

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|----------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>extremist</i> | non-core | Not terrorist. |
| <i>mass killings</i> | non-core/measure | Not murders. |
| <i>their march</i> | non-core | Active unity, commitment. |

In this extract 13, the reporter’s choice of non-core utterances over core-words place emphasis on *the march* while reducing the impact of the murders committed. This creates an **Indirect Judgment of Social Esteem. Tenacity = Positive (heroic)** (Table 2). This is from the male sphere as it presents the actor as the ‘Rambo-esque’ figure. (section 2.2)

Extract 14.

The reason was the *slickly produced, sound-bite-quality butchery* he and others committed before the camera. Their victims included U.S., British and Japanese hostages.

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|---------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| <i>slickly</i> | intensity | Effectively. |
| <i>sound-bite-quality</i> | idiomatic | Impressive. |
| <i>butchery</i> | affect | Gruesome yet skilled. |

In extract 14, the reporter chooses subjective utterances for intensity, creating an almost poetic presentation of idiomatic language features and subjective utterances that intensify emotional response. This creates **Indirect Judgment of Social Esteem. Capacity = Positive (competent)** (Table 2). This is from the male sphere as it presents the actor as the ‘Rambo-esque’ figure. (section 2.2)

Extract 15.

‘[...]the *dark horror* of *beheading* videos *haunted* the Middle East before’

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>dark</i> | intensity | Eerie and gothic. |
| <i>horror</i> | non-core/affect | |
| <i>beheading</i> | affect | |
| <i>haunted</i> | non-core/affect | |

In this extract 15, the reporter has not used utterances that elicit Direct Judgment. However, they have used utterances that intensify emotional response in the reader. In this case it is reminiscent of the language of fictional gothic horror and makes the events seem unreal. I would argue that this is from the male sphere because it romanticises the actor creating a powerful protagonist. This creates **Indirect Judgment of Social Esteem. Capacity = Positive** (*powerful*) (Table 2).

Extract 16.

‘Born in Kuwait, Emwazi grew up in Britain, giving him *added symbolic weight*’.

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|------------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>added symbolic weight</i> | non-core | Important |

In extract 16, the reporter presents Emwazi’s nationality as of particular importance using subjective idiomatic language. This creates **Indirect Judgment of Social Esteem. Capacity = Positive** (*remarkable*) (Table 2). This is from the male sphere as it presents the actor as the ‘Rambo-esque’ figure. (section 2.2)

Extract 17.

“When people harm Americans anywhere, we do what's necessary to see that justice is done," *Obama promised*’.

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>Obama promised</i> | affect | Important. |

In this extract 17, the reporter uses a quote from possibly the most powerful man in the Western world at the time. This creates **Indirect Judgment of Social Esteem. Capacity = Positive** (*remarkable*) (Table 2). This is from the male sphere as it presents the actor as the ‘Rambo-esque’ figure. (section 2.2)

4.2.2 Article 4

The second Mohamed Emwazi article, *Pupils mocked him as 'Little Mo': How Jihadi John had his lunch money stolen and was pushed around at secondary school* is presented as a news article without a named author. Extracts from the article are analysed for Subjectivity and Judgment (Tables 2 & 3) from the male sphere (section 2.2). The full article is found in appendix 4.

Extract 18.

(Headline) ‘Pupils mocked him as 'Little Mo': How Jihadi John had his lunch money stolen and was pushed around at secondary school’

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|----------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| <i>mocked</i> | judgment | Teased, laughed at. |
| <i>pushed around</i> | judgment | Bullied. |

In this extract 18, the reporter has chosen to use a clause without an active agent, so the responsibility of having his lunch money stolen lies with Emwazi. It is his own fault. This creates **Indirect Judgment of Social Esteem. Capacity = Negative** (*weak*) (Table 2). This is from the male sphere because it describes the ‘insecure child to monster’ myth explained by Rosalind Gill (section 2.2)

Extract 19.

‘Jihadi John was then 14 and smaller and weaker than other boys his age.’

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>smaller and weaker</i> | judgment | Feeble. |
| <i>other boys of his age</i> | measure | <i>Normal</i> boys of his age. |

In this extract 19, the writer chooses non-core utterances to present a feeble, weak child and compares him to ‘normal’ teenagers. This creates **Indirect Judgment of Social Esteem. Capacity = Negative** (*weak*) (Table 2). This is from the male sphere because it describes the ‘insecure child to monster’ myth explained by Rosalind Gill (section 2.2).

