Pre-Analysis Plan: Give a Little, Take a Little. Political Parties' Reputational Cost of Compromise

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1 Expectations

Steadfast hypothesis (H1): All else equal, in-partisans view their party more positively when a party remains steadfast in coalition talks, compared to accepting a compromise.

Outcome hypothesis (H2): All else equal, in-partisans view their party more positively when coalition talks continue compared to stalling of the coalition talks.

Compromise hypothesis (H3): All else equal, in-partisans view their party that accepts a compromise more positively when coalition talks continue compared to stalling of the coalition talks.

Principled hypothesis (H_4): All else equal, the more principled a respondent is, the higher the evaluation of a steadfast party.

Mutual Trust hypothesis (H5): All else equal, the more distrusting a respondent is, the higher the evaluation of a steadfast party.

2 Research Desing and Protocol

2.1 Sample

We will conduct the survey experiment in Germany in October 2021 – approximately three weeks after the general elections of 26 September 2021. The sample, recruited through Respondi, will consist of 8,000 participants (based on the power analysis presented in Figure 2) of 18 years and older. Respondi works with opt-in respondents, so we have implemented quota on age, gender, and education. Moreover, we measure some more demographic background variables (see Section 3.2). Balance checks will be conducted to demonstrate whether certain categories are over represented in a certain experimental group. The study has been approved by the Research Ethics Review Committee of the *Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam* (see the approval here). To ensure good quality of our data, two attention checks (discussed in more detail in Section 3.3) are included. Each respondent failing the attention check will be excluded and replaced with another 'good' response.

I will conduct this survey experiment in the Netherlands in April 2021. The sample, recruited through KiesKompas, will consist of 2,000 participants (based on the power analysis presented in Figure 2) of 18 years and older. Kieskompas works with non-random opt-in respondents. Therefore, I measure many demographic background variables (see Section 3.2). Balance checks will be conducted to demonstrate whether certain categories are over represented in a certain experimental group. The study has been approved by the Research Ethics Review Committee of the *Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam* (see the approval here). To ensure good quality of our data, two attention checks (discussed in more detail in Section 3.3) are included. Each respondent failing the attention check will be excluded and replaced with another 'good' response.

2.2 Experimental Protocol

The study is conducted online and in German Participants are told that they are taking part in a survey to get an overview of how German people form their views on politics. After reading an informed consent message participants are forwarded to the main questionnaire (or the survey will be terminated if they do not agree to the consent form).

First, participants complete a set of demographic variables (i.e. income, employment, and degree of urbanization). This block ends with one of the two attention checks included in this survey. When participants fail this attention check, a warning appears asking them to read the question again carefully and to answer again. Thereafter, a set of background variables are asked on their stances on the political issues, some are used in the experiment (i.e. top tax, speed limit, education, legalization of Cannabis), their political interest and knowledge, as well as on their ideological position – the full codeboek can be viewed here. Next, participants are forced to choose between one of four parties – CDU, SPD, Greens, or FDP – as their in-party. To account for variation of in-party strength, respondents are surveyed on this too. Before entering the experimental condition, respondents get a second attention check. Only when they have answered it correctly, they enter the first round of the experiment – if they fail to answer the question correctly, they are thrown out of the

survey. After the experimental treatment, the heterogeneous treatments (principledness and mutual trust) and a post-treatment question (populist attitudes) are asked.

The stimuli in the experiment are Instagram-posts in the same style as the German political parties: CDU, Greens, FDP, SPD. We follow Munger et al. [CITE]'s reasoning: Given that people are more used to receiving political information from social media, these short messages are more common and capture people's attention better. However, to account for age differences, we have put a press release message on the site of the post (see Figure 1). In these messages, we manipulate: a) the potential coalition parter of the party (SPD and the Greens for CDU or FDP, CDU and FDP for SPD and the Greens); b) whether or not a party is steadfast or willing to compromise; and c) whether the coalition talks are stalled or continue. This creates a full 2*2*2 factorial experiment – whereas the first manipulation is in-build to mimic reality, and will be controlled for in the analyses, but does not play a role in the hypotheses testing. For an illustration of the stimulus material, see Figure 1.



