Gendered security perspectives of the refugee "crisis" in the British and German Media: a securitization of gender?

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Abstract

Unpacking the common stereotypical descriptions of the "criminal male sub-Saharan African refugee" in contrast to the "helpless trafficked women" in the European media, this paper questions contemporary European perspectives on migration, with references to gender. The research is based on a critical exploration of the representation of male and female refugees in German and British media outlets. It links predominant gender regimes to the gendered presentation of refugees within the migration-security nexus in the media. Using Feminist Security Studies as a theoretical foundation, the paper explains the assignment of specific roles and behaviours to the genders. The paper shows that there are indeed discrepancies in the presentation of refugees according to their gender even though they are not as striking as one would expect. Variation between media in Germany and the UK is minor. The findings demonstrate that Europe-wide gender norms prevail over differences in security settings between the UK and Germany. Furthermore, the results intriguingly show the portrayal of male refugees in the roles of criminals or perpetrators and the connected prevalent European gender regime in public discourse which influences decision-making in EU border and migration politics. Unpacking gendered notions of male and female migrants is crucial to understand (competing) interests in migration governance. The results also highlight the explanatory potential of Feminist Security Studies for Refugee Studies.

Key Words: gender, refugee, security, media, Feminist Security Studies

<u>Introduction</u>

The European media landscape was filled with headlines such as "Refugee crisis: Majority of Europeans believe increased migration raises terror threat, survey says" (Yeung 2016: 1) or "police expects intensified security situation" (Welt 2016: 1) during the so called "refugee crisis" starting in 2015. Those are just two out of numerous news headlines suggesting that the debate got more intense when talking about migrants and refugees in the European Union (EU) because of real and perceived threats. These headlines also highlight a gendered approach to a securitization phenomenon long associated with migration debates.

In fact, two images are regularly conjured by popular discourse on refugees and security: on the one hand, male refugees coming to Europe are portrayed as threat (cf. Kessler 2015: 1), while - on the other hand - public and political discourse and media presentation frequently highlight the vulnerability of female refugees towards abuse and violence (cf. McKean 2016: 1). This leads to the assumption that there is an underlying gender dimension in the discourse about refugees within the migration-security nexus. In this context, the gender dimension consists of assumptions and presentation of the two genders and a certain way of debate linked to the intersection of gender and refugees [2]. The migration-security nexus is defined by Pinyol-Jiménez (2012) as "a process whereby urgent 'security issues' or 'threats' are identified or 'constructed' in order to mobilize opinion and construct legitimacy and authority for the means of dealing with that 'threat'. […] International migration turns into a 'risk' or a 'threat' as it affects international border-crossing. But it also becomes a matter of security from a domestic point of view, as migrants are often seen as 'rivals' in the labour market or in access to social services (p. 54)".

Theoretically, academics have long discussed gender, refugees and security discourses. Research findings by Hansen (2000) and Sideris (2003) suggest that it might be fruitful to engage in a debate including refugees, security, and gender with a regional focus on the EU. The contribution of this working paper is to explore the theoretical approach of Feminist Security Studies (FSS) in the context of migration and refugees. Despite the existence of studies on the interconnection between gender, security and migration (e.g. Newman & van Selm 2003; Sideris 2003; Hansen 2000), the link between Feminist Security Studies and Migration Studies has not been established effectively so far. This paper intends to fill this research gap at the intersection of security, refugees, and gender.

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[2] For feasibility reasons, other groups that do not conform or identify with these two categories are not included in the analysis. This paper still acknowledges the existence of a spectrum of genders and opposes the idea of a binary distinction between men and women.

The paper considers a number of research questions, including: *Are male and female refugees presented differently in the migration-security nexus in the German and British media according to their gender?* The second question roots in findings by Diez & Squire (2008) on citizenship and explores the existence of a shared set of (gender) norms within the European area. Diez and Squire find that there is an on-going influence of each citizenship tradition with reference to political debates surrounding migration since 9/11. The two authors argue that divergent processes of 'securitizing' migration reflect the respective citizenship traditions of Germany and the UK (Diez & Squire 2008: 565). Societal and political approaches to citizenship also influence gender regimes which "refer […] to a set of norms, values, policies, principles and laws that inform and influence gender relations […] (Connell 1987; Liebert 2003; O'Connor, Orloff, and Shaver 1999; Sainsbury 1999). A gender regime is constructed and supported by a wide range of policy issues and influenced by various structures and agents, each of whom is in turn influenced by its own historical context and path." (MacRae 2006: 524-525). Hence, the second research question is: *Does a predominant gender regime in the UK and Germany lead to a similar presentation of refugees within the migration-security nexus in the media?* If the variance in differences remain small, it can be assumed that a common set of gender norms prevail over here established securitized traditions of politics. This study aims to use its findings to elaborate on if FSS have the potential to explain discrepancies in the presentation of the genders not only in the core fields for which it was initially created but also within an extended security frame – the refugee crisis.

The results of this study show that there are indeed differences in the presentation of refugees according to their gender. Nonetheless, the discrepancies are not as striking as expected. Visibility and active inclusion is mostly reserved to male refugees. Female refugees often have the role of a dependant or a bereaved without being in the focus of the story. Whilst media depict male and female refugees mostly as FSS have proposed, male refugees alone are often portrayed in a position of vulnerability and victimhood which somehow contradicts the previously established assumptions. I follow Diez & Squire (2008) in recognizing a shared set of gender norms between the UK and Germany that leads to a comparable representation of gendered refugees in the media within the migration-security nexus. Assumptions about assignments of specific roles and behaviours to the genders made by FSS should be used with caution in non-traditional fields of security research. The agility and constant development of gender as a dimension should always be considered.

After a brief introduction into the topic, I elaborate on the academic debate with regards to FSS. I include main elements of FSS such as gendered roles in conflict, assignment of passiveness and activeness to one gender in a security context as well as differences in visibility of the genders in securitized situations. Migration Studies and gender are an additional component of the theoretical foundation. I establish several assumptions based on the combination of security, gender and

migration to answer the research questions. These specifically engage with the interaction and difference between the genders and the roles, behaviours and attributes assigned to female and male individuals within the migration-security nexus. Subsequently, I present the methodology and its key components, followed by the main analysis. The main analysis includes two cases – Germany and the UK – and uses an Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA). Afterwards, I present a discussion of alternative explanations in the academic discourse and for the acquired results of the analysis and concluding remarks.

