Appendices

Further details on the statistical analyses of both the MORI survey and existing data will be available in future journal publications and working papers; please contact Ben Baumberg (b.p.baumberg@kent.ac.uk) if you would like to be informed when these become available. For the publication of the main report to which these appendices are attached, we have included a summary of the most important details necessary in order to establish the validity of the results and interpretation (with further details available from the authors on request).

Appendix 1: IpsosMORI survey commissioned for this project

Sample

For this project, we commissioned IpsosMORI to include a module on benefits stigma within their regular 'Capibus' survey. Capibus is a face-to-face computer-assisted survey of 2000 people per week, sampled using a high-quality version of quota sampling: Primary Sampling Units of about 125 addresses are randomly selected within relatively homogeneous ACORN area types, and interviewers then have to meet a quota by age, gender and working status within these streets. The resulting sample is then weighted by age, social grade, region and working status (all within gender) according to the random probability sample from the National Readership Survey.

To increase the numbers of benefit and tax credit claimants in our sample, we supplemented the main sample with a 'claimant boost', formed of claimants in two further weeks of Capibus surveys. The weights were then adjusted on the basis of the screening questions so that the full sample was still nationally representative, while allowing us to look in more detail at the responses of claimants. All three weeks of the survey were conducted in May 2012.

Variables

The questions themselves were designed by the research team in combination with the advisory group, Elizabeth Finn Care, IpsosMORI (including the necessary approval from their 'polls for publication' team). We also conducted a small number of cognitive interviews to test a draft set of questions; while the number of interviews was necessarily low (four) due to practical constraints, this helped us ensure the questions were comprehensible to people in a variety of situations. The full questionnaire is available at the end of this Appendix.

We constructed a number of summary variables from these raw questions. In particular we created summary scales of personal and social stigma using the average of the responses to the questions on individual benefits. We also grouped the different reasons for delaying/avoiding claiming (as described in Chapter 3). Details of the standard demographic questions used as control variables are available from the authors on request.

Analyses

The main report discusses the results of a large number of regressions. All of the models are either (i) OLS regression models (for continuous outcomes such as perceived benefits fraud; the 11-point stigma scales were treated as continuous variables following standard practice); or (ii) logistic regression models (for binary outcomes such as a particular reason for delaying/avoiding claiming). For the models looking at area-level covariates (e.g. neighbourhood rates of benefit claims) we use cluster-robust forms of these models to take account of the clustering of individuals' responses within areas. The tables of results for the key models in the report are presented below.

Table 1: Sociodemographic predictors of different types of stigma

(Outcome variables are the stigma summary scales, from a minimum of 0 to a maximum of 10)

	Personal stigma	Social stigma	Institutional stigma
Age 16-24	-0.06	-0.07	0.58*
Age 25-34	0.30	0.23	0.33
Age 35-44	ref	ref	ref
Age 45-54	-0.54**	-0.39+	0.04
Age 55-59	-0.40	-0.18	-0.03
Age 60-64m 60-61f	-0.28	-0.47	-0.23
Age SPA+ (m65+, f61+)	-0.01	-0.61*	-0.78**
Male	0.12	-0.11	0.02
Region:North	0.35	-0.46	0.21
Region:North-West	1.25**	ref	-0.55*
Region:Yorks+Humber	-0.07	0.19	0.73*
Region:W Mid	0.03	-1.24**	0.46
Region:E Mid	0.31	-0.56*	-0.59*
Region:E Anglia	-0.15	0.10	0.17
Region:South-West	-0.16	-0.65*	0.60*
Region:South-East	ref	ref	ref
Region:London	0.59*	-0.60*	0.22

Region:Wales	-0.22	-0.54+	0.03
Region:Scotland	0.23	-1.10**	0.02
Mar stat:married	ref	ref	ref
Mar stat:single	0.10	-0.15	-0.10
Mar stat:wid/div/sep	0.22	0.01	0.24
Any U15 kids in hhld	0.13	-0.02	0.03
Social Grade:A	ref	ref	ref
Social grade:B	0.52*	0.41	-0.28
Social grade:C1	0.39	0.25	-0.24
Social grade:C2	0.73**	0.57	-0.13
Social grade:D	0.75*	0.52	-0.12
Social grade:E	0.77*	0.71	-0.25
Claims out-of-work ben	-0.72**	-0.32	-0.22
Claims other benefit	-0.46*	0.02	0.36
Claims in-work TCs	-0.80**	0.02	0.51+
Work:full-time	0.09	-0.07	-0.16
Work:part-time	-0.09	-0.12	-0.48+
Work:Not working	ref	ref	ref
Tenure:owner-occupier	ref	ref	ref
Tenure:social housing	-0.06	-0.43*	-0.27
Tenure:other	-0.08	-0.18	ref
Quals:none	0.70**	0.10	0.25
Quals:<A-level	0.76**	0.18	-0.14
Quals:>=A-levels	0.22	0.20	0.14
Quals:degree+	ref	ref	ref
Disability:none	ref	ref	ref
Disability:visible	-0.01	0.04	-0.21
Disability:hidden	0.29	0.18	0.09
Paper:%negative(*10)	0.20**	0.09	-0.07
Paper:no data	0.06	-0.19	0.02

Paper:doesnt read one	-0.21	-0.08	-0.01
_cons	-0.41	2.86**	7.08**
N	2383	2351	2343
R-sq	0.107	0.047	0.045

***Key**: cell contents refer to unstandardised beta coefficients; stars indicate statistical significance (+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01); 'ref' = reference category for categorical variables.*

Table 2: Sociodemographic predictors of reasons for delaying/avoiding claiming

(Outcome are binary yes/no variables; cells refer to unexponentiated logit coefficients)

	Any stigma	Personal stigma	Social stigma	Institutional stigma	Non-stigma-related	No barriers
Age 16-24	0.078	0.091*	0.005	0.008	-0.073	-0.029
Age 25-34	0.047	0.037	-0.012	0.021	-0.072+	0.018
Age 35-44	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Age 45-54	-0.016	-0.022	-0.027	0.017	-0.074+	0.092*
Age 55-59	-0.004	0.014	-0.047+	0.017	-0.114*	0.093
Age 60-64m 60-61f	-0.003	-0.009	-0.043	0.040	-0.057	0.091
Age SPA+ (m65+, f61+)	-0.022	-0.019	-0.055+	0.016	-0.046	0.080
Male	-0.033	-0.019	-0.020+	-0.030+	-0.028	0.038
Region:North	-0.163**	-0.153**	-0.021	-0.041	-0.036	0.187**
Region:North-West	-0.040	-0.071+	0.031	-0.032	0.018	0.012
Region:Yorks+Humber	-0.080	-0.046	-0.032*	-0.042	-0.091*	0.170**
Region:W Mid	-0.103*	-0.107**	0.045+	-0.023	-0.108*	0.172**
Region:E Mid	-0.158**	-0.135**	-0.023	-0.051	-0.160**	0.262**
Region:E Anglia	-0.139*	-0.124**	0.003	-0.064	-0.086	0.238**
Region:South-West	-0.036	-0.066	0.012	-0.023	-0.002	0.027
Region:South-East	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Region:London	-0.080+	-0.051	0.005	-0.053	-0.028	0.099*
Region:Wales	-0.073	-0.092+	0.025	-0.024	-0.059	0.099
Region:Scotland	-0.072	-0.052	-0.002	-0.025	0.047	0.052
Mar stat:married	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Mar stat:single	-0.034	-0.012	-0.017	-0.025	0.000	0.041
Mar stat:wid/div/sep	-0.036	0.031	-0.009	-0.048*	0.029	0.000
Any U15 kids in hhld	-0.042	-0.023	-0.038*	0.008	-0.012	0.059+
Social Grade:A	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Social grade:B	-0.009	-0.044	-0.023	-0.040	0.064	0.003
Social grade:C1	0.021	-0.034	-0.044	-0.035	0.061	-0.001

