How Does Public Opinion Respond to Government Injustices Against Historically Discriminated Minorities? Evidence from Norway
Supplemental materials

Helga Malmin Binningsbø
Karin Dyrstad
Henning Finseraas

A: The Norwegian TRC 2

B: The Fosen case, the Supreme Court decision, and the demonstrations 3

C: Data collection and sampling 5

D: Operationalizations of dependent variables 7

E: Main results 12

F: Additional results 15

G: Ethical considerations 25

H: Pre-analysis plan 28

Background and motivation 28

Identification strategy 28

Sample and data collection 29

Hypotheses 29

Outcomes 30

Identification of treatment effects 34

Treatment heterogeneity 35

Balance checks 35

Robustness checks and additional analyses 36

Multiple hypothesis adjustments 38

Power 38

References 38

A: The Norwegian TRC

The commission to investigate the Norwegianization policy and injustice against the Sámi and Kven/Norwegian Finnish peoples was established by the Norwegian Parliament in 2017, and the primary objective of its investigation was that "the commission, through establishing a common understanding of the Norwegianisation policy and its consequences, shall lay the foundation of continued reconciliation between the Sámi, Kvens/Norwegian Finns and the majority population" (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, n.d.).[1] It had three tasks: to map the policies and activities that were directed towards the national minority groups Sámi and Kvens (or Norwegian Finns) by the Norwegian authorities between 1800 and today, investigate Norwegianization policies today, and present recommendations for measures that can contribute to reconciliation and equality between the majority and minority populations.

The core of the "Norwegianization" or assimilation policy, which began in the 1850s and peaked before World War II, "was to make the indigenous Sami and minority groups, such as the Kven and the Norwegian Finns, into 'true' Norwegians; that is, to make them use the Norwegian language, assimilate into Norwegian culture and live as Norwegians" (Skaar 2023, 3). However, while the assimilation policies have been abandoned, rights to traditional land and resource areas remain contentious (Falch, Selle, and Strømsnes 2016). In a comparative perspective, Norway's discrimination against national minorities and the subsequent trauma have been less severe than in, e.g., Australia or Canada, where discrimination and assimilation policies were preceded by brutal violence and genocide.

[1] Forest Finns were included among the national minorities to be investigated in May 2019.

The TRC's report was submitted to Parliament on 1 June 2023. Since then, the report has been with the Standing Committee on Scrutiny and Constitutional Affairs which has consulted with several stakeholders and will present its suggestions on how to implement the commission's recommendations by 5 November 2024.

B: The Fosen case, the Supreme Court decision, and the demonstrations[2]

In 2010, Norwegian authorities allowed the construction of two large-scale wind turbine facilities in the Fosen region. The wind turbines were to be located on land used by Sámi reindeer herders, and they filed court complaints. Lower-level courts decided that the reindeer herders should be compensated for their losses but did not withdraw the permission to build the turbines. In 2019 and 2020, the two facilities opened, one with 80 turbines (Norway's largest facility), the other with 71 turbines. In 2020, the court decisions were appealed to the Norwegian Supreme Court, which ruled in October 2021 that the facilities violated the civil and political rights of the Sámi herders as defined by the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political rights (United Nations 1976, article 27), as the Sámi is a minority group with the right to enjoy its own culture, which means that reindeer herding is a protected cultural practice. They concluded that the concessions were not valid, and that the compensation set by lower-level courts did not change this ruling (Norwegian Supreme Court 2021). They did not, however, specify what actions should be taken next, i.e., whether the turbines needed to be removed or whether compensation would be sufficient.

The turbines continued to operate after the Supreme Court decision despite the lack of a valid concession. Therefore, 500 days after the court ruling, a group of activists blocked the entry to the Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, which later escalated to several demonstrations and blocking the entrance to several ministries. The demonstrations were widely covered by

[2] This section is based on Skogvang (2023).

the national media (e.g., Skogerbø et al. 2024). The protests were repeated on 2 June 2023 to mark 600 days after the court ruling, and subsequently in October 2023, marking the two-year anniversary of the Supreme Court ruling. Some of the leaders of the demonstrations were granted an audience with the Norwegian King, indicating popular support for the demonstrations.

Following mediation initiated by the Norwegian government, the Sámi reindeer herders reached agreements with the operators of the wind turbine facilities in December 2023 and March 2024. The agreements granted the herders compensation for the damage to their interests, as well as called for the state to find additional land for winter grazing outside of the Fosen region. As of this writing, the proposed land (Håmmålsfjellet-Sålekinna more than 200 km south of Fosen), is already burdened by resource conflicts between local farmers and Sámi reindeer herders, who felt excluded from the process.[3] No final decision has yet been made.

[3] Norges bondelag [The Norwegian Farmers' Association] (2024) "Fortalte om uholdbar belastning" [Talked about an unsustainable load] (https://www.bondelaget.no/nyhetsarkiv/fortalte-om-uholdbar-belastning).

C: Data collection and sampling

We targeted a sample of 3000 respondents, half of the respondents invited before the release, the other half after the release. Respondents were recruited from Kantar Norway's online access panel and Kantar collected the data. Our sample was stratified so that we oversampled respondents from 139 municipalities that have a relatively high share of Sámi and other national minorities (Kven/Norwegian Finns and Forest Finns) that were covered by the TRC. The oversampling allows us to examine heterogeneity across the two groups of municipalities. The oversampling also follows previous work on public opinion of Sámi and other national minorities (Dawson et al. 2022), which allows for a comparison of the distribution of attitudes in our sample with previous surveys. To cover all three minorities in our study without making the survey too long, we randomized respondents to answer questions about Sámi (70 percent of the respondents), Kven/Norwegian Finns (15 percent) or Forest Finns (15 percent).

Following Dawson and colleagues (2022), we classified the following 139 municipalities as "high share" municipalities: Alstahaug, Alta, Andøy, Aurskog-Høland, Balsfjord, Bardu, Beiarn, Berlevåg, Bindal, Bjugn, Bodø, Brønnøy, Bø (Nordland), Båtsfjord, Dyrøy, Dønna, Eidskog, Eidsvoll, Elverum, Engerdal, Evenes, Fauske, Flakstad, Flatanger, Folldal, Fosnes, Frosta, Gamvik, Gildeskål, Gran, Grane, Gratangen, Grong, Grue, Hadsel, Hamarøy, Hammerfest, Harstad, Hasvik, Hattfjelldal, Hemnes, Herøy, Holtålen, Hurdal, Høylandet, Ibestad, Inderøy, Indre Osen, Karasjok, Karlsøy, Kautokeino, Kongsvinger, Kvæfjord, Kvænangen, Kåfjord, Lavangen, Lebesby, Leirfjord, Leka, Leksvik, Levanger, Lierne, Loppa, Lurøy, Lyngen, Lødingen, Meldal, Meløy, Meråker, Midtre Gauldal, Moskenes, Målselv, Måsøy, Namdalseid, Namsos, Namsskogan, Narvik, Nes, Nesna, Nesseby, Nordkapp, Nord-Odal, Nordreisa, Nærøy, Oppdal, Os (Innlandet), Osen, Overhalla, Porsanger, Rana, Rendalen, Rennebu, Rindal, Rissa, Roan, Rødøy, Røros, Røst, Røyrvik, Salangen, Saltdal, Selbu, Senja,

Skjervøy, Snåsa, Sortland, Stange, Steigen, Steinkjer, Stjørdal, Storfjord, Surnadal, Sømna, Sørfold, Sør-Odal, Sørreisa, Tana, Tjeldsund, Tolga, Tromsø, Trysil, Træna, Tydal, Tynset, Vadsø, Vardø, Vefsn, Vega, Verdal, Verran, Vestvågøy, Vevelstad, Vikna, Værøy, Vågan, Våler, Øksnes, Åfjord, Åsnes.