Research Agenda – connecting Security and Migration with Feminist Security Studies

What are the connections between security, gender and refugees? What theoretical approaches exist to further explore this topic? And how can migration and feminist approaches to security be coherently connected on a theoretical level? In the following, I will discuss the securitization debate and how it can be connected to migration, migration studies (with a gender component) and feminist security studies which are able to combine security, migration and gender respectively and allow to develop two research questions at the end of this section.

Security and Migration

Security not only is subject to academic debate, but it is also an important topic in the political realm. Whoever is in the position to define security and which topics should be put on the security agenda has a very powerful tool on their hands (Williams 2010: 2). While security in academia was mostly reserved to nation states and interactions between them, things changed with the publication of Buzan's work "People, States and Fear" (1983). New categories which are summed up under the terminology of "broadening and deepening" were introduced into the field of study. Amongst the traditional military security, there were now topics such as environmental security, political security, economic security and societal security (Williams 2010: 4). I follow Buzan's (1998) definition of security as a social construct which is highly impacted by social norms and identities and is brought into being through social interaction within a specific social and/or historical context or environment. Securitization describes the process by which a certain topic is moved from outside the security realm to the inside. For a topic to become securitized, it must be formulated as an existential threat by an actor and perceived as such by a relevant audience (Buzan et al. 1998: 6).

In recent years, refugees and migration are amongst the topics that have been moved into the security realm, also as a consequence of the "broadening and deepening" developments within Security Studies. When engaging in the discussion of securitization of free movement and migration, it should be considered that free movement can become securitized in different ways (Huysmans & Buonfino 2008: 769–770). In the most recent discussions surrounding the securitization of migration, scholars

make a differentiation between the *politics of exception* and the *politics of unease* that are associated with the securitizing processes (Huysmans & Buonfino 2008: 769–770). Politics of exception focuses "on the state of threat for the life of the nation, the legitimacy of exceptional policies justified by this threat and the ensuing trade-off between security and liberty that it produces" whilst politics of unease do not "focus on existential threats to the territorial and functional integrity of the state but connect a variety of different policy areas such as welfare provisions, counter-terrorism and illegal immigration through the discussion of policing technologies" (Huysmans & Buonfino 2008: 769–770).

Research on the securitization of migration has been conducted for the two countries scrutinized in this study, UK and Germany (cf. Diez & Squire 2008)[3]. In a study relying on a discursive analysis, Diez and Squire investigate how the traditions of citizenship differ between the two countries (Diez & Squire 2008: 565–566). Germany is linked mostly to the exceptionalist approach while the UK rather mirrors politics of unease. According to Diez and Squire (2008), this representation is coherent with the traditions of citizenship. Thus, in the case of Germany, migration was moved to the security agenda as a result of 9/11 on the political dimension. The economic downfall of the EU added concerns in terms of economic and societal security. Still, the direct link between terrorism and migration and refugees is the driving force in the German context and therefore an *exceptionalist* situation exist (Diez & Squire 2008: 575). In the British case, economic and socio-cultural factors, such as increasing labour market and welfare competition allegedly connected to migration, are linked much more closely to refugees and migration than in Germany. There exist debates on terrorism, but economic and societal issues prevail over terrorism as concerns connected to refugees. Thus, the securitization process is rather classified as *politics of unease* (cf. Diez & Squire 2008: 575–576; Messina 2016). In this context, a common set of (gender) norms is assumed that influences the presentation of refugees in a European context.

Migration and Gender

The other main theoretical strand for this research are Migration Studies. Within this field, it has long been assumed that men primarily migrate for economic, social or political reasons and women move to new destinations mostly as a result of family reunions (cf. Pettman 2010 or Yinger 2006). This perception has changed over the past years. The numbers of women on the move increases and some migration flows are even dominated by female migrants (Pettman 2010: 251). Some even talk about the "feminization of migration" (cf. Yinger 2006). A more nuanced research of (international) migration patterns in a longitudinal setting showed that the net increase of female migration was minor because female migrants were part of migration movements for the past four centuries. That means that

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[3] The case selection is explained in more detail in the following section.

women always migrated, also in substantial numbers. Especially during the 20th century, the development was towards a gender-balance in migration. Still, the causes and consequences of female migration – over time, cultures and nation-states - have long been overlooked. This is where research on the feminization of migration has its starting point (Donato & Gabaccia 2015: 1-2)

Still, when integrating gender prominently in Migration Studies, it should not solely be the female dimension but the recognition of specific features, practices and processes for both genders[4], that is taken into account (Pettman 2010: 251-252). A crucial aspect is that research on gender focuses not only on the mere numbers in migration. Other factors, such as re-negotiation of gender roles, stereotypes and (family) structures, are explored (Pettman 2010: 251; Shepherd 2010: 5-6). In addition, the visibility of movement of women and men differs markedly. Also, specific roles are assigned to women and men respectively within this context (Sjoberg & Gentry 2011: 174).

The Way forward - Bridging the analytical gap between Gender, Migration and Flight

Acknowledging the need to consider the gendered constructs in migration with debates of securitization and to work on the two dimensions (gender and security) with one coherent approach, I locate the current research in the wider field of Security Studies (cf. Williams 2010). Within this field, Constructivist approaches to security are specifically interesting for this study because they enable to answer the two research questions of this project. They especially concentrate on norms in international security and how those norms change depending on actors, social environment, historical development or level of analysis due to their intersubjective nature (Farrell 2002: 49–50). In this environment, identity becomes essential. The identity of political and social actors form and influence social structures and interactions (Farrell 2002: 50–51). Feminist Security Studies (FSS) draws on the lines of thinking outlined by Constructivist approaches. This is why I chose to focus on FSS for this paper. Still, FSS has a slightly different focus from Constructivism. It also constitutes of a branch of Security Studies and invests in topics such as the specific roles (and role assignments) of women and men in war or gender and gender relations in the security context. Within FSS, there are several strands of thought about what gender is and how it can be defined. Multiple categorizations exist in how to classify these schools of thoughts. This study follows the Constructivist definition[5] of gender made by FSS scholar Shepherd (2013). The author distinguishes generally between three categories:

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[4] One example is restricted labour migration networks for jobs such as nursing or domestic work that are often only open for one gender.
[5] The naming of the categories sometimes is confusing. The definition of gender in this paper follows Constructivist thinking within FSS which is different from the broader theoretical approach of Constructivism within Security Studies.