Social grade:C2	0.005	-0.058	-0.042	-0.057	0.067	-0.019
Social grade:D	0.015	-0.067	-0.051	-0.049	0.062	-0.046
Social grade:E	0.054	-0.031	-0.035	-0.044	0.001	-0.009
Claims out-of-work ben	-0.017	0.022	-0.028	-0.016	-0.025	0.072+
Claims other benefit	0.022	-0.016	0.015	0.019	-0.016	-0.016
Claims in-work TCs	-0.008	0.012	-0.101**	0.009	-0.034	0.086
Work:full-time	0.000	0.011	-0.017	-0.015	0.000	-0.012
Work:part-time	0.012	0.020	-0.005	0.016	0.046	-0.072
Work:Not working	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Tenure:owner-occupier	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Tenure:social housing	-0.050	-0.052*	-0.016	0.005	0.021	0.037
Tenure:other	-0.029	0.003	0.027	-0.010	0.055	0.004
Quals:none	-0.088*	-0.059	0.020	-0.026	0.052	0.014
Quals:<A-level	-0.060+	-0.034	0.019	-0.013	-0.016	0.059+
Quals:>=A-levels	-0.048	-0.030	0.018	-0.012	0.016	0.015
Quals:degree+	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Disability:none	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Disability:visible	-0.088	-0.063	-0.018	-0.022	0.107	-0.009
Disability:hidden	0.009	0.016	-0.020	0.032	0.105+	-0.133*
Paper:%negative(*10)	0.007	0.006	-0.004	0.005	0.013	-0.013
Paper:no data	0.080+	0.054	0.010	0.016	-0.057	-0.064
Paper:doesnt read one	-0.049	-0.026	-0.010	-0.037	-0.025	0.029
N	2381	2381	2381	2381	2381	2381
pseudo R-sq	0.032	0.046	0.109	0.021	0.034	0.039

***Key**: cell contents refer to unstandardised beta coefficients; stars indicate statistical significance (+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01); 'ref' = reference category for categorical variables.*

Table 3: Sociodemographic predictors of estimated fraud

(Outcome is the estimated number of fraudulent claimants in every 100 out-of-work benefit claimants)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Age 16-24	0.724	-0.698	-0.783
Age 25-34	2.278	1.889	1.450
Age 35-44	ref	ref	ref
Age 45-54	-1.672	-2.356	-2.503
Age 55-59	-2.346	-3.427	-3.135
Age 60-64m 60-61f	-5.314*	-4.969*	-4.595+
Age SPA+ (m65+, f61+)	-3.094	-4.306+	-3.808
Male	-3.751**	-4.323**	-4.513**
Region:North	12.661**	14.089**	13.738**
Region:North-West	2.349	3.092	3.597
Region:Yorks+Humber	4.844*	3.962	3.883
Region:W Mid	6.653**	7.546**	8.535**
Region:E Mid	-0.795	-0.411	-0.324
Region:E Anglia	6.642*	5.709*	5.346+
Region:South-West	5.223*	5.355*	5.254*
Region:South-East	ref	ref	ref
Region:London	-1.052	-0.613	-0.458
Region:Wales	0.128	-0.744	-0.454
Region:Scotland	5.848*	6.348**	6.100*
Mar stat:married	ref	ref	ref
Mar stat:single	0.551	0.999	1.194
Mar stat:wid/div/sep	2.850	3.789+	2.768
Any U15 kids in hhld	1.319	0.942	0.878
Social Grade:A	ref	ref	ref

Social grade:B	3.407	3.566	1.410
Social grade:C1	4.557	1.807	0.051
Social grade:C2	10.346*	4.647	2.000
Social grade:D	11.404*	3.349	1.017
Social grade:E	13.013*	7.130	5.156
Claims out-of-work ben		-1.293	-1.744
Claims other benefit		-2.504	-2.224
Claims in-work TCs		1.394	1.199
Work:full-time		3.163*	3.046+
Work:part-time		1.648	1.394
Work:Not working		ref	ref
Tenure:owner-occupier		ref	ref
Tenure:social housing		2.351	2.481
Tenure:other		4.290*	4.356*
Quals:none		13.921**	12.217**
Quals:<A-level		11.403**	10.398**
Quals:>=A-levels		4.195*	3.435*
Quals:degree+		ref	ref
Disability:none			ref
Disability:visible			-0.469
Disability:hidden			1.008
Paper:%negative(*10)			3.394**
Paper:no data			-5.501*
Paper:doesnt read one			-6.462**
_cons	20.700**	15.712**	-3.251
N	2306	2237	2173
R-sq	0.078	0.124	0.142

***Key**: cell contents refer to unstandardised beta coefficients; stars indicate statistical significance (+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01); 'ref' = reference category for categorical variables.*

We do not include the full table of results for the survey experiment discussed in Chapter 6 as this would simply repeat the information above (both the figure in Chapter 6, and Table 1 above that shows the association of sociodemographic factors with each of these outcomes). In the main models we look at the impact of the experimental manipulation using weights and while controlling for those factors that are unlikely to be influenced by the fraud framing that was subject of the experiment (this includes age group, gender, region, marital status, children living in the household, qualifications, working status and social grade).

Full IpsosMORI questionnaire (main sample)

ASK ALL

WS01

In the past 12 months, which of the following benefits or tax credits, if any, have you yourself been claiming?

PLEASE ANSWER ALL THAT APPLY.

[MULTI CODE, ALLOW DK, REF, RANDOMISE - FIX ANY OTHER BENEFITS AND NONE OF THESE TO BOTTOM]

Unemployment benefits ('Jobseekers' Allowance')

Incapacity benefits (including 'Employment and Support Allowance')

Income Support

Housing Benefit

Council Tax Benefit

Wage top-ups for low-income workers ('Child Tax Credit' or 'Working Tax Credit')

Out-of-work tax credits for people with children ('Child Tax Credit')

Disability Living Allowance or Attendance Allowance

Carer's Allowance

Pension Credit

Any other benefits, including Basic State Pension, Child Benefit, or others (PLEASE SPECIFY)

None of these

ASK 4 IN 10 RESPONDENTS WHO ANSWER WS01

WS02

The Government release figures on the amount of 'benefit fraud' – where some people *deliberately deceive* the Government, as they would not be entitled to benefits if they told the truth.

Out of every 100 people claiming out-of-work benefits, how many, if any, would you say, commit fraud in this way? Even if you are not sure, just give your best guess.

INTERVIEWER IF RESPONDENT GIVES AN ANSWER AS A FRACTION PLEASE ENTER AS A NUMBER OUT OF 100 E.G. IF THEY SAY ONE QUARTER ENTER 25 (OUT OF 100).

[USE NUMERIC BOX –RANGE 0-100, ALLOW DK CODE]

ASK ALL

WS03

How much do YOU YOURSELF agree or disagree, that people should feel ashamed to claim [INSERT STATEMENTS BELOW, RANDOMISE ORDER]

Please select your answer on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means strongly disagree and 10 means strongly agree.

INTERVIEWER PLEASE TAKE CARE ENTERING THE ANSWERS – THIS IS A SCALE OF 0 TO 10 SO FOR AN ANSWER OF 0 ENTER 1 AND FOR AN ANSWER OF 2 ENTER 1 ETC...

[SINGLE CODE, ALLOW DK]

STATEMENTS

...in-work Tax Credits? (These are wage top-ups for the low paid)

...Jobseekers Allowance? (This is for unemployed people)

...Employment and Support Allowance (This is for people whose sickness or disability limits their ability to work)

...Income Support for single parents?

...Housing Benefit? (This is help with rent for people on a low income)

CODE LIST: 0 – Strongly disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 – Neither agree nor disagree | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 – Strongly agree

ASK ALL

WS04

How much do you think PEOPLE IN GENERAL in Britain would agree or disagree, that people should feel ashamed to claim [INSERT STATEMENTS BELOW, RANDOMISE]

[SINGLE CODE, ALLOW DK]

INTERVIEWER IF NECESSARY SAY: Please select your answer on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means strongly disagree and 10 means strongly agree.

