# Appendix 1. Definitions of *minority* and *majority* and overview of interviewee characteristics

## Definitions of *minority* and *majority* youth

*Majority* interviewees were born in Denmark of non-immigrant parents.

*Minority* interviewees were born of two immigrant parents. Most of the interviewees characterised as "minority" in this study were born in Denmark; a few arrived in Denmark at a young age (0-4 years; one was 9 at the time of arrival).

It should be noted that seven interviewees have one Danish-born parent and a parent born in another country (e.g. Poland, the UK, or Russia). It is a matter of debate how to classify these interviewees. I follow official categorisation standards classifying these interviewees as part of the majority group (children born of at least one Danish parent are categorised as "Danish" in official statistics, cf. Statistics Denmark, 2019). Beyond relying on official categorizations, I do this for several reasons: All seven "mixed-parent" interviewees have "Danish-sounding" names, and in all but one case they are not visible minorities and did not talk about having an immigrant parent (nor did they self-identify as minority). This was only revealed to the interviewer when the interviewee filled out the post-interview survey with background questions. Note that I conducted all analyses with three groups of comparison—majority, minority, and mixed—but patterns for the "mixed" group followed the majority group; a finding that is informative in and of itself. One interviewee whose mother is from Denmark and father from Vietnam did stand out somewhat. In a couple of instances during the interview, she spoke explicitly about being (seen) not quite as a majority Dane, which had consequences for some of the political lessons she drew. This speaks to the pervasiveness of the anti-immigrant political targeting.

Table A.1. gives an overview of interviewee characteristics, including parents' birth countries for minority interviewees.

## Timing

The interviews were conducted in autumn 2018 and spring 2019 towards the end of a four-year election period when news media were speculating about when the Prime Minister would call the new election (this did not happen until May, after all interviews had been conducted; the election was held on June 5, 2019). This may have increased the study participants' political attention.

## Recruitment

Interviewees were recruited during visits to high schools and public spaces such as shopping malls or the central train station (with a few recruited through subsequent snowballing). Politics was not mentioned as a theme during recruitment because we did not want the politically

less confident or less interested to shy away from volunteering for an interview. Instead, prospective interviewees were told that we were interested in talking to young people about their views on Danish society and what it is like being young in Denmark. We also told them that we were interested in talking with a mix of young people, not only those with great interest in or knowledge about societal issues. This was important for convincing some interviewees of their eligibility to participate.

**Table A.1. Overview of background characteristics**

| Characteristic | Majority youths | Minority youths |
|---|---|---|
| Mean age at time of interview | 20.5 | 20.5 |
| Gender | | |
| Women | 15 | 21 |
| Men | 13 | 22 |
| Currently studying | | |
| Yes | 24 | 38 |
| No | 4 | 5 |
| Current study or highest education | | |
| Folkeskole (secondary school, 9th grade) | 0 | 4 |
| Craftsman | 1 | 1 |
| Vocational training: EUD | 5 | 7 |
| 2-year high school: HF + VUC | 11 | 9 |
| 3-year high school: STX + HHX | 10 | 16 |
| Professional bachelor's degree (e.g. nurse or preschool teacher) | 0 | 5 |
| University | 1 | 1 |
| Class background, based on parents' education and employment status | | |
| Working class parents | 17 | 33 |
| Lower middle class parents | 5 | 3 |
| Middle middle class parents | 5 | 2 |
| Ambiguous classification of parents' class, because one category unassigned | 1 | 5 |
| Born in Denmark/not born in Denmark | | 33/10 |
| Danish citizen/not Danish citizen | | 37/6 |
| Parents' birth countries | | |
| Afghanistan | | 3 |
| Albania | | 1 |
| Chile/Peru | | 1 |
| Iran | | 1 |
| Iran/Romania | | 1 |
| Iraq (Kurds) | | 2 |
| Kuwait (Kurds from Iraq) | | 2 |
| Lebanon | | 6 |
| Lebanon/Syria | | 1 |
| Morocco/Libya | | 1 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Palestine | | 1 |
| Somalia | | 13 |
| Somalia/Uganda | | 1 |
| Turkey | | 9 |

Note: The following definitions of class background were employed:

*Working class*: No parent has higher than high school education OR one (or both) parents are unemployed.

*Lower middle class*: One parent has a professional bachelor's degree (or above), one parent has no higher than high school education AND both are employed.

*Middle middle class*: One parent has a higher than high school education and one parent has a university degree, and both are employed.

It should be noted that more minority interviewees than majority interviewees from a working class background have only one parent in employment. While this means that more minority interviewees may come from slightly less privileged homes, this is also a reflection of real patterns in employment among immigrant couples in Denmark. Moreover, even if one parent in minority youths' homes was unemployed, that parent often had a higher level of education (such as a professional bachelor's degree), suggesting that even if economic resources were more limited, cultural/educational resources may have been in greater supply.