Essentialist, Constructivist and Post-structuralist theories of gender (Shepherd 2013: 13–14)[6]. For most Feminist approaches to security, the Constructivist take of gender is the most adequate (see also Sjoberg & Gentry 2011 or Shepherd 2010). It makes a distinction between sex which is defined by the body and gender which is based on socially constructed behaviour. Hence, following this line of thought, the connotations of feminine and masculine play an important role because a person born in a certain sex does not necessarily behave the way that is commonly assigned to their respective gender (Shepherd 2013: 15). One problem is that gender conceptualization in newspaper articles might not reflectively distinguish between body and behaviour – especially not in the context of refugees and security. Also, the assignment of stereotypical behaviour on bodies – for instances describing male refugees as aggressive just because their biological sex is male – is common. Hence, deconstructing the inherent gender norms in newspaper articles by using a Constructivist approach is very important and has great explanatory potential.

As we have seen above, FSS offers unique way of linking gender, security and flight. Hence, it allows to develop two research questions and several inherent assumptions for FSS that help guiding the analysis. FSS presents a specific approach to the world of security and gender. FSS assumes that gender roles and stereotypes are reproduced within a security context. Also, women and men are given specific roles within this context (Sjoberg & Gentry 2011: 174). The first research question is based on the assumption drawing from this, that the different genders are given specific roles within the migration-security nexus:

Are male and female refugees presented differently in the migration-security nexus in the German and British media according to their gender?

To uncover the degree in which the differences appear, certain aspects highlighted by FSS have to be explored further. One aspect attached to this is the assignment of passiveness and activeness according to gender. Women are often associated with a passive role when talking about topics such as war, threats or violence (Wibben 2011: 11–12). Active participation is often denied to them or belittled (Whitworth 2010: 108). On the other hand, men are often depicted as leading characters, as heads of families and as advocating for a certain cause. An inherent power disequilibrium is assumed herein. Men are in power and can impress their authority upon women (Shepherd 2013: 17–18). Therefore, they can actively shape social structures and processes that women have to accept (Shepherd 2013: 17–18). These assumptions about passiveness and activeness can be used in a

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[6] Essentialists assume that the body determines the behaviour. Post-structuralism collapse sex into gender. Therefore, the body (or sex) does not have any meaning.

supplementary form to the visibility aspect concerning the genders in migration studies (Pettman 2010: 254–255).

Aside from the question of activeness, it is apparent that the two genders are linked to certain roles. In this regard, scholars such as Shepherd (2013) or Sjoberg & Gentry (2011) have scrutinized the assignment of certain frames and roles. When engaging with topics such as conflict and violence, men are often associated with being soldiers or perpetrators, needing to be convicted and kept in check, while women are described as victims and therefore as needing protection – detached from the lived realities (Shepherd 2013: 18). Contrastingly, few stories exist about "peaceful men" and men as victims of violence in the securitized world or about women as agents of violence (Sjoberg & Gentry 2011: 59–60).

When it comes to presentation of women and men, there exists a starting assumption that the differences in citizenship and in securitization of migration and refugees highlighted by Diez & Squire (2008) will lead to variance between German and British media presentation of refugees according to gender. If the variance in differences remain small, it can be assumed that a common set of gender norms and behaviour towards gender within a society prevail over the established securitized traditions of politics and produce a similar outcome in media coverage and depiction of the genders within the migration-security nexus.

Based on this assumption, I formulate a second research question: *Does a predominant gender regime in the UK and Germany lead to a similar presentation of refugees within the migration-security nexus in the media?*

Methodology

To answer these research questions, I conduct a comparative case study which uses a qualitative approach and loosely follows the principles of Wibben's (2011) narrative approach of FSS.

The narrative approach allows the analysis to not only assess securitizing aspects in the media but also the absence of (gendered) migrant voices in the public media discourse (Wibben 2011: 86–87). The approach, therefore, positions the analysed subject in the middle of the investigation. The lived and perceived identities of an individual are vital in relation to this. It is acknowledged that there are differences between stories and storyteller that characterise personal narratives (e.g. in interviews) (Wibben 2011: 86–87).

Whilst other areas in the world certainly merit further research in terms of media representations, especially places like Lebanon or Jordan and South-South migration, the present focus is on the EU.

The debate surrounding migration and refugees has changed since 2015 - both to positive and negative extremes. This makes the regional focus very interesting. The starting point for the choice of cases is the current massive increase of refugees coming to the EU, the so called "refugee crisis". The number of refugees coming to the EU was described as "historical challenge" in the context of migration flows (tagesschau 2015: 1). Media and politicians alike at the time highlighted the importance of dealing with the crisis in an appropriate way. The welcoming words by the German chancellor Merkel are contrasted by the growing power of right wing parties across the continent (Sommer 2016: 1). Examples of happy endings (e.g. opening of German border where hundreds welcomed arriving refugees) and tragedies (e.g. the publication of the dead body of a young Syrian boy) dominate the headlines - even though multiple of those stories happen in other corners of the world every day (Spindler 2015: 1). This shows that the EU is an exceptional case during this refugee crisis.

Within this sphere, Germany and UK are instructive cases to explore further. On the one hand, there is the UK with a rich history of multiculturalism, migration, broad integration of people and citizenship based on the principle of *droit du sol*[7]. On the other hand, there is Germany, with the dark past of the Third Reich and the persecution inherent within this. In the aftermath, the German state maintained a strict policy with respect to foreigners and citizenship was traditionally based on the *droit du sang*[8] (cf. Diez & Squire 2008: 568; 571).

Contrary to what one could expect, the UK has a very restrictive stand when it comes to refugees. In 2015, 38,878 people sought asylum in the UK, but only around 45 percent were granted the status. Overall, it is estimated that about 117,234 refugees are living in the UK which amounts to 0.18 percent of the total population (British Red Cross 2016: 1). General tendencies towards refugees within the population – both positive and negative – must be seen in the light of the Brexit referendum and the win of the leave campaign (Wheeler & Hunt 2016: 1).