Figure 1: Example of Stimulus Material

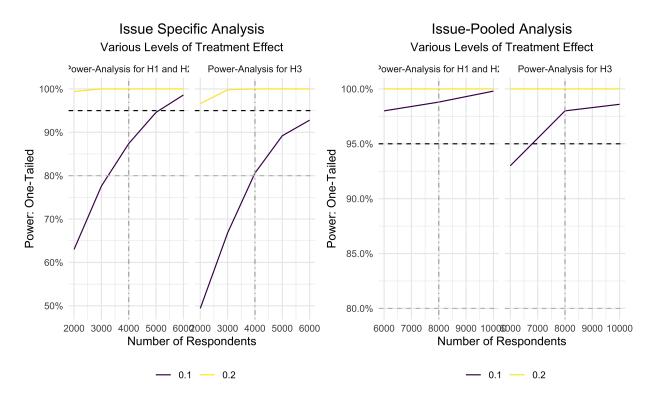
2.3 Power Analysis

As detailed in Section 4, we conduct an OLS regression for each of the dependent variables: a) trust in the party; b) sincerity of the party; and c) representation of the party, and the three manipulations (potential coalition partner, being steadfast, and the outcome) as independent variables. Each hypothesis is tested separately for the two issues. To calculate power for the hypotheses, the R package DeclareDesign is used (Blair et al. 2019). Based on the study of Bauer, Yong, and Krupnikov (2017), the effect sizes are between b = 0.2 and b = 0.1 – i.e. a small effect visualized by the purple and blue lines in Figure 2. The hypothesis are directional, Figure 2 therefore displays one-tailed tests with α = 0.05. The power analysis shows that testing hypotheses 1 and 2 requires a sample size of 4,000 participants (x-axis) to reach 95% power (black dashed line, in the left-panel of Figure 2). Note that if the effect size is bigger then 0.2, smaller sample sizes are sufficient to reach 95\% power. To test H3, the combination of steadfast and outcome, we can detect an effect β = 0.1 (purple line) with reasonable levels of power (80%, as indicated by the gray dotted line) and a one-tailed test of significance at α = 0.05 with a sample of 4,000 participants (Middle Left-Panel of Figure 2). A probability of approximately 20% remains for a Type II error remains when testing Hypotheses 3. We will therefore test all hypotheses first by issue and second, by pooling our data across issues. As the right-hand

panel of Figure 2 demonstrates, this will give sufficient power – yellow and purple lines are approximating 100% with $8{,}000$ respondents.

source(here::here("docs/pre-analysis-plan/poweranalysis.R"))

Figure 2: Power Analysis



3 Measures

3.1 Dependent Variables

We rely on three measures reflecting different aspects of how people evaluate parties as trustworthy. Measure 1 is used to test the hypothesis, measure 2 and 3 are used exploratively.

- 1. General trust This measure exists of a statement on whether or not you trust a party see Table 1 DV1. The statement is measured on a 10-point scale: From do not trust at all to trust completely.
- 2. Sincerity In this measure respondents are asked to rank the party from very insincere (value of 0) to very sincere (value of 10) for the decision to (not) strike a compromise on the issue at stake. See Table 1 DV2 for the exact phrasing of the question.
- 3. Representation In this measure, respondents are surveyed on how well the party is a good representative of the voters. The party can be evaluated on an 11-point scale from very poorly (value of 0) till very well (value of 10). See Table 1 DV3 for the exact phrasing of the question.

3.2 Control Variables

As control variables, the following *demographics* are measured: gender, age, education, geographical region, level of urbanness, vote choice in the 2021 parliamentary elections, employment, and income. For the analysis,

Table 1: Survey Questions - DV

Variable	Wording ENG	Wording DE
trust (DV1)	Based on the Instagram post, to what extent do you trust [PARTY]	Der Instagram-Nachricht nach zu urteilen, wie sehr würden Sie [PARTY] vertrauen?
sincere (DV2)	Based on the Instagram post, to what extent do you think [PARTY] is sincere?	Und inwieweit denken Sie, dass [PARTY] der Instagram-Nachricht nach aufrichtig gehandelt hat?
representation (DV3)	Based on the Instagram post, to what extent do you think [PARTY] does a good job in representing its voters?	Und inwiefern denken Sie, dass [PARTY] ihre Wähler gut vertritt in Anbetracht der Instagram-Nachricht?

only variables that are unbalanced over the experimental conditions will be included. Table 2 gives an overview of the questions asked in the survey as well as their English translations.

