Supplementary material for

Divided Attitudes Toward Rectifying Injustice: How Preferences for Indigenous Policies Differ Between the Indigenous and Majority Populations of Norway and Sweden

Appendix A: Policy Vignettes

Like the whole online questionnaire, the vignettes were available in Norwegian, Swedish, North Sámi, and English. Yet only a few respondents chose the North Sámi and just three the English version. The text of the vignettes below is the original English version on which the Norwegian, Swedish, and North Sámi translations were based. The parts in italics are the randomly varied feature levels.

Language and Education

Speakers of the Sámi languages live in various regions across several countries and the policies that govern Sámi language and education matters can differ between these regions. For example, the official status given to the Sámi languages and the extent to which Sámi education is offered in school varies across regions. Please imagine the following situation:

There are two regions (**A** and **B**) in which a large share of the population speaks Sámi.

In region A [Norwegian/Swedish] is the only official language. There is no entitlement to use Sámi when dealing with any public institution. | Sámi is recognised as national minority language. It can be used when dealing with public authorities or the judiciary. | Sámi has the same status as [Norwegian/Swedish]. This means it can be used in all parts of public life and public authorities have to provide information in Sámi. | Sámi is the official language, but it is also possible to use [Norwegian/Swedish] in any parts of public life.

At the same time, the compulsory curriculum does not provide for Sámi education. Sámi classes are only offered on a voluntary basis as optional subject. | selected schools offer bilingual education in Sámi and [Norwegian/Swedish]. This covers pre-school and the first six years of compulsory schooling. | many schools offer education in and of Sámi. This covers all

levels from pre-school to higher education. | all schools have to offer Sámi as language of instruction in any subject to every pupil who wishes for this.

In region **B** [Norwegian/Swedish] is the only official language. There is no entitlement to use Sámi when dealing with any public institution. | Sámi is recognised as national minority language. It can be used when dealing with public authorities or the judiciary. | Sámi has the same status as [Norwegian/Swedish]. This means it can be used in all parts of public life and public authorities have to provide information in Sámi. | Sámi is the official language, but it is also possible to use [Norwegian/Swedish] in any parts of public life.

At the same time, the compulsory curriculum does not provide for Sámi education. Sámi classes are only offered on a voluntary basis as optional subject. | selected schools offer bilingual education in Sámi and [Norwegian/Swedish]. This covers pre-school and the first six years of compulsory schooling. | many schools offer education in and of Sámi. This covers all levels from pre-school to higher education. | all schools have to offer Sámi as language of instruction in any subject to every pupil who wishes for this.

In your view, in which of these regions are the Sámi language and education policies more favourable towards the population as a whole?

Self-governance

Some of the Sámi countries have established national Sámi representations. Their members are elected by the country's Sámi population to represent Sámi interests but also to take care of Sámi administrative issues, serving partly as government agencies. Their rights, duties and areas of engagement vary between countries. Please imagine two institutions:

Sámi representation **A** has no entitlement to be involved | must be informed | must be consulted | has the right to object when the national government makes decisions that may affect Sámi interests. In addition, the administrative responsibilities of the Sámi representation only concern reindeer husbandry. | are defined and delegated by the national government. | include all matters it views as relevant for the Sámi population. | cover all tasks of a provincial government for all inhabitants of the traditional Sámi settlement areas.

Sámi representation **B** has no entitlement to be involved | must be informed | must be consulted | has the right to object when the national government makes decisions that may affect Sámi interests. In addition, the administrative responsibilities of the Sámi representation only

concern reindeer husbandry. | are defined and delegated by the national government. | include all matters it views as relevant for the Sámi population. | cover all tasks of a provincial government for all inhabitants of the traditional Sámi settlement areas.

In your view, which of these two options would be more beneficial for the country's population as a whole?

Territorial Rights

Imagine the following situation would take place in your neighbouring municipality:

A mining company has applied for a permit to conduct a mineral extraction project. However, local reindeer herders oppose the project, because the concerned territory is very important for reindeer herding. Mineral extraction activities in this area would thus adversely affect the local reindeer husbandry industry.