PLEASE TAKE CARE ENTERING THE ANSWERS – THIS IS A SCALE OF 0 TO 10 SO FOR AN ANSWER OF 0 ENTER 1 AND FOR AN ANSWER OF 2 ENTER 1 ETC...

STATEMENTS

...in-work Tax Credits? (These are wage top-ups for the low paid)

...Jobseekers Allowance? (This is for unemployed people)

...Employment and Support Allowance (This is for people whose sickness or disability limits their ability to work)

...Income Support for single parents?

...Housing Benefit? (This is help with rent for people on a low income)

CODE LIST: 0 – Strongly disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 – Neither agree nor disagree | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 – Strongly agree

ASK ALL

WS05

How much do you agree or disagree, with the following statement: People are generally treated with respect when they claim benefits?

INTERVIEWER IF NECESSARY SAY: Please select your answer on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means strongly disagree and 10 means strongly agree.

PLEASE TAKE CARE ENTERING THE ANSWERS – THIS IS A SCALE OF 0 TO 10 SO FOR AN ANSWER OF 0 ENTER 1 AND FOR AN ANSWER OF 2 ENTER 1 ETC...

[SCALE AS IN WS03 & 04, SINGLE CODE, ALLOW DK]

ASK ALL WHO ARE ON INCAPACITY/DLA (I.E ALL WHO CODE 2 OR 8 AT WS01)

WS06

Which of the following statements, would you say, best describes the health condition or disability that limits your daily activities the most?

CHOOSE THE STATEMENT THAT YOU MOST AGREE WITH

[SINGLE CODE, ALLOW DK]

On most days, my health condition/disability is obvious to anyone <u>when they see me in the street</u>

On most days, my health condition/disability is obvious to anyone <u>when they first properly meet me</u>

When people spend some time around me they figure out that I have this health condition/disability

On most days, people only know about my health problem/disability if I tell them

[Would prefer not to say]

[DP REVERSE ORDER OF ASKING FOR WS07/WS08 – FOR 50% ASK WS08 1ST]

WS07

(New Screen)

We are now going to ask you a question about 'in-work tax credits' – by this, we mean wage top-ups for workers on a low income, and NOT benefits or tax credits that are just for people who are out-of-work.

(New Screen)

ASK ALL TAX CREDIT CLAIMANTS (I.E. ALL WHO CODE 6 AT WS01)

WS07A

Which of the following, if any, have made YOU YOURSELF delay or not claim in-work tax credits in the past, from the point you needed and thought you might be entitled to them?

PLEASE SELECT ALL THAT APPLY.

[MP, ALLOW DK, RANDOMISE ORDER, ANCHOR 8 & 9]

Having to provide personal information (about income or having a partner)

How family, friends or neighbours would react

How you would feel about yourself for claiming (e.g. 'pride', dislike of 'charity')

Too hard to figure out if I'm entitled

Too much hassle to apply for them

Thinking in-work tax credits are for other people, not people like me

How I would be treated by officials while applying

Another reason – (Please Specify)

None – as soon as I thought I needed them and was eligible, I applied

ASK ALL WHO ARE NOT TAX CREDIT CLAIMANTS (I.E. ALL WHO DO NOT CODE 6 AT WS01)

WS07B

Which of the following, if any, would make YOU YOURSELF less likely to claim in-work tax credits , if you thought you needed and might be entitled to them?

PLEASE SELECT ALL THAT APPLY.

[MP, ALLOW DK, RANDOMISE ORDER, ANCHOR 8 & 9]

Having to provide personal information (about income or having a partner)

How family, friends or neighbours would react

How you would feel about yourself for claiming (e.g. 'pride', dislike of 'charity')

Too hard to figure out if I'm entitled

Too much hassle to apply for them

Thinking in-work tax credits are for other people, not people like me

How I would be treated by officials while applying

Another reason – please specify _____

None – if I thought I was eligible, I would apply

WS08

(New Screen)

We are now going to ask you a question about 'benefits' – by this, we mean all other benefits like Jobseekers Allowance or Housing Benefit. We do NOT mean tax credits or universal benefits (like Child Benefit or the Basic State Pension).

(New Screen)

ASK ALL BENEFIT CLAIMANTS (ALL WHO CODE 1-5 OR 7-9 AT WS01)

WS08A

Which of the following, if any, have made YOU YOURSELF delay or not claim benefits in the past, from the point you needed and thought you might be entitled to them?

PLEASE SELECT ALL THAT APPLY.

[MP, ALLOW DK, RANDOMISE ORDER, ANCHOR 8 & 9]

Having to provide personal information (about income or having a partner)

How family, friends or neighbours would react

How you would feel about yourself for claiming (e.g. 'pride', dislike of 'charity')

Too hard to figure out if I'm entitled

Too much hassle to apply for them

Thinking benefits are for other people, not people like me

How I would be treated by officials while applying

Another reason – please specify _____

None – as soon as I thought I needed them and was eligible, I applied

ASK ALL NON-BENEFIT CLAIMANTS (ALL WHO DO NOT CODE (1-5 OR 7-9) AT WS01)

WS08B

Which of the following, if any, would make YOU YOURSELF less likely to claim benefits, if you thought you needed and might be entitled to them?

PLEASE SELECT ALL THAT APPLY.

[MP, ALLOW DK, RANDOMISE ORDER, ANCHOR 8 & 9]

Having to provide personal information (about income or having a partner)

How family, friends or neighbours would react

How you would feel about yourself for claiming (e.g. 'pride', dislike of 'charity')

Too hard to figure out if I'm entitled

Too much hassle to apply for them

Thinking benefits are for other people, not people like me

How I would be treated by officials while applying

Another reason – please specify _____

None – as soon as I thought I needed them and was eligible, I applied

ASK ALL WHO WERE NOT ASKED WS02 (6 in 10 respondents)

WS09

The Government release figures on the amount of 'benefit fraud' – where some people *deliberately deceive* the Government so that they can claim benefits, as they would not be entitled to them if they told the truth.

Out of every 100 people claiming out-of-work benefits, how many, if any, would you say, commit fraud in this way? Even if you are not sure, just give your best guess.

[USE NUMERIC BOX –RANGE 0-100, ALLOW DK CODE]

INTERVIEWER IF RESPONDENT GIVES AN ANSWER AS A FRACTION PLEASE ENTER AS A NUMBER OUT OF 100 E.G. IF THEY SAY ONE QUARTER ENTER 25 (OUT OF 100).

Appendix 2 – Secondary analysis of existing data

Perceived rate of false benefit claims (British Social Attitudes 2007)

In Chapters 3 and 6 we make extensive use of the 2007 British Social Attitudes Survey (National Centre for Social Research, 2009). We are grateful to the National Centre for Social Research for collecting and depositing the data (and who hold the copyright on the data), to a variety of funders for allowing the survey to take place, and to all those who participated in the survey.

Full details of the funders, sampling, question wording and other details are available from the UK Data Archive (Study Number 6240) so are not repeated here. All analyses use the supplied weights. The main questions used in our analysis are the following:

- *Out of every 100 people receiving sickness or disability benefits, how many do you think are falsely claiming the benefits? [FalseDB]*
- *And out of every 100 people receiving unemployment benefits, how many do you think are falsely claiming the benefits? [FalseUB]*

Where we use the newspaper framing of benefit claimants as a covariate, this is taken from the following data from the media analysis:

	All negative
Mirror	35
Sun	29
Mail	42
Times	35
Telegraph	43
Independent	29
Guardian	26
Express	30

In Chapter 6 we look at the impact of newspaper coverage and neighbourhood benefit claim rates on perceived false claims. The responses to the two false claim questions are continuous scales from 0 to 100, and we therefore use standard OLS regression models (when we look at the effect of neighbourhood benefit claims, these are cluster-adjusted

versions of these models). The main tables of results are shown below; 'IB' refers to disability benefits, while 'JSA' refers to unemployment benefits.

