The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics (2024), **9**, 1–25
doi:10.1017/rep.2023.38

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

RESEARCH ARTICLE

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

Fabian Bergmann[1,2]

[1]Cluster of Excellence "The Politics of Inequality", University of Konstanz, Konstanz, Germany and [2]Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Konstanz, Konstanz, Germany
Email: fabian.bergmann@uni-konstanz.de

(Received 3 August 2023; revised 8 November 2023; accepted 13 November 2023; first published online 08 January 2024)

Abstract

Most states acknowledge the significance of Indigenous rights to rectify past injustices. Yet, on the domestic level, the realization of these rights depends on national policies. For democratic societies, questions about public opinion toward Indigenous policies are thus of great interest but remain largely unstudied. To what extent does the ethnic majority support policies conducive to Indigenous rights realization? And how different are the Indigenous population's policy preferences? I use original experimental data from a vignette study to investigate these questions in the case of the Sámi people in Norway and Sweden. I hypothesize that groups' attitudes are shaped by policies' potential to alter the social status hierarchy between the majority and Indigenous populations. The results provide a nuanced picture. The ethnic majority shows significantly less support for policies facilitating Sámi linguistic, self-governance, and territorial rights. While the Sámi have, in general, more positive attitudes toward such policies, their support seems to be less pronounced than the majority's resistance. Moreover, as attitudes are surprisingly similar when compared between Norway and Sweden, a country's existing policy context does not appear to be crucial in the formation of these preferences.

Keywords: Indigenous policies; Indigenous rights; public attitudes; Sámi people

1. Introduction

Liberal states' handling of ethnic minority rights has been a pressing issue in social sciences for decades, and the approach of *multiculturalism*—the accounting for cultural diversity (Kymlicka 1995)—has received much attention. A vast research corpus investigates the nexus between public attitudes and multiculturalism in general. For example, works from many disciplines cover support for multiculturalism as a political ideology or (un-)desired societal composition in various settings

© The Author(s), 2024. Published by Cambridge University Press on behalf of The Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Section of the American Political Science Association. This is an Open Access article, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution licence (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/), which permits unrestricted re-use, distribution and reproduction, provided the original article is properly cited.

Konstanzer Online-Publikations-System (KOPS)
URL: http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:352-2-1ramcsui348co9

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

(e.g., Arends-Tóth and van Vijver 2003; Link and Oldendick 1996; Nagayoshi 2011; Verkuyten and Brug 2004). Others investigate if multiculturalist policies shape citizens' attitudes toward migrants and immigration issues (e.g., Bartram and Jarochova 2022; Citrin, Levy, and Wright 2014; Hooghe and Vroome 2015). Very little attention is spent, however, on public attitudes toward ethnic minority rights policies per se (for noteworthy exceptions see Goodman and Alarian 2021; Stolle et al. 2016).

My paper contributes to this research by focusing on public attitudes toward policies addressing Indigenous rights issues. Most of the world's Indigenous peoples live in political systems that were externally imposed on them. Through processes of colonization, they were deprived of fundamental collective rights, such as rights to self-rule, own and use traditional lands, speak Indigenous languages, and preserve and develop their cultural heritage.

In political theory, recognizing Indigenous rights is seen as a measure of rectifying such injustices (e.g., Moore 2003; Mörkenstam 2015). In practice, however, states often fail to adopt policies that create a comprehensive Indigenous rights regime (c.f. Lightfoot 2012). Existing explanations argue that domestic actors'—for example, governments or parliaments—conventional understandings of nationhood and state sovereignty conflict with Indigenous rights (e.g., Mörkenstam 2019). Yet, they do not factor in the role of public attitudes. In democratic societies, public support is of great importance in policy-making. The shortcomings of current Indigenous policies thus raise the question of whether there is a lack of public support and demand for a genuine recognition of Indigenous rights. Which Indigenous policies receive support from the public, that is, the Indigenous and the ethnic majority population,[1] and which do not? And do preferences differ between these groups?

To investigate these questions, I focus on the case of the Sámi people in Norway and Sweden.[2] The countries differ considerably in the Sámi policies they pursue today. This allows for comparing public preferences toward a variation of real-life policies. Moreover, like many other Indigenous peoples, the Sámi suffered injustices such as losses of their traditional lands, culture and languages for centuries (Lantto 2010; 2014; Minde 2003a; Trosterud 2008). Yet, unlike many other Indigenous peoples, the Sámi in Norway and Sweden today live in affluent welfare states with high material standards of living that do not differ substantially between the majority and Indigenous population (Yasar et al. 2023). This, in turn, creates a least-likely scenario of finding group differences in policy preferences based on material disparities. Finally, findings that the Sámi are, in comparison to the majority population, more likely to experience discrimination (Hansen et al. 2016; Yasar et al. 2023) suggest that other inequalities still exist and remain to be rectified.

2. Indigenous Rights and Sámi Policies in Norway and Sweden

A substantial part of political science research on Sámi rights—that is, Indigenous rights the Sámi hold as a people—revolves around the Sámi Parliaments.[3] Descriptions of the designs of these popularly elected self-government institutions point out their bearing on Sámi self-determination (e.g., Broderstad 2011; Falch, Selle, and Strømsnes 2016; Lawrence and Mörkenstam 2016). Comparatively, the

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Norwegian institution is better equipped to advance Sámi rights owing to its greater autonomy, influence in the decision-making process and scope of responsibilities (e.g., Henriksen 2008; Josefsen, Mörkenstam, and Saglie 2015). The Swedish Sámi Parliament's responsibilities are assigned by the national government and, in large part, concern administrative tasks related to reindeer husbandry (Josefsen, Mörkenstam, and Saglie 2015; Lawrence and Mörkenstam 2016).

The focus on reindeer husbandry, the most prominent form of traditional Sámi livelihood, runs like a common thread through Swedish Sámi policies. For a long time, the official policy goal was "to protect [reindeer herding] Sámi from the detrimental influences of Swedish society" (Lantto 2014, 54) through segregation, while all those Sámi not practicing reindeer husbandry were to be assimilated. Even though these discriminatory policies were abandoned in the 1970s, the consequences of dividing the Sámi into two categories are still visible in contemporary policies and politics (see also Kvist 1994). For example, Sámi territorial rights, such as the right to use land for traditional livelihoods, only apply to members of reindeer herding corporations (Strömgren 2017). The main political cleavage within the Sámi Parliament "separates parties representing the reindeer herders from those representing other Sámi interests" (Saglie, Mörkenstam, and Bergh 2020).

Norway's assimilationist *norwegianization* policy lasted well into the 20th century, too. However, it did not differentiate between reindeer herding and other Sámi but instead aimed at assimilating all Sámi—and other ethnic minorities—into the Norwegian mainstream society (e.g., Minde 2003b). The so-called Alta affair in 1979 was an important watershed in Norway's Sámi policies. Protests against the damming of the Alta River in the traditional Sámi settlement area developed into a broad discussion about Sámi self-determination and the recognition of their rights in general (Minde 2003a). As a result, Norway was one of the first countries to ratify the legally binding International Labour Organization's *Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention* (1989), which Sweden, for instance, has not signed to this day.

As becomes apparent in the course of this article, current Norwegian Sámi policies are more advanced in realizing Sámi's rights to land and natural resources than Swedish and apply to the entire Norwegian Sámi population (see also Allard 2011). Likewise, they also facilitate Sámi's rights to use and maintain their Indigenous languages more assertively (see also Lloyd-Smith et al. 2023). Combined with the above-mentioned greater self-governance capacity of the Norwegian Sámi Parliament, a consistent picture emerges illustrating the comparatively higher level of Sámi rights recognition in Norway.

Knowledge about public attitudes toward these issues, however, is scarce. Opinion research in this area mainly employs surveys among the Sámi Parliaments' electorates.[4] Findings show that self-determination is an essential political cleavage within the electorate in Norway but not in Sweden (Bergh and Saglie 2016; Saglie, Mörkenstam, and Bergh 2020). Because of the Swedish Sámi Parliament's weak self-determination power, its voters largely agree on the demand for increased responsibility (Mörkenstam, Nilsson, and Dahlberg 2021).

Thus, even though empirical evidence suggests that the Sámi have preferences for increased recognition of their rights, the preferences these works study are limited to the Sámi Parliaments in substance and the group of registered voters in scope. Also

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

viewed from a wider angle, the vast research corpus on public opinion and minority issues worldwide only sporadically features attitudes toward Indigenous rights. Most of the pertinent works focus on the majority population. They examine the role anti-Indigenous racism (e.g., Beauvais 2022) or individual social-psychological factors play in attitudes toward Indigenous policies (e.g., Hartley, McGarty, and Donaghue 2013; Milojev, Sengupta, and Sibley 2014; Pehrson, González, and Brown 2011) or look at broad issues like constitutional recognition (e.g., Levy and McAllister 2022). On the whole, prior research did not yet comprehensively analyze —neither in the case of the Sámi nor of any other Indigenous peoples—attitudes by both Indigenous and majority populations toward the recognition of Indigenous rights.