A political solution to such a conflict must deal with both the reindeer herders' rights to use the land and the weighing of mineral extraction against reindeer husbandry interests. This could be handled with different policy approaches. Please compare the following two approaches:

- (A) Whether the Sámi rights to land are officially recognised is decided by the national government. | the courts. | a local commission equally composed of Sámi representatives and representatives of the municipality. | a local commission in which Sámi representatives have the majority. In addition, mineral extraction projects generally enjoy priority over reindeer husbandry interests. | mineral extraction projects can be approved if their economic value for society as a whole is higher than the economic value of local reindeer herding. | mineral extraction projects can be disapproved of if they would implicate considerable obstructions for the local reindeer husbandry industry or Sámi cultural practice in general. | reindeer husbandry interests generally enjoy priority over mineral extraction interests.
- (B) Whether the Sámi rights to land are officially recognised is decided by the national government. | the courts. | a local commission equally composed of Sámi representatives and representatives of the municipality. | a local commission in which Sámi representatives have the majority. In addition, mineral extraction projects generally enjoy priority over reindeer husbandry interests. | mineral extraction projects can be approved if their economic value for society as a whole is higher than the economic value of local reindeer herding. | mineral extraction projects can be disapproved of if they would implicate considerable obstructions for

the local reindeer husbandry industry or Sámi cultural practice in general. | reindeer husbandry interests generally enjoy priority over mineral extraction interests.

In your view, which of the two options is more favourable for the population as a whole?

Appendix B: National Identity Levels Check

Asking respondents to choose the vignette profile they think is more beneficial or favorable for the population as a whole taps into their national identity. As explained in the main part of the paper, prior research suggests that the levels of national identity are equally high among the Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations in Norway and Sweden. To err on the side of caution, I nevertheless inspect whether this is also true for the respondents to our survey. The survey item closest to measuring national identity asked respondents: "Some people feel very attached to the country they live in or their ethnic community, while others don't feel a strong connection. How emotionally attached do you feel to [Norway/Sweden]?"

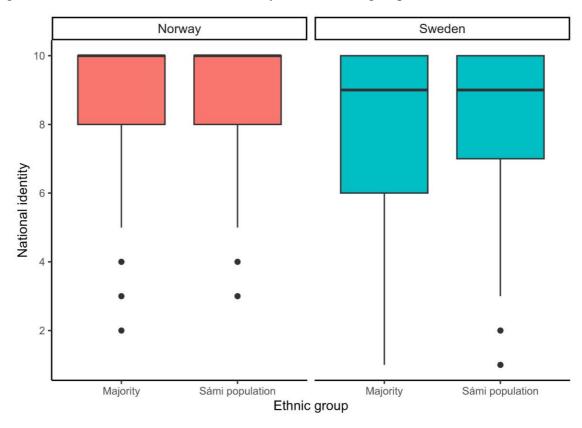


Figure A1: Emotional attachment to country across ethnic groups & countries

Figure A1 shows the distribution of answers on the ten-point scale ranging from 1 (feeling not at all attached) to 10 (feeling very strongly attached). Even though there are apparent cross-country differences, with higher levels of emotional attachment in Norway,

there seem to be hardly any differences between Sámi and majority respondents' answers within a country. In addition, *Table A1*, which lists the minimum, maximum and mean value of emotional country attachment within groups of respondents in each country, formally confirms this observation. Wilcoxon rank-sum test statistics of between-group differences in means (W) show that majority and Sámi respondents do not report statistically different levels of national identity on average.

Table A1: Emotional attachment to country

	Norv	vay	Sweden		
	Majority	Sámi	Majority	Sámi	
Minimum	3	2	1	1	
Maximum	10	10	10	10	
Mean	8.95	8.71	8.35	7.82	
Observations	338	131	659	91	
W	21,288		27,7	712	

[†] p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Appendix C: Subgroup Marginal Means

The following table lists the MM-coefficients corresponding to *Figures 1* to *3* of the primary document.

Table A2: Marginal means subgroup analysis of policy preferences

		Language & education		Self-go	Self-governance		Territorial rights	
		Majority	Sámi	Majority	Sámi	Majority	Sámi	
1 st	I	0.4596 (0.0251)	0.2340 (0.0438)	0.4769 (0.0247)	0.2755 (0.0452)	0.5623 (0.0261)	0.4684 (0.0563)	
	II	0.6111 (0.0251)	0.5810 (0.0483)	0.5481 (0.0254)	0.5319 (0.0516)	0.5479 (0.0247)	0.5745 (0.0511)	
feature	III	0.5461 (0.0242)	0.6979 (0.0470)	0.4512 (0.0256)	0.6545 (0.0455)	0.5679 (0.0246)	0.5169 (0.0531)	
	IV	0.3830 (0.0247)	0.4783 (0.0467)	0.5233 (0.0248)	0.5217 (0.0522)	0.3275 (0.0234)	0.4362 (0.0513)	
2 nd feature	Ι	0.4832 (0.0254)	0.4035 (0.0461)	0.5474 (0.0256)	0.4063 (0.0503)	0.5141 (0.0253)	0.3478 (0.0498)	
	II	0.5455 (0.0258)	0.5667 (0.0524)	0.5933 (0.0250)	0.5500 (0.0499)	0.6976 (0.0224)	0.5000 (0.0507)	
	III	0.5191 (0.0271)	0.5476 (0.0544)	0.5141 (0.0266)	0.6374 (0.0505)	0.4500 (0.0287)	0.5882 (0.0599)	
	IV	0.4649 (0.0227)	0.5082 (0.0454)	0.3723 (0.0225)	0.4206 (0.0478)	0.3419 (0.0220)	0.5816 (0.0500)	
Observations		1,586	410	1,582	394	1,576	356	
F-test of preference heterogeneity 4.4307***		5.3598***		8.5288***				