Table 4: The association of negative newspaper portrayals with perceived false benefit claims

	IB #1	IB #2	IB #3	JSA #1	JSA #2	JSA #3
Negative portrayal in regular paper (% articles)	**0.58****	**0.34****	**0.21****	**0.56****	**0.33****	**0.16***
_Reads paper, no data on framing (vs. mean)	-6.39+	-3.67	-2.20	-7.90**	-5.54**	-2.77
_Doesnt read paper (vs. mean)	-8.34**	-6.19**	-3.33*	-7.34**	-5.14**	-1.63
Male		-6.10**	-6.16**		-6.08**	-6.13**
Age:18/24		0.00	0.00		0	0
Age:25-34		-2.05	-2.77		-0.71	-3.04
Age:35-44		-2.74*	-4.02*		-4.88*	-7.96*
Age:45-54		-5.56**	-7.27**		-8.53**	-11.76**
Age:55-59		-6.03*	-6.25*		-8.71**	-10.14*
Age:60-64		-2.52	-5.71*		-4.14	-8.49*
Age:65-74		-1.64	-4.10*		-3.93	-8.22*
Age:75+		-5.57**	-8.92**		-9.07**	-14.16**
Marital status:married/cohabiting		0.00	0.00		0	0
_widowed/divorced/separated		0.68	0.16		0.25	-0.01
_single		-1.64	-1.57		-2.37+	-1.66
Child U16 in hhld		2.30+	0.24		1	-0.34
Quals: degree		0.00	0.00		0	0
Quals: >A-level		5.35**	3.56*		5.80*	3.52*
Quals: <A-level		9.15**	5.20*		8.62**	5.44*
Quals: none		13.17**	9.27**		12.43**	9.42**
Class:managerial & professional		0.00	0.00		0	0
Class:intermediate occs		0.22	-1.23		0.61	-1.01
Class:in small org/own account		4.84*	4.38*		3.97*	2.88*
Class:lower supervisory/technical		5.79**	5.72**		4.19**	4.29**
Class:(semi-)routine		5.50**	4.73**		4.59**	3.78*
Class:never had job		-0.14	0.55		1.83	2.24

In paid wrk >10hrs/wk		3.70	3.56*		3.22+	3.53**
Lifetime:low work attachment		-1.52	-0.98		0.27	1.04
Lifetime:looking after home/family		1.16	1.95		1.27	2.41*
Benefits:any		-1.22*	0.33		-0.97	0.1
_+JSA		0.24	1.94		-3.58	0.57
_+disability		0.75	-0.91		1.58	0.03
libauth			9.04**			10.37**
leftrght			-1.56*			-0.95
_cons	39.04**	31.24**	4.30	41.74**	36.76**	3.58
N	2834	2568	2171	2862	2590	2190
R-sq	0.06	0.15	0.22	0.05	0.13	0.21

***Key**: cell contents refer to unstandardised beta coefficients; stars indicate statistical significance (+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01); 'ref' = reference category for categorical variables.*

Table 5: The association of neighbourhood benefit claim rates with perceived false benefit claims

	Unemp	Disability	Unemp	Disability
Local IB rate		**0.32****	**0.26**	**0.28+**
Local JSA rate	**-0.07**		**-0.18**	**0.19**
Local LP/carer/oth ben rate			**-0.22**	**-0.30**
Local in-work Child TC rate			**0.06**	**0.05**
Male	-6.44**	-6.27**	-6.37**	-6.29**
Age:18/24	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Age:25-34	-0.09	-1.59	0.53	-0.99
Age:35-44	-4.57+	-2.62	-4.18+	-2.20
Age:45-54	-8.88**	-5.75**	-8.33**	-5.49*
Age:55-59	-8.64**	-5.66*	-8.19**	-5.45*
Age:60-64	-4.52+	-2.50	-4.02	-2.38
Age:65-74	-4.13	-1.19	-3.96	-1.29
Age:75+	-9.63**	-5.67*	-9.02**	-5.51*
Marital status:married/cohabiting	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
_widowed/divorced/separated	0.35	0.46	0.37	0.73
_single	-2.21	-1.43	-1.30	-0.69
Child U16 in hhld	1.41	2.91+	1.54	2.89+
Quals: degree	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Quals: >A-level	7.13**	6.33**	5.82**	5.34**
Quals: <A-level	10.55**	10.38**	8.80**	9.26**
Quals: none	15.09**	14.93**	13.34**	14.03**
Class:managerial & professional	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Class:intermediate occs	0.88	0.45	0.88	0.42
Class:in small org/own account	4.62*	5.42**	4.65*	5.47**
Class:lower supervisory/technical	5.45**	6.53**	4.64*	6.21**

Class:(semi-)routine	5.46**	5.96**	4.84**	5.62**
Class:never had job	3.09	0.14	2.82	0.69
In paid wrk >10hrs/wk	3.73**	4.21**	3.31*	3.78**
Lifetime:low work attachment	-0.09	-2.02	0.32	-1.65
Lifetime:looking after home/family	0.88	0.84	1.17	0.99
Benefits:any	-1.25	-1.72	-1.62	-1.94
_+JSA	-3.33	-0.19	-3.41	-0.36
_+disability	2.54	1.41	2.45	1.34
LA-level unemployment			-0.42	-0.57
LA-level degree-level quals			-0.26**	-0.17*
LA-level no quals			-0.08	0.16
LA-level % born non-Western cntries			0.22	0.08
Local % born non-Western cntries			-0.22+	-0.12
_cons	31.43**	23.76**	40.45**	29.82**
N	2590	2568	2590	2568
R-sq	0.11	0.13	0.12	0.14

***Key**: cell contents refer to unstandardised beta coefficients; stars indicate statistical significance (+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01); 'ref' = reference category for categorical variables.*

The final BSA 2007 that features prominently in Chapter 6 looks at the interaction of newspaper readership and neighbourhood benefit claim rates. These models are more difficult to present as they include a number of additional terms (not just the interaction of local benefit claim rates with newspaper negativity, but also the interaction of local benefit claim rates with whether people (i) read a newspaper for which we do not have data on negativity; or (ii) read a newspaper at all).

To maximise transparency at the same time as readability, we present an extract from these tables that shows the key results referred to in Chapter 6. The Table shows the results we state that (i) the main interaction terms are not close to significance; but (ii) there is no evidence that local IB rates lead to higher perceived false claims for people who read the least negative coverage of benefit claimants, and (ii) there is a strong, statistically significant association between local IB rates and higher perceived false claims for people who read the most negative coverage of benefit claimants.

Table 6: How perceived false disability benefit claims are influenced by the combination of local incapacity benefit claim rates and the negativity of newspaper coverage of benefit claimants

	#1	#2	#3
Local IB rate	**0.25***	**0.25**	**0.29+**
	[0.036]	*[0.125]*	*[0.077]*
Fraud in reg paper (% articles)		0.26**	0.34**
		[0.002]	*[0.000]*
Interaction of IB rate and negative coverage		0.01	0.01
		[0.238]	*[0.345]*
N	2568	2568	1044
R-sq	0.14	0.15	0.20
Estimated impact of neighbourhood benefit claim rates at different levels of newspaper negativity			
Combined sig test of all local IB rate coefficients		0.012	0.206
Estimated effect of local IB...			
...at lowest level of negativity (Guardian, 42% of articles)		-0.20	-0.07

p	*[0.605]*	*[0.840]*
...median level of negativity (Mirror, 73% of articles)	0.18	0.25
p	*[0.141]*	*[0.102]*
...at highest level of negativity (Sun, 83% of articles)	0.30	0.35
p	*[0.010]*	*[0.080]*

***Key**: cell contents refer to unstandardised beta coefficients; stars indicate statistical significance (+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01). Model #3 is restricted solely to those reading one of the newspapers for which we have data on the negativity of their coverage of benefit claimants.*

Other datasets

Several other datasets were downloaded and analysed in this report, including:

- British Social Attitudes survey, various years (National Centre for Social Research / UK Data Archive);
- European Social Survey 2008 (Norwegian Social Science Data Services, 2008);
- World Values Survey 2000/2004 (http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/).