Extract 20.

‘Self-esteem problems’

| Utterances | Subjectivity | Interpretation |
|-----------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>self-esteem problems</i> | judgment | Abnormal. |

In this extract 20, the writer claims Emwazi had *self-esteem problems*. This creates **Direct Judgment of Social Esteem. Normality = Negative** (*abnormal*) (Table 2). This is from the male sphere because it describes the ‘insecure child to monster’ myth explained by Rosalind Gill (section 2.2).

5 Discussion and conclusion

In view of Appraisal and Journalistic Discourse Theory, how do the *Mail Online* reporters utilize subjectivity to infer judgment from the male sphere? As previously discussed, Begum and Emwazi’s backgrounds and experiences are similar enough for the reporters to present their stories in a similar way. Both Begum and Emwazi were groomed and found their way to Syria, working for ISIS. However, the language used and subsequent Judgment from the male sphere are different.

In the reporting of Begum subjectivity is introduced in various ways such as utterances of measurement, *many, only*, intensifiers, *striking*, modality, *won’t, would*, non-core word choices *sham, contingent, remorse*, idiomatic language, *married off, bound for*, affect, *contingent, chilling* and judgment, *nonchalance* amongst others.

In all of Begum’s chosen extracts, the judgment is from the male sphere. To reiterate, a ‘true’ woman is ‘pious, pure, submissive and domestic’ (Welter, 1966, p. 152). If a woman is not

these things, then she is judged negatively. For example, in Extract 8, ‘turned the global spotlight on to Shamima Begum’ is idiomatic language chosen by the reporter to infer Begum is seeking attention. This is Judgment from the male sphere because it moves Begum from the *normal* domestic female sphere and places her in the male public sphere. The domestic female sphere and public male sphere have begun to merge but are still not equal, ‘women’s inclusion in the workforce fails to be matched by men’s increased participation in the home’ (Jones et al., 2020, p. 6). This theme is continued in Extract 9 where Begum is first presented as military-like then subsequently judged negatively because a strong woman is not part of the male sphere – she ought to be ‘submissive’. (Welter, 1966, p. 152). However, as previously mentioned in Introduction, a status of victim can offer a woman a reprieve in the male sphere ‘[...]we are to fear women with power, yet admire women with the status of victim’ (Gill, 2007, p. 120). Begum’s rape claim in Article 1. might have afforded her victim status but in Extract 1. the reporter presents Begum’s *remorse* as a trick, which in turn removes her victim status. The subsequent judgments from the male sphere are then presented as opposites to the ‘true’ woman trope such as *deceitful* and *sinful*. These particular negative Indirect Judgments are repeated in the rest of the Extracts in Article 1. including added Judgment. For example, in Extract 4 the reporter first includes an **Indirect Judgment of Social Esteem. Normality = Negative** (*abnormal*) by inferring that Begum is mentally unstable and continues with an **Indirect Judgment of Social Sanction. Propriety = Negative** (*evil*) inferring that Begum could have killed her own children. As mentioned, a ‘true’ woman’s sphere is part of the Domestic sphere of household duties and children. Of course, killing children is abhorrent under any circumstances, but its inclusion in Begum’s extracts rather than suggesting she killed adults means the reporter of Begum’s articles is reporting from the male sphere by judging Begum with characteristics that directly oppose what a ‘true’ woman ought to be, ‘Pious, pure, submissive and domestic’ (Welter, 1966, p. 152).

In the reporting of Emwazi, subjectivity is introduced in various ways such as utterances of measurement, *the world*, *other*, intensifiers, *dark*, *still*, non-core word choices, *hostages*, *their march*, idiomatic language, *fallen under their sway*, *sound-bite-quality*, affect, *brutally*, *barbaric* and judgment, *self-esteem*, *weak*.

