



AALBORG UNIVERSITET

**Master of Science in Development and International Relations,  
specialization in Global Refugee Studies**

# **DANGEROUS MOTHERS AND THEIR POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS CHILDREN**

A STUDY ON WAR FRAMING IN THE PUBLIC AND  
POLITICAL DEBATE REGARDING REPATRIATION  
OF DANISH WOMEN AND CHILDREN DETAINED  
IN THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CAMPS AL-ROJ AND  
AL-HOL

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## Abstract

The thesis examines how the Danish public and political debate regarding repatriation of Danish women and children detained in the Syrian refugee camps Al-Roj and Al-Hol is influenced by the '*war on terror*'. The research question is inspired by Judith Butler's (2010) notion on how war framing forces public communication into an antagonistic distinction between '*grieveable*' and '*ungrieveable*' lives. The empirical study is based on Michel Foucault's (1978) analytical method '*eventalization*', in which the researcher delimits the debate into a singular '*event*' in order to isolate elements, their internal relations and their contextual relations. In this study, the event constitutes the period from March 2019 till October 2021, in which the examination concentrates on two empirical representations: a parliament debate and a selected sample of news coverage published in the three major Danish dailies Politiken, Berlingske and Ekstra Bladet. The examination finds a debate in which the '*war on terror*' frames and shapes the argumentation into antagonistic positions, where the Danish women are deemed ungrieveable and the Danish children are framed as innocent victims yet potential terrorists. The antagonistic rationality is amplified by the Danish context, which bears similarities to what Michel Foucault's (1976) characterizes as the '*biopolitical society*'. The biopolitical society is orientated towards the group rather than the individual and has its main focus on the survival and optimization of the population. In this perspective the Danish women (and potentially the Danish children) are seen as a threat to society. Immanent to this mind-set is a hierarchical prioritization between groups of the population, between those that contribute and those that weaken Society. This is actualized in the differentiation between Danish and Muslim culture in the debate. Furthermore biopolitics, being orientated towards the future, is connected to the technology of risk management on an operational level. As a result, future abstractions (risks) are presented as facts in the debate, which legitimize deeming the Danish children potential future threats. What Butler labels "*to frame the frame*" thus turned the event into an iron cage with a limited space for alternative arguments. Due to the theoretical and methodological framework of the study the results from the study cannot be generalized. The thesis contributes, however, with an insight into how frames that frame enable certain paths and limit others. Thereby it offers a research approach, which might be applied to other events and framings, when the ambition is to uncover what influences a debate as taken-for-granted.

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## List of abbreviations

- CTA: the Centre for Terror Analysis  
FE: the Danish Defence Intelligence Service  
IS: the Islamic State  
ISIS: the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria  
PET: the Danish Security and Intelligence Service  
RTC: Repatriate The Children  
UN: the United Nations  
UNCRC: the United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child

## List of abbreviations: Parliament elected parties

- ALT: the Alternative  
DF: the Danish People's Party  
EL: the Red-Green Alliance  
KF: the Conservative Party  
LA: the Liberal Alliance  
NB: the New Right  
RV: the Social Liberal Party  
S: the Social Democratic Party  
SF: the Socialist People's Party  
V: the Liberal Party

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## 1. Introduction

On May the 18<sup>th</sup> 2021 the Danish government announced that three Danish women and their total of 14 children would be repatriated from the Kurdish controlled refugee camps Al-Roj and Al-Hol in northeast Syria, which hold assumed supporters of the Islamic State (IS) (Outzen, 2021)<sup>1</sup>. In the months up until the government's announcement, Danish media covered the political debate and decision-making regarding repatriation of the Danish women and children intensely (appendix A).

I felt deeply uncomfortable as I followed this debate unfold in the Danish media. The pictorial descriptions of IS's brutal self-declared caliphate, the violent conflict and strict religious law enforcement scared me. And the dangerous, rough accounts from Al-Roj and Al-Hol evoked a mix of fear and sympathy: initially, for the children caught in the camps. Besides my own personal experience, the debate affected the Danish public. The foundation of the advocacy group *Repatriate the Children Denmark* (RTC, 2020), a citizen proposal for parliament with the intention of bringing the children home to Denmark (Borgerforlag.dk, 2021), and demonstrations in favour of repatriation of the children (Altinget, 2020) are evidence of Danish citizens, who felt a need to act.

During a parliament debate on Marts the 2<sup>nd</sup> 2021 (The Danish Parliament, 2021b: B 128), the parliament elected parties seemingly agreed that the situation of the Danish children in question is tragic, and that, ideally, the Danish children shouldn't stay detained in the Syrian refugee camps. Nevertheless, the elected parliament parties disagreed on whether the children should or could be repatriated. The disagreement is centred on the affiliation between mother and child (this dilemma will be addressed in more detail on page 27, in chapter 5 *The Departure of the Event: The Dilemma of Kinship*). From accounts in the parliament debate (The Danish Parliament, 2021b: B 128), the Danish women are considered terrorists. As terrorists, the Danish women are perceived as posing a threat to national

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<sup>1</sup> This political decision leaves three mothers, who had their Danish citizenship withdrawn after the adoption of L 38 Bill amending Danish citizenship and the Aliens Act (deprivation of foreign fighters' citizenship) (The Danish Parliament, 2019), and their total of five children in the Syrian refugee camps Al-Roj and Al-Hol (National Board of Social Services, 2021).

security, which mean that they are unwanted on Danish ground. Therefore, the questions raised in the debate address issues of security: Do the mothers constitute a terror threat towards Denmark? Is it possible to repatriate the children without their mothers? Will the children pose a terror threat in the future? Are the children radicalized at this point in time? Will they be radicalized, if they stay in the Syrian refugee camps? Simplified, the parliament parties divide in two: for and against repatriation. More specific: those parties who are willing to repatriate the children *and* their mothers despite the possible security threat, and those parties who accept the tragedy of leaving the children in the Syrian refugee camps, as they refuse to repatriate the Danish women, who are considered a threat.

The political decision-making regarding repatriation of the Danish women and children has been categorized as '*security politics*', due to the fear of terrorism (Høj, 2021:3). For more than two decades, the '*war on terror*' has been part of Western consciousness. It was in the aftermath of the terror attack on the Twin Towers in New York on September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001, former president of the United States, George W. Bush, declared war on terror (Bush, 2001:68). The 9/11-terror attack and the '*war on terror*' were epoch making. The French postmodern philosopher and sociologist Jean Baudrillard, wrote the essay *The Spirit of Terrorism* (2002). In his essay, he predicted the influence of this specific event:

With the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York, we might even be said to have before us the absolute event, the 'mother' of all events, the pure event uniting within itself all the events that have never taken place. (2002: 4)

As Baudrillard suggested, the 9/11-terror attack shaped our perception of terrorism. This specific event is crucial for the understanding of terrorism and its effects and implications in Western culture today.

As I shall illuminate in this master thesis, the public and political debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children, detained in Syrian refugee camps, is permeated by a notion of terrorism. With Baudrillard in mind, I will argue that this notion of terrorism is derived from the '*war on terror*'.

Within critical terrorism studies, there is not a single agreed definition of terrorism. Nevertheless, the concept of terrorism is frequently referred to in media and policymaking as though there is. Timothy Shanahan (2016) addresses this dilemma. In his examination of terrorism definitions, Shanahan provides yet another provisional definition, but as Shanahan concludes:

(...) the adoption of a definition of the “terrorism” does not negate the value of research directed at understanding how and why the “terrorism” label is applied in ways that serve particular political interests. (2016: 111)

According to Shanahan, a single, agreed definition would not change the fact that the terrorism label serves political interests. As political interests differ from case to case, the effects of the notion of terrorism in the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children is not pre-given, but will have to be unfolded.

Bush, however, also declared “war” on terrorism. Whereby he also instituted a space of possible attitudes and actions around the concept of terrorism. Therefore, it is interesting to examine how the notion of war and terrorism conditions and affects the argumentation in this particular debate.

## **1.1 Aim and Research Question**

In this project, I wish to bring attention to the effects of the notion of war on terrorism in the public and political debate regarding the Danish women and children detained in the Syrian refugee camps Al-Roj and Al-Hol. This motivation has shaped the research question of this thesis:

**How does the ‘war on terror’ frame the arguments on repatriation  
in the public and political debate regarding the Danish women and children  
detained in the Syrian refugee camps Al-Roj and Al-Hol?**

## 1.2 Clarification of Concepts

The research question focuses on *the arguments* regarding the question of repatriation of the Danish women and children detained in the Syrian refugee camps. Concentrating on the arguments empathize the idea of speech as actively producing and serving of interests (cf. Shanahan, 2016). I would argue that the arguments are directly linked to the Danish women and children's possibility for repatriation, as the arguments are put forward to influence the political decision-making on the matter. Therefore, the arguments have crucial implications for what lives the Danish women and children in question are facing.

Furthermore, the focus on the arguments allows me to approach *what is said* in the public and political debate, which permits a post-structural theoretical position and a theoretical main focus on the ideas of discourse and framing. The theoretical position will be elaborated in chapter 2 *Theoretical position: Post-structuralism* on page 8.

Due to Baudrillard (2002) and his characteristic of the 9/11-terror attack as determining for the current Western world perception of terrorism, I choose to make reference to the subsequent 'war on terror' in my research question. This reference to the 'war on terror' should be understood as a Western world perception of terrorism as a *war* against Islam (elaborated in chapter 4 *The West/Islam-Relation as Context* on page 23). The link between *war* and *terror* makes Judith Butler's (2010) work *Frames of War* ideal as entry to the examination of the public and political debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children, in which terrorism holds a seemingly decisive role. Moreover, war framing in the debate seems an expected effect of the military intervention against IS, in which Danish military participated (motion of resolution B 123, The Danish Parliament, 2014).

Besides being Butler's main concept in *Frames of War*, applying framing as analytical concept in the research question seems ideal due to its association to the field of media and communication. As my interest lays in the public and political debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children detained in Syrian refugee camps, the obvious (publicly available) data material is predominantly drawn from the media-coverage (this will be elaborated in chapter 3 *Methodology* on page 15). Furthermore, according to Baudrillard

(2002), media plays a crucial role when addressing matters of terrorism. Baudrillard claims that “(...) ‘terrorism would be nothing without the media’ (...)” (2002: 31). He hereby means that the exposure of the images of terror is part of the terror-strategy, which serves to multiply the terror to infinity (Baudrillard, 2002: 27). Similar, Butler’s framing concept derives from the idea of war photography as an instrument in warfare (Butler, 2010: x). Addressing the concept of terrorism according to Baudrillard or war according to Butler, the media coverage and the exposure of images are perceived as having a central role. Media comes to function as a common denominator between the concepts of war and terrorism, and the relevant date material available in the public and political debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children detained in Syrian refugee camps. In this context, it seems natural to apply a media-term as framing in the research question.

Framing will in this project be understood according to Butler’s conceptualization, as she presents framing in *Frames of War* (2010). Butler claims that reality is always framed, which means that reality is always portrayed to present a certain vision of reality. This means that decision-making always takes place within a frame (Butler, 2010: xiii). As a consequence of accepting Butler’s premise, the debate regarding repatriation of the Danish women and children detained in Syrian refugee camps is inevitably framed. I shall elaborate on Butler’s framing concept in section 2.3 *Framing* on page 10.

### **1.3 Ethic Considerations**

I feel the need to address the ethical consideration of including other people’s miseries as an object of study. Following the public and political debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children detained in Syrian refugee camps, I have experienced how easily one forgets that the debate is discussing and influencing actual human lives. The human lives of the Danish women and children, who find themselves in what is broadly agreed as a dangerous environment threatening the inhabitants’ health and well-being in camps where people go missing or are killed (appendix E). As others in the public debate have pointed out, the situation of the Danish women and children have become a pawn in a political game, which does not necessarily favour or even concern their situation. The Danish women and children have in certain aspects of the debate, been assigned a symbolic status, which distracts from

the fact, that the debate has decisive implications for the lives of the Danish women and children (Nielsen, 2021: 12).

With this study of the public and political debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children, I, among others, wish to address this indignation. As mentioned in the introduction, the public and political debate has fostered emotional motivated reactions in favour of repatriation. Naturally, there are contrary interests in the public and political debate, in which a varying degree of harsh rhetoric and judgement are presented. In respect to the lives of the Danish women and children, it is important to investigate where the arguments – and especially the patronizing arguments – originate. I hope this examination can help me to shed light to the view on humanity and society, that the debate of the Danish women and children represent, hence on what grounds Danish society treat the women and children in question. Whether or not these Danish women are guilty of crime, treason or moral wrongdoing is not the issue of this project. The central matter is what kind of discussion and judgement of our citizens and fellow human beings we as society allow within the frame of ‘war on terror’.

As this project examines this particular, unique debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children detained in Syrian refugee camps, it will not give a universal conclusion. It is my intention to cause awareness to the reader, and present the public and political debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children with additional nuances, so that the reader critically can reflect upon the discussions and different positions and interests embedded the debate. Again, the motivation is the respect for the lives of the Danish women and children. The decision-making regarding repatriation of the Danish women and children in question should be made on enlightened grounds. This is my contribution.

## **1.4 Operationalization**

The following thesis will unfold as follows: Chapter 2 introduces the post-structural theoretical position of the thesis, discourse theory as a theoretical starting point and Butler's (2010) (war) framing concept. Chapter 3 elaborates on the methodology: The analytical strategy of '*eventalization*' by Michel Foucault (1978) as well as the empirical sampling and processing. Chapter 4 provides a contextualization of the debate rooted in the relationship between the West and Islam. Chapter 5 argues for the '*dilemma of kinship*' between the Danish

women and children being the cause of the debate, which the further examination takes its departure from. The framing of the Danish women and children shall be analyzed separately in chapter 6 and 7 respectively. Chapter 8 addresses the framing of the debate, in which the war framing shall be exhibited, as shall a biopolitical framing of the debate. In chapter 9 I discuss the credibility of the findings and this thesis' contribution to the field. Finally chapter 10 provides a conclusion, which sums up the findings of the investigation on how the 'war on terror' frames the arguments on repatriation in the public and political debate regarding the Danish women and children detained in the Syrian refugee camps.

## 2. Theoretical Position: Post-Structuralism

In this chapter, I shall reflect upon the theoretical position of post-structuralism, which underpins this thesis's main analytical concept of *framing* as Butler (2010) presents it in *Frames of War*. I shall start by giving an account of post-structuralism as philosophy of science and how it differs from structuralism (2.1). A shared characteristic between the two perspectives is the productive role of social interactions. Therefore, I shall elaborate on discourse theory (2.2) in accordance with Michel Foucault's thoughts, which leads me to the introduction and elaboration of Butler's (2010) conceptualization of framing (2.3). Additionally, I shall introduce her concepts of grievability, precariousness and recognition (2.3.1), which are connected and are related to Butler's discussions of life. These concepts will be referred to through out the forthcoming analysis whenever '*war framing*' is applied to the public and political debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children detained in Syrian refugee camps. Finishing this chapter, I shall briefly reflect on the theoretical delimitation or most common critique of post-structuralism (2.4).

### 2.1 Structuralism and Post-Structuralism

Structuralism and post-structuralism operates with a triangular distinction between what is termed the real, the imaginary and the symbolic (Esmark, Laustsen & Andersen, 2014: 13). It is social interaction in terms of speech, written text, etc., which obtains a mediating role between the real and the imaginary (Esmark, Laustsen & Andersen, 2014: 13-14). It is through interaction, that we create representations of the real, simultaneously creating/recreating the real. This does not mean that the physical real do not exist, it means that the physical real makes sense through discourses (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999: 17). The movement from the real to the imaginary is characterized as cognition, whereas the movement from imaginary to real is characterized by control and dominance. This movement introduce the aspect of power within this particular theoretical position. According to structuralists and post-structuralists, the real and the imaginary merges in the symbolic, which constitute the foundation of the social real (Esmark, Laustsen & Andersen, 2014: 13-14)

What differentiates the two approaches is, that structuralism recognises the symbolic domain as a space, which can be structured within an order (Esmark, Laustsen & Andersen, 2014: 15).

This means that structuralists have a fundamental idea of hidden and controlling structures, which are to be found underneath the visible (Andersen, 2003: 2). Post-structuralism sees the symbolic domain as a space of continuous unrest (Esmark, Laustsen & Andersen, 2014: 15). Consequently, post-structuralism is concentrated on the situatedness of the singular, as structures are perceived as temporal (Esmark, Laustsen & Andersen, 2014: 12).

## **2.2 Discourse Theory**

With a post-structural perspective, understanding the dynamics of discourses is relevant to the examination of a the public and political debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children detained in Syrian refugee camps, as discourses are determining for sense-making (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999: 17). The French historian and philosopher Michel Foucault is frequently referred to as post-structuralist, as his entire position is developed within a structuralist environment. He has on several occasions stated, that he did not wish to create a school of thought (Andersen, 2003: 2-3). Instead, Foucault is associated with an analytical approach: the discourse analysis.

Traditional linguistic theory concentrated on the formal structures of the language. From this tradition developed discourse theory, which turned its focus towards the operation of the spoken language (Bredsdorff, 2002: 11). With Foucault's terminology, focus is on "*practices*" (Foucault, 1978: 225). Within discourse theory, the spoken is understood as a social activity producing social conditions (Bredsdorff, 2002: 11). This means that discourses are understood as always produced and producing, under constant disruption, and in constant processes of legitimization, which all denotes the post-structural idea of the singular's situatedness and space of continuous unrest (Esmark, Laustsen and Andersen, 2014).

As a discourse analyst, Foucault is often associated with critical societal analyses on issues of state, power, discipline, and law (Bredsdorff, 2002: 34). Professor in political management, Niels Åkerstrøm Andersen (2003) describes the aim of Foucault's discursive strategy as:

He [Foucault] challenges individual will and reason by showing how every utterance is an utterance within a specific discourse to which certain rules of acceptability apply. (2003: 3)

This means, that discourses should be understood as the shared, yet movable, horizon, which enables what is said to signal the same to the participants of the discourse (Bredsdorff, 2002: 12).

Accepting the premise, that discourses condition what is acceptable and possible, they also regulate the adverse: they exclude by determining what is not acceptable, and what is not possible. This means that speech is never neutral, and in particular Foucault criticises the humanities and social science as inseparable from moralising projects; hence they produce regimes of knowledge and truth, which regulate behaviour (Andersen, 2003: 3). The idea, that all objects we relate to are produced by/in discourses, means that all objects we relate to are controlled by discourses. To Foucault, power is an omnipresent productive factor (Andersen, 2003: 3). As an effect of this approach, discourse analysis is often used as a tool to reveal hegemonic discourses (Bredsdorff, 2002: 13).

Foucault's work is rather unsystematic, which makes it challenging to draw a coherent discourse methodology from his work (Andersen, 2003: 2). In accordance with his archaeological discourse analysis, statements are the smallest unit of the discourse, and the discourse is the final, actually delimited body of related statements. As a post-structuralist, discourses should *not* be understood as structures of statements. Rather, they should be understood as networks in which statements become meaningful (Andersen, 2003: 8). This means that Foucault's discourse analysis uncovers *how* statements are connected. A Foucauldian perspective shall in this project focus on how statements in the public and political debate on repatriation are connected, and open to critical questions about discursive assumptions. To ask *why* the argumentations in the debate are accepted, I shall draw on Judith Butler's framing-concept.

### **2.3 Framing**

As with discourses, framing is a determining factor of *how* experiences, situations, arguments, etc., are received and perceived. Within media and communication research, framing addresses the process of selection and highlighting of elements, which creates meaning to events, hence influence the recipient. Framing reflects political strategic interest (Hjarvard,

2015: 57-58) and stresses the underlying assumption rooted in discourse theory; that speech is never neutral (Andersen, 2003: 3).

In Judith Butler's (2010) work *Frames of war*, where she explicitly reflects upon photography, she applies the concept of framing. With this concept, she suggests that frames are always present with the effect of accentuating certain visions of reality:

The frame does not simply exhibit reality, but actively participates in a strategy of containment, selectively producing and enforcing what will count as reality. (...) the frame is always throwing something away, always keeping something out, always de-realizing and de-legitimating alternative versions of reality (...) (Butler, 2010: xiii)

The frame has an inside and an outside that determines, what is visible as reality and what is not. As an effect, the frame implicitly guides the interpretation of what is framed (Butler, 2010: 8). The framing constitutes a given perspective, which draws on perception (what do one see) and affect (what do one feel). Affects understood as those bodily emotions (pleasure, rage, suffering, hope, etc.), which foster responsiveness (Butler, 2010: 34). According to Butler, what is seen as reality and evaluated to be just or unjust is registered by the senses (Butler, 2010: xv-xvi). As accounted for in the introduction, the affects of the public and political debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children detained in Syria were evident in an intensive media-coverage and activist initiatives advocating for repatriation. The debate of the Danish women and children in the Syrian refugee camps addresses exactly this normative evaluation of just and unjust.

Derived from a post-structural perspective, Butlers' frames should not be understood as static. Just like discourses, the frames are constantly challenged and negotiated by what is outside the frame (Butler, 2010: 8), which also means, that they are temporal expressions of singularities. Another parallel between Foucault's thoughts on discourses and Butler's framing concept is the aim of questioning what is taken for granted when framed. According to Butler, this breaking of the frame might expose an orchestrating design, in which an authority sought to control the framed (Butler, 2010: 12). Like Foucault's discourses, framing

is therefore permeated by politics and positions of power (Butler, 2010: 1). That said, the exercise of power through framing can be, but is not necessarily, intentional (Butler, 2010: 74). Foucault and Butler furthermore agree that the discourses with their horizons and subject positions are shaped by their contemporary context, which the individual cannot escape (Foucault, 1982: 327; Butler: 2010: 2).

As it appears, discourses and framing share characteristics, in which the foundation is the conception of spoken language as practise. The two differ as to the level on which they operate: where Foucault's version of discourses is occupied with the distribution of statements within a discursive network, which makes the discourses meaningful (Andersen, 2003: 8), Butler's (2010) concept of framing is oriented towards the effects of a specific structuration of the discourse, what *war* does to the discourse.

Accepting Butler's claim that reality is always portrayed, which influence the experience of reality (Butler, 2010: xiii), the debate of the Danish women and children detained in Syrian refugee camps shall be approached as framed. The framing determines what we see and conditions our possible interpretations. In other words, it explains why statements are accepted.

### **2.3.1 Life, Grievability, Precariousness and Recognition**

In accordance with Butler, not just reality but life itself shall always be understood as conditioned by frames, which determine and/or maintain life (Butler, 2010: 23). This increases the severity of framing, as it has direct implications for actual lives; in this particular investigation the lives of the Danish women and children detained in Syrian refugee camps.

In *Frames of War*, Butler (2010) asks: "What is a life?" (Butler, 2010: 1). In her discussion of life, Butler operates with an ontology of the body as a social ontology. What she means is, firstly; there is no life without the body, and secondly; to be a body, means to be exposed to social crafting. Therefore the "I" is always more or less a "we" (Butler, 2010: 3). Butler makes this epistemological, as it is not possible to discuss and define life in itself. Life is ontologically as social construct. What life is can be discussed and defined, which indicates that lives are

differentiated. According to Butler, this differentiation reacts to the framing (Butler, 2010: 1-3). Butler introduces the concept of *grievability* in order to describe how life is socially defined. She operates with a distinction between lives as grievable and ungrievable:

Without grievability, there is no life, or rather, there is something living that is other than life. Instead, there is a life that will never have been lived, sustained by no regard, no testimony, and ungrieved when lost. The apprehension of grievability precedes and makes possible the apprehension of precarious life.  
(Butler, 2010: 15)

Ungrievable life entails the possibility of developing into no-life. The act of defining ungrievable life signifies a shared human condition of precariousness, which indicates that all are at risk of being defined as ungrievable life (Butler, 2010: 13).

Although, precariousness is an omnipresent condition, the level of precariousness varies between people and between groups, due to their situatedness in time and space (Butler, 2010: 3). Within the situatedness, the concept of *recognition* becomes relevant. Butler understands subjects as constituted through norms, which by virtue of their reiterations determine recognisability as grievable (Butler, 2010: 3-4). This means that norms produce certain subjects as recognizable, and others as difficult to recognize: Norms allocate recognition differently (Butler, 2010: 6).

In traditional war waging, there is a clear differentiation bound up on national affinity between 'us' and 'them'/the enemy. War is a specific interpretative framework, which differentiates populations; between on whom my life and existence depend (recognized as grievable lives), and who poses a threat to my life and existence (the ungrievable lives) (Butler, 2010: 42). To locate the 'us' and the 'them' in times of war, one must simply just ask: Whose lives are considered valuable? Whose lives are mourned? Whose lives are ungrievable? (Butler, 2010: 38).

## 2.4 Theoretical Delimitation

It is a post-structural condition that the findings within this particular theoretical position do not imply universal insights. The immediate critique of post-structuralism addresses the scientific element of research. When reality is perceived as social constructions accessible through discourses (and frames), critiques would argue that research within a post-structural theoretical position is an expression of relativism (Kjørup, 2001: 88). This critique is based on a modernist conception of science, which seeks objective, truth-seeking knowledge (Søndergaard, 2000a: 69), and does not recognize the intention to move the scientific focus from a determining referent to relational processes, in which the gained knowledge relates to situated practices and positions (Esmark, Laustsen & Andersen, 2014: 12). Arguing against the accusation that there is no truth within this theoretical position, as this position refers to the reality as socially constructed, Søndergaard (2000b) replies that ontologically, the world exists, but we do not gain access without discourses (2000b: 51), hence discourses and framing becomes a relevant object for the study of a public and political debate.

A post-structural examination of the public and political debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children detained in Syrian refugee camps is not oriented towards individual behaviour and motivation working in the debate, which would call for other theoretical approaches and methods.

I choose a Foucault-Butler-approach, because it can help to unearth the-taken-for-granted foundations of the debate that shape the very space of participation. Ultimately, the examination may give ground for a higher level of consciousness to the reader and self-reflection, besides providing an onset for examination of similar debates.

With Butler's war framing as my searchlight. I shall approach the empirical material expecting to find a debate marked by antagonistic arguments and distinctions between grievable and ungrievable.

### **3. Methodology**

As written in the introduction my initial motivation for this study was my reaction to the public and political debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children. This entails that I had certain presumptions and expectations to the debate prior to my engagement in writing a thesis on the topic. The characteristic of my process has been iterations between data, themes and theory, which is characteristic for the abductive approach. Abductive reasoning places focus on making sense of observations in interpretive research, not on testing (deductive) or the production of universal insights (inductive) (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012: 27-28). The validity of an abductive study depends its overall consistency (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009: 273). This methodological approach corresponds to the post-structural theoretical perspective: making sense of a situated, temporal observation (Esmark, Laustsen & Andersen, 2014: 12), and is just as situated as its findings (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012: 28).

In this chapter, I shall introduce the Michel Foucault's (1980) analytical strategy '*eventalization*', which methodologically has guided my analytical work (3.1). Following the introduction of eventalization, I shall account for my sampling of qualitative data materiel (3.2), representing respectively the political debate (3.2.1) and the public debate (3.2.2), and elaborate on my process of systematizing the data material (3.3). I shall briefly present a general finding in section 3.4 *One Debate on Repatriation*, and finally, I shall state the premises of the following analysis (3.5).

#### **3.1 Analytical Strategy: Eventalization**

As earlier commented, Foucault's work is rather unsystematic (Andersen, 2003: 2), and he introduces several analytical strategies (Andersen, 2003: 31). In his text "*Questions of methods*" published in 1978, Foucault introduces the strategy of eventalization (1978: 223):

(...) eventalization means rediscovering the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of force, strategies and so on, that at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal, and necessary. (1978: 226-227).

In accordance with the post-structural theoretical position of this thesis, eventualization operates with the idea of situatedness and temporality, and concentrates on a single, unique event. As derived from discourse theory, eventualization focuses on discursive *practices* and questions the discursive assumptions, which provide the event with acceptability at a given moment (Foucault, 1978: 225).

Foucault aims at questioning the taken-for-granted (Foucault, 1978: 226). Questioning the obvious is questioning what we in everyday life do not question. Therefore, the event is not pre-given, but is actively made by the researcher. The event (in eventualization) builds a bridge between the researcher/question and the data material, over which the research pendulates between question, theoretical frame and data response. This means that the event does not necessarily constitute a complete delimited happening as a case study for example may be presented (Neersgaard, 2007: 35).

In this thesis, the Danish public and political debate on repatriation of Danish women and children detained in Syrian refugee camp constitutes the event. To actively delimit the event, I shall argue for Marts 2019 as the event's beginning. In Marts 2019 the IS lost their last stronghold in Syria and were announced defeated (the Danish Immigration Service, 2019: 4). This situation brought forward the question of returnees in home countries of so-called foreign fighters (Fadil, Van Buggenhout & Dumortier, 2021: 8).

As mentioned in the introduction, the Danish government decided to repatriate three Danish women and their total of 14 children the 18<sup>th</sup> of May 2021 (Outzen, 2021). On October the 6<sup>th</sup> 2021 they arrived on Danish ground. Albeit five Danish children remained in the Syrian refugee camps (National Board of Social Services, 2021), the public and political debate changed and centred forward on the judicial process of those repatriated. Therefore, I have chosen the repatriation on October 6<sup>th</sup> 2021 to mark the end of the event.

As there are still Danish citizens in the Syrian refugee camps, the debate on repatriation may re-actualize, which could demand for a different delimitation of the event. In primo April 2022 the debate reoccurred in Danish media, concerning the repatriation of five Danish children and their three former-Danish mothers, who remained in the Syrian refugee camps after the

evacuation on October 6<sup>th</sup> 2021 (Clante, Dalsgaard & Hagemann-Nielsen, 2022; Bjørnager, 2022). Nonetheless, the Danish public and political debate regarding repatriation of the Danish women and children detained in the Syrian refugee camps have in this thesis been delimited to the period that stretches from March 2019 – October 2021.

Instead of considering the episodes in the public and political debate on the Danish women and children in Syrian refugee camps as a fluctuation on an otherwise long linear record of e.g. the history of Islam and the West, my methodologically approach is to treat the debate as an event with logics, which close around itself (Foucault, 1978: 226).

The methodological approach in eventualization includes three steps: First, the researcher identifies what Foucault terms '*the elements*' of the event (Foucault, 1978: 228). Inspired by his views on discourse in which statements are the smallest unit of a discourse (Andersen, 2003: 8). The statements appearing in the public and political debate constitute the elements located in the coding process. Secondly, the researcher describes how the elements are connected. The affiliation between statements is what makes the analytical chapters. It is in this within this step war framing constitutes my searchlight. Thirdly, the researcher shall seek to explore how the event becomes meaningful, understandable and acceptable by moving the perspective to the external conditions, which influence the inner dynamics of the event (Foucault, 1978: 228). Following this chapter on methodology I shall account for the relationship between Western culture and Islam as the context that this event unfolds within. Furthermore, the third step of eventualization is actualized in chapter 8 *Frames that Frame* on page 58.

### **3.2 Sampling**

Within the eventualized period (March 2019 – October 2021), the public debate and political debate have varied in intensity. Therefore, I have focused on debates and periods that are representative to the argumentation occupying the event. The research question includes both the public and the political debate regarding repatriation of the Danish women and children detained in Syrian refugee camps. I have chosen to concentrate on two empirical representations: one that represents the political debate, and one that represents the public

debate. In the forthcoming, I shall account and argue for the selection of these empirical representations.

### **3.2.1 The Political Debate**

To represent the political debate, I have selected a parliament debate on the matter: On the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 2021, the government supportive parties made a request for a parliament resolution: to repatriate Danish children detained in Syrian refugee camps to Denmark by the end of 2021 (the Danish Parliament, 2021a: B 128). The following first parliament debate of the request on Marts the 2<sup>nd</sup> 2021, is the only official accessible parliament debate directly addressing the issue of Danish children detained in Syrian refugee camps, which as an effect of the affiliation between mother and child also includes the issue of repatriation of the Danish women. In the parliament debate, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jeppe Kofod (S), presented the government's standpoint in the matter. Likewise, spokespersons from all parliament elected parties presented their stance on the matter. During the time of the parliament debate, the government would not agree to repatriate the Danish women.