3. Theoretical considerations

The fundamental theoretical consideration induced by the research questions is how ethnic identity matters for such attitudes. In what ways might the preferences of an Indigenous person differ from that of a non-Indigenous person when it comes to Indigenous policies? The obvious answer from a rational resource-maximizing perspective is self-interest (c.f. Kim 2014). If Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals expect different utilities produced by the outcomes of Indigenous rights recognition, then they are likely to have different preferences toward it.

For example, it is not hard to imagine that an Indigenous person would be in favor of increased recognition of Indigenous territorial rights because being better able to practice traditional livelihoods has a high utility for them. A person with an ethnic majority identity, in turn, might oppose such a policy because it potentially restrains other forms of land use—be they economical or recreational—that have higher utilities for them. Self-interest and utility functions of the non-Indigenous population might be less evident in areas like self-governance or linguistic rights, though, where material zero-sum competitions are less apparent.

3.1. Social identity

Here, a social identity perspective (Tajfel 1974; Tajfel and Turner 1979) can help theorize policy preferences. It implies that individuals pursue positive social identities and draw comparisons of their identity group's position with other groups in society. Based on this, established social psychology theories such as social dominance theory (e.g., Pratto, Sidanius, and Levin 2006; Sidanius and Pratto 1999) or intergroup threat theory (e.g., Stephan, Ybarra, and Morrison 2009) view comparisons of relative group status as pivotal in intergroup relations. Groups with higher status—not only in terms of collective economic resources but also political power and cultural value, that is, the wider society's appraisal of the group's cultural norms and practices—seek to perpetuate the social order. Consequently, they should be skeptical of policies that potentially increase the relative status of lower-ranking groups.

Yet, recognizing Indigenous rights implies advancing Indigenous people's political power, economic opportunities, and social and cultural evolvement. In this vein, the rectification of historical injustices raises not only Indigenous people's

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

absolute status in relation to the state but also its relative standing vis-à-vis the ethnic majority group. Accordingly, the latter's aversion toward Indigenous policies should grow with the degree to which these policies realize Indigenous rights.

3.2. Hypotheses

Based on these considerations, the basal hypothesis of this paper expects the following:

H1: The majority population's support for policies conducive to realizing Sámi rights is lower than the Sámi population's support.

This does not necessarily mean, however, that the groups' preferences are completely diametrical. Because social hierarchies are often intractable, system justification theory (e.g., Jost, Banaji, and Nosek 2004), for example, argues that social and psychological needs motivate members of disadvantaged groups to justify the existing order, at least to some extent. Furthermore, tests of intergroup contact theory consistently find that more contact between members of in- and outgroups decreases prejudice (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). Contact with outgroup members can hence reduce perceptions of status threat (Visintin et al. 2020).[5] Thus, if there is frequent contact between an ethnic majority and an Indigenous people, the former might be more open to an increase in the recognition of the latter's rights. In the case of the Sámi in Norway and Sweden, it makes sense to assume a high level of contact with the respective ethnic majority populations. These groups have been coexisting in the traditional Sámi settlement areas for centuries (Kent 2018). As will become evident further below, the regions considered in the empirical part of this paper are, in particular, characterized by a comparatively high share of Sámi residents, making frequent encounters between the groups very probable. In sum, I expect that middle-ground policies receive more support among both groups than extreme policies. That is, the Sámi population should prefer policies that seek to establish status equality over policies that would even put them above the majority by reversing the status hierarchy:

H2: The more a Sámi policy provides for status equality, the more support this policy receives among the Sámi population.

In a similar vein, the majority should be more supportive of policies that enable some degree of Sámi rights realization as compared to very inhibiting policies:

H3: The majority population's support for policies precluding the realization of Sámi rights is lower than its support for policies that allow for a moderate level of Sámi rights realization.

Eventually, historical institutionalism and policy feedback theories argue that an existing policy context shapes people's attitudes toward social and political issues (c.f. Béland, Campbell, and Weaver 2022; Campbell 2012; Mettler and Soss 2004). As the previous chapter pointed out, the recognition of Sámi rights is currently more advanced in Norway than in Sweden. Against this backdrop, it seems likely that public opinion about Sámi policies differs between the two countries. Support for increased Sámi rights recognition might well be higher in Norway because the current policies' "interpretive effects" (Pierson 1993, 610) signal to the public that a—comparatively—more substantial recognition of Sámi rights is in its interest and constitutes "the desirable state of affairs" (Svallfors 2010, 120):

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

H4: Support for policies conducive to realizing Sámi rights is higher in Norway than in Sweden.

4. Data and method

For empirically testing these hypotheses, I use original survey data collected in 20 northern municipalities of Norway and Sweden during spring and summer 2021.[6] These municipalities were selected based on their share of residents registered with the Sámi Parliaments' electoral rolls. In the absence of official Sámi census data (c.f. Axelsson and Storm Mienna 2021; Young and Bjerregaard 2019), this served as a proxy indicating which municipalities potentially have the highest shares of Sámi residents.

As a consequence, the survey's scope is geographically restricted. At the same time, however, it is highly representative of the municipalities' population precisely because of this restriction. The manageable numbers of municipality residents did not necessitate drawing samples. Instead, we attempted to contact all 17,096 Norwegian and 22,073 Swedish adult residents whose telephone numbers were available. In each case, about 14% of them participated in a brief telephone interview. About 22% of the respondents in Norway and 12% of the Swedish participants stated that they identify as Sámi.

Owing to the survey's overall volume, all interview respondents were invited to fill out a subsequent, more extensive questionnaire. A total of 502 respondents from Norway and 867 from Sweden did so online. They constitute 21% (Norway) and 29% (Sweden) of the telephone interview participants.

4.1. Policy vignettes

These respondents' answers are the observational units for this paper, as the online questionnaire contained, among other elements, three factorial items to measure preferences for Sámi policies. They cover the essential aspects of Sámi rights—language and education, self-governance, and territorial rights (c.f. Anaya 2011; Tauli-Corpuz 2016). The overall design consists of vignettes that describe an issue related to Sámi rights in one of these areas featuring common and salient topics.[7]

Respondents saw two profiles, each entailing two policy features as potential strategies for dealing with the matter. This multidimensionality is the vignettes' main advantage over ordinary attitudinal survey questions. They allow respondents to jointly evaluate both features, which would otherwise require two separate survey questions. Moreover, employing conjoint analysis on vignette responses also enables exploiting between-feature links (Bansak et al. 2021).

The levels of the features, that is, the policies' content, were randomly chosen from a set of four possible levels each.[8] For all features, two levels were fictitious policies, whereas the remaining two were based on existing Swedish and Norwegian policies. The first level constitutes the policy alternative most precluding for Sámi rights. While the second level resembles a moderate step toward Sámi rights facilitation (the *Swedish policy*), it is not as affirmative as the third (the *Norwegian policy*). Finally, the fourth level constitutes a policy that would enhance the Sámi's status to the greatest extent, up to the point of exceeding the majorities.

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Eventually, respondents had to choose the profile they felt was more beneficial for "the population as a whole." Naturally, this does not imply that one solution necessarily needs to provide benefits for everyone in society. Instead, the forced-choice question requires respondents to trade off potential benefits for one part of society against possible losses for other parts and choose the option that, in their view, comprises the better cost–benefit ratio. The focus on the benefits for the overall population makes the question a neutral instrument to detect potential group-level differences in policy. It does not prime respondents to evaluate the cost–benefit ratios against the background of their own ethnic identity. To be sure, asking about the general population's benefits is also a primer toward national identity. However, prior research does not find significant differences between the Sámi and majority populations' levels of national identity in either country (Gerdner 2021; Selle, Semb, and Strømsnes 2013). I thus assume that members of both groups feel similar levels of attachment to their country[9] and should hence be equally motivated to choose what they believe is the best solution for that country.

4.1.1. Language and education

The first vignette compares different Sámi language and education policies. It concerns the Sámi languages' official status and the extent to which education in Sámi is available. The actual policies of Norway and Sweden on these issues vary in several aspects.[10]

Whereas Sweden recognizes Sámi as one of several national minority languages (c.f. Law on National Minorities and Minority Languages 2009), its official status in Norway is that of a language of "equal worth" to Norwegian (The Sámi Act 1987, ch. 1, para. 1–5). Furthermore, both countries have designated areas where additional Sámi language rights apply, like the right to use Sámi when communicating with public institutions. However, the Norwegian provisions are more comprehensive. They pertain to more parts of public life and oblige public authorities to make all their publications available in Sámi.[11]

Likewise, the extent to which Sámi education is provided differs. In Sweden, a handful of *sameskolorna* [Sámi schools] follow a syllabus focused on bilingualism. This syllabus covers the first 6x years of schooling and allocates 800 hours of instruction to teaching in Sámi and 910 in Swedish (Belancic and Lindgren 2020).