The case of the UK is contrasted by Germany. The country has not been previously considered a traditional immigration heartland (cf. Kolb 2008). Still, until the end of 2015, almost 1.1 million refugees were registered in Germany (Sueddeutsche Zeitung 2016c: 1). Attitudes from the public range from the welcoming of refugees in Munich and other German cities at the end of the summer 2015 to demonstrations and riots against open borders and migrants. Those unexpected developments of both countries considering their starting points make it interesting to explore them further in a comparative case study. This research approach compares cases that are on opposite ends of a spectrum or

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[7] Citizenship based primarily on being born on British territory.
[8] One or both of the parents have to have the German nationality for the child to obtain citizenship.

population (in this case countries of the EU) and are different on most but one variable of interest (common set of gender norms) (Mills et al. 2010).

Conducting a media analysis to answer the question of how refugees are portrayed and perceived is best done by exploring one of the most important mediums: newspapers. By choosing a qualitative approach, the nuances of speech, framing and passing on information can get explored elaboratively (Altheide & Schneider 2013: 9–10). I conduct a media analysis in this research project using an Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA), following Altheide's (1987, 2013) guidelines. ECA is guided by the reflexive analysis of documents (Plummer 2001).

To conduct an ECA, the approach combines quantitative and qualitative elements of analysis. The data collection and data analysis processes follow a working circle that consists of the following elements: Generation of a protocol for data collection, coding, data analysis and report (Altheide & Schneider 2013: 39–40).

For the data collection, this research includes three newspapers in Germany and in the UK. For Germany, I used samples of articles from Bild Deutschland, Süddeutsche Zeitung and Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung for the analysis. Those are the most popular national newspapers in Germany and – equally important – often publish competing opinions and views on a topic (Schröder 2014: 1). The same selection criteria based on publication numbers and representativeness in political stance was applied to the UK. Therefore, the Daily Mail, the Telegraph and the Guardian were selected for further research (Statistia 2016: 1). The selection should ensure variety in presentation of refugees within the migration-security nexus.

The search mask used the following Boolean search string: refugee[9] [10] AND (security OR threat OR criminal OR vulnerable OR helpless OR victim OR perpetrator)[11] (whereby the search key for perpetrator was only added after revising the protocol[12]); between August 2015 and July 2016. Some of the keywords were more effective than others, as *Appendix A* shows[13].

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[9] Flüchtling
[10] Migrant was excluded to explore explicitly the implication of securitized perceptions towards the most vulnerable people within the migration spectrum. Nevertheless, this article does recognize that refugees and migrants cannot be separated completely but instead are part of a continuum (for more on voluntariness of migration see Erdal & Oeppen 2017).
[11] Sicherheit OR Bedrohung OR kriminell OR gefährdet OR Opfer OR Täter OR hilflos
[12] The addition was based on quantitative occurrence in the newspaper articles and in line with ECA principles.
[13] For the procedure on selecting articles, a search has been conducted for all the chosen newspapers with the help of extended search with Google. This has an advantage insofar as all articles have been selected based on the same search algorithms and the same selection criteria. Most newspapers have different archives and diverging search categories. Therefore, using the google search created coherence. The articles were manually chosen based on relevance.

The time frame of the analysis focuses on the time period from beginning of August 2015 to the middle of July 2016. The starting point is justified by the increasing numbers of refugees coming to Europe. Also, in August politicians actively started to push the growing influx of refugees and the reasons why they were drawn to the EU into the public debate (tagesschau 2015: 1). Another development that accelerated during the last years was the increase in power of right-wing parties in various European countries (The Guardian 2016). The time period stops at the beginning of June 2016 when the newspaper article sample was collected. This decision was taken in order to ensure that the same events and discussions were featured in the newspapers and in both countries[14]. There was a total of 304 articles with 50 of each newspaper, except for Bild Deutschland with 54 articles.

Following the principles of ECA, I used a protocol to classify, order and explore the selected newspaper articles. Several informative categories were installed in the beginning to have sufficient information to put the articles in a context regarding time, content and form. Then, an analysis followed that reflected the selection of the newspaper and included the categories from the search mask. Additionally, I collected prominent frames and topics. Examples for prominent topics and frames that were added deductively are "terrorism", "violence by refugees" or "violence against refugees".

Next, I analysed the results. First, I explored the question of a gender focus. Subsequently, I categorized the descriptive language (positive, neutral or negative) used in the articles. Then, a brief summary followed, where all important aspects were collected and special gendered or security factors were highlighted.

Gendered security perspectives in the UK and Germany

The analysis of this study starts with the presentation of general findings and tendencies for the two cases that are explored to help understand general propensities before engaging more in-depth with the exploration of the cases. This is based on the quantitative part of the analysis.

Firstly, there is a small range of prominent themes around security for both countries. As there is an almost identical overlap, the topics mentioned exist for both Germany and the UK. Noticeable themes are "violence by refugees", "violence against refugees", "violence between refugees", "extreme right violence" and "terrorism".

Emerging from these prominent topics, there are a few frames that merit highlighting – they are especially important because they add substance to the securitization of migration and refugees.

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[14] There are several constraints to the sample. One is that the number of articles is restricted to fifty for each newspaper. One other constraint in selecting the newspaper articles was that some articles which were classified as relevant in the Google search were in fact only slightly topic related and thus excluded from the sample.

Already the branding as refugee "crisis" (cf. Stabenow 2016) of the large influx of refugees enforces the perception of a state of emergency. This justifies an exceptional take by securitizing actors (e.g. newspapers or journalists) on how to elaborate the media coverage in such a perceived security context. Other wordings referring to the growing numbers of refugees are drawn from catastrophes and descriptions of such. Some newspapers refer to it as a "wave of refugees" (cf. Göbel 2016), other articles even compare the influx to a "tsunami" (cf. Bild 2014). This clearly indicates that the authors perceive the situation as unsettling or even dangerous. This is in line with the securitization process, where a situation has to be referred to as threat in order to get a certain response (McDonald 2010: 69–70). On the other hand, as soon as refugees behave in a certain positive behaviour, they are reframed as "heroes". The connotation to this is that for a refugee to behave within the norms and values of the European societies, is perceived as being something extraordinary and therefore stands out (cf. Schieder 2016).

Also, regional foci can be emphasised. Both countries mostly concentrate on what happens within the country's borders (Lohse 2016) and on the situation within the EU (Bild 2016c). The last geographical area that is made a subject in the media is the conflict zone itself and its direct borders and refugee camps (Malm 2016).