Note: Standard errors in parentheses clustered on respondent level;

Number of observations is the number of respondents times the number of profiles

Since respondents had to choose between two profiles in the vignette study, the nearer a feature level's MM is to 0.5, the more indifferent respondents are about this level. Accordingly,

[†] p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

coefficients smaller than 0.5 indicate rather negative and coefficients greater than 0.5. indicate approving stances toward a given level.

By design, MMs are descriptive statistics and thus do not involve any significance testing. Yet, when running formal nested-model tests of group-preference heterogeneity in addition, it becomes apparent that policy preferences vary significantly across the population groups. These F-tests compare the 'full' model, i.e., two-way interaction terms between group membership and the feature levels, to a 'reduced' model, i.e., including the feature levels only.

Appendix D: Cross-Country Differences

The following table lists the MM-coefficients corresponding to *Figures 4* to 6 of the primary document.

Table A3: Marginal means cross-country comparison – majority respondents

		Language & education		Self-governance		Territorial rights	
		Norway	Sweden	Noway	Sweden	Norway	Sweden
1 st	Ι	0.4101 (0.0418)	0.4864 (0.0312)	0.4444 (0.0415)	0.4943 (0.0306)	0.5000 (0.0457)	0.5934 (0.0317)
	II	0.5753 (0.0410)	0.6336 (0.0317)	0.5942 (0.0419)	0.5223 (0.0318)	0.5556 (0.0402)	0.5433 (0.0313)
feature	III	0.5793 (0.0411)	0.5288 (0.0300)	0.4809 (0.0437)	0.4355 (0.0315)	0.5839 (0.0422)	0.5597 (0.0304)
	IV	0.4296 (0.0416)	0.3563 (0.0305)	0.4820 (0.0425)	0.5448 (0.0304)	0.3462 (0.0418)	0.3189 (0.0282)
$2^{ m nd}$	Ι	0.5591 (0.0441)	0.4462 (0.0309)	0.5426 (0.0439)	0.5498 (0.0314)	0.5526 (0.0467)	0.4982 (0.0301)
	II	0.5347 (0.0416)	0.5522 (0.0328)	0.5797 (0.0421)	0.6008 (0.0311)	0.6774 (0.0376)	0.7094 (0.0279)
feature	III	0.4841 (0.0446)	0.5395 (0.0340)	0.5210 (0.0459)	0.5106 (0.0326)	0.3900 (0.0489)	0.4800 (0.0354)
	IV	0.4400 (0.0376)	0.4790 (0.0284)	0.3855 (0.0378)	0.3649 (0.0280)	0.3684 (0.0370)	0.3265 (0.0274)
Observations 572		572	1,014	552	1,030	540	1,036
F-test of preference heterogeneity 1.6936		0.8004		0.7014			

Note: Standard errors in parentheses clustered on respondent level;

Number of observations is the number of respondents times the number of profiles

As mentioned in the analysis' main part, the number of Sámi respondents per country is rather low. A comparison of their preferences across countries is thus probably afflicted with low

[†] p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

statistical power. This should be considered when interpreting the following Figures A2 to A4.

These figures show the MMs among Norwegian and Swedish Sámi respondents and the differences between these coefficients. Across all three vignettes, there are hardly any country differences visible. Only in the case of the language and education vignette's second feature is there a statistically significant difference. Swedish Sámi are more likely than Norwegian Sámi to support the level-II policy – i.e., a few schools offering bilingual education.

Overall, however, the findings are very much in line with the cross-country comparison among majority respondents in the main part of the paper. They suggest that Sámi's policy preferences are not greatly influenced by their countries existing policies. This is also supported by *Table A4*, which lists the corresponding MM-coefficients and the results of the nested-model tests of preference heterogeneity for each vignette. In all three cases, the F-test statistics are not statistically significant.