Thanks are due to the large number of survey respondents across multiple countries, and to all those involved in funding, collecting, archiving and supplying the data, none of whom bear any responsibility for the interpretations here. (Copyright for the data in most cases remains with the survey funders/coordinators; see the relevant data archives for details.).

Bibliography

National Centre for Social Research. (2009). British Social Attitudes Survey, 2007 [computer file]. SN: 6240 (July 2009) Colchester, Essex: UK Data Archive [distributor].

Norwegian Social Science Data Services. (2008). European Social Survey Round 4 Data. Data file edition 3.0. Norway Data Archive and distributor of ESS data.

Appendix 3: Focus group methodology

a) Participant recruitment

The contact details of those who had taken part in the initial MORI survey and indicated that they would be happy to be contacted again were collated and split into distinct groups depending on whether they were claiming benefits, and if so which one. This resulted in five groups; non-claimants, job seekers allowance, disability living allowance and employment support allowance, income support claimants, and those claiming working tax credits.

The details of each of these groups were then analysed to identify any geographical clusters. An effort was made to ensure that a geographical range was achieved across the country and for the groups not to be London focused.

Once a geographical centre had been identified for each of the groups participants within this area were contacted by phone and asked to take part in the focus group. Those that agreed received a follow up email or letter which included details of the focus group as well as an information sheet about the project.

We supplemented recruitment using this method by utilising contacts in each local area as follows.

Group 1 – non claimants: all participants in this group were recruited from following up the MORI survey.

Group 2 – JSA claimants: participants in this group were a mix of those recruited via the MORI survey and people who had contact with local advice and back to work support organisations.

Group 3 – claimants of disability benefits: participants in this group were a mix of those recruited via the MORI survey and those who had had contact with a local support group for disabled people which was also the venue for the focus group.

Group 4 – a mix of claimants and non claimants: this group was recruited via a Further Education college, and consisted of one regular class of (mature) students at the college.

b) Conducting the focus groups

The size of the groups ranged from 5 to 15. Prior to commencing all participants were provided with a consent form to read and sign with the facilitator answering any questions that they had. The importance of issues of confidentiality were reiterated verbally by the facilitator prior to the discussion alongside general ground rules for the group (respecting others opinions, speaking one at a time). All of the discussions were recorded using a digital Dictaphone.

The discussion followed a semi-structured format with the facilitator guiding the group through a range pre-defined topics (the topic guide and vignettes used follow). This included the use of a number of participatory techniques and exercises including the use of post-it notes which were useful in developing the discussion as well as ensuring that all those present were involved. However, it should be noted that whilst such techniques can be of use, particular attention should be paid when designing such

activities for groups with disabilities as this can sometimes limit their utility, such as in groups with visual impairments or disabilities which can restrict hand movement or where issues of literacy may be a factor (such as when working with groups where English is not the first language).

At the end of the discussion confidentiality was again stressed and the details of those who would like to see the final report were taken.

c) Data analysis

Each of the focus groups were transcribed before being read in their entirety by two researchers who developed a list of possible codes that emerged through the data. The researchers then met to discuss their findings and a final set of codes were agreed upon and finalised. The documents were then recoded using this thematic framework using an excel spread sheet.

Topic Guide for focus group discussions

Topic guide for focus groups

(Expected to last around 2 hours).

Introduction

Thanks for coming.

Aims of research:

- Explore attitudes to people claiming benefits
- Explore the impact of attitudes on claimants
- Explore the effect of those attitudes on whether people claim benefits.

Research is funded by Elizabeth Finn Care, a charity that helps people in need through grants and wider support. They are interested in attitudes towards people claiming benefits, and commissioned us to undertake this research, which will be written up into a report that will be shared with people who make policy in this area.

Basic ground rules of research:

- Confidentiality – we won't reveal your names, and we ask everyone to agree to not share any personal information given in this room (check have all signed consent forms). You shouldn't feel you need to reveal any information about yourself if you don't want to. But if you are happy to talk about your experiences, then we'll find them interesting.
- It's about discussion – we're not trying to find right or wrong answers. Ask people to respect each other's views.
- One person speaking at a time!

Introductions – explain basis on which they are there – e.g. all claiming a benefit. Ask for first name and (random piece of information – how you got here, what you had for breakfast, etc – anything to get people to practice speaking!) .

Topic 1: General

Start with the question; how are people who claim benefits viewed in general [i.e. not personal views] in Britain today? Ask people to take 5 minutes to write answers on post it notes. Put post it notes in middle, ask people to select one at random, to read it out, and say whether they agree with it.

Topic 2: Initial claim

Now going to look at specific example. Introduce stimulus material for [example relevant for group]. Ask people to think through the kind of issues they will be thinking about when they decides whether or not to make a claim for benefits.

[Prompts:

a. Having to provide personal information (about income or having a partner)
b. How family, friends or neighbours would react
c. How she would feel about herself for claiming (e.g. 'pride', dislike of 'charity')
d. Too hard to figure out if it's worth the hassle
e. Thinking benefits are for other people, not people like me
f. How would be treated by officials while applying]

Probe as to what they think of those reasons – is claimant right to worry about these things?

Topic 3: Other people's attitudes

What kind of treatment do you think claimant will get from other people:

Prompts:

- From jobcentre or tax credit staff
- From family and friends

Topic 4: Different types of claimants

Introduce each example from stimulus materials in turn. For each claimant type:

- Ask if anything would be different for this claimant type in terms of the attitudes that they would face from other people.
- Ask people to imagine that they themselves were in this situation. Do they think they would claim benefits? How might they react to the attitudes expressed by other people? Probe – do you think you would tell family and friends?

Topic 5: Media attitudes

What about the way these issues are discussed by the media? What are the typical stories you'd expect to see about each of these claimants. [possibly, for participatory purposes; allocate each person a claimant type and ask them to write what they think is a typical headline about this type of person].

Prompts:

- Are they different for different claimant types?
- Do you think these attitudes are justified? Do they describe anyone you know?
- If mention people they know who are claiming fraudulently – how do they know this?
- If mention people they know who are genuine – what separates these from people highlighted in media?
- Do you think these are the same stories that you would have seen in the media 5 years ago about benefit claimants? Has anything changed during that time?

Topic 6: Impact on claimants

Have talked a lot about other people's treatment of claimants. How do you think it will affect those people who are claiming benefits, after their initial claim?

How do you think they might feel about the kind of attitudes they encounter here?

Do you think that this is what you and your family would do in this situation? Do you think there are any differences between you and your family and most people claiming benefits?

Final Q: Imagine David Cameron has just walked into this focus group. He tells you he's really interested in this topic, and he'd like you to just tell him the one key thing you think he should know about this area. What would it be?

Wrap up

- Is there anything that you wanted to say that you haven't had the chance to? Thanks –hand out thank you voucher (and ask people to sign to say have received).
- Reiterate confidentiality
- Explain next stages of research – other focus groups, survey, media analysis, writing up!
- Ask if want to be sent a copy of the report (take a list of emails).

Appendix 4: Methodology for quantitative print media analysis

The data

Articles on social security from 1995-2011 were sourced from Nexis using the following search [(At start of article) 'benefits' AND (Anywhere in article) 'welfare' OR(Anywhere in article) 'social security' OR (Anywhere in article) 'dole'] with 'moderate similarity' duplicates excluded. The search was confined to national titles, excluding Sunday papers where these were grouped separately in Nexis.

Why did we use this search? We wanted to reduce the chances of getting a lot of articles which used one of these terms but were on unrelated issues (e.g. which quoted someone saying that the economy 'benefits' from EU membership), so we confined the search to articles which used more than one term. (In the event, we still got a lot of irrelevant articles.) We also needed to keep the numbers of articles down to what could feasibly be manually cleaned: hence, we decided to search only for articles where what we considered the most important term ('benefits') occurred at the start.