In Emwazi’s first article, Article 3 the overall language choices that are subjective are *dark*, *bloody world of extremism*, *horror*, *haunted* (Extract 12) which elicits affect and thus a detachment from factual events. It creates a protagonist very much like that of a character in a

film or video game rather than an actual person. Where there is Judgment, it is Positive such as, *slickly produced, sound-bite-quality, added symbolic weight* creating **Indirect Judgment of Social Esteem. Capacity = Positive** (Extract 14) as well as **Indirect Judgment of Social Esteem. Capacity = Positive** (*powerful*) which emanates absolutely from the male sphere by applauding the ‘Rambo-esque heroes’ (Gill, 2007, p. 32) in the melodrama.

In Emwazi’s second article, Article 4, the second and only other option for a ‘true’ man from the male sphere is analysed. Emwazi’s childhood is presented as an excuse for why he became an ISIS terrorist where Gill (2007) describes the ‘child to monster’ myth as the boy child having ‘feelings of insecurity and from experience of being bullied at school’ (Gill, 2007, p. 145). This is seen explicitly in the extracts for example, Extract 18. has language such as *mocked, pushed around* and creates **Indirect Judgment of Social Esteem. Capacity = Negative** (*weak*) as well as *self-esteem problems* in Extract 20 creating a **Direct Judgment of Social Esteem. Normality = Negative** (*abnormal*).

Overall, the paper shows that the reporters assign judgments to the two actors from the male sphere. As discussed in Subjectivity in journalism, being subjective is not now considered to be the antithesis of good journalism because it is impossible not to be subjective due to the ‘the subjectivity of language’ (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012, p. 305). Subjectivity can, in fact enhance the narrative, resulting in a very positive reader experience such as ‘personal–engaged subjectivity [which] abides by the fundamental maxims of traditional journalism’ (Harbers & Broersma 2014, p. 639). However, I would argue that given the very limited narrative that is offered from the male sphere, the language in the chosen extracts does not enhance the reader’s experience in the same way, but rather reduces it to one of binary ‘stance’ (Pounds, 2010, p 107) and emotional affect.

5.1 Limitations and future research

The framework worked well in locating Subjectivity as well as Direct and Indirect judgment in the articles when focused on one angle, in this case the male sphere. Future studies would benefit from analysing articles of other actors, not only Begum and Emwazi. This would help to determine if limited gendered narrative of Judgment is applied to those who are not considered to be of political interest, in this case, ISIS terrorists. Further still, studies should include other newspapers such as broadsheet newspapers that have a traditionally higher

standard of reporting to investigate if gendered judgment is a phenomenon limited to tabloids or stretches across media in general.

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Appendix 1

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7599461/Terror-expert-says-Shamima-Begum-showing-remorse-return-UK.html>

By ED RILEY FOR MAILONLINE

PUBLISHED: 08:49 GMT, 22 October 2019 | **UPDATED:** 10:05 GMT, 22 October 2019

Shamima Begum claims ISIS husband raped her in Syria in bid to regain UK citizenship - as terror expert says 'she KNEW' what she was doing and is only showing remorse because she wants to return to Britain'

Counter terror expert says ISIS bride Shamima Begum is only showing remorse because she wants to return to the UK

Shamima Begum fled Britain to join Islamic State back in 2015 and was married

The then 15-year-old was married to a 23-year-old fighter called Yago Riedijk

Her lawyer Tasnime Akunjee now says she could be a 'victim of statutory rape' as she launches bid to get her citizenship reinstated

A counter terror expert says ISIS bride **Shamima Begum** is only showing remorse because she wants to come back to the UK.

The east London schoolgirl's legal team is today launching a legal bid to reinstate her citizenship so she can return to Britain.

Her lawyers say she will argue that she was the victim of 'statutory rape' by her ISIS militant husband Yago Riedijk, 23.

The now 19-year-old's lawyer Tasnime Akunjee said that Begum was married in an 'ISIS ceremony within two weeks of reaching Syria' when she was 15-years-old.

He told the *Daily Mirror*: 'Her context is as a rape victim or a statutory rape victim.' Her legal team are set to argue that her case cannot be heard without her.

It is unclear if her legal team will attempt to take the rape allegations to the British courts if she has her citizenship reinstated, and whether she would even be able to launch proceedings in the UK because the alleged rape occurred in Syria.

Chris Phillips, counter terrorism expert told Good Morning Britain: 'She's not 15 now, she's 19. 'She had full and frank knowledge of what she was doing. She was fully committed in the murders or the group who carried out the murders.

'She is only showing remorse as she wants to come back.