After the parliament debate on Marts the 2<sup>nd</sup> 2021 the government officially changed their political standpoint on May 18<sup>th</sup> 2021 in favour of repatriation. In the government's announcement, they did not present arguments advocating for repatriation, which had not previously been presented by the proposing parliament parties. The government explained their change in political stance as a result of a Task Force Evacuation<sup>2</sup>, which among others concluded a worsening of the situation in the camps (Outzen, 2021). As the argumentation did not change despite the change in opinion, I will argue that the parliament debate on Marts the 2<sup>nd</sup> 2021 is the best representation of the complete political debate, in which all elected parliament parties present their stance, with the exception of the political party, Liberal Alliance (LA), which holds three mandates in parliament (the Danish Parliament, 2021c).

### **3.2.2 The Public Debate**

To represent the public debate, I have selected news articles published in three Danish printed newspapers *Politiken*, *Berlingske* and *Ekstra Bladet* between 18<sup>th</sup> of Marts 2021 and

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<sup>2</sup> The 30<sup>th</sup> of Marts 2021, Government and the parliament parties of V, KF, SF and LA agreed on establishing a *Task Force Evacuation* (TFE) with the purpose of investigating the possibilities of evacuation of the Danish children without their parents (the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021).

3<sup>rd</sup> of April 2021. I decided on printed news, despite a general tendency of decline in the use of printed newspapers and rise in the use of online news (Schrøder, Blach-Ørsten & Eberholst, 2020: 35). Online news is to a large extent characterized by breaking news, which has a short descriptive character (Andersen, 2017: 293). I did expect longer articles and more thorough journalism in the printed news, which in practise meant more words to unfold the argumentation evident in the debate, which I would argue makes the printed news more interesting data material.

The Danish media database *Infomedia* has been used to map out the frequencies of the media coverage. The search terms: ("Islamisk Stat") AND (børn) AND (Danmark OR dansk) were combined and provided an impression of the amount of Danish published news containing the words '*Islamic State*', '*children*' and '*Denmark*' or '*Danish*' in the period from 1<sup>st</sup> of Marts 2019 till 14<sup>th</sup> of October 2021 (one week after the repatriation on October the 6<sup>th</sup> 2021). From the first screening (appendix A), the months of Marts, April and May 2021 stood out. The amount of Danish printed news increased from 29 in February 2021 till 252 in Marts 2021, and declined to 124 in April 2021 and 83 in May 2021. I then examined the daily activity of published Danish news throughout these three months and identified the 13-day period from 18<sup>th</sup> of Marts 2021 till the 3<sup>rd</sup> of April 2021 as the period of the most intense media-coverage in Danish media (appendix B). Within this intensified period in the media-coverage, the newspapers Politiken, Berlingske and Ekstra Bladet were the three nationwide dailies, which both covered the debate most continuously and have published the highest amount of articles related to the debate (appendix B). Within the period 18<sup>th</sup> of Marts 2021 till 3<sup>rd</sup> of April 2021 the total amount of news articles from the three selected dailies is 96: 35 by Politiken, 38 published by Berlingske and 23 by Ekstra Bladet (appendix B).

The first reading of this data material revealed seven overall categories of news (appendix C):  
1) Explanatory overviews, which cover timelines on political developments, status of European countries and factual accounts on the Danish women and children in Al-Hol and Al-Roj. 2) Narrations by visitors to the Syrian refugee camps and/or interviews with the Danish women. 3) European comparisons, which refer to accounts of repatriation of citizens in countries comparable to Denmark. 4) Expert opinions, which cover a range of different disciplines. 5) Debate contributions from both opinion leaders and readers. 6) Political

standpoints and 7) political struggle. At this point, I did a further delimitation of the sample. To cover the public debate, I have chosen all news items, which are categorized as narrations, expert opinion and debate contributions from opinion makers.

I deselected the debate contributions from the readers, which were printed in Politiken and Berlingske's '*opinion of the readers...*' (in Danish: '*Læserne mener...*') and Ekstra Bladets section '*the nation*' (in Danish: '*nationen*'), as these debate contributions appeared as comments with no potential for actual influence. Furthermore, I chose not to include printed news describing debates or experiences with repatriation from other European countries, as it is the *Danish* debate regarding the *Danish* women and children, which are relevant to this thesis. Equally, the news pieces categorized as political standpoints have been excluded. This is due to the fact that, in the parliament debate on the request for parliament resolution (the Danish Parliament, 2021b: B 128) all elected parliament parties presented their stance on the matter. The news pieces categorized as political statements do not include statements from all elected parliament parties. Therefore, I chose the parliament debate rather than the political debate as it is represented in the printed news. Furthermore, all news pieces categorized as political struggle are not included in the analysis, as these pieces are permeated by political intrigue and internal confrontations between the parliaments elected parties rather than the question on repatriation of the Danish women and children. These selective choices narrowed down the empirical data to consist of 34 news pieces: 15 by Politiken, 17 by Berlingske and only 2 by Ekstra Bladet (appendix C).

### **3.3 Organizing the Data Material**

As previously stated, I had certain presumptions and expectations to the public and political debate regarding repatriation of the Danish women and children detained in Syrian refugee camps prior to my examination of the debates. To address these presumptions, I initially turned to the parliament debate on the request for parliament resolution (the Danish Parliament, 2021b: B 128). I accessed the political debate in a process of open coding. Open coding involves fracturing the data, which allowed me to examine and identify empirical themes both implicitly and explicitly in the political debate, without applying prior coding schemes (Andersen, Hansen & Klemmensen, 2012: 177). I extracted statements (constituting the elements in the terminology of eventlization), which either confirmed my expectations or

surprised me in the light of Butler's (2010) war framing. In the open coding I added descriptive notes on my associations (appendix D). The observations from this first open coding in return inspired my search for further theoretical concepts and gave ground for a more structured coding process. It is this iteration between data, themes and theory that the abductive approach allows (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012: 28).

From my first readings of the material, it became clear that the debate is expressed through dichotomies, which indicated contrasting positions. After locating elements in the political debate (appendix D), I constructed the dichotomised themes: Mother and child, Danish and not Danish, threat and defence, choice and no-choice, past and future and innocent and guilt. To systemize the data, I structured the coding sheet from the dichotomised themes in a matrix for transverse analysis (Nielsen, Hjørnholm & Jørgensen, 2019: 260-261) (appendix E<sup>3</sup>).

At the third screening one of the public dailies, Ekstra Bladet, was almost removed from the material. In the period from 18<sup>th</sup> of Marts 2021 till the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April 2021 (13 days) they published 23 pieces in their printed newspaper (appendix B). In the third screening, only two of their news pieces turned out relevant to the public debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children. Ekstra Bladet's seemingly consistent covering of the debate had its main focus at the political struggles and intrigue. In the majority of Ekstra Bladet's articles, the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children appears as an opportunity to unfold the already existing political battles.

### **3.4 One Debate on Repatriation**

In the process of coding, it came clear that the public and political debate do not differentiate noticeably. The debate unfolds on the counter poles of for and against repatriation, whereas the arguments on both sides seem to crosscut the public and political debate. During the first parliament debate on the request for parliament resolution (the Danish Parliament, 2021b: B 128), the politicians refers to relevant published news in their accounts, and the public debate represented by the three dailies Politiken, Berlingske and Ekstra Bladet draws on the political debate. The political debate (publicly accessible) is public, and the public debate is political. The two are intertwined. Therefore, they shall in the following analysis be presented as one.

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<sup>3</sup> Appendix E is only readable in digital version, as it requires a zoom-function to read.

Of course there are nuances both internally and in-between the political statements, the experts contributions, the inputs of the opinion leaders, the personal narrations and interviews. But, the various contributors to the debate refer and respond to one another, repeat expressions and statements and accept the positions for or against repatriation.

### **3.5 Premises of the Analysis**

In the forthcoming analysis, I shall present illustrative statements from the debate on repatriation in a citation format. Throughout the analysis, the use of citations serves as illustrations. The presented citations are selected from the coding sheets (appendix D and E) and are considered exemplifying across the political spectrum and with the inclusion of different stakeholders, representing different opinions applying different argumentation in the debate. The citations presented in the analysis are translated into English (appendix F).

As elaborated in the section on this project's theoretical position, the main theoretical concept is Butler's concept of framing (Butler, 2010). In addition, I shall draw eclectically on relevant theoretical concepts, which grant me the opportunity to access the argumentation regarding repatriation in the debate on a more detailed level. These contributions serve the purpose of conceptual commenting on the premises of the argumentations appearing in the debate. The theoretical concepts shall be introduced, when they are actualized in in the analysis.

It is worth noticing that the empirical data representing respectively the political and the public debate on repatriation both refer to a time before the 18<sup>th</sup> of May 2021. This means, that in the forthcoming analysis, the government's political standpoint is *against* repatriation of the Danish women and children.

## **4. The West/Islam-Relation as Context**

The event always takes place within a context, which makes the event meaningful. In the third step of Foucault's eventualization, he urges the researcher to turn to the external conditions of the event (Foucault, 1978: 228). In this chapter, I shall give an account of the relationship between the West and Islam as the context in which the public and political debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children unfolds. Initially I shall address the 9/11-effects on the relationship between the West and Islam (4.1), which promoted a dominating perception of a link between Islam and terrorism and an assumption of Islam and the West as enemies. Subsequently, I shall elaborate on the attitude of the Danish majority towards the Muslim minority (4.2) and how it mirrors the alienated relationship between the West and Islam. Additionally, I shall briefly account for the evolution of the IS and its affiliation to the phenomenon of foreign fighters (4.3), which the Danish women, among other things, are accused of being.

### **4.1 The 9/11 Effect on the Relationship between the West and Islam**

Following the events of 9/11, a general trend emerged that targeted Islam as an intolerant and violent religion. This trend was (and still is) particularly prevalent among the general public and some policy circles and is fed by media organisations. (Tellidis, 2016: 140)

Since the terror attack on the Twin Towers on September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001, Scholar Ioannis Tellidis (2016) claims that the relationship between terrorism and Islam has dominated terrorism studies (2016: 134). As an effect of the 9/11 events, Islam has been perceived as the primary cause of terrorist violence. According to Tellidis, this accusation is not without some truth, as a number of terrorist groups (including the IS) invoke religion (most commonly Islam) in their aim to justify their actions, gain support, and recruiting (Tellidis, 2016: 134). This context does not justify the tendency of the media and/or policymakers to portray the Muslim world or Islamic culture as homogeneous with terrorism. Nevertheless, this has been a tendency, which indirectly made the 'war on terror' a war between Western culture and claimed Islamic motivated terrorism (Tellidis, 2016: 134).

Generally speaking, the ‘war on terror’ made Islam the obvious enemy of the Western world. The origin of the animosity and the alienation between Islam and the Western world, Tellidis explains with reference to the difference between cultures ruled by religion and secularized cultures. Western culture is dominated by a secular normativity, in which religion and politics are separated. Tellidis rationalizes the secular normativity with the history of the Wars of Religion in medieval Europe (1550-1648), and the following process of secularization, which moved religion from the political into the private sphere (Tellidis, 2016: 135). As a result of the Wars of Religion, religion became securitised and was constructed as an existential threat from a secularist perspective (Tellidis, 2016: 137). According to Tellidis, the fear of religion is fundamental to a culture based on secularization. A secular perspective does not recognize that religion can be political. This could be the root of the alienation between the two. A crucial point of Tellidis is that, what we term religious terrorism is inevitably political, or as Paul Wilkinson (2001) states:

What appears at first sight to be a purely religious phenomenon is in fact in large part about political control and socioeconomic demands. (2001: 61).

Taking the IS as an example, it is a self-declared religious founded group, who has claimed responsibility for several terror attacks, which they justified by religion (Glenn, Rowan, Caves & Nada, 2019). Nevertheless, the claimed religious terrorism has political motives: IS possesses an agenda of territoriality, governability, representation and power (Tellidis, 2016: 141).

## **4.2 The Attitude of the Danish Majority towards the Muslim Minority**

More specifically, the public and political debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children detained in Syrian refugee camps unfold in the *Danish* public and political debate. The Danish context seemingly mirrors Tellidis’s assumed link between terrorism and Islam, and the alienated relationship between Muslim and Western culture. Anthropologist Anja Kublitz (2010) has examined the development in the Danish discourse on immigrants. Her research confirms a discursive link between Islam and terrorism within the Danish context. She suggests that the discourse on Muslims in Denmark and the discourse on terrorism are

running parallel and at times are intertwined (Kublitz, 2010: 119). Addressing the relationship between Islam and Danish culture, Kublitz, among other, concludes:

(...) immigrants have become synonym with 'Muslim', who are again synonymous with 'Islam', and all three categories stand in an opposed and antagonistic relation to the old Danish culture (...) (2010: 113)

Kublitz identifies a tendency of '*othering*' immigrants with origin from Muslim countries (Kublitz, 2010: 121). In the aftermaths of the political initiative from 2002 titled the "*Battle of Culture*", which targeted immigrants from Muslim countries who seemingly refused to recognize Danish norms (Kublitz, 2010: 112), Kublitz classifies the discourse on immigrants in Denmark as an "*Enlightenment discourse*" (2010: 116). This discourse not simply distinguishes Danish and Muslim values as contrary, but also as hierarchical. In the enlightenment discourse, Danish values are characterized by reference to Western values as democracy, equality, freedom of speech and human rights, and Muslim values are assigned medieval norms, undemocratic mind-sets, lacking freedom of speech and human rights (Kublitz, 2010: 113). The enlightenment discourse is expressing a perception of the Danish culture as superior to the Muslim culture, as the Danish culture is referred to as developed to a higher level with reference to historical development (the Age of Enlightenment versus the Middle Ages). Kublitz's enlightenment discourse is drawn from events, which go 20 years back. Much has happened since.

The alienated relationship between Danish and Muslim culture in Denmark seems, if not worsened then, not improved since Kublitz's 2010-research. Events such as the deemed terror attack, referred to as the Copenhagen Shootings, on 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> of February in 2015 (PET, n.d.), or refugees who walked on the Danish highways in September 2015 (DR, 2015), made issues of immigration and immigrants (implied *Muslim* immigration/immigrants (Kublitz, 2010: 113)) *the* political topic at the time (Schjørring, 2022). In 2015, the centre-liberal party, the Liberal Party of Denmark (V), constituted a minority government, in which former party member Inger Støjberg were titled Minister of Immigration and Integration (The Danish Parliament, n.d.). Her political line regarding immigration and immigrants was notorious, and she provoked large parts of the Danish population when she celebrated the approval of the

political restriction no. 50 targeting immigrants and/or immigration with a cake (Uberg, 2017). The current Social democratic government (S) ran its election campaign on strict immigration- and integration politics in 2019, which they actualized in their proposal for an immigration and integration strategy titled "*Fair and Realistic*" (the Social Democratic Party, 2019). The political agenda continues to address immigration and integration as an issue, which problematizes the Muslim minority in Denmark.

### **4.3 The Islamic State and the Phenomenon of Foreign Fighters**

On June 29<sup>th</sup> 2014, Omar al-Baghdadi announced the establishment of an Islamic caliphate in the al-Nuri mosque, Mosul, in which he rebranded ISIS (the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria) as the Islamic State (IS) (Glenn et al., 2019) and declare himself caliph. In his sermon, Bakr al-Baghdad called upon all Muslims to immigrate to the newly established caliphate and take part in the battle against the infidels<sup>4</sup> (Nielsen, 2020). Since 2012, the Danish Security and Intelligence Service (PET) has been aware of the foreign fighter phenomenon (CTA, 2021: 25). Foreign fighters refer to situations, in which people without national affiliation travel abroad to involve in violent conflicts (Jørgensen, 2021: 6). The debated Danish women detained in Syrian refugee camps are assumed to be foreign fighters, who responded to Bakr al-Baghdad's call. Whether or not the women in question support the ideology of IS, they have been detained in camps for foreigners, which hold assumed supporters. In the annual PET *Assessment on the Terror Threat against Denmark*, the division Centre for Terror Analysis (CTA) assumes at least 160 Danish citizens have departed from Denmark to Syria or Iraq to join militant Islamist groups since 2012 (up until Marts 2021) (CTA, 2021: 25). What may have been a "*Battle of Culture*" in early 2000s in Denmark (Kublitz, 2010: 112) has, for some Danish citizens, developed into an actual psychical battle in the war zones of Syria and Iraq.

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<sup>4</sup> Meaning: A person who does share the same religious beliefs as the person speaking (Cambridge Dictionary, 2022)

## **5. The Departure of the Event: The Dilemma of Kinship**

The Danish newspaper Berlingske made a survey in collaboration with the analysis institute Gallup. In a news article from the 21<sup>st</sup> of Marts 2021, the findings are presented. Among others, the article concludes that half the Danish population supports repatriation of the Danish children – but not repatriation of the Danish women (Nielsen, 2021: 12). In the introduction and actualization of the research question, I claim the political disagreement regarding repatriation of the Danish women and children comes down to the affiliation between mother and child, and that it is the affiliation, which serves as the main-argument both for and against repatriation. With the affiliation between mother and child as central to the debate, the norms relating to the family institution influence the premise of the debate. In this chapter, I shall introduce Susan D. Moeller's (2009) work as a frame of reference regarding Western cultural expectations to '*family*' (5.1) and argue for my assertion by presenting statements from the debate (5.2). It is from the dilemma of kinship that the further examination shall take its departure.

### **5.1 The Western Family**

Susan D. Moeller (2009) has examined American media's use of the concept of '*the innocent child*', which implies taking advantage of the expectations and idyllic ideals Western culture assigns to the family institution (2009: 39). As a social construction, '*family*' demands of its members to occupy predetermined positions. According to Moeller, family is essentially a moral system, which constitutes a basic unit in the establishment of society (Moeller, 2009: 46). Whether the arguments are culturally, psychosocially or jurisdictional, mothers and children are – under normal circumstances – expected to be affiliated within the unit of the family as an effect of their kinship. Furthermore, Moeller claims that a core component of the family is its capability of protecting (and nurturing) the child/ren (Moeller, 2009: 46).

### **5.2 The Western Family in the Debate**

In the parliament debate, Rasmus Stoklund (S), spokesperson for the government party, the Social Democrats (S), argues against repatriation of both the Danish women and children due to the threat, the Danish women are found to represent:

What I'm saying is that it is the parents who pose a security threat, but we cannot just bring the children and then not the parents, it just doesn't work like that, and if we repatriate the parents to Denmark at this time, they pose a severe security threat. (Stoklund (S), 2021: 22.19)

The rationality evident in the quote illustrates the expectations to the family institution: In accordance with the cultural norm, parents and children cannot be separated. Meanwhile, the situation of the Danish women and children is not considered normal. Stoklund sees the parents as a "*severe security threat*", which alludes to the war framing conditioning the debate. The government would agree to repatriate the Danish children, but due to the principle of the non-separable affiliation between mother and child, the government rejects repatriation. The fear of terrorism delimits the arguments into a situation of all or nothing, which the norm of affiliation within the family amplifies: either are both mothers and children repatriated or nobody is (the Danish Parliament, 2021b: B 128).

Other parliament parties suggest separation of the Danish mothers and children<sup>5</sup> despite the cultural expectations to the relationship between mother and child. These political suggestions indicate an interpretation of the kinship as (to some degree) harmful to the children. During the first parliament debate (the Danish Parliament, 2021b: B 128), several parliament parties (V, DF, NB) suggested forced removal or adoption, which would allow repatriation of the children without their mothers (Jensen (V) 2021: 22.30; Espersen (DF) 2021: 22.51; Thiesen (NB), 2021: 23.39). To overcome the dilemma of kinship, the government suggests that the mothers should give their consent and voluntarily agree to separate from their children (Kofod (S), 2021: 21.40).

In an expert contribution in Berlingske, Kirsten Ketscher, professor of social law at the University of Copenhagen, criticizes the idea of consent:

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<sup>5</sup> The 30<sup>th</sup> of Marts 2021, Government and the parliament parties of V, KF, SF and LA agreed on establishing a *Task Force Evacuation* (TFE) with the purpose of investigating the possibilities of evacuation of the Danish children without their parents (the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021).

In other words, they [the Danish women] should give up their children voluntarily. (...). In the first place, I [Kirsten Ketscher] think we should be very careful to consider going down the consent-trail, because consider the situation of the mother, is it a real choice even, (...) (Domino and Schneider, 2021: 6)

Ketscher insinuates that the circumstances, under which the women and their children live, are so bad that the validity of consent would be doubtful. Furthermore, experts represented in the public debate stress that separation of the children and their mothers would result in additional traumas to the children (Søndergaard, 2021: 4), and that: "*Regardless of criminal parents, children need some sort of contact.*" (Larsen, 2021: 5), which again indicates the cultural expectation of the relationship between parent and child.

With the dilemma of kinship as the departure, in which there are no public or political benevolence to repatriate the Danish women besides the wish to repatriate their children, I shall in the following analysis examine the framing of the Danish women and children separately in respectively chapter 6 and chapter 7. In the forthcoming, I shall examine the framing of '*The dangerous mothers*'.

## 6. The Dangerous Mothers

The arguments for or against repatriation of the Danish women and children vary within juridical, moral and humanitarian spheres. But, the persistently and seemingly overruling argument both for and against repatriation is the issue of *security*. In this chapter, I shall dwell on how the Danish women are framed as a threat in the debate on repatriation. Throughout the forthcoming analysis, I shall apply Butler's concepts to highlight the war framing prominent in the debate targeting '*the dangerous mothers*'. Initially, I shall exemplify the framing of the Danish women as "*a severe security threat*" during the parliament debate regarding proposal B 128 (6.1). Following is a section on the framing's effects on the Danish women's grievability (6.2), which leads to an account of the recognisability of '*the terrorist*' (6.2.1). With reference to Jan-Willem van Prooijen and Evelien van de Veer (2010) I shall comment on demonization, which follows notions of terrorism (6.2.2). I choose to introduce the concept of demonization, as the Danish women are not simply ungrievable lives but are framed to evoke indignation.

In agreement with Butler's thoughts on war framing, issues of national affinity (6.3) are central to the debate. In this regard, I shall reflect upon the labelling of '*foreign fighters*' and '*home-grown terrorists*', which shall illuminate how the differentiation between '*us*' and '*them*' in traditional war waging is not applicable in this debate. This leads to a section on treason (6.3.1), which indicates a process in which '*one of us*' becomes '*one of them*', and reveals the emotional implications of nationality. Furthermore, the debate insinuates a social expulsion of the Danish women and exposes the relationship between the West and Islam (6.3.2).

Finishing of this chapter examining the framing of the Danish women in the debate, I shall unfold the critique of the Danish women's ability of parenting, and how the mom-shaming they experience help to maintain the Danish women as ungrievable lives (6.4).

### 6.1 A Severe Security Risk

Before the 18<sup>th</sup> of May 2021, the government argued against repatriation. In the first parliament debate, subsequent the proposal for resolution B 128, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jeppe Kofod (S), presents the government's standpoint:

(...) what we are saying is that we don't want people, who turned their back on Denmark and all of our values, people who decided to join a terrorist organization, committing atrocities, which in itself may pose a severe security risk. We will not risk that these people return to Denmark and poses a danger to us here. We don't want that. Foreign fighters are unwanted in Denmark. That is what we are saying. (Kofod (S), 2021: 22.03)

That people who joined the IS are perceived a "*severe security risk*", who "*poses a danger to us*" is a standpoint shared by all the political parties against repatriation of the Danish women and children (the Danish Parliament, 2021b: B 128). This impression of the (negative) '*them*' is equivalent to Butler's characteristic of the interpretative framework, which differentiates populations in times of war. The people who joined the IS pose a threat to life and existence (Butler, 2010: 42). As a part of the people "*(...) who turned their back on Denmark (...) decided to join a terror organization (...)*" and are being generalized as "*foreign fighters*", Kofod indicates that Danish society ought to fear the Danish women in question. It is implied that they are supporters of terrorism and skilled like combats. Without being specific, the Minister of Foreign Affairs states they commit "*atrocities*", as he either cannot get himself to mention the actual acts or do not have the imagination, which again indicates the severity of the assumed acts of the Danish women.

The majority of the remaining parliament parties share this perception of the parents, whom they refer to as "*terrorists*" 52 times, "*traitors to the nation*" 9 times, "*war criminals*" 9 times and "*foreign fighters*" 26 times during the parliament debate (the Danish Parliament, 2021b: B 128). Even the parliament parties, who support repatriation of both women and children either agree on these accusations of the mothers (Dehnhardt (SF), 2021: 23.07; Gejl (ALT), 2021: 23.54; Lund (EL), 2021: 00.03), or do not address the issue of characterizing the Danish women based on their assumed actions, but stick to the needs of the Danish children in their argumentation (Hegaard (RV), 2021: B 128). As I shall argue in the following, whether or not the parliament elected parties support or reject repatriation, the Danish women are being condemned and excluded from Danish society.

## 6.2 The Ungrievable Lives: Convenient Death

In a featured article in Politiken, Jurist, Tarek Hussein, outlines a political caricature of the situation of the Danish women and children detained in Syrian refugee camps:

(...) in the best of all worlds, we wouldn't even have to decide on the question, because then the women would be dead on the battlefield fighting for a hell regime of a caliphate, which they initially approached. (2021: 5)

Hussein claims that their deaths would be a convenience to the politicians. The political decision-making on repatriation of the Danish children (with dead mothers) would be unproblematic, as both the public and the political majority supports repatriation of the Danish children (Nielsen, 2021: 12; appendix D). This confirms the identified dilemma of kinship. In his parody of the political dilemma, Hussein adopts a war-terminology ("the battlefield" "fighting" "hell regime"), which empathizes the war-rationality that permeates the quote. As previously argues, the Danish women occupy the position of the (negative) '*them*', which in times of war indicates the status of the enemy (Butler, 2010: 38). To locate the enemy in times of war, Butler asks: Whose lives are considered valuable? Whose lives are mourned? Whose lives are ungrievable? (Butler, 2010: 38). In Hussein's contribution to the debate it is clear, that the lives of the Danish women are not perceived valuable and their deaths would not be mourned. In her account of grievability, Butler writes: "*(...) we mourn for some lives but respond with coldness to the loss of others.*" (Butler, 2010: 36). The quote by Hussein does not only insinuate the indifference these women are met with, but furthermore the contempt they evoke. Their deaths are portrayed as desirable – as the enemy in a war zone. Hussein's caricature of the political view on the lives of the Danish women mirrors Butler's concept of ungrievable lives, which removes feelings of sympathy towards the Danish women (Butler, 2010: 42).

### 6.2.1 The Unrecognizability of the Terrorist

Ungrievable lives do not necessarily attract attention. They can be invisible as an effect of the framing. In the debate of the Danish women detained in Syrian refugee camps, they are not visible; they are framed to evoke indignation. In the Danish newspaper, Politiken, Andreas Selset, MA from the University of Copenhagen, accounts for two stereotypes of the Danish

women, as they have been presented in Danish media: the “*Naive IS-bride or [the] fanatical terrorist (...)*”, in which the fanatical terrorist have become the dominating (Selset, 2021: 5). The fanatical terrorist is characterized as “(...)*almost more radicalized and merciless than the male jihadists.*” (Selset, 2021: 5) and described as fanatic to a degree, which makes her almost non-human (Selset, 2021: 6). The discourse of the ‘war on terror’ has rested on the narrative of the terrorist other, who represents an existential threat to “*our way of life*” (Mavelli, 2016: 240). With the ideas of an Islamic caliphate, IS was driven by a utopia, which was/is perceived an existential threat to Western culture. The notion of the brutality of IS is omnipresent in the public and political debate. An example is the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kofod’s (S), description of the organisation during the parliament debate:

We are talking about a barbarian terror regime, which chopped off the heads of those they perceived as infidels. They burned people alive, they threw homosexuals out of rooftops, they stoned women for alleged infidelity, and they exposed prisoners to the most horrific methods of torture imaginable.  
(2021: 21.40)

With different methods of killing, Kofod (S) characterizes IS. Besides being perceived as en threat to Western culture, IS is simply presented as a threat to life.

According to Butler, the fact that the stereotype of the fanatical terrorist is difficult to recognize as human must be an effect of clashing norms, as norms allocate recognisability (Butler, 2010: 6). The terrorist is often associated with the suicide bomber, who turns his/her body and own death into a deadly weapon. In a system, which operates with an ideal of zero deaths (Baudrillard, 2002: 16), the norms regarding suicide bombing are incomprehensible. The acceptance (and even glorification) of death characterizing the IS stresses the alienation between a Western ‘us’ and the Islamic motivated terrorist-‘them’.

In Butler’s conception of recognisability, a severe degree of non-recognisability tends towards dehumanization. Under the condition of war, the non-recognisability helps legitimize and even justify killing of the enemy (Butler, 2010: xx). As an example, the spokesperson for the

Socialist People's Party, Karina Lorentzen Dehnhardt (SF), expresses incomprehension of the Danish women's choices:

We [the parliament elected parties] may easily agree that the choices of the children's parents are horrifying. They are incomprehensible. I would never stand here and apologize or explain the choice to join an Islamic death cult, never, (...). (Dehnhardt (SF), 2021: 23.07)

Dehnhardt distances herself and all other parliament elected parties represented in the first parliament debate (B 128) from the Danish women, as she concludes that their choices are incomprehensible. Furthermore, she denies the possibility of ever understanding their motives. In other words, the Danish women have become unrecognisable to Dehnhardt due to the character of IS.

### **6.2.2 Demonization**

Dehumanization can be connected to demonization (van Propijen and de Veer, 2010: 260). According to Jan-Willem van Prooijen and Evelien van de Veer (2010), who have studied prototypical evilness, one way of making sense of perpetrators is to demonize them. They note that evilness may be a rather abstract construct, nonetheless most people posses a (non-universal) prototypical evilness scheme, which means "*(...) a coherent mental set of stereotypical diabolical attributes that are associated with evildoers.*" (van Propijen and de Veer, 2010: 260). Demonization is the tendency to personify pure evilness in a process of dehumanization. As an example of a stereotypical evildoer, van Propijen and de Veer themselves refer to "*(...) a religious inspired terrorist (...)*" (2010: 269), as the Danish women detained in the Syrian refugee camps are perceived as due to their assumed affiliation to the IS. Demonization is in particular connected to attitudes or behaviours, which are considered immoral (van Propijen and de Veer, 2010: 259-260). Baudrillard (2002) puts it quite simple: "*Terrorism is immoral.*" (2002: 12). The immorality associated with terrorism allows demonization. More specific, the media framing of the Danish women as fanatical *terrorist* demonize them. In an interview brought in Berlingske with Aziza (pseudonym), who is detained in Al-Roj with her son, Aziza addresses the dehumanization of the women like herself:

I consider myself as an innocent, human mother. I mention human, because I should be treated as a human being with rights. (Kamil, 2021b: 5)

The statement of Aziza testifies her own experience of not being treated as a human with basic legal rights, which insinuates, if not a direct dehumanization, a degrading of her humanity. One of Van Propijen and de Veer's findings is that once demonized, the individual is likely to be placed outside the "*scope of justice*" (van Propijen and de Veer, 2010: 269), which may explain Aziza's experience and the general public resistance against repatriation of the Danish women (Nielsen, 2021: 12).

### **6.3 Issues of National Affinity**

Besides terrorists, the Danish women are referred to as '*foreign fighters*'. The phenomenon relates to situations in which people without national affiliation travel abroad to involve in violent conflicts (Jørgensen, 2021: 6). Within traditional war waging, the '*us*' fighting an enemy is most often referring to national affiliation (Butler, 2010: xx). The concept of foreign fighters challenges the traditional idea of war waging, as it blurs the conventional lines between '*us*' and '*them*' dictated by nation states (Butler, 2010: 42). Subsequently, the enemy becomes more difficult to locate, as national identity or citizenship is not necessarily synonymous to '*us*'.