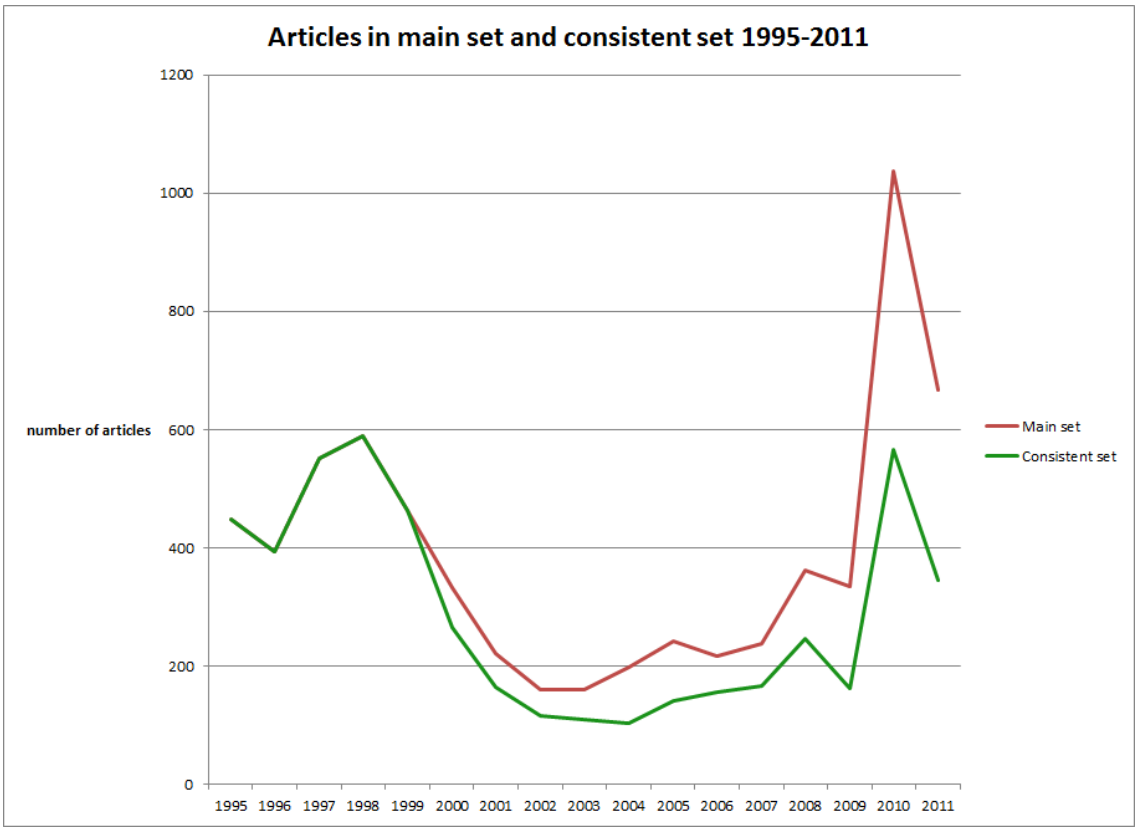
We were worried the search might introduce a bias (perhaps some titles use the word 'welfare' more than 'benefits' for example). So we tested a permutation of the search with 'welfare' as the 'start of article' term. The permutation yielded relatively few additions to the existing set after cleaning. We therefore decided that processing additional search results would not be a good use of resources, and our analysis is based solely on articles using the original search.

This set is not, it should be stressed, a randomised sample of articles on working age social security: it is a census of articles in the Nexis database which meet the criteria we set out (i.e. conforming to the search and surviving the data cleaning process).

The titles searched were *Times Mirror Guardian Independent Mail* (from 1995-2011) *Telegraph Sun Express* (2000-2011). Articles were uploaded into a purpose-built database designed by Clancy Hood and manually cleaned to remove articles which did not primarily concern working age UK social security (mainly articles on pensioners' benefits and non-UK welfare reform). The database also automatically excludes any duplicates not already excluded in the search. The resulting main set comprises 6,612 articles, representing about half the articles originally sourced through the search. We have not excluded any particular type of article from the data (for example, letters to the editor) but our manual coding allows us to analyse coverage by article type.

Nexis only includes the *Sun Telegraph* and *Express* from 2000 (with the *Express* also dropping out between 2006 and 2008). In order to compare over time from 1995, we used a consistent dataset confined to the *Mirror Times Guardian Independent* and *Mail.* This set includes 4989 articles in total. The number of articles in the two sets for each year from 1995 is shown in chart 1.

Chart 1



The analysis

We analysed the data in two ways: automatic coding of articles according to their use of terms from a set of word-lists; and manual coding of a 20% sample of articles according to various features including type of article and content.

Automatic coding We devised word-lists intended to capture the occurrence of specific concepts/frames and to identify which benefits were referred to. For the former, the word-lists were primarily based around concepts which have been shown in research to be important in analysing public attitudes towards claimants. These are *trust*, for which we focussed on terms denoting or connoting fraud and dishonesty; *dependency*; reciprocity, or more precisely, *non-reciprocity* (e.g. 'handouts' 'something for nothing'; and *outsider status* (e.g. 'immigrant' 'obese'). We also compiled lists to capture various *deservingness/need* concepts (e.g. 'vulnerable' 'hard-pressed') and *overtly hostile language*, although the latter turned out to have very low prevalence. Finally we compiled lists of the names of various benefits to enable us to relate vocabulary to specific types of claimant or benefit.

The word-lists for fraud, dependency, non-reciprocity/lack of effort, need/deservingness and identity/outsider status are shown in table 1. (The disability word-list is simply words with the root 'disab...')The benefits word-lists (not shown) contain the names of the various working age benefits over the period 1995-2011. The database identifies strings of characters rather than individual words, so complex terms (e.g. 'benefit abuse') are identified separately.

Table 1

Fraud	Dependency	Non-reciprcocity/lack of effort	Need/deservingness	Identity/outsider status
benefit abuse	benefit dependency	culture of entitlement	adversity	asylum seeker
abusing benefits	benefit dependent	feckless	breadline	benefit tourist
anti-social behaviou	benefit trap	fecklessness	carer	benefit tourism
benefit thief	culture of poverty	greed	carers	addict
benefit thieves	dependency culture	greedy	caring	addicts
benefit theft	intergenerational	handout	child poverty	alcoholic
bogus	languishing	handouts	deprived	alcoholics
cheat	low aspiration	layabout	deserving	dysfunctional family
cheats	low aspirations	layabouts	destitute	dysfunctional families
cheating	passive	lazy	disadvantage	drug and alcohol
criminal	passivity	laziness	disadvantaged	eastern european
criminals	pauper	loafer	hard-pressed	eastern europeans
defraud	pauperism	loafers	hardship	gypsy
defrauding	pauperised	loafing	homeless	gypsies
faker	poverty of aspiration	parasite	homelessness	hiv
fakers	poverty trap	parasites	neglected	illegitimate child
faking	tough love	scrounger	poor	illegitimate children
feigning	underclass	scroungers	poorest	immigrant
feigning	unemployable	scrounging	poverty	immigrants
fraud	unemployment trap	shameless	struggling	junkie
fraudster	welfare dependency	shirker	subsistence	junkies
fraudsters	welfare dependent	shirkers	underprivileged	migrant
fraudulent	wean off	shirking	unfortunate	migrants
liar		sick-note culture	vulnerable	muslim
liars		something for nothing	working poor	muslims
scam		sponger		non-english speaking
scammer		spongers		obese
scammers		sponging		obesity
		undeserving		pole
		workshy		poles
		unfair to taxpayers		polish
		unfairness to taxpayers		refugees
		fairness to taxpayers		roma
				romanian
				romanians
				traveller
				travellers

The two charts show the number of occurrences of the most widely used terms from any of the word-lists other than those for individual benefits. Note that this is not the same as the measure used in the report, which is the number of articles with one or more occurrences of terms: if a term occurs more than once in an article, it is logged as more than one occurrence here. We show the results for headlines and for the body of articles.