D: Operationalizations of dependent variables

FOSEN CASE. *"The following statements represent two opposing views on the Fosen case. Which of the statement do you agree with the most?"* (1: Statement A: The case regarding wind turbines on the Fosen peninsula shows that indigenous people's rights are still being overridden by the mainstream society. 2: Statement B: The case regarding wind turbines on the Fosen peninsula shows that protection of indigenous people's rights has gone too far and is at the expense of important societal considerations. 3: Don't know)

Respondents agreeing the most with statement A are coded to 1, otherwise 0.

SUPPORT FOR MINORITY RIGHTS. We create an index based on the following survey questions:

"Sámi/Kven (Norwegian Finns)/Forest Finns have too many special rights, arrangements, and benefits that others do not receive" (reversed);

"The state should support Sámi/Kven (Norwegian Finns)/Forest Finns in securing and developing Sámi/ Kven (Norwegian Finns)/Forest Finns culture, language, and traditions";

"It is important that Sámi/Kven (Norwegian Finns)/Forest Finns have influence on issues that affect them";

"Sámi/Kven (Norwegian Finns)/Forest Finn children should have the opportunity to learn Sámi/Kven (Norwegian Finns)/Forest Finn language at school".

The answer categories are "Do not fit my views at all", "Do not fit my views well", "Fits my view quite well", "Fits my view perfectly", "Impossible to answer", "Don't know". We recode the answers to binary indictors, which is equal to 1 if the respondent answers "Fits my view perfectly" or "Fits my view quite well", 0 otherwise (including "impossible to answer" and

"don't know"). Next, we combine the items into an index which we rescale to go from 0 (no supportive answers) to 1 (all supportive answers).

IMPORTANT TO LEARN HISTORY: *"It is important for the Norwegian population to learn about Sámi/Kven (Norwegian Finns)/Forest Finn culture and history".* The answer categories are "Do not fit my views at all", "Do not fit my views well", "Fits my view quite well", "Fits my view perfectly", "Impossible to answer", "Don't know". We recode this variable to a binary indictor, which is equal to 1 if the respondent answers "Fits my view perfectly" or "Fits my view quite well", 0 otherwise (including "impossible to answer" and "don't know").

SUPPORT FOR TRC: We use two questions. The first is a question which directly assess the use of TCs as the tool to learn about the past:

"Below you will see two statements about the need for a TC in Norway. Which of the statements do you agree with the most?"

The answer categories are: "1: Statement A: It is important to understand more about the consequences of the assimilation policies, and how it was felt by the minorities"; "2: Statement B: It is about time we put the past behind rather than keeping digging in what has happened historically", "3: Don't know." We recode this variable to a binary indicator, which is equal to 1 if the respondent agrees with statement A, 0 otherwise (including don't know).

The second question has the same format:

"Below you will see two statements about the need for a TC in Norway. Which of the statements do you agree with the most?"

The answer categories are: "1: Statement A: The TC is important to improve relations between minorities and the greater society."; "2: Statement B: The TC will create more tensions and

polarization between minorities and the greater society"; "3: Don't know". We recode this variable to a binary indicator, which is equal to 1 if the respondent agrees with statement A, 0 otherwise (including don't know).

We sum the two variables and create an index SUPPORT TCS, which we rescale from 0 (no support) to 1 (full support).

PREJUDICE towards minorities: We use the following survey questions:

"Sámi/Kven (Norwegian Finns)/Forest Finns are easily offended" (same answer categories as the first question above);

"Sámi/Kven (Norwegian Finns)/Forest Finns are too similar to Norwegians and integrated into the rest of society to be called indigenous people" (same answer categories as the first question above);

"Sámi/Kven (Norwegian Finns)/Forest Finns obstruct progress" (same answer categories as the first question above);

«Sámi/Kven (Norwegian Finns)/Forest Finns are in general honest and trustworthy." (same answer categories as the first question above);

"*How will you describe your impression of Sámi/Kven (Norwegian Finns)/Forest Finns?*" (Very negative, somewhat negative, neither negative nor positive, somewhat positive, very positive, no opinion, don't know);

"Would you like or dislike that a Sámi/Kven (Norwegian Finns)/Forest Finns person became your neighbour" (Dislike it, Neither like nor dislike, Like it, No opinion, Don't know);

"Would you like or dislike that a Sámi/Kven (Norwegian Finns)/Forest Finns person entered your group of friends" (Dislike it, Neither like nor dislike, Like it, No opinion, Don't know);

"Would you like or dislike that a Sámi/Kven (Norwegian Finns)/Forest Finns person became your colleague" (Dislike it, Neither like nor dislike, Like it, No opinion, Don't know);
"Would you like or dislike that a Sámi/Kven (Norwegian Finns)/Forest Finns person became a near relative" (Dislike it, Neither like nor dislike, Like it, No opinion, Don't know);

We recode all of these variables into binary indicators of prejudice, where 1 equals "Fits my view perfectly" or "Fits my view quite well" (reversed for the question on honest and trustworthy); "Very negative" or "somewhat negative"; and "Dislike it". All other categories are coded 0 (including refusals to answer or don't know).

We sum across the variables and create an index PREJUDICE, which we rescale to go from 0 (no prejudice) to 1 (prejudice on all questions).

SUBJECTIVE KNOWLEDGE: The subjective knowledge question is the following:
"How much knowledge do you have about the Sami minority?"
"How much knowledge do you have about the Kven/Norwegian Finn minority?"
"How much knowledge do you have about the Forest Finn minority?"
The answer categories are "None", "Very little", "Not much", Neither a lot nor little", "Quite a lot", "A lot", "Have not heard about the group", "Don't know". We recode to a binary variable which is 1 if the respondent answers None, Very little, Not much, Have not heard about the group, and Don't know, 0 otherwise.

CONJOINT EXPERIMENT. The conjoint experiment measures whether respondents become more willing to prioritize minority rights in a setting where they choose between party platforms that include a range of other policy issues that are salient in Norwegian politics (Tax

policy, refugee policy, environmental policy, Ukraine policy, and position on municipality mergers). The minority rights attribute has the following positions:

“Stronger protection of indigenous people's special rights at the expense of other considerations”;

“Investment in indigenous language education in schools”;

“The current legislation provides adequate protection and language education”;

“Prioritize the mainstream society's interests over indigenous people's special rights”;

“Withdraw Norway from international conventions that protect indigenous people”.

We combine the first two positions into a PRO-MINORITY POSITION and the two final positions as PRO-MAJORITY POSITION. The status quo position represents a control group.

E: Main results

Table A1: OLS regression results. Dependent variables are listed in top row.