The first remarkable difference between German and British media is the focus on distinct levels. While German newspapers more often feature individual stories and report about incidents and situations within its borders, British newspapers are far more concerned with the refugee and security conditions in other countries as well and therefore rather take a regional or national approach[15]. For example, twenty-three out of fifty of the newspaper articles per newspaper both by the FAZ and the Sueddeutsche feature individual stories of refugees. Those newspaper articles are more often subjective and put emphasis on the individual stories. Accounts of victims and perpetrators are discussed extensively (e.g. attack on Syrian refugee (Bild 2016a)), as are opinions on criminality and security by refugees and people of public interest alike (e.g. Maybrit Illner and her talk show on the refugee crisis (Beitzer 2015)).

In contrast, in the British Daily Mail, the proportion of newspaper articles that feature individual stories are nineteen to fifty. And the Telegraph even only shed light on individuals in fourteen of the stories. This coverage on a regional or national level means that British newspapers mostly present more general facts. A prominent and often discussed example is the so-called Calais Jungle and the large population of minors stranded there. For instance, the Daily Mail published an article about the

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[15] Which might be linked to the smaller refugee population within the country's borders.

refugee settlement in Calais and close by and the horrendous living conditions for (child) refugees (Robinson 2016: 1).

Another discrepancy between the UK and Germany is in the existence of a gender focus. Both countries have articles that feature one or both genders prominently. Still, German newspapers more often focus on individual stories that have a clear gender focus. This is partly linked to the dominance of individual stories in the German news (e.g. Rashid 2016). In the British media landscape, there still are newspaper articles with a gender focus (e.g. Parry 2016). Nevertheless, it is less distinct. What is true for both countries is the predominance of the male gender for when a gender focus does exist. Two assumptions can be used to explain this discrepancy. For one, the number of refugees who came to the UK reflects only a small percentage compared to the refugee population in Germany. So, there might be simply less cases of refugees in the news because of the size of the refugee population. By comparison, there were around 120.000 refugees arriving in the UK (British Red Cross 2016: 1) and around 1.1 Mio in Germany (Sueddeutsche Zeitung 2016c: 1) during the research period. The second assumption is that the perceived threat to security caused by refugees is much more prominent amongst the British population because insecurity is not only linked to terrorist threats but also to economic and societal concerns. As a result, newspaper reflect this feeling of being threatened and focus on the topics of national security. Individual cases would then be featured less prominently in the media. This would be in line with the distinctions between Germany and the UK made by Diez and Squire (2008).

Germany

I use the qualitative aspects of ECA to explore the research questions comprehensively. Based on results from the protocol, the most relevant and frequently occurring themes were chosen to investigate the research questions. For both cases, I first engage with the topic of visibility of the genders in newspaper articles. Then, I engage with the representation of male refugees as perpetrators (specifically in the context of sexualised violence). Afterwards, I end each case with an analysis of broader themes of victimhood and vulnerability and specifically highlight male victimhood.

Table 1: Number of German newspaper articles with a gender focus, per newspaper and female and/or male gender (source: own calculation)
Note: Sometimes one article has both a female and male protagonist and therefore a male and female gender focus. There was a total of 304 articles with 50 of each newspaper, except for Bild Deutschland with 54 articles.

Newspaper	Female gender focus	Male gender focus
Bild Deutschland	6	35
Franfurkter Allgemeine Zeitung	4	22
Sueddeutsche Zeitung	4	27
Total Germany	**14**	**84**

As we have seen above, a gender focus exists in German newspaper articles. Also, there is a bias in the presentation of female and male refugees. Out of all the German newspaper articles, only fourteen feature female protagonists. Those numbers show that there are indeed differences between female and male refugees in the migration-security nexus (cf. Pettman 2010: 254–255). The crucial aspect of visibility in the German media is not the disequilibrium in numbers in the presentation of the genders, but the choice of the storyteller which gender to put in focus of the story (Wibben 2011: 86–87). Whilst some articles feature a male gender focus because the man is indeed the protagonist of the story (cf. news about a male refugee who got attacked by two German men (Sueddeutsche Zeitung 2016b: 1)), others chose to concentrate on the man purposefully (e.g. Biener & Schug 2016: 1). „[The prosecutor is sure: The Moroccan is a brutal sex offender who raped and hurt a woman (31) in Dresden in September]" (Schlitter & Langner 2016: 1). This quote shows exemplary how the male individual is in focus of the news coverage while the female victim and her side of the story are widely left aside. These tendencies are reflected by a majority of newspaper articles in the sample. Hence, it substantiates the expected variation in presentation connected to differences in visibility and agency.

In contrast to what I initially expected when selecting the newspapers, the tendencies are similar between the them. Still, the quantity of articles with a clear (male or female) gender focus differ. Bild Deutschland is the newspaper which published most articles with a clear gender focus (39 out of 54) in contrast to the more progressive newspapers (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung: 24 out of 50; Sueddeutsche Zeitung: 30 out of 50). This is probably due to its more populist approach and the higher quantity of shorter pieces with an individual as protagonist instead of longer in-depth (background) stories by the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and the Sueddeutsche Zeitung.

In terms of role assignments to the genders, male refugees are often described in an aggressive, pro-active way – often as perpetrators – which speaks to the first research question. A vivid example is the case of a Somali refugee that stabbed another man in a refugee accommodation (Temple 2015: 1). Other articles offer more reflective view on criminal statistics[16] and the theme of "the criminal male refugee" as a piece in the Sueddeutsche Zeitung shows. When writing on the high level of criminal cases in which male refugees are involved, the newspaper states: "[Amongst refugees are for example especially many young men – and young men, no matter if non-native or native, come into conflict with the law a lot more often than retirees]" (Bielicki 2016: 1). Another newspaper (Bild) featured an article of a Syrian refugee who saved a young woman from the assaults in Cologne and accompanied her to safety (Bild 2016b: 1).

An additional dimension of the category perpetrator is added when sexualised violence is reported. In the German case, multiple accounts of sexualised violence by male refugees are reported. This adds substance to the question of differences in presentation between male and female refugees within the migration-security nexus in a drastic way. A very intriguing example is the coverage on sexualised violence in public swimming pools. Sexualised violence is always strictly associated with men, even though accounts of sexual violence committed by women exist (e.g. sexual assaults in Iraqi prison Abu Ghraib by female soldiers (Hall 2012: 1)). The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung indicates: "[also in Austrian swimming pools, various assaults by (alleged) refugees were reported; it goes as far as men were observing children at the children's pool and masturbating to it]" (Löwenstein 2016: 1). This shows just the tip of the iceberg. There are other articles featuring (alleged) rapes and obviously, the sexual assaults by the "sex mob" at New Year's Eve 2015 in Cologne, where hundreds of men, mostly individuals with migratory background (unthoughtfully referred to as male refugees in many newspaper articles), assaulted women who tried to walk past (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung 2016: 1). The coverage of the events that (allegedly) happened are marked by a certain hysteria and un-reflectiveness. While it is obviously important reporting the crimes in the media and discussing them publicly, the way of the news coverage reflects one of the biggest societal fears towards refugees – that foreign men are coming to Germany without respecting the (local) female population and the norms on gender equality and mutual respect (Focus Online 2016: 1).

