

Online Appendix: What Does Democracy Mean to Losers?

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A Survey Items and Coding

This section documents the survey items used to measure conceptions of democracy across the Asian Barometer Survey waves.

A.1 Item Reference Table

Table A1: Survey Items by Set and Type

Set	Value	Item Label	Item Type	Subtype
Wave 2				
W2	1	Elections	procedural	electoral
W2	2	Criticize power	procedural	liberal
W2	3	Income equality	substantive	redistribution
W2	4	Basic necessities	substantive	welfare
Set 1 (W3/W4/W6)				
Set1	1	Reduce gap rich/poor	substantive	redistribution
Set1	2	Free elections	procedural	electoral
Set1	3	No waste	governance	quality

Set1	4	Free expression	procedural	liberal
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Set 2 (W3/W4/W6)

Set2	1	Legislature oversight	procedural	accountability
Set2	2	Basic necessities	substantive	welfare
Set2	3	Organize groups	procedural	liberal
Set2	4	Quality services	governance	quality

Set 3 (W3/W4/W6)

Set3	1	Law and order	governance	quality
Set3	2	Media freedom	procedural	liberal
Set3	3	Jobs for all	substantive	welfare
Set3	4	Party competition	procedural	electoral

Set 4 (W3/W4/W6)

Set4	1	Protest freedom	procedural	liberal
Set4	2	Clean politics	governance	quality
Set4	3	Court protection	procedural	accountability
Set4	4	Unemployment aid	substantive	welfare

Note: Wave 2 employed a single forced-choice item with four response options, while Waves 3, 4, and 6 used four separate item sets (Sets 1–4), each presenting four response options. The W2 instrument differs from the later waves and is analyzed separately.

B Sample Composition

B.1 Sample Size by Country and Wave

Table B2: Sample Composition by Country and Wave

Country	W6	W3	W4	W2	Total
Australia	1,018	0	0	0	1,018
Cambodia	851	894	907	0	2,652
Indonesia	1,364	1,144	1,123	1,145	4,776
Japan	0	1,348	762	701	2,811
Malaysia	0	589	673	507	1,769
Mongolia	884	1,027	1,054	996	3,961
Myanmar	0	0	818	0	818
Philippines	866	748	894	861	3,369
South Korea	873	774	786	644	3,077
Taiwan	1,024	1,139	1,150	990	4,303
Thailand	345	885	413	591	2,234
Total	7,225	8,548	8,580	6,435	30,788

B.2 Response Distributions by Winner/Loser Status

Table B3: Response Distributions by Electoral Status (Pooled)

Set	Item	Winner	Loser	Diff
Set 1				
Set 1	Reduce gap rich/poor	20.9%	19.9%	-1.0
Set 1	Free elections	37.0%	34.6%	-2.3
Set 1	No waste	18.3%	19.2%	+0.9

Set 1	Free expression	23.8%	26.2%	+2.4
Set 2				
Set 2	Legislature oversight	13.9%	15.2%	+1.3
Set 2	Basic necessities	32.7%	30.8%	-1.9
Set 2	Organize groups	15.5%	16.8%	+1.3
Set 2	Quality services	37.8%	37.2%	-0.6
Set 3				
Set 3	Law and order	29.8%	25.2%	-4.6
Set 3	Media freedom	16.9%	20.8%	+3.9
Set 3	Jobs for all	35.2%	34.2%	-1.0
Set 3	Party competition	18.1%	19.8%	+1.7
Set 4				
Set 4	Protest freedom	18.5%	18.8%	+0.4
Set 4	Clean politics	36.8%	37.9%	+1.1
Set 4	Court protection	22.8%	22.6%	-0.2
Set 4	Unemployment aid	21.9%	20.7%	-1.2

Note: Diff = Loser - Winner. Positive values indicate losers are more likely to choose that item.

B.3 Non-Voter Rates by Country and Wave

The main analysis restricts attention to respondents who reported voting in the most recent national election. Table @ref(tab:tbl-nonvoter-rates) reports the proportion of non-voters among respondents with valid democracy conception responses.

Table B4: Non-Voter Rates by Country and Wave

Country	Wave 1		Wave 2		Wave 3		Wave 4		Wave 5		Wave 6	
	N	% NV										
Australia	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	1508	3.1	1111	3.7
Cambodia	NA	NA	NA	NA	1196	21.3	1195	16.8	NA	NA	1196	11.9
Indonesia	NA	NA	1573	8.5	1525	8.2	1538	7.4	1524	2.7	1519	5.9
Japan	1349	22.0	1043	12.9	1845	13.7	1034	17.1	1037	27.2	NA	NA
Malaysia	NA	NA	963	24.8	1017	22.3	1039	14.3	1061	18.5	NA	NA
Mongolia	1108	13.2	1196	12.5	1202	11.0	1226	9.6	1264	15.2	1261	15.1
Myanmar	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	1567	26.2	1622	22.1	NA	NA
Philippines	1197	29.2	1179	18.0	1032	20.2	1105	15.7	1149	13.8	1068	14.5
South Korea	1464	15.6	1115	25.8	1123	17.4	1150	14.9	1229	15.9	1214	11.1
Taiwan	1400	9.8	1512	13.3	1522	12.9	1580	15.8	1195	16.8	1480	18.1
Thailand	1526	3.6	1496	9.6	1494	2.2	1152	7.6	1122	4.5	1115	4.6

Note: N = total respondents with valid vote status; % NV = percentage who reported not voting. Australia's low non-voter rate reflects compulsory voting.

B.3.1 Sample Selection Considerations

Because the analysis conditions on reported vote choice to assign electoral status, non-voters are excluded by design. In most country-waves, non-voter rates fall between 8 and 25 percent, consistent with the moderately high turnout typical of Asian democracies. Two patterns merit attention.