	Fosen injustice	Minority rights	Learn about minorities	TRC support	Prejudice scale
Panel A					
Post TRC	0.001	0.024	-0.007	0.061***	0.000
	(0.024)	(0.015)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.008)
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Group FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Y	0.47	0.65	0.76	0.56	0.13
N	2,126	2,126	2,126	2,126	2,126
Panel B					
Post demons.	0.015	0.017	0.013	0.047**	0.007
	(0.021)	(0.013)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.007)
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Group FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Y	0.47	0.65	0.77	0.56	0.13
N	2,388	2,388	2,388	2,388	2,388

Note: Post TRC equal to 1 if interviewed after the release of the report but before the demonstrations. Post demons. equal to 1 if interviewed after the release of the report and the outbreak of demonstrations. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<.01; ** p<.05.

Table A2: OLS regression results. Dependent variables are listed in top row.

	Fosen injustice	Minority rights	Learn about minorities	TRC support	Prejudice
Panel A					
Post TRC	-0.040	-0.002	0.021	0.072**	0.003
	(0.039)	(0.022)	(0.032)	(0.034)	(0.013)
Post*Kven/Finns	0.046	0.048	-0.019	-0.031	0.022
	(0.052)	(0.034)	(0.047)	(0.045)	(0.015)
Post*High presence	0.049	0.020	-0.043	-0.010	-0.018
	(0.049)	(0.030)	(0.042)	(0.043)	(0.016)
Assigned Kven/Finns	-0.028	-0.207***	-0.118***	0.020	-0.092***
	(0.028)	(0.018)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.008)
High presence	-0.057**	0.009	0.035	-0.020	0.034***
	(0.026)	(0.015)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.009)
Male	-0.085***	-0.036**	-0.084***	-0.087***	0.061***
	(0.026)	(0.015)	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.008)
Age	-0.004***	-0.001	-0.001	0.000	0.001***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)
High edu	0.038	0.100***	0.155***	0.153***	-0.018**
	(0.026)	(0.016)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.009)
In paid work	-0.047	-0.007	-0.021	-0.037	0.012
	(0.029)	(0.018)	(0.024)	(0.025)	(0.009)
Post*Male	0.040	-0.017	-0.019	0.082*	-0.027*
	(0.051)	(0.031)	(0.043)	(0.044)	(0.016)
Post*Age	-0.001	-0.001	0.000	-0.003**	0.001**
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Post*High edu	0.058	-0.041	-0.075*	-0.026	-0.008
	(0.050)	(0.031)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.016)
Post*Paid w.	-0.037	-0.034	0.012	-0.043	-0.000
	(0.057)	(0.035)	(0.048)	(0.049)	(0.018)
Constant	0.804***	0.706***	0.793***	0.522***	0.057***
	(0.062)	(0.042)	(0.052)	(0.054)	(0.019)
Mean Y	0.47	0.65	0.76	0.56	0.13
N	2126	2126	2126	2126	2126
Panel B					
Post demos	-0.018	0.023	0.057**	0.082***	0.000
	(0.036)	(0.020)	(0.028)	(0.030)	(0.011)
Post*Kven/Finns	0.030	0.053*	-0.019	-0.024	-0.003
	(0.046)	(0.031)	(0.041)	(0.040)	(0.013)
Post*High presence	0.044	-0.042	-0.072**	-0.046	0.013
	(0.044)	(0.026)	(0.036)	(0.038)	(0.014)
Assigned Kven/Finns	-0.028	-0.207***	-0.118***	0.020	-0.092***
	(0.028)	(0.018)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.008)

High presence	-0.057**	0.009	0.035	-0.020	0.034***
	(0.026)	(0.015)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.009)
Male	-0.085***	-0.036**	-0.084***	-0.087***	0.061***
	(0.026)	(0.015)	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.008)
Age	-0.004***	-0.001	-0.001	0.000	0.001***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)
High edu	0.038	0.100***	0.155***	0.153***	-0.018**
	(0.026)	(0.016)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.009)
In paid work	-0.047	-0.007	-0.021	-0.037	0.012
	(0.029)	(0.018)	(0.024)	(0.025)	(0.009)
Post*Male	0.028	-0.010	0.022	0.014	0.001
	(0.044)	(0.026)	(0.037)	(0.038)	(0.014)
Post*Age	0.003**	0.000	0.000	0.001	-0.000
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Post*High edu	0.002	-0.010	-0.082**	0.005	-0.009
	(0.044)	(0.026)	(0.037)	(0.038)	(0.014)
Post*Paid w.	0.027	-0.014	0.015	0.014	-0.011
	(0.050)	(0.030)	(0.040)	(0.042)	(0.015)
Constant	0.804***	0.706***	0.793***	0.522***	0.057***
	(0.062)	(0.042)	(0.052)	(0.054)	(0.019)
Mean Y	0.47	0.65	0.77	0.56	0.13
N	2388	2388	2388	2388	2388

Note: Post TRC equal to 1 if interviewed after the release of the report (first treatment) but before the demonstrations. Post demons. equal to 1 if interviewed after the release of the report and the outbreak of the demonstrations (second treatment). High presence equal to 1 if residence is in municipality with high share of national minorities. Assigned Kven/Finns equal to 1 if respondent is randomized to answer questions about Kvens/Norwegian Finns or Forest Finns. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<.01; ** p<.05.

F: Additional results

Table A3: Descriptive statistics

	N	Mean	SD
Fosen case	2,962	0.473	0.499
Rights	2,962	0.653	0.311
Important history	2,962	0.766	0.423
TRC improves	2,962	0.572	0.438
Prejudice	2,962	0.128	0.169
Age	2,962	57.45	15.70
Male	2,962	0.544	0.498
High education	2,962	0.593	0.491
In paid work	2,962	0.524	0.500
Voted Progress party	2,952	0.089	0.284
Immigration attitude	2,962	0.359	0.480
Missing im. attitude	2,962	0.061	0.240
Taxation attitude	2,962	0.611	0.488

Table A4: OLS regression results. Dependent variable is treatment group (balance tests).

	(1) Post release	(2) Post TRC	(3) Post demos
Male	0.021	0.017	0.018
	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Age	-0.000	0.000	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
High education	0.009	0.029	-0.010
	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.021)
In paid work	0.006	-0.002	0.010
	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.023)
Voted Progress party	-0.024	-0.029	-0.015
	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.037)
Immigration attitude	0.001	0.006	-0.004
	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.023)
Missing im. attitude	-0.051	-0.027	-0.054
	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.043)
Taxation attitude	0.018	0.010	0.021
	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.022)
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Group FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	2,952	2,122	2,378
F-test of joint sig.	.73 (p=.69)	.69 (p=.70)	.74 (p=.66)

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A5: OLS regression results. Results for the pre-registered outcomes listed in top row.

	Subjective knowledge	Supports minority rights with Fosen-case included
Panel A		
Post TRC	-0.009	0.019
	(0.016)	(0.014)
Strata FE	Yes	Yes
Group FE	Yes	Yes
Mean Y	0.60	0.62
N	2126	2126
Panel B		
Post demos	-0.001	0.017
	(0.014)	(0.013)
Strata FE	Yes	Yes
Group FE	Yes	Yes
Mean Y	0.60	0.61
N	2388	2388

Note: Post TRC equal to 1 if interviewed after the release of the report but before the demonstrations. Post TRC & demos equal to 1 if interviewed after the release of the report and the outbreak of the demonstrations. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<.01; ** p<.05.