- Gender is measured as sex based on the advice of Kieskompas. The answer categories are Male (value of 1), Female (value of 0), and No answer (value of 999).
- Age is measured using 6 categories: 17 or younger, 18--29, 30--39, 40--49, 50--59, 60--74.
- Education is measured as the highest successfully completed level of education, recoded into four categories: low, middle, high, and none. I create dummy variables for each level of education with the lowest category as base category.
- Urbanness Respondents are asked for what the type of location they live: big city, suburb of a large city, middle-szed or small city, rural village, detached house in the countryside, don't know/won't say.
- Vote Recall Respondents were asked which party they voted for in the last election with their second vote. Answering categories were: CDU/CSU, SPD, AfD, FDP, DIE LINKE, BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN, Other party:, I didn't vote/wasn't eligble to vote, Don't know/won't say.
- Employment Respondents were asked which category of employment Full-time employed, Part-time employed, Entrepreneur, Unemployed and searching for a job, Unemployed and not searching for a job or incapacitated, Housewife/Househusband or else, Retired, Student or full-time education applied most to them.
- *Income* Respondents were questioned on their monthly income in bins of €500 €500 or less, €501-€1000, €1001-€1500, €1501-€2000, €2001-€2500, €2501-€3000, €3001-€3500, €3501-€4000, €4501-€7500, €7501 or more as well as giving them the options of won't say and don't know.
- Geographical region is measured using the same questions as the German Longitudinal Election Study, asking respondents where they are born and currently live, differentiating between the different German provinces (Bundesl{"a}nder): Baden-W{"u}rtemberg, Bavaria, Berlin, Brandenburg, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Lower Saxony, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, Saxony, Saxony-Anholt, Schleswig-Holstein, and Thuringia.

In addition, pre-treatment, respondents' ideological position, position on and salience of the issues speed limit, top tax, and Cannabis legalization, political knowledge and interest are measured (see Tables 3 and 4). Those variables will only be included in the analyses if balance checks indicate they are necessary. Moreover, the variables will be used to explore heterogeneous relationships.

- Ideological position is measured using an 11-point scale ranging from left (0) to right (10).
- Position on issues is measured by forcing participants to choose whether or not the government should implement a policy: implement speed limit, increase of top tax, legalize cannabis.
- Salience of issues is measured using an 11-point scale ranging from not at all important (0) to very important (10).

Table 2: Survey Questions - Demographics

Variable	Wording ENG	Wording DE
gender (RESPONDI)	Which gender do you feel you belong to?	Welchem Geschlecht fühlen Sie sich zugehörig?
age (RESPONDI)	To which of the following age groups do you belong?	Zu welcher der nachfolgenden Altersgruppen gehören Sie?
education (RESPONDI)	What is your highest educational qualification?	Was ist Ihr höchster Bildungsabschluss?
geographical-region (D4)	Which of the following categories best describes where you live?	Welche der folgenden Kategorien beschreibt am besten, wo Sie wohnen?
vote-recall2 (D6)	Which party did you vote for with your second vote in the last federal election in September 2021?	Welche Partei haben Sie bei der letzten Bundestagswahl im September 2021 mit Ihrer Zweitstimme gewählt?
employment (D7)	Now we would like to ask you something about your employment. Which of this list applies to you?	Nun möchten wir Sie gerne etwas zu Ihrer Erwerbstätigkeit fragen. Was von dieser Liste trifft auf Sie zu?
income (D8)	What is the total monthly net income of your household? This refers to the sum that remains after deducting taxes and social security contributions.	Wie hoch ist das monatliche Netto-Einkommen Ihres Haushaltes insgesamt? Gemeint ist die Summe, die nach Abzug von Steuern und Sozialversicherungsbeiträgen übrig bleibt.
living-place (D9)	In which federal state or on the territory of which present federal state do you currently live?	Im welchen Bundesland bzw. auf dem Gebiet welches heutigen Bundeslandes wohnen Sie derzeit?
birth-place (D10)	And in which federal state or on the territory of which present federal state were you born?	Und in welchem Bundesland bzw. auf dem Gebiet welches heutigen Bundeslandes wurden Sie geboren?