In her statement during the parliament debate regarding proposal B 128, spokesperson for the political party New Right, Mette Thiesen (NB), makes reference to a Danish example of a categorized foreign fighter:

In 2013, one of Denmark's home-grown IS terrorists, Jacob El-Ali, went to Syria, donned an Islamic State uniform and posed next to bleeding, headless corpses and severed heads. (2021: 23.39)

To describe the foreign fighter, Thiesen make use of another expression related to the Danish debate on foreign fighters: '*The home-grown terrorist*'. This expression indicates that the exposure to IS's ideology and propaganda happened on Danish soil to Danish citizens (cf.

Jacob El-Ali), and indicates a transition from ‘us’ to ‘them’. Labels as foreign fighters and home-grown terrorists suggests that the enemy is not necessarily posing a threat from the outside, but can arise from the inside of the Danish community.

### **6.3.1 Traitors to the Nation; when ‘Us’ become ‘Them’**

As an effect of the war framing derived the ‘war on terror’ (Baudrillard, 2002: 4), discussions regarding the Danish citizenship and nationality are central in the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children. The Danish women are repeatedly accused of treason in both the public and political debate (appendix D and E) An example is Naser Khader’s (KF), spokesperson for the Conservative People’s party, statement in the first parliament debate regarding B 128:

The in quotations *Danish Islamic State-terrorists* have turned their backs on Denmark; they left to fight for an Islamic caliphate, they joined one of the most brutal organizations the world has ever seen. Islamic State has killed, tortured and raped, and they have sold women and children as sex slaves. I have no words for how horrifying an organization this is. And they [the Danish citizens in Syria] knew what they were getting into when they travelled to Syria and joined the organization. Anything else is bad excuses. They left Welfare Denmark in favour of an Islamic caliphate. Again: They are traitors to the Nation. (2021: 23.28)

Khader finishes by repeating a conclusion from the debate: that the Danish women are traitors to the nation. Deeming the Danish women traitors to the nation is a jurisdictional reference. Traitor to the nation referrs to chapter 12 of the Penal Code on treason and targets situations, in which Danish citizens choose to harm or threaten the Danish state accompanied/assisted by foreign interests (Promulgation of the Penal Code, 2021, §98). It is worth noticing that the Danish women have not faced an actual trial (Lund (EL), 2021: 00.03). As Butler claims, framing constitutes a perspective, which also conditions the potential affects (Butler, 2010: 34). In Khader’s example, the usage of the title appears emotionally loaded as an affect of the cruelty IS represents. Emotionally, treason describes a situation in which ‘one

*of us'* becomes '*one of them'* and turns into the enemy. Assigning the title traitor to the nation to the Danish women may be interpreted as social expulsion.

### 6.3.2 Muslim Traitors

The accusations of treason may express of a feeling of betrayal, which sentences such as “(...) *have turned their backs on Denmark forever*,” (Espersen, (DF), 2021: 22.51) indicates. Former judge at the United Nations’ (UN) International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, Frederik Harhoff, explains this feeling of betrayal in the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children in a featured article in Berlingske:

(...) as IS is a terrorist organization that fights against everything we stand for in the West and furthermore makes use of completely inhuman and medieval means, we experience it as disloyal towards Denmark to join such an organization. (2021: 10)

Harhoff explains that the feeling of betrayal is rooted in the character of the IS, which is experienced as the absolute antagonism to the Western culture. Despite issues of national affinity being central to the debate, the positions of '*us*'/'*them*' are less of a distinction between Danish/not-Danish as a distinction between the West/Islam. Acknowledging that the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children is situated in a context in which '*us*'/'*them*' is presumed as the West/Islam, DF's Espersen finds it natural to target the Muslim community in Denmark during the parliament debate regarding proposal B 128:

In the centre of it all, we have to become much more strict in relation to the advance of Islam in Denmark, which courses that out of seemingly peaceful circles a surrealist terrorist suddenly jumps out with a machine gun in one hand and the Koran in the other. (2021: 22.51)

His statement seems comparable to catastrophic thinking, in which Danish Muslims irrationally, without any signs or reasons, turns into terrorists only motivated by religion. Espersen presents Islam (not the IS) as a root cause of terrorism. With the 9/11-effect on the relationship between the West and Islam, which initiated a war between Western and Muslim

culture, Espersen's conclusion is not surprising. The statement does not stand out from the discourse on Muslims in Denmark (Kublitz, 2010: 119), as the statement presents Islam as liked to terrorism and draw on war-terminology ("the advance" in Danish: "fremmarch" which entails military cogitations). As the third largest party elected for parliament (the Danish Parliament, 2021c), the opinion and the attitude of DF's Espersen is not an extreme, but must be perceived as broader publicly agreed.

### **6.3.3 The Unmaking of Danish Identity**

The Danish citizenship is the legal formality, which determines national affiliation, which provides privileges and legal rights. Arguments in favour repatriation stress "*Danish children are Danish responsibility (...)*" (Hegaard (RV), 2021: 23.14) and arguments against repatriation attack the Danish-ness of the women.

On October the 24<sup>th</sup> 2019, parliament passed a bill referred to as '*The cancelling of foreign fighters' citizenship*'. The bill allows the Minister of Immigration and Integration to administratively withdrawn the Danish citizenship, if the citizen in question has acted in a manner, which is harmful to the vital interests of the nation *and* holds dual citizenship. This bill allows conviction outside the courts (Act amending the Danish Citizenship Act and the Aliens Act, 2019). Related to this particular debate, three mothers of a total of five Danish children have had their Danish citizenship withdrawn as a result of this bill (National Board of Social Services, 2021). One is the loss of legal rights and protection, which follows the Danish citizenship. Another is the emotional effect of being expelled. Berlingske interviewed one of the former-Danish women, Nadia (a pseudonym), about the withdrawal of her Danish citizenship:

They talked about repatriating only the two ethnic [Danes]. Ok, thank you, Denmark. So I'm not Danish anymore? Why? Am I worth less? I got really, really upset. I was really disappointed and I cried. (Kamil, 2021a: 6)

Nadia describes her reaction to the withdrawal of her Danish citizenship by referencing to her physical reaction of weeping, which witnesses her bodily emotions of being hurt and disappointed. She tells that the withdrawal evoked a feeling of inferiority, and poses the

question: "*Am I not Danish anymore?*". Her question implies that nationality is more than a legal formality. The immigrant sceptical parliament party, the Danish People's Party (DF), shares Nadia's idea of Danish identity as more than a legal formality, but in reverse:

The people who have joined the Islamic State have turned their backs on Denmark forever, and they have nothing to do in this country, and that is regardless of whether they and their children happen to have a Danish passport, we no longer consider them as Danes. (Espersen (DF), 2021: 22.51)

To DF, not even those women detained in the Syrian refugee camps, who hold Danish citizenship, are considered Danish. In other words: they are not one of '*us*', regardless official legal status. As it appears in the case of Nadia and Espersen's utterances, issues regarding Danish identity are an emotional affair. Aligned with Butler's framing concept, the frame implicitly guides the affective interpretation (Butler, 2010: 34). This framing, which draws on issues regarding national identity, evoke emotional reactions.

#### **6.4 Mom-shaming**

As argued in the previous, one of the characteristics of the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children is the framing of the Danish women as the enemy. Another characteristic of the debate is the framing of the Danish women as bad parents. Most people have or have had a mother figure in their lives, which in Butler's (2010) terminology makes the mother-character normatively recognizable. Being a mother humanizes the Danish women, whom are otherwise dehumanized as deemed terrorist. In regards to recognisability, the two categories 'mother' and 'terrorist' conflict. To comprehend recognisability, and subsequent sympathy, the Danish women are exposed to critique of their parent abilities in both the public and political debate. An example of the critique is the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kofod (S), who, during the parliament debate regarding proposal B 128, accuses the parents detained in the Syrian refugee camps of instrumentalizing their children:

We do not want to help foreign fighters, nor do we want to let foreign fighters use their children as lever so that they can travel to Denmark themselves – the country they have betrayed. (2021: 21.40)

He hints cynicism when he suggests that the parents would “use” their children to improve their own chances of repatriation<sup>6</sup>. From Kofod’s statement it is implicit, that the parents do not put the well-being of their children first as expected of parents (Moeller, 2009: 46). During the parliament debate, spokesperson for DF, Espersen, accelerates and accuses the parents of child abuse:

Cause, after all, when you do that sort of brainwashing, what is happening is child abuse; we must take this into an account. There is actually a good and rightly explanation for why we should let them be adopted, which is because their parents are abusing them. (2021: 22.51)

Child abuse most often is perceived as physical or emotional violence or sexual assaults (Ottosen, 2019: 4). In Espersen’s utterance he presumes it is the adults who violates their children. In this quote “*brainwash*” refers to the beliefs of the mother. Upbringing in a specific religious or ideological environment is in itself not traditionally what is understood as child abuse. It is possible that the methods of the so-called brainwash are equivalent to the definitions of child abuse (Ottosen, 2019: 4), but Espersen does not address the methods of child abuse in his statement. By framing the Danish women as (not bad, but) dangerous mothers, they can still be representing evilness (cf. section 6.2.2 *Demonization* on page 34, hence still legitimately be socially expelled.

Politiken brought an interview with the lawyer and co-founder of the organization ‘Repatriate the Children – Denmark’, RTC, Knud Foldschack, who represents and advocates for repatriation of the Danish women. In this interview, Foldschack utters the same opinion regarding the Danish women as bad parents:

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<sup>6</sup> Reference to the right to family life as formulated in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989) article 3 and 10

If they travelled to Syria to join the Islamic State, the caliphate, with the consequences implied, and brought their children, then yes, I [Knud Foldschack] think that they have proved to be bad mothers. (Skærbæk, 2021: 11)

Even a spokesperson advocating for repatriation of the Danish women, consider the Danish women as bad mothers due to their choices. In an interview published by Berlingske with the former-Danish women detained in the Al-Roj camp Nadia (a pseudonym), Nadia responds to the accusations of her parent abilities:

We are put on trial because we have been to the Islamic State, not because I am a bad mother. (Kamil, 2021a: 8)

Nadia's urge to note that, it is not illegal to be a bad mother indicates how the framing in this particular debate has linked bad parenting to criminal activity.

## 6.5 The Dangerous Mothers

The Danish women detained in the Syrian refugee camps are predominantly framed as a danger to the Danish state. As an effect of the war-terminology and –rationality evident in the debate, the Danish women come to occupy a position as the enemy. The Danish women are broadly agreed to be terrorists, foreign fighters and/or traitors to the nation. This perception of the Danish women is seemingly consistent regardless of political standpoint on repatriation. The immorality associated to these labels allows demonization. Stereotypes as "*the fanatical terrorist*" are portrayed as a personification of pure evilness, which allow dehumanization of the Danish women. The Danish women are framed to be unrecognizable to the average Dane, which makes them ungrievable lives.

Questions regarding national identity are central to the debate. Traditionally, national affinity creates a division between '*us*' and '*them*' in the context of war. As the analysis reveals, a differentiation between '*us*' and '*them*' is not as simple as nationality in this debate. The concepts of '*foreign fighters*' and '*home-grown terrorists*' indicate that national identity or citizenship is not necessarily equal to '*us*'. These concepts denote a transition from '*one of us*'

to '*one of them*', which actualizes accusations of treason. The '*us*' and '*them*'-relation mirrors the relationship between the West and Islam, hence the Danish women are deemed *Muslim* traitors. Nevertheless, attempts are made to unmake the Danish women's *Danish* identity as a means of social expulsion.

As argued, being a (good) mother and a terrorist conflict with the expectations of both categories. The mother-role exudes recognisability and humanity, whereas the terrorist character is demonized to a degree, which makes the terrorist non-human. To avoid recognition, and subsequent sympathy, the Danish women are furthermore framed as bad parents, which allow the on-going social expulsion of the Danish women. In parts of the debate, the Danish women are accused of child abuse, which indicates a violent behaviour towards their children. This portrays them as perpetrators.

## 7. The Innocent Children

In this chapter, I shall examine the framing of the Danish children in the public and political debate. Returning to Moeller (2009) and the Western concept of ‘the innocent child’, I shall highlight how a moral layer premises the debate (7.1), and the question of repatriation becomes a simple question of right and wrong. I shall continue by introducing Diana Tietjens Meyers’ (2016) victim paradigms to explain how the victim framing (7.2) of the Danish children benefits the arguments of repatriation, builds sympathy and ensures inclusion into the “Danish-us”.

Both in regards to ‘the innocent child’ and victim framing, the value of innocence is of crucial importance. Therefore, arguments against repatriation of the Danish women and children cast doubt on the innocence of the Danish children. To demonstrate this doubting, I shall draw on Nadia Fadil, Marijek Van Buggenhout and Els Dumortier’s (2021) concept ‘*virtual innocence*’ (7.3). This concept explains the indecisiveness regarding the innocence-status of children detained in the Syrian refugee camps with foreign nationalities. This leads me to the labelling of the Danish children as “*Future terrorists*” (7.3.1). In this regard, I shall show how age is used as a tool to cast doubt on the Danish children’s innocence, by drawing on Moeller’s (2009) ‘*hierarchy of innocence*’ (7.3.2). I shall briefly comment on the use of potentiality in the argumentation (7.3.3) with Rebecca Bryant and Daniel M. Knight (2019) and Barbara Vetter’s (2015) remarks on ‘*potentiality*’. Finally, I shall illustrate how exposure to extremist environments is perceived as influential on the Danish children’s “future-terrorist-potential” (7.2.4).

### 7.1 The Moral Premise

As there are norms conditioning the cultural expectations to mothers as a social category, there are norms, which conditions cultural expectations to children as social category as well. Returning to Moeller’s (2009) examination of American medias’ use of the concept of ‘the innocent child’, Moeller identifies a socially constructed ideal of childhood, which she terms “*the mythic idyll of childhood*” and describes as “*a time of sunny innocence*” (2009: 44). She concludes that children have become *the* moral referent in modern time (Moeller, 2009: 38), which makes pictures of children effective in campaigning or advertising:

Starving children are the famine icon. (...) They bring moral clarity to the complex story of a famine. Their images cut through the social, economic, and political contest to create an imperative statement. (2009: 36).

As social category, children are representing nonpartisan subjects, which invoke apolitical or supra political sympathy. Issues regarding children are perceived questions of "*purely moral*" (Moeller, 2009: 48). Accepting Moeller's conclusion, the narrations of suffering Danish children detained in the Syrian refugee camps moves the debate to a moral level (Moeller, 2009: 39). When Berlingske renders family members' plead to the government, it works as starving children during a famine:

My nephew (...), who is the oldest of the children (the 13-year-old boy, ed.), is panicking. He tells us that he hides and cries hysterically every time he hears a car outside their tent. He tells that his friend was abducted from his mother and siblings a year ago, and no one has heard from him since. His nights are disturbed by nightmares. He flies up from his sleep and shouts and screams with palpitations and trembling. It takes his mother a long time to calm him down and put him to bed again, often he lies in foetal position on his mother's lap, before falling asleep. (Hodzic & Bjørnager, 2021: 4)

To the reader, the retelling has the affect of moral clarity to the complex discussion on repatriation or no-repatriation of the Danish women and children. The situation of the child described in the quote is ought to evoke a feeling of injustice. In general, accounts of the Danish children's situation and/or well-being move the politicians and/or the contributors to the public debate. For example, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jeppe Kofod (S), utters:

They [the children's parents] gave their children the worst possible start on life. It hurts to think about, but it was their [the children's parents'] choice and their responsibility. (2021: 21.40)

In accordance to Butler's framing concept, the derived affects of framing are bodily emotions (Butler, 2010: 34). Regarding issues of moral, Butler (2010) claims that evaluation of just and

unjust (right and wrong) is registered by the senses (2010: xv-xvi), which mean that we can physically feel moral. In the quote by Kofod, it “*hurts*” to think about the Danish children detained in Syrian refugee camps. It “*hurts*”, understood as a negative bodily emotion, which insinuates a feeling of injustice. Another example is spokesperson for the Danish Social Liberal Party (RV), Kristian Hegaard:

Children should grow up playing, not in a refugee camp. My stomach aches when I hear stories about a Danish child, only 4 years old, who suffers in a life-threatening refugee camp. (...) the stomach of the Social Liberal Party aches until that child comes home to Denmark. (2021: 23.14)

The arguments both for and against repatriation seem driven by emotions. The main argument against repatriation is driven by fear of terrorism, and the main arguments for repatriation refers to these physical emotions evoked by issues of moral (Butler, 2010: 34).

In the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children there are discussions, which address inheritance of guilt. A repeated standpoint in favour of repatriation in both the public and the political debate is that: “*Children should never pay the price for their parents' deeds. Sin cannot be inherited.*” (C. Jensen, 2021: 1). The idea that the children inherit their parents' guilt has given ground for legal critique with reference to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child's (UNCRC) article 2, but is also referred to as a given moral principle:

All children have the right to a safe childhood, and children simply should not be held accountable for the actions of their parents. The Danish authorities did not hold German children or children of Danish Nazis responsible for the actions of their parents after World War II, just as we do not hold children of rockers or other criminals accountable for their parents' crimes. Children are children, she [Lea Bohr, activist] says. (Foght, Mio, Khaja & Findalen, 2021b: 21)

The cases that the activist Lea Bohr lists and compares the situation of the Danish women and children to are examples of families with parents, which society either contempt or perceive

problematic. Without reference to jurisdiction or international conventions, Bohr builds an argument of precedent by referring to historical cases of children of enemies or of criminals, who were not blamed the actions of their parents.

*"Children are children,"* Bohr states, as if the category of children is obvious. Dehnhardt from SF use a similar argument during the first parliament debate regarding B 128: *"Children are neither radicalized nor terrorists, they are children, (...)"* (Dehnhardt (SF), 2021: 23.07). These statements exude the cultural idealization of children: that children as social group are perceived innocent. In the obviousness of Bohr's statement, there is a moralising tone, which again testifies the moral status children appear to have in Western culture (Moeller, 2009). This moral status of children simplifies the arguments: *"Children are children"*.

## **7.2 Victim Framing**

War most likely involves victims: civilians, who become either pawns in the strategic political game, or who find themselves at the wrong place at the wrong time and are injured, lost homes or loved ones as a consequence of the war. In the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children, the children are framed as victims. In Moeller's (2009) work on 'the innocent child', she claims that children are perceived the only "... just victims." in modern time (2009: 49). Diana Tijtjens Meyers (2016) has examined the conception of victimhood in Western context by analysing conventions related to the human rights regime and Amnesty International's conceptualization of victims. She identifies two dominating victim paradigms within Western culture: a *pathetic victim paradigm* and a *heroic victim paradigm* (Meyers, 2016: 3). In the debate on repatriation of Danish women and children detained in Syrian refugee camps, it is Meyers' pathetic victim paradigm, which can be helpful to elaborate on the victim framing of the Danish children.

According to Meyers (2016), to be perceived and accepted as a victim one must be: 1) subjected to suffering, 2) be innocent of any wrongdoing or hold no responsibility to one's suffering, and 3) be utterly helpless confronted with insuperable force (Meyers, 2016: 5-6). Both mothers and children are subjected to suffering (detained in the Syrian refugee camps) and helpless confronted with insuperable force (the Kurdish authorities, who control the camps, and the Danish government, who seek to abdicate the responsibility for the Danish

women). The framing of the mothers and children deviate in regards to Meyers' second characteristic of the pathetic victim; innocence, which children as a cultural category are defined by in the Western concept of 'the innocent child' (Moeller, 2009: 36). The pure innocence of the pathetic victim is vital to this paradigm. Meyers (2016) argues that the current discourse on innocence deagentifies the victim, making non-responsibility equal to passivity:

Pathetic victims (...) are people whose capacities for choice and action have been so completely neutralized that there can be no doubt that they are innocent. (2016: 6-7)

In other words, pathetic victims do not hold agency to make choices or act, which mean they cannot hold any responsibility in any regards. The pathetic victim ought to move compassionate pity. Cases that draw on the pathetic victim, but not meet all of the criteria, may result in contemptuous pity, according to Meyers (Meyers, 2016: 6). Meyers' observations is exemplified by Tom Jensen, editor in chef at Berlingske, in a debate contribution:

I have nothing left for these people [Danish citizens joining Islamic State]. Their children on the other hand, they have not had the chance to determine their own destiny. And Danish children in need must be taken care of by Denmark. It is a national obligation. (T. Jensen, 2021: 48).

From T. Jensen's statement, the allocation of sympathy is clear: the Danish women evoke contempt, and the Danish children compassionate pity. This differentiation in attitude towards respectively the Danish women and Danish children relate to the analytical observations in regards of grievability in the debate, and are, furthermore, substantiated by arguments of national affinity. As argued in chapter 6. *The Dangerous Mothers* (page 30) national affinity supports recognition, which is a determining factor in regards of grievability (Butler, 2010: 42). The attempts to unmake the mothers' Danish identity express an attempt to constitute the Danish women ungrievable lives. Regarding the Danish children, T. Jensen's statement testifies the opposite process. T. Jensen empathizes on the national affiliation of the

Danish children, which insinuates that the children belong to a “Danish-us”. In Moeller’s (2009) account of the concept of ‘the innocent child’, she claims that: “*Stories about children are ultimately about “us” – “us” as individuals and “us” as a political culture.*” (2009: 44). She hereby means that a society is evaluated on its ability to care and provide for its children, and children as a cultural category is assumed to be generic and repetitive to the whole of the affiliated society (Moeller, 2009: 50). Editor in chef at Politiken, Christian Jensen, states the exact same point on the front-page of the Sunday edition:

The children in Syria are not about party political affairs. They are about us, you and me. With our treatment of these children, we show who we are, what country we are, and what democratic values we are based on: compassion or inhumanity, forgiveness, or inherited sin. (C. Jensen, 2021: 1)

With Moeller’s observation and C. Jensen’s confirmation, the treatment of the Danish children detained in the Syrian refugee camps has implications for the narration of Danish society. As C. Jensen writes about the children and not their parents, it is implicit that the treatment of the Danish women does not mirror the same national identify.

In accordance with Meyers’ observations on passivity, C. Jensen’s differentiation between the Danish women and children refers to an active choice (or lack of). Another example, which demonstrates the focus on choice and responsibility as determining for the differentiation between the Danish women and children, is in a featured article by the Danish-Kurdish opinion maker and novelist Sara Omar in Berlingske:

I understand when people say that these people [the mothers] have opted out Denmark in favour of a brutal caliphate. I understand that we perceive them [the mothers] as traitors who chose sharia over the Danish Constitution. (...) But it is important to remember that the children did not opt out neither Denmark nor the Danish Constitution - we must remember the importance of not violating their rights. (2021: 24)

As representation of a general attitude, this quotation illustrates how the mothers are linked to choice (which places responsibility), and the children are linked to no-choice (which exempts responsibility). To highlight the difference, the choice is referred to as the choice between Sharia and the Danish Constitution. Sharia and the Danish Constitution are represented as two incompatible systems of rule, which draws on the rationalities of the relationship between Islam and the West. As C. Jensen, Omar make use of national affiliation as a key to recognition, which endorses sympathy to the children and assign grievability.

### **7.3 Virtual Innocence**

The common denominator in the two previous sections is innocence. Like the Western concept of 'the innocent child', the victim framing favours the arguments for repatriation of the Danish women and children. Therefore, the innocence of the Danish children is attacked and questioned in the debate:

Since I meet the children almost two years ago, I have been trying to understand why those children have lost the right to be treated as innocents. Why are they not included by the fundamental idea that children are not to be blamed for what is happening in their family. (Søndergaard, 2021: 1)

Journalist, Bo Søndergaard, notices in his essay in Politiken, how the concept of 'the innocent child' does not seem applicable in the debate of the Danish children detained in the Syrian refugee camps. Nadia Fadil, Marijek Van Buggenhout and Els Dumortier (2021) have examined the status of innocence of Belgian children detained in the same Syrian refugee camps as the Danish women and children in question. To describe the condition of the Belgian children, Fadil, Van Buggenhout & Dumortier introduce the notion of '*virtual innocence*'. This concept describes the dominating framing of the Belgian children as possibly – not necessarily – innocent (Fadil, Van Buggenhout & Dumortier, 2021: 6). They observe a debate in which the innocence of the children is presented as oscillating between victim and potential perpetrator (Fadil, Van Buggenhout & Dumortier, 2021: 6-7). The same tendency seems evident in the Danish debate. Even politicians and debate contributors, who argue in favour of repatriation, see a need to address the risk that the children are *potentially* posing. An

example is a statement from the first parliament debate regarding B 128 by Socialist People's Party's spokesperson, Dehnhardt (SF):

Children are neither radicalized nor terrorists, they are children and they need to play, they need to go to school, they cannot thrive without safety. (...) PET has even assessed that these children do not pose a danger, but over time, staying in the forecourt of hell, the risk of radicalization are increasing. (Dehnhardt (SF), 2021: 23.07).

Initially in her statement, Dehnhardt draws on the Western concept of 'the innocent child' (Moeller, 2009: 44). Contradictorily, in the second part of her statement, she accepts the premise of the Danish children's potential of radicalization (which appear as a direct link to a possible terror-attacks, Fadil, Van Buggenhout & Dumortier, 2021: 14), and that this potential increases over time. Despite the concept of 'the innocent child', the children detained in Syrian refugee camps are met with a potential suspicion. In her argumentation, Dehnhardt oscillate from an ideal of children as innocence, which makes it possible to perceive them as victims, address them with sympathy and include them in the "Danish-us", to potential perpetrators: the risk of terror. As argued in the previous, the framing of the Danish children as innocent victims favours their grievability, whereas the framing of the Danish women as dangerous terrorists influences their recognisability so that they appear ungrievable. When the innocence of the children oscillates between victim and potential perpetrator, it is as the oscillation is between grievable and ungrievable lives in Butler's (2010) view. The oscillation is a picture, which exemplifies the indecisiveness of the status of the children in the debate. Potential perpetrator is not the same as deemed perpetrator, but the doubt of their innocence is introduced and ungrievability may be a possibility despite the children-status.

### **7.3.1 The Future Terrorists**

Children symbolize the future and the continuation (or survival) of a political and social culture (Moeller, 2009: 39). Accordingly, the Danish children are referred to as "*the little terrorist*" (Rasmussen, 2021: 23) or "*the next generation of terrorists/Islamic State fighters*" (Corfixen & Blem, 2021: 12; Jensen, Østergaard & Weiss, 2021: 5) in the public debate. This is despite they are argued to be victims, and normatively are innocent by virtue of their status as

children. Rendered in Berlingske, the Australian terror-expert, James Renwick, states that these children (who have lived under IS's rule) are victims, but being a victim do not exclude from becoming future perpetrators (Andersen and Hodzic, 2021: 5). According to Renwick, the Danish children can be both victims *and* the next generation of terrorists, which is yet another example of the oscillation between victim and perpetrator (Fadil, Van Buggenhout and Dumortier, 2021: 6-7).

During the first parliament debate regarding B 128, the proposing parties seek to accommodate the opposing parties by subscribing to the security premise in the argumentative logic. They do so by responding with reference to the 2020 *Assessment on the Terror Threat against Denmark* released by CTA. All political parties arguing for repatriation reference to CTA's conclusion in their argumentation during the parliament debate: that the Danish children do not pose a national threat – *yet* (Hegaard (RV), 2021: 23.07; Lund (EL), 2021: 23.22; Gejl (ALT), 2021: 23.54). The public debate also refers to the CTA assessment, and, furthermore, the public debate consult terror-experts, de-radicalization-expert and PhDs in militant Islamism to back up the argument that the Danish children detained in the Syrian refugee camps *could* become future terrorist (Seidelin, 2021; Andersen & Hodzic, 2021; Hussein, 2021), which witnesses a doubting of the cultural concept of 'the innocent child'.

This argument, which introduces the uncertainties of the future, serves as one of the signatures for the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children. Despite this argument is based on predictions of the future with no guarantee of actualization, it is an accepted argument in the debate. The acceptance may relate to the connection between terrorism and *waiting*. Many of the psychological effects of terrorism unfold in a condition of *waiting* for terror, which becomes the reality (Zulaika, 2016: 44). In a condition of waiting, what *could* happen, may weigh as much as what is actually happening (Zulaika, 2016: 44). A feared future comes to justify and explain current actions, initiatives, restrictions, etc. (Zulaika, 2016: 45). Thus, an imagined future moves into the present, and conditions and justifies the current actions. In this event, the imagined future is used to argue both for and against repatriation of the Danish children and their mothers (the Danish Parliament, 2021b: B 128).

### 7.3.2 A Hierarchy of Innocence

The allegations of becoming future terrorist exemplify the idea that innocence may transform over time. Another example, besides the CTA 2020 assessment, is the Kurdish Foreign Minister, dr. Abdulkarim Omar, who utterers in an article brought in Berlingske:

The longer the innocent children are here, the more will they be filled by feelings of revenge and the greater a danger they will pose to us and to you.

(Jensen, Østergaard & Weiss, 2021: 5)

It is *time*, which heighten the potential risk that the Danish children may pose. During the first parliament debate regarding B 128, Espersen (DF) is the only spokesperson, who does not express sympathy for the Danish children. According to Espersen (DF), neither parents nor children are considered Danish (which indicates the social exclusion of Danish society) despite of legal citizenships. Espersen doubts the Danish children's innocence by shifting the focus from the category of "*Children are children*" (cf. section 7.1 *The Moral Premise* on page 43) to a categorization of children, which differentiates in age:

It is not clear how old these children are, but several of them are probably more than 10 years old. (...) The older children have certainly been brainwashed into the evil cult like their parents and would therefore pose a danger to Denmark. (Espersen (DF), 2021: 22.51)

In her research, Moeller (2009) identifies a '*hierarchy of innocence*'. Infants are perceived purely innocent and are therefore in the top of the hierarchy. Following infants are children. Moeller identifies a shift in perceived innocence at the age of 12 (Moeller, 2002: 49). Culturally, the teenage-years are perceived a phase in which the youth are testing norms, which mean that the innocence associated with children as a social group is declining (Moeller, 2002: 44-45). When Espersen questions the age of the Danish children he doubts their innocence. This allows Espersen to frame the children as a threat to national security comparable to the framing of their parents.

### 7.3.3 The Implications of Potentiality

Fadil, Van Buggenhout and Dumortier (2021) describe their concept virtual innocence as an oscillation between victim and *potential* perpetrator. The framing of a future terrorist-potentiality is used to advocate both for and against repatriation, anyhow, potentiality invites an imagined future to influence the present.

According to Rebecca Bryant and Daniel M. Knight (2019), potentiality is everyday orientations to the future. All objects and living things possess potentialities as a basis for action, which may or may not be realized in the future (Bryant & Knight, 2019: 130).

According to Bryant and Knight (2019), the relationship between potentiality and actuality should not be understood chronological, as “*(...) potential always exists alongside the actual as its possible future in the present.*” (2019: 130). Tore Hamming, PhD in Jihadism at The European University Institute, states in Berlingske:

( ...) everybody may pose a potential threat. Children, who have been to Syria, may too. (Andersen & Hodzic, 2021: 5)

As Hamming points out, the Danish children detained in Syrian refugee camps do contain the potentiality to become a threat to Danish security – we all do. It is impossible to argue against this statement, as long as the premise is potentiality. Because potentiality exists alongside the actual, one cannot deny potentiality – not even if the potential is never released. Tom Jensen, editor in chief at Berlingske, provide an example of the non-arguable premise of potentiality in his debate contribution:

At some point, the children or their mothers, thirsty for revenge, could potentially threaten Denmark. It's not something I come up with, the assessment comes from the PET. Certainly, it [the PET assessment] may be discussed, and others can and will think otherwise. Nevertheless: If you want to leave them [the Danish women and children] in the Syrian camps, you are, potentially, accepting the prospect of a major terror threat against Denmark.  
(T. Jensen, 2021: 48)

This quotation by T. Jensen is not a parody on the effect of potentiality. T. Jensen refers to potentiality as a reality. In the context of the assessment by the PET, T. Jensen argues that letting the Danish women and children stay in the Syrian refugee camps, is the same as accepting a potential greater terror threat. '*A threat*' is a potentiality within a reality: it contains the potentiality to become a disaster, to cause casualties, to destroy (depending on the character of the threat), or it may never be realized (Bryant & Knight, 2019: 130). '*A threat*' is an imagined feared future.

