

**Portraits of Poverty in the USA, UK, Sweden, and
Denmark. Technical report**

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**Portraits of Poverty in the USA, UK, Sweden, and Denmark.
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1. Introduction

This technical report presents the theoretical and methodological considerations behind the media study conducted as a part of the project “Social Capital and Underclass Phenomenon” conducted by Christian Albrekt Larsen of the Centre for Comparative Welfare Study, Aalborg University. The aim of the overall project was to investigate the link between inequality, ethnic divides and public support for welfare policy and social trust in the USA, UK, Sweden, and Denmark. The overall project used many data sources but relied primarily on surveys conducted in the USA in 2000 (GSS), in the UK in spring 2009, in Sweden spring 2009, and in Denmark in autumn 2009. The media study described in this paper took place in the five-year period prior to these survey measurements.

This technical paper does not describe the deeper theoretical arguments behind the project, but a few remarks are made in section 2, e.g. about the country selection and our focus on newspaper pictures. Section 3 describes the selection of newspapers. Section 4 describes the selection of time period and sampling of dates. Section 5 describes the selection of articles. Section 6 describes the selection of pictures. Section 7 describes the net sample used in the study. Section 8 describes the coding of pictures. Finally, section 9 describes the coding of the text.

2: Theoretical background and country selection

The study was inspired by the literature that claims that public support for welfare policy and social trust is influenced by the institutional logic of different welfare regimes (Larsen 2006, 2008). Often it is just stated that the public discourse will be different according to the institutional setup, e.g. need-tested benefits. Our media study attempts to improve this line of reasoning by showing that these institutional logics can be linked to the way that the mass media present “reality” to the public. This is done by analysing the amount and type of pictures which Swedish, Danish and British newspapers use to illustrate their articles about poverty and the recipients of social assistance. There are basically two motivations for taking this approach: Following the line of reasoning within modern media sociology (see e.g. Lester & Ross 2003), it is assumed that press pictures are a good way to capture the stereotypes that exist in different societies. Thus, newspaper pictures are not random “snapshots” of reality, but constructed illustrations that try to tell the whole story in a very condensed way. This construction takes place both in the situation where the picture is taken – the photographer selects persons, places, angles etc. – and in the situation where the editor chooses one out of many (already) constructed snapshots. The second motivation is that pictures probably have a larger impact on opinion formation than text; at least it is a well-established fact that pictures more easily evoke emotions than texts do.

Thus our media study tries to add a comparative dimension to the US media studies; especially we try to follow the media study by Gilens (1996) and Clawson & Trice (2000). Gilens’ (1996) study showed that the US media coverage of poverty had a strong racial component. In it he analysed 206 pictures in three major magazines (*Time*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News and World Report*) in the period from 1988 to 1992 and demonstrated how the news magazines depicted many more African-Americans than were actually in the official poverty statistics. Besides this general overrepre-

sentation it was also shown that African Americans were overrepresented among working-age adults and underrepresented as elderly and as children. Thus, African-American poor were shown as working-age, whereas white poor were shown as children or elderly, whereby African-Americans were depicted as less deserving because in age groups able to get a job. Gilens' study was replicated by Glawson & Trice (2000). Using the same method they covered the five-year period from 1993 to 1998 using five magazines (*Time*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *Business Week*, and *The New York Times Magazine*). Their findings much resembled Gilens' findings. However, despite the strength of this detailed research, it is unclear to what extent this (mis)representation of the poor and welfare recipients is a unique American phenomena, or whether it (as suggested in this project) is caused by an institutional logic found in all liberal welfare regimes. Therefore we find it crucial to advance comparative research in this field.

Figure 1: Motivation behind the country selection

	Bourgeois political elites have "played the race card"	Bourgeois political elites have not "played the race card"
Liberal welfare regime	USA	UK
Social-democratic welfare regime	Denmark	Sweden

We do not present a full argument about the country selection but just state the motivation. The USA functions as a shadow case and is chosen because it represents a country that comes closest to Esping-Andersen's (1990) description of a liberal welfare regime. The UK is chosen because it also represents a liberal welfare regime, but at the same time race issues have not been nearly as salient there as in the USA. In fact, despite immigration, the UK is known as a country where there has not been any serious political mobilisation on the topic. This enables us to see whether the institutional logics in themselves can generate the negative stereotypes of the poor and of social assistance clients. Sweden was chosen because it represents the country closest to Esping-Andersen's description of a social-democratic welfare regime. Nevertheless, besides these regime characteristics Sweden is also known as a country where the salience of the immigration issue has been very low. Some scholars even argue that there is a general consensus among the Swedish elite not to bring this issue onto the political agenda. Thus, a lack of negative stereotypes could be caused by this elite consensus instead of by the institutional factors discussed above. Therefore we also included Denmark, which represents a social-democratic welfare regime where the immigration issue became very salient. Within the Nordic countries Denmark also stands out as the case where a right-wing party has been successful. This country selection enables us to study how the media portrayals of poverty vary across welfare regimes and across degrees of political mobilization of ethnic issues (see Figure 1).

3: Selection of newspapers

In a European context newspapers have a much larger readership than magazines. Therefore we focused on pictures in British, Swedish and Danish newspapers. In each of the three countries we selected five of the largest nation-wide newspapers (local and regional papers were omitted). Papers available free were excluded because many are local and because their archives are scattered. A list of the largest nation-wide newspapers is seen in Table 1.