In Norway, by contrast, every child has the right to receive education in Sámi throughout primary and secondary education (Sollid 2022). Even though this right is implemented differently within and outside the Sámi language area, it enables receiving Sámi education until year 10, including the possibility of first language teaching, that is, Sámi being the primary language of instruction across subjects (Vangsnes 2022). Since Norway is home to the only higher education institution where Sámi is the primary teaching and working language—the Sámi University of Applied Sciences in Kautokeino—it is possible to receive Sámi tuition on all education levels.[12] These policy differences are the basis for the Swedish (II) and Norwegian (III) feature levels, as listed in Table 1. The other two levels are fictitious, taking the real-life policies to the extreme—either in a way detracting from (I) or privileging (IV) Sámi status.

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 1. Levels of language and education policy features

Feature	I	II	III	IV
Language status	[Norwegian/ Swedish] is the only official language. There is no entitlement to use Sámi when dealing with any public institution.	Sámi is recognized as a 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 part of public life.
Extent of Sámi education	The compulsory curriculum does not provide for Sámi education. Sámi classes are only offered on a voluntary basis as an optional subject.	Selected schools offer bilingual education in Sámi and [Norwegian/ Swedish]. This covers preschool and the first 6 years of compulsory schooling.	Many schools offer education in and of Sámi. This covers all levels, from preschool to higher education.	All schools have to offer Sámi as the language of instruction in any subject to every pupil who wishes for this.

4.1.2. Self-governance

The next vignette presented two Sámi representative institutions with varying levels of decision-making power and scopes of responsibility. Evidently, it measures self-governance policy preferences with respect to the Sámi Parliaments. However, it does not mention the term *Sámi Parliament* to avoid priming respondents too much with their preexisting attitudes toward their country's real Sámi Parliament.

As mentioned, the Norwegian Sámi Parliament has more political power and a broader mandate than its Swedish counterpart. For example, since 2005, a comprehensive consultation agreement exists with the Norwegian government. It codifies that all state authorities must consult the Sámi Parliament before making legislative, regulative, or administrative decisions that may affect Sámi interests. Moreover, it states that "[t]he Sami Parliament can also independently identify matters which in its view should be subject to consultations" (Procedures for Consultations between State Authorities and The Sami Parliament, 2005, ch. 6, para. 4). However, there is no actual veto right. When consultations do not result in an agreement, the government has the final say.

At the time the survey was conducted, no comparable consultation process existed in Sweden.[13] Instead, legislation such as the Minerals Act (1991) only arranged for duties to inform the Sámi Parliament in matters affecting reindeer herding. Furthermore, the Swedish government can determine the Sámi Parliament's areas of responsibility, and the latter has little say in what these should and should not include. Its Norwegian counterpart is more independent in

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 2. Levels of self-governance policy features

Feature	I	II	III	IV
Involvement in decision-making process	No entitlement to be involved	Must be informed	Must be consulted	Right to object
Responsibilities	Only concern reindeer husbandry	Are defined and delegated by the national government	Include all matters [the institution] views as relevant for the Sámi population	Cover all tasks of a provincial government for all inhabitants of the traditional Sámi settlement areas

deciding where its responsibilities should lie (Josefsen, Mörkenstam, and Saglie 2015). Table 2 lists the feature levels that reflect these differences between Norway and Sweden and the levels contrived to represent the extrapolations on both sides.

4.1.3. Territorial rights

The third vignette centers on conflicting land use interests. It depicts a mining company applying for an extraction permit in an area where a local Sámi community practices reindeer herding. Albeit a hypothetical case, it strongly references actual conflicts commonly occurring in Norway's and Sweden's northern regions.[14] Reindeer husbandry requires large land areas for animals to roam and graze. Infrastructure and industry projects impacting the landscape and natural environment in reindeer herding areas are thus often seen as a grave impediment.

Central to such conflicts of interest are land ownership and usage rights questions. Norway and Sweden do not per se recognize the Sámi claim of a usufruct land ownership right to territories used since time immemorial. Instead, in Sweden, Sámi land-rights claims generally must be brought before courts, which has so far proven to entail high costs and slim prospects of success for the Sámi side (Torp 2013).[15] In Norway, a significant policy change occurred when, through the introduction of the Finnmark Act (2005), the ownership of all previously state-owned land in Finnmark—Norway's northernmost mainland region—was transferred to the newly founded *Finnmark Estate*. Its governing board consists in equal parts of appointees from the Sámi Parliament and county administration. In addition, the act established a commission that investigates land use and ownership rights cases and a special tribunal for settling related disputes.

Besides the issue of who decides about contested territorial rights claims, Swedish and Norwegian policies also differ regarding how these decisions are made. In both countries, assessments of the impact on Sámi cultural practices are required before concessions for other land use activities can be granted. In Sweden, these assessments focus on potential economic repercussions for reindeer herding; commercial land use interests and Sámi reindeer herding are treated "as competing economic interests" (Raitio, Allard, and Lawrence 2020, 6). In contrast, Norwegian legislation stipulates that decisions should take both the material and immaterial

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 3. Levels of territorial rights policy feature

Feature	I	II	III	IV
Authority deciding on claims of rights to land	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
Basis for decision-making	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

value of land for all Sámi cultural practices—including and exceeding reindeer husbandry—into account when weighing up conflicting interests (e.g., the Nature Diversity Act 2009; the Minerals Act 2009). Accordingly, as listed in Table 3, the vignette about attitudes toward territorial rights policies entails features about who makes decisions and on what basis.

4.2. Group membership and identity

Before moving on to the empirical assessment of whether groups' preferences toward these vignettes differ, elaborating on how group membership is determined is necessary. There is no single hard-and-fast definition of the *Sámi population* (Pettersen and Brustad 2013). In the context of this paper, it makes sense to focus on self-identification. The theory's social identity perspective presupposes that individuals identify with an ingroup to draw comparisons with an outgroup. That is, all those who consider themselves to be Sámi are assumed to assess Sámi policies in light of their potential threat or benefit for the Sámi's relative status. Majority-population members, in turn, are those who do not self-identify as Sámi and for whom the Sámi population, hence, constitutes an outgroup. I operationalize group membership based on respondents' answers to the survey question, "Overall, do you consider yourself to be Sámi?"

However, it would be a fallacy to count everyone who answered "no" toward the majority population. There are, of course, other ethnic minorities in Norway and Sweden apart from the Sámi. Their perceptions of status threats posed by Sámi policies might differ from that of the ethnic majority, too. For the analysis, I thus consider those survey respondents as members of the *majority population* who do not self-identify as Sámi and report having an ethnic Norwegian and Swedish background, respectively.[16]

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

4.3. Conjoint analysis

I use conjoint analysis to compute how much these groups support the policies presented in the vignettes. Since the seminal paper by Hainmueller, Hopkins, and Yamamoto (2014), conjoint analysis has become a prevalent method for factorial design studies of political preferences. Usually, the quantity of interest is the average marginal component effect (AMCE), which is the average effect a given feature level has—relative to a baseline level—on the probability of respondents choosing a profile. Calculating AMCEs is thus a suitable way to formally test hypotheses *H2* and *H3*, which are about how much support a group of respondents shows for a particular policy compared to policies that are more—or less—conducive to realizing Sámi rights.

In the case of *H1* and *H4*, however, the preferences of two groups of survey respondents—members of the Sámi and the majority population (*H1*) and Norwegians and Swedes (*H4*), respectively—need to be compared. Yet, following the argumentation of Leeper, Hobolt, and Tilley (2020), contrasting potential differences in AMCEs across subgroups would not constitute an effective comparison of differences in preferences.[17] Instead, preference differences between subgroups should be described with subgroup marginal means (MMs). These represent the "level of favorability toward profiles with a particular feature level, ignoring all other features" (Leeper, Hobolt, and Tilley 2020, 210).

5. Results

Table 4 lists the numbers of online survey respondents according to the group-membership operationalization above. Estimating Sámi population numbers and shares is very complex, and results can vary when applying different operationalizations (e.g., Pettersen and Brustad 2013). Nonetheless, Table 4 shows that the data fit well with the prevalent general assumptions about Sámi population distributions. The share of self-identifying Sámi respondents in Norway is close to the figures the SAMINOR study arrives at (Pettersen and Brustad 2013). Furthermore, the numbers are very much in line with the supposition that there are considerably more Sámi in Norway than in Sweden (Young and Bjerregaard 2019).