'She won't be sentenced as there's no evidence that she was involved so she won't face trial.

'She's 15 and lived in the east end of London she knew what she was doing.'

Today, the Special Immigration Appeals Commission, a specialist court which hears challenges to decisions to remove someone's British citizenship on national security grounds, will begin a four-day preliminary hearing in London.

Mrs Justice Elisabeth Laing is expected to deal with, among other things, whether depriving Ms Begum of her British citizenship rendered her stateless and was therefore unlawful.

Ms Begum, then aged 15, was one of three schoolgirls - along with Kadiza Sultana and Amira Abase - from Bethnal Green Academy who left their homes and families in February 2015 to join a fourth Bethnal Green schoolgirl, Sharmeena Begum, who had left London in 2014, in Syria.

In February, Ms Begum was found by The Times, nine months pregnant, at a refugee camp, telling the paper that she would 'do anything required just to be able to come home'.

Ms Begum said she was married 10 days after arriving in Raqqa to a Dutchman who had converted to Islam, Yago Riedijk, who she claimed was later arrested, charged with spying and tortured.

She eventually left Raqqa in January 2017 with her husband but her children, a girl aged a year and nine months old and a three-month-old boy, both died.

Her third child, a son, also died shortly after he was born.

Riedijk, a 27-year-old jihadist from the Netherlands, has been placed on an exclusion list and is currently being held in a cell in northern Syria.

He has been banned from entering Britain because he poses a national security risk.

Riedijk was jailed for six years in his absence last year in his home country the Netherlands for membership of a terrorist organisation.

He has spoken about his love for his wife in an interview with The Times. He said: 'We got very close very quickly. The perfect wife. She was so young and innocent'.

Ms Begum told The Times she had 'mostly' lived a 'normal life in Raqqa, every now and then bombing and stuff'.

She added: 'But when I saw my first severed head in a bin it didn't faze me at all. It was from a captured fighter seized on the battlefield, an enemy of Islam. I thought only of what he would have done to a Muslim woman if he had the chance.'

The Home Office revoked her British citizenship later in February - a decision which is only lawful if it did not leave Ms Begum stateless.

It was speculated at the time that Ms Begum may have Bangladeshi citizenship, but Bangladesh's minister of state for foreign affairs Shahriar Alam has denied this.

Shamima in an undated photo from police

Home Secretary Priti Patel told The Sun last month that Ms Begum would not be able to return to the UK, telling the paper: 'Our job is to keep our country safe.'

'We don't need people who have done harm and left our country to be part of a death cult and to perpetrate that ideology.'

'We cannot have people who would do us harm allowed to enter our country - and that includes this woman.'

'Everything I see in terms of security and intelligence, I am simply not willing to allow anybody who has been an active supporter or campaigner for IS in this country.'

Last month Begum begged to come back to the UK to get therapy after saying she now hates the Islamic State (IS).

Since being part of IS she says she has given birth to three children, all of whom died from disease or malnutrition.

Ms Patel responded to her plea by simply saying: 'No way, no way.'

Begum, who is now living in an internment centre in Syria, said: 'My mental health situation is not the best.

'My physical health is OK. I am still young and I do not get sick. That is not my problem. Mentally, though, I am in a really bad way. I need therapy to deal with my grief. It is so hard. I have lost all my children.

'None of the people I am living with in here know what I have experienced. They are not like my school friends who I could always talk to. They do not understand what I have been through.

'There is no mental health provision. I have heard that in other camps there is psychiatric help, but not here.'

MailOnline has contacted the Home Office, the Foreign Office and Begum's lawyer.

Who is Shamima Begum's lawyer?

Mohammed Tasnime Akunjee

Privately-educated lawyer Tasnime Akunjee has represented the families of the three girls from Tower Hamlets, east London, who fled the UK to join Islamic State, including Shamima Begum, since 2015.

Since she was found in a Syrian refugee camp in mid-February, Mr Akunjee has caused controversy by comparing the 19-year-old ISIS bride to a First World War soldier and said she had been treated worse than Nazi war criminals. Mr Akunjee has been spearheading the campaign to get Ms Begum repatriated to the UK.

Previous clients of the criminal defence lawyer include one of Lee Rigby's killers. He once blamed British authorities for 'creating' Fusilier Rigby's killer, suggested Theresa May has 'Nazi blood' for trying to root out extremists and urged Muslims not to cooperate with police.