Table 1: The largest nationwide newspapers in the UK, Sweden and Denmark. Highlighted newspapers are selected in the media study

	UK*	Sweden**	Denmark***
Readership ranked:			
1	The Sun	Aftonbladet	Jyllands-Posten
2	Daily Mail	Dagens Nyheter	Politiken
3	Daily Mirror	Expressen****	Berlingske Tidende
4	Daily Telegraph	Göteborgs-Posten	EkstraBladet
5	Daily Star	Svenska Dagbladet	BT
6	Daily Express	Sydsvenskan	Børsen
7	The Times	Dagens Industri	Information
8	Financial Times	Skånska Dagbladet	
9	Daily Record	Dagen	
10	The Guardian		

* Source: Audit Bureau of Circulation (2009)

** Source: Tidningsutgivarna (2009)

*** Source: Dansk Oplagskontrol (2008)

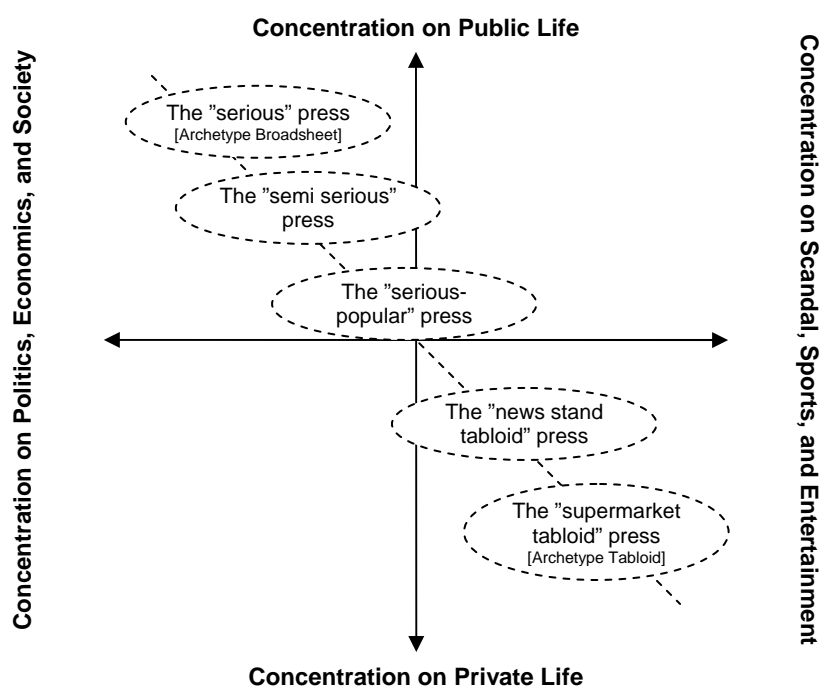
**** Including GT and Kvällsposten

The study tried to balance the newspaper selection in each country. This was done by including three of the largest newspapers from those that can be labelled “semi-serious” or “serious popular” press (see below) and two of largest from those that can be labelled the “newsstand tabloid press” (see below those labelled “tabloid”). We use the terms “broadsheet” and “tabloid” for two groups. Thereby the study avoided the risk that country differences in the portraits of poverty were only caused by us, as in comparing the large British tabloid press with the Swedish broadsheet press. Another argument for balancing the selection of papers by journalistic style was to make sure that the readership was fairly balanced among social classes. Tabloids are usually read more among the lower classes and the less-educated, and broadsheet papers more among the more educated strata of the population (Conboy 2006). Thus, the newspaper selection also enabled us to study how poverty is presented to different groups of society.

Despite this attempt to find similar newspapers in the three countries, the newspapers are not identical. The distinction between broadsheet and tabloid is well known (e.g. Sparks 2000, Gardikiotis, Martin, Hewstone 2004, Clement & Foster 2008) but it can be difficult to apply in

practice, especially in a comparative project. In order to group the newspapers in Britain, Sweden and Denmark, the study took its point of departure in the continuum suggested by Colin Sparks (2000) who uses it to illustrate that tabloid and “serious” (broadsheet¹) newspapers cannot be defined as a binary opposition. Sparks argues that the tabloid/broadsheet distinction has to be thought of as a range of positions according to the concentration of journalistic content. In order to locate papers on this range of positions, Sparks creates a model with two axes that represent what the journalism in the newspapers concentrate on. The horizontal axis is a continuum ranging from concentration on politics, economics and society, to a concentration on scandal, sports and entertainment. The vertical axis is a journalistic continuum ranging from concentration on private life to concentration on public life (see Figure 2). This model enables Sparks to locate the binary opposites “tabloid” and “broadsheet”, and he states that archetypal broadsheet papers concentrate on politics, economics and society and on public life. Archetypal tabloids by contrast concentrate on scandal, sports and entertainment and private life.

Figure 2: Newspapers on a continuum ranging from the archetypal broadsheet to archetypal tabloid



Source: Sparks (2000), with authors’ own modifications.

Between the two ends of the broadsheet-tabloid continuum there are many positions, and Figure 2 includes the positions that Sparks assigns to different newspaper types. Sparks’ typology of newspaper types (Figure 2) has five positions: The “serious press” almost exclusively covers politics, economics and society and public life. The “semi-serious” press is more broadly conceived than the

¹ Sparks uses the term “serious newspapers” – the opposite of “tabloid” – as a synonym for the term “broadsheet” papers, which we use in the following sections.

serious press and covers politics, economics and society and public life extensively, but has more soft news and stresses the visual element as well. The “serious popular” press has a still stronger visual focus than the “semi-serious” press and covers issues of scandal, sports and entertainment more extensively, but still features much of the basic news elements that the more serious papers also cover. The “Newsstand Tabloid” press focusses mostly on issues of scandal, sports, entertainment and private life, but occasionally covers issues concerning politics, economics and society. The “supermarket tabloid” press differs from the other newspapers by almost exclusively covering issues of scandal, sports and entertainment, with no kind of news agenda as featured by the more serious press types. The “supermarket tabloid” press is not published very widely in Europe but has a more dominant position on the US market (Sparks 2000, 14-15).

By using Sparks’ typology of newspaper types it was possible to differentiate between the most circulated national newspapers listed in Table 2. The classification was made by reading national media researchers’ descriptions of the content of the different newspapers. The result is shown in Table 3. The highlighted papers are those that were selected. The categorisation is not authoritative and should be understood as a rough estimate.