- Political knowledge is measured with three items. First, respondents are asked which of the two votes is determinative for the seat distribution in parliament: first vote, second vote, both, don't know. Secondly, respondents are asked about the electoral threshold. Last, respondents are asked whether or not the unemployment rate is over ten procent.
- Political interest is measured by asking people how strongly they are interested in politics using a 5-point Likert-scale (very strong, strong, medium, less strong, not at all) and a don't know/won't say option.
- In-party is measured by forcing people to choose beween the four parties of the experiment (CDU, die Grünen, FDP, and SPD) to determine which treatment they will be shown.
- *In-party strength* is measured by asking people how strongly they identify with the party uing a 5-point Likert-scale: very strong, strong, medium, less strong, not at all

3.3 Attention Checks

We include two attention checks in the survey. The first one is after the demographic covariates, the second one is asked just before respondents enter the round of the experimental treatments. The attention checks are taken from Berinsky, Margolis, and Sances (2014) and adapted to the German context by the authors. If a respondents fails the first attention check, a warning appears and the respondent can only continue with the survey once the respondent has correctly answered the question correctly. The second attention check also has a warning – meaning that respondents have to select two options – but if they fail to correctly pass the check, they are excluded. Each excluded respondent due to failing an attention check is replaced with another "good respondent".

Table 3: Survey Questions - PreTreatment Questions (1)

Variable	Wording ENG	Wording DE
issue-pref-forced (PT1)	In your opinion, should the federal government implement the following policy proposals? Please select the response option that most closely matches your opinion.	Sollte die Bundesregierung Ihrer Meinung nach die folgenden politischen Vorschläge umsetzen? Bitte wählen Sie die Antwortoption, die Ihrer Meinung am ehesten entspricht.
general speed limit (PT1-1)	General speed limit.	Generelles Tempolimit
increase of top tax (PT1-2)	Increase the top tax rate	Erhöhung des Spitzensteuersatzes
legalization of cannabis (PT1-3)	Cannabis Legalization.	Cannabis-Legalisierung
issue-importance (PT3)	How important are the following issues to you?	Wie wichtig sind die folgenden Themen für Sie?
general speed limit (PT3-1)	General speed limit	Generelles Tempolimit
increase of top tax (PT3-2)	Increasing the top tax rate	Erhöhung des Spitzensteuersatzes
legalization of cannabis (PT3-3)	Cannabis legalization	Cannabis-Legalisierung
political- knowledge1 (PT4)	In the federal election, you have two votes, a first vote and a second vote. How is that actually, which of the two votes is decisive for the distribution of seats in the Bundestag?	Bei der Bundestagswahl haben Sie ja zwei Stimmen, eine Erststimme und eine Zweitstimme. Wie ist das eigentlich, welche der beiden Stimmen ist ausschlaggebend für die Sitzverteilung im Bundestag?
$\begin{array}{c} \text{political-} \\ \text{knowledge2} \\ \text{(PT5)} \end{array}$	Now we would like to know from you, from what percentage of the second votes a party can send deputies in any case in the Bundestag?	Jetzt möchten wir gerne von Ihnen wissen, ab wie viel Prozent der Zweitstimmen eine Partei auf jeden Fall Abgeordnete in den Bundestag entsenden kann?
political- knowledge3 (PT6)	And can you say approximately what the current unemployment rate is in Germany? Is it lower or higher than 10 percent?	Und können Sie ungefähr sagen, wie hoch die derzeitige Arbeitslosenquote in Deutschland ist? Ist sie niedriger oder höher als 10 Prozent?

Attention Check 1 When a big news story breaks people often go online to get up-to-the-minute details on what is going on. We want to know which websites people trust to get this information. We also want to know if people are paying attention to the question. To show that you have read this much, please ignore the question and select BILD-Zeitung and Süddeutsche Zeitung as your two answers. When there is a big news story, which is the one news website you would visit first? (Please only choose one). Eight (German) news outlets are provided to choose from. Respondents pass the attention check if they select BILD-Zeitung and Süddeutsche Zeitung.

Attention Check 2: We would like to get a sense of your general preferences. Most modern theories of decision making recognize that decisions do not take place in a vacuum. Individual preferences and knowledge, along with situational variables can greatly impact the decision process. To demonstrate that you've read this much, just go ahead and select both red and green among the alternatives below, no matter what your favourite color is. Yes, ignore the question below and select both of those options. What is your favourite color? Six colors are provided to choose from, respondents pass the attention check if they select red and green.