Twice married Mr Akunjee, 41, has worked for a series of law firms since 2008, while also working as a legal adviser to the East London Mosque.

It is believed he may have met the families of the runaway Tower Hamlets girls as part of this role.

Mr Akunjee said he is handling the Begum case 'pro bono', meaning free of charge. It is unclear whether that would continue if the case came before the British courts in future.

According to his LinkedIn page, Mr Akunjee, the son of a Bangladeshi doctor, studied at the £18,000-a-year City of London School for Boys.

He went on to study law at the Universities of Sussex and then Westminster.

Appendix 2

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-9382079/Questions-remain-jihadi-bride-Shamima-Begum-despite-western-makeover.html>

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

Shamima Begum, 21, looked unrecognisable posing in casual clothes this week
Begum fled Britain aged 15 and has since said she had a 'good time' with Isis
Associates at Syrian camp say she now enjoys Good Morning Britain and Shakira
Some believe transformation is sympathy ploy amid row over British citizenship

By PAUL BRACCHI FOR THE DAILY MAIL

PUBLISHED: 22:00 GMT, 19 March 2021 | UPDATED: 18:08 GMT, 20 March 2021

She is dressed in the casual, 'urban cool' uniform of the London 20-something: skinny jeans, unzipped hoodie, Nike baseball cap, trendy shades.

Her hair dyed and straightened in the style of her generation. She really could be any young woman about town.

But this is not any young woman. This is Shamima Begum, the teenager who fled Britain in 2015 to marry an Isis fighter.

The now 21-year-old who described with chilling nonchalance how she 'wasn't fazed' by the sight of a severed head.

Who declared how she had a 'good time' with Isis, and who justified the bombing of Manchester Arena.

When pictures emerged of her this week at the Syrian internment camp, they were bound to cause consternation.

Many, including her own family, would struggle to immediately recognise her. Gone is the black, full-length chador (long, flowing gown) and black hijab which used to frame her face that now bears the suggestion of a smile.

And now the Mail can reveal the truth about Ms Begum's new life at the al-Roj detention centre in north-east Syria, where she has been living for the past two years.

(under photograph) Shamima Begum looks transformed as she was pictured dressed in the casual, 'urban cool' uniform of the London 20-something: skinny jeans, unzipped hoodie, Nike baseball cap, trendy shades

(under photograph) Her rejection of Islamic clothing is evidence, for some, at least, that she has renounced her past. Others believe her transformation is part of a ploy to win sympathy while her lawyers challenge the decision to strip her of her British citizenship

Speaking to her closest associates, we have learned how she spends her days watching Good Morning Britain on ITV in her tent, playing charades or dancing to the music of Shakira downloaded from the internet with her fellow Western campmates.

She is also fond of Zumba classes and watching films: the Spider-Man and Men In Black franchises are particular favourites.

Ms Begum insists she has changed.

She isn't 'that' person any more: 'I would say to people in the UK, give me a second chance because I was still young when I left,' she pleaded this week in an emotive interview for a new documentary.

Her rejection of Islamic clothing is evidence, for some, at least, that she has renounced her past.

Others believe her transformation is part of a ploy to win sympathy while her lawyers challenge the decision to strip her of her British citizenship.

(under photograph) A number of woman, like Ms Begum, have voluntarily given up Islamic dress entirely. And they appear to be enjoying the Western lifestyle wherever possible. Ms Begum mixes with a small circle of European and American friends.

(under photograph) Shamima Begum no longer wears her niqab, with associates saying she now enjoys Zumba, listening to Shakira and watching Good Morning Britain

Last month, the UK's Supreme Court ruled on national security grounds that she cannot return to Britain to pursue an appeal against the decision.

Either way, her striking new image has turned the global spotlight on to Shamima Begum and her life at al-Roj.

She is among a 50-strong British contingent of women and children at the encampment, which houses around 800 families in total.

Modern luxuries aside, few of us would wish to spend any time in this sprawling, tented shanty town.

Yet to those who were captured following the collapse of the murderous caliphate, it is the nearest thing they have had to a home for some considerable time and infinitely preferable to the previous camp where most of them, including Ms Begum, were transferred from, and where there have been 40 murders so far this year.