Table 2: Grouping of British, Swedish and Danish newspapers

	“Serious” press [archetype “broadsheet”]	“Semi-serious” press	“Serious- popular” press	“Newsstand tabloid” press	“Supermar- ket tabloid” press [archetype “tabloid”]
UK	Financial Times	The Times Daily Telegraph	Daily Mail Daily Express	The Sun Daily Mirror Daily Star Daily Record	
Sweden	Dagens Industri	Dagens Nyheter Svenska Dagbladet Sydsvenskan Dagen	Göteborgs- Posten	Aftonbladet Expressen	
Denmark	Børsen Information	Jyllands-Posten Politiken Berlingske Tidende		Ekstra Bladet BT	

Sources: Conboy 2006; Sparks 2000; Clement & Foster 2008; Johansson 2008; Gardikiotis, Martin & Hewstone 2004; Rosie et al. 2004; Andersen 2006.

The study did not include what Sparks labels, and what we group as, the “serious” press, because its readership is smaller than that of the other papers (see Table 1), and, because these papers (except the Danish “Information”) have a strong focus on business, which led us to assume that they feature few portraits of poverty. The study also left out the “supermarket tabloid” press, because these have

so little concentration on politics, economics, and society that we also assumed them to contain very few portraits of poverty.

The selected Danish “broadsheet” newspapers were Jyllandsposten, Politiken and Berlingske tidende. The selected Danish “tabloid” newspapers were BT and Ekstrabladet. These are also the five biggest newspapers in Denmark (Dansk Oplagskontrol 2009). The selected Swedish broadsheet newspapers were Dagens nyheter, Svenska Dagbladet, and Göteborgs-Posten and the tabloid newspapers, Aftonbladet and Expressen. These are also the five biggest papers in Sweden (Tidningsutgivarna 2009). The selected UK broadsheet newspapers were The Times, Daily Telegraph, and the Daily Express, and the selected broadsheet newspapers were the Daily Mirror and Daily Star (Sunday edition included). The Daily Mail and The Sun are larger than the Daily Express and Daily Star but the latter two were chosen because of better archives. Still, both the Daily Express and Daily Star are among the top six largest UK newspapers (Audit Bureau of Circulations 2009).

4: Selection of time period and sampling of dates

The media study operated over a five-year period. Besides the possibility of comparison with Gilens (1996) and Clawson & Trice (2000), the fairly long time period enabled us to catch general country effects, i.e. how poverty is “normally” portrayed in the UK, Sweden, and Denmark. If a shorter time period had been chosen, the study would have been more sensitive to a given event, election campaign etc. As mentioned in the introduction, the media study was linked to survey studies used the overall project. The media study operated over a five-year period prior to the survey (see Table 1).

Table 3: Time-frame of the media study in Denmark, Sweden, UK and USA.

Country	Media study	Survey data collection
Denmark	September 14, 2004 to September 13, 2009	Autumn 2009 (ISSP)
Sweden	January 1, 2004 to December 31, 2008	Spring 2009 (ISSP)
UK	June 15, 2004 to June 14, 2009	Autumn 2009 (BSA)
USA	January 1, 1988 to December 31, 1992* (Gilens 1996)	2000 (GSS)
	January 1, 1993 to December 31, 1998 Clawson & Trice (2000)	

As European newspapers are published daily (in contrast to American magazines that are published weekly), we would have been faced with a very large amount of relevant articles resulting from the complete search in all five newspapers (see procedure below) over a five-year period. Thus, instead

of a complete search we sampled random days (stratified on year and weekday, by which we made sure that there was no bias due to yearly or weekly cycles of articles about poverty. In practice we sampled one random week at a time, meaning that we drew a random Monday, a random Tuesday etc. until we had a constructed week. Ten such constructed weeks were sampled within each of the five years, i.e. in each country was sampled 50 constructed weeks, which adds up to 350 days out the five-year period (the actual dates can be seen in Appendix 1).

5: Selection of articles

Gilens (1996) and Clawson & Trice (2000) used an index – the Reader’s Guide to Periodical Literature – to locate the relevant articles. They selected the core categories of “poor”, “poverty” and “public welfare” (and checked cross-references). In the American context, “public welfare” primarily refers to the former AFDC program (the current TANF program) and so-called General Assistance, i.e. means-tested benefits. In Britain, Sweden and Denmark we could not find an index to locate the relevant articles. The databases used (see below) operate with key words, whereby articles can be grouped. But the key words are unreliable and the grouping differs across countries. So in order to get reliable comparative data material we conducted a full text search for Britain, Sweden and Denmark. We searched for the words “poor*” (i.e. “poorest”, “poorer” also included), “poverty*”, and the dominant social assistance scheme(s) in the country (the term “welfare” could not be used as it has a much broader meaning in Europe than in the USA, see below for the schemes included). The term “poor” and “poverty” are fairly easy to translate into Swedish and Danish and, as a point of departure, they have similar meaning. Naturally there is variation in the poverty issues described, but this is exactly what the media study wanted to analyse.

The large amount of articles from this full text search (from the sampled dates) was manually sorted. Articles that dealt with poor, poverty and social assistance clients in the relevant country were selected, i.e. the many articles about poverty in foreign countries – typically African – were not included. Poverty did not need to be the dominant topic of the article. If an article contained the word “poverty” (and a relevant picture was present, see below) but primarily dealt with for instance crime, it was still included. We also included articles (with a relevant picture) that described persons (often celebrities) who had previously been poor. The same was the case for articles about the general macro-economic crisis that hit the countries in 2008; if a relevant picture and the word “poor”, “poverty”, or the name of the dominant means-tested social assistance program was present, then the article was included. The articles selection was done in two steps: The two primary researchers, helped by three research assistants, made a first rough selection. In the second step, after a closer reading of the article prior to coding, the two primary researchers made a second selection. Despite variation in data collection we ended up with articles that largely covered the same topics as the ones found in Gilens’ articles (see below and Gilens 1996:525).