Table A6: Instrumental Variable (2SLS) regression results. Second stage estimates. Dependent variables listed in top row.

	Fosen case: Supports Sámi rights	Supports minority rights	Important to learn history	TRC improves relations and understanding	Prejudice scale
Heard about TRC	0.002	0.053	-0.015	0.135***	0.001
	(0.054)	(0.032)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.017)
F first stage	412	412	412	412	412
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Group FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Y	0.47	0.65	0.76	0.56	0.13
N	2126	2126	2126	2126	2126

Note: Heard about TRC is instrumented with Post TRC. First stage F-value is the Kleibergen-Paap F statistic. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<.01; ** p<.05.

Table A7: OLS regression results. Dependent variables are missing value on the dependent variables listed in top row.

	Fosen case: Supports Smi rights	Supports minority rights	Important to learn history	TRC improves relations and understanding	Prejudice scale
Panel A					
Post TRC	0.008	-0.019	0.001	-0.058***	-0.009
	(0.016)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.007)
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Group FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Y	0.12	0.20	0.07	0.16	0.17
N	2112	2126	2126	2126	2126
Panel B					
Post demos	0.006	-0.013	0.008	-0.031**	-0.009
	(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.006)
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Group FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Y	0.12	0.20	0.08	0.17	0.17
N	2374	2388	2388	2388	2388

Note: Outcomes are binary indicators for missing value on the outcome. Post TRC equal to 1 if interviewed after the release of the report but before the demonstrations. Post TRC & demos equal to 1 if interviewed after the release of the report and the outbreak of the demonstrations. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<.01; ** p<.05.

Figure A1: Share of respondents that have heard about the TRC before (black) and after (grey) the release of the report.

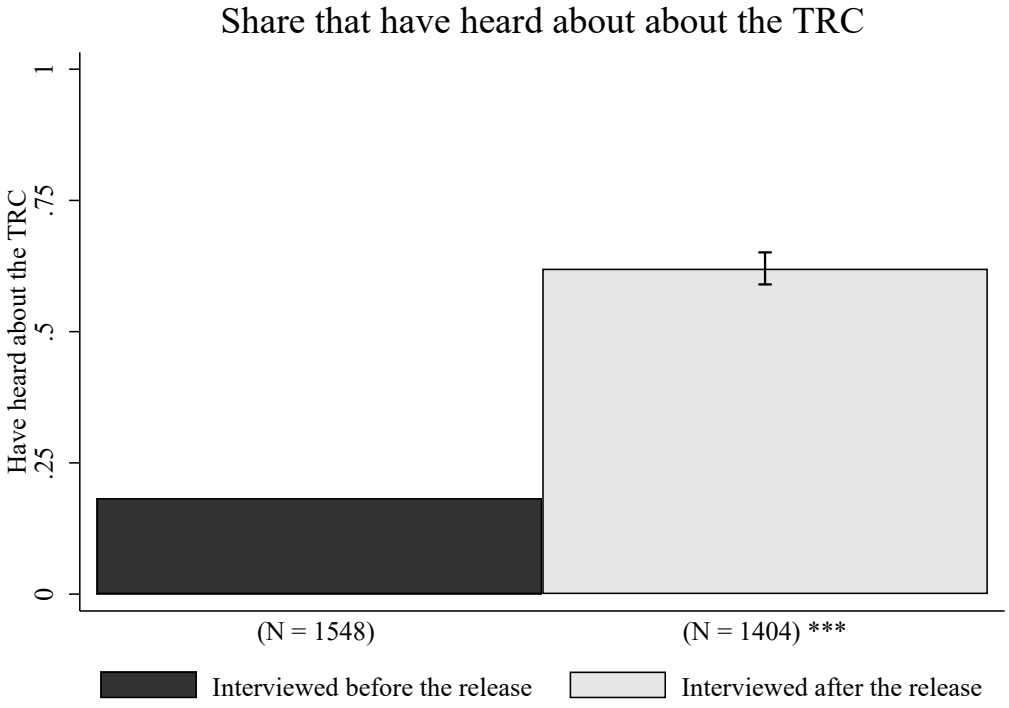
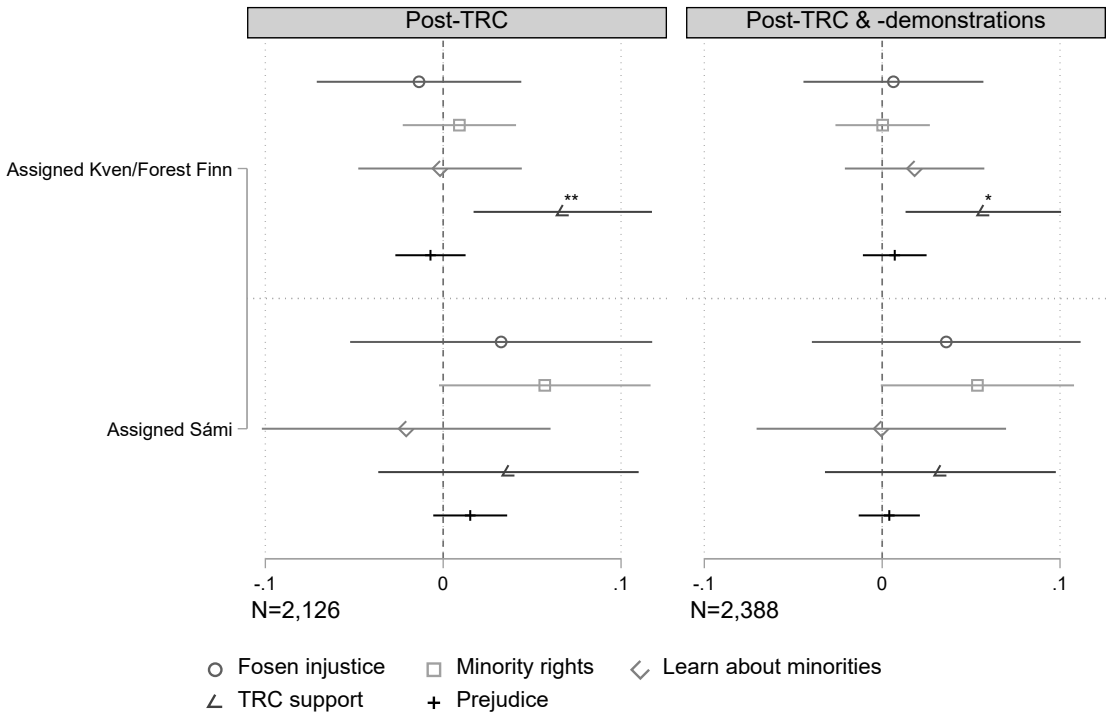


Figure A2. Estimated marginal effects of TRC release and demonstrations moderated by national minority group assignment. Estimates from OLS regressions.