The authorities at al-Roj — the Kurdish-led and Western-backed Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) — have banned black clothing, the colour of Isis, and black face veils.

A number of woman, like Ms Begum, have voluntarily given up Islamic dress entirely.

And, we can reveal, they appear to be enjoying the Western lifestyle wherever possible. Ms Begum mixes with a small circle of European and American friends.

(under photograph) In the documentary, The Return: Life After Isis, which has followed her and the other women over the past two years, Ms Begum is filmed in her tent; in the background is a couch with cushions, one of which has 'love' stitched into it and another is in the shape of a heart

U.S.-born Hoda Muthana, 26, once a high-profile Isis agitator, is a member of her close-knit social group, so too is Canadian Kimberly Polman, a mother of three adult children in her late 40s; all three were Isis brides.

Miss Begum was married off to a Dutch jihadi with whom she had three children in quick succession, all of whom died of disease or malnutrition before she arrived at al-Roj.

Her husband is thought to be held in a Kurdish-run prison in Syria, and the pair haven't been in contact since 2019.

Someone who has got to know Ms Begum well is Syrian journalist Khabat Abbas, whom I spoke to this week. She describes a woman who, on the surface at least, seems quite normal. The two posed for a selfie together in the camp only a few days ago when Ms Begum was sporting a blue Nike baseball cap with trademark 'swoosh' logo; she could hardly have looked more unlike the young woman she used to be just a matter of months ago.

Khabat, who has visited Ms Begum many times, and has been inside her tent, which has a satellite TV and basic cooking facilities, says: 'She is very happy here.'

She adds that Ms Begum seems undimmed by the latest setback in her case that has left her stranded, for the foreseeable future, at any rate, in legal limbo.

In the documentary, *The Return: Life After Isis*, which has followed her and the other women over the past two years, Ms Begum is filmed in her tent; in the background is a couch with cushions, one of which has 'love' stitched into it and another is in the shape of a heart.

The women often hold parties in their living quarters.

Music was haram — prohibited under the strict interpretation of the Koran.

'They are always socialising together,' Khabat says. 'They have even invited me to spend the night with them.'

One typical party is featured in the documentary, which shows a tent lit up with fairy lights and the women eating pastries.

In another scene, they engage in a 'group hug' and a voice can be heard saying: 'I don't know what I'd do without you guys.'

How else do they pass the time? They attend group meditation sessions, according to Khabat, and there is even a playground with swings and slides for the children.

The camp has numerous shops — run by ordinary refugees who are allowed to enter and leave at will — selling second-hand European clothes, make-up and jewellery, as well as vegetables, groceries, chocolate, crisps and other basic provisions.

But, like everywhere else, you need money.

The documentary makers show Ms Begum's group queuing up at a money exchange 'hole in the wall' window for hawala — an ancient system based on trust between brokers that leaves no paper trail.

This is a method often used by those in such camps to receive funds from family based in other countries.

(under photograph) Shamima is among a 50-strong British contingent of women and children at the al-Roj detention centre in north-east Syria, which houses around 800 families in total

Families can be prosecuted for sending money to relatives under anti-terror legislation. Khabat accompanied the woman to the ‘hole in the wall’ herself this week.

When she asked Ms Begum if her family had sent her money, she quickly walked away without answering the question.

Like everyone at the camp, Ms Begum has taken part in an anti-radicalisation programme. In *The Return: Life After Isis*, she is seen writing to her younger self and then reading the letter out aloud.

‘I know you think this is the only option you have to hold on to your religion and escape the problems in your life, but you have your entire life ahead of you to complete your religion and mend broken relationships between everyone in the family,’ she says, addressing the camera. ‘Think about Mum and how much it would hurt her to know that her little baby left her and didn’t give her a hug and a kiss, knowing that she’ll probably never see her again.’

(under photograph) Shamima Begum was 15 when she ran away with two other schoolgirls to Syria to marry a Dutch jihadi in 2015

‘Think about the education you’re about to throw away. You worked so hard to get where you are now. Don’t just walk away from it all for something I know you’re not even certain about.’

Sky will be screening the 90-minute film on Sky Documentaries and Now TV in the summer. Shamima is heard speaking for the first time about what drove her to desert her country, her home, and her family, and join Isis with two school friends from East London, Amira Abase and Kadiza Sultana, both now presumed dead.