In an account on Barbara Vetter's (2015) remarks on potentiality, Jessica Leech (2017) introduces Vetter's idea of potentialities in degrees (2017: 459). She explains this by an example of breakability: a glass vase is breakable to a greater degree than granite. Nevertheless, both materials contain the potential to break (Leech, 2017: 459). Potentiality in degree concerns the material of the objects. The Danish children detained in Syrian refugee camps are not "materially" any different to other Danish children. However, the Danish children detained in Syrian refugee camps are framed to hold a different degree of potentially of becoming a threat to Danish society. In general, children are not suspected or feared due to what they might become, even though the potentiality of becoming criminal or a terrorist is inherent in all. What differentiates a vase and a child is (not only, but also) the child's ability to learn. This makes the child's potentiality changeable in degrees.

### **7.3.4 The Exposure to Extremist Environment**

One of Fadil, Van Buggenhout and Dumortier's (2021) conclusions is that it is exposure to extremist views, which give ground for suspicion of the Belgian children (2021: 12). In accordance their conclusion, the CTA states in their annual Assessment that continuous stay in radicalized environments can influence CTA's assessment of the children from not posing an acute terror threat, to more possibly posing a terror threat (CTA: 2020: 16). In other words, the Danish children's future-terrorist-potentiality is changeable and it is the exposure to an extremist environment, which is the decisive factor. In an interview with Siyamad Ali, spokesperson for the Kurdish troops controlling the camps, his expresses his concern about the detained children:

I do not dare to think about what this camp [Al-Hol] does to children. There are so many of them in there, and they are brought up with sharia and indoctrination, it [the camp] almost ends up being a terrorist-school.  
(Søndergaard and Grarup, 2021: 2)

Ali describes the Al-Hol-camp as close to a “*terrorist-school*”, which insinuates that the Danish children don’t even have to be abducted by the IS to adopt a terrorist ideology.

Embedded in the description of the Danish children as “*the next generation of terrorist*” (Corfixen & Blem, 2021) (Jensen, Østergaard, & Weiss, 2021), is an idea of the passing on of terrorist ideologies/mind-sets from one generation to another. It addresses the question of inheritance: Do the Danish children become terrorists, if their parents were terrorists? In the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children, it is not only the refugee camps, which are perceived as an exposure to an extremist environment: the parents are too. As previously exemplified, there are utterances in the debate, which claim that these children are “*brainwashed*” by their parents (Espersen (DF), 2010: 22.51). Due to the ideologies or religious beliefs of the Danish women, the family unite, that these Danish children are part of, is considered an extremist environment in itself:

We can make sure that children are not indoctrinated and radicalized through their parents or by other dark forces; but we can only do so, if we bring them to Denmark. (Omar, 2021: 24)

In the quotation, opinion maker and novelist Sara Omar indicates that indoctrination and radicalization are linked to the parents, who are presented as equal to “*other dark forces*”. This stresses the severity of the implications of indoctrination and radicalization associated with the threat of terrorism. With this link, indoctrination and radicalization come to appear as a variant of social heritage, which is passed on to the Danish children in a complex interplay between the beliefs of their parents, the upbringing and the social and physical environment. It is these children’s genealogical affiliation and socialisation, and not their actions, which give ground for doubting their innocence (Fadil, Van Buggenhout & Dumortier, 2021: 19). The doubting of the children’s innocence insinuates that the Danish children are not different from

their mothers: They too can be framed as dangerous in time, which within a frame of war makes them the potential enemy.

#### **7.4 The Innocent Children**

As social category, children are assigned the value of innocence due to the Western idealization of children/childhood is constituted in the concept of ‘the innocent child’. With ‘the innocent child’ follows a premise of moral, which serves as the main argument for repatriation and simplifies the debate (what is right and what is wrong). The concept of ‘the innocent child’ furthermore ensures the framing of the Danish children as victims in accordance with Meyers’ (2016) pathetic victim paradigm, which again favours the argumentation of repatriation, as the pathetic victim ought to move compassionate pity – in other words: sympathy. The general attitude towards the Danish children is that they are innocent victims, suffering from the choices of their parents. Opposite to the framing of the Danish women, the framing of the Danish children ensures their inclusion within the “Danish-us”, which mirrors their grievability.

To argue against repatriation, doubt about the innocence of the Danish children is insinuated, which leave the debate in a state of indecisiveness on behalf of the innocence of the children. Fadil, Van Buggenhout & Dumortier’s concept of ‘*virtual innocence*’ describes this indecisiveness as an oscillation between victim and potential perpetrator, which, based on the findings in the analysis, indicates an oscillation between grievable and ungrievable life. The framing as potential perpetrators shows in accusations of being “*the next generation of terrorists*”, which for example supports the conclusions of the CTA: That the Danish children do not pose a terror threat – *yet*. That it is acceptable to argue against repatriation based on predictions of the future may be an effect of the ‘war on terror’, as terror (also) unfolds in a state of *waiting* for terror, which introduces a timely expansion into the future. The fear of terrorism in the debate allows for speculations of the future to legitimize current actions in an aim of prevention.

Another argumentative manoeuvre to doubt the innocence of the Danish children is to question the age of the Danish children, as the Western concept of ‘the innocent child’ is inevitably connected to a status as childhood. Once more, *time* is presented as crucial.

Parallel to time exists potentiality, as the possible future in the present. Arguments that doubt the Danish children's future innocence relate to the Danish children's potential to become terrorist. This future-terrorist-potential is argued to increase over time if they are exposed to extremist environments, which the Syrian refugee camps, but also the family unite (the dangerous mothers), is interpreted as. Arguments founded in potentialities are difficult to argue against, as guaranteeing for predictions of the future is not (in general) perceived human possible. These arguments therefore only initiate doubt of the children's innocence, but does not draw conclusions. The Danish children are (most likely) innocent victims *and* potential terrorist.

## 8. Frames that Frame

To this point, I have examined the framing of the arguments regarding repatriation *in* the debate. Based on the previous, the Danish women are labelled as dangerous enemies, and the Danish children on the one hand as innocent victims, and on the other as potential future terrorists. In the following, I shall examine the framing *of* the debate. Examining the framing of the framing in the debate does not address *what* the contributors of the debate state when they put forward their argumentation, but *how* the arguments make sense and are accepted.

The first framing I shall account for is the war framing (8.1), which have been guiding for my examination of the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children. As a result of the war framing, there is an omnipresent antagonistic logic manifested in the debate. The second frame is conceptualized by Foucault's (1976) characteristics of the '*biopolitical society*' (8.2). The biopolitical framing contains two major aspects, the first of which is an orientation towards the future with its technologies. The other aspect is the demand for prioritizing immanent in biopolitics. As frames the two aspects operate in different modalities.

To elaborate on the technological dimension of the biopolitical frame (8.2.1), I draw on Luca Mavelli's (2016) characteristics of Western communities obsession with security and predictions of the future, which Mavelli labels '*the unknowns*'. This leads me to the technology of risk management (8.2.2), which constitutes the operating side of biopolitics as "*a scientific approach*" (8.2.3). Subsequently, I shall explore the prioritizing immanent in biopolitics (8.2.4). As the forthcoming will show, the frames that frame intersect and amplify specific characteristics within the frames.

### 8.1 Frame 1: The Antagonisms of War

As the introduction and the research question initiates, I claim that the public and political debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children unfold within a frame of war on terrorism, which is shaped by the events of 9/11 and the subsequent 'war on terror'. The argumentative logics within this frame of terrorism are comparable to Butler's (2010) *Frames of War*. Due to this frame, the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children subscribes to an argumentative logic, in which the safety of the nation is the central issue, and in which antagonistic arguments dominates.

Former President Bush's epoch-making words: "*Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists.*" (Bush, 2001: 69) are illustrative of the antagonistic logic of war. As earlier rendered, Butler (2010) sees the same interpretive framework in times of war, which differentiates lives into two categories: those who secure my survival, and those who threaten my survival (2010: 42). It is the logic of war, which splits population groups into allies and enemies, where the '*us*' and '*them*' are not simply contrasting – they are antagonistic. It is due to the frame of war that the argumentation form is dominated by antagonisms with few openings to compromises. As an example from the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children, the Danish Prime Minister, Mette Frederiksen (S), is quoted in Politiken for stating:

Of course it is a political decision whether people, who in my view are traitors to the nation (...) should stay in Denmark or not. They shouldn't. (Søndergaard, 2021: 5).

In the quote, the Danish Prime Minister claims that the Danish women detained in the Syrian refugee camps are traitors to the nation. As accounted for earlier in section 6.1 *A Severe Security Risk* on page 30, the Danish women are referred to as terrorists, traitors to the nation, war criminals and foreign fighters during the first parliament debate regarding B 128. In an endnote to the resolution debate, the spokesperson for the Red-Green Alliance, Rosa Lund (EL), points to the fact that no legal conviction has taken place (Lund (EL), 2021: 00.03).

The obvious antagonism in the debate is the conflicting standpoints for *or* against repatriation. Despite political suggestions of separations of the Danish women and children, there are no positions outside the for-or-against repatriation. Even those political parties, who wish to repatriate the Danish children but reject repatriation of the Danish women, have to state either for or against repatriation of both parts (the Danish Parliament, 2021b: B 128).

As the previous analyses demonstrate, the antagonistic logic continues in the framing of the Danish women and children as respectively dangerous perpetrators countering vis-à-vis innocent victims. This relationship between perpetrator and victim is of antagonistic

character, as these positions are actively conflicting. The framing of the Danish women and children continues to confirm the logic of war, when the Danish women as deemed terrorists come to stand for '*immoral*' and the children, due to the Western conceptualization of 'the innocent child', come to represent '*moral*' in the debate. They are identified within a simplified rationality of good versus evil, which again is characteristic to a frame of war (Butler, 2010: 38). The antagonistic framing of the Danish women and children is visible in relation to agency, questions of free choice and placement of guilt. As illustrated, the framing of the Danish women render their lives ungrievable, while the Danish children are framed grievable by virtue of their moral status as children. In Western culture, children come to represent a "national-us" (Moeller, 2009: 44), which is mirrored in the debate in question. In regards to national affinity, the Danish children are predominantly agreed on as included within the "Danish-us", whereas much effort is put into an identification that excludes the Danish women. The attempts to unmake the mothers' Danish identities echo the relationship between the West and Islam, which again is presented as antagonistic (Tellidis, 2016: 137) and draws lines back to the Bush's 'war on terror'.

Questioning the children's innocence, results in a blurred framing of the Danish women and children as antagonisms. The children are perceived as possibly – not necessarily – innocent (Fadil, Van Buggenhout & Dumortier, 2021: 6). The doubt about the Danish children's innocence, however, is orientated towards the future. Children age with time and exit the culturally determined phase of childhood. Thus the speculations on the Danish children do not concern children but future adults. Consequently, the Danish women and children can still be framed as antagonisms. The doubting of the children's innocence in the debate on repatriation therefore does not disrupt the Western idealisation of children as innocent. It, however, changes the relation between actual fact and future fiction.

The war framing illuminated the systematic framing inside the event. The event, however, is always embedded in a context, and Butler (2010) operates with the idea of framed frames:

To frame the frame seems to involve a certain highly reflexive overlay of the visual field, but in my view, this does not have to result in rarefied forms of reflexivity. On the contrary, to call the frame into question is to show that the frame never quite contained the scene it was meant to limn, that something was already outside, which made the very sense of the inside possible, recognizable. (2010: 9)

Butlers' idea of framing the frame corresponds to Foucault's third step in his method of eventalization. In this third step, the researcher moves his/her perspective from the closed event to the external conditions, which influence the inner dynamics of the events (Foucault, 1978: 228). In the same way, focusing on the frames that frame may contribute to explain how the framed argumentation remains undisputed: What frames makes the framing of the Danish women and children make sense and acceptable?

## **8.2 Frame 2: The Biopolitical Society**

As argued in the section 7.3.1 *The Future terrorists* on page 50, the arguments claiming that the Danish children may become a future threat build on an argumentative premise of speculations. In the public and political debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children, these arguments appear comparable to a factual present (appendix D). How come arguments, build on speculations, are accepted on a level comparable to arguments based on broadly agreed facts? To understand and explain the legality of the arguments founded in future speculations, I shall in the forthcoming bring attention to a perception of society that frames the frame in the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children. This perception of society is best conceptualized by the characteristics of the '*biopolitical society*'.

The series of Michal Foucault's lectures at the Collège de France *Society Must Be Defended* (1975-1976) contains Foucault's first discussion of biopolitics. The traditional sovereign idea of power as the right to take life or let live, is reversed in the biopolitical idea as "... *the right to "make" live and to "let" die.*" (Foucault, 1976: 241). In his lecture on biopolitics on the 17<sup>th</sup> of Marts 1976, Foucault characterises biopolitics as a technology:

(...) which tries to control the series of random events that occur in a living mass, a technology which tries to predict the probability of those events (by modifying it, if necessary), or at least to compensate for their effects. (1976: 249).

Centred on the idea of establishing "*a sort of homeostasis*" (Foucault, 1976: 246), the biopolitical society would install regulatory mechanisms to maintain what Foucault has referred to as "*an average*" (Foucault, 1976: 246). On this basis, biopolitics introduce mechanisms such as forecasts, statistical estimates and overall measures. As the biopolitical society by definition is oriented towards the future, prediction gain status as facts in the actual debates. Foucault also explains these regulatory mechanisms as "*security mechanisms*" (Foucault, 1976: 246), the aim of which is to secure the population's access to optimization of their lives from random future developments (Foucault, 1976: 246). As I shall argue in the following, the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children reveals a biopolitical framing of the debate.

### **8.2.1 The Technological Dimension**

Scholar Luca Mavelli (2016) explores *The governmentality of terrorism* and finds that the demands on security in Western societies are impossible for governments to deliver (2016: 239). He notes how the character of threats (e.g. terrorism) to society has reached a level of complexity, which is opaque. He writes: that "*(...) uncertainty can no longer be reduced to risk, because we simply do not know what the risk is.*" (2016: 239). And he continues: "*Attacks, which cannot be imagined demands access to "the unknown".*" (2016: 241), which is impossible by definition. This level of complexity, Mavelli claims, has legitimized and institutionalized imagination and fantasy as counterterrorism tools (Mavelli, 2016: 241). The unknowns in the public and political debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children are revealed in the legitimization of arguments based on speculations on the future.

In a featured article in Berlingske, political journalist, Adam Holm, criticizes the parliament politicians for the predisposed assumption about the Danish women as terrorists, war criminals and traitors to the nation. He points to the fact that no one knows the actions and motives of the women, even thought, in Holms words: "*(...) the government and the political*

*opposition seemingly do.*" (Holm, 2021: 25). Backing this argument, Bo Søndergaard writes in Politiken:

He [Rasmus Stoklund (S), spokesperson for the Social Democrats] and the government are not sure that the women can be convicted of something, they believe the women have done. So instead of bringing them home and let them face a trial in Denmark chooses to abandon the women and their children in the Kurdish prison camps. (2021: 5)

Søndergaard highlights the uncertainties evident in the political debate: the government are "*not sure*" and they "*believe*". At the very highest political level, Danish politicians speak on an uncertain basis. Instead of confronting these uncertainties, the government rejects repatriation, and a subsequent legal trial of the Danish women<sup>7</sup> due to a principle of precaution. Precautionary measures are accepted due to the frame of war, which insinuates a situation in which the "*us*" are being (or feel) threatened on its existence (Butler, 2010 42). In the 2021 assessment of the terror threat against Denmark, CTA concluded, that the terror threat towards Denmark continues to be estimated "*severe*" (CTA, 2021: 8). This assessment exemplifies how the "*Danish-us*" feels threaten on its existence, which explains alertness and precaution. Assessments like the CTA's seek to uncover the complex threat landscape, which according to Mavelli (2016) require the terror-analysts to navigate in the territory of potentialities and future speculations, in Mavelli's words "*the unknown*".

The biopolitical framing legitimizes argumentation orientated towards the unknown future, in which the actions of the presence are driven by the wishes to the future. Wishes that are carried by technology constituting a third framing that shapes the rationality of the arguments: The technology of risk management.

### **8.2.2 The Technology of Risk Management**

The Foucault-quotation above on biopolitics (page 62) could have been a passage from a risk management textbook. What differentiates biopolitics and risk management is the level on,

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<sup>7</sup> This refers to the time before the 18<sup>th</sup> of May 2021 as a result of the empirical sampling.

which they operate. Biopolitics operates on the level of population. Risk management is the operating side of biopolitics.

The risk management framing in this particular debate concerns the risk of terror attacks and the risk of radicalization. In Paul Hopkin's (2013) book, *Risk Management*, risk is defined as "*(...) those events with the potential to have a significant negative impact (...)*" (2013: 1). In general and depending on the scope and context of an organization, risk management seeks to achieve the best possible outcome by preventing negative events (Hopkin, 2013: 3). In other words, predicting and preventing "*the unknown*". Orientations towards the future exemplified in the ideas of prevention, prediction, potentiality and precaution are all elements of the risk management technology, which recurred as central elements in the analysis of the argumentation in the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children.

Within the risk management framing, counterterrorism measures are measures of prevention and precaution, which the cultural anthropologist, Joseba Zulaika (2016) argues "*(...) operates before the crimes have been committed; that is, against the nonactions of potential terrorist.*" (2016: 45). This development undermines the principle of presumption of innocence; that any person is innocent until proven guilty (European Court of Human Rights, 1994: Article 6, 2). The risk management technology equals actual innocence and virtual innocence (Fadil, Van Buggenhout & Dumortier, 2021:6), where actual innocence is subordinated to the risk of future guilt. Fadil, Van Buggenhout & Dumortier (2021) criticize that it is the children's genealogical affiliation and socialisation, and not their actions, which give ground for doubting their future innocence (Fadil Van Buggenhout & Dumortier, 2021: 19). In the actual debate, it appears as a given, that the risk of radicalization affects the potential to sympathize with (and at worst become) terrorists (Fadil, Van Buggenhout & Dumortier, 2021: 14). The Danish children in question are suspected before the crime has been committed as potential terrorists. They are framed innocent *now*, but their future-innocence (or potential guilt) is object to calculation in accordance with the logic and language of risk management.

### **8.2.3 "A Scientific Approach"**

Albeit Mavelli (2016) claims that imagination has replaced science in an aim of accessing "*the unknown*" in the complex threat landscape of today, the language of risk management has

hold on to a positivistic scientific appearance. Risk managers often use scales, graphs, and references to numbers, statistics and tables to validate their risk assessments (Hopkin, 2013: 245-267)

The majority of both political statements during the first parliament resolution debate regarding B 128 and the printed news analysed refer to the conclusions of intelligence services as PET, CTA or FE (appendix D and E), who, among others, do risk and/or threat assessments to ensure security of the Danish society. To describe such an assessment, Ekstra Bladet brought an article in which Jacob Kaarsbo, who holds a leading position in the risk-consulting firm Bischoff Advisory, analysed a PET and FE assessment of the Danish women and children detained in the Syrian refugee camps:

Internally within the profession of intelligence services, we speak about a high or very high level of threat. It corresponds to red or dark red on the general threat-scale, and perhaps this equals a four or a five on the danger-scale, which are applied to people. (Foght, Mio, Khaja & Findalen, 2021c: 20)

From Kaarsbo's account the assessments includes levels, colour coding, scales and numbers. Furthermore, Ekstra Bladet printed the "*threat-scale*" to visualise the operational tool PET uses in their assessments on terror threats (Foght et al. 2021: 20). How a threat – in this event, the threat supposedly posed by the Danish women and children – is assessed, is not described in the news piece. Nevertheless, the conclusion is that five of the Danish women are assessed as "3" according to the "*danger-scale*" (in Danish: *Farlighedsskala*, Foght et al. 2021: 20). In this assessment, of the Danish women's potentiality of becoming a terror threat to Danish society, the Danish women are referred to as numbers, which eliminates their individuality and unique conditions. When Butler (2010) introduces her concept of grievability, she explains the ungrievable lives as those, who are effectively transformed into an instrument, a target or simply appear as a number in statistics (2010: ix-x). Being a number removes the human recognisable and degrades the person to a passive figure in a neutral system of numbers, which deliberately or unconsciously allow for the readers to distance themselves from, in this particular event, the Danish woman.

Beside number-ratings, another analytical tool, used by risk managers, is rating scales based on likelihood (Hopkin, 2013: 67). In the CTA annual *Assessment on the Terror Threat against Denmark* (2021) the Danish children in Syrian refugee camps are for example rated as “unlikely” due to the young age of the children (2021: 27). What “unlikely” entails, or how this conclusion was reached is not stated from the report (CTA, 2021: 27). Determining likelihood draws on the mathematical idea of calculation of probability, which like the scales and number rating, draw on a positivistic scientific appearance. The arguments, which draw on CTA’s assessments, build reliability with these references, as the indicators in the assessments are in accordance with a classical idea of rationality as what can be calculated. This risk management framing creates credibility in an era of positivism as the dominating scientific ideology, claiming that truth is objectively measurable.

The positivistic scientific appearance contributes to the legitimization of uncertain future oriented argumentation as comparable to a factual presence: the imagined future is presented as hard facts (in numbers, scales, color-coding, etc.) corresponding to the hard facts of the present. The positivistic scientific appearance of risk management covers political and/or emotional motives in the debate. What is happening within the risk management frame can best be explained as a quantification of qualitative problems, where references to experts are (just as numbers and scales) used to build valid argumentation that draw on the classical idea of what truth looks like.

### **8.2.4 The Dimension of Prioritizing**

Enhanced by the technologies of risk management, the already emerging tendency towards dehumanizing in the war framing, the ground is prepared for Foucault’s second aspect of biopolitics: The differentiation between good or bad, between solution or problem, between wanted and unwanted.

In biopolitics a distinction is made between the positive (what we want and what we like) and the negative, which we must avoid, exclude, or include on special terms (Foucault, 1976: 254). Consequently, there is a hierarchical division, which introduces positions as superior and subordinate. By virtue of the biopolitical occupation with the control of the human-mass, management of “random events” (Foucault, 1976: 249) and obtaining “an average” (Foucault,

1976: 246), biopolitics inevitably express a sort of racism (Foucault, 1976: 258), in which some are prioritised before others:

The appearance within the biological continuum of the human race of races, the distinction among races, the hierarchy of races, the fact that certain races are described as good and that others, in contrast, are described as infior: all this is a way of fragmenting the field of the biological that power controls. It is a way of separating out the groups that exist within a population. (Foucault, 1976: 254-255)

Butler (2010) discusses the subject versus the group, or how the tendency is to describe subjects with very few characteristics, for example: she is Muslim (Butler: 2010: 141). In this characteristic of the subject, the subject is instantly becoming a part of a group. This observation corresponds to the biopolitical obsession with control of the masses – not the individuals (Foucault, 1976: 242). The biopolitical perspective only sees the group and it's significant to the future society. The Danish women and children in question are instantly grouped within the "Muslim group". In *Frames of War* (2010) Butler addresses the relationship between Islam and the Western world, which she explain by her concept of recognisability:

Consider how (...) Islam is seen as barbaric or pre-modern, as not yet having conformed to those norms that make the human recognizable. Those we kill are not quite human, and not quite alive, which means that we do not feel the same horror and outrage over the loss of their lives as we do over the loss of those lives that bear national or religious similarity to our own. (2010: 42)

Recognisability determines who is recognized as human. In the quotation, Muslim culture is described non-recognizable in a Western culture. As Muslim lives are not recognizable, Butler describes how their lives become ungrievable. From a Western biopolitical perspective, Muslim lives are separated as a group existing within the Western population (Foucault, 1976: 255), which do not fit the homeostasis (Foucault, 1976: 246).

Tellidis (2016) points to an alienated relationship with reference to the difference between cultures ruled by religion and secularized cultures (2016: 135), and Kublitz (2010) detects the "*Enlightenment discourse*" (2010: 116) in the Danish political debate, which hierarchically distinguishes Danish and Muslim values (2010: 113). As the analytical section 6.3.2 *Muslim traitor* on page 37 reveals, these points of view on Muslim culture are also applicable in the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children.

### **8.3 Frames that Frame**

Viewed from Butler's (2010) idea of framing and framing of frames, the arguments regarding repatriation of the Danish women and children become meaningful on a deeper level. As a consequence of the war framing, an antagonistic format dominates the debate, which appears in the strict division between for or against repatriation that the whole debate is built around, in the 'us' and 'them'. Furthermore, the Danish women and children are framed as incompatible oppositions, still inseparable due to the family construction. An example of this framing is with regard to national affinity, in which the Danish children are predominantly agreed on as included within the "Danish-us" and much effort is put into excluding the Danish women from the "Danish-us". The attempts echo the relationship between the West and Islam, which again constitutes an antagonism and draw back lines to the 'war on terror'.

The second framing of the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children is best exemplified by Foucault's thoughts on biopolitics, with its orientation towards a future homeostasis and the necessary prioritisations. The biopolitical framing provides an opportunity to explain why speculations of the future are accepted as argumentation comparable to factual presence. In Mavilli's (2016) analysis of Western society, the threat landscape has reached a level of complexity, which demands access to what he terms "*the unknown*". In the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children, these unknowns are evident in an argumentation, which is builds on assumptions and uncertainties.

The biopolitical society is preoccupied with the administration and control of life of the population as a mass. With the aim of controlling life of the population, this societal perspective makes use of regulatory security mechanisms concentrated on prevention. As the

debate concerns the risk of terror attacks and the risk of radicalization – both perceived as a threat to national security.

The first dimension of the biopolitical framing concerns the technology of risk management. As the operational side of biopolitics, the logic of risk management permeates the debate in its focus on prediction, prevention, potentiality and precaution, and in the use of a format equivalent to a positivistic scientific expression, which draws on a classical idea of how to represent the truth. This format represents estimates of the future as hard facts, which add to the legitimacy of arguments permeated by uncertainties and assumptions.

Furthermore, embedded in the biopolitical perspective is a prioritisation, which expresses a judgement between desirable and undesirable. Throughout the examination of the framing of the Danish women and children in the debate on repatriation, the Danish women appear undesirable and the Danish children at least grievable. Returning to the tense relationship between the West and Islam, which distinguishes Western and/or Danish values and Muslim values hierarchically, I find that the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children could be interpreted as an example of what Foucault terms biopolitical racism (Foucault, 1976: 258), whether it is intentional or non-intentional (Butler, 2010: 73-74).

The technological framing operates through hiding the judgements implicit in the meeting between war framing and biopolitics. Where war framing creates the division between ‘us’ and ‘them’, biopolitics amplifies this distinction. In biopolitics “killing” ‘them’ benefits ‘us’:

When I say “killing”, I obviously do not mean simply murder as such, but also every form of indirect murder: (...) political death, expulsion, rejection, and so on. (Foucault, 1976: 256).

## 9. Discussion

In this chapter, I shall discuss the credibility of my project (9.1) and this thesis's contribution to the field (9.2). The first part of the discussion shall address the credibility of the thesis, which within social science relates to the standard of validity (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009: 272). Validity originates from a positivistic epistemology, but has been modified to suit a postmodern approach in which there is no objective truth (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009: 274). The postmodern version of validity addresses the consistency in the process and of the project (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009: 273, 275). This means that the consistency contains two dimensions. The first being whether there is coherence between problem, theory, method, empirical material, analysis and conclusion. The second dimension involves the reliability of each element in itself, e.g. whether the empirical material is sufficient.

### **9.1 Credibility**

As it is stated in section 1.3 *Ethical considerations* on page 5, this project do not aim at taking a stand in the conviction of the Danish women and children, nor does it aim at taking a stand on whether or not the Danish women and children should or should not be repatriated. This does not release me of having a personal opinion, however, I claim that applying Butler (2010) and Foucault (1976) as the entry to the debate helped to create a distance between my personal opinions and the aim of the project.

My process has been characterized by an abductive reasoning, in which the starting point was my interest in the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children detained in Syrian refugee camps. Butler's (2010) analytical concept of war framing was chosen and inspired by my prior interest to the debate, and have been used as the analytical tool on the debate – not as an explanation. The analytical concept of war framing enabled the data material to respond. In interplay with the post-structural position and the analytical concepts, the iterative process of collecting data – in which every step is a consequence of the insights created by the previous step (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012: 32) – ensured that the relevant data material were included and processed. An illustrative example is the development from the coding of the political debate to the coding of the public debate (see section 3.3 *Organizing the Data Material* on page 20).

Theoretical choices are made transparent by accounting for the opportunities and delimitations that the post-structural position entails in the chapter 2 on page 14. Likewise, the empirical approach and the methodological choices are made transparent by describing these in detail in the methodological section (chapter 3 on page 15). Furthermore, I have documented the screening process and coding in the appendices.

## **9.2 The Contribution**

A post-structural theoretical position allowed me to concentrate on a single specific situated and temporal event: the event of the debate regarding repatriation of the Danish women and children detained in the Syrian refugee camps Al-Roj and Al-Hol. As an effect of the abductive approach and the situatedness of the event, this thesis does not contribute with a generalizable insight, which can be transferred directly to other events.

In relation to other research or contributions addressing this debate (Fadil, Van Buggenhout & Dumortier, 2021; Sivenbring 2021; Spadaro, 2020), the findings of this thesis do not negate or replace any existing findings with a universal explanation. Instead the findings of this thesis may contribute with another interpretative approach.

With Foucault and Butler as the entry to the examination, the focus has been on questioning what is taken-for-granted. What this thesis may contribute to is the insight into how frames that frame, or frames that operate on a deeper, more fundamental level, enables certain paths and limits others. Furthermore, the thesis shows how multiple frames operate. In the actual event they are amplifying each other, however, that might not be the effect with other framings.

In a broader perspective does the project contribute to an approach program consisting of an abductive approach, a post-structural theoretical position, usage of framing as analytical concept and eventualization as analytical strategy, which may uncover taken-for-granted frames, that conditions a specific event.

## 10. Conclusion

With this thesis, the aim was to bring attention to the effects of the notion of the ‘war on terror’ in the public and political debate regarding the Danish women and children detained in the Syrian refugee camps Al-Roj and Al-Hol. The association between ‘war’ and ‘terror’ made Butler’s (2010) concept of war framing a relevant entry to the debate, which shaped the analytical focus and the approach of the thesis. Foucault’s (1978) methodological strategy of eventualization provided the delimitation of the debate, the choice of empirical material, and guided the analytical process. The empirical material was analysed in an abductive process pendulating between analytical frame and observations.

The ‘war on terror’ frames the arguments in the debate by subscribing to a war-terminology and in particular a war-rationality. The war-rationality is evident in a dominating antagonistic premise, which conditions the trajectories of the debate. The antagonistic premise allows for a sharp division between good and bad, ‘us’ and ‘them’, grievable and ungrievable.

The affiliation between mother and child constituted the central element of the debate. Norms relating to the family institution determined that the Danish women and children might not be separated, which left the dilemma of kinship: repatriate all or none. From this question the further examination took its departure.

Whether the arguments are for or against repatriation, there is a broad agreement that the Danish women are posing a security threat and that the Danish children are (most likely) innocent and in need of assistance. The examination of the framing exposed a rationality in which the Danish women are framed as enemies of the Danish society (ungrievable), and the Danish children are framed as victims (grievable). This differentiation between grievable and ungrievable lives was ultimately linked to national affinity, which expressed respectively inclusion or exclusion of the “Danish-us”.

The framing of the Danish women is more or less consistent. In regards to the framing of the Danish children, the argumentation is less conclusive. In accordance with the Western concept of ‘the innocent child’, the Danish children are framed as innocent victims in the

debate. But argumentation oriented towards the future, based on speculations, potentiality and predictions introduces doubt about the innocence of the children and their potentiality as threats.