Table 4: Survey Questions - PreTreatment Questions (2)

Variable	Wording ENG	Wording DE
political-interest (PT7)	Once speaking in general terms: How interested are you in politics - very strongly, strongly, moderately, less strongly, or not at all?	Einmal ganz allgemein gesprochen: Wie stark interessieren Sie sich für Politik – sehr stark, stark, mittelmäßig, weniger stark oder überhaupt nicht?
RILE (PT8)	In politics, people often talk about 'left' and 'right.' Where would you classify yourself?	In der Politik reden die Leute häufig von 'links' und 'rechts'. Wo würden Sie sich selbst einordnen?
in-party (S1)	If you had to choose, which of the following parties would you be most likely to vote for in the next federal election?	Wenn Sie sich entscheiden müssten, welche der folgenden Parteien würden Sie bei der nächsten Bundestagswahl am ehesten wählen?
in-party-strength (S2)	How strongly or how weakly do you identify with this party: very strongly, fairly strongly, moderately, fairly weakly, or very weakly?	Wie stark oder wie schwach indentifizieren Sie sich mit dieser Partei: sehr stark, ziemlich stark, mäßig, ziemlich schwach, oder sehr schwach?

3.4 Exclusion Criteria

Participants are required to respond to each question. Participants who fail the second attention check will be excluded but replaced by another participant.

4 Analysis

We test the hypotheses formulated in Section 1 by fitting linear multivariate regressions separately for the two issues. In each model, we will estimate the coefficient for gender of the politician (H1), migration background of the politician (H2), and the interaction of gendere and migration background (H3). I will apply a multiverse approach (Steegen et al. 2016; Simonsohn, Simmons, and Nelson 2019). Instead of running various models using the different dependent variables, I will estimate whether the treatment explains the different operationalizations of the dependent variable (see Section 3.1) in one go and present the estimates and confidence intervals for the several combinations. I will only add control variables in the analyses that are unbalanced, as explained in Section 4.1.

4.1 Balance Checks

I will conduct a balance test based on demographics (age, gender, education, geographical region, level of urbanness, migration background, employment, and income), vote choice in the 2021 parliamentary elections, ideological self-placement, political efficacy, attitudes towards women in politics, and positions on the four issues, using the cobalt R package (Greifer 2021). If the groups are unbalanced on one of these variables – i.e. standardized mean differences <0.05 – I will add the covariates to the analyses. I will use the code below to conduct the balance tests (see here for the R script).

4.2 Hypothesis 1

I test the gender hypothesis using Equation 1 and the code chunk below. The coefficient of β_1 denotes the difference in the evaluation of female and male politicians. The coefficient of β_2 denotes the difference in the evaluation of politicians who do and do not strike a comprmise. The coefficient of β_3 is the interaction of the β_1 and β_2 . If the Average Marginal Effect of β_1 is negative and statistically significant when $\beta_2 = 1$ (i.e. politician stroke a compromise), the gender hypothesis will be confirmed.

$$\hat{Y} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Female + \beta_2 Compromise + \beta_3 Compromise * Female + \varepsilon$$
 (1)

```
source(here::here("src/lib/functions.R"))

df <- d %>% select(PT1:PT4, gender, compromise)
h1 <- regression(data = df, a = gender, b = compromise)</pre>
```

4.3 Hypothesis 2

I test the migration hypothesis using Equation 2 and the code chunk below. The coefficient of β_1 denotes the difference in the evaluation of politicians with and without a migration background. If β_1 is negative and statistically significant, the migration hypothesis will be confirmed. The coefficient of β_2 denotes the difference in the evaluation of politicians who do and do not strike a comprmise. The coefficient of β_3 is the interaction of the β_1 and β_2 . If the Average Marginal Effect of β_1 is negative and statistically significant when $\beta_2 = 1$ (i.e. politician stroke a compromise), the migration hypothesis will be confirmed.

```
\hat{Y} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Migration Background + \beta_2 Compromise + \beta_3 Compromise * Migration Background + \varepsilon \quad (2)
```