5.1. Detailed Danish search procedure

The Denmark full text search was done in the database “Infomedia”, which contained all the five biggest newspapers in the relevant period. The search string was:

((kontanthjælp* <or> starthjælp* <or> fattig* <or> bistandshjælp*)

The term *fattig* is the Danish word for “poor” and by using the truncation (*fattig**) the Danish word for poverty (*fattigdom*) was also captured. The term *kontanthjælp* is the name of the main means-tested social assistance scheme. The term *bistandshjælp* is an older name for the same scheme. We also included the term *starthjælp*. This is the name of the (reduced) social assistance given to immigrants after 2002 (prior they were just included in the ordinary social assistance scheme, i.e. *kontanthjælp*). Thereby we selected articles that included the main means-tested scheme. The schemes included a number of supplementary means-tested schemes, but their names were not included.

5.2. Detailed Swedish search procedure

In Sweden the full text search was done in the databases “PressText” and “Mediearkivet.se” (Retriever). PressText covered Dagens Nyheter, Expressen and Aftonbladet while Mediearkivet.se covered Svenska Dagbladet and GöteborgsPosten. The search string was:

(försörjningsstöd* OR socialbidrag* OR fattig* OR "ekonomiskt bistånd")

Again the term “fattig” is the word for “poor”, and by using the truncation (*fattig**) the Swedish word for poverty (“*fattigdom*”) was also captured. The term “försörjningsstöd” and “ekonomiskt bistånd” is the name of the dominant means-tested social assistance. The term “socialbidrag” is its old name. This is largely equivalent to the Danish scheme but in Sweden there is not a special term for social assistance given to immigrants (as was the case for Danish immigrants in the relevant period).

5.3. Detailed British search procedure

In Britain the full text search was done in “UKpressonline” and “GALE Infotrac”. The first database covered the Daily Mirror, Daily Express (including Sunday Express), and Daily Star archives (including Daily Star Sunday). The GALE Infotrac covered The Times (including Sunday Times), Daily Telegraph (including Sunday Telegraph) and Sunday Mirror.

UKpressonline did not have an advance search possibility, but by drop-down boxes the following search string was created:

"poor*" or "poverty*" or "jobseekers allowance*" or "income benefit*" or "Income support*" or "Social fund*"

The GALE Infotrac database had an advanced search possibility, which allowed us to deselect some sport articles. The search string was:

AdvancedSearch (tx (poverty)) Not (ke (sport*)) Or (tx (income w1 benefit*)) Or (tx (income w1 support*)) Or (tx (social w1 fund*)) Or (tx (poorer)) Or (tx (poorest)) Or (tx (poor)) Or (tx (jobseeker* w1 allowance*))LIMITS:(JN ("Daily Telegraph (London, England)" OR "Sunday Mirror (London, England)" OR "Sunday Telegraph (London, England)" OR "Sunday Times (London, England)" OR "Times (London, England)")) And ((full text)) And (DA (06/15/2004-06/14/2009))

The terms “poor” and “poverty” are equivalent to the American terms. In the British case there is not a term that captures the main means-tested social assistance scheme (as was the case in Sweden and Denmark and partly). Instead we searched for the name of three major means-tested schemes. The term “jobseekers allowance” is the name of a means benefit given to the non-insured unemployed. “Income benefit” is the old name of this scheme. The term “income support” is the name of another major means-tested benefit given to citizens of working age. Finally, the term “social fund”, the name of yet another means-tested benefit, was included, though it is more marginal and was mentioned in only a few articles.

6: Selection of pictures

Among the relevant articles (see section 4) were those accompanied by a picture or drawings of relevant persons. A relevant person is defined as a person that potentially is, has been or might become poor. Pictures (and sometimes drawings) of authors, commentators, researchers, case workers etc. were not considered relevant persons. The term “potentially” is used because often it cannot be taken for granted that the depicted person is poor. A picture of a child outside an apartment building complex in an article about child poverty will [probably] cause the reader of the newspaper to perceive the child as poor, but unless information is given in the article, one can naturally not be sure. Relevant foreground persons as well as relevant background persons were coded. The term “has been poor” is used because pictures of previously poor people and citizens who previously received social assistance were included. In most cases it was easy to see whether the picture contained relevant persons or not. There were, however, some borderline cases. A Danish article about the economic crisis and by implication the prospect of poverty, showed a number of working men, so this picture was included. All pictures attached to a relevant article were included in the study.

6.1. Danish picture selection

In the Danish case most pictures and drawings were available through “Informedia”, i.e. the full-text database (pdf-files). Sometimes they were not, in which case we turned to the newspapers’ e-paper archives, which gave access to the electronic issues (Ekstra Bladet and Jyllandsposten). As a last resort the pictures were retrieved from microfilms. In that case gray-scale pictures were available. The selection was made by the primary investigators.

6.2. Swedish picture selection

In the Swedish case the full text search was done in “PressText” and “Mediearkivet.se”. None of the databases included pictures or drawings. Therefore all pictures were copied from microfilms and were thus available only in grey-scale. This made the coding task a bit more difficult, but not impossible (see below). The Swedish national library provided all relevant articles that included a picture or drawing. The primary investigators determined whether the picture contained relevant persons or not.

6.3. British picture selection

In the British case, the “UKpressonline” included pictures and drawings (pdf-files). Thus, from the Daily Mirror, Daily Express (including Sunday Express), Daily Star (including Daily Star Sunday) we obtained high-quality colour pictures. The “GALE Infotrac” did not include drawings and pictures. Thus, the pictures from The Times (including Sunday Times), Daily Telegraph (including Sunday Telegraph) and Sunday Mirror were bought from the Clipsearch archive. This archive also provided high-resolution colour pictures (pdf-files). As not all articles from The Times, Daily Telegraph and Sunday Mirror were available in Clipsearch, the remaining pictures were located by the National British Library (research department), which provided low-resolution scans from the original newspapers.