5.1. Marginal means

Looking at the MMs produced by the vignettes, Figures 1, 2 and 3 indicate that policy preferences differ between these two groups.[18] Their left panels show the majority population's MMs, and the middle panels show the Sámi population's MMs. In a forced-choice setting with two alternatives like the one at hand, MMs readily express the probability with which respondents chose a profile that includes the given feature level (Leeper, Hobolt, and Tilley 2020).

Thus, in Figures 1, 2, and 3, a MM to the right of the dark gray line positioned at 0.5 means that this level increases the probability of the policy profile being chosen, while a MM smaller than 0.5 reduces it. The panels on the right eventually show the group differences. Here, the light gray line positioned at 0.0 is essential: A difference value below it signifies that such levels receive more support among the Sámi than

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 4. Online survey respondents by ethnicity and country

	Norway	Sweden
Sámi	134 (28.09%)	96 (12.58%)
Majority	343 (71.91%)	667 (87.42%)
Total	*477*	*763*

Note: Column percentages in parentheses; a total of 25 Norwegian and 104 Swedish respondents could not be assigned to either of the groups.

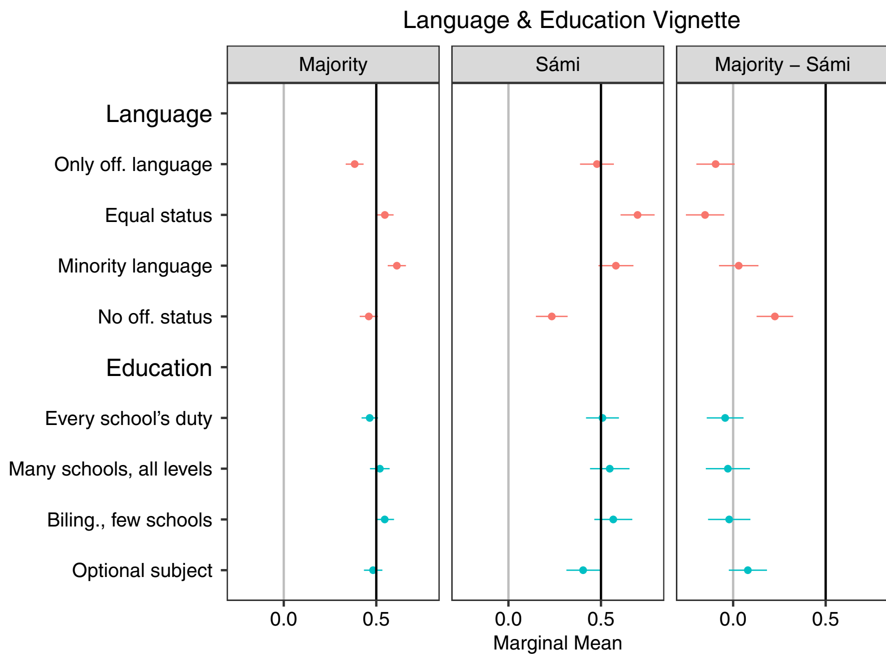

Figure 1. Subgroup comparison – Language and education.

among the majority population. Positive difference values mean that majority support is larger.

In the case of the language and education policy vignette (Figure 1), the language status is the more pivotal feature for explaining respondents' choices. Most of the education feature levels' MMs are close to 0.5, indicating a weak influence on the likelihood of a profile being chosen. The only exception is Sámi respondents' rejection of Sámi being merely an optional subject at school. With language status, the figure shows that the policy least conducive to Sámi rights (level I) produces higher MMs among the majority than the Sámi population. In contrast, more conducive policies (levels III and IV) produce larger MMs among the Sámi

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

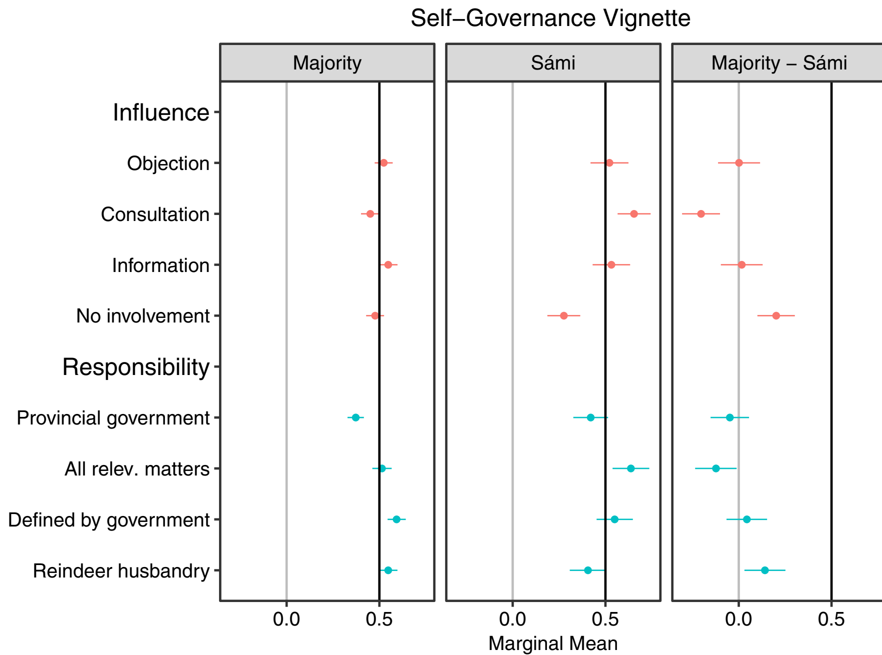

Figure 2. Subgroup comparison – Self-governance.

respondents. This is quite in line with hypothesis *H1*. The MMs of level II, that is, Sámi having the status of a minority language, are very similar between both groups.

The same is true for the self-governance policy vignette (Figure 2). Level II of the feature on the Sámi Parliament's influence has similar MMs among majority and Sámi respondents. Yet, also the MMs of level IV—the right to object—do not differ between the groups. Instead, clear differences are apparent with level III—more support from Sámi respondents for a consultation obligation—and level I—more support from majority respondents for no entitlement to be involved in the decision-making process. Likewise, in the case of the second feature, that is, the Sámi Parliament's scope of responsibility, the most apparent group differences in MMs occur in levels III and I. Overall, the findings thus support hypothesis *H1*, since majority respondents are less likely to choose policies conducive to the realization of Sámi rights.

Eventually, Figure 3 shows that preferences toward how land use conflicts should be decided neatly follow the pattern expected by *H1*. The majority is far less supportive of prioritizing reindeer husbandry (level IV) or protecting Sámi culture from considerable obstructions (level III). Instead, its support for prioritizing mineral extraction (level I) or basing the decision on an economic value comparison (level II) is considerably higher. Regarding who should decide in such cases, only level IV—a commission in which Sámi representatives hold the majority—exhibits a distinct difference because the majority's MM is relatively small. As a matter of fact, the Sámi seem to be quite indifferent about this feature. Their MMs are close

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

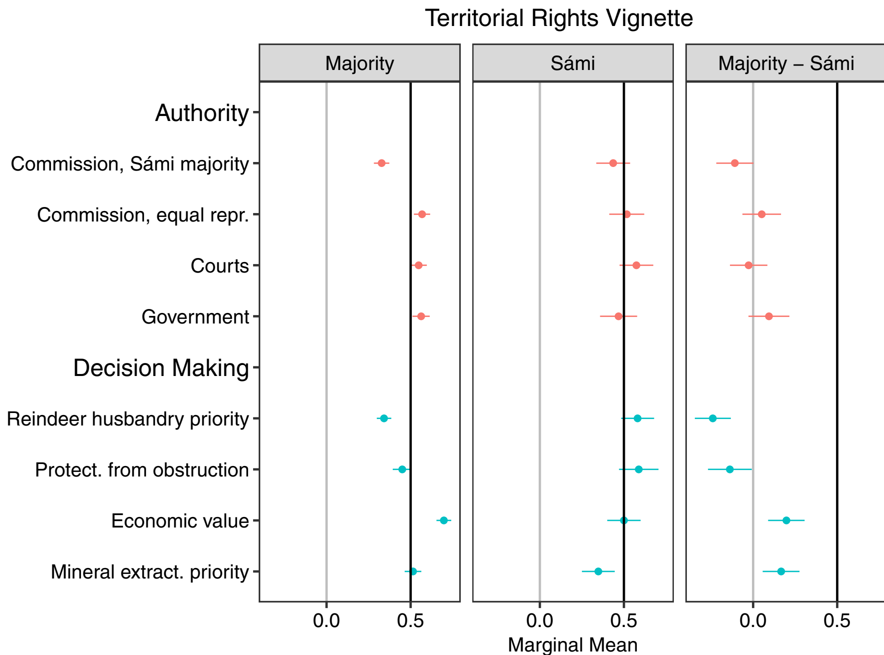

Figure 3. Subgroup comparison – Territorial rights.

to 0.5, suggesting that who decides on land use conflicts is less relevant to them than the principles of the decision.