Post-TRC equal to 1 if interviewed after the release of the report, Post demonstrations equal to 1 if interviewed after the outbreak of demonstrations. *** p<.01; ** p<.05.

Figure A3. Marginal means (MMs) from conjoint experiment before release of the TRC report, after the release of the report, and after the outbreak of demonstrations.

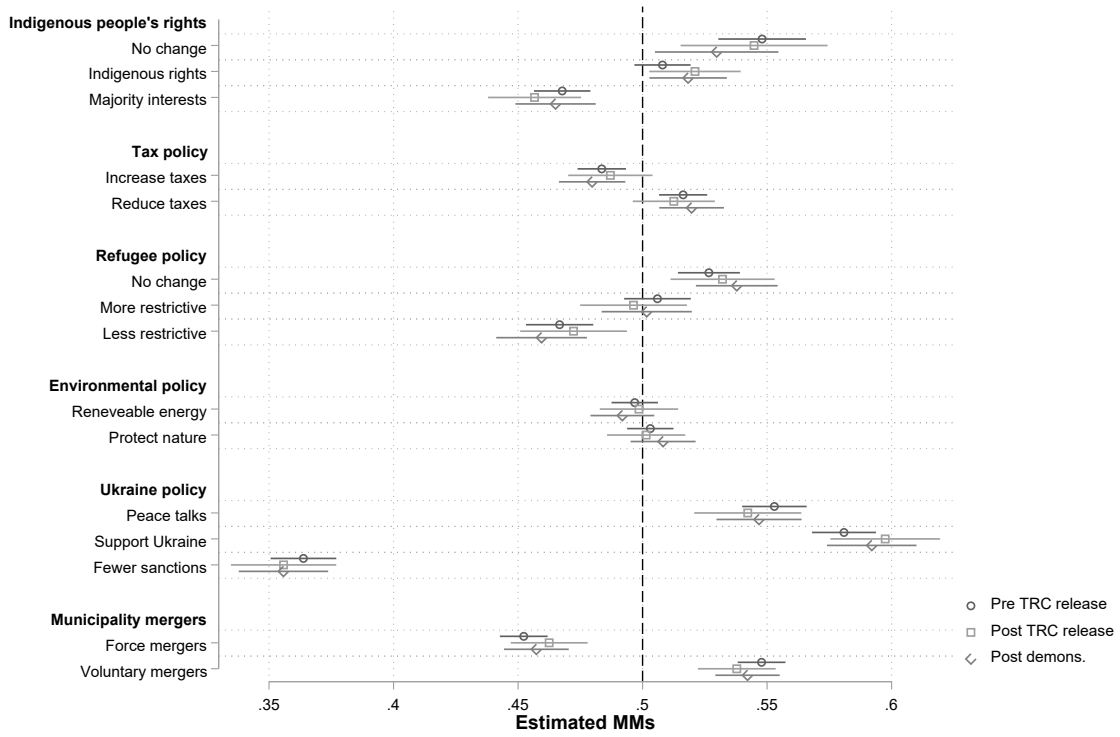


Figure A4. Marginal means from conjoint experiment. The sample is respondents in municipalities with a high presence of minorities.

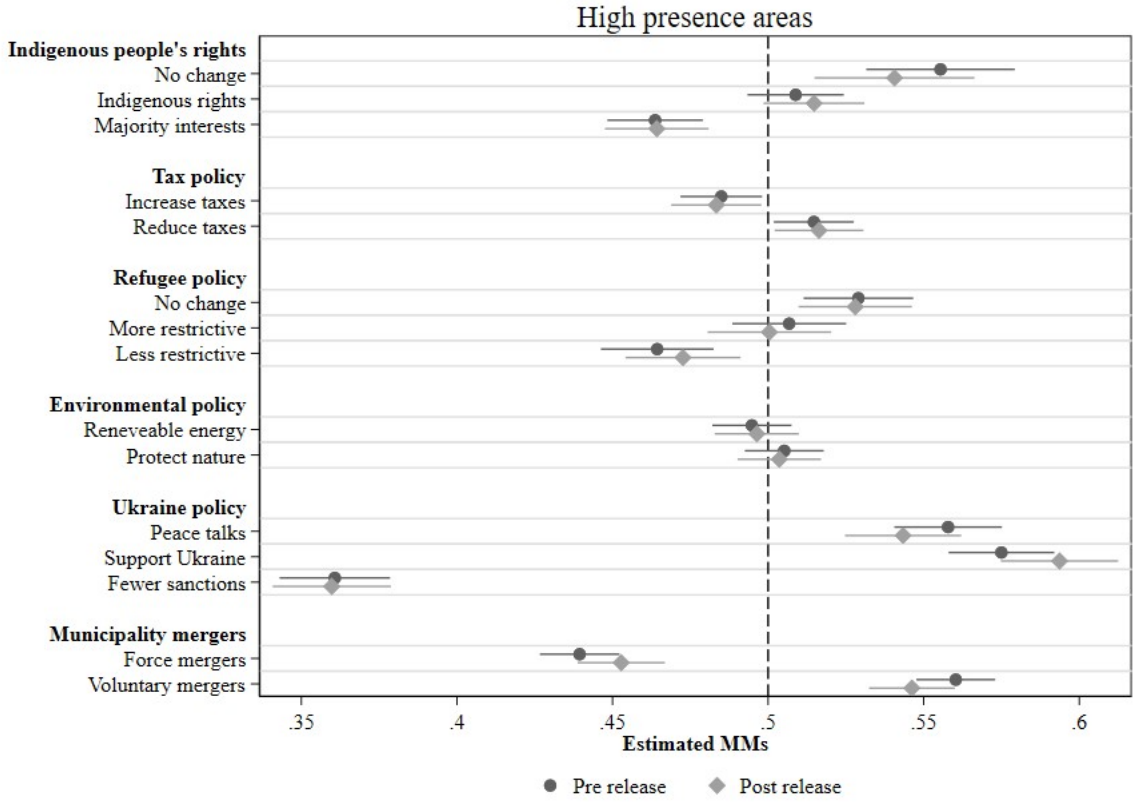
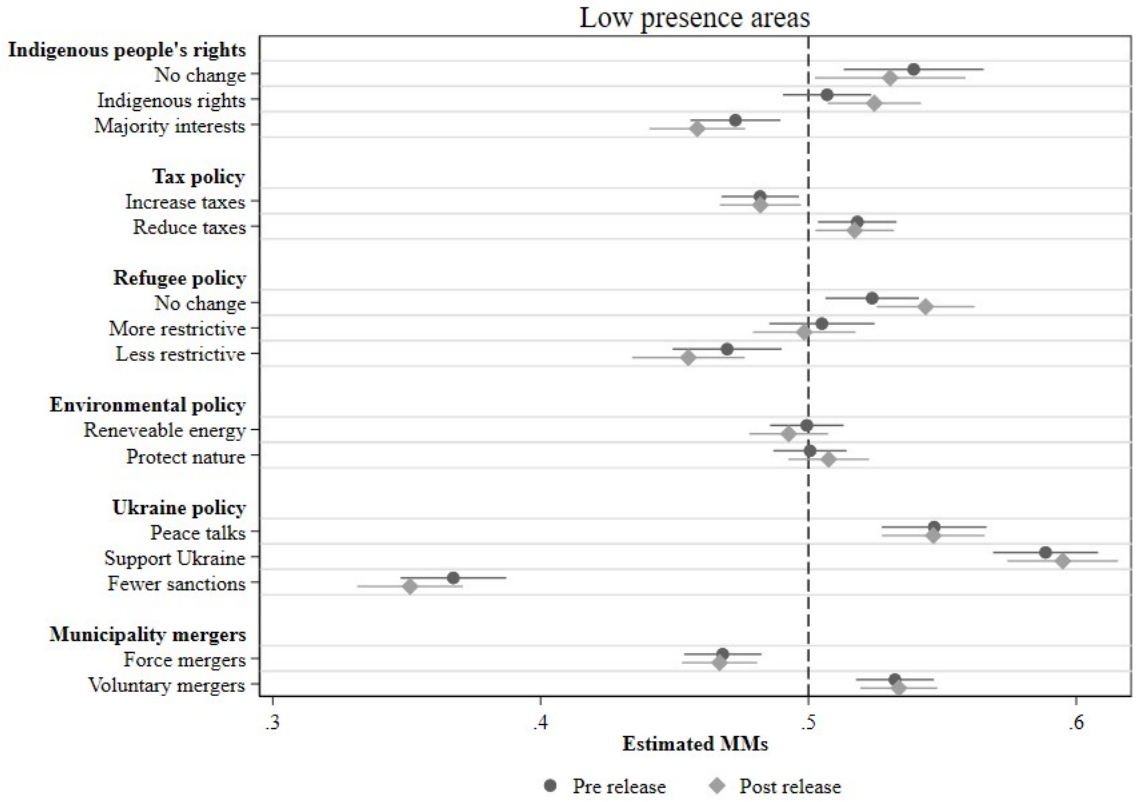