4.4 Hypothesis 3

I test the *intersection hypothesis* using Equation 3 and the code chunk below. The coefficient of β_1 denotes the difference in the evaluation of female politicians with a migration background and the other politicians. If β_1 is negative and statistically significant, the *gender hypothesis* will be confirmed. The coefficient of β_2 denotes the difference in the evaluation of politicians who do and do not strike a comprmise. The coefficient of β_3 is the interaction of the β_1 and β_2 . If the Average Marginal Effect of β_1 is negative and statistically significant when $\beta_2 = 1$ (i.e. politician stroke a compromise), the *intersection hypothesis* will be confirmed.

$$\hat{Y} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Intersection + \beta_2 Compromise + \beta_3 Compromise * Intersection + \varepsilon$$
 (3)

```
h3 <- regression(data = df, a = intersection, b = compromise)
```

4.5 Pooled Data

Using the pooled data we will estimate a within groups fixed effects model. $Y\hat{Y}_{r,i,t}$ in Equation 4 denotes the evaluation of a politician of respondent r, during issue i and at experimental round t – ranging from round 1 to round 4. α_i is the issue specific intercept, and γ_t is the experimental round specific intercept. The standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

If the Average Marginal Effect of β_1 is negative and statistically significant when $\beta_2 = 1$ (i.e. politician stroke a compromise), the *intersection hypothesis* will be confirmed.

$$\hat{Y}_{r,i,t} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Intersection_{r,i,t} + \beta_2 Compromise + \beta_3 Compromise * Intersection + \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \varepsilon_{r,i,t} \quad (4)$$

4.6 Statistical Significance

All the hypotheses are directional, and therefore all of the tests will be one-tailed. I will use an α -value of 0.05 as the value for statistical significance in all models above.

5 Stimulus Material

	Name Politician	Gender	Migration Background	Compromise
1	Rachid Amezian	Men	Yes	Yes
2	Rachid Amezian	Men	Yes	No
3	Karel van der Kleijn	Men	No	Yes
4	Karel van der Kleijn	Men	No	No
5	Rachida Amezian	Women	Yes	Yes
6	Rachida Amezian	Women	Yes	No
7	Karin van der Kleijn	Women	No	Yes
8	Karin van der Kleijn	Women	No	No

Table 5: Experimental Conditions

Table 5 show the manipulations of the 2*2*2 experimental design, leading to 8 experimental groups. All stimulus material is developed by the Network Institute of the *Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam* and can be accessed here. The treatment's texts are in Dutch. The English translation is displayed in Table 6.

Title	Politician makes [**no/ **] compromise on [**expansion creative elementary school activities/ intensifying defense cooperation/ migration freeze in Western countries/ Corona emergency legislation**]
First	In this term, parliament faces a crucial crossroads regarding an [**expansion of creative
Para-	elementary school activities/ intensification of defense cooperation/ migration freeze in
graph	Western countries/ extension of Corona emergency legislation**]. With the deadline for a vote fast approaching, parliament must determine the future of the policy on [**expanding creative elementary school activities/ intensifying defense cooperation/ migration freeze in Western countries/ Corona emergency legislation**] in the Netherlands. A number of non-partisan organizations have urged parliament to reach a compromise on this issue. Time is running out.
G 1	· ·
Second	For this important bill to pass, politicians from different political parties will have to put
Para-	aside their differences and reach a compromise. While many in parliament are still debating
graph	their positions, some members of both left and right parties have already shown a
	willingness to compromise. One of those who [**won't/ will**] compromise is the politician
	[**Rachid Amezian/ Rachida Amezian/ Karin van der Kleijn/ Karel van der Kleijn**].
	[**Rachid Amezian/ Rachida Amezian/ Karin van der Kleijn/ Karel van der Kleijn**] has
	already publicly stated that [**he / she**] wants to make [**no/ a**] compromises and will
	vote [**against/ for**] this bill. Although the vote is still a week away, [**Rachid Amezian/
	Rachida Amezian/Karin van der Kleijn/Karel van der Kleijn** has told numerous media
	sources that [**he/ she**] will not change [**his/ her**] vote. [**'This is just not an issue
	on which I want to compromise'/ 'This is an issue on which I am willing to compromise'**],
	said [**Rachid Amezian/ Rachida Amezian/ Karin van der Kleijn/ Karel van der Kleijn**].
	'My voters knew this when they elected me.'
	·

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