## Appendix 2. Interview guide (translated from Danish to English)

| | |
|---|---|
| Introduction | In brief, I'm interested in talking to young people about how it is being young in Denmark and how young people perceive society, broadly speaking. There are no right or wrong answers – I'm interested in your spontaneous thoughts and considerations. |
| Warm-up | **1. Could you start by telling me a bit about yourself, and what you think about being young in Denmark?** |
| Conceptions of society, perceptions of social groups and citizen categories | **2. You've already said a bit about how it is to be young in Denmark. But more generally, if you were to describe Danish society to someone who's never been here, what would you say?**<br>a. Some people see society as one big whole while others see it as composed of many different groups. Which description do you think fits best on Danish society? Do people have a lot in common or are they very different from each other?<br>What do they have in common? / Can you describe the different groups in society?<br><br>Which group do you belong to?<br>Is there a group that differs a lot from yours? |
| Citizenship ideals | **3. If you were to give a description of a good citizen, what would you say?**<br>Is there such a thing as a bad citizen? What type of person is that?<br><br>**4. Do you think citizens in Denmark have any duties/obligations? What are they?**<br>Why does one have those duties? Why are they important?<br>How can it be that citizens do not have any duties? |
| Status as citizen, citizenship as claims-making | **5. Have you ever experienced that you needed to prove that you are a good citizen?** Try to describe that situation. What did you do?<br><br>**6. Now, I would like you to imagine something happening that you feel would be unfair. It could be something that happened to you, someone close to you, or in your neighborhood/city. What could it be?**<br>What would you do if something like that happened?<br>What would it make you feel?<br>Have you ever experienced anything like that? |
| Conception of politics<br>(Note the language used: abstract, does politics have its own logic or is it described in concrete terms, narrowly related to politicians) | Now we've talked about society and citizens. Now I'd like to talk more specifically about politics.<br>**7. To start with, let me hear: What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you hear the word "politics"?**<br>(Can you give an example of "politics"?)<br><br>**8. How does politics work?**<br>Can you tell me about a situation or something that is typical of politics/the way that politics works?<br>Does politics work in the same way as everyday life? Are politicians different from ordinary people? |
| Political identity, engagement and confidence | **9. People differ a lot in terms of political interest. Some people are very interested while others are not at all interested. How is it for you?** |

| | |
|---|---|
| | **10. Would you say that you follow politics?**<br>How? Which kind of politics do you follow—can you give some examples?<br><br>**11. Do you feel it is easy or difficult to acquaint yourself with politics/political topics?**<br><br>**12. Do you think it is easy or difficult to have an opinion about societal issues/political issues?** |
| Political experience/political socialisation | **13. Do you talk about society or societal issues with your family/your parents?**<br>What do you talk about then (instead of that)?<br>Did you always (never) talk about society/societal issues—(not) even when you were a kid?<br>Did you ever discuss politics with your parents?<br>How was that? What did you talk about, more specifically?<br><br>**14. Do you talk to others about societal issues or politics?**<br>Whom? What about your friends? What do you talk about then (instead)?<br>Are your friends interested in societal issues or politics? |
| Political participation | **15. There are many ways to participate in politics. Do you participate in any way?**<br>How? (E.g. demonstrations, letter to the editor, petitions, debates on social media, political consumption/boycotts)<br>What makes you participate in this way? / How come you don't participate in any of these ways?<br><br>**16. Another way is to vote at elections – for instance, Folketingsvalg or kommunalvalg. Do you do that?**<br>Did you vote in the latest election? Why is that? Have you considered whether to vote at the coming election? |
| Political social capital + perception of collective political capacity | **17. Do you think it's important to vote or is it not so important?**<br><br>**18. How about your friends, do they participate in politics in any way?**<br>And how about your family (parents and siblings)? |
| Perceptions of politicians | **19. The last thing I want to talk to you about are politicians. Are there any politicians you feel you can identify with? Can you give me an example (who)?**<br>(Only if asked to elaborate: someone who's like you or has the same values and opinions as you)<br>What is it about him/her?<br><br>a. Is there any politician whom you think does his/her job well?<br><br>b. Are there any politicians whom you don't like or whom you can't accept? |
| Outro | Now I've asked all the questions I wanted to talk to you about.<br><br>Has anything come to your mind that you think we should get back to?<br><br>How was it to talk about these issues? |

# Appendix 3. Overview of political participation

While voting is the main outcome in focus, this appendix reports on the non-electoral participation of interviewees, as this plays into the overall picture concerning minority and majority youths' political engagement. Again, this study reaches the same conclusion as previous studies (Table A.2.): Minority youths sometimes outperform majority youths (in particular, they sign petitions to a much higher degree), whereas majority youths have higher participation rates in other, often more traditional/institutionalized activities such as volunteering in an association or joining a youth party. It also appears that fewer minority than majority youths have participated in at least one of these activities.

**Table A.2. Participation in non-electoral political activities (percent)**

| Political activity | Majority youths | Minority youths |
|---|---|---|
| Demonstration | 36 | 37 |
| Signed petition | 18 | 37 |
| Boycott/politically motivated consumption | 39 | 21 |
| Posted political message/participated in debate on social media | 25 | 21 |
| Voluntary work, associational work | 32 | 16 |
| Attended political talks or meetings | 4 | 9 |
| Donated money to a cause | 21 | 2 |
| Contacted politician | 0 | 2 |
| Member of youth party | 14 | 2 |
| Strike/walk-out | 0 | 2 |
| Signed statement of support for new political party | 4 | 2 |
| Letter to the editor | 4 | 0 |
| **Participation in at least one activity** | 82 | 67 |

Note: Based on qualitative coding of interview transcripts. Sorted in ascending order for the minority group.

Examining participation profiles, I find that those who do not vote or only sometimes vote tend to refrain from other types of political activities as well. This goes against the idea that minority youths' relatively high level of non-electoral participation indicates a substitution pattern. Rather, some minority youths are generally politically withdrawn and passive while others are generally engaged.