This way of arguing, by comparing present facts to a stipulated future, pointed towards an additional framing of the debate: the biopolitical framing. Biopolitics operate on a level of groups and population and contains two major aspects: Orientation towards the future, embedded the technology of risk management, and an embedded necessary differentiating and prioritizing. As an effect of the biopolitical technology, prediction gains status as fact in the debate on repatriation of the Danish women and children, and actual innocence can be subordinated to the risk of future guilt. Biopolitical prioritization appears in a hierarchical distinction where what is good for one side is bad for the other and visa-versa. In this particular debate the distinction is between Danish and Muslim values, in which Muslim values are (unquestionably) bad for the survival of the Danish society.

In the event the war framing and the biopolitical framing are mutually amplifying. Despite that the two frames operate in different ways, the interplay intensifies each of their effects. The war frame initiates the antagonistic '*us*' versus '*them*'. The biopolitical frame makes this dichotomy into a basic feature of the biopolitical society, a taken-for-granted, where what is good for '*them*' is bad for '*us*'. And this potent framing of the debate on repatriation is facilitated by risk management technologies that hide prejudice and opinions in statistics, scales, and numbers.

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## **Appendix A: First screening of the public debate; selection of the focus period March, April and May 2021**

Data is found on the database, Informedia with the search criteria:  
 ("Islamisk Stat") AND (børn) AND (Danmark OR dansk).

	<b>Period</b>	<b>Web</b>	<b>Nationwide dailies</b>
2019	01.03.2019-31.03.2019	122	39
	01.04.2019-30.04.2019	634	56
	01.05.2019-31.05.2019	103	27
	01.06.2019-30.06.2019	397	48
	01.07.2019-31.06.2019	100	30
	01.08.2019-31.08.2019	150	36
	01.09.2019-30.09.2019	188	25
	01.10.2019-31.10.2019	429	83
	01.11.2019-30.11.2019	494	90
	01.12.2019-31.12.2019	147	42
2020	01.01.2020-31.01.2020	207	25
	01.02.2020-29.02.2020	53	23
	01.03.2020-31.03.2020	25	8
	01.04.2020-30.04.2020	10	5
	01.05.2020-31.05.2020	31	7
	01.06.2020-30.06.2020	48	9
	01.07.2020-31.06.2020	23	11
	01.08.2020-31.08.2020	27	12
	01.09.2020-30.09.2020	17	7
	01.10.2020-31.10.2020	12	6
	01.11.2020-30.11.2020	51	14
	01.12.2020-31.12.2020	63	27
2021	01.01.2021-31.01.2021	27	17
	01.02.2021-28.02.2021	179	29
	01.03.2021-31.03.2021	1074	<b>252</b>
	01.04.2021-30.04.2021	409	<b>124</b>
	01.05.2021-31.05.2021	563	<b>83</b>
	01.06.2021-30.06.2021	199	31
	01.07.2021-31.06.2021	35	5
	01.08.2021-31.08.2021	187	28
	01.09.2021-30.09.2021	177	34
	01.10.2021-14.10.2021	576	43

## **Appendix B: Second screening of the public debate; selection of 13-day period and dailies representing the public debate**

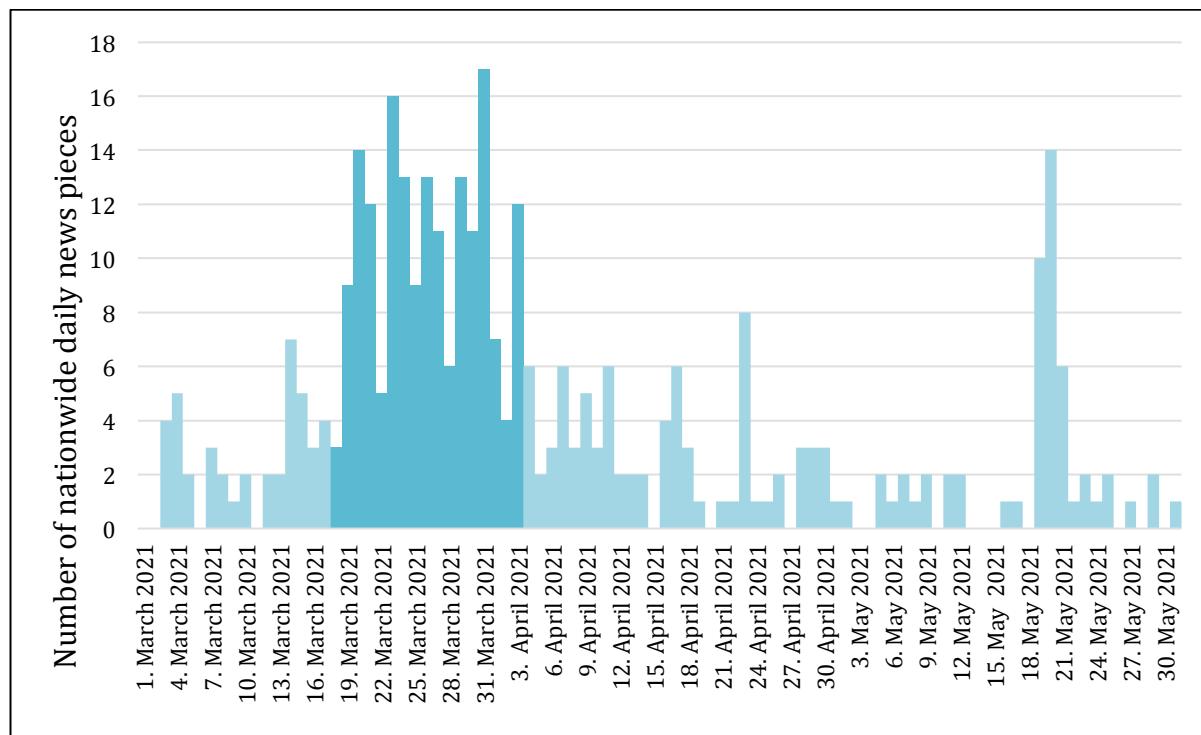
Further examination of the data from appendix A, found on the database, Informedia with the search criteria: ("Islamisk Stat") AND (børn) AND (Danmark OR dansk).

The raw data can be seen in appendix B.2 on the following pages. Appendix B.1 is a graphical representation of the same data.

### **Appendix B.1**

Graph showing the number of relevant articles in selected dailies in the period from 1<sup>st</sup> of March to the 30<sup>th</sup> of May.

The spike in articles from the 18<sup>th</sup> of March to the 3<sup>rd</sup> of April is highlighted, and this period is further examined for the three dailies, Politikken, Berlingske and Ekstra Bladet.



## Appendix B.2

Date	Web	Nationwide dailies	Politiken	Berlingske	Ekstra Bladet	B.T	Jyllands Posten	Information	Børsen	Weekendavisen	Kristeligt Dagblad	Avisen Danmark*	Avisen Danmark corrected
Sum, full period	2046	350	73	67	45	22	46	20	3	9	27		38
Sum, selected period	904	175	35	38	23	10	20	9	3	3	13		21
1/3/2021	4	0											
2/3/2021	11	0											
3/3/2021	29	4	2		1							4(1)	1
4/3/2021	5	5	2	1	1							4(1)	1
5/3/2021	3	2	1		1								
6/3/2021	2	0											
7/3/2021	16	3	1				2						
8/3/2021	3	2	1									1	
9/3/2021	3	1				1							
10/3/2021	3	2	1		1								
11/3/2021	15	0											
12/3/2021	3	2	2										
13/3/2021	3	2		1		1							
14/3/2021	29	7	4	1	2								
15/3/2021	51	5					1	4					
16/3/2021	13	3		2								4(1)	1
17/3/2021	40	4			2			1				4(1)	1
18/3/2021	51	3			1	2							
19/3/2021	80	9	1	2	2		1	1	1			4(1)	1
20/3/2021	32	14	1	3	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	4(1)	1
21/3/2021	15	12	7	2		1	1					4(1)	1
22/3/2021	106	5	1	2			1					4(1)	1
23/3/2021	71	16	3	2	3	1	1	1			1	16(4)	4
24/3/2021	47	13	3	3	1	1	2				1	8(2)	2
25/3/2021	65	9	3	1	1		2				1	4(1)	1
26/3/2021	53	13	1	5	1		2			2		8(2)	2
27/3/2021	12	11	1	3	1	1	1	2			2		
28/3/2021	68	6	3	1		1	1						

Date	Web	Nationwide dailies			Politiken	Berlingske	Ekstra Bladet	B.T	Jyllands Posten	Information	Børsen	Weekendavisen	Kristeligt Dagblad	Avisen Danmark*	Avisen Danmark corrected
29/3/2021	37	13	1	2	4				1	1	1		1	8(2)	2
30/3/2021	109	11	3	3				1	1	1		1	4(1)	1	
31/3/2021	95	17	4	3	3			1	1			1	3	4(1)	1
1/4/2021	33	7	1	1					2					12(3)	3
2/4/2021	22	4	1	1					2						
3/4/2021	8	12	1	4	2					2		2	4(1)	1	
4/4/2021	4	6				3	1	2							
5/4/2021	7	2	1						1						
6/4/2021	10	3	1			1			1						
7/4/2021	13	6	1	2	1				1				1		
8/4/2021	46	3		1					2						
9/4/2021	19	5					1	1			3				
10/4/2021	1	3		1								1	4(1)	1	
11/4/2021	4	6	3	1	1				1						
12/4/2021	3	2	1						1						
13/4/2021	25	2	1	1											
14/4/2021	5	2	1										1		
15/4/2021	12	0													
16/4/2021	36	4								1		1	2		
17/4/2021	4	6	1	1					1	1		1	4(1)	1	
18/4/2021	6	3			3										
19/4/2021	31	1	1												
20/4/2021	4	0													
21/4/2021	2	1							1						
22/4/2021	25	1											1		
23/4/2021	17	8	1	1			2	1	1			1	4(1)	1	
24/4/2021	1	1											4(1)	1	
25/4/2021	1	1		1											
26/4/2021	2	2		1					1						
27/4/2021	28	0													
28/4/2021	12	3	1	2											
29/4/2021	27	3		1			2								
30/4/2021	1	3	1						2						

Date	Web	Nationwide dailies	Politiken	Berlingske	Ekstra Bladet	B.T	Jyllands Posten	Information	Børsen	Weekendavisen	Kristeligt Dagblad	Avisen Danmark*	Avisen Danmark corrected
1/5/2021	3	1		1									
2/5/2021	1	1		1									
3/5/2021	0	0											
4/5/2021	33	0											
5/5/2021	23	2	1	1									
6/5/2021	0	1									1		
7/5/2021	5	2								2			
8/5/2021	37	1		1									
9/5/2021	3	2					1				4(1)	1	
10/5/2021	7	0											
11/5/2021	18	2	1				1						
12/5/2021	5	2		1							4(1)	1	
13/5/2021	0	0											
14/5/2021	0	0											
15/5/2021	3	0											
16/5/2021	3	1			1								
17/5/2021	0	1									1		
18/5/2021	157	0											
19/5/2021	100	10	4	1	1		1	1			1	4(1)	1
20/5/2021	46	14	1	4	2	1	1	2			1	8(2)	2
21/5/2021	23	6	1	1		1					1	8(2)	2
22/5/2021	5	1									4(1)	1	
23/5/2021	2	2	1				1						
24/5/2021	2	1				1							
25/5/2021	4	2	1			1							
26/5/2021	30	0											
27/5/2021	5	1									4(1)	1	
28/5/2021	43	0											
29/5/2021	0	2			1		1						
30/5/2021	3	0											
31/5/2021	2	1					1						

\* Avisen Danmark publishes the same article four times each day. To adjust for this, the column "Nationwide dailies" includes data from "Avisen Danmark corrected" instead of "Avisen Danmark".

## **Appendix C: Third screening of the public debate; categorization of articles and subsequent selection of analysed news pieces**

The individual news pieces, from each of the three chosen dailies, are categorised and relevant pieces are selected for further analysis.

### **Colour legend:**

De-selected
Political debate
Public debate

### **Appendix C.1: Daily: Politiken**

35 news pieces in period. 15 are selected.

Date	Title of news piece	Journalist/ debater	Category
19.03.21	Minister under pres: Det er alvorligt. Meget alvorligt	Andreas Bækgaard	Political struggle
20.03.21	Det lyder lidt som "Komiske Ali"	Andreas Bækgaard	Political struggle
21.03.21	Hvad gør vi med de danske børn i de syriske lejre?	Katrine Roved Høj	Political standpoint
21.03.21	Bring børnene hjem	Christian Jensen	Debate contribution
21.03.21	Juraprofessor: Søgsmål skaber politisk pres	Emilie Maarbjerg Mørk	Expert opinion
21.03.21	LA ændre holdning: Danske børn skal hjem fra Syriens lejre	Morten Skærbaek og Johan Blem Larsen	Political standpoint
21.03.21	Sagen forfra: De danske børn i Al-Hol og Al-Roj	Jens Høyter Jensen	Explanatory overview
21.03.21	Partitjek: Skal børnene tages hjem?	Jens Høyter Jensen	Political standpoint
21.03.21	SKET I UGEN: Hvor er vi bare fænomenalt gode	Ole Rasmussen	Debate contribution
22.03.21	Ligesom alle andre børn	Bo Søndergaard	Narration
23.03.21	Belgien har gode erfaringer med at hente både børn og mødre hjem fra lejre	Nilas Heinshou	European comparison/Expert
23.03.21	Det ømme punkt: Rød nervekrig om børnene i Syrien er skærpet	Kristian Madsen	Political struggle
23.03.21	Fagbosser: Børnene må hentes hjem fra Syrien	Johan Blem Larsen	Expert opinion
24.03.21	Regeringen er mindre bange for terror en for at blive kaldt slap på udlændingepolitikken	Tarek Hussein	Debate contribution (political)
24.03.21	Naiv IS-brud eller fanatisk terrorist?	Andreas Selset	Expert/Debate
24.03.21	Mette Frederiksen om løsning for de danske børn i Syrien: Det haster ikke	Mads Hørkilde og Johan Blem Larsen	Political standpoint
25.03.21	Advokat: Kvinderne er ikke tikkende bomber	Morten Skærbaek	Expert opinion
25.03.21	Børnene i Syriens danske aktivist kæmper for at få dem hentet hjem	Olav Hergel	Debate contribution
25.03.21	Krigen mod terror blev til krigen mod danske børn	Leila Stockmarr	Debate contribution

Date	Title of news piece	Journalist/ debater	Category
26.03.21	Efter møde med statsministeren: "Jeppe Kofod er i særdeleshed ikke fredet"	Johan Blem Larsen	Political struggle
27.03.21	I Tyskland opfattes det som en pligt at hente alle IS-børn hjem fra fangelejrene	Kjeld Hybel	European comparison (expert)
28.03.21	Børnenes statsminister bor i Finland	Kristian Klarskov	European comparison
28.03.21	Læserne mener: Syrienbørn I og Syrienbørn II	Preben Sørensen og Marianne Bentsen-Pedersen	Debate contribution
28.03.21	Hver eneste dag i lejrene øger risikoen for ny terror i Europa	Michael Seidelin	Expert opinion
29.03.21	Læserne mener: Syrienbørn I, Syrienbørn II, Syrienbørn III og Syrienbørn IV	Benny Schytte, Tove Christiansen, Marianne Olsen og Dorte Bennicke	Debate contribution
30.03.21	Regeringen vil lave taskforce for børnene i de syriske lejre	Johan Blem Larsen og Clara Jermiin Kiersgaard	Political standpoint
30.03.21	Alene mens krigen raser, løber behovet for nødhjælp op i 68 milliarder kroner	Andreas Jerichow	Expert/UN
30.03.21	Sag: IS-kvinder trækker Sverige i menneskerettighedsdomstolen	Kristina Olsson	European comparison
31.03.21	Et afradikaliserende hjem er bedre end en kalifatet	Kathrine Elmose Jørgensen	Debate contribution
31.03.21	Europas mange syn på børnene i Syrien	Jens Høyer Jensen	Explanatory overview/Europe
31.03.21	Aftale: Taskforce skal se på, om børn i lejre kan hentes hjem	Kristian Corfixen og Johan Blem Larsen	Political standpoint
31.03.21	R og EL truer Jeppe Kofod med fyring trods aftale	Kristian Corfixen og Johan Blem Larsen	Political struggle
01.04.21	USA: Få børn og voksne hjem fra Syrien	Kristian Corfixen og Johan Blem Larsen	Expert opinion
02.04.21	Jeg tør ikke tænke på hvad den lejr gør ved børn	Bo Søndergaard og Jan Grarup	Narration
03.04.21	Læserne mener: De syriske lejre	Søren Klebak	Political struggle

## Appendix C.2: Daily: Berlingske

38 news pieces in period. 17 are selected.

Date	Title of news piece	Journalist/ debater	Category
19.03.21	Hemmeligholdelse af oplysninger om IS-lejre ryster nævnsformand	Cathrine Block, Thue Ahrenkilde Holm og Kalle Kehlet	Political struggle
19.03.21	S-ordfører angrebet advokat: "Hyret af IS-terroristern"	Jens Anton Bjørnager og Simon Andersen	Political struggle
20.03.21	For 3.000 dollar kan man blive smuglet ud af fangelejren. Men Islamisk Stat har et bedre tilbud.	Carolina Kamil	Expert opinion
20.03.21	Minister: Islamisk Stat har ikke forsøgt at bortføre danske børn	Ritzau	Political standpoint
20.03.21	Regeringen stævnet for at efterlade børn under "livstruende" forhold i Syrien	Sara Hodzic og Jens Anton Bjørnager	Narration
21.03.21	Er Mette Frederiksens sande mentor Trump?	Kristian Mouritzen	Political struggle
21.03.21	Gallup: Hver anden danske vil have børnene i de syriske lejre hjem – men mødrene skal ikke med	Jens Beck Nielsen	Expert opinion
22.03.21	De danske børns arvesynd i helvedslejrene	Sara Omar	Debate contribution
22.03.21	Liberal Alliance vil have danske børn hjem fra Syrien	Ritzau	Political standpoint
23.03.21	Fem borgerlige argumenter for at børnene i Syrien skal hjem	Mette Østergaard	Debate contribution
23.03.21	Hjem vendte Syrien-kvinder dømmes på striben i Europa	Carolina Kamil	European comparison
24.03.21	Krisemøde hos Mette Frederiksen om Syrien-børn	Søren Domino og Kalle Kehlet	Political struggle
24.03.21	Mødre i syriske fangelejre kan dømmes efter dansk terrorlov	Sara Hodzic og Simon Andersen	Expert opinion
24.03.21	S lagde hård kurs over for danske børn fra dag ét – nu stiger presset	Bent Winther	Political standpoint
25.03.21	Er de danske børn på vej hjem?	Bent Winther	Political struggle
26.03.21	Borgerlige stemmer vil have børnene hjem og lægger pres på V og K	Kalle Kehlet og Martin Borre	Political struggle
26.03.21	Hvem er det egentlig, der har vendt ryggen til Danmark?	Adam Holm	Debate contribution
26.03.21	Løkke "får ondt i hovedet af debatten om Kofod"	Simon Andersen	Political struggle
26.03.21	Støttepartier orienterer om hemmelige risikovurderinger	Sara Hodzic og Søren Domino	Political struggle
26.03.21	Eksperter gennemhuller forklaring på at lade børn blive i Syrien: Mødre har ikke krav på familiesammenføring	Sara Hodzic og Søren Domino	Expert opinion
27.03.21	Læserne mener: Hjemtagning af børn og mødre	Brita Dalsgaard Boolsen	Debate contribution

Date	Title of news piece	Journalist/ debater	Category
27.03.21	Mette Frederiksens store løgn om de dansk børn i Syrien	Pierre Collignon	Debate contribution/ Political struggle
27.03.21	Støttepartier overvejer tilliden til Jeppe Kofod efter orientering om børn i fangelejre	Sara Hodzic, Julie Schneider, Kalle Kehlet og Søren Domino	Political struggle
28.03.21	Her er de stenhårde, udlændingestramme nationale grunde til at få Syrien-børnene hjem	Tom Jensen	Debate contribution
29.03.21	DF-retsordfører: De 19 børn i Syrien er ikke danske – de skal stoppes ved grænsen	Jens Anton Bjørnager	Political standpoint
29.03.21	Over 30 anholdt under stor aktion i al-Hollejren	Ritzau	Explanatory overview
30.03.21	Fanget i Syrien: Her er de danske børn, som sagen handler om	Mikkel Danielsen, Jens Anton Bjørnager og Sara Hodzic	Explanatory overview
30.03.21	Læserne mener: Tag mødre og børn hjem fra lejrene i Syrien	Grethe Johansen	Debate contribution
30.03.21	Vores naboland henter børn hjem fra Syrien	Mikkel Fyhn Christensen	Narration (Europe)
31.03.21	Kurdisk udenrigsminister hælder Mette Frederiksens plan ned ad brættet	Redaktionen	Narration (political)
31.03.21	Lynaftale fjerner øksen over truet minister og udstiller to partiers magtesløshed	Bent Winther	Political struggle
31.03.21	Ny aftale skal hjælpe Syrien-børn – men eksperter ser det som en umulig opgave	Søren Domino og Julie Schneider	Expert opinion
01.04.21	"Så jeg er ikke dansker mere? Hvorfor? Er jeg mindre værd?	Carolina Kamil	Narration
02.04.21	Britisk terrorekspert: Pas på, hjemvendte børn fra IS-områder kan udgøre en terrortrussel	Simon Andersen og Sara Hodzic	Expert opinion
03.04.21	Aziza giftede sig med en mand fra Islamisk Stat. Nu vil hun hjem til Aarhus: "Min søn fortjener at få gratis sundhedsydelse"	Carolina Kamil	Narration
03.04.21	Amerikanske medier kan hun få øje på racisme i Europa: "De spredt helt ærligt løgne og fake news"	Troels Heeger	Debate contribution
03.04.21	Tidl. Dommer om børn i flygtningelejr: Man får mistanke om, at taskeforce er ren politik uden tanke på juraen	Frederik Harhoff	Debate contribution
03.04.21	Nasa Khader: "De her kvinder er ikke fredelige, harmløse husmødre. De udgør en sikkerhedstrussel"	Julie Schneider	Political standpoint

### **Appendix C.3: Daily: Ekstra Bladet**

23 news pieces in period. 2 are selected.

Date	Title of news piece	Journalist/ debater	Category
18.03.21	Flygter fra Syrien-Spørgsmål	Thomas Foght, James Kristoffer Miles og Jeppe Findalen	Political struggle
19.03.21	Nationen: Hvorfor forlade IS-paradiset	Søren Christiansen	Debate contribution
19.03.21	Nægter at forholde sig til Syrien-børnene	James Kristoffer Miles, Brian Weichardt og Magnus Mio	Political struggle
20.03.21	Nationen: Skruen uden ende	Flemming Kjellberg	Debate contribution
20.03.21	Det er stærkt utilfredsstillende	Janus Østergaard	Political struggle
20.03.21	Da Mette løj	Mads Kastrup	Debate contribution /Political struggle
20.03.21	Rasmus i panik	Slyngelstuen	Political struggle
23.03.21	Nationen: Dyrt for underdanmark	Michael Thestrup	Debate contribution
23.03.21	Har skabt kalifatets løveunger	Magnus Mio, Nagieb Khaja, Jeppe Findalen og Thomas Foght	Political struggle
23.03.21	Jorden brænder under ham	Ekstra Bladet mener	Political struggle
24.03.21	Mette F. Vil redde Jeppe Kofod	Janus Østergaard og Jonas Sahl	Political struggle
25.03.21	Ambassader modtog hemmelige FE- oplysninger	Magnus Mio, Nagieb Khaja, Jeppe Findalen og Thomas Foght	Politics
26.03.21	Børnenes kyniske statsminister	Ekstra Bladet mener	Political struggle
27.03.21	Kofod hænger i en tynd tråd	Per Mathiessen, Jonas Sahl, Magnus Mio og Brian Weichardt	Political struggle
29.03.21	Nationen: Er "danske Sara" dansk?	Uwe Max Jensen	Debate contribution
29.03.21	Nationen: I øvrigt mener...	Jens Torben Buss	Debate contribution
29.03.21	Kvinder er ikke hårdkogte terrorister	Thomas Foght, Magnus Mio, Nagieb Khaja og Jeppe Findalen	Expert opinion
29.03.21	Sender bamser til børnenes statsminister i protest	Thomas Foght, Magnus Mio, Nagieb Khaja og Jeppe Findalen	Debate
31.03.21	Nationen: Det bliver dyrt at hjælpe	Morten Dreyer	Debate contribution
31.03.21	Nationen: Mødrene har skidt i egen rede	J. Hartmann	Debate contribution

AAU, GRS: Master Thesis, April 19<sup>th</sup> 2022:  
**Dangerous Mothers and their Potentially Dangerous Children**

Date	Title of news piece	Journalist/ debater	Category
31.03.21	Koford er ikke fredet	Janus Østergaard og Jeppe Findalen	Political struggle
03.04.21	Nationen: I øvrigt mener...	Niels Erik H. Christensen	Debate contribution
03.04.21	Nationen: Lad vælgerne bestemme	J. Hartmann	Debate contribution

## **Appendix D: Open coding of the political debate, based on parliament debate regarding B 128**

Quotes from the 1<sup>st</sup> processing debate on March 2<sup>nd</sup> of 2021 of proposal for parliamentary resolution to repatriate the Danish children detained in Syrian refugee camps in Syria to Denmark by the end of 2021, B 128

Requested by: Rosa Lund (EL), Christian Juhl (EL), Pernille Skipper (EL), Søren Søndergaard (EL), Mai Villadsen (EL), Kristian Hegaard (RV), Karina Lorentzen Dehnhardt (SF), Torsten Gejl (ALT) and Sikandar Siddique (UFG)

Committee: Committee on Foreign Affairs

Abbreviations: Minister of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), Political spokesperson (PS)

<b>Time</b>	<b>Who</b>	<b>Quote (in Danish)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Comment</b>
21.40	MoFA (S)	Regeringen vil ikke have fremmedkrigere til Danmark. Vi ønsker ikke at hjælpe fremmedkrigere, og vi vil heller ikke lade fremmedkrigere bruge deres børn som løftestang til, at de selv kan rejse til Danmark – det land, de har forrådt.	Threat	Foreign fighters, using / exploiting children, "betrayed" DK = almost infidels
21.40	MoFA (S)	(...) Enhedslistens ordfører ønsker at hente både de voksne fremmedkrigere og deres børn til Danmark.	Threat	Foreign fighters = violence
21.40	MoFA (S)	(...) det var fremmedkrigernes eget valg at vende Danmark, friheden og demokratiet ryggen.	Threat	Foreign fighters, enlightenment discourse (them / us), Denmark = freedom and democracy, agency
21.40	MoFA (S)	at støtte Islamisk Stats umenneskelige terror-, tortur- og rædselsregime. De tilsluttede sig en militant kamp mod alt, hvad Danmark er og står for. Vi taler om et barbarisk terrorregime, som huggede hovederne af dem, de opfattede som vantrø. De brændte folk levende, de kastede homoseksuelle ud fra hustage, de stenede kvinder for påstået utroskab, og de udsatte fanger for de mest horrible torturmetoder, man kan forestille sig. Med fremmedkrigernes tilvalg af Islamisk Stat og fravælg af Danmark ligger deres fremtid ikke her i landet.	Threat	Horror story, enlightenment discourse (them / us), choice = action cancer

<b>Time</b>	<b>Who</b>	<b>Quote (in Danish)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Comment</b>
21.40	MoFA (S)	De valgte, at deres egen og deres børns fremtid og tilværelse skulle være i et af de værste terrorregimer, verden har set. De gav deres børn den værst tænkelige start på livet. Det gør ondt at tænke på, men det var deres valg og deres ansvar.	Victim / offender	Empathy, responsibility: parents bear the blame (government disclaims responsibility), choice = action
21.40	MoFA (S)	kan det dog ikke udelukkes, at den helbredsmæssige situation for det enkelte barn i nogle tilfælde vil kunne udvikle sig på en måde, der ekstraordinært kan give anledning til handling fra dansk side.	Victim / offender	health / illness = suffering = extraordinary action
21.40	MoFA (S)	Det vil også kræve, at moderen samtykker til adskillelsen fra sit barn, for fremmedkrigere er uønskede i Danmark.	Mother / child	Separation of mother and child, mother = Foreign fighter
21.40	MoFA (S)	Jeg vil samtidig understrege, at regeringen lægger vægt på at overholde alle konventionsforpligtigelser. Det er regeringens vurdering, at der ikke kan udledes en generel retlig forpligtelse til at yde bistand til at evakuere danske statsborgere, der har opholdt sig hos Islamisk Stat, hverken af Den Europæiske Menneskerettighedskonvention eller FN's børnekonvention, heller ikke i forhold til børn.	Conventions	Conventions / international cooperation / civilized = Denmark
21.40	MoFA (S)	De andre 3 mødre, som er danske statsborgere, er alle blevet afskåret bistand fra udenrigstjenesten. Lad mig slå fast, at udenrigstjenesten fortsat kan yde bistand til børnene, og at udenrigstjenesten også kan føre dialog med mødre og/eller deres repræsentanter om børnenes situation.	Mother / child	Separation of mother and child, citizenship and assistance / help
21.40	MoFA (S)	Og lad mig understrege klart: Regeringen ønsker ikke at hjælpe fremmedkrigere med at komme til Danmark.	Threat	Foreign fighters = Foreign = not "us" + warriors = violence
21.40	MoFA (S)	Evakuering af et barn, der opholder sig i en af lejrene med sin mor, vil som sagt kræve, at moren samtykker til adskillelsen fra sit barn. Dette er, fordi fremmedkrigere er uønskede i Danmark.	Mother / child	Mother = Foreign fighters, separation of mother and child, unwanted
21.40	MoFA (S)	det vil forudsætte, at der i det konkrete tilfælde består et helt særligt afhængighedsforhold mellem barnet og den pågældende forælder.	Mother / child	Separation of mother and child
21.40	MoFA (S)	Her er det først og fremmest forældreløse børn og andre særlig sårbar børn, der evakueres,	Victim / offender	Suffers: orphans and vulnerable

<b>Time</b>	<b>Who</b>	<b>Quote (in Danish)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Comment</b>
21.40	MoFA (S)	Fremmedkrigere, der frivilligt har valgt at rejse til Syrien for at støtte og tilslutte sig Islamisk Stats terror-, volds- og dødskalifat, skal ikke forvente hjælp fra Danmark – det land, de har forrådt.	Threat	Warrior goes to war, horror story, "betrayed" (loyalty)
22.08	PS (S)	Der er ikke nogen partier i Folketinget, der fortjener at blive regnet for så kyniske. Det er tragisk, at der er børn, der lever i de IS-lejre i Nordsyrien,	Victim / offender	Children suffer, empathy, tragedy
22.08	PS (S)	og vi henter ikke potentielle terrorister til Danmark. Jeg vil gerne understrege, at det er forældrene, jeg omtaler som potentielle terrorister	Threat	Potential (future) terrorists = parents
22.08	PS (S)	Jeg understreger altid, at små børn ikke udgør en trussel, men det gør deres forældre.	Threat	Children = innocence, parents = threat
22.08	PS (S)	Børnene betaler en høj pris for, at deres forældre valgte, at deres families fremtid skulle ligge i Mellemøsten.	Victim / offender	Children = victims, parents = offenders
22.08	PS (S)	Forældrene har tilsluttet sig en af de mest menneskefjendske bevægelser, verden har kendt til. Det er de mange uskyldige, der har fået skåret halsen over af IS-krigere, grufulde vidnesbyrd om. Den voldsparathed skal vi ikke slippe løs i Danmark, og det er risikoen ved at hente forældrene hjem.	Threat	Violence, risk (statistics), horror story
22.08	PS (S)	Men de syrere og irakere, kurdere og yazidiere og andre, som har mistet familiemedlemmer, har været sexslaver, er blevet pisket og tortureret, har en berettiget forventning om, at deres bødler kommer for retten frem for blot at blive evakueret til Danmark, fordi de har et rødbedefarvet pas.	IS	Horror story, executioners
22.30	PS (V)	for Venstre er det her en svær sag, og det tror jeg den er for alle, som har et hjerte.	Victim / offender	Empathy, "heart"
22.30	PS (V)	For på den ene side handler det jo om nogle terrorister, som nok er nogle af de værste terrorister, vi har set i nyere tid, og hvor det også er meget, meget vigtigt for os, at de selvfølgelig bliver retsforfulgt, og at de bliver retsforfulgt hurtigt.	Threat	Terrorists
22.30	PS (V)	På den anden side har vi så børnene. Jeg er selv far til to små børn, og jeg forstår sagtens, at det absolut er totalt uskyldige børn, vi taler om. Derfor er det også vigtigt – og det prøvede jeg også at spørge udenrigsministeren om – hvordan og hvorledes vi sikrer bedst mulige vilkår for de her børn.	Victim / offender	Children! Adresses recognition, innocence,