‘I felt like I was an outsider in my community,’ she says.

‘So I just wanted to be part of something. My friend started practising [Islam] and they helped me come into the religion as well... and it then turned into wanting to come to Syria, wanting to help the Syrians.’

She was subsequently groomed by online radicals.

Two months later — just two months is all it took — she and her friends were on a plane from Gatwick bound for the Middle East.

In interviews after she was discovered in 2019 at al-Hol — the camp where she was based previously, also in north-east Syria — she continued to espouse the barbaric ideology of Isis. A clip of one of those inflammatory interviews, where she failed to condemn the Manchester Arena atrocity after being asked about the child victims by a Manchester journalist, is played to Ms Begum during the documentary.

It is a chilling reminder of why she remains such a divisive and controversial figure.

Ms Begum responds to being shown the footage by saying she ‘had no choice but to say certain things’ to reporters because ‘she lived in fear’ that women at al-Hol would kill her if she didn’t.

(under photograph) Two months after online radicals started grooming a then-15-year-old Shamima, — she and her friends were on a plane from Gatwick bound for the Middle East

The section comes after we are told that hardline Isis supporters in the (al-Hol) camp sewed up a family's tent and burned a mother and her three children to death.

Ms Begum's mother, Asma, and sister, Renu, have pleaded with the Home Office to reconsider its decision to revoke her British citizenship, 'calling for an act of mercy'.

Her father, Ahmed Ali, who lives in Bangladesh with his second wife, has apologised for his daughter joining Isis but also urged the Government to 'take her back and punish her' if necessary.

But the Supreme Court was presented with excerpts of MI5 assessments which said that there was an increased risk that those exposed to 'desensitising acts of brutality' under Isis would 'inspire and encourage' others to carry out attacks in the UK.

Others also remain sceptical that Ms Begum has been deradicalised. 'I would say her change of clothes are a soft tactic advised by her legal team to try to win back the hearts and minds of the British public,' said Eilish O'Gara, a counter-terrorism analyst with the Henry Jackson Society foreign policy think tank.

Ms Begum's lawyer, Daniel Furner, of Birnberg Peirce, one of the country's leading human rights law firms, denied advising her to change her appearance, saying it was 'categorically untrue'.

The Kurdish authorities holding Ms Begum and other Isis members certainly want them repatriated back to the UK.

Around half of the estimated 900 or so people who travelled to Syria and Iraq from Britain to join ISIS have now returned — but only about half of those have been successfully prosecuted.

In a rare moment of levity during the documentary, Ms Begum is asked by one of the Western brides what she would do first if she got home.

Laughing, she replies: 'Eat a nice big Subway... just leave me with it.'

That is unlikely to happen any time soon.

Appendix 3

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-3316973/Jihadi-John-horrified-public-emboldened-extremists.html>

'Jihadi John' horrified public, emboldened extremists

By ASSOCIATED PRESS

PUBLISHED: 13:17 GMT, 13 November 2015 | UPDATED: 13:17 GMT, 13 November 2015

DUBAI, United Arab Emirates (AP) — The Islamic State group militant known as "Jihadi John," who was targeted in a U.S. drone strike, horrified the world with his brutal beheadings of hostages. But his videos, with sneering taunts of the West, served as a recruiting tool for those drawn to the dark, bloody world of extremism.

Mohammed Emwazi's brown eyes peering out from a black mask and his London accent became the first contact many around the world had with the group, though the extremists carried out other mass killings, rapes and enslavements in their march across Iraq and Syria. The reason was the slickly produced, sound-bite-quality butchery he and others committed before the camera. Their victims included U.S., British and Japanese hostages.

(under photograph) This image made from militant video, which has been verified by SITE Intel Group and is consistent with other AP reporting, shows Mohammed Emwazi, known as "Jihadi John," holding a knife. A U.S. drone strike targeted a vehicle in Syria believed to be transporting the masked Islamic State militant known as "Jihadi John" on Thursday, Nov. 12, 2015 according to American officials. Whether the strike killed the British man who appears in several videos depicting the beheadings of Western hostages was not known, officials said. (SITE Intel Group via AP)

His first filmed killing was that of American journalist James Foley in a video released in August 2014. Tabloids soon made famous the moniker "Jihadi John," based on nicknames freed hostages said they gave their British-sounding captors, a reference to Beatles member John Lennon.