5.2. Average marginal component effects

Table 5 shows the AMCEs among the Sámi population for all three policy areas. In each case, level III constitutes the base level, as it is the supposedly most status-equalizing policy in each feature. There is some support for *H2* as there is never a policy for which the Sámi population has significantly stronger preferences than the level-III policy. Unsurprisingly, the least preferred levels are the fictitious policies obstructing Sámi rights the most (level I). Only in the case of the territorial rights vignette's first feature does the level-I AMCE not reach statistical significance.

Yet, the picture of whether the Sámi prefer levels based on Norwegian (level III) over Swedish (level II) policies is very vague. None of the respective AMCEs are statistically significant, indicating no preference in either direction. In addition, no clear trend is discernible on whether Sámi respondents prefer status-equalizing policies over policies that would potentially reverse the status hierarchy (level IV). The AMCE for Sámi being the only official language is significantly negative, as is the AMCE for the Sámi Parliament having the responsibilities of a provincial government. For other issues, the AMCEs of level-IV policies are not statistically significant.

Finally, Table 6 reports the results of testing whether the majority population prefers level-II over level-I policies. For this purpose, the latter now constitute the

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 5. Sámi population policy preferences (AMCEs)

		Language and education	Self-governance	Territorial rights
1st feature (Base level: III)	I	−0.4703*** (0.0718)	−0.3633*** (0.0738)	−0.0556 (0.0865)
	II	−0.1103 (0.07729)	−0.1064 (0.0802)	0.0417 (0.0846)
	IV	−0.2325* (0.0757)	−0.1276 (0.0793)	−0.1045 (0.0831)
2nd feature (Base level: III)	I	−0.1440† (0.0778)	−0.2147* (0.0848)	−0.2462** (0.0854)
	II	0.0521 (0.0755)	−0.1031 (0.0757)	−0.0929 (0.0875)
	IV	−0.0332 (0.0767)	−0.2048** (0.0777)	−0.0072 (0.0866)
Observations		410	394	356

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

base levels. There is support for *H3*, as in most cases, the AMCE of level II is positive and statistically significant—yet sometimes only marginally. In two cases, though, level-II AMCEs lack statistical significance. The majority is indifferent about whether courts or the national government should decide on conflicting land use interests. Likewise, it has no preference regarding whether the Sámi Parliament's responsibility should be defined by the government or confined to reindeer herding issues.

Beyond that, Table 6 shows that the AMCEs of level-IV policies are significantly negative except for the second feature of the language and education and the first feature of the self-governance vignette. This suggests that in most instances, the majority prefers policies detracting from Sámi status over policies privileging Sámi status.

5.3. Cross-country differences

So far, the analysis pooled together data from both countries. *H4*, however, regards potential cross-country differences and expects that respondents from Norway are generally more supportive of stronger Sámi rights recognition. To test this claim, I again use MMs but base the subgroup comparison on the country level. As Table 4 shows, the share of Sámi respondents is considerably higher in Norway. On the one hand, it thus seems sensible to distinguish between Sámi and majority respondents simultaneously. Otherwise, any country differences might be due to differences in the weight of Sámi responses within the entirety of answers from each country.

On the other hand, Table 4 also shows that the absolute numbers of Sámi respondents within each country are rather low. This constitutes a serious statistical power issue for cross-country comparisons of Sámi's preferences. In the following, I therefore concentrate on the comparisons of majority respondents, for which the

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 6. Majority population policy preferences (AMCEs)

		Language and education	Self-governance	Territorial rights
1st feature (Base level: I)	II	0.1512* (0.0403)	0.0696† (0.0402)	−0.0291 (0.0393)
	III	0.0870* (0.0403)	−0.0212 (0.0413)	0.0004 (0.0388)
	IV	−0.0800* (0.0407)	0.0524 (0.0398)	−0.2463*** (0.0378)
2nd feature (Base level: I)	II	0.0706† (0.0406)	0.0464 (0.0406)	0.1801*** (0.0377)
	III	0.0445 (0.0429)	−0.0323 (0.0434)	−0.0807† (0.0435)
	IV	−0.0148 (0.0382)	−0.1740*** (0.0385)	−0.1777*** (0.0373)
Observations		1,586	1,582	1,576

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

numbers of observations per country are pretty sound. In Appendix D, I additionally provide the MMs of the cross-country comparison among Sámi respondents.

The results are again presented visually in Figures 4, 5, and 6. It becomes apparent that across all three areas, policy preferences are surprisingly similar between Norway and Sweden. Only the level-I education policy (Figure 4) produces statistically significantly different MMs among Norwegian and Swedish majority respondents. The latter are less likely to support Sámi being only an optional subject at school. Yet, importantly, there is no indication that the existing policy context shapes respondents' preferences. Support for level-III policies is not higher in Norway, and support for level-II policies is not higher in Sweden.

Furthermore, when running formal nested-model tests of preference heterogeneity, none of the test statistics reach statistical significance.[19] That is, in none of the vignettes do majority respondents' preferences, taken as a whole, differ significantly between Norway and Sweden. Overall, the analysis thus broadly refutes *H4* and suggests that, in this case, policy feedback does not play a significant role in preference formation.

6. Discussion

At this point, it is necessary to put the findings into context. In one sense, they have a broad scope because there are no discernible trends of differing preferences between countries. The countries' existing policy contexts do not seem to shape policy preferences. Instead, the findings suggest that preferences among the Sámi and majority populations align more with the group members' respective social identities, which appear to be transnational.

In another sense, however, the scope of the analysis is narrow. As it was conducted in both countries exclusively in municipalities with a high share of Sámi

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

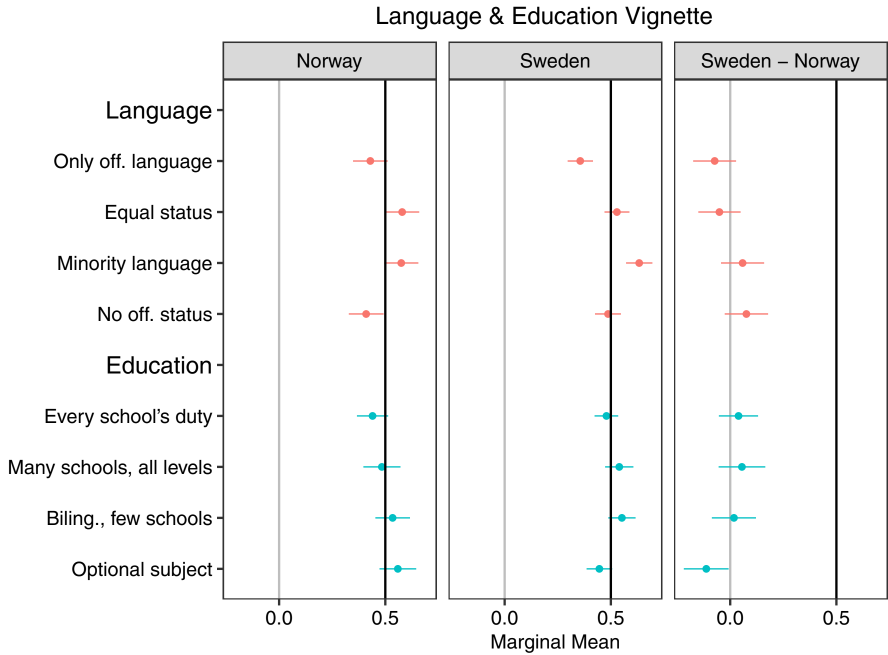

Figure 4. Country comparison – Language and education – Majority respondents.