Figure A5. Marginal means from conjoint experiment. The sample is respondents in municipalities with a low presence of minorities.



G: Ethical considerations

The data collection passes the Norwegian Agency for Shared Services in Education and Research (Sikt) criteria for anonymous data collection. The authors affirm that this article adheres to the APSA's Principles and Guidance on Human Subject Research. Research ethics in Norway is regulated by the Research Ethics Act, and further guidelines are described by the National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities (NESH) in 2021 (5th edition), which clearly places the responsibility of ethical conduct on the researchers. In consequence, the Norwegian system does not include Institutional Review Boards or similar. In consequence, none of the authors' institutions has an IRB. In the following we cover relevant ethical issues.

1. *Who were the human subject participants in the research? Were vulnerable populations recruited (e.g., children, prisoners, pregnant women, victims of violence, etc.)?*

The human subject participants in the research are adult Norwegian citizens. Vulnerable populations were not recruited.

2. *How were the subjects recruited? If you provided compensation or there were other benefits from participation, was the opportunity to participate made available fairly?*

The paper employs survey data where respondents were drawn from the Norwegian survey company Kantar's online panel, which consists of people who have volunteered to be surveyed and who give explicit consent to participate in the survey.

3. *How were the subjects compensated, if at all?*

The survey participants received reward points from Kantar for completing the survey. These reward points can be donated to charity or used to purchase gifts from Kantar's gift catalogue.

4. *Did subjects participate voluntarily? E.g., did students feel obligated to participate by a professor in a course, or employees by their employer?*

The subjects in the survey participated voluntarily. These participants have chosen to be a part of the Gallup panel and explicitly consented to participate in the specific survey in question. They may also withdraw their consent at any time.

5. *What are the risks posed to human subjects from participating in the research? It is expected that most research poses minimal risk, meaning there is little chance of upset, distress, physical harm, or discomfort greater than would be encountered in daily life. This minimal risk category includes benign behavioral interventions ("brief in duration, harmless, painless, not physically invasive, not likely to have a significant adverse lasting impact on the subjects, and the investigator has no reason to think the subjects will find the interventions offensive or embarrassing").*

In our view, there is minimal risk posed to the human subjects from participating, with no potentially harmful treatment or questions, even if, in theory, some people may have disliked some questions or found them inappropriate.

6. *What are the risks posed to human subjects from accidental disclosure of original data? Is the original data fully anonymous, or, is it possible to identify subjects from the original data? Beware that combinations of multiple demographic categories, IP addresses, IDs from websites such as MTurk, etc. can all be considered identifiable. If the original data is identifiable or potentially identifiable, what risks to subjects would accidental disclosure of the data pose, and what security steps have been taken to limit the risk of accidental disclosure? For example, do the original data contain sensitive personal information (e.g., identity card numbers) or data which could put subjects at risk of embarrassment or civil or criminal liability?*

We intentionally refrained from collecting any directly identifiable personal information and generally sought to collect as little information as possible. Kantar keeps contact information for their pool of their survey participants and has the necessary permissions to do so, but the data file delivered to the authors did not contain any personal identifiers. Furthermore, based on our strategy of collecting as little data as possible, we consider it unlikely that it would be

possible to indirectly identify respondents based on a combinations of background information (e.g., age, gender, and occupation). Critically, we did not collect information about municipality of residence or any other geographical identifiers.

7. *Was informed consent obtained from research participants, and if so, how? Note that informed consent is not necessarily required for minimal risk studies if not obtaining consent does not adversely affect the welfare or rights of subjects, if it is impractical to obtain consent, and if debriefing subjects would not be appropriate.*

Informed consent was obtained electronically as survey participants opted into the survey.

8. *Did the research take place in a country which requires government ethics review of human subjects research, and if so was such an approval obtained?*

Norway does not require ethics review of human subjects research of our type.

H: Pre-analysis plan

"The Norwegian Truth and Reconciliation Commission." OSF, 13 May 2023.

How does the launch of a truth and reconciliation commission report affect public opinion? The case of Norway

Background and motivation

Truth commissions (TCs) are increasingly lauded by policymakers as a key part of the process of addressing systematic abuses and violence in the past, whether civil war, apartheid, colonialism, or abuse against minorities (Dancy and Thoms 2021; Skaar 2018). Yet, systematic evidence on the effects of implementing truth seeking mechanisms remains limited (Hirsch, MacKenzie, and Sesay 2012). Despite a growing literature that examines determinants of support for different transitional justice measures, our knowledge about consequences of transitional justice at the individual level remains limited. To address this gap and to assess some of the common assumptions about the effects of TCs, we investigate whether the public release of the Norwegian TRC's report on historical injustices in the government's treatment of the Sámi and other national minorities in Norway had any immediate causal effects on the views of importance of understanding the past, prejudice, and support for government policies for minority rights.

Identification strategy

To identify the causal effects of the release of the report we conduct a public opinion survey. The survey is fielded on May 15 and runs until (about) June 15. The report is launched on June 1, which means that we will have a group of respondents that answered the survey before the launch and a group answering after the launch. We will classify those *invited* to participate

before the release as a control group (POST = 0) to respondents *invited* to participate after the release (POST = 1). On the release date, no respondents will be invited to participate. The data collection in similar on both sides of the release, which means that in expectation, the two groups should be similar on pre-determined variables. If so, the comparison of the two groups will reveal causal effects of the release.