<b>Time</b>	<b>Who</b>	<b>Quote (in Danish)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Comment</b>
22.30	PS (V)	Så er der jo stadig væk den her større gruppe af børn til stede, hvor vi på den ene side absolut ikke kan se, at mødrene – eller fædrene for den sags skyld – skal komme tilbage til Danmark under nogen former. For det er jo vigtigt at holde fast i, at PET har lavet en klar risikoanalyse af fremmedkrigerne, mænd som kvinder, og nævner ting som, at de har fået demonstreret en stærk vilje til at handle, de har fået en øget brutalisering og voldsparathed, de har fået en øget kapacitet til at udføre angreb, og de har desværre nok også fået skabt forbindelser og netværk, så de har til hensigt og kapacitet til at begå terror i Vesten. Det er mænd som kvinder, vi taler om. Så dem ønsker vi ikke tilbage.	Threat	Risk analysis, foreign fighters, PET, preparedness for violence, terror in the West
22.30	PS (V)	i forhold til børnene. Kunne det f.eks. være tvangsadoption, kunne det være tvangsfjernelse?	Victim / offender	Coercion = The children's best
22.30	PS (V)	er vigtigt, at vi gør alt, hvad vi kan, i forhold til kongerigets sikkerhed, både på den korte bane, men også på den lange bane.	Threat	Security
22.51	PS (DF)	her et forslag om at hente syriensterroristernes børn til Danmark	Threat	terrorists
22.51	PS (DF)	De mennesker, som har tilsluttet sig Islamisk Stat, har vendt Danmark ryggen for altid, og de har intet at gøre hertillands, og uanset om de og deres børn tilfældigvis har et dansk pas, betragter vi dem ikke længere som danskere. For det er vores opfattelse, at de kvinder og mænd, som rejste af sted for at tilslutte sig kalifatet, for at kæmpe imod Danmark og Danmarks allierede, helt frivilligt og med forsæt gjorde sig selv ikke alene til landsforrædere, men samtidig til krigsforbrydere.	Threat	Danish vs. Non-Danish, betrayed (loyalty), us / them (enlightenment), traitors and war criminals
22.51	PS (DF)	Den ubegribelige ondskab, som var og er identisk med Islamisk Stat, kan i nyere tid kun overgås af Waffen-SS og de uhyrligheder, som det korps foretog. Skulle vi nu med åbne øjne invitere sådanne folk til Danmark og lade dem og deres børn indgå i den danske dagligdag, ville vi begå en alvorlig fejl.	Threat	Horror story, evil

<b>Time</b>	<b>Who</b>	<b>Quote (in Danish)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Comment</b>
22.51	PS (DF)	Det antages, at der i lejrene opholder sig henved 40 børn, som på en eller anden måde har en dansk forbindelse eller et dansk pas. Det fremgår ikke, hvor gamle disse børn er, men flere af dem er givetvis mere end 10 år gamle. De er vokset op i den elendige virkelighed, som deres forældre med fuldt overlæg har skabt for dem. De store børn er ligesom deres forældre givetvis hjernevasket ind i den onde kult og vil dermed udgøre en fare for Danmark.	Threat	The big kids = brainwashed, cult, parents are guilty, dangerous
22.51	PS (DF)	Der kan, som udenrigsministeren har været inde på, naturligvis opstå helt ekstreme, ekstraordinære situationer, hvor et mindreårigt barn af sygdomsmæssige årsager vil skulle hentes til Danmark, men i så fald må barnet tvangsfjernes fra sine forældre	Victim / offender	illness = exceptions, separation of child and parents
22.51	PS (DF)	Jeg så i den forbindelse gerne, at barnet så efterfølgende blev bortadoptert. For det er jo børnemishandling, der foregår, når man laver den slags hjernevask; det skal man tage i betragtning. Det er faktisk en god og en rigtig forklaring på, hvorfor man skal bortadoptere dem, altså fordi de bliver mishandlet af deres forældre.	Victim / offender	Parents abuse their children, separation from parents = care
22.51	PS (DF)	Midt i det hele er vi nødt til at stramme gevældigt op i forhold til islams fremmarch i Danmark, som jo medfører, at der ud fra tilsyneladende fredsommelige kredse pludselig springer en surrealistisk terrorist frem med en automat riffel i den ene hånd og Koranen i den anden.	Threat	Link between Islam and terror
22.51	PS (DF)	Nu tigger de så om hjælp til advokatudgifter, læge, uddannelse, bolig; nu vil de pludselig have, at deres børn skal vokse op i det land, som de hånede, da de rejste af sted.	Victim / offender	The "losers" ??
22.51	PS (DF)	Men når Islamisk Stat kalder igen – for det kan udmærket ske; det viser den seneste udvikling – er kvinden så på vej igen sammen med en række nye kvinder af samme opfattelse. Sagen er jo, at vi ikke kan stole på de slyngler – mænd og kvinder. De er fulde af fup, og de lever af og med løgnen.	Threat	Us / them, You "cheat" us.

<b>Time</b>	<b>Who</b>	<b>Quote (in Danish)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Comment</b>
23.07	PS (SF)	Jeg vil altid være på børnenes side. Sådan sagde vores statsminister for et år siden. Men lige nu er virkeligheden den, at der sidder en masse danske børn i to fangelejre i Syrien, og de mangler i høj grad nogen på deres side. De befinner sig i, hvad man må betegne som helvede på jord, Europas Guantánamo, om man vil. For fire dage siden var der fire børn, der omkom i en af lejrene i en brand, og det sker, fordi de bor i lejre med tynde telte, og de forsøger så at holde sig varme, hvorved de her brande hele tiden opstår. Alene i 2019 var der 300 børn, mindst 300 børn, i samme lejr, som døde på grund af sult, kulde eller fejlernæring. Andre er voldsomt traumatiserede af de uhyrligheder, som de har oplevet i deres liv: krig, vold, lemlæstelse, død – alt muligt, som børn ikke bør udsættes for. I en af lejrene bor børnene direkte oven på et oliefelt, luften er tyk af forurening, og råolien løber synligt igennem en rende igennem lejren. Det er jo ikke et sted for børn at vokse op.	Victim / offender	Children suffer, hell on earth / Europe's Guantánamo, children die, are traumatized, pollution
23.07	PS (SF)	Vi kan hurtigt blive enige om, at de valg, som børnenes forældre har truffet, er forfærdelige, de er uforståelige. Det valg om at tilslutte sig en islamisk dødkult vil jeg aldrig stå her og undskylde eller bortforklare, aldrig, (...) Vi mener, at når man altid er på børnenes side, betyder det også, at man ikke lader børnene undgælde for deres forældres gerninger.	Victim / offender	The parents are evil, the children are good, the children do not have to pay the parents' bill
23.07	PS (SF)	Børn er hverken radikaliserede eller terrorister, de er børn, og de har brug for at lege, de har brug for at gå i skole, de kan ikke trives uden tryghed.	Victim / offender	Idealization of children
23.07	PS (SF)	PET har jo ovenikøbet vurderet, at de her børn ikke udgør en fare, men jo længere tid, vi efterlader dem i helvedes forgård, jo større bliver risikoen for, at de bliver radikaliserede. Det vurderer Center for Terroranalyse. Vi har altså skrevet sort på hvidt, at vi beskytter Danmark bedst ved at hente børnene hjem med det samme, og samme budskab har i øvrigt også lydt fra vores nære allierede USA igen og igen: Få nu børnene hjem!	Threat	Children = not threat, but potential. Being put in the context of terrorist analysis.

<b>Time</b>	<b>Who</b>	<b>Quote (in Danish)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Comment</b>
23.07	PS (SF)	Selv om det sikkert er ubekvemt, har vi stadig væk et ansvar for de børn, og selv om det ikke er så nemt, så må og skal vi løfte det ansvar og ikke efterlade børnene i et ingenmandsland. Vi kan ikke efterlade dem til i værste fald at dø eller andre ting, som er særligt slemme. Uanset hvor vrede vi er på forældrene, må vi ikke knægte børnenes rettighed til et liv i tryghed.	Morality	Denmark has a responsibility towards the children. The children = good, the parents = evil.
23.07	PS (SF)	Lad os nu være på børnenes side, også dem, der sidder fanget i helvedes forgård i Syrien. Lad os få dem hjem nu!	Victim / offender	The children need help - they suffer, they are irresponsible, "home"
23.14	PS (RV)	Børn skal vokse op med leg, ikke i en lejr. Jeg får ondt i maven, når jeg hører om et dansk barn, kun 4 år gammel, som lider i en livsfarlig lejr. Lægerne siger ifølge artikler i DR og Berlingske, at det barn skal hjem hurtigst muligt; ellers får det alvorlige og varige men. En dansk pige, der får alvorlige og varige men, men hvor et flertal af politikerne på Christiansborg ingenting gør. Det vil være et gigantisk svigt, hvis ikke Danmark hjælper et 4-årigt dansk barn med stor risiko for permanente psykiske skader. Radikale Venstre har ikke ro i maven, før det barn kommer hjem til Danmark.	Victim / offender	Child suffers - Danish responsibility, health: permanent psychological damage, arouses empathy - speaks to morality
23.14	PS (RV)	Det er et svigt at lade børnene vokse op i livsfarlige lejre.	Victim / offender	Betrayal
23.14	PS (RV)	Ikke kun af sundhedsmæssige årsager taler for, også sikkerhedsmæssige. Derfor citerer jeg nu PET's nyeste trusselsvurdering	Threat	Safety: quotes PET's threat assessment, which says: children are not a threat, but can be radicalized - looking at children in this framework makes them a potential threat
23.14	PS (RV)	Børn udgør altså en usandsynlig lille risiko, men jo længere tid de danske børn opholder sig i et radikaliseret miljø, jo større er risikoen for, at de kommer til at udgøre en trussel. Med andre ord: Hvad i alverden venter vi på? Jo mere politikerne tøver, jo større risiko kan børnene udgøre.	Threat	Risk, is going to pose a threat, the clock is ticking.
23.14	PS (RV)	Straf på grund af barnets forældre!	Victim / offender	Ref. To the Convention on the Rights of the Child, note Parents / child.

<b>Time</b>	<b>Who</b>	<b>Quote (in Danish)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Comment</b>
23.14	PS (RV)	Der siger UNICEF også klart: Tag danske børn hjem. Det gjorde de for få dage siden – dagen efter at fire børn omkom i en brand i den overfyldte fangelejr al-Hol i det nordøstlige Syrien.	Victim / offender	Dangerous!
23.14	PS (RV)	Det er farligt for børn at blive i de livsfarlige lejre for deres mentale sundhed, for deres potentielle radikalisering og dermed for Danmark.	Victim / offender + threat	Dangerous for children and "dangerous for Denmark"
23.14	PS (RV)	Danske børn er et dansk ansvar, uanset om man bor i Holstebro eller i al-Hol. Danmark må ikke vende børnene ryggen. Børn skal lege, ikke vokse op i en lejr.	Victim / offender	Danish responsibility, children's ideal.
23.22	PS (EL)	at det her handler om danske statsborgere, altså mennesker, som Danmark har ansvaret for – ikke kurderne, ikke alle mulige andre, men Danmark. Det handler om børn, som Danmark har ansvaret for.	Danish	Citizenship, who is considered Danish, Denmark is responsible
23.22	PS (EL)	Listen af dårlige undskyldninger for, hvorfor netop de børn, vi snakker om i dag, skal undtages fra statens beskyttelse og omsorg, er jo simpelt hen uendelig lang, og den bliver ofte blandet sammen med udlændinge-politik og til lejligheden, også i dag, opfundne terrortrusler. PET siger jo selv, at de her børn ikke udgør en terrortrussel, hvis vi tager dem til Danmark.	Threat	Arguing against threat - "invented terrorist threats"
23.22	PS (EL)	Det forslag, vi diskuterer i dag, handler altså ikke om danske statsborgere, som ifølge regeringen har vendt Danmark ryggen; det forslag, vi behandler i dag, handler om de børn, som den selvudnævnte børnenes statsminister har vendt ryggen.	Danish	Citizenship, affiliation
23.22	PS (EL)	hvis de altså overlever, får permanente fysiske og psykiske men. Og ifølge regeringen selv er det jo lige netop risikoen for at få alvorlige men, der er grunden til at evakuere børnene.	Victim / threat	Suffering, disease = exception
23.22	PS (EL)	Statsministeren sagde undskyld til Godhavnsdrengene, fordi staten ikke havde passet godt på dem dengang. Hvis ikke vi gør noget nu, står der en statsminister og skal sige undskyld til de her børn om 25 år – hvis vi altså er så heldige, at de er i live til den tid.	Victim / offender	Responsibility! Placing blame on the government.

<b>Time</b>	<b>Who</b>	<b>Quote (in Danish)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Comment</b>
23.28	PS (KF)	Det er et meget svært emne, som vækker store følelser hos mange, og det forstår jeg godt, for det er et svært dilemma. På den ene side ønsker vi alle sammen, at børn skal vokse op i fred og tryghed, og jeg tror også, at vi alle sammen har sympati for de danske børn, der sidder i lejrene.	Victim / offender	Child ideal, sympathy, emotions,
23.28	PS (KF)	På den anden side står vi med nogle forældre, der har vendt Danmark ryggen, og som er blevet en del af en af de værste og mest brutale terrororganisationer, der findes, og efter min opfattelse er forældrene landsforrædere.	Threat + Danish	Terrorist organization, traitors, "turned its back on Denmark"
23.28	PS (KF)	Det er ikke uskyldige forældre og børn. Jeg erkender, at meget små børn ikke har de der holdninger, men der er altså nogle teenagebørn, der kan være en sikkerhedsrisiko.	Threat	Children are also a threat, culprit, safety risk
23.28	PS (KF)	De bliver fremstillet, som om de var ofre, men man glemmer, at de rigtige ofre er yazidikvinderne, der blev solgt som sexslaver, og det er de homoseksuelle, der blev skubbet ud fra tredje, fjerde eller femte sal. Det er jo de rigtige ofre. De her mennesker har været en del af en brutal terrorbevægelse, og jeg ser dem ikke som ofre. De har valgt side – nogle af dem stod demonstrativt og brændte deres danske pas af og lagde det på YouTube – så jeg har ikke sympati med forældrene.	Victim / offender	The "real victims", no sympathy for the parents
23.28	PS (KF)	det ikke er nogen nem beslutning at træffe, men vi bliver nødt til at tænke på Danmarks sikkerhed.	Threat	Denmark's security comes first
23.28	PS (KF)	De i gåseøjne danske Islamisk Stat-terrorister har vendt Danmark ryggen; de tog af sted for at kæmpe for et islamisk kalifat, de tilsluttede sig en af de mest brutale organisationer, som verden nogensinde har kendt til. Islamisk Stat har dræbt, tortureret og voldtaget, og de har solgt kvinder og børn som sexslaver. Jeg har ikke ord for, hvor forfaerdelig en organisation det er. Og de vidste, hvad de gik ind til, da de rejste ind i Syrien og tilsluttede sig organisationen. Alt andet er dårlige undskyldninger. De forlod Velfærdsdanmark til fordel for et islamisk kalifat. Ingen: De er landsforrædere.	Threat	Horror story, "betrayed" Denmark, free elections, us / them

<b>Time</b>	<b>Who</b>	<b>Quote (in Danish)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Comment</b>
23.28	PS (KF)	Når alt det er sagt, vil jeg gerne sige, at hvis der er børn uden forældre, der har brug for medicinsk hjælp, så må det bero på en konkret vurdering.	Victim / offender	disease = exceptions
23.28	PS (KF)	Men at skulle hente dem alle sammen er vi ikke med på. Henter vi børnene, kommer forældrene bagefter, og så kan man henvise til alle mulige konventioner. Vi kommer til at stå i en situation, hvor vi også skal hente deres forældre, og det vil vi ikke.	Mother / child	Separation of parents and children, more important than conventions
23.39	PS (NB)	Et stort flertal i Folketinget lod hensynet til internationale konventioner stå over hensynet til danskernes sikkerhed og tryghed. Og jeg kan godt forstå de mange danskere, der var chokeret over, at en terrorist, der har vendt Danmark ryggen og har kæmpet for Islamisk Stat mod danske soldater, mod danske værdier, fik lov at komme til Danmark, da IS havde lidt nederlag.	Threat	The Danes' safety and security should come first, us / them, turned their backs on Denmark
23.39	PS (NB)	og det er en ulykkelig situation for de børn. For de har ikke valgt deres forældre, de har heller ikke valgt at tage til Syrien, men de er deres forældres børn	Victim / offender	Children and parents are connected, children do not bear guilt, children do not have free choice, arouse emotions
23.39	PS (NB)	Og hvis de på nogen som helst måde ender med at skulle til Danmark, mener vi, at de hver især skal sikkerhedsvurderes af Politiets Efterretningstjeneste, og dem, der måtte udgøre en sikkerhedsrisiko, skal selvfølgelig ikke til Danmark.	Threat	Safety assessment (note Refers to children)
23.39	PS (NB)	For de forældreløses vedkommende skal de ved ankomst til Danmark anbringes i plejefamilier med dansk baggrund. Er der en mor eller far i Syrien, skal børnene af forældrene opgives til adoption hos en familie med dansk baggrund.	Danish	Emphasizes Danishness, separation of parents and child
23.39	PS (NB)	Familiesammenføring skal aldrig kunne komme på tale, og det må præciseres i lovgivningen, for de landsforræderiske forældre skal ikke til Danmark.	Danish	Traitors

<b>Time</b>	<b>Who</b>	<b>Quote (in Danish)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Comment</b>
23.39	PS (NB)	Det kan være, at det går imod internationale konventioner og forpligtelser, og for mig og for Nye Borgerlige er det sådan set fuldstændig uden betydning. For os er der intet vigtigere end danskernes sikkerhed og tryghed i danskernes eget land. Ingen international konvention eller fortolkning af den skal stå i vejen for, at vi skal beskytte os selv mod terror, vold og overfald. Vi kan ikke lade den tryghed og sikkerhed underordne en eller anden konvention, som fortidens politikere så en eller anden interesse i at tilslutte sig.	Threat	The Danes' safety and security should come first, more important than the conventions, conventions obsolete, us / them,
23.39	PS (NB)	for når IS-terrorister – og ja, lad os kalde dem for, hvad de er, for vi skal ikke glorificere dem som »krigere«	Threat	Terrorists
23.39	PS (NB)	Vi skal ikke lade landsforrædere, der med vold og terror har bekæmpet alt, hvad vi står for, komme tilbage til Danmark.	Threat + Danish	Traitors, us / them
23.39	PS (NB)	for det ville betyde, at landsforræderiske IS-terrorister får fri adgang til Danmark.	Threat	Traitors, terrorists
23.54	PS (ALT)	en FN-chef rejser en kras kritik af Danmark, »I lader danske statsborgere sidde under torturlignende forhold«, siger FN's særlige rapportør om håndteringen af danske statsborgere i lejre i det nordøstlige Syrien	Victim / offender	The international community
23.54	PS (ALT)	når det handler om flygtninge og indvandrere, og ofte særlig når det handler om muslimer, er mere præget af følelser end af fornuft.	Danish	us / them, muslims = emotions (not logic)
23.54	PS (ALT)	De 19 børn udgør efter PET's mening ikke nogen terrortrussel. Måske deres forældre gør. Jamen så må man jo forsøge at få dem retsfulgt i Danmark	Threat	PET's threat assessment, argument for getting citizens (children and parents) home
23.54	PS (ALT)	At få børnene hjem er det mest menneskelige, det mest humanitære, det mest kærlige. Det er også det juridisk korrekte, det respekterer konventionerne, og det er sandsynligvis også det sikreste.	Children	Children = human, humanitarian, loving = moral! Respect for the international community.
23.54	PS (ALT)	Vi risikerer nemlig, at de 19 børn bliver radikalisert og kommer hjem som de fremmedkrigere, som regeringen hele tiden taler om, mens vi andre taler om børn.	Threat	Radicalization, future
23.54	PS (ALT)	Børn er i begyndelsen af deres liv. Vi skal passe på dem, hvis vi kan, især når de er syge og skadede.	Victim / offender	Children = frail
23.54	PS (ALT)	dem, der stemmer nej til det her forslag, risikerer at skabe en større terrortrussel end os, der har fremsat det.	Threat	Radicalization = future terror

<b>Time</b>	<b>Who</b>	<b>Quote (in Danish)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Comment</b>
23.58	PS (UFG)	Lige nu befinder danske børn sig i al-Roj- og al-Hol-lejrene. Disse børn vokser op, som intet barn bør vokse op, nemlig i en fangelejr. Frie Grønne mener, at børn aldrig skal bøde for deres forældres handlinger. Men det er netop, hvad de danske børn i de syriske fangelejre gør lige nu.	Child vision	Parents = villains, children = innocent, the idea of what a childhood is
23.58	PS (UFG)	At lade danske børn leve under livsfarlige forhold i et både fysisk og psykisk farligt miljø tenderer børnemishandling fra den danske regerings side. I en artikel fra DR kunne man for nylig læse om en 4-årig dansk pige, som i sit korte liv allerede har fået ptsd – et barn på 4 år har fået ptsd – og vi hentede hende ikke hjem for længst. Det er ikke kun morens ansvar, men også den danske stats, som har ladet det ske.	Responsibility	Responsibility! Shares responsibility between mother and Danish state, horror story (tends to child abuse), sick child, "home",
23.58	PS (UFG)	I artiklen fra DR kan man også læse, hvordan den 4-årige pige og de andre børn vokser op under forhold med forurening, traumatiske forhold, forhold med sygdom; det er så langt fra et normalt liv, som det overhovedet kan være.	Child vision	What is normal - what is the ideal of a good childhood
23.58	PS (UFG)	Kan vi virkelig – kan vi virkelig – med god samvittighed lade de børn i stikken? Små børn i en fangelejr i Syrien. De her børn har allerede gennemgået langt flere traumer, end nogen af vi voksne nogensinde kommer til at gennemgå i vores liv. Jeg begriber det ikke.	Responsibility	Appeals to Denmark's responsibility for its citizens, horror story
23.58	PS (UFG)	Så nu mener Frie Grønne, at det er på tide, at vi også tager vores andel af ansvaret i Mellemøsten og som minimum tager vores medborgere, vores egne borgere, hjem. Vi kan ikke på den ene side være med i krige, være med til at destabilisere en hel region, og på den anden side fralægge os ansvaret, når det brænder på. Vores geopolitiske handler rammer os som en boomerang. At føre krig har konsekvenser.	Responsibility	Responsibility for the wars in which Denmark has participated - and responsibility for its own citizens

<b>Time</b>	<b>Who</b>	<b>Quote (in Danish)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Comment</b>
23.58	PS (UFG)	Frie Grønne ønsker at føre en sikker geopolitik, som sikrer den danske stat dens sikkerhed. De kurdiske myndigheder, som har ansvaret for al-Roj- og al-Hollejrene, advarer via den udenrigsansvarlige i det semiautonome kurdiske styre om, at hvis situationen i lejrene forbliver, som den er, vil vi se en ny generation af terrorister mere farlig, end IS er nu; en generation, der er vokset op med terroristers ideologi og mentalitet om hævn,	Threat	A new generation of terrorists - the children growing up in the concentration camps
00.03	PS (EL)	vi gerne ville snakke om de her børn. Alligevel har vi snakket rigtig meget om de voksne, for det er jo sådan, at det hænger sammen,	Family	Children and parents are connected
00.03	PS (EL)	ifølge regeringen er der tale om fremmedkrigere, som udgør en kæmpe trussel mod Danmark. Det må jeg sige at jeg er fuldstændig enig i.	Fear	Foreign fighters, pose a threat
00.03	PS (EL)	Men ved at lade dem bliver der, hvor de er nu, så er der ingen sikkerhed for, at de bliver retsforfulgt. Der er ingen sikkerhed for, at de bliver straffet for deres ugerninger. Det vil der være, hvis vi tager dem hjem til Danmark, hvor de kan komme for en domstol.	Victim / offender	There must be justice = punishment
00.03	PS (EL)	Et flertal herinde i salen har vi jo hørt i dag har fundet på, at terrortruslen vil blive forøget, hvis man hjemtager de her enlige kvinder og deres børn. Det er der bare ikke nogen andre, der vurderer, altså ud over jer.	Threat	Political assessment - not an expert assessment. Women and children = terror, ie. Women and children = threat
00.03	PS (EL)	Som PET konkluderede, vil risikoen for terror være lavere, jo før vi får dem hjem. Men vi har åbenbart en regering, som i populismens hellige navn vil gøre Danmark til et farligere sted at bo.	Threat	Risk of terror (radicalization), political power struggle.
00.03	PS (EL)	De kvinder, vi taler om her, er mistænkt for at have begået kriminalitet. Vi har spurgt justitsministeren, og justitsministeren oplyser, at i anklagemyndigheden er der ingen sigtelser rejst mod de her kvinder, der er fanget i Syrien, og at anklagemyndigheden faktisk slet ikke kender navnene og identiteten på en eneste af dem. Det er da lidt mærkeligt, når nu vi synes de er så kriminelle.	Guilt / innocent-ce	Condemned in advance

AAU, GRS: Master Thesis, April 19<sup>th</sup> 2022:  
**Dangerous Mothers and their Potentially Dangerous Children**

<b>Time</b>	<b>Who</b>	<b>Quote (in Danish)</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Comment</b>
00.03	PS (EL)	Skulle vi ikke som land tage et ansvar for vores borgere og sørge for, at de bliver sigtet, sørge for, at de bliver retsfulgt, hvis de er kriminelle?	Danish	Responsibility for Danes, rule of law
00.03	PS (EL)	Vi har fastslået et par gange, synes jeg, i den her debat, at det her rammer uskyldige børn.	Guilt / innocent	Children are innocent!
00.03	PS (EL)	de står nu og skal holde danske statsborgere fanget, fordi vi som land ikke selv kan tage ansvar for dem.	Responsibility	Responsibility for Danish citizens
00.03	PS (EL)	mennesker, som har kæmpet for vores rettigheder og for vores demokrati.	Danish	Values - democracy
00.03	PS (EL)	Med regeringens linje over for lige netop den her gruppe danskere fraviger vi jo alt det, vi plejer at stå for, om retssikkerhed, om demokrati, om rettigheder. Vi accepterer, at danskere holdes indespærret under kummerlige forhold uden retsforfølgelse, uden dom, altså, de her mennesker, som I alle sammen så gerne vil have bliver straffet,	Danish	Danish values, Danish citizens,

## Appendix E: Structured thematic coding of the public debate

The public debate: 34 articles categorized within accounts, experts and opinion makers

Politiske 21/03/2021	Politiken 21/03/2021	Politiken 22/03/2021	Politiken 22/03/2021	Politiken 22/03/2021	Politiken 22/03/2021
Theme/Ari- cles	Bring børnene hjem	Juraprofessor: Sægsmål skaber politisk pres	SKET I UGEN: Hvor er vi bare kønnonenat gode	Ligesom alle andre børn	Fagbøsser: Børnene må hentes hjem fra Syrien
Mother and child	Mette Frederiksen har valgt at gøre unemnesklighed og arveysind til sin politik. Det kan ikke være vores og nationsens eneste og endelige svar på Danmarks børn i Syrien.	Borgdrygt jo har 'vendt Danmark ryggen'.	Igenfor at ligesom alle andre børn. (...) Man kan ikke se på dem, at de er anderledes, men det er de. kvinderne marke skikkelser. De ligner skygger med krop. Det er nemlig de redeste børn, børn, der ikke vil hjælpe. selv om de er syge, syge og farve.	Børnene i lejrene er ligesom alle andre børn. (...) Man kan ikke se på dem, at de er anderledes, men det er de. kvinderne marke skikkelser. De ligner skygger med krop. Igenfor at ligesom alle andre børn, børn, der ikke vil hjælpe. selv om de er syge, syge og farve.	Det er en rigtig argerlig holdning, re- gengingen har indtaget, og at de ikke sat- ter børnene tæt over alt andet. De gru- deinde, der er der, er ikke noget, man kan ikke se på dem, hvor der er lige håndfæstet den øger sektorformand i FOA Pia Nielsen. Som jeg har fortalt det, er børnene mellem 1 og 14 år. Derfor og at for børnene vigtigt, at deres mødre kommer med, og så må vi som vennerdansmand og rets- samfund tage de juridiske elementer, ud af de kommer hjem, siger Pia Nielsen.
Danish and not Danish (+ Denmark)	Mette Frederiksen har valgt at gøre unemnesklighed og arveysind til sin politik. Det kan ikke være vores og nationsens eneste og endelige svar på Danmarks børn i Syrien.	Børnene i Syrien handler ikke om partipolitik. De handler om os sig og mig. Med venner behandling af disse børn viser vi, hvem vi er, hvilket land vi er, og hvilke demokratiske værdier vi har. En mere inderligighed i efter unemnesklighed, stigende arter og aveng.	Igenfor jo har 'vendt Danmark ryggen'.	Igenfor at ligesom alle andre børn. (...) Man kan ikke se på dem, at de er anderledes, men det er de. kvinderne marke skikkelser. De ligner skygger med krop. Igenfor en pige fra gran, dansk sommerhave med øblertræer, saenvand og en hulebygget af vatteroppe over lave græs.	Der er især et skabeloner, der ofte kommer i brug. Den første forestillere en ung, hørnvaekset 'IS-brud', der er drevet af næ- romantiske drømme om krig. Den anden forestillere en fanatisk terror-リスト, næsten radikaliseret, der også er mandlige jihadister. (...) er der i de senere år sket en dækning fra den første figur til den anden, fra den naive til den ubryggle.
Peace and defence (terrorism)	De 19-danske børn <b>rider op</b> i fangelerne i Syrien, som selv hader de. Røde Korsfolk lyder tørver med at kalde <b>støtvede på</b> støtvede.	Røverne har et <b>etisk, dansk og rogne</b> med sig mand og de fire addata børn til Syrien i 2014 for at blive en del af Islamisk Stat.	Igenfor jo har 'vendt Danmark ryggen'.	Igenfor at ligesom alle andre børn. (...) Man kan ikke se på dem, at de er anderledes, men det er de. kvinderne marke skikkelser. De ligner skygger med krop. Det er altså overalt til sig selv, fordi Danmarks statminister betragter deres mænd børn af systemet eller i et af de mange bæltebårde, der hænger lejrene. Når deres mænd er gang imellem for lavt til et rang eller skriver hjem til deres familie, fortæller de om bortkomsten børn, der ikke er med, og <b>piger</b> fortæller om bortkomsten børn, der ikke er med.	Igenfor at ligesom alle andre børn. (...) Man kan ikke se på dem, at de er anderledes, men det er de. kvinderne marke skikkelser. De ligner skygger med krop. Igenfor en pige fra gran, dansk sommerhave med øblertræer, saenvand og en hulebygget af vatteroppe over lave græs.
Choice and no choice	Regeringen siger, at den vender børnene rygen, fordi deres forældre har vendt Danmark ryggen og <b>udgør en latent terrortro</b> . Det er muligt, men både PET og FOI har fastslået, at det er derbutikkerne, der har skabt de 19-danske børn i Syrien. Vi anser derfor, at de ikke er børn i Syrien.	Også børn af forældre, som har vendt deres fædreland ryggen og sluttet sig til Islamisk Stat.	Igenfor jo har 'vendt Danmark ryggen'.	Igenfor at ligesom alle andre børn. (...) Man kan ikke se på dem, at de er anderledes, men det er de. kvinderne marke skikkelser. De ligner skygger med krop. Det er et stedlig, der skal komme hjem fra Syrien. For at få dem til at komme hjem fra Syrien. For at få dem til at komme hjem fra Syrien.	Igenfor at ligesom alle andre børn. (...) Man kan ikke se på dem, at de er anderledes, men det er de. kvinderne marke skikkelser. De ligner skygger med krop. Det er et stedlig, der skal komme hjem fra Syrien. For at få dem til at komme hjem fra Syrien.
Past and future (?)	Mette Frederiksen har valgt at gøre unemnesklighed og arveysind til sin politik.	Børn skal aldrig betale prisen for forældrenes gerninger. Synd kan ikke nedværs.	Igenfor jo har 'vendt Danmark ryggen'.	Igenfor at ligesom alle andre børn. (...) Man kan ikke se på dem, at de er anderledes, men det er de. kvinderne marke skikkelser. De ligner skygger med krop. Det er et stedlig, der skal komme hjem fra Syrien. For at få dem til at komme hjem fra Syrien.	Igenfor at ligesom alle andre børn. (...) Man kan ikke se på dem, at de er anderledes, men det er de. kvinderne marke skikkelser. De ligner skygger med krop. Det er et stedlig, der skal komme hjem fra Syrien. For at få dem til at komme hjem fra Syrien.
Innocence and guilt	Mette Frederiksen har valgt at gøre unemnesklighed og arveysind til sin politik.	Børn skal aldrig betale prisen for forældrenes gerninger. Synd kan ikke nedværs.	Igenfor jo har 'vendt Danmark ryggen'.	Igenfor at ligesom alle andre børn. (...) Man kan ikke se på dem, at de er anderledes, men det er de. kvinderne marke skikkelser. De ligner skygger med krop. Det er et stedlig, der skal komme hjem fra Syrien. For at få dem til at komme hjem fra Syrien.	Igenfor at ligesom alle andre børn. (...) Man kan ikke se på dem, at de er anderledes, men det er de. kvinderne marke skikkelser. De ligner skygger med krop. Det er et stedlig, der skal komme hjem fra Syrien. For at få dem til at komme hjem fra Syrien.