On the female side of the spectrum, the perception that female refugees are mostly reduced to caregivers, wives, mothers and victims was shown. While newspapers often make a point in highlighting German gender values and the independence and freedom of women (Sueddeutsche Zeitung 2016d: 1), the presentation of female refugees is very one-sided. For instance, the Frankfurter

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[16] Though reflectiveness concerning gender stereotypes is lacking.

Allgemeine Zeitung elaborates on how female refugees are holding the families together and are taking care of everything (Müller 2015: 1). A more extreme example is the story of a female refugee who was in a forced marriage and constantly beaten, humiliated and raped (Scholtyseck 2016: 1). This reflects both, the vulnerability and the role of a victim for women and the role of a perpetrator for male refugees.

While the simple ratio of female and male refugees featured in newspaper articles differ, the connotations linked to each of the genders – especially to male refugees - are less significant than expected. In this context, I explore further types of differences to answer the first research question if male and female refugees presented differently in the migration-security nexus in the German and British media according to their gender comprehensively. Male refugees were not just portrayed as criminals or perpetrators but often portrayed in the role of a victim, of being attacked and vulnerable to violence and power by others. The role of a passive victim was surprisingly often assigned to male refugees. This opposes to some extent FSS assumptions about gender-specific role assignments. While it can be assumed that the presentation of refugees within the security nexus focuses mostly on refugees who committed crimes, parts of the written sources is about the migratory routes and journeys. And during these situations, all refugees – detached from their gender – are in a very vulnerable position. The way of becoming a victim might differ between the genders, but both suffer from being stolen from, being beaten up or being injured or sexually assaulted (e.g. Sueddeutsche Zeitung 2016a). As stated above, these results build a counterpoint to the previous findings that outlined the existing differences between the genders.

In conclusion, in the German case male refugees were more often featured in the media which reflects to some extent the net numbers of (male) migration to the EU. Still, there was an impressive gap between the visibilities of the two genders. Even when both genders were part of the story, the man was the visible protagonist. Furthermore, men were seldom described in a passive situation – only when being in the "feminine role" of a victim. Additionally, men are rather associated with a violent role while women are more likely to be associated with and restricted to the vulnerable role of a victim. I will explore the second research question on a predominant gender regime in the UK and Germany that might lead to a similar presentation of refugees within the migration-security nexus in the media at the end of the analysis of the British case, which follows next.

<u>United Kingdom</u>

After having explored the first case study of Germany, I now investigate the British case. The analysis of the British case also follows the structure highlighted in the previous section: the topic of visibility is followed by the representation of male refugees as perpetrators (specifically in the context of

sexualised violence). Then, I explore the broader themes of victimhood and vulnerability and conclude by exploring male victimhood.

Table 2: Number of British newspaper articles with a gender focus, per newspaper and female and/or male gender (source: own calculation)

Note: Sometimes articles have both a female and male protagonist and therefore a male and female gender focus. There was a total of 304 articles with 50 of each newspaper, except for Bild Deutschland with 54 articles.

Newspaper	Female gender focus	Male gender focus
The Telegraph	5	13
The Guardian	4	14
Daily Mail	8	27
Total UK	**17**	**54**

There exists a disequilibrium in visibility between female and male refugees in British newspaper articles. Only seventeen of the newspaper articles with one of the genders explicitly in focus feature a female protagonist – in contrast to fifty-four articles with a male gender forcus. Those numbers show that there are indeed disparities between female and male refugees in the migration-security nexus (cf. Pettman 2010). The same developments as in the German newspapers is observable in the British media. Namely that the choice of the storyteller regarding which gender to put in focus of the story is highly biased (cf. Wibben 2011: 86–87). Some articles prominently feature male perspectives on refugee behaviour (e.g. how British men think that male refugees should behave towards women (cf. Hughes 2016)). Others emphasise the stories of male perpetrators of sexualised violence instead of focusing on the female survivors (cf. Bhole 2016 or Greenwood 2016). Again, female agency – both of British and refugee women – is undermined. Most British newspaper with a gender focus show the tendency to prefer male over female agency when both would be an option and thereby enhance the variance in visibility between the genders.

Similar to the German case and in contrast to the expected variation in results, variance between the newspapers regardless of their (political) approach remains small when exploring the gender focus. The Daily Mail, which is the most populist newspaper, has the clearest values on gender focus (29 out

of 8). Still, for the other two newspapers the tendencies remain similar (The Telegraph: 16 out of 50; The Guardian: 18 out of 50). As a result, this paper presumes that the gender regime not only prevails over security settings but also over different political stances of media outlets. Therefore, a common European set of gender norms can be assumed.

One prominent topic in British newspapers is the lack of respect and consideration for women by male migrants and refugees and them being perpetrators of (sexualised) violence. The debate focuses explicitly on the (missing) sexual education. Several articles criticise the lack of adaptiveness to Western norms and values and the disrespectful behaviour of male refugees towards women. Some journalists dive right into prejudices about primal and violent male refugees. The Daily Mail gives a vivid example and titles: *"Eritrean refugee 'rapes a 79-year-old woman in a CEMETERY in Germany while she was visiting her sister's grave'"* (Enoch 2016: 1). On the other hand, other articles seek to engage with the topic in a more reflective manner. Real insight is given when acknowledging that the social background, where gender inequality is deeply rooted in societal structures, will guide behaviour and reactions. A MP states: *"All men need this education, our indigenous population is not a haven of gender equality and you could have a situation where boys who have settled, just arrived, or been born here, would all get the same information on how they should interact with women"* (Hughes 2016: 1). This is distinct from German media coverage where direct sexual violence is focused on and preventive measures are not mentioned prominently. The majority of the articles conforms with the assumptions taken by FSS about the assignment of specific roles to the genders. Men are explicitly depicted as threatening to the safety of (British) women. It therefore adds substance to the assumptions on activeness of the male gender and outlines differences in role assignment depending on gender (cf. Shepherd 2013). Hence, male refugees are described as being a security risk because of a lack of knowledge about norms (in a sexual context) or because disrespecting said norms. Still, the newspapers reflected in some cases and tried to prevent over-simplifications and – to formulate it exaggeratedly – the assignment of the role of a sex offender to the group of male refugees.

