# Annex II: Coding

**The study: Introductory remarks**

The study is based upon a coding of newspaper articles in the countries Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, the UK and Denmark covering the period from 1 January 2003 to 30 June 2016. The coding is assisted by the software programmes MAXQDA and Nvivo.

**Purpose and Data**

The overall purpose of the study is to cover which opinions are expressed in the media in the respective member states concerning the granting of social benefits to other EU nationals. The opinions can, as examples, be expressed by politicians, experts, NGOs and other citizens. Hence, the opinion expressed in the newspaper article comprise the actual data, not the article as such. One article can include many different expressed opinions. In practice, this means that our data consists of excerpts of the articles where relevant opinions are expressed.

Both direct and indirect opinions are included as data. I.e. both direct quotations but also text parts indirectly referring to/paraphrasing an opinion are included. Hence, also text parts where, as an example, one politician refers to another politician’s opinion, also even though this might be a strawman.

**Collection of Newspaper Articles**

*Collecting articles*: Articles were identified via the relevant national search database. The newspapers comprise one broadsheet left-wing, one broadsheet right wing and one tabloid

*Time span:* 1 January 2003 to 30 June 2016

*Search words*:

[National equivalents to welfare tourism, social tourism, welfare tourist, social tourist, welfare benefits, child care allowance, social assistance, study grants, unemployment benefits]

AND

[National equivalents to the CJEU], EU

*Noise*: After the total number of articles were collected, all articles were manually checked in order to ensure relevance. Irrelevant articles were removed and only the net sum of relevant articles were left for coding.

**How much text is included?**

All the text covering the given opinion is coded. In one article, many similar opinions can be expressed by the same sender. If the opinion is spatially interrupted by other opinions or irrelevant descriptions, the opinions are coded as two or more separate opinions.

**Coding Approach**

All irrelevant articles are excluded as noise. Articles covering refugees (e.g. as welfare tourists) are also deemed irrelevant. The target is EU nationals’ receipt of social benefits.

The coding follows the following steps:

1. **Negative, positive**: Is the opinion negative or positive towards granting social benefits to EU migrants in the relevant EU member state? The categories are defined as follows:

*Negative*: Granting social benefits to other EU nationals is a problem

*Positive*: Granting social benefits to other EU nationals is not a problem/is an advantage

1. **Themes**: Which of the following themes does the expressed fall into? All opinions are categorised within at least one of the themes. If an opinion expresses more than one of the themes, it is coded within both themes.
2. *Welfare State Concerns*: This code would cover statements related to concerns over Union citizen's access to the welfare state, including: 'welfare tourism’, welfare state sustainability, access to social benefits, abuse of social benefits, etc.
3. *Labour Market Concerns*: This code would cover statements related to concerns over the impact of free movement on the domestic labour market, including unfair competition, illegal practices, social dumping, poor accommodation, abuse of migrant workers, etc.
4. *Social Problems*: This code would cover statements related to ‘social problems’ resulting from EU migration, such as nuisance, access to shelters, vagrancy, housing conditions, etc.
5. *EU Law/ECJ*: This code covers references to EU law in general and judgments of the ECJ in particular in the context of Union citizens' access to social benefits. It captures the 'legal' dimension.
6. *European dimension*: This code would cover references to European politics and EU institutions in the context of Union citizens' access to benefits. It captures the Europeanisation/political dimension of the issue.
7. **Welfare tourism**: All uses of the term welfare tourism/social tourism/welfare tourist/social tourist are coded into the code ’welfare tourism’. This is done through an automatic search function and subsequently checked manually for potential irrelevant results.
8. **Transnational dimension**: Does the expressed opinion cover the debate in another member state? Here, we also code which member state(s) is(are) mentioned

**Figure: Collection of newspaper articles**

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|  | **Newspapers** | **Database** | **Search Terms** |
| Netherlands | NRC handelsblad, de Volkskrant, De Telegraaf | LexisNexis | 1. (uitkeringstoerisme OR bijstandstoerisme OR welvaartstoerisme) OR (uitkeringsmigratie OR bijstandsmigratie AND Europese Unie)  2. OR (sociale voorzieningen OR verzorgingsstaat OR bijstand OR uitkering OR zorgtoeslag OR huurtoeslag OR kinderbijslag OR studiefinanciering AND EU burger OR europees hof OR hof van justitie OR Unieburger OR vrij verkeer OR EU onderdaan OR Oost-Europees OR Oost-Europese OR Oost-Europeanen OR Zuid-Europees OR Zuid-Europeanen OR West-Europees OR West-Europese OR West-Europeanen)  3. OR (sociale voorzieningen OR verzorgingsstaat OR bijstand OR uitkering OR zorgtoeslag OR huurtoeslag OR kinderbijslag OR studiefinanciering ) AND (Pool OR Poolse OR Bulgaar OR Bulgaarse OR Roemeen OR Roemeense OR Spanjaard OR Spaans OR Griek OR Grieks OR Italiaans OR Italiaan OR Portugese OR Portugees OR Duitser OR Duitse OR Belg OR Belgisch OR Verenigd-Koninkrijk OR Brits OR Engels OR Hongaar OR Hongaarse AND migratie OR migrant OR vrij verkeer)) |
| Austria | Der Standard, Die Presse , Kronen Zeitung | APA-OnlineManager Library | (Armutsmigration ODER Wohlfahrtsmigration ODER Sozialtourismus ODER Sozialleistungen ODER Sozialhilfe ODER „soziale Sicherung“ ODER Arbeitslosengeld ODER Notstandshilfe ODER Ausgleichszulage ODER „bedarfsorientierte Mindestsicherung“ ODER Studienbeihilfe ODER Pflegegeld ODER Familienbeihilfe ODER Kinderbetreuungsgeld ODER Kindergeld ODER Notquartier ODER Notunterkunft) UND (EU ODER „Europäische Union“ ODER „Europäischer Gerichtshof“ ODER EuGH) |
| Germany | Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ), Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ) | FAZ: FAZ-Archiv, SZ: Factiva | eu and armutsmigration or eu and armutszuwanderung or eu and sozialtourismus or eu and wohlfahrtsmigration or eu and sozialleistung\* [eu AND different terms for welfare migration, poverty migration, benefit tourism, social benefits] |
| UK | The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, The Sun | Factiva | eu and poverty migration or eu and benefit touris\* or eu and welfare migration or eu and benefits |
| Denmark | Berlingske, Politiken, BT | Infomedia | velfærdsturisme socialturisme velfærdsturist socialturist velfærdsydelser børnepenge børnecheck kontanthjælp SU dagpenge  AND EU-domstolen EU |