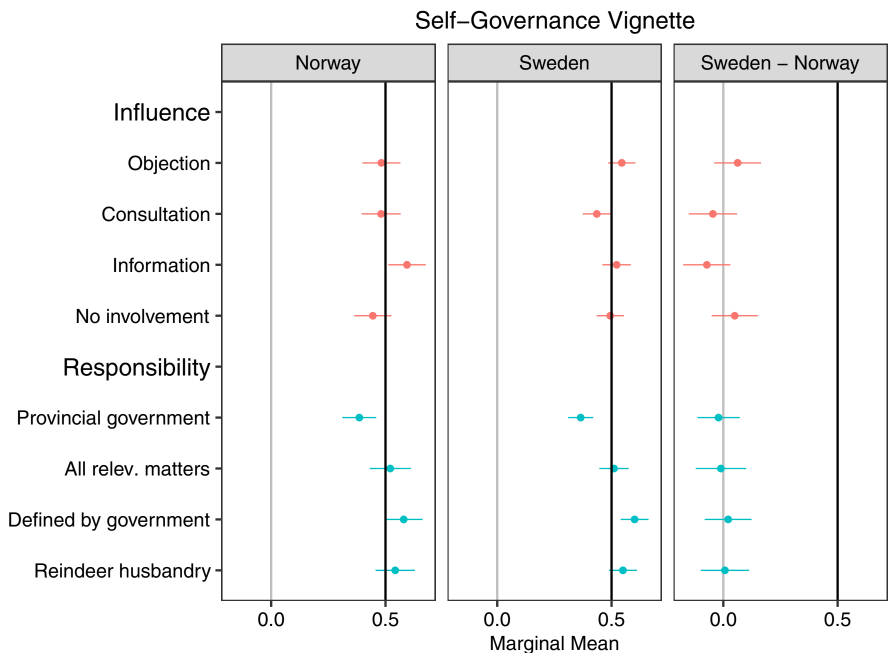

Figure 5. Country comparison – Self-governance – Majority respondents.

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

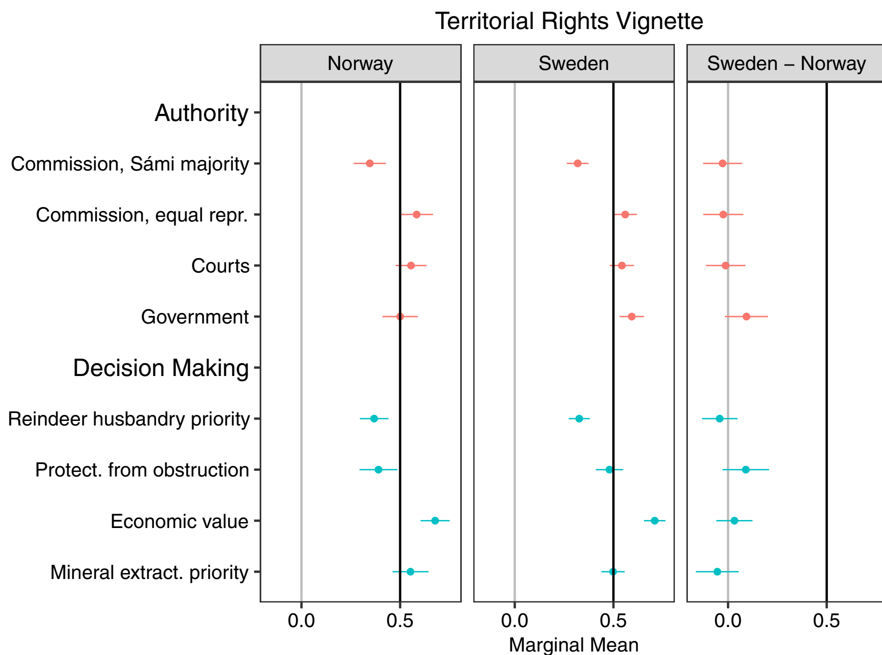

Figure 6. Country comparison – Territorial rights – Majority respondents.

residents, the findings cannot be readily expanded to the countries' entire populations. Nevertheless, focusing on the selected municipalities makes sense. Many Sámi policies, too, are geographically limited in their scope and apply in the selected municipalities but not, for example, in southern metropolitan areas like Oslo or Stockholm. Lacking reliable information about how salient Indigenous rights issues actually are for the Norwegian and Swedish general public—and especially the ethnic majorities—it is sensible to concentrate for the time being on areas where Sámi policies actually apply and are hence probably most salient.

7. Conclusion

This paper studied public attitudes toward Indigenous policies that vary in how they facilitate Indigenous rights. It asked which policies the ethnic majority and the Indigenous population prefer. Investigating the case of the Sámi people in northern Norway and Sweden, it found preferences differing between the groups. Respondents from the ethnic majority have less positive attitudes toward policies conducive to Sámi rights but, more often than not, prefer policies that realize Sámi rights to some degree over policies that preclude them. Regarding Sámi respondents' policy preferences, the findings are less clear-cut. Some support the hypotheses, while others suggest that Sámi respondents are often indifferent.

The ethnic majority, in particular, seems to employ a zero-sum status competition lens when evaluating policies of territorial rights, self-governance,

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and language and education. Regarding the latter, the results align with multiculturalism theory considerations about the status of minority languages. "For the minority group, official multi*lingualism* is desired in part because it is a symbol of, and a step toward, acceptance that it is a multi*nation* state, a partnership of two or more nations within a single state. Yet this is precisely what members of the dominant group typically wish to avoid. For accepting that a regional language group is also a 'nation' has potentially far-reaching consequences" (Patten and Kymlicka 2007, 5, italics adopted from the original).

The finding of distinctly conflicting group preferences regarding territorial rights, which has the most direct link to material matters, is especially noteworthy, since previous research finds no difference in material status between the Sámi and majority groups (Yasar et al. 2023). Material issues thus also matter in the absence of economic inequality. This is also highly relevant to the situations of other Indigenous peoples around the world, which are most often characterized by grave economic inequalities. The Sámi case demonstrates that disparity in groups' attitudes toward Indigenous policies will not be resolved by establishing solely material equality.

From a practical perspective, the findings suggest that policymakers cannot count on widespread support from ethnic majorities when proposing policies that sizably facilitate Indigenous rights. This could help explain why, despite provisions in international law and judicial decisions, there often seems to be a reluctance to introduce assertive policy measures. For example, at the time of writing, the Norwegian government has still not taken substantial action more than two years after the Supreme Court ruled that the construction of a large-scale wind farm on the Fosen Peninsula violated local Sámi's human rights.[20]

A way forward to enable more rectification of injustices against Indigenous peoples would need to target the boundaries of group identities to create a more common and inclusive identity (c.f. Gaertner and Dovidio 2014). Naturally, this should not be understood in assimilationist terms. Instead, it connotes the acceptance of distinct cultures being equal intrinsic elements of the overall society. By way of example, public opinion research from the Chilean case shows that majority population support for Indigenous rights is higher when people see the Indigenous population as an inherent part of the country's history and identity (Pehrson, González, and Brown 2011).

Admittedly, long-established group identities will not be shaken up at the drop of a hat. Instead, laborious and persistent efforts are required to amend the public image of the interrelation between the nation and the Sámi. For example, school curricula, media, and politics need to represent Sámi culture and history as an integral component of the national culture and history. Nevertheless, making these efforts seems essential when striving for a proper rectification of injustices.

Supplementary material. The supplementary material for this article can be found at https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38

Data availability statement. The replication data of this study are available in the Harvard Dataverse at https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/9LX8VT.

Competing interests. None.

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Notes

1 I use the term *majority population* to refer to the dominant ethnic group, that is, the non-Indigenous parts of the population that do not belong to any other ethnic minority group. The differentiation between Indigenous and majority populations thus relates to the groups' histories of marginalization and its absence, respectively.

2 The Sámi's traditional settlement area encompasses the northern regions of Norway, Sweden and Finland, as well as the Russian Kola peninsula. In this paper, I only focus on the Norwegian and Swedish Sámi communities, which are by far the largest (Young and Bjerregaard 2019).

3 "Sámi Parliament" is the literal translation of the North Sámi term *Sámediggi*. The Norwegian *Sámediggi* was established in 1989, and its Swedish counterpart in 1993.

4 Registration for the Sámi Parliaments' electoral rolls is voluntary and open to every citizen who self-identifies as Sámi and meets particular language or descent criteria.

5 Naturally, negative group contact experiences exist, too, and can have highly adverse effects. Nevertheless, in many settings of everyday life, those types of contact seem to be less frequent than positive contact experiences (Schäfer et al. 2021).

6 The survey was conducted by an interdisciplinary research team of political scientists and linguists. For a more general description of the *Nordic Peoples Survey* and the overall dataset, see Yasar et al. (2023).

7 Appendix A provides the exact wording of the vignettes.

8 Due to the low number of features per profile (two) and potential levels per feature (four), unconditional randomization would have implied a high risk of presenting a respondent with two very similar profiles. Randomization was, therefore, conditioned so that a feature level that appeared in the first profile could not also appear in the second profile.

9 I provide an additional check of this assumption in Appendix B.

10 See Lloyd-Smith et al. (2023) for a more detailed discussion of cross-country policy differences regarding Sámi language and education.

11 The Norwegian town of Tromsø is an illustrative example of majority opposition to policies increasing minority language status. In the early 2010s, a proposal for Tromsø to join the areas with additional Sámi language rights saw fierce opposition from parts of Tromsø's majority population and was ultimately dropped (Hiss 2013).