In the British case, the themes of victimhood and vulnerability are of great importance. There is one major difference between Germany and the UK: The situation of unaccompanied minors and child refugees and their helpless situation is repeatedly discussed. Even though their gender is often indicated, the majority of news focuses on their vulnerability and their main identity is being a child (not a girl or boy). This holds true for all British newspapers. Their conditions in the EU and at the French-British border is subject to a major discussion in the British media – especially because the situation of child refugees in European border camps tightened as a consequence of the inactiveness

of the British government in bringing children to the UK under the Dubs scheme (Travis 2017)[17]. Nevertheless, newspaper articles on this topic have to be read cautiously as the categories of victimhood and passiveness are already pre-gendered. One aspect is the obvious vulnerability and helplessness of the children and the obligation and wish to help. Voices seek to reallocate refugee children to the UK to relief them from the constant security threats they face in refugee camps within and outside of Europe. A particular focus is on refugee children in the Calais Jungle. Statements such as: *"The judges heard from one volunteer worker at the camp, Laura Griffiths, that conditions were akin to a "living hell" and unaccompanied children were particularly vulnerable to violence"* (Travis 2016: 1) are common in newspapers. With some exceptions, the purity, innocence and defencelessness of the children is the centre of the described identity. Notions of "*many of the children at the sites* [Calais Jungle] *are at risk of human trafficking and rape*" (Stewart 2016: 1) are featured in several newspaper articles about child refugees. Therefore, even in a migration sceptical country such as the UK, a feeling of the need to help is created and reflected in most of the media. When having an exceptional case of gendered presentation of refugee children, be it in the context of a crime, the male gender of the individual has greater importance. The British Daily Mail states about the killing of a social worker by a refugee boy in Sweden and the following rampages: *"The all-male migrant teen gangs are spreading terror in the centre of the Swedish capital, stealing, groping girls and assaulting security guards, according to Stockholm police"* (Malm & Mezzofiore 2016: 1). Still, child refugees are represented in the British media mostly in line with the first research question that explores if male and female refugees are presented differently according to their gender (cf. Whitworth 2010: 110–111).

Striking is that the theme of vulnerability in individual stories is mostly reserved to refugee children. When talking about a more general group of people who are vulnerable and in particular need of protection, the group always includes children and women. It reflects a very traditional understanding of gender roles and has seeds in the "women and children first" from traditional warfare (Wibben 2011: 11–12). For instance, the Telegraph elaborates on how *"women and children were the most vulnerable victims of the war, which had seen huge levels of violence against women and children, ranging from rape to the selling off of girls into early marriage as a response to poverty"* (Spencer 2016: 1). Remarkable in the presentation of refugees is that one of the selected newspapers – The Telegraph – normally adds an information box with key information to their articles. One fact that is always given is that fifteen percent of all Syrian refugees in Turkey are pregnant (cf. Spencer 2016). It highlights and reinforces the perceived vulnerability of women on the move, creates the impression of urgency to react to this problem and therefore conforms with one additional type of difference in the

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[17] The Dubs amendment was passed in April 2016 as part of a campaign to bring 3,000 lone refugee children stuck in camps in Europe – mostly Calais – to Britain (Travis 2017).

presentation between female and male refugees (cf. Shepherd 2013: 18). Also, women are quasi not described as being aggressive, criminal or as a perpetrator in the British media. When female refugees are highlighted it is rather in the way the Guardian did it: "Cameron privately had said he wanted to see cultural change in a community where the "traditional submissiveness of Muslim women" meant they might not speak out when they see radicals influencing their family members." (Elgot 2016: 1). The statement suggest that it is a female responsibility to look after the family while also implying that (Muslim) women) only have a passive role within their communities. One of the few articles where the gendered role division was not aligned with FSS assumptions was by the Daily Mail in 2015 with the caption: "Revealed: Two of the Jihadis sneaked into Europe via Greece by posing as refugees and being rescued from a sinking migrant boat - and survivors say one of the attackers was a WOMAN" (Gallagher et al. 2015: 1). Still, by accentuating the fact that one of the Paris attackers might have been a woman shows that it is perceived as something exceptional and opposing the normal (gender roles) by the storyteller.

One aspect, which is indeed comparable to the German case is that not only female but also male refugees are represented in the role of being exposed and in danger of victimhood. For instance, there is the case of a male Afghan refugee who used to work for the US and now fears for his and his family's life (Parry 2016: 1). Another example would be the Nigerian refugee that was beaten to death in Italy (McKenna 2016: 1). Again, this contradicts the assumption that men usually are not represented in the role of a victim within the migration-security nexus.

To summarize, male refugees are more often featured in the British media. There was a higher visibility of men in the British news coverage. Even when both genders were part of the story, the man was the visible protagonist. The theme of vulnerability was mostly reserved to children and – when featuring adults – female refugees. Comparable to the German case was the assignment of victimhood to both genders. Still, male refugees are rather associated with the role of a perpetrator (of sexualised violence). For the question, if a predominant gender regime in the UK and Germany leads to a similar presentation of refugees within the migration-security nexus in the media, this section illustrates that there exists a similar way of presenting refugees according to their gender between the UK and Germany. The differences between the two cases is mostly restricted to the quantity of articles with a clear gender focus or role assignment to one of the genders. Hence, Europe-wide common assumptions about (behaviour and roles) of genders affect the newspaper representation more than differences in approaches to security that would suggest a stronger variance between the cases.

Conclusion

To conclude, I first recall the research questions, the aim of the study and the cases. Afterwards, I present the results of the analysis followed by several alternative explanations and limitations. The paper finishes by emphasising the contribution of this explorative study and highlights opportunities for future research.