Chart 2

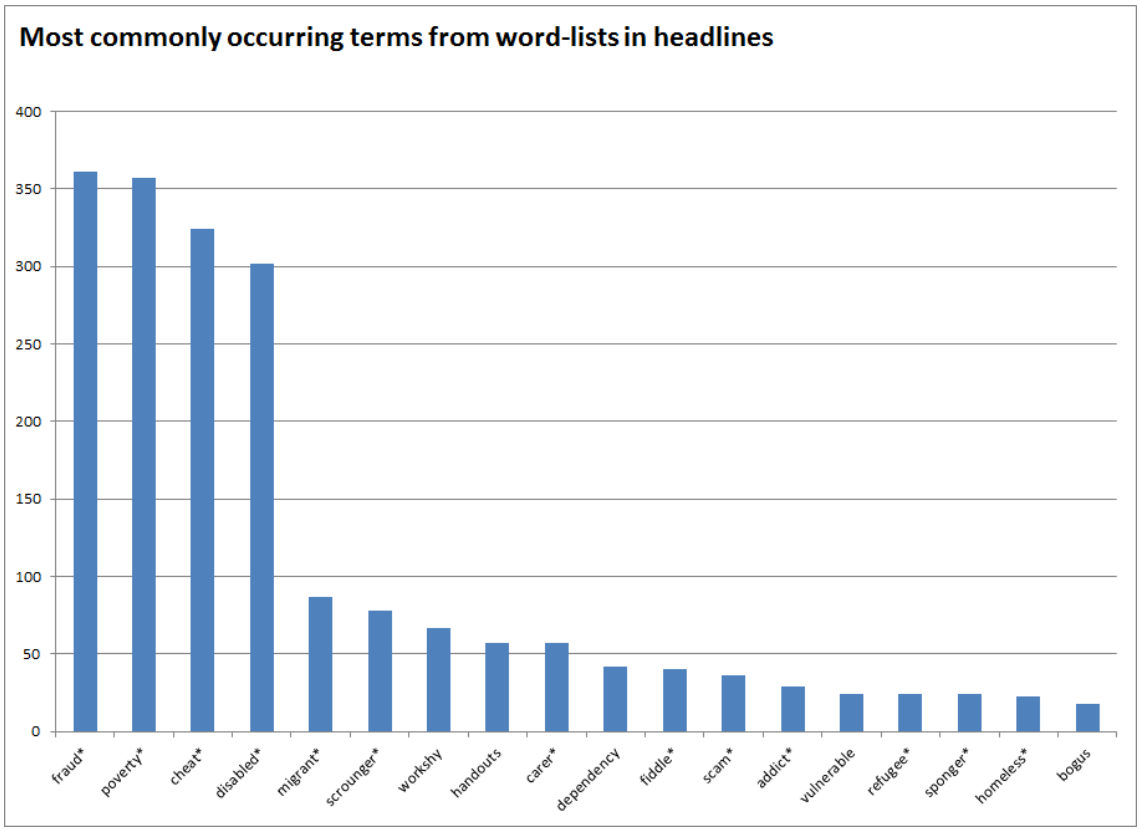
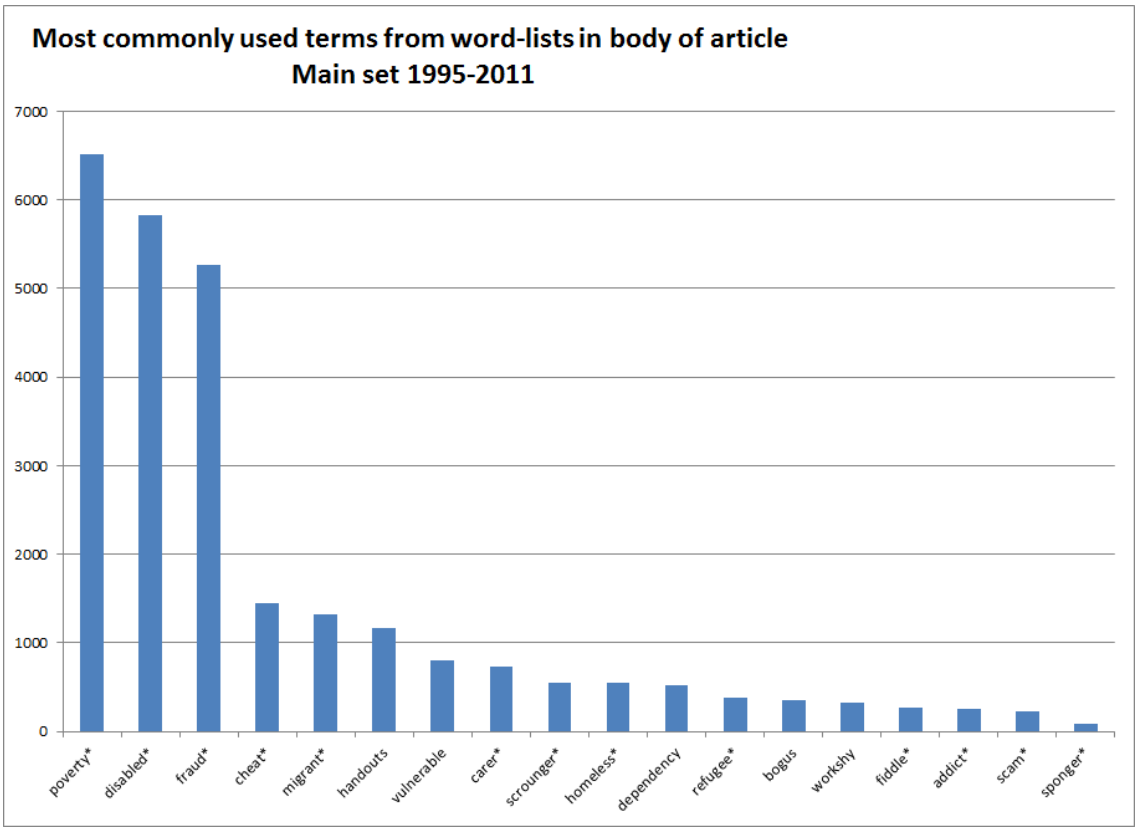

Most commonly occurring terms from word-lists in headlines
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
fraud*
poverty*
cheat*
disabled*
migrant*
scrounger*
workshy
handouts
carer*
dependency
fiddle*
scam*
addict*
vulnerable
refugee*
sponger*
homeless*
bogus

Chart 3


Most commonly used terms from word-lists in body of article
Main set 1995-2011
7000
6000
5000
4000
3000
2000
1000
0
poverty*
disabled*
fraud*
cheat*
migrant*
handouts
vulnerable
carer*
scrounger*
homeless*
dependency
refugee*
bogus
workshy
fiddle*
addict*
scam*
sponger*

Manual coding: We extracted a sample of 20% of articles in the main dataset for each title and year. We coded articles by *type* (news, feature, opinion piece, letter, other) and for news articles by the main newshook of the story: *policy*, *statistics*, *human interest*, *other*. For articles that used a statistical newshook, we also coded the *source* of the statistic (government, organisation, political party etc).

We devised a set of '*themes*' to capture aspects of the content of articles: these were subjects which made a substantial contribution to the content of articles. The themes we chose were: *fraud*, *'shouldn't be claiming'* (for reasons other than fraud),*never worked/hasn't worked for very long time*, *large families on benefits*, *bad parenting/anti-social behaviour of families on benefits*, *claimants better off on benefits than if they were working*, *claimants better off than workers, immigrants claiming benefits*, *compulsion of claimants*, *cuts to benefits*, *need* and *disability*.

We also coded the attribution of terms from the word-lists used for automatic coding, in order to see which types of speakers were using particular vocabularies: language was attributed to *journalist , central government* , *politician (Lab, Con, LD, other)* ,*claimants*, *organisations* ,*member of the public*. We also coded a distinction between *use* and *mention* of terms from word-lists: a term is mentioned rather than used if the user distances herself from the usual connotations of the term (for example, by using scare-quotes).