Sample and data collection

We target a sample of 3000 respondents, half of the respondents invited before the release, the other half after the release. Respondents are recruited from Kantar Norway's online access panel and Kantar will collect the data. Our sample is stratified so that we oversample respondents from 139 municipalities that have a relatively high share of Sámi and other national minorities (Kven people and Forest Finns) that were covered by the TC. We do this oversampling because we want to examine heterogeneity across these two groups of municipalities. The oversampling follows previous work on public opinion of Sámi and other national minorities (Dawson et al. 2022), which allows for a comparison of the distribution of attitudes in our sample with previous surveys. To cover all three minorities in our study without making the survey too long, we randomize respondents to answer questions about Sámi (70 percent of the respondents), Kven people (15 percent) or Forest Finns (15 percent). In the analyses we pool across these groups.

Hypotheses

We have four main hypotheses: The release of the report…

- H1: increases support for the perceived need to know more about the past injustices.
- H2: increases support for TRCs as a policy tool.
- H3: reduces prejudice towards the minorities.

- H4: increases support for government policies for minority rights and their protection.

In addition, we have a secondary hypothesis of heterogeneous effects across the two strata of municipalities:

- H5: The effect of the release of the report will differ between municipalities with a substantial share of national minorities compared municipalities with a small/no share of national minorities.

Outcomes

We use two types of questions to tap perceptions on the need to know more about the past (H1). The first is a direct question:

"It is important for the Norwegian population to learn about Sámi culture and history".

The answer categories are "Do not fit my views at all", "Do not fit my views well", "Fits my view quite well", "Fits my view perfectly", "Impossible to answer", "Don't know". We recode this variable to a binary indictor, which is equal to 1 if the respondent answers "Fits my view perfectly" or "Fits my view quite well", 0 otherwise (including "impossible to answer" and "don't know").

The second is a set of questions on self-reported knowledge about the minorities:

"How much knowledge do you have about the Sami minority?"

"How much knowledge do you have about the Kven minority?"

"How much knowledge do you have about the Forest Finn minority?"

The answer categories are "None", "Very little", "Not much", Neither a lot nor little", "Quite a lot", "A lot", "Have not heard about the group", "Don't know". We recode to a binary variable which is 1 if the respondent answers None, Very little, Not much, Have not heard

about the group, and Don't know, 0 otherwise. We expect the report to reveal to respondents that they do not know much about the minorities.

Next we estimate the Chronbach's alpha for the two variables. If Chronbach's alpha is equal or above .6 we sum the two variables and create an index NEED TO KNOW, which we rescale from 0 (no need to know) to 1 (need to know and reports low knowledge). If Chronbach's alpha is below .6 we test H1 using only the direct question on need to know about the past. We do this test since it is not obvious that the two questions tap the same demand for more knowledge.

We use two questions to examine support for TRCs as a policy tool (H2). The first is a question on the work of the TC, which directly assess the use of TCs as the tool to learn about the past: *"Below you will see two statements about the need for a TC in Norway. Which of the statements do you agree with the most?"*

The answer categories are: "1: Statement A: It is important to understand more about the consequences of the assimilation policies, and how it was felt by the minorities"; "2: Statement B: It is about time we put the past behind rather than keeping digging in what has happened historically", "3: Don't know." We recode this variable to a binary indicator, which is equal to 1 if the respondent agrees with statement A, 0 otherwise (including don't know).

The second question has the same format:

"Below you will see two statements about the need for a TC in Norway. Which of the statements do you agree with the most?"

The answer categories are: "1: Statement A: The TC is important to improve relations between minorities and the greater society."; "2: Statement B: The TC will create more tensions and polarization between minorities and the greater society"; "3: Don't know". We recode this

variable to a binary indicator, which is equal to 1 if the respondent agrees with statement A, 0 otherwise (including don't know).

Finally, we sum the two variables and create an index SUPPORT TCS, which we rescale from 0 (no support) to 1 (full support).

To measure prejudice towards minorities (H3) we use the following survey questions:
"Sámi/Kven People/Forest Finns are easily offended" (same answer categories as the first question above);
"Sámi/Kven People/Forest Finns are too similar to Norwegians and integrated into the rest of society to be called indigenous people" (same answer categories as the first question above);
"Sámi/Kven People/Forest Finns obstruct progress" (same answer categories as the first question above);
«Sámi/Kven People/Forest Finns are in general honest and trustworthy." (same answer categories as the first question above);
"*How will you describe your impression of Sámi/Kven People/Forest Finns?*" (Very negative, somewhat negative, neither negative nor positive, somewhat positive, very positive, no opinion, don't know);
"Would you like or dislike that a Sámi/Kven People/Forest Finns person became your neighbour" (Dislike it, Neither like nor dislike, Like it, No opinion, Don't know);
"Would you like or dislike that a Sámi/Kven People/Forest Finns person entered your group of friends" (Dislike it, Neither like nor dislike, Like it, No opinion, Don't know);
"Would you like or dislike that a Sámi/Kven People/Forest Finns person became your colleague" (Dislike it, Neither like nor dislike, Like it, No opinion, Don't know);

"Would you like or dislike that a Sámi/Kven People/Forest Finns person became a near relative" (Dislike it, Neither like nor dislike, Like it, No opinion, Don't know);

We recode all of these variables into binary indicators of prejudice, where 1 equals "Fits my view perfectly" or "Fits my view quite well" (reversed for the question on honest and trustworthy); "Very negative" or "somewhat negative"; and "Dislike it". All other categories are coded 0 (including refusals to answer or don't know).

Finally, we sum across the variables and create an index PREJUDICE, which we rescale to go from 0 (no prejudice) to 1 (prejudice on all questions).

To measure support for government policies for minority rights (H4) we use two approaches. First, we create an index based on the following survey questions:

"Sámi/Kven People/Forest Finns have too many special rights, arrangements, and benefits that others do not receive" (same answer categories as NEED TO KNOW);

"The state should support Sámi/Kven People/Forest Finns in securing and developing Sámi culture, language, and traditions" (same answer categories as NEED TO KNOW);

"It is important that Sámi/Kven People/Forest Finns have influence on issues that affect them" (same answer categories as NEED TO KNOW);

"Sámi/Kven People/Forest Finns children should have the opportunity to learn Sámi language at school" (same answer categories as NEED TO KNOW);

"The following statements represent two opposing views on the Fosen case. Which of the statement do you agree with the most?" (1: Statement A: The case regarding wind turbines on the Fosen peninsula shows that indigenous people's rights are still being overridden by the mainstream society. 2: Statement B: The case regarding wind turbines on the Fosen peninsula

shows that protection of indigenous people's rights has gone too far and is at the expense of important societal considerations. 3: Don't know)

We use the same procedure as above to combine these items into an index RIGHTS, which we rescale to go from 0 (no supportive answers) to 1 (all supportive answers).

Second, the survey includes a conjoint experiment to measure whether respondents become more willing to prioritize minority rights in a setting where they choose between party platforms that include a range of other policy positions. One policy attribute in the conjoint is the following set of policy positions:

"Stronger protection of indigenous people's special rights at the expense of other considerations";

"Investment in indigenous language education in schools";

"The current legislation provides adequate protection and language education";

"Prioritize the mainstream society's interests over indigenous people's special rights";

"Withdraw Norway from international conventions that protect indigenous people".