12 Naturally, the Sámi University of Applied Sciences accepts non-Norwegians—hence also Swedish—students. However, the key point is that Swedish policies on their own do not provide Sámi education on all levels.

13 In March 2022, the Swedish *Law on consultation in matters concerning the Sámi People* (2022) entered into force. Since it is fairly new, its effects on the political power of the Swedish Sámi Parliament are not that plain yet. Moreover, its provisions regarding consultations with regional and municipal authorities do not enter into force before March 2024.

14 Two more recent cases that made the international news are the conflicts about a wind park in the Norwegian Fosen region (e.g., Klesty and Fouche 2023) and about the Kallak/Gállok iron ore mine in northern Sweden (e.g., Ahlander 2022).

15 A recent prominent exception that proves the rule is the case of the Girjas reindeer herding community that won a Supreme Court case against the Swedish state in 2020 over its small game hunting and fishing rights (e.g., Allard and Brännström 2021).

16 In the telephone interview, respondents were presented with different ethnic groups, including "Norwegian" and "Swedish," respectively, and asked if they had "an ethnic background from one or several" of these groups.

17 Leeper and colleagues argue that because AMCEs are relative by definition—that is, measuring effects of one feature level in relation to a given base level—they would only ever reflect true subgroup differences if subgroups' attitudes toward the base level were identical.

18 I employed the R-package *cregg* by Leeper (2020) for calculating both MMs and AMCEs. A table listing the corresponding numerical values of all MMs is available in Appendix C.

19 These tests compare basic models—that is, models that do not take the country variable into account—with full models that include two-way interaction terms between the features' levels and the country variable. Using F-tests, they indicate whether all the interactions are statistically significantly different from

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

zero, that is, whether preferences generally vary across countries. The results of these tests are available in Appendix D.

20 For a more detailed portrayal of the *Fosen* judgment, see also the Norwegian National Human Rights Institution (2023).

References

Allard C (2011) The Nordic countries' law on Sámi territorial rights. *Arctic Review on Law and Politics* **2**, 159–183. https://doi.org/10.23865/arctic.v2.21

Allard C and Brännström M (2021) Girjas reindeer herding community v. Sweden: Analysing the merits of the Girjas Case. *Arctic Review on Law and Politics* **12**, 56–79. https://doi.org/10.23865/arctic.v12.2678

Anaya, J (2011) *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, James Anaya: The Situation of the Sami People in the Sápmi Region of Norway, Sweden and Finland*. United Nations Human Rights Council. Available at: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/709556 (Accessed 16 February 2022).

Arends-Tóth J, and de van Vijver FJR (2003) Multiculturalism and acculturation: views of Dutch and Turkish-Dutch. *European Journal of Social Psychology* **33**, 249–66. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.143

Axelsson P, and Storm Mienna C (2021) The challenge of indigenous data in Sweden. In Walter M, Kukutai T, Russo Carroll S and Rodriguez-Lonebear D (eds), *Indigenous Data Sovereignty and Policy. Routledge Studies in Indigenous Peoples and Policy*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, pp. 99–111.

Bansak K, Hainmueller J, Hopkins DJ, and Yamamoto T (2021) Beyond the breaking point? Survey satisficing in conjoint experiments. *Political Science Research and Methods* **9**, 53–71. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108777919.004

Bartram D and Jarochova E (2022) A longitudinal investigation of integration/multiculturalism policies and attitudes towards immigrants in European countries. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* **48**, 153–72. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2021.1922273

Beauvais E (2022) The political consequences of Indigenous resentment. *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* **7**, 37–64. https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2020.25

Belancic K and Lindgren E (2020) Discourses of functional bilingualism in the Sami curriculum in Sweden. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* **23**, 601–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2017.1396283

Béland D, Campbell AL and Weaver RK (2022) *Policy Feedback: How Policies Shape Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108938914

Bergh J and Saglie J (2016) Self-determination as political cleavage: the Norwegian Sámediggi election of 2009. In Berg-Nordlie M (ed), *Indigenous Politics: Institutions, Representation, Mobilisation*. Colchester: ECPR Press, pp. 191–212.

Broderstad EG (2011) The promises and challenges of indigenous self-determination. *International Journal* **66**, 893–907.

Campbell AL 2012. "Policy makes mass politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* **15**, 333–351. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-012610-135202

Citrin J, Levy M, and Wright M (2014) Multicultural policy and political support in European democracies. *Comparative Political Studies* **47**, 1531–1557. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414013512604

Falch T, Selle P and Strømsnes K (2016) The Sámi: 25 years of indigenous authority in Norway. *Ethnopolitics* **15**, 125–43.

Gaertner SL and Dovidio JF (2014) *Reducing Intergroup Bias*. New York: Psychology Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315804576

Gerdner A (2021) Ethnic categorisation, identity and perceptions of life among Swedish Samis. *Ethnicities* **21**, 1113–39. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796820949284

Goodman SW and Alarian HM (2021) National belonging and public support for multiculturalism. *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* **6**, 305–33. https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2019.52

Hainmueller J, Hopkins DJ, and Yamamoto T (2014) Causal inference in conjoint analysis: Understanding multidimensional choices via stated preference experiments. *Political Analysis* **22**, 1–30. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-102512-194818

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Hansen KL, Minton SJ, Friborg O, and Sørlie T (2016) Discrimination amongst Arctic Indigenous Sami and non-Sami populations in Norway: The SAMINOR 2 questionnaire study. *Journal of Northern Studies* **10**, 45–84.

Hartley LK, McGarty C, and Donaghue N. 2013. Understanding disagreement within the majority about action to atone for past wrongs. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* **43**, E246–E261. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12023

Henriksen JB (2008) The continuous process of recognition and implementation of the Sami people's right to self-determination. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* **21**, 27–40.

Hiss F (2013) Tromsø as a 'Sámi Town'? – language ideologies, attitudes, and debates surrounding bilingual language policies. *Language Policy* **12**, 177–96. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-012-9254-7

Hooghe M and de Vroome T (2015) How does the majority public react to multiculturalist policies? A comparative analysis of European countries. *American Behavioral Scientist* **59**, 747–68. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764214566499

Josefsen E, Mörkenstam U, and Saglie J (2015) Different institutions within similar states: The Norwegian and Swedish Sámediggis. *Ethnopolitics* **14**, 32–51.

Jost JT, Banaji MR, and Nosek BA (2004) A decade of system justification theory: Accumulated evidence of conscious and unconscious bolstering of the status quo. *Political Psychology* **25**, 881–919. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2004.00402.x

Kent N (2018) *The Sámi Peoples of the North: A Social and Cultural History*. London, New York: Hurst & Company, Oxford University Press.

Kim A (2014) The curious case of self-interest: Inconsistent effects and ambivalence toward a widely accepted construct. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* **44**, 99–122. https://doi.org/10.1111/jtsb.12032

Kvist R (1994) The racist legacy in modern Swedish Saami policy. *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* **14**, 203–220.

Kymlicka W (1995) *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lantto P (2010) Borders, citizenship and change: the case of the Sami people, 1751–2008. *Citizenship Studies* **14**, 543–56. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2010.506709

Lantto P (2014) The consequences of state intervention: Forced relocations and Sámi rights in Sweden, 1919-2012. *The Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics* **8**, 53–73.

Lawrence R and Mörkenstam U (2016) Indigenous self-determination through a government agency? The impossible task of the Swedish Sámediggi. *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* **23**, 105–27.

Leeper TJ, Hobolt SB, and Tilley J (2020) Measuring subgroup preferences in conjoint experiments. *Political Analysis* **28**, 207–21. https://doi.org/10.1017/pan.2019.30

Levy R and McAllister I (2022) Public opinion on Indigenous issues and constitutional recognition: three decades of liberalisation. *Australian Journal of Political Science* **57**, 75–92. https://doi.org/10.1080/10361146.2021.2014398

Lightfoot SR (2012) Selective endorsement without intent to implement: indigenous rights and the Anglosphere. *The International Journal of Human Rights* **16**, 100–122. https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2012.622139

Link MW and Oldendick RW (1996) Social construction and white attitudes toward equal opportunity and multiculturalism. *The Journal of Politics* **58**, 149–68. https://doi.org/10.2307/2960353

Lloyd-Smith A, Bergmann F, Hund L, and Kupisch T (2023) Can policies improve language vitality? The Sámi languages in Sweden and Norway. *Frontiers in Psychology* **14**, 1059696. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2023.1059696

Mettler S and Soss J (2004) The consequences of public policy for democratic citizenship: bridging policy studies and mass politics." *Perspectives on Politics* **2**, 55–73. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592704000623

Milojev P, Sengupta NK and Sibley CG (2014) Majority group opposition to minority political entitlements: The social dominance paradox. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* **39**: 82–92.