7: The net sample

In the 780 magazines studied by Gilens (three magazines over 52 weeks over five years, 1988-92), he found 182 stories accompanied by 206 pictures depicting 560 poor people. These persons we labelled the “media-poor”. Thus, for every 100 issues, on average, there were 23 stories related to poverty and 26 pictures (see Table 4). Using the same procedure but two more journals, Glawson & Trice found a less intense coverage in the period 1993-98, but the difference was not caused by *Business Week* and *New Your Times Magazines* showing fewer pictures than *Newsweek*, *Time* and *U.S. News & World Report*. Of the 1300 issues they studied (five magazines in five years, over 52 weeks) they found 74 stories accompanied by 149 pictures showing 357 media-poor. Thus, in this period there was on average six stories and 11 pictures per hundred magazines. Apparently the media coverage prior (1988-92) to the welfare reform in 1994 was greater than the media coverage during and after the reform period (1993-98). Because the American studies used magazines and selected articles by means of an index, it was difficult directly to compare these intensity measurements with our results. However, in the 1750 selected British newspapers we found 188 stories related to poverty and accompanied by one or more relevant pictures. The 257 pictures show 545 media-poor. Thus in the UK there were on average 11 poverty-related stories and 15 pictures of media-poor per 100 newspapers. Whether this is more or less than that found in the US is difficult to judge, but the British figures can be compared with the Danish and Swedish ones, as we used the same selection method in these countries.

Table 4. The net samples in the US, UK, Sweden and Denmark

	Number of issues studied	Number of stories	Number of pictures	Number of poor people pictured	Number of stories per hundred issues (average)	Pictures per hundred issues (average)
US 88-92	780	182	206	560	23	26
US 93-98	1300	74	149	357	6	11
UK 04-09	1750	188	257	545	11	15
SW 04-09	1750	73	102	180	4	6
DK 04-09	1750	152	190	376	9	11

In the 1750 Swedish newspapers we found 73 stories which were accompanied by 102 pictures that depicted 180 persons. Thus, the British papers contained 2.5 times more pictures of poor than did the Swedish newspapers. In the selected 1750 Danish newspapers we found 152 stories accompanied by 190 pictures that depicted 376 poor. Thus, the Danish newspapers contained 1.9 times more pictures of poor than did the Swedish newspapers.

8: Coding of the pictures

The relevant persons in the pictures (and drawings) were coded by the primary investigators. The coding in Gilens' (1996) and Clawson & Trice's (2000) studies were replicated and extended. The coding is based both on the image and the information in the text (often gender, age, work status, ethnic background is given in the text. Each relevant person was coded (from left to right in the relevant pictures). The main categories in the coding used in most analyses are given below. The full coding scheme, which also contains more qualitative data, can be seen in Appendix 2.

Gender:

- Male
- Female
- Cannot be determined

Reliability tested on 84 pictures with 167 persons – (inexperienced coder). Intercoder reliability was 0.87

[<-ONLY SPELLING IS CORRECTED ON THESE TECHNICAL NOTES – THERE IS NOT ENOUGH STRUCTURE TO ATTEMPT OTHER CORRECTIONS]

Age:

- 0 – 17
- 18 – 64
- 65 or above
- Cannot be determined

Reliability tested on 84 pictures with 167 persons (inexperienced coder). Intercoder reliability was 0.87 (Gilens reports intercoder reliability at around 0.98 and 0.95 (1996:520))

Presence of parent (if age below 18 years):

- Mother
- Father
- Both mother and father
- No parents
- Cannot be determined

Work status (age 18–65 years):

- Working
- Not working
- Student
- Cannot be determined

Reliability tested on 84 pictures with 167 persons (inexperienced coder). Intercoder reliability was 0.76. (But in the test we operated a different status of persons aged over 64 years. In the data we recoded all citizens above age 64 as old-age pensioners, which improved reliability. (Gilens reports intercoder reliability at 0.97 on this coding (1996:520)).

Skin colour:

- White
- Non-white – black (African)
- Non-white – others
- Cannot be determined

Reliability tested on 84 pictures with 167 persons (inexperienced coder). Intercoder reliability was 0.89. Gilens reports intercoder reliability at 0.97 on this coding (1996:520)

Is the person wearing a head-scarf (if non-white and female)?

- No
- Yes, fully covered or only eyes can be seen
- Yes, but face can be seen
- Yes, but size cannot be determined
- Cannot be determined

Is the person smiling?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 Cannot be determined

Reliability tested on 84 pictures with 167 persons (inexperienced coder). Intercoder reliability was 0.76. After this result the definition of a smile was further specified (see coding scheme).

Where was the picture taken?

- Workplace / work situation (activation included)
- [Job-]Search situation (including picture from outside job centres)
- In public space – housing area (single-family houses not included)
- In public space – others
- At home
- Others
- Cannot be determined

Reliability tested on 84 pictures with 167 persons (inexperienced coder). Intercoder reliability was 0.82. After this result the definition of location was further specified (see coding scheme).

9: Coding of text

The topic of the accompanying article(s) was also included in the database. One traditional method is to code for the “tone” of the article, i.e. whether it is positive, neutral or negative towards the poor and social assistance recipients. The validity of this kind of coding can be discussed but in this study the different topics of the articles increased the possibility of a reliable classification. The articles were classified into the following brackets:

Christmas help (positive)
Single-mother poverty (positive)
Single mothers abusing the system (negative)
Student poverty (positive)
Pensioner poverty (positive)
Child poverty (positive)
Poverty among immigrants - due to structural problems (positive)
Poverty - economic need in general (positive)
Abusing the system in general, legal (negative)
Benefit fraud in general (negative)
“Stock” in system (positive)
Homelessness (positive)
Housing conditions - ghetto (negative)
Housing conditions - lack of supply at fair prices (positive)
Out-of-poverty stories (positive)
Crime, gang, terror, antisocial behaviour (negative)
Good labour-market situation (negative)
Bad labour-market situation (positive)
Immigration issues (negative)
Anti-poverty policies that “press” the target group (negative)
Anti-poverty policies that “ease” poverty in target group (positive)
“Neutral” anti-poverty policies (neutral)
Others

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Appendix 1: Exact dates for sampling

Denmark:

2009													
Mandag		Tirsdag		Onsdag		Torsdag		Fredag		Lørdag		Søndag	
Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53
27. april	3	24. marts	11	21. januar	4	9. april	5	27. marts	1	11. april	1	18. januar	2
2. marts	4	6. januar	12	25. marts	9	26. februar	6	23. januar	2	10. januar	2	12. april	3
9. februar	8	3. marts	14	15. april	12	19. marts	8	6. marts	3	14. februar	7	26. april	6
26. januar	14	28. april	16	8. april	14	16. april	11	17. april	6	28. februar	11	15. februar	14
19. januar	20	14. april	19	4. februar	17	5. februar	13	30. januar	8	28. marts	12	25. januar	15
16. februar	23	17. marts	24	18. februar	19	12. marts	16	20. marts	9	17. januar	14	29. marts	17
20. juli	6	21. juli	1	17. juni	2	27. august	2	15. maj	12	29. august	3	17. maj	4
2008													
Mandag		Tirsdag		Onsdag		Torsdag		Fredag		Lørdag		Søndag	
Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53
15. september	1	2. december	1	9. april	1	19. juni	1	6. juni	1	25. oktober	1	20. juli	1
10. november	2	8. juli	2	16. april	2	23. oktober	2	22. august	2	26. juli	2	27. januar	2
23. juni	3	25. marts	3	10. september	3	22. maj	3	3. oktober	3	4. oktober	3	6. januar	3
10. marts	4	15. juli	4	9. januar	4	20. november	4	19. december	4	16. august	4	24. august	4
8. september	5	25. november	5	5. november	5	10. juli	5	23. maj	5	22. marts	5	10. februar	5
1. december	6	1. juli	6	24. december	6	14. august	6	5. september	6	15. marts	6	30. marts	6
17. november	7	23. december	7	27. februar	7	3. april	7	14. november	7	11. oktober	7	16. marts	7
25. august	8	28. oktober	8	3. september	8	5. juni	8	15. februar	8	31. maj	8	14. december	8
15. december	9	6. maj	9	17. december	9	24. januar	9	11. juli	9	19. juli	9	12. oktober	9
20. oktober	10	18. marts	10	19. november	10	10. januar	10	18. april	10	21. juni	10	2. november	10
2007													
Mandag		Tirsdag		Onsdag		Torsdag		Fredag		Lørdag		Søndag	
Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53
3. december	1	13. november	1	12. december	1	21. juni	1	20. april	1	29. september	1	18. februar	1
30. april	2	10. april	2	15. august	2	26. april	2	9. november	2	8. december	2	20. maj	2
12. marts	3	17. april	3	17. oktober	3	20. september	3	14. december	3	1. december	3	9. september	3
9. juli	4	18. september	5	31. oktober	4	25. januar	4	26. oktober	4	27. oktober	4	22. april	4
18. juni	5	24. april	6	19. september	5	22. november	5	17. august	5	16. juni	5	2. december	5
21. maj	6	11. december	7	31. januar	6	11. oktober	6	19. oktober	6	24. marts	6	29. april	6
9. april	7	20. februar	8	18. april	7	20. december	7	23. marts	7	24. november	7	7. januar	7
7. maj	8	20. marts	9	23. maj	8	16. august	8	30. marts	8	14. juli	8	21. oktober	8
19. februar	9	21. august	10	24. januar	9	26. juli	9	22. juni	9	20. januar	9	2. september	9
22. oktober	10	2. januar	11	13. juni	10	14. juni	10	21. september	10	13. oktober	10	8. april	10
2006													
Mandag		Tirsdag		Onsdag		Torsdag		Fredag		Lørdag		Søndag	
Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53
23. oktober	1	21. november	1	21. juni	1	14. september	1	11. august	1	25. marts	1	6. august	1
15. maj	2	12. september	2	8. februar	2	26. oktober	2	3. marts	2	27. maj	2	25. juni	2
23. januar	3	25. juli	3	25. oktober	3	18. maj	3	28. april	3	8. juli	3	15. oktober	3
1. maj	4	23. maj	4	29. marts	4	29. juni	4	2. juni	4	7. oktober	4	9. juli	4
7. august	5	22. august	5	15. marts	5	14. december	5	6. oktober	5	26. august	5	31. december	5
3. juli	6	5. december	6	1. februar	6	16. februar	6	22. september	6	16. september	6	15. januar	6
30. januar	7	19. september	7	6. december	7	22. juni	7	24. februar	7	2. december	7	21. maj	7
4. september	8	14. marts	8	13. september	8	30. november	8	17. november	8	11. november	8	29. januar	8
27. februar	9	10. oktober	9	22. februar	9	23. november	9	23. juni	9	23. december	9	10. december	9
26. juni	10	31. januar	10	12. april	10	15. juni	10	15. december	10	7. januar	10	24. september	10
2005													
Mandag		Tirsdag		Onsdag		Torsdag		Fredag		Lørdag		Søndag	
Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53
3. januar	1	4. januar	1	27. juli	1	14. juli	1	9. september	1	1. januar	1	22. maj	1
7. marts	2	8. november	2	22. juni	2	3. februar	2	6. maj	2	18. juni	2	18. september	2
18. april	3	10. maj	3	12. oktober	3	6. januar	3	1. april	3	17. september	3	13. februar	3
24. oktober	4	22. november	4	25. maj	4	17. februar	4	28. oktober	4	30. april	4	30. oktober	4
14. marts	5	18. oktober	5	23. februar	5	12. maj	5	3. juni	5	9. april	5	28. august	5
23. maj	6	26. juli	6	19. oktober	6	2. juni	6	11. november	6	25. juni	6	27. november	6
14. februar	7	19. april	7	10. august	7	20. oktober	7	21. januar	7	14. maj	7	29. maj	7
7. november	8	29. marts	8	6. april	8	1. september	8	7. oktober	8	26. november	8	24. april	8
12. september	9	18. januar	9	30. november	9	6. oktober	9	13. maj	9	19. februar	9	27. marts	9
10. januar	10	11. januar	10	28. september	10	22. december	10	4. marts	10	15. januar	10	16. oktober	10
2004													
Mandag		Tirsdag		Onsdag		Torsdag		Fredag		Lørdag		Søndag	
Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53
8. november	3	19. oktober	2	15. december	2	25. november	2	12. november	3	25. december	3	19. september	12
4. oktober	6	21. september	6	17. november	6	9. december	3	15. oktober	6	6. november	12	24. oktober	13
27. december	12	9. november	8	1. december	10	21. oktober	9	3. december	10	27. november	16	3. oktober	19