This study engaged with the question whether the theoretical claims the FSS approach makes about security are transferable to a topic that has recently been moved to the security discourse – namely on migration and refugees. In the paper, I explore the public perception of refugees within the migration-security nexus in the context of the current so-called refugee crisis in the EU. FSS holds potential for the presentation and perception of gender within this nexus and whilst other academic studies have already engaged with gender in the migration-security nexus, refugee and migration studies has thus-far been largely left aside. There are some exceptions (cf. Freedman 2016; Gerard & Pickering 2014) as recent research acknowledges more and more the importance of the topic. Furthermore, when a gender-analysis was integrated into research on refugees, it was mostly concentrated on the female refugee and the specifics of a female migratory experience (e.g. Hansen 2010). Therefore, it is necessary to merge these two dimensions and investigate the gender components of female and male refugees within the discussion surrounding security and migration in the EU. To do so, I employed an explorative design.

I used the cases of Germany and the UK to show that female and male refugees are indeed portrayed differently in the German and British media within the migration-security nexus according to their gender. To do so, I had two research questions: 1) *Are male and female refugees presented differently in the migration-security nexus in the German and British media according to their gender?* Part of this question is the scale of activeness and passiveness, as well as the specific roles (such as victim, perpetrator etc.) assigned to the genders. The second research question was 2) *Does a predominant gender regime in the UK and Germany lead to a similar presentation of refugees within the migration-security nexus in the media?,* and concentrated on the possible implications of a shared European gender regime.

The findings of this study show that – overall – the assumption that female and male refugees are portrayed differently in the German and British media within the migration-security nexus, according to their gender, was substantiated. Also, as subpart of this question, data showed that male refugees are more often featured in the media. There was an impressive gap between the visibility of the two genders. Furthermore, passiveness and activeness of the genders differed. Men were seldom described in a passive situation – only when being in the "feminine role" of a victim. Furthermore, men are rather associated with violence while women are more likely to be associated with victimhood and

vulnerability. Still, male refugees are also portrayed as victims in some situations in both countries. Also, for both cases, a use of specific securitized frames was apparent. For instance, wordings such as refugee "crisis" or "waves" suggest an inevitability and an exceptional situation that conforms to the securitization approach.

Moreover, on the whole, there was some easing of male gender norms whilst female gender norms mostly stayed static. There were differences in the specificity and the magnitude of gender divergences between the two countries. Nevertheless, the commonalities in gender norms and prescribed gender roles prevailed and residual differences can be explained with the help of Diez & Squire (2008) who argue that there is an on-going influence of citizenship traditions with reference to political debates surrounding migration since 9/11 in the UK and Germany. They show that divergent securitizing processes of migration reflect the respective traditions of the two countries (Diez & Squire 2008: 565). Also, contrary to what was initially expected, differences between the newspapers remained very small. This also substantiates the answer to the second research question that Germany and the UK indeed have a similar set of gender norms, values and behaviours that influence the presentation and perception of refugees within a securitized context and, that this gender regime not only prevails over security settings but also over different political stances of media outlets. Therefore, gender norms – at least within Europe – prevail over security settings. The comparative case study of Germany and the UK allows therefore to assume for the time being that FSS have the potential to explain differences in the presentation and perception of the genders also within an extended security frame – the refugee crisis.

There are several alternative explanations and limitations of this study. FSS demonstrates and constructs gender as main dimension of analysis (Shepherd 2013: 20–21). One limitation is that his risks over determining the importance of gender in the analysis. By concentrating on one crucial dimension, other important factors (such as religion, race or class) are left aside (Shepherd 2013: 20–21). In fact, intersectionality between gender and other dimensions can lead to multiple forms of vulnerability and discrimination. Especially the intersection between race and gender can lead to crucial disadvantages (cf. Pittaways & Bartolomei 2001). For instance, a male refugee from Sub-Saharan Africa is often framed differently in a security context in comparison to a male Syrian refugee. Another alternative explanation for the discrepancies in visibility, activeness and passiveness of the gendered refugee would therefore be that the results are caused by the cultural, social and religious background of the refugees.

When engaging in limitations of this research, a central point is the emphasis on the EU with a comparative case study of two countries. This rather narrow regional focus makes it hard to achieve

results that can be generalized. Still, the external validity that is lacking is balanced out by a higher internal validity (cf. Maxwell 1992: 279–280). Also, by prioritizing the EU as region, a description of Western countries as centre of the security analysis is enforced. Yet, this research shows the discourse that influences decision-making in EU border and migration politics and is therefore crucial to understand (competing) interests in migration governance and agency-setting[18]. Hence, European discourse and representation of refugees within the migration-security nexus also has an impact on lived realities in countries from the Global South.

To sum up, the study is important for several reasons. It explored the applicability of Feminist (Security) Studies to newly securitized topics. By including refugees and migration into the analysis and elaborating on both genders equally, a new approach to securitized issues was opened which enables scholars to explore those issues on a micro level from a new perspective. Also, by explicitly including male experiences into the analysis of a securitized context, this paper opposes the current trend of exclusively exploring female stories and experiences within a gendered migration-security nexus (e.g. Newman & van Selm 2003; Sideris 2003; Hansen 2000). Hence, this paper partly fills the gap that Freedman (2016) identifies when she states that there "is little real [empirical] analysis of the gendered experiences of migrants, and thus stereotypes of the 'dangerous' migrant male or the 'vulnerable' migrant woman prevail both in media and political discourse. In order to move beyond such stereotypes, a more careful analysis of the experiences and needs of female and male migrants and refugees should be undertaken […] (Freedman 2016: 580)". Further research is needed that extends the analysis of the gendered migration-security nexus from presentation and discourse to lived realities of refugees, especially those still in the Global South.

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[18] For more on differences between rhetoric and practices in migration politics of the EU and actors from the Global South see e.g. Zanker 2017.

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Appendix A: Number of keywords present in newspaper articles, per newspaper (source: own calculations)

Note: There was a total of 304 articles with 50 of each newspaper, except for Bild Deutschland with 54 articles. A newspaper article can feature all, some or none of the keywords.

	Security	Threat	Helpless	Criminal	Vul-nerable	Victim	Per-petrator/ Culprit
Bild Deutschland	5	3	2	3	0	25	9
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	16	4	1	5	1	7	17
Sued-deutsche Zeitung	17	3	0	7	0	17	16
The Telegraph	17	0	0	5	4	5	1
The Guardian	16	4	0	7	14	4	0
Daily Mail	13	3	0	8	8	8	1
Total	**84**	**17**	**3**	**35**	**27**	**66**	**44**

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