Because we are working from a 20% sample of the main dataset, and because we need to exclude some titles in order to achieve consistency in comparisons over time, the sample size can be very small for some of our thematic codes. We have therefore used complex variables aggregating word-lists and themes in order to simplify the analysis. The results from the 20% sample in the report are statistically significant at a 99% confidence level unless otherwise noted.

Our main unit of analysis in the report is individual articles: we are measuring how many articles contain *one or more* occurrences of particular vocabularies and themes. In fact, many articles will include more than one vocabulary or theme, so to avoid double counting we need to cross-tabulate. To simplify presentation and analysis we have at times used hierarchical grouping of word-lists and themes.

Table 2 below illustrates the need for simplification: it shows all of the combinations of three 'negative' vocabularies which are used in articles referring to disability benefits in the main dataset from 1995-2011. There are seven combinations, all of which make a contribution to the total number of articles which use terms from these word-lists. We can summarise this complex picture in various ways: simply by noting the percentage of articles using any negative vocabulary (50.2%); those using negative vocabulary other than 'fraud' (50.2% - 14.7% =35.5%) and so on.

Table 2

Main set 1995-2011: articles with one or more uses of terms from 'disability benefit' word-list

	Count	%
Disability only	900	49.8
Disability +Fraud	266	14.7
Disability + Dependency	125	6.9
Disability + Non-reciprocity	195	10.8
Disability +Fraud +Dependency	45	2.5
Disability +Fraud +Non-reciprocity	156	8.6
Disability +Dependency+Non-reciprocity	78	4.3
Disability + Fraud+ Dependency+Non-reciprocity	42	2.3
Negative vocabulary	907	50.2
Total	1,807	100.0

Caveats

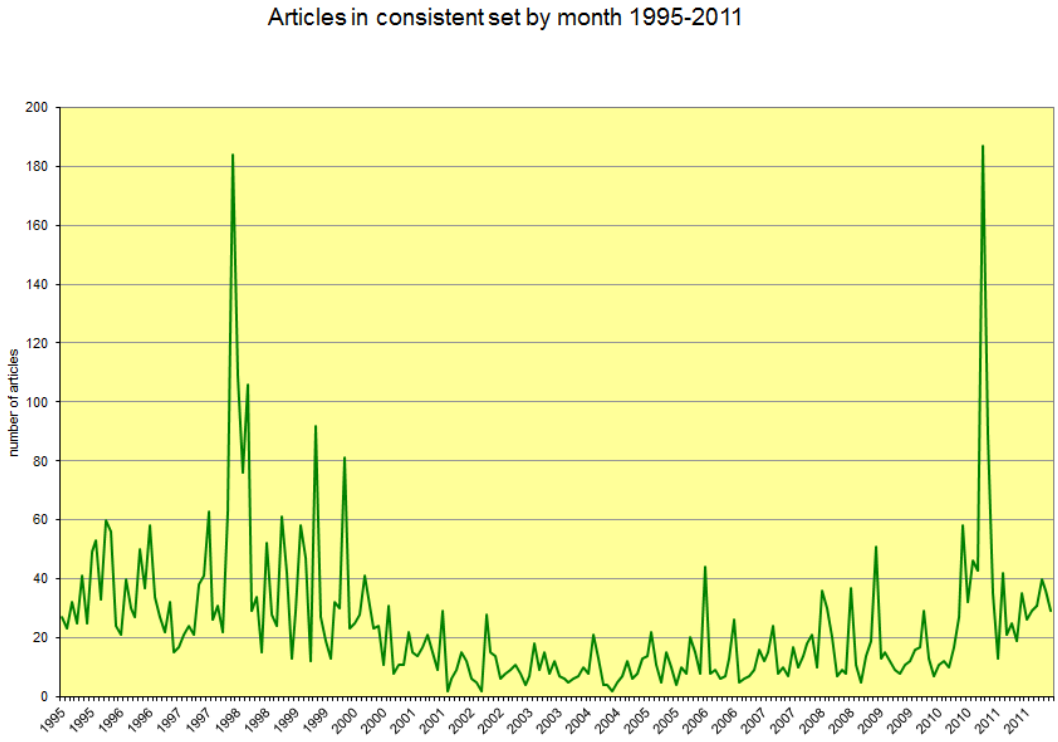
In looking at differences in newspaper coverage, both over time and between titles, we need to be aware of factors which can lead to misleading results. Two aspects which are worth bearing in mind are the way coverage fluctuates over time and differences in the type of news reported by different types of title.

The volume of coverage of benefits in the national press fluctuates enormously over time. The chart shows the number of articles in a consistent set of titles by month from 1995 (this leaves out titles for which we only have data from 2001 on). The highest number is 187 and the lowest two (these figures should be seen as illustrative only). Two enormous spikes are registered in December 1997 and October 2010. Apart from fluctuations from month to month there are also longer term fluctuations: we can see that during most of the early 2000's coverage was much lower than in the late 1990's. Coverage picks up from 2006 to early 2009 , then falls away before hitting a huge peak in the post 2010 election period.

These fluctuations pose a challenge in exploring trends. Say we want to ask whether the number of stories with negative content has been increasing over time, as has been argued by many. The answer is likely to depend a lot on the start date chosen: we will almost certainly get different answers depending on whether we start from 1997 or 2002 or 2008 , just because the volume of coverage is so different between these years. This also means that overall results for the entire period are influenced by peaks of high coverage. For example, we show that broadsheets increase coverage more than tabloids when major policy changes are taking place, so the balance between these two markets over an extended period will not be representative of the balance from week to week. As the tone and content of articles varies with market segment, we need to be careful not to extrapolate from the long-term data to what is being published on a routine basis.

Another problem is that in some periods we are dealing with very small numbers of articles: this can lead to extreme variation in some of the variables we are interested in, such as the percentage of articles with negative content or vocabulary. This is particularly the case when we are looking at content, where we are using a 20% sample of the data, but it also applies when we are using the whole set (i.e. our searches might just have hit on unrepresentative articles in periods with low coverage) .

Chart 4



The second point to bear in mind is newspapers differ in the type of story they print. In our analysis we have divided news stories into four main categories based on their main news 'hook' : policy & political, human interest, statistical and 'other'. Table 3 shows how coverage breaks down between these categories for three segments of the national newspaper market: red-top tabloids, mid-market tabloids and broadsheets.

The most striking differences between the markets concern what we have dubbed 'policy' and 'human interest' stories. The latter are virtually non-existent in broadsheet news coverage but account for two fifths of red-top stories and nearly a quarter of mid-market tabloid stories. The share of stories with a policy newshook is correspondingly lower for tabloids. (A more surprising finding is that the mid-market tabloids rely more heavily on statistics based stories than either the red-tops or the broadsheets. These account for some 28% of all stories in this market segment, compared to only 16% in the other market segments. We explore this in section ?? below.)

'Human interest stories' may be something of a misnomer when it comes to tabloid coverage of benefits. These stories are generally far from sympathetic: a high proportion concern fraud cases in the courts, and such stories are part of the stock in trade of the UK tabloid press, regardless of political partisanship. We need to take account of this aspect in assessing coverage. Some of the differences in content and tone between broadsheets and tabloids will reflect the fact that they are covering different types of news. For example, if stories about individual cases of fraud are a staple of UK tabloid reporting, as seems to be the case, this will increase the share of articles using negative vocabulary or themes: inferences about the editorial stance of titles need to take account of this. It is not necessarily the case, for example, that broadsheets generally take a less negative stance on benefits than tabloids: it may just be that the demand for stories about individual cases is much weaker in the market they serve.

Table3

News articles by article type and market: main set					
	Policy	Human Interest	Statistics	Other	All
Red-top tabloid	42.6	39.0	16.4	2.1	100.0
Mid-market tabloid	48.1	22.9	28.3	0.8	100.0
Broadsheet	77.5	4.6	16.3	1.5	100.0
All	61.6	17.2	19.8	1.4	100.0