UK:

2004													
Mandag		Tirsdag		Onsdag		Torsdag		Fredag		Lørdag		Søndag	
Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53
8. november	3	19. oktober	2	18. august	1	25. november	2	6. august	1	17. juli	1	20. juni	3
12. juli	5	15. juni	3	15. december	2	9. december	3	20. august	2	10. juli	2	11. juli	4
4. oktober	6	21. september	6	7. juli	3	19. august	4	12. november	3	25. december	3	15. august	6
9. august	9	9. november	8	21. juli	5	8. juli	5	15. oktober	6	3. juli	5	29. august	8
27. december	12	26. oktober	9	17. november	6	26. august	6	3. december	10	6. november	12	12. september	11
2005													
Mandag		Tirsdag		Onsdag		Torsdag		Fredag		Lørdag		Søndag	
Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53
3. januar	1	4. januar	1	27. juli	1	14. juli	1	9. september	1	1. januar	1	22. maj	1
7. marts	2	8. november	2	22. juni	2	3. februar	2	6. maj	2	18. juni	2	18. september	2
18. april	3	10. maj	3	12. oktober	3	6. januar	3	1. april	3	17. september	3	13. februar	3
24. oktober	4	22. november	4	25. maj	4	17. februar	4	28. oktober	4	30. april	4	30. oktober	4
14. marts	5	18. oktober	5	23. februar	5	12. maj	5	3. juni	5	9. april	5	28. august	5
23. maj	6	26. juli	6	19. oktober	6	2. juni	6	11. november	6	25. juni	6	27. november	6
14. februar	7	19. april	7	10. august	7	20. oktober	7	21. januar	7	14. maj	7	29. maj	7
7. november	8	29. marts	8	6. april	8	1. september	8	7. oktober	8	26. november	8	24. april	8
12. september	9	18. januar	9	30. november	9	6. oktober	9	13. maj	9	19. februar	9	27. marts	9
10. januar	10	11. januar	10	28. september	10	22. december	10	4. marts	10	15. januar	10	16. oktober	10
2006													
Mandag		Tirsdag		Onsdag		Torsdag		Fredag		Lørdag		Søndag	
Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53
23. oktober	1	21. november	1	21. juni	1	14. september	1	11. august	1	25. marts	1	6. august	1
15. maj	2	12. september	2	8. februar	2	26. oktober	2	3. marts	2	27. maj	2	25. juni	2
23. januar	3	25. juli	3	25. oktober	3	18. maj	3	28. april	3	8. juli	3	15. oktober	3
1. maj	4	23. maj	4	29. marts	4	29. juni	4	2. juni	4	7. oktober	4	9. juli	4
7. august	5	22. august	5	15. marts	5	14. december	5	6. oktober	5	26. august	5	31. december	5
3. juli	6	5. december	6	1. februar	6	16. februar	7	22. september	6	16. september	6	15. januar	6
30. januar	7	19. september	7	6. december	7	22. juni	8	24. februar	7	2. december	7	21. maj	7
4. september	8	14. marts	8	13. september	8	30. november	9	17. november	8	11. november	8	29. januar	8
27. februar	9	10. oktober	9	22. februar	9	23. november	10	23. juni	9	23. december	9	10. december	9
26. juni	10	31. januar	10	12. april	10	15. juni	11	15. december	10	7. januar	10	24. september	10
2007													
Mandag		Tirsdag		Onsdag		Torsdag		Fredag		Lørdag		Søndag	
Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53
3. december	1	13. november	1	12. december	1	21. juni	1	20. april	1	29. september	1	18. februar	1
30. april	2	10. april	2	15. august	2	26. april	2	9. november	2	8. december	2	20. maj	2
12. marts	3	17. april	3	17. oktober	3	20. september	3	14. december	3	1. december	3	9. september	3
9. juli	4	18. september	5	31. oktober	4	25. januar	4	26. oktober	4	27. oktober	4	22. april	4
18. juni	5	24. april	6	19. september	5	22. november	5	17. august	5	16. juni	5	2. december	5
21. maj	6	11. december	7	31. januar	6	11. oktober	6	19. oktober	6	24. marts	6	29. april	6
9. april	7	20. februar	8	18. april	7	20. december	7	23. marts	7	24. november	7	7. januar	7
7. maj	8	20. marts	9	23. maj	8	16. august	8	30. marts	8	14. juli	8	21. oktober	8
19. februar	9	21. august	10	24. januar	9	26. juli	9	22. juni	9	20. januar	9	2. september	9
22. oktober	10	2. januar	11	13. juni	10	14. juni	10	21. september	10	13. oktober	10	8. april	10
2008													
Mandag		Tirsdag		Onsdag		Torsdag		Fredag		Lørdag		Søndag	
Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53
15. september	1	2. december	1	9. april	1	19. juni	1	6. juni	1	25. oktober	1	20. juli	1
10. november	2	8. juli	2	16. april	2	23. oktober	2	22. august	2	26. juli	2	27. januar	2
23. juni	3	25. marts	3	10. september	3	22. maj	3	3. oktober	3	4. oktober	3	6. januar	3
10. marts	4	15. juli	4	9. januar	4	20. november	4	19. december	4	16. august	4	24. august	4
8. september	5	25. november	5	5. november	5	10. juli	5	23. maj	5	22. marts	5	10. februar	5
1. december	6	1. juli	6	24. december	6	14. august	6	5. september	6	15. marts	6	30. marts	6
17. november	7	23. december	7	27. februar	7	3. april	7	14. november	7	11. oktober	7	16. marts	7
25. august	8	28. oktober	8	3. september	8	5. juni	8	15. februar	8	31. maj	8	14. december	8
15. december	9	6. maj	9	17. december	9	24. januar	9	11. juli	9	19. juli	9	12. oktober	9
20. oktober	10	18. marts	10	19. november	10	10. januar	10	18. april	10	21. juni	10	2. november	10
2009													
Mandag		Tirsdag		Onsdag		Torsdag		Fredag		Lørdag		Søndag	
Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53	Dato	Random nr. 1-53
27. april	3	5. maj	9	21. januar	4	9. april	5	27. marts	1	11. april	1	18. januar	2
2. marts	4	24. marts	11	20. maj	8	26. februar	6	23. januar	2	10. januar	2	12. april	3
9. februar	8	6. januar	12	25. marts	9	11. juni	7	6. marts	3	14. februar	7	17. maj	4
1. juni	9	3. marts	14	10. juni	10	19. marts	8	17. april	6	13. juni	10	24. maj	5
26. januar	14	28. april	16	15. april	12	4. juni	9	30. januar	8	28. februar	11	26. april	6

Appendix 2: Detailed coding scheme:

Article level

Var 1: Article number

Var 2: Sample number:

Var2_x: Comments from coder: Doubts – things of special interest etc.