Figure A2: Country comparison – Language and education – Sámi respondents

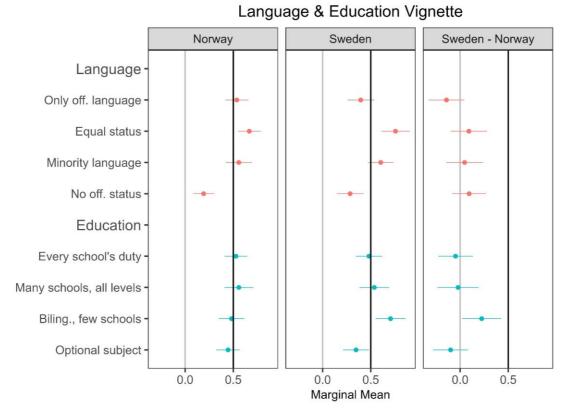


Figure A3: Country comparison – Self-governance – Sámi respondents

Self-Governance Vignette

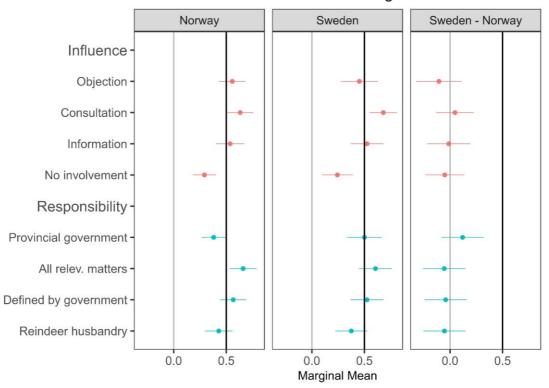


Figure A4: Country comparison – Territorial rights – Sámi respondents

Territorial Rights Vignette

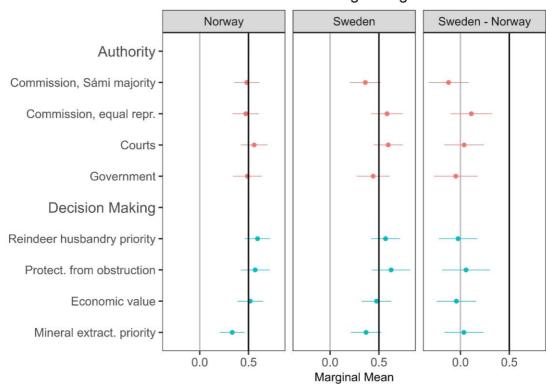


Table A4: Marginal means cross-country comparison – Sámi respondents

		Language & education		Self-governance		Territorial rights	
		Norway	Sweden	Noway	Sweden	Norway	Sweden
1 st	Ι	0.1923 (0.0549)	0.2857 (0.0701)	0.2923 (0.0567)	0.2424 (0.0751)	0.4889 (0.0749)	0.4412 (0.0857)
	II	0.5577 (0.0692)	0.6038 (0.0676)	0.5370 (0.0681)	0.5250 (0.0795)	0.5577 (0.0692)	0.5952 (0.0763)
feature	III	0.6667 (0.0596)	0.7576 (0.0750)	0.6333 (0.0625)	0.6800 (0.0664)	0.4717 (0.0689)	0.5833 (0.0827)
	IV	0.5373 (0.0612)	0.3958 (0.0710)	0.5574 (0.0639)	0.4516 (0.0900)	0.4828 (0.0659)	0.3611 (0.0806)
	Ι	0.4462 (0.0619)	0.3469 (0.0684)	0.4286 (0.0664)	0.3750 (0.0770)	0.3333 (0.0645)	0.3684 (0.0788)
2^{nd}	II	0.4821 (0.0671)	0.7059 (0.0786)	0.5667 (0.0642)	0.5250 (0.0795)	0.5177 (0.0671)	0.4762 (0.0776)
feature	III	0.5581 (0.0761)	0.5366 (0.0783)	0.6604 (0.0653)	0.6053 (0.0798)	0.5682 (0.0750)	0.62500 (0.0995)
	IV	0.5286 (0.0599)	0.4808 (0.0697)	0.3803 (0.0579)	0.5000 (0.0839)	0.5926 (0.0672)	0.5682 (0.0752)
Observat	Observations		176	240	154	208	148
	F-test of preference heterogeneity 1.6307		0.5716		0.4991		

Note: Standard errors in parentheses clustered on respondent level; Number of observations is the number of respondents times the number of profiles † p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001