AAU, GRS: Master Thesis, April 19th 2022:  
**Dangerous Mothers and their Potentially Dangerous Children**

Temme/Ars Thème/Année	Politiken 24/03/2021	Politiken 25/03/2021	Politiken 25/03/2021	Politiken 26/03/2021	Politiken 26/03/2021	Politiken 26/03/2021
Mother and child Mère et enfant	Børnebejdslag om mindre børge for terror end at blive kældt slap Omkring Syriens dømte aktivist kampe for at få dem henset hjem	Før modtade hun de drenges. De var unikvere hænge og lygtele tænkte mand. Den lille har sædt sig i grupper på 350 udeladskørsel, som terrorvergevæsen måttet gøre af et af smugle ud i lørene, der er dømt til 10 år i fængsel. Det er ikke den første gang, at i 2020 harde kronke planer om at smuge 75 børn ud af Hol-lejren med henblik på at give dem militær træning i Islamisk Stats træningslejre.	Utanet om danske kvinder i syriske lejre er <b>stærtede male</b> , skal de hjem sammen med deres børn.  DE DANSKE BØRN I Syria skal hjem nu, hvis de er hjemme. Et vores ansvar. Den bedstine handlere med måltidene henvender til Forsvaret Ethnologiske rådgivning Ekstra Bladet har advaret regeringen om, at hvis de ikke kan få dem ud af lejre ne til militært træning med henblik på at være terrorgræb i barnehus hjemme. -  Først og fremmest skal vi tage børnene hjem nu, <b>fordi</b> er vores børn. De hver- ken kan eller skal bringe endnu et eneste øjeblik af vores krigsgrøb i Mellemøsten og få hæmpopulationen præget på hjemme-fronten.	Hver eneste dag i lejrene øger risikoen for my terror I hvilket landet er børnene nu? Det er ikke et sikkerhedsproblem, men et etisk problem. Det er et etisk problem, at børnene er i en sikkerhedsproblem. Det er et etisk problem, at børnene er i et sikkerhedsproblem. Det er et etisk problem, at børnene er i et sikkerhedsproblem.	Risikoen ved at lade danske børn ut- og enker til jihadister sidde fast i lejrene i Syria og frak er langt større end ved at hente disse kvinder og deres børn hjem over et effektivt måde at forhindre krigere med høj risiko at blive konverteret til jihadister, er at bringe dem hjem, lyder det fra den kendte franske terrorestropspe Jean Charles Brisard.	Men anden - og mange - har funget som aktive medlemmer af Islamisk Stat. De hader vesten, de medfanger deres børn til samme sted, og også af grund at det vigtigste i dem hjem, om nogen digt stillte dem for retten og eventuelt anbringe dem i lejre under vigtige vurder hos familier efter i pløjehusene.
Danish and non Danish (Denmark) (Danemark)	Vi kan- der regeringens talepunkter i syvne: Modellen har vendt Danmark ryggen, de er nogle ferrandere, de udgør en sikker- bedræsler, vi føler med børnene, men xy. Vi har fået det. FEJ de efterretninger oplyste re- geringen om, at Islamisk Stat har udset sig en gruppe på 350 udeladskørsel, som terrorvergevæsen måttet gøre af et af smugle ud i lørene, der er dømt til 10 år i fængsel. Det er ikke den første gang, at i 2020 harde kronke planer om at smuge 75 børn ud af Hol-lejren med henblik på at give dem militær træning i Islamisk Stats træningslejre.	Efter at diregene blev født, har staten administrative frægtende hende det danske statobligationspræg.	Organisationen arbejder på at få kvin- derne og drenge i syriske børnehuse.  Hun flere, også børnene konverteret til islam. Hun førte sig ikke re- spctfult og havde svært det at finde sin plads.	Hvor børn er klar til at være sam- men med deres farfædre, og de forfar- dre har krydt, at vi overholder dansk lov og ret.	Hendes det: på fire- ti lejlighed svart af posttræ- matisk stress.	Det er et etisk problem, at børnene er i en sikkerhedsproblem. Det er et etisk problem, at børnene er i et sikkerhedsproblem. Det er et etisk problem, at børnene er i et sikkerhedsproblem.
Terror and defence (terrorism) (Terrorisme)	Vi kan- der regeringens talepunkter i syvne: Modellen har vendt Danmark ryggen, de er nogle ferrandere, de udgør en sikker- bedræsler, vi føler med børnene, men xy. Vi har fået det. at den bedste af alle verdener skulle vi slægt ikke tage stilling til det her. Det er ikke et etisk problem, at børnene er i en sikkerhedsproblem. det betyder også at et kærligt, som det vil at begå med opsigte. Men nu ser vi her, hvor danske statsborgere, herunder også danske stater, råbende og vred over det, at deres børn er konverteret til islam og som vennerne varer og ønsker. Og det er ikke gørt andet end at gøre, når de begår kriminalitet i sudan- det.	Regeringen stikkes desuden danskerne blå i øjene for sandheden er; at selv om regeringen ikke aktiverer at hente mændene og deres børn hjem, så er ver- kighedene ikke desto mindre, at hvis medrene eller børnene ikke kommer hjem, så er der et etisk problem, at deres græsсе eller bare børn der er europæisk jord, så kan vi ikke gøre andet end at tage imod dem. Og det ved regeringen udmarket godt.	Et tilfælde af børn, der er født i Danmark og ignoreret en - endog stor - fremmed træl mod danske interesser, Det har der ingen red- det og sag. Men der er ingen red- det til påkød ind. Regeringens hæder- - eller mangl af hæder - af de danske børn i al-Hol-lejren bidrager til at skabe et modstand mod Danmarks sikkerhedspræg og børnene spiller en vigtig rolle.	Et tilfælde af børn, der er født i Danmark og ignoreret en - endog stor - fremmed træl mod danske interesser, Det har der ingen red- det og sag. Men der er ingen red- det til påkød ind. Regeringens hæder- - eller mangl af hæder - af de danske børn i al-Hol-lejren bidrager til at skabe et modstand mod Danmarks sikkerhedspræg og børnene spiller en vigtig rolle.	Børnenes skabne er og: et produkt af artificiel folkeslægt dansk og vægtig krigsopgave i Mellemøsten, hvis hæderhæder er nu tæver af den pris- de kærlige kurdiske befolkning.	Børnenes skabne er og: et produkt af artificiel folkeslægt dansk og vægtig krigsopgave i Mellemøsten, hvis hæderhæder er nu tæver af den pris- de kærlige kurdiske befolkning.
Choice and no choice Choix et pas de choix	I 2014 tog han børnene da- værende danske mand til Syrien for at væ- re med til at opbygge et ny samfund under Islamisk Stat.  Natasha Rée Mikkelson kom i kontakt med med fordel for aldeles, som var fortvilede over den veyt børnene var taget.	såg nogen af dem, at »vi vil gerne hjem og stilles for en domstol, vi vil gerne indrette, at vi begik en fejl; vi vil gerne dømmes; vi vil gerne tage ansvar for vores handlinger.«	Det skal ikke være rel- til dis- kussion, at det var forbundne selv at tage et børn til Syrien, og ikke at af- tænde et børn. Men samtidig står det klart, at de børnene kan eller skal blive børneproblemet. At vi også har et ansvar for si- tuationen.	Der skal tages humanitære hensyn, men ikke er den sikkerhedspræg risiko ved at lade dem blive stor.	Men andre - og mange - har funget som aktive medlemmer af Islamisk Stat. De hader vesten, de medfanger deres børn til samme sted, og også af grund at det vigtigste i dem hjem, om nogen digt stillte dem for retten og eventuelt anbringe dem i lejre under vigtige vurder hos familier efter i pløjehusene.	
Past and future (Potentialit- et)	Den socialdemokratiske regering er villig til at tage den risiko og ignovere en - endog stor - fremmed træl mod danske interesser, FEJ de efterretninger oplyste re- geringen om, at væ- re med til at opbygge et ny samfund under Islamisk Stat.  P.h.d. i militant islamisme, Tore Hare- ming, udtales ligesåledes, at uden danske statsborgere og deres børn er direktet med til at drevne sikkerheds- studien mod danske.	Det generelle kon- sensus i forhold til børnene er, at ja, kan- de blive, og ikke af børnene, des stærke se trækken for radikaliser- ning. P.h.d. i militant islamisme, Tore Hare- ming, udtales ligesåledes, at uden danske statsborgere og deres børn er direktet med til at drevne sikkerheds- studien mod danske.	»Jeg vil bruge det billede, at jeg vil helle- re have en <b>tikkebombe</b> , som jeg kan se, hvordan bliver detonatorer, end har et stort antal <b>tikkebomber</b> , som jeg ikke ved, hvor er	Det skal ikke blive fusiner af børn, som synes hen og nu skal de blive børn af børn, som synes hen i lejrene og <b>realisere</b> at blive kidnæp- pet af IS og børnene sat til at blive børn.	Der skal tages humanitære hensyn, men ikke er den sikkerhedspræg risiko ved at lade dem blive stor.	
Innocence and guilt (Innocence and guilt)	Det er til enhver tid af forskellige, at modellen er <b>sydlig</b> , overvejelsen af PET, og at børnene kommer i <b>plænetil</b> , end at de risikerer at blive radikaliseret på kort og lang sigt.	Sådor man selv har en dreng på 9 år, er det vis- sigtlig, at han ikke kan få en <b>sydlig</b> te- til en fængsel- med en børn, der ikke kan se, om de har gørt sådor, siger, at børnene danner var <b>sydlig</b> og troede, at han kunne rejse til syrien igen. Han fortæller også, at hendes datter, kort til efter at hun var kommet tilbage, havde et stort ønske at have trods og til børn. Men hun kan ikke, for Islamisk Stat har taget hendes pøse, siger Natasha Rée Mikkelson.	Jeg har osint af, at nogen mænd har været så <b>salimindig</b> børnene og - live og har befundet sig i en situation, hvor de har set det som et alternativ. Det sy- nes jeg simpelthen er mægtig, meget tra- giske.	MEN VI GLEMMER, at børnene også er <b>sydlig</b> -e - ofre for en kavalkade af krige, som Danmark har spillet en rolle i, og som har overfaldet Mellemøsten og resten af verden. De børn, der er blevet børn af deres mænd, der er fængslet i al-Hol-lejren, er med til at blive børn af hæmpopulationen præget på hjemme-fronten.	Jørgen-Charles Brisard viser efter- fulgningen i Frankrig og landet i landet, der er blevet børn af sydlig børn. De børn, der er blevet børn af deres mænd, der er fængslet i al-Hol-lejren, er med til at blive børn af hæmpopulationen præget på hjemme-fronten.	
		Så var hun en del af en etisk- ings minister, som med et etisk- ings minister, der var et sydlig børn. Hørte skulle alle være lige, og de skulle skabe et godt samfund. Set med de triller, vi har på, må man dog ved, at det også kan være et etisk- ings minister, der er et sydlig børn. Det er jo et etisk- ings minister, der har for trods og til børn. Men hun kan ikke, for Islamisk Stat har taget hendes pøse, siger Natasha Rée Mikkelson.			Der er et etisk- ings minister, der er et sydlig børn. Det er jo et etisk- ings minister, der har for trods og til børn. Men hun kan ikke, for Islamisk Stat har taget hendes pøse, siger Natasha Rée Mikkelson.	

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Berliniske	Berliniske	Berliniske	Berliniske	Berliniske	Berliniske	Berliniske
Theme/Aktivitetskoder	Berlineks	Berlineks	Berlineks	Berlineks	Berlineks	Berlineks
De danske børn er synsynd i Syrien skal bøm	Fem borgerlige argumenter for at børnene i Syrien skal bøm	Moderes i syriske fangelejre kan dømmes efter dansk terrorlæg	Hvem er det egentlig, der har vendt ryggen til Danmark?	Her er de stående, udelundes gennemtrængte nationale grunde til at Syrien børnebøm	Vores sabbatolde børn bør bøm fra Syrien	Kurdisk udenrigsminister's hæder Mette Frederiksens plan ned at bøm
Mother and child	Vi har gøre alt, hvad vi kan for at forhindre, at børn bliver bragt med i en krig, de voksne er ansvaret for.	er det et godt principl, at det resulterende mæsseskab skal have retten og muligheden at sluke sig overfor andre børn og børninder vilde et farligt, om ikke væltende horde vilde et farligt, hvilket er ansvaret for.	Sagen ligger på mange måder de danske børn og med udrensede kvinder, der i Syrien har det børn med IS-udledere -	Det er ikke svært at forestille sig, at ingen af øernes ønsker at blive adskilt fra deres kære børn.	En bestemmelse udelundelovenes paragraf 10 tilgør nemlig sort på lyset for voldtagning af børn og børninder.	Glem altom at synspille de dantiske børn i Syrien, idet et drenge føler sig nødt. Så klokkeskældet fyder meddelingen fra udenrigsministeren inden for den sociale sektorforskriftsfortifikation.
Danish and British Denmark	Jeg forstår, når folk siger, at disse mennesker er forstyrrende, til fordel for et brukt kultur. Jeg forstår, at man ser dem som forstyrrende, der vægter�andt for Grundloven.	Skal man følge den stramme kurs på det syriske grundlovsbekræftelse, som staten ikke kan gøre? I den konkurrenz sag har de 19 børn, som er blevet bortført fra Danmark til Syrien, og de har ret til at rejse ind. Derudover har de ret til at få diplomatisk beskyttelse. Det har de, fordi de efter en række opfordringer til at rejse ud, ikke har fået det ud af forståelse med et dansk, reddedeharvet pas.	Det handler ikke om modstandsmed	Tra af de i alt seks mænd, der lågtidige har været med i kurdisk-kontrollerede fangelejre i det nordøstlige Syrien, har fået frigivet deres danske statsborgerstatus.	Socialdemokratiet har for alt i verden vindt ud til fremrude ståd, nu man lige havde fået gjort sig hårdt.	Men vi - koligheden er, at vi i også i øjet henvender os til de børn i Syrien, der har fået en livet med et kurdisk børn.
Threat and defense (terrorism)	Forsvarets Efterretningstjeneste varde, at børnene er i fare for at blive kidnappet af Islamisk Stat og trænt til at begå terror overfor hjemlandet.	Forsvarets Efterretningstjeneste varde, at børnene ikke kan udnytte deres ret til at blive uddannet til at være en terrorstøtte.	Forsvarets Efterretningstjeneste varde, at børnene er i fare for at blive kidnappet af Islamisk Stat og trænt til at begå terror overfor hjemlandet.	Sagen ligger på mange måder de danske børn og med udrensede kvinder, der i Syrien har det børn med IS-udledere -	Nogen af det varste ved politik er, når den drejer af Fryx. (...) Stjælender har en sag været drævet med af flyve over vægten for at få en pris-vindende regering, hvis familieansættelser, hvis de ønsker at være - vil forhindre at blive kidnappet af børn og børninder til at kunne få et jævne situation med danske børn, der sidder fænglet i kurdiske kontrollerede lejre i Syrien.	Det ubetyggelige dilemma står klart i en svensk morfar fortælling. Et 13-årig dreng, der hvasser sin sin morfar og gennemgår en skæbne, der ender med at komme tilbage. Vi har et akut behov for få dette løjt op og skift de mest radikale fra resten. Vi skal hjælpe dem med at få en bedre situation.
Choice or choice	Håndlinger har konsekvenser, og selvbetjening kan kvinderne og mændene leve med konsekvenserne af deres handlinger.	Jeg forstår, når folk siger, at disse mennesker har travælt Danmark til fordel for et brukt kultur. Jeg forstår, at man ser dem som forstyrrende, der vægter�andt for Grundloven.	Han har netop rygget til Danmarks bølletræde er, da han ikke har statuinen og den borgerlige opposition har sagt sådannen om de 19 danske børn og med udrensede kvinder, der befandt sig i fangelejre i det nordøstlige Syrien.	Naturligvis har kvinderne forkerte valg have konsekvenser.	Før hvis kvinderne tilfælles sikkerhed - som man nægter at give dem, kan de ikke opholde sig i Danmark.	Han har ikke til øvers for disse konsekvenser. Dette børn er en anden sag. De har ikke et bestemt øgenøglebabe. Og danske børn i landet Danmark tager sig af. Det er en national forpligtelse. Opgiver vi den, opgiver vi noget afgørende som nation.
Past and future (Potentialitet)	Håndlinger har konsekvenser, og selvbetjening kan kvinderne og mændene leve med konsekvenserne af deres handlinger.	Jeg forstår, når folk siger, at disse mennesker har travælt Danmark til fordel for et brukt kultur. Jeg forstår, at man ser dem som forstyrrende, der vægter�andt for Grundloven.	Da han netop rygget til Danmarks bølletræde er der garage, hvor statuinen og den borgerlige opposition har sagt sådannen om de 19 danske børn og med udrensede kvinder, der befandt sig i fangelejre i det nordøstlige Syrien.	Naturligvis har kvinderne forkerte valg have konsekvenser.	At bogt landforælder fortjener at blive straffet.	Han har ikke til øvers for disse konsekvenser. Dette børn er en anden sag. De har ikke et bestemt øgenøglebabe. Og danske børn i landet Danmark tager sig af. Det er en national forpligtelse. Opgiver vi den, opgiver vi noget afgørende som nation.
Innocence and guilt	Vi lader børnene i stikkisen og usætter dem for dybt kritisk analyse, på baggrund af deres forståelses handlinger, der manifesterer sig som en værs.	mod de forstørre, der har begået bølletræder eller andre alvorligheder, som selvofteleg til gavn for.	Tværtimod er et danske terrorlovgivning så «rummelige og vidglende, at kvinderne endnu problemer» vil kunne dommes for terrorisme.	Vi kender ikke sværre, men det gør regeringen og oppositionen altså.	slog et ikke imponeret over atfalen. <i>Utan høje store skøde kvinderne</i> , er, han der altså ret til en betryggende behandling i et ordentlig retssystem.	Det ubetyggelige dilemma står klart i en svensk morfar fortælling. Et 13-årig dreng, der hvasser sin sin morfar og gennemgår en skæbne, der ender med at komme tilbage. Vi har et akut behov for få dette løjt op og skift de mest radikale fra resten. Vi skal hjælpe dem med at få en bedre situation.
	Vi kan stadig stille forstørrelsen i børn, uden at det gør dem mere til at føle sig usikre og utrygge.	I de fleste tilfælde er det et farligt, hvilket kan gennemføres, og dermed kan børnene få et varigt forstørrelse.	Selvom de aldrig har kampet for Islamisk Stat, deltaget i træning, haft tilknytning til IS, har de dog alligevel trænet til at overvinne komme den tilhøire til god». At blive frataget muligheden for at forsørge sig en høghandlagt børnebøm er et vældigt bølletræde.	Naturligvis har kvinderne forkerte valg have konsekvenser. De skal undreges og stås der for belønning og bøm, men ikke for overveje, om kvinderne har forandret indstilling til islamismen og i dag ser anderledes på deres egen rolle. <i>Utan høje store skøde kvinderne</i> , er, at det kan gennemføres for terrorisme.	bosættede sig på børneboligen. <i>Utan høje store skøde kvinderne</i> , og nu har Patricia Galvez fast børn placeret i pleje-familier. De mindes ikke deres kære og godt. De ældste - og deres børn - har stadig sine børn i landet Danmark, der har ikke fået kontakt med dem. Drenge har påvist, at børnene børnebøm sagt til DR, at de ikke har fået kontakt med deres børn.	Vi har laget lov, der tillader os at skille børn fra deres mødre, medmindre madrene er døde. Vi kan ikke gøre det, og vi vil ikke gøre det, eiger han.

AAU, GRS: Master Thesis, April 19th 2022:  
Dangerous Mothers and their Potentially Dangerous Children

Beskrivelse	Beskrivelse	Beskrivelse	Beskrivelse
21/02/2022	01/04/2021	02/04/2021	03/04/2021
Theme/Ari cles opgave	Ny aften skal hjælpe Syrien-børn - men eksperter ser det som en umulig opgave	Berlingske moddar Nada og hendes børn i syrisk fangelejr: Så jeg er ikke dansker mere? Hvorfor? Er jeg endnu været?	Britisk terrorexpert: Pas på, hjemvendte børn fra IS-områder kan udgøre en terrortrussel
Mother and child	Fra særlig taskforce under regeringen skalude veje til at få de døde børn hjem fra Syrien uden deres mætre.	Den tidligere ledende kriminolog ved PET mener slet ikke, at man kan tale om, at små barn radikaliseres. Sådannen børn er nemlig også gode af at leve op til forventningerne hos deres forældre og i relationen i en meget nære konto.	Når man derimod rammer prægesæt - drenge, løftes blikket mod overvennen. Børn er nu i stand til at fastholde egne idéer og skabe egne projekter uden at være afhængigt af deres forældre, fortæller Kasper Fisker også trivsamt. Og børn i en sådan situation - tio - trods deres alder - nødvendigvis også - vil være radikaliseret.
	Men den politiske aften slår fast, at arbejdet skal fokusere på en »evaluering af de dømte børns uden deres forældre«. En højtagelse af børnene uden deres mæstre og intervjauer med børnene i et land, der ikke har nogen form for interessen i by - der vurderes ud fra en række faktorer. Berlingske moddar Nada og hendes børn - med rettigheder, der betyder, at man ikke skal debat - tager ud af henderne på deres madre, fastslæt direktør ved Institut for Men-skerettigheder, Louise Holck.	Jeg er ikke længere en børn, jeg er ikke længere en børn med deres forældre eller en jihadiste - så har man ikke længere en børn med deres forældre eller en jihadiste - der er 14-årig børn, der har levet i fangelejr, fortæller Kasper Fisker også trivsamt. Og børn i en sådan situation - tio - trods deres alder - nødvendigvis også - vil være radikaliseret.	Når man derimod rammer prægesæt - drenge, løftes blikket mod overvennen. Børn er nu i stand til at fastholde egne idéer og skabe egne projekter uden at være afhængigt af deres forældre, fortæller Kasper Fisker også trivsamt. Og børn i en sådan situation - tio - trods deres alder - nødvendigvis også - vil være radikaliseret.
	Men kan ikke læse en letning uden at tænde mere ind i det. Både mor og barn har selvfølgelig rettigheder, og de har rettigheder - derifor at være sammen med hinanden, siger han.	Et stort antal børn i Syrien er ikke længere børn med deres forældre eller en jihadiste - der er 14-årig børn, der har levet i fangelejr, fortæller Kasper Fisker også trivsamt. Og børn i en sådan situation - tio - trods deres alder - nødvendigvis også - vil være radikaliseret.	Et stort antal børn i Syrien er ikke længere børn med deres forældre eller en jihadiste - der er 14-årig børn, der har levet i fangelejr, fortæller Kasper Fisker også trivsamt. Og børn i en sådan situation - tio - trods deres alder - nødvendigvis også - vil være radikaliseret.
	Et nært humanitært øje er på, at både de omstændigheder, som har gennemskudt dem, har redet med deres mæstre, følge med. At skulle dem at genpræsenterne trængt videre efter opfattelsen, »siger gene-rerettighedsadvokat Anders Læderkær.	Jeg troede ikke på det. Jeg har endnu ikke mødt en eneste jurist, som mener, at det kan lade sig gøre at tage børnene hjem uden madrene,» siger han.	Jeg begår fejl i Danmark, men voksne på i England, jeg har kun et dansk pas, jeg har ingen andre pas, jeg kom til Syrien, da jeg var 16 år i 2014.
	Regeringen har pure afslag til at tage madrene hjem til Danmark sammen med børnene med henvisning til Danmarks sikkerhed.		Hendes øje er nægtet, siger hun. Planlegger, at der har levet i 14-årig børn, der har levet i fangelejr, fortæller Kasper Fisker også trivsamt. Og børn i en sådan situation - tio - trods deres alder - nødvendigvis også - vil være radikaliseret.
Danish and not Danish (+ Danmark)	Bjælpe børnene hjem til Danmark.	Hændes øje til og med er nogle af de 140 børn med danske rødder, som sidder strandet i de nordiske fangelejre i det nordlige Syrien.	Ligesom resten af ca. 8.000 kvinder, og børnene børn i Alt-Roj-lejren, er Nadia's vældige børn, fordi hun for at den sidste frivillige i Alt-Roj-truppen til Danmark og en tilsvarende selvstændig kvinde med sygeplejersketrædning på Frederiksberg for at rejse til Syrien og tilbage.
	Børnene er også ganske støtterbørn med rettigheder, der betyder, at man ikke skal debat - tager ud af henderne på deres madre, fastslæt direktør ved Institut for Men-skerettigheder, Louise Holck.	Nada ikke fra - taget sit danske støtterbørns - og den 1. februar 2020, hvor Folketinget vedkendte, at der ikke var tale om børn med mindre end 16 år, trods deres rettigheder, der betyder, at børn født til danske støtterbørn - støtter børn - som børn ikke automatiseret arver deres forældres danske støtterbørns.	I Alt-Roj-lejren sidder blandt andet en 13-drig dansk dreng, der ejeblikket vurderes at være i overhængende risiko for at blive tvangsfrittaget fra sin mor og søsterne - og dernæst bliver placeret i en kældeskælt under jorden i en fængsel i Syrien. Det er et alvorligt børneforsvaret.
	Gestalte sig børnene har tagt, at madrene har vendt Danmark ryggen ved at tilslutte sig kvaliteten i Syrien.	Større fortalte, hvad vi har, og sa for børnene min - det til mig. Jeg måtte ikke smække med anden mand. Ikke gøre noget med mit. Nu har min far, jeg gav dem ordet, at det er meg, jeg skal have kærlighed til. Og jeg har ikke længere en børn med deres forældre, fortæller Kasper Fisker også trivsamt. Og børn i en sådan situation - tio - trods deres alder - nødvendigvis også - vil være radikaliseret.	I Alt-Roj-lejren sidder blandt andet en 13-drig dansk dreng, der ejeblikket vurderes at være i overhængende risiko for at blive tvangsfrittaget fra sin mor og søsterne - og dernæst bliver placeret i en kældeskælt under jorden i en fængsel i Syrien. Det er et alvorligt børneforsvaret.
	Tre af dem er også danske støtterbørn. Det er lidt svært at se, at vi kan undskylle at de kommer til Danmark», siger hun.		Jeg begår fejl i Danmark, men voksne på i England, jeg har kun et dansk pas, jeg har ingen andre pas, jeg kom til Syrien, da jeg var 16 år i 2014.
Placet and detox (terrorism)	Regeringen har pure afslag til at tage madrene hjem til Danmark sammen med børnene med henvisning til Danmarks sikkerhed.	Sygeplejerske om, hvorende børn kan ikke udgøre en terrorist, ifølge et brev aktuelt i forbindelse med diskussionen om, hvorende regering skal højstille 19-danne børn fra to kurdsko-troede fangelejre i det nordlige Syrien. En britisk terror-undersøger vurderer my rapport, at hvis de 16-mårs børn kan »blive geramindes, kan de blive et farligt element i fremtidens børnefamilier«.	At børn ikke udgør en terrorist, ifølge en britisk sygeplejerske, der har arbejdet med børn fra børnefamilier i konflikten.
	Øg regeringen mener, at kviderne vil udgøre en sikkerhedsstrøll med det danske samfund, hvis de vender tilbage.	Det kendesrigt, at mange af disse børn er blevet talssærlige øre, der har brug for rehabilitering, hvis der ikke udgør en aktuel trussel, når de vender tilbage - og at de ikke er blevet traast spist til at gennemføre ter- oransægt, »afslører Jonathan Hall.	Der er blevet etableret et center i Alt-Roj-lejren i Syrien, der har arbejdet med børn fra børnefamilier i konflikten.
		er et stort antal af, at børnene var påkørt af ekstremistisk skole, og har undergået militær træning eller værnning eller i en del af dem har været under opmærksomhed, »siger Tore Hammig.	Det kendesrigt, at mange af disse børn er blevet talssærlige øre, der har brug for rehabilitering, hvis der ikke udgør en aktuel trussel, når de vender tilbage - og at de ikke er blevet traast spist til at gennemføre ter- oransægt, »afslører Jonathan Hall.
		Center for Terroranalyse (CTA) under PET fastslår i en rapport, der udkom i onsdag, at det er »væsentligt, at der udgør en alvorlig terrortrussel fra børn og personer udejst fra Danmark til konflikten«.	Den kendesrigt, at mange af disse børn er blevet talssærlige øre, der har brug for rehabilitering, hvis der ikke udgør en aktuel trussel, når de vender tilbage - og at de ikke er blevet traast spist til at gennemføre ter- oransægt, »afslører Jonathan Hall.
		Det skydes først og fremmest børnenes nuværende lave alder, (...) »at større børn, der indvandrer i Danmark fra konfliktozonen fra lejre, kan udgøre en terrortrussel på grund af indskrivning eller anden påvirkning i dokumentation eller anden påvirkning i konflikten«.	Center for Terroranalyse (CTA) under PET fastslår i en rapport, der udkom i onsdag, at der er »væsentligt, at der udgør en alvorlig terrortrussel fra børn og personer udejst fra Danmark til konflikten«. Det skydes først og fremmest børnenes nuværende lave alder, (...) »at større børn, der indvandrer i Danmark fra konfliktozonen fra lejre, kan udgøre en terrortrussel på grund af indskrivning eller anden påvirkning i dokumentation eller anden påvirkning i konflikten«.
Choice and no choice	Statminister Mette Frederiksen (S) har tidligere understreget, at regeringen ikke har an - svaret har, at børnene er endt i fangelejre i Syrien - »Det har kun et væsentligt humanitært ansigt, at madrene har vendt Danmark ryggen ved at tilslutte sig kvaliteten i Syrien.«	Ligesom resten af ca. 8.000 kvinder og børn, som har i Alt-Roj-lejren, er Nadia nemlig her, fordi hun for at den sidste frivillige i Alt-Roj-truppen til Syrien og tilbage.	Hendes øje til Syrien dækker over de mere end fem år, han tilbragte i syden med børn - omkring terrororganisation. Islamiske Stat med sit selvstændige kafat.
	Med andre ord skal et »frivilligt« med til at give dem børn fra f. - »slog menor, man skal være meget varmest med at gå ned til samtykkespotet overhove - det, for hvilken situation beider moren og i øje og der i det hele taget tale om et reelt valg.«	Det er dog væsentligt, at der udgør en alvorlig terrortrussel fra børn og personer udejst fra Danmark til konflikten.	borg tilbage fra syde til nord, som tvillingerne selv stillede har lagt på de sociale medier, medtagt videreskriftning.
	»De beider også under pres. Hvis myndighederne giver dem valget om, at de enten kan give et samtykke eller lade børnene blive i lej- ren og have det dærligt, så er det altid ikke valg, der hviler på frivilligheden,« siger hun.		Det viser mere, at det er dog mening - som den britiske undersøger gør det - at opstille en modstand mod børnene bør og tilsvarende børn og tilsvarende børn, der ikke har været i Syrien.
Past and nature (postrealisti- cy)			Borg tilbage fra syde til nord, og til tonal økonomi og havde, at de britiske sociale myndigheder faktisk på børnes tær for gud til udgøre en potentiel trussel. »Det kan børn, der har været i Syrien, også, siger Tore Hammig.
Innocence and guilt			