We combine the first two positions into a PRO-MINORITY POSITION and the two final positions as PRO-MAJORITY POSITION. The status quo position represents a control group.

Identification of treatment effects

To test H1-H4, we run OLS regressions with NEED TO KNOW, SUPPORT TCS, PREJUDICE, and RIGHTS as the dependent variables and POST as the independent variable. We estimate conventional standard errors and use two-sided tests. We include fixed effects for

random assignment to answer questions about Sámi, Kven, or Forest Finns to improve precision. We do not rely on survey weights (Miratrix et al. 2018).

In the conjoint experiment we examine if the PRO-MINORITY POSITION has a higher marginal mean (see Leeper et al. 2020) and the PRO-MAJORITY POSITION has a lower marginal mean among respondents in the POST group. We follow the recommendations in Leeper et al. (2020) for how to present and test the difference across the groups.

Treatment heterogeneity

We test whether the treatment effect is different for respondents living in one of the (oversampled) municipalities with relatively higher presence of one of the three minority groups (H5). We consider this is a secondary hypothesis. Treatment effects might be smaller in these areas since the topics are more contested and have been salient for a longer time, which might restrict the room for the release of the report to have any effect. We test treatment heterogeneity by adding an interaction term between POST and HIGH PRESENCE (which is coded 1 for respondents from the oversampled municipalities with relatively high presence of the relevant minorities, 0 otherwise).

Balance checks

We will examine balance by running OLS regressions of POST as the dependent variable on a vector of pre-determined variables: An indicator for university level education, an indicator for gender, age (continuous variable), and indicator for whether the respondent is in paid work, an indicator for whether the respondent is foreign born, an indicator for whether the respondent strongly agrees or agrees that we have enough immigrants and asylum seekers in Norway, an indicator for whether the respondent strongly agrees or agrees that high taxes ensures that we

have the necessary public goods, and an indicator for whether the respondent voted for the Progress Party in the previous elections. To retain power in the balance test, we set missing answers, don't know and will not answer to 0 for the binary indicators and to the mean for age. If more than five percent of the respondents have imputed values on a variable, the balance test will include a binary indicator for missing data for that variable. We will test for significant imbalance using the F-test. If the F-test is below the .1 threshold of statistical significance, we will include all controls when we test hypotheses.

Robustness checks and additional analyses

If any outcome index has more than five percent missing answers (here we refer to respondents skipping the question or exit the survey without answer the question) we will examine if missing outcome is related to the attributes. We will do this by using an indicator for missing answer as the outcome and estimate treatment effects. If the treatment effect is statistically significant, we will present results (in the appendix) using extreme bounds analysis (see Gerber and Green 2012).

We will conduct analyses of respondent attention. The survey includes the following survey item as an attention check: "People are very busy these days and many do not have time to follow what goes on in the government. We are testing whether people read questions. To show that you've read this much, answer both "extremely interested" and" very interested."" The answer categories are Extremely interested; Very interested; Moderately interested; Slightly interested; Not interested at all. FAILING the test is defined as not answering both extremely interested and very interested. If more than five percent fail the attention check we will conduct two tests. First, we will examine if failing the test is correlated with POST. We will test this using the same specification we use to test the treatment effects. Second, if POST is

uncorrelated with failing the test (which we expect), we will augment the treatment effect regressions with FAILING and an interaction between FAILING and POST to examine if the treatment effect is larger for those paying attention.

The survey includes a question of whether the respondent "has read, seen, or heard about the TC during the last month" (Yes, No, Don't remember). We will report this number in the main text. We will examine if POST is a sufficiently strong predictor of HAS READ (binary indicator equal to 1 if respondent answers Yes, 0 otherwise) to serve as an instrumental variable (F-test in the first stage above 10) for the effect of noticing the report on the main outcomes. The first stage will include fixed effects for random assignment to answer questions about Sámi, Kven or Forest Finns. If the first stage is sufficiently strong, we will run IV regressions where we use the predicted HAS READ from the first stage regression as the independent variable and NEED TO KNOW, SUPPORT TCS, PREJUDICE, and RIGHTS as the dependent variables.

As a robustness check we estimate the treatment effects specifications where POST is interacted with mean-centered fixed effects for assignment to the Kven and Forest Finns questionnaire. We do so as our main specification might give biased estimates of the average effect if there is treatment effect heterogeneity across the groups (see Lin 2013). If this turns out to be the case, we will use this specification as our main specification. We will then use this specification also in the test of treatment heterogeneity.

Multiple hypothesis adjustments

From the tests of H1-H4 we will have four corresponding p-values. We will present conventional as well as adjusted critical p-values using the false discovery rate (FDR) method of Benjamini and Hochberg (1995).

Power

We expect that about 3,000 respondents will participate in the study. With equal share of respondents in the two groups, the minimum detectable effect size is about .05 (80 percent power). This is a small effect size, which is reasonable to expect for our study. Thus, we believe our study is well powered for the main treatment effects. As always, power is much lower for the heterogeneity tests.

References

Benjamini Y., and Y. Hochberg. 1995. Controlling the false discovery rate: a practical and powerful approach to multiple testing. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society Series B (Methodological)* 57(1):289–300.

Dancy, G. and O. T. Thoms. 2022. Do Truth Commissions Really Improve Democracy*? Comparative Political Studies* 55(4), 555-587.

Dawson, P. and colleagues (2022). *Holdninger til nasjonale samer og minoriteter i Norge*. Norges institusjon for menneskerettigheter, Oslo, Norway.

Falch, Torvald, Per Selle, and Kristin Strømsnes. 2016. 'The Sámi: 25 Years of Indigenous Authority in Norway'. *Ethnopolitics* 15 (1): 125–43.

Gerber, A. S. and D. P. Green. 2012. *Field Experiments*. New York: Norton.

Hirsch, M. B.-J., M. MacKenzie, and M. Sesay. 2012. Measuring the Impacts of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions: Placing the Global 'Success' of TRCs in Local Perspective. *Cooperation and Conflict* 47(3): 386–403.

Leeper, T. J., S. B. Hobolt, and J. Tilley. 2020. "Measuring Subgroup Preferences in Conjoint Experiments." *Political Analysis* 28(2): 207–221.

Lin, W. 2013. "Agnostic Notes on Regression Adjustments to Experimental Data: Reexamining Freedman's Critique." *The Annals of Applied Statistics* 7 (1): 295–318.

Miratrix, L., J. S. Sekhoon, A. G. Theodoridis, and L.F. Campos 2018. Worth Weighting? How to Think About and Use Weights in Survey Experiments. *Political Analysis* 26(3): 275-291.

Skaar, E. 2018. Transitional Justice for Human Rights: The Legacy and Future of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions. *International Human Rights Institutions, Tribunals, and Courts*: 401–20.

Skogerbø, E., K. McCallum, and T. Dreher. 2024. "Overshadowed voices in media reporting in truth-telling commissions", *Media, Culture & Society* (Online first): 1–17.

Skogvang, Susann Funderud. 2023. “Fosen-saken [The Fosen case].” In Store norske leksikon. https://snl.no/Fosen-saken.