Minde H (2003a) The challenge of indigenism: the struggle for Sami land rights and self-government in Norway 1960-1990. In Jentoft S, Minde H and Nilsen R (eds), *Indigenous Peoples: Resource Management and Global Rights*. Delft: Eburon, pp. 75–104.

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Minde H (2003b) Assimilation of the Sami – implementation and consequences. *Acta Borealia* **20**, 121–146. https://doi.org/10.1080/08003830310002877

Moore M (2003) An historical argument for indigenous self-determination. *Nomos* **45**, 89–118.

Mörkenstam U (2015) Recognition as if sovereigns? A procedural understanding of indigenous self-determination. *Citizenship Studies* **19**, 634–48.

Mörkenstam U (2019) Organised hypocrisy? The implementation of the international indigenous rights regime in Sweden. *The International Journal of Human Rights* **23**, 1718–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2019.1629907

Mörkenstam U, Nilsson R, and Dahlberg S (2021) Indigenous peoples' right to self-determination: Perceptions of self-determination among the Sámi electorate in Sweden. In Koivurova T, Broderstad EG, Cambou D, Dorough D and Stammler F (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Indigenous Peoples in the Arctic*. London: Routledge, pp. 284–303.

Nagayoshi K (2011) Support of multiculturalism, but for whom? Effects of ethno-national identity on the endorsement of multiculturalism in Japan. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* **37**, 561–78. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2011.545272

Patten A and Kymlicka W (2007) Introduction: Language rights and political theory: Context, issues, and approaches. In Kymlicka W and Patten A (eds), *Language Rights and Political Theory*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, pp. 1–51.

Pehrson S, González R, and Brown R (2011) Indigenous rights in Chile: National identity and majority group support for multicultural policies. *Political Psychology* **32**, 667–90. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2011.00827.x

Pettersen T and Brustad M (2013) Which Sámi? Sámi inclusion criteria in population-based studies of Sámi health and living conditions in Norway – an exploratory study exemplified with data from the SAMINOR study. *International Journal of Circumpolar Health* **72**, 21813.

Pettigrew TF and Tropp LR (2006) A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* **90**, 751–83. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751

Pierson P (1993) When effect becomes cause: Policy feedback and political change. *World Politics* **45**, 595–628. https://doi.org/10.2307/2950710

Pratto F, Sidanius J and Levin S (2006) Social dominance theory and the dynamics of intergroup relations: Taking stock and looking forward. *European Review of Social Psychology* **17**, 271–320. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280601055772

Raitio K, Allard C and Lawrence R (2020) Mineral extraction in Swedish Sápmi: The regulatory gap between Sami rights and Sweden's mining permitting practices. *Land Use Policy* **99**. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2020.105001

Saglie J, Mörkenstam U and Bergh J (2020) Political cleavages in indigenous representation: The case of the Norwegian and Swedish Sámediggis. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* **26**, 105–25.

Schäfer SJ, Kauff M, Prati F, Kros M, Lang T, and Christ O (2021) Does negative contact undermine attempts to improve intergroup relations? Deepening the understanding of negative contact and its consequences for intergroup contact research and interventions. *Journal of Social Issues* **77**, 197–216. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12422

Selle P, Semb AJ, and Strømsnes K (2013) Citizenship identity among Norwegian Sami in core Sami areas. *Citizenship Studies* **17**, 712–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2013.834126

Sidanius J, and Pratto F (1999) *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Sollid H (2022) Sámi language education policy and citizenship in Norway. In Olsen TA and Sollid H (eds), *Indigenising Education and Citizenship: Perspectives on Policies and Practices from Sápmi and Beyond*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, pp. 133–52.

Stephan WG, Ybarra O, and Morrison KR (2009) Intergroup threat theory. In Todd DN (ed), *Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination*. New York: Psychology Press, pp. 43–59.

Stolle D, Harell A, Soroka S, and Behnke J (2016) "Religious symbols, multiculturalism and policy attitudes. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* **49**, 335–58. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423916000561

Strömgren J (2017) The Swedish state's legacy of Sami rights codified in 1886. In Allard C and Funderud Skogvang S (eds), *Indigenous Rights in Scandinavia: Autonomous Sami Law*. London: Routledge, pp. 95–110.

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Svallfors S (2010) Policy feedback, generational replacement, and attitudes to state intervention: Eastern and Western Germany, 1990–2006. *European Political Science Review* **2**, 119–35. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773909990257

Tajfel H (1974) Social identity and intergroup behaviour. *Social Science Information* **13**, 65–93. https://doi.org/10.1177/053901847401300204

Tajfel H and Turner J (1979) An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In Austin WG and Worchel S (eds), *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Monterey, Calif.: Brooks/Cole Publ, pp. 33–47.

Tauli-Corpuz V (2016) *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples on the Human Rights Situation of the Sami People in the Sápmi Region of Norway, Sweden and Finland*. United Nations Human Rights Council. Available at: http://unsr.vtaulicorpuz.org/site/index.php/en/documents/country-reports/155-report-sapmi-2016 (May 27, 2020).

Torp E (2013) The legal basis of Sami reindeer herding rights in Sweden. *Arctic Review on Law and Politics* **4**, 43–61.

Trosterud T (2008) Language assimilation during the modernisation process: Experiences from Norway and North-West Russia. *Acta Borealia* **25**, 93–112. https://doi.org/10.1080/08003830802496653

Vangsnes ØA (2022) Projections for Sámi in Norway. *Nordlyd* **46**. https://doi.org/10.7557/12.6427

Verkuyten M and Brug P (2004) Multiculturalism and group status: The role of ethnic identification, group essentialism and protestant ethic. *European Journal of Social Psychology* **34**, 647–61. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.222

Visintin EP, Green EGT, Falomir-Pichastor JM and Berent J (2020) Intergroup contact moderates the influence of social norms on prejudice. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* **23**, 418–40. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430219839485

Yasar R, Bergmann F, Lloyd-Smith A, Schmid S-P, Kupisch T and Holzinger K (2023) Experience of discrimination in egalitarian societies: The Sámi and majority populations in Sweden and Norway. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1–28 (ahead-of-print). https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2023.2243313

Young TK and Bjerregaard P (2019) Towards estimating the indigenous population in circumpolar regions. *International Journal of Circumpolar Health* **78**, 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1080/22423982.2019.1653749

Other documents

Ahlander J (2022) UN Advisers Urge Sweden to Stop Mine in Home of Indigenous Sami. Reuters News Agency. Available at: https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/un-advisers-urge-sweden-stop-mine-home-indigenous-sami-2022-02-10/ (May 12, 2023).

International Labour Organization (1989) *C 169 – Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169)*.

Klesty V and Fouche G (2023) Thunberg, Indigenous Protesters Block Norway Energy Ministry over Wind Farms. Reuters News Agency. Available at: https://www.reuters.com/business/environment/thunberg-other-protesters-block-norway-energy-ministry-over-wind-farms-2023-02-27/ (May 12, 2023).

Leeper TJ (2020) *cregg: Simple conjoint analyses and visualization*. Available at: https://cran.r-project.org/package=cregg (July 27, 2023).

Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development (2005) *Procedures for Consultations Between State Authorities and the Sami Parliament*.

Norwegian National Human Rights Institution (2023) About the wind farms on Fosen and the Supreme Court judgment. Available at: https://www.nhri.no/en/2023/about-the-wind-farms-on-fosen-and-the-supreme-court-judgment/ (November 2, 2023).

Norwegian Ministry of Climate and Environment (2009) *Act of 19 June 2009 No. 100 Relating to the Management of Biological, Geological and Landscape Diversity, the Nature Diversity Act*.

Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2005) *Act Relating to Legal Relations and Management of Land and Natural Resources in Finnmark, the Finnmark Act*.

Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation (1987) *Act of 12 June 1987 No. 56 Concerning the Sameting (the Sami Parliament) and other Sami Legal Matters, the Sámi Act*.

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Norwegian Ministry of Trade, Industries and Fisheries (2009) *Act of 19 June 2009 No. 101 Relating to the Acquisition and Extraction of Mineral Resources, the Minerals Act.*

Swedish Ministry of Culture (2009) *Lag (2009:724) om nationella minoriteter och minoritetsspråk [Law on National Minorities and Minority Languages].*

Swedish Ministry of Culture (2022) *Lag (2022:66) om konsultation i frågor som rör det samiska folket [Law on Consultation in Matters Concerning the Sámi People].*

Swedish Ministry of Enterprise and Innovation (1991) *Minerals Act.*

Cite this article: Bergmann F (2024). Divided Attitudes Toward Rectifying Injustice: How Preferences for Indigenous Policies Differ Between the Indigenous and Majority Populations of Norway and Sweden. *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* **9**, 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38

https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2023.38 Published online by Cambridge University Press