

# Institutional heterogeneity in democratic norm tolerance (#268686)

## Author(s)

This pre-registration is currently anonymous to enable blind peer-review.  
It has 3 authors.

## Pre-registered on:

2026/01/19 11:33 (PT)

### 1) Have any data been collected for this study already?

No, no data have been collected for this study yet.

### 2) What's the main question being asked or hypothesis being tested in this study?

This study examines whether tolerance for democratic norm violations varies across institutional domains (legislative control, public control, judicial control) depending on respondents' ideological characteristics. We theorise that citizens develop differential tolerance for violations of specific institutions based on whether those institutions are perceived as ideological allies or obstacles. Using a conjoint experimental design, we test whether economic and socio-cultural ideology predict domain-specific patterns of norm-violation tolerance that cannot be reduced to a single pro-/anti-democracy dimension.

H1a. Respondents with left-wing economic preferences will show smaller penalties for judicial control violations than respondents with right-wing economic preferences.

H1b. Respondents with right-wing economic preferences will show smaller penalties for legislative control violations than respondents with left-wing economic preferences.

H1c. Respondents with left-wing economic preferences will show larger penalties for public control violations than respondents with right-wing economic preferences.

H2a. Respondents with conservative socio-cultural preferences will show smaller penalties for judicial control violations than respondents with progressive socio-cultural preferences.

H2b. Respondents with progressive socio-cultural preferences will show larger penalties for public control violations than respondents with conservative socio-cultural preferences.

H2c. Socio-cultural ideology will not systematically predict tolerance for legislative control violations (null hypothesis).

H3a. Respondents who are both economically left-wing and socio-culturally right-wing will show the smallest penalties for judicial control violations of any ideological quadrant.

H3b. Respondents who are both economically right-wing and socio-culturally left-wing will show the largest penalties for judicial control violations of any ideological quadrant.

### 3) Describe the key dependent variable(s) specifying how they will be measured.

For each of 15 paired comparisons, which policy approach the respondent prefers (Option A = 1, Option B = 0, or vice versa).

### 4) How many and which conditions will participants be assigned to?

This study uses a conjoint experimental design. All participants complete the same conjoint task, but the specific attribute levels shown in each profile are randomly assigned. Each respondent evaluates 15 paired comparisons of hypothetical government policy approaches. Each profile in a pair is defined by 5 attributes, each with 3 levels, fully randomised and independently assigned.

1. Economic policy ("In the sphere of economic policy, the government intends to..."): (1) implement wealth taxes on high-income earners and large corporations to fund expanded social programs; (2) implement a tax system that imposes moderately higher rates on higher-income earners and corporations to fund social pro-grams; (3) implement reduced corporate and personal income tax rates regardless of income, cutting social programs.

2. Socio-cultural policy ("In the sphere of sociocultural policy, the government in-tends to..."): (1) provide universal access to abortion services through publicly funded healthcare with no restrictions; (2) ensure legal abortion access with restrictions after 20 weeks except for maternal or foetal health reasons; (3) restrict abortion access with exceptions only for rape, incest, and maternal health.

3. Legislative control ("If parliament tries to delay or block their policies, the government will..."): (1) work through the normal legislative process, accepting delays and modifications; (2) use executive orders to implement key provisions while negotiations continue; (3) declare the policy in question a national priority and override parliamentary objections.

4. Public control ("If their policies face significant protests by interest groups, the government will..."): (1) consult with those groups to address their concerns; (2) engage in limited dialogue with some interest groups but stick to the core plan; (3) ignore these concerns and implement the policy in question anyway.

5. Judicial control ("If concerns are raised about the compatibility of their policies with the constitution, the government will..."): (1) amend the policy in question to ensure it is fully compatible with the constitution; (2) seek to amend the constitution to enable the policy in question to be implemented; (3) implement the policy in question regardless of these concerns.

### 5) Specify exactly which analyses you will conduct to examine the main question/hypothesis.

Specify exactly which analyses you will conduct to examine the main question/hypothesis.

We test all hypotheses using Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCEs) as the key estimand, with interaction models and subgroup estimates to

test each of the separate hypotheses. We will use the standard approach for estimating AMCEs as specified in Hainmueller, Hopkins and Yamamoto (2014).

For hypotheses H1a, H1b and H1c, we will regress the conjoint choice variable on the five conjoint attributes, interacted with self-reported economic ideology (running from 1 = Extremely economically left-wing to 7 = Extremely economically right-wing). This will allow us to estimate whether economic ideology moderates the propensity to support or reject policy proposals on the basis of distinct norm violations.

For hypotheses H2a, H2b and H2c, we will regress the conjoint choice variable on the five conjoint attributes, interacted with self-reported sociocultural ideology (running from 1 = Extremely economically left-wing to 7 = Extremely economically right-wing). This will allow us to estimate whether sociocultural ideology moderates the propensity to support or reject policy proposals on the basis of distinct norm violations.

For hypotheses H3a and H3b, we first create a variable sorting respondents into ideological quadrants. Left-Economic / Left-Sociocultural consists of those equal to or less than 3 on the aforementioned economic and sociocultural variables. Left-Economic / Right-Sociocultural consists of those who are equal to or less than 3 on the economic variable, and equal to or more than 5 on the sociocultural variable. Right-Economic / Left-Sociocultural consists of those who are equal to or more than 5 on the economic variable, and equal to or less than 3 on the sociocultural variable. Right-Economic / Right-Sociocultural consists of those who are equal to or more than 5 on the economic and sociocultural variables. The remaining respondents are coded Centrist. We will then regress the conjoint choice variable on the ideological quadrants variable, interacted with the conjoint attributes. This will allow us to estimate whether combinations of economic and sociocultural attitudes moderate the propensity to support or reject policy proposals on the basis of distinct norm violations.

**6) Describe exactly how outliers will be defined and handled, and your precise rule(s) for excluding observations.**

Respondents answering "Don't know / Hard to say" on the observational variables (personality traits; economic and socio-cultural self-placement) will be excluded.

**7) How many observations will be collected or what will determine sample size? No need to justify decision, but be precise about exactly how the number will be determined.**

1,500 in each case (Great Britain, Poland and Spain), drawing on quota-sampled surveys representative of the adult population by gender, age group, level of education, region of residence, and level of urbanisation.

**8) Anything else you would like to pre-register? (e.g., secondary analyses, variables collected for exploratory purposes, unusual analyses planned?)**

None

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**BUNDLE**

This pre-registration is part of a bundle which includes:

#268,204 - <https://aspredicted.org/fs8nt5.pdf> - Title: 'Attitudes towards Absolute Freedom of Speech Online in Poland, the UK and Spain' #268,691 - <https://aspredicted.org/bp7w6h.pdf> - Title: 'Personality traits and tolerance for democratic norm violations'