Var 3: Country:

- | | |
|---|---------|
| 1 | Denmark |
| 2 | Sweden |
| 3 | UK |
| 4 | USA |

Var 4: Newspaper

- | | |
|----|--------------------|
| 1 | Politiken |
| 2 | Jyllandsposten |
| 3 | Berlingske Tidende |
| 4 | BT |
| 5 | Ekstrabladet |
| 6 | Aftonbladet |
| 7 | Expressen |
| 8 | Dagens Nyheter |
| 9 | Svenska dagbladet |
| 10 | Göteborg-Posten |
| 11 | Daily Express |
| 12 | Sunday Express |
| 13 | Daily Star |
| 14 | Daily Star Sunday |
| 15 | Daily Mirror |
| 16 | Sunday Mirror |
| 17 | The Times |
| 18 | Sunday Times |
| 19 | Daily Telegraph |
| 20 | Sunday Telegraph |

Var 5: Year :

2004
2005
2006
2007
2008
2009

Var 6: Months

1 January
2 February
3 Marts
4 April
5 May
6 June
7 July
8 August
9 September
10 October
11 November
12 December

Var 7: Day

_____ (between 1 and 31)

Var 8: Number of words in the article

Var 9: Number of pictures in the article

Var10: The main topic of the article

(If more than one article is connected with the picture – then the topics of these articles are also written)

Var10x: Main headline(s)

The main headline of the attached article. If there is more than one article attached to the picture, then these headlines are also written.

Picture level (we took the largest picture with relevant persons)

Var 11: Number of relevant persons in the picture

Var 12(b): Where was the picture taken

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | Workplace / work situation (activation included) | |
| 2 | [Job-search]Search situation | Includes situations such as consultation, search on computer, pictures taken inside and outside of the jobcentre. |
| 4 | In public space – housing area | Includes pictures taken in area with apartment buildings, and does not include pictures of owner-occupied homes. |
| 5 | In public space – others | Includes all other public spaces inside and outside, e.g. public institutions (excluding jobcentres). |
| 6 | At home in kitchen | |
| 7 | At home in living room | |
| 8 | At home, others | All other places in the home including gardens and pictures taken in front of owner-occupied homes |
| 9 | Others | Includes all other places that do not fit into the above categories, e.g. pictures where background is replaced or unclear. |

Var 13: Does the picture include the following symbols

Var_13_1:	Alcohol	Yes (1)	No (0)
Var_13_2:	A bench	Yes (1)	No (0)
Var_13_3:	Guitar	Yes (1)	No (0)
Var_13_4:	Overweight	Yes (1)	No (0)

Var 13_5: Other symbols (write)

(If a case worker is in the picture it is also stated here)

Person level (relevant persons coded from the left to the right)

Person X_1: Sex

- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Cannot be determined

Person X_2: Exact age (given in article)

_____ (write number)

No age is given in text = blank

Person X_3: Estimated age (best guess)

- 1 0 – 8
- 2 9 –17
- 3 18 – 29
- 4 30 – 64
- 5 65 +
- 6 0 – 17
- 7 18 – 64

All people doing work must be coded in this category if estimation is necessary and it cannot be estimated whether the person is under or over 30 years of age.

9 Cannot be determined

If 1 or 2 in Person X_3 (0 – 17 years):

Person X_4: Shown together with parent (s)

- 1 Mother
- 2 Father
- 3 Both mother and father
- 4 No parents
- 5 Cannot be determined

If 18 years and above

Person X_5: Dominant activity at present (given from text)

- 1 Unemployed without receiving any benefits
- 2 Unemployed receiving benefits
- 3 Unemployed in activation
- 4 Unemployed, others
- 5 Student
- 6 Self-employed
- 7 Wage earner
- 8 Pensioner
- 9 Other
- 10 Cannot be determined
- 11 Disability pension

Person X_5X: Dominant activity at present (best guess based on both text and picture)

- 1 Unemployed without receiving any benefits
- 2 Unemployed receiving benefits
- 3 Unemployed in activation
- 4 Unemployed, others
- 5 Student
- 6 Self-employed
- 7 Wage earner
- 8 Pensioner
- 9 Other
- 10 Cannot be determined
- 11 Disability pension

Person X_6: Ethnic background (best guess based on both text and picture)

- 0 Cannot be determined
- 1 Yes, immigrant
- 2 Yes, immigrant but not **stated**
- 4 Yes, Danish
- 5 Danish, but not stated

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Person X_6_1: Exact ethnic background (given from text)

_____ (write country of origin)

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Person X_7: Estimated ethnic background (from picture)

- 1 White
- 2 Non-white others
- 3 Non-white black (African)
- 9 Cannot be determined

If non-white and female

Person X_9: Is the person wearing a scarf?

- 1 No
- 2 Yes, fully covered or only eyes can be seen
- 3 Yes, other garb where face can be seen
- 4 Yes, scarf and face can be seen
- 5 Yes, but size cannot be determined
- 9 Cannot be determined

Person X_10: Is the person smiling?

- 1 Yes All persons who without question are smiling
- 2 No All persons not smiling or about whom it is uncertain whether they are smiling.
- 3 Cannot be determined All persons whose mouths you cannot see