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Beskrivelse	Beskrivelse	Eksena bladet	Eksena bladet					
03/04/2021 Amerikanske medier kan kun få øje på racisme i Europa: "De spredt helt alrigt legge og fake news"	03/04/2021 Tidl. Dommer om børn i flygtningelejre: Man får mistanke om, at taskeforcen er ren politik uden tanker på jursen	29/03/2021 Tidligere FF-cheft: Kvinder er ikke hårdhøgte terrorister	29/03/2021 Sender hamse til børnernes statsminister i protest					
Mother and child	at alle eller de fleste børn formentlig lever under utrygge vilkår, der af humanitære grunde det nødvendigt at de dem ud af lysetne hærgt målgt - de enten syge eller traumatiserede og har akut behov for behandling.  Desuden vil det være forbundet med yderligere traumatisering, hvis de bliver skift fra deres hæder. Selvom manne børnene bliver holdt herhjemme og sandsynligvis vil blive brugt en tængspurtspræg, såsom at tilslippe sig og andre grunde forventning stigende var et bedste for børnene at komme hjem sammen med deres mødre.  Det vil nappne var et alvorligt at trode Barnekonvensions hovedregel og tage børnene hjem siden deres mødre, hvis der konfronter viser sig, at sikkerhedsstyrken klar overlever henogen til barnets tav, men der kreves endog meget sikre og tungtvejende beviser for, at dette er rigtigt. Det vil også være et alvorligt at trode den internationale retssikring, hvis der er udeladt at både medføre børnene bort fra deres mødre med henogen til, at der er politiske grunde ikke vil lympagne med dem, fordi de har vendt Danmarks ryggen, såsom grunde til ikke at overlevere hæren at tage i taget om adskillelse af børn og forældre, heller ikke efter et dansk retsdomstolk, der senest 15. maj i år skal undtagse mulighederne for at hente danske børn hjem fra Syria - men altid uden mødre, de skal blive derude. Målet er at få børn af danske forældre hjem hærgt målgt.	- Det er opmærksomhedspunkt, hvor man selv-følgelig vil sige, at det ikke er noget, hvor truslen er umulig, men det er ikke lav, men at der er noget virkligt, som man skal vægge i. Det er ikke sådant, som på et tag alvorligt. Men det er ikke børnene terrorister, hvorefter han	Børnenes statsminister, Mette Frederiksens modtager i et sjællækkert humør med en benkend om, at børn ikke er et produkt, men at de skal blive børn derfor skal hentes hjem fra de syriske lange hæge.  Budskabet med demonstranterne er tilfælles Lea Bohr at vise anstrengede med politiske grunde til at sende børnene tilbage til landet, både for at tale for Grænlandslande hænge.  Alle børn har ret til en tryg barndom, og børn skal simpelthen ikke stå til an-svar for deres forældres handlinger. De danske myndigheder skal ikke overlevere børn eller børn af danske nazister til ansvaret for deres forældres handlinger gennem en tængspurtspræg, såsom at en dag ikke stiller børn af rockere eller andre kriminelle til ansvaret. Børn er børn, også børn.					
Danish and not Danish (+ Denmark)	at amerikanske medier fejlagtigt fremstiller Europa som bunderstørsk, inden brydrene var blevet dømt, havde det amerikanske medie også nemlig udtagt deres oriale over racisme og had til etiske minoriteter.  När Caroline Fourest er udtrådt med amerikanske mediers forællinger om det racistiske Europa, er det som venner i Europa og ikke mindst Frankrigs bogstave. Ligeledes voksevært værkampe om religi-området, synsret, demokrat og ikke mindst satireret.  «Der var umuligt at fare en samtanke med britiske og amerikanske medier uden at blive beskyldt for islamofobie», siger hun.  Med begejstring isolerer-vært betegner Vidal en angivelig tendens til at samfund- og religionsforekere på franske universiteter i højere grad beskyldt; sig selv med at desse borgeres morsomme dets formelle diskrimination af muslimer end med at undersøge problemet med synsretten i de muslinske samfund.  +Vi så en massiv udskrivning fra forskere og akademikere, der beskyldtes den række. I de sidste 20 år er en højere journalist eller akademiker, der har arbejdet med de problemløsninger, blevet udskrevet eller kaldt islamofob af akademikere, der beskyldes eksisterende.  +De nye generationer er meget sensitivt og meget identificerer. De tror på, at respekt for identitet vejer tungere end ydmyghed. Og de fortæller om deres generellementale med moskéer og synsret. Det ville ikke være se forstået på at argumentere med en person på grund af den, han er, og at argue med en person idet eller dogmer,» siger Caroline Fourest. «For dem er samfundsdiskriminen også en del af racisme.»	Om holdningerne først vil, at kvinderne ikke skal have lov til at komme tilbage, fordi de selv har valgt at vente Danmarks ryggen ved at tage til Syrien og enten gift sig med en IS-mand eller tilslutte sig Islamisk Stat (IS).  Om holdningerne først vil, at deres hæder er et slags organisation, der kamper mod, hvad der er tilfældet for Vesten og tillige anvender helt unormalisering og middelalderlig misund, oplyser vi det som tilskynder over for Danmark at tilhøre sig en sådan organisation.  Ide er danske statbor- gerne eller har tilknytning til Danmark, har de alligevel valgt at trække sig den beskytel- se, se, som Danmark efter folketuren har pligt til at yde sine statsborgere, til at redestille en øjne støttespørge for disse grøve forskyldigheder.  Derfor har alle lande tilsluttet sig principippet om uniformer jurisdicition, hvilket på almindeligt betegnelse betyder, at deres borgere skal overholde lovene i deres respektive lande, men ikke i deres hjemland, herunder terror, krigsforsyndighed osv., (...) ikke når et land, hvem de begik et, eller hvor de begik.  Hvoraf de 10 af danske statsborgere, mens de sidste 9 muligvis har krav på opnåelse af dansk statsborgerstskab - a m givet af, om der kan skebde dokumentation for, at de er født i andre lande end Danmark.  Selvfølgelig at lade børnene være børn, men med henogen til, at der er politiske grunde ikke til at overlevere dem, fordi de har vendt Danmarks ryggen, sådanne grunde er ikke at overlevere dem, men ikke hænge om i tage i sag om adskillelse af børn og forældre, heller ikke efter et dansk retsdomstolk, der senest 15. maj i år skal undtagse mulighederne for at hente dem hjem fra Syria - men altid uden mødre, de skal blive derude. Disse tilskyndende andodstyrer mellem fordelagtig efterretningsagentenes vurdering (7), kan måske forklare, at der er politisk uenighed om.	Om holdningerne først vil, at kvinderne ikke skal have lov til at komme tilbage, fordi de selv har valgt at vente Danmarks ryggen ved at tage til Syrien og enten gift sig med en IS-mand eller tilslutte sig Islamisk Stat (IS).  de er danske statbor- gerne eller har tilknytning til Danmark, har de alligevel valgt at trække sig den beskytel- se, se, som Danmark efter folketuren har pligt til at yde sine statsborgere.  Når kvinderne tillige selv har valgt at støtte et milt under en væbnet konflikt, må de have været i stand til at gøre det, når deres mænd er farligt, og at de kunne risikere at få, hvis de sætter eller taget til fange, konstaterer han med eneste ordstørke langt og i den nærmeste situation, men de nu be neder sig.	Om holdningerne først vil, at kvinderne ikke skal have lov til at komme tilbage, fordi de selv har valgt at vente Danmarks ryggen ved at tage til Syrien og enten gift sig med en IS-mand eller tilslutte sig Islamisk Stat (IS).  er der nok et en sikkerhedsrisiko ved at få kvinderne hjem, men at det alligevel vil være svært at få dem til at acceptere, at de er børn af radikaliserede børn, hvilket betyder, at de er børn af dem, der har dræbt deres mædrer osv. (Menneskemasser kan ikke overlevere terror ud, at de vil muligvis for at finde ud af, hvad der har galt.) Det er dog også kommet frem, at Fersos Efterretningstjeneste (FE) tilskyndede børn, hvilket betyder, at de ikke længere ønsker at komme hjem, når de har vendt Danmarks ryggen, sådanne grunde er ikke at overlevere dem, men ikke hænge om i tage i sag om adskillelse af børn og forældre, heller ikke efter et dansk retsdomstolk, der senest 15. maj i år skal undtagse mulighederne for at hente dem hjem fra Syria - men altid uden mødre, de skal blive derude. Disse tilskyndende andodstyrer mellem fordelagtig efterretningsagentenes vurdering (7), kan måske forklare, at der er politisk uenighed om.	Spørgsmålet om, hvorefter børn i landet vil tilhøre en anden, er i ørkelet aktuel i forbindelse med diskussionen om, hvorvidt regeringen skal højstøtte 19 danske børn fra et kurdisk børnehospital i Tyrkiet for at få dem tilbage til Danmark. En brusk tilfælles sag, der viderer i my rapport, at børn fra IS-områder kan blive gengenget, og at de vender hjem - men et stort antal børn tilbage fra krigsområderne ved hjælp af PETs transversoverdragelse ikke udgør et trussel.  Igen, der er blevet betaltløsredet af et opbold i Islamisk Stat-områder i Syrien og Irak, kan udgøre en terrorist-trussel, når de vender hjem. Det viderer Jonathan Hall, adv. Justit. og særlig opmærksom.  Den kendte advokat, at trods alt disse børn er brudt af deres børnefamilier, er dog ikke en alægt ter- rofører ikke, at de ikke udgør en alægt ter- rofører da de vender tilbage - og at de ikke er blevet overleverte til deres børnefamilier, men at de har overlevet til andre børnefamilier ter- rofører,« anfører Jonathan Hall.  er videnstiligt, at børnene har været præget af ekstremistisk ideologi, har undergået militær træning eller i nogle tilfælde været involveret i terrorangreb under deres opbold i Syrien.  Center for Terroranalyse (CTA) under PET fastslår i en ny rapport, at deres børn er en stor trussel fra børn af personer udejjet fra Danmark til	Om holdningerne først vil, at kvinderne ikke skal have lov til at komme tilbage, fordi de selv har valgt at vente Danmarks ryggen ved at tage til Syrien og enten gift sig med en IS-mand eller tilslutte sig Islamisk Stat (IS).  er der nok et en sikkerhedsrisiko ved at få kvinderne hjem, men med henogen til, at deres hæder er et slags organisation, der kamper mod, hvad der er tilfældet for Vesten og tillige anvender helt unormalisering og middelalderlig misund, oplyser vi det som tilskynder over for Danmark at tilhøre sig en sådan organisation.  Ide er danske statbor- gerne eller har tilknytning til Danmark, har de alligevel valgt at trække sig den beskytel- se, se, som Danmark efter folketuren har pligt til at yde sine statsborgere.  Når kvinderne tillige selv har valgt at støtte et milt under en væbnet konflikt, må de have været i stand til at gøre det, når deres mænd er farligt, og at de kunne risikere at få, hvis de sætter eller taget til fange, konstaterer han med eneste ordstørke langt og i den nærmeste situation, men de nu be neder sig.	Om holdningerne først vil, at kvinderne ikke skal have lov til at komme tilbage, fordi de selv har valgt at vente Danmarks ryggen ved at tage til Syrien og enten gift sig med en IS-mand eller tilslutte sig Islamisk Stat (IS).  er der nok et en sikkerhedsrisiko ved at få kvinderne hjem, men med henogen til, at deres hæder er et slags organisation, der kamper mod, hvad der er tilfældet for Vesten og tillige anvender helt unormalisering og middelalderlig misund, oplyser vi det som tilskynder over for Danmark at tilhøre sig en sådan organisation.  Ide er danske statbor- gerne eller har tilknytning til Danmark, har de alligevel valgt at trække sig den beskytel- se, se, som Danmark efter folketuren har pligt til at yde sine statsborgere.	Se threat and defence - om risikovurderinger
Choice and no choice								
Past and future (postreality)								
Innocence and guilt								

## Appendix F: Translated quotations

Translated quotations referenced to in the text. The relevant chapter is highlighted.

Page	Danish original quote	English translation
<b>5. The Dilemma of Kinship</b>		
28	Jeg siger netop, at forældrene udgør en sikkerhedsstrussel, men det fungerer altså ikke sådan, at man kan tage børnene og så ikke forældrene med, og hvis man henter forældrene til Danmark nu, udgør de en akut sikkerhedstrussel.	What I'm saying is that it is the parents who pose a security threat, but we cannot just bring the children and then not the parents, it just doesn't work like that, and if we repatriate the parents to Denmark at this time, they pose a severe security threat.
29	Med andre ord skal de frivilligt gå med til at give deres børn fra sig. (...) Jeg [Kirsten Ketscher] mener, man skal være meget varsom med at gå ned ad samtykkesporet overhovedet, for hvilken situation befinder moren sig i, og er der i det hele taget tale om et reelt valg, (...)	In other words, they [the Danish women] should give up their children voluntarily. (...). In the first place, I [Kirsten Ketscher] think, we should be very careful to consider going down the consent-trail, because consider the situation of the mother, is it a real choice, (...)
29	Uanset om éns forældre er kriminelle, har børn brug for en eller anden form for kontakt med dem.	Regardless of criminal parents, children need some sort of contact.
<b>6. The Dangerous Mothers</b>		
31	(...) det, vi siger (...) er, at vi ikke ønsker de mennesker, som har vendt Danmark og alt det, vi står for, ryggen, som har tilsluttet sig terrorbevægelser, der begår uhyrligheder, og som i sig selv kan udgøre en kæmpe sikkerhedsrisiko. Vi vil ikke risikere, at de mennesker vender tilbage til Danmark og udgør en fare for os her. Det ønsker vi ikke. Fremmedkrigere er uønskede i Danmark. Det er det, vi siger.	(...) what we are saying is that we don't want people, who turned their back on Denmark and all of our values, people who decided to join a terrorist organization, committing atrocities, which in itself may pose a server security risk. We will not risk that these people return to Denmark and poses a danger to us here. We don't want that. Foreign fighters are unwanted in Denmark. That is what we are saying
32	(...) at i den bedste af alle verdener skulle vi slet ikke tage stilling til det her spørgsmål, for så var kvinderne døde på slagmarken i kampen for det helvedesregime af et kalifat, som de til at begynde med opsøgte.	(...) in the best of all worlds, we wouldn't even have to decide on the question, because then the women would be dead on the battlefield fighting for a hell regime of a caliphate, which they initially approached.
33	Naiv IS-brud eller fanatisk terrorist (...)	Naive IS-bride or [the] fanatical terrorist (...),
33	(...) næsten mere radikaliseret og nådesløs end de mandlige jihadister.	(...) almost more radicalized and merciless than the male jihadists.
33	Vi taler om et barbarisk terrorregime, som huggede hovederne af dem, de opfattede som vantro. De brændte folk levende, de kastede homoseksuelle ud fra hustage, de stenede kvinder for påstået utroskab, og de utsatte fanger for de mest horribile torturmetoder, man kan forestille sig.	We are talking about a barbarian terror regime, which chopped off the heads of those they perceived as infidels. They burned people alive, they threw homosexuals out of rooftops, they stoned women for alleged infidelity, and they exposed prisoners to the most horrific methods of torture imaginable.

34	Vi [folketings partier] kan hurtigt blive enige om, at de valg, som børnenes forældre har truffet, er forfærdelige, de er uforståelige. Det valg om at tilslutte sig en islamisk døds-kult vil jeg aldrig stå her og undskynde eller bortforklare, aldrig, (...)	We [the parliament elected parties] may easily agree that the choices of the children's parents are horrifying. They are incomprehensible. I would never stand here and apologize or explain the choice to join an Islamic death cult, never, (...)
35	Jeg mener, jeg er en uskyldig, menneskelig mor. Jeg nævner menneskelig, for jeg skal behandles som et menneske med rettigheder.	I consider myself as an innocent, human mother. I mention human, because I should be treated as a human being with rights.
35	I 2013 drog en af Danmarks hjemmedyrkede IS-terrorister, nemlig Jacob El-Ali, til Syrien, iførte sig Islamisk Stats uniform og poserede ved siden af blødende, hovedløse lig og afhuggede hoveder.	In 2013, one of Denmark's home-grown IS terrorists, Jacob El-Ali, went to Syria, donned an Islamic State uniform and posed next to bleeding, headless corpses and severed heads.
36	De i gåseøjne danske Islamisk Stat-terrorister har vendt Danmark ryggen; de tog af sted for at kæmpe for et islamisk kalifat, de tilsluttede sig en af de mest brutale organisationer, som verden nogensinde har kendt til. Islamisk Stat har dræbt, tortureret og voldtaget, og de har solgt kvinder og børn som sexslaver. Jeg har ikke ord for, hvor forfærdelig en organisation det er. Og de vidste, hvad de gik ind til, da de rejste ind i Syrien og tilsluttede sig organisationen. Alt andet er dårlige undskyldninger. De forlod Velfærdsdanmark til fordel for et islamisk kalifat. Igen: De er landsforrædere.	The in quotations Danish Islamic State-terrorists have turned their backs on Denmark; they left to fight for an Islamic caliphate, they joined one of the most brutal organizations the world has ever seen. Islamic State has killed, tortured and raped, and they have sold women and children as sex slaves. I have no words for how horrifying an organization this is. And they [the Danish citizens in Syria] knew what they were getting into when they travelled to Syria and joined the organization. Anything else is bad excuses. They left Welfare Denmark in favour of an Islamic caliphate. Again: They are traitors to the Nation.
37	(...) har vendt Danmark ryggen for altid	(...) have turned their backs on Denmark forever
37	(...) da IS er en terrororganisation, der kæmper mod alt, hvad vi står for i Vesten og tillige anvender helt umenneskelige og middelalderlige midler, oplever vi det som illoyalt over for Danmark at tilslutte sig en sådan organisation.	(...) as IS is a terrorist organization that fights against everything we stand for in the West and furthermore makes use of completely inhuman and medieval means, we experience it as disloyal towards Denmark to join such an organization.
37	Midt i det hele er vi nødt til at stramme gevældigt op i forhold til Islams fremmarch i Danmark, som jo medfører, at der ud fra tilsyneladende fredsommelige kredse pludselig springer en surrealistisk terrorist frem med en automatriffel i den ene hånd og Koranen i den anden.	In the centre of it all, we have to become much more strict in relation to the advance of Islam in Denmark, which courses that out of seemingly peaceful circles a surrealist terrorist suddenly jumps out with a machine gun in one hand and the Koran in the other.
38	Danske børn er et dansk ansvar (...)	Danish children are Danish responsibility (...)
38	De snakkede om kun at tage de to etniske med. Ok, tak, Danmark. Så jeg er ikke dansker mere? Hvorfor? Er jeg mindre værd? Jeg blev rigtig, rigtig ked af det. Jeg blev virkelig skuffet og græd.	They talked about repatriating only the two ethnic [Danes]. Ok, thank you, Denmark. So I'm not Danish anymore? Why? Am I worthless? I got really, really upset. I was really disappointed and I cried.

39	De mennesker, som har tilsluttet sig Islamisk Stat, har vendt Danmark ryggen for altid, og de har intet at gøre hertilands, og uanset om de og deres børn tilfældigvis har et dansk pas, betragter vi dem ikke længere som danskere.	The people who have joined the Islamic State have turned their backs on Denmark forever, and they have nothing to do in this country, and that is regardless of whether they and their children happen to have a Danish passport, we no longer consider them as Danes.
39	Vi ønsker ikke at hjælpe fremmedkrigere, og vi vil heller ikke lade fremmedkrigere bruge deres børn som løftestang til, at de selv kan rejse til Danmark – det land, de har forrådt.	We do not want to help foreign fighters, nor do we want to let foreign fighters use their children as lever so that they can travel to Denmark themselves – the country they have betrayed.
40	For det er jo børnemishandling, der foregår, når man laver den slags hjernevask; det skal man tage i betragtning. Det er faktisk en god og en rigtig forklaring på, hvorfor man skal bortadoptere dem, altså fordi de bliver mishandlet af deres forældre.	Cause, after all, when you do that sort of brainwashing, what is happening is child abuse; we must take this into an account. There is actually a good and rightly explanation for why we should let them be adopted, which is because their parents are abusing them.
41	Hvis de er taget til Syrien for at tilslutte sig Islamisk Stat, altså kalifatet, og med de konsekvenser, der ligger i det, og har taget deres børn med, ja, så mener jeg [Knud Foldschack], at de har bevist, at de er dårlige mødre.	If they travelled to Syria to join the Islamic State, the caliphate, with the consequences implied, and brought their children, then yes, I [Knud Foldschack] think that they have proved to be bad mothers.
41	Vi bliver sat for en dommer, fordi vi har været i Islamisk Stat, ikke fordi jeg er en dårlig mor.	We are put on trial because we have been to the Islamic State, not because I am a bad mother.

## 7. The Innocent Children

44	Min nevø (...), som er den ældste af børnene (den 13-årige dreng, red.), er i panik. Han fortæller os, at han gemmer sig og græder hysterisk, hver gang han hører en bil udenfor deres telt. Hans kammerat blev bortført fra sin mor og søskende for et år siden, og man har intet hørt til ham siden, fortæller han. Hans nattesøvn er forstyrret med mareridt. Han flyver op af sin søvn og råber og skriger med hjertebanken og rysten. Det tager hans mor lang tid at putte ham igen, og ofte ligger han i fosterstilling i sin mors skød, før han falder i søvn.	My nephew (...), who is the oldest of the children (the 13-year-old boy, ed.), is panicking. He tells us that he hides and cries hysterically every time he hears a car outside their tent. He tells that his friend was abducted from his mother and siblings a year ago, and no one has heard from him since. His nights are disturbed by nightmares. He flies up from his sleep and shouts and screams with palpitations and trembling. It takes his mother a long time to calm him down and put him to bed again, often he lies in foetal position on his mother's lap, before falling asleep.
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44	De [børnenes forældre] gav deres børn den værst tænkelige start på livet. Det gør ondt at tænke på, men det var deres [børnenes forældres] valg og deres ansvar.	They [the children's parents] gave their children the worst possible start on life. It hurts to think about, but it was their [the children's parents'] choice and their responsibility.
45	Børn skal vokse op med leg, ikke i en lejr. Jeg får ondt i maven, når jeg hører om et dansk barn, kun 4 år gammel, som lider i en livsfarlig lejr. (...) Radikale Venstre har ikke ro i maven, før det barn kommer hjem til Danmark.	Children should grow up playing, not in a refugee camp. My stomach aches when I hear stories about a Danish child, only 4 years old, who suffers in a life-threatening refugee camp. (...) the stomach of the Social Liberal Party aches until that child comes home to Denmark.
45	Børn skal aldrig betale prisen for forældrenes gerninger. Synd kan ikke nedarves.	Children should never pay the price for their parents' deeds. Sin cannot be inherited.
45	Alle børn har ret til en tryg barndom, og børn skal simpelthen ikke stå til ansvar for deres forældres handlinger. De danske myndigheder stillede jo heller ikke tyske børn eller børn af danske nazister til ansvar for deres forældres handlinger efter Anden Verdenskrig, ligesom vi i dag ikke stiller børn af rockere eller andre kriminelle til ansvar. Børn er børn, siger hun [Lea Bohr, aktivist].	All children have the right to a safe childhood, and children simply should not be held accountable for the actions of their parents. The Danish authorities did not hold German children or children of Danish Nazis responsible for the actions of their parents after World War II, just as we do not hold children of rockers or other criminals accountable for their parents' crimes. Children are children, she [Lea Bohr, activist] says.
46	Børn er hverken radikaliserede eller terrorister, de er børn, (...)	Children are neither radicalized nor terrorists, they are children, (...)
47	Jeg har intet til overs for disse mennesker [danske statsborgere, der tilsluttede sig IS]. Deres børn er en anden sag. De har ikke selv bestemt egen skæbne. Og danske børn i nød skal Danmark tage sig af. Det er en national forpligtelse.	I have nothing left for these people [Danish citizens joining Islamic State]. Their children on the other hand, they have not had the chance to determine their own destiny. And Danish children in need must be taken care of by Denmark. It is a national obligation.
48	Børnene i Syrien handler ikke om partipolitik. De handler om os selv, dig og mig. Med vores behandling af disse børn viser vi, hvem vi er, hvilket land vi er, og hvilke demokratiske værdier vi er baseret på: medmenneskelighed eller umenneskelighed, tilgivelse eller arvesynd.	The children in Syria are not about party political affairs. They are about us, you and me. With our treatment of these children, we show who we are, what country we are, and what democratic values we are based on: compassion or inhumanity, forgiveness, or inherited sin.
48	Jeg forstår, når folk siger, at disse mennesker [mødrene], har fravalgt Danmark til fordel for et brutalt kalifat. Jeg forstår, at man ser dem [mødrene], som forrædere, der valgte sharia frem for Grundloven. (...) Men det er vigtigt at huske, at børnene ikke har fravalgt hverken Danmark eller Grundloven – vi skal huske vigtigheden af ikke at tilsidesætte deres rettigheder.	I understand when people say that these people [the mothers] have opted out Denmark in favour of a brutal caliphate. I understand that we perceive them [the mothers] as traitors who chose sharia over the Danish Constitution. (...) But it is important to remember that the children did not opt out neither Denmark nor the Danish Constitution - we must remember the importance of not violating their rights.

49	Siden jeg så børnene for snart to år siden, har jeg forsøgt at begribe, hvorfor lige præcis de børn har mistet retten til at blive behandlet som uskyldige. Hvordan de ikke er omfattet af den helt grundlæggende idé om, at små børn ikke kan gøre for det, der sker i deres familie.	Since I meet the children almost two years ago, I have been trying to understand why those children have lost the right to be treated as innocents. Why are they not included by the fundamental idea that children are not to be blamed for what is happening in their family.
50	Børn er hverken radikaliserede eller terrorister, de er børn, og de har brug for at lege, de har brug for at gå i skole, de kan ikke trives uden tryghed. (...) PET har jo ovenikøbet vurderet, at de her børn ikke udgør en fare, men jo længere tid, vi efterlader dem i helvedes forgård, jo større bliver risikoen for, at de bliver radikaliserede.	Children are neither radicalized nor terrorists, they are children and they need to play, they need to go to school, they cannot thrive without safety. (...) PET has even assessed that these children do not pose a danger, but over time, staying in the forefront of hell, the risk of radicalization are increasing.
52	Jo længere tid, de uskyldige børn sidder her [i de Syriske flytningelejre], desto mere vil de blive fyldt af hævnfølelse og desto større en fare vil de udgøre for os og jer.	The longer the innocent children are here [in the Syrian refugee camps], the more will they be filled by feelings of revenge and the greater a danger they will pose to us and to you.
52	Det fremgår ikke, hvor gamle disse børn er, men flere af dem er givetvis mere end 10 år gamle. (...) De store børn er ligesom deres forældre givetvis hjernevasket ind i den onde kult og vil dermed udgøre en fare for Danmark.	It is not clear how old these children are, but several of them are probably more than 10 years old. (...) The older children have certainly been brainwashed into the evil cult like their parents and would therefore pose a danger to Denmark.
53	(...) alle for så vidt kan udgøre en potential trussel. Det kan børn, der har været i Syrien, også.	(...) everybody may pose a potential threat. Children, who have been to Syria, may too.
53	På et tidspunkt vil børnene eller deres mødre fulde af hævntørst potentielt kunne true Danmark. Det er ikke noget, jeg finder på, vurderingen kommer fra PET. Den kan givetvist diskuteres, og andre kan og vil mene noget andet. Ikke desto mindre: Hvis du vil lade dem [de danske kvinder og børn] blive i de syriske lejre, accepterer du potentielt set udsigten til en større terrortrussel mod Danmark.	At some point, the children or their mothers thirsty for revenge could, potentially, threaten Denmark. It's not something I come up with, the assessment comes from the PET. It may certainly be discussed, and others can and will think otherwise. Nevertheless: If you want to leave them [the Danish women and children] in the Syrian camps, you are, potentially, accepting the prospect of a major terror threat against Denmark.
55	Jeg tør ikke tænke på, hvad den her lejr [Al-Hol] gør ved børn. Der er så mange af dem derinde, og de bliver opdraget med sharialove og indoktrinering, det [lejren] ender nærmest med at være en terrorist-skole.	I do not dare to think about what this camp [Al-Hol] does to children. There are so many of them in there, and they are brought up with sharia and indoctrination, it [the camp] almost ends up being a terrorist-school.
55	Vi kan sikre, at børnene ikke bliver indoktrineret og radikaliseret gennem deres forældre eller af andre mørke kræfter; men det kan vi kun, hvis vi tager dem til Danmark.	We can make sure that children are not indoctrinated and radicalized through their parents or by other dark forces; but we can only do so, if we bring them to Denmark.

<b>8. Framing the Frame</b>		
59	Selvfølgelig er det en politisk beslutning, om mennesker, der i mine øjne er landsforrædere (...) skal være i Danmark eller ej. Det skal de altså ikke.	Of course it is a political decision whether people, who in my view are traitors to the nation (...) should stay in Denmark or not. They shouldn't.
62	(...) men det gør regeringen og oppositionen åbenbart.	(...) the government and the political opposition seemingly do.
63	Han [Rasmus Stoklund (S), spokesperson from the Social Democrats] og regeringen er altså ikke sikre på, at kvinderne kan dømmes for noget, de tror, kvinderne har gjort. Så i stedet for at tage dem hjem og sætte dem for en dommer vælger Danmark at efterlade kvinderne og deres børn i en kurdisk fangelejr.	He [Rasmus Stoklund (S), spokesperson from the Social Democrats] and the government are not sure that the women can be convicted of something, they believe the women have done. So instead of bringing them home and let them face a trial Denmark chooses to abandon the women and their children in the Kurdish prison camps.
65	I efterretningskredse taler man om et højt eller meget højt trusselsniveau. Det svarer til rød eller mørkerød på den generelle trusselsskala, og måske svarer det til en firer eller femmer på den farlighedsskala, der anvendes på personer.	Internally within the profession of intelligence services, we speak about a high or very high level of threat. It corresponds to red or dark red on the general threat scale, and perhaps this equals a four or a five on the danger scale, which are applied to people.