In some ways, the violence he committed was not new — the dark horror of beheading videos haunted the Middle East before.

The Islamic State's predecessor, al-Qaida in Iraq, released footage in 2004 of the decapitation of American businessman Nicholas Berg. In the video of his killing, Foley wore an orange prison-style jumpsuit similar to the one Berg wore at his death.

But while the statement in the video of Berg's killing was in Arabic, Emwazi spoke English in his videos, making the message even easier for the world to understand. Born in Kuwait, Emwazi grew up in Britain, giving him added symbolic weight.

"You're hearing it in your own language so the threat sounds all the more menacing," said Raffaello Pantucci, the author of "We Love Death As You Love Life: Britain's Suburban Terrorists" and the director of international security studies at Britain's Royal United Services Institute.

"It speaks to the audience and says, you know, 'We are you. ... You think we're this alien thing but actually no, we're from within your very communities,'" Pantucci added.

After Foley's killing, Emwazi appeared in other videos of beheadings, including the mass killing of captive Syrian soldiers. In most, he acts as a narrator, taunting the West and promising an Islamic State victory, though the videos don't make clear if he carried out all of the actual killings.

Militant sympathizers uploaded the carnage to websites and shared them via mobile phone apps in a way impossible only 10 years earlier. That drew more people curious about the Islamic State's apocalyptic beliefs, inspiring some to join the militant's self-declared "caliphate."

Whether Emwazi was killed in the U.S. strike in Syria remains unclear. He has been one of the West's top targets after Islamic State leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and his other lieutenants. President Barack Obama said America would "be relentless" in pursuing Foley's killers. "When people harm Americans anywhere, we do what's necessary to see that justice is done," Obama promised.

Appendix 4

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2976698/Pupils-mocked-Little-Mo-Jihadi-John-lunch-money-stolen-pushed-secondary-school.html>

Pupils mocked him as 'Little Mo': How Jihadi John had his lunch money stolen and was pushed around at secondary school

Gang of teenagers used to wait outside school for Mohammed Emwazi

Jihadi John was then 14 and smaller and weaker than other boys his age

Went to Quintin Kynaston school in St John's Wood, north-west London

Former headmistress Jo Shuter says she recalled Emwazi was bullied

By DAILY MAIL REPORTER

PUBLISHED: 01:20 BST, 3 March 2015 | UPDATED: 19:04 BST, 3 March 2015

Self-esteem problems: Mohammed Emwazi was even given anger management therapy at school

Fellow secondary school pupils bullied Mohammed Emwazi - calling him 'Little Mo', it emerged yesterday.

Emwazi - revealed last week as Jihadi John - was also said to have self-esteem problems and was even given anger management therapy at Quintin Kynaston school in north-west London.

A former friend said a gang of older teenagers used to wait outside the school for Emwazi, then 14 and smaller and weaker than other boys his age.

'They would steal his lunch money and push him around a bit,' he said.

'He was very quiet and a bit scrawny back then so we used to call him Little Mo.'

The St John's Wood school is subject to a Department for Education investigation after it emerged that at least three past pupils have joined Islamist terror groups and contemporaries of Emwazi have claimed young Muslims were 'groomed' by radicals.

Its former headmistress, Jo Shuter, said she recalled Emwazi was bullied when he was 14, but denied there had been a problem with radicalisation.

She told the BBC yesterday: 'He had some issues with being bullied, which we dealt with.'

Pushed around: A former friend said a gang of older teenagers used to wait outside Quintin Kynaston school (pictured) in north-west London for Emwazi, then 14 and smaller and weaker than other boys his age

'There was never any sense that any of these young men as I knew them were radicalised when they were at school.'

One of Emwazi's contemporaries at the school, Choukri Ellekhlifi, was killed in Syria after joining an Al Qaeda group and a third pupil, Mohammed Sakr, was killed in a US air strike on Al Shabaab fighters in Somalia.

Emwazi's younger brother Omar, 21, was known as a member of the 'Muslim Mafia' at Quintin Kynaston.

+

'Hard-working young man': The school's former headmistress, Jo Shuter (pictured), said she recalled Emwazi was bullied when he was 14, but denied there had been a problem with radicalisation.