First, Myanmar exhibits the highest non-voter rate among the analysis countries, reaching

26 percent in Wave 4. This likely reflects the challenging political environment during the transitional period following decades of military rule, where many citizens may have been uncertain about electoral participation or faced practical barriers to voting.

Second, Australia and Thailand represent near-compulsory or high-turnout contexts where non-voter rates remain below 5 percent across waves. In these cases, selection into voting is effectively eliminated as a confound, and the persistence of the loser effect in Thailand—where the gap grew dramatically despite minimal sample selection—provides strong evidence that the findings are not driven by differential turnout between winners and losers.

The exclusion of non-voters means the analysis characterizes democratic conceptions among the politically engaged electorate rather than the population at large. However, the consistency of the loser effect across countries with vastly different non-voter rates (from 3.7 percent in Australia to 26 percent in Myanmar) suggests the pattern is robust to variation in the scope of sample selection.

C Full Country-Wave Results

C.1 Item-Level Average Marginal Effects

Table C5: Country-Wave AMEs: Sets 1-2

Country	Wave	Set 1					Set 2		
		Elections	Free expre	No waste	Reduce gap	Necessities	Legislatur	Organize g	Quality se
Australia	W6	+0.5	+0.3	+2.0	-2.7	-5.0	+2.5	+3.0	-0.6
Cambodia	W3	-5.7	+8.2*	+0.3	-2.8	-7.3*	+2.3	+12.2***	-7.2†
Cambodia	W4	-3.8	+11.2**	-3.3**	-4.2†	-5.8†	+1.3	+7.9**	-3.4

(continued)

Country	Wave	Elections	Free expre	No waste	Reduce gap	Necessities	Legislatur	Organize g	Quality se
Cambodia	W6	-17.1**	+19.7**	+0.9	-3.6	-15.6*	-7.3†	+19.6**	+3.4
Indonesia	W3	-2.1	+0.4	+0.0	+1.7	-3.6	-2.0	-1.7	+7.4*
Indonesia	W4	+2.8	-3.2	+0.5	-0.2	-2.0	+0.5	-3.4	+4.9
Indonesia	W6	-6.2*	+2.8	+2.4	+1.0	-4.2	-0.7	+0.7	+4.2
Japan	W3	+2.7	+3.8	-7.7**	+1.1	-0.3	+1.4	+0.3	-1.4
Japan	W4	-4.3	+6.4*	-1.8	-0.3	-3.7	+2.7	-1.3	+2.3
Malaysia	W3	+0.8	+2.2	+1.9	-5.0	-10.2*	+15.5***	+5.6	-10.8†
Malaysia	W4	-2.5	-2.2	+13.3***	-8.7*	+0.4	+5.7	+1.6	-7.8
Mongolia	W3	+3.3	-0.5	-3.2	+0.5	-0.2	-4.8†	-1.4	+6.5*
Mongolia	W4	-3.1	-0.9	-0.1	+4.1	+0.0	+1.0	+0.9	-1.9
Mongolia	W6	+0.8	+6.6	-2.4	-5.0†	-4.3*	-3.7	+3.1	+4.9
Myanmar	W4	+4.6	+6.8*	-1.8	-9.7**	-7.5*	+5.3*	+10.3**	-8.1*
Philippines	W3	-0.3	+7.3*	-5.2*	-1.8	-0.0	-4.4*	+8.4**	-3.9
Philippines	W4	-0.6	+0.5	-0.9	+0.9	+0.2	+1.6	+4.3	-6.1†
Philippines	W6	-8.1*	+10.8***	-4.0†	+1.4	+0.7	-4.7†	+2.3	+1.7
South Korea	W3	-9.6**	+13.0***	-1.2	-2.2	-6.4†	+2.3	-2.8	+6.8†
South Korea	W4	-0.6	+4.8†	-2.6	-1.6	-1.0	+2.7	-1.3	-0.4
South Korea	W6	+0.1	+1.6	+3.0	-4.7	-9.1**	+3.2	-0.2	+6.0†
Taiwan	W3	-1.1	+6.4*	-1.5	-3.8	+3.3	+2.3	+5.0*	-10.5***
Taiwan	W4	-2.1	+6.3*	-2.4	-1.8	-1.9	+5.3*	+4.3*	-7.7**
Taiwan	W6	-4.5	-3.7	+6.9*	+1.3	+7.6*	-0.3	-1.6	-5.7†
Thailand	W3	-0.7	+2.4	-0.7	-1.0	+5.3	+0.0	+3.2*	-8.5*
Thailand	W4	+0.0	+6.9†	+5.5	-12.4**	-11.8*	+5.4	+4.3	+2.1
Thailand	W6	+10.2†	-1.5	-6.0	-2.7	-22.1***	+11.9*	+9.6**	+0.6

*

Table C6: Country-Wave AMEs: Sets 3-4

Country	Wave	Set 3				Set 4			
		Jobs	Law and or	Media free	Parties	Clean poli	Court prot	Protest fr	Unemployment
Australia	W6	-3.4	+2.1	+4.3	-2.9	+6.4*	-3.2	-1.0	-2.2
Cambodia	W3	-11.6**	-8.6**	+3.8	+16.4***	+1.4	-2.0	+9.5*	-8.9*
Cambodia	W4	-10.2**	-5.4*	+8.2**	+7.4*	+2.9	+0.3	+8.9**	-12.1***
Cambodia	W6	-7.8	-13.9***	+4.4	+17.3*	-3.0	+6.1	+2.4	-5.5
Indonesia	W3	+3.3	+1.1	-2.7	-1.8	+1.1	-3.7	-2.5	+5.2†
Indonesia	W4	+0.1	-3.5	+2.6	+0.7	-3.5	+4.8*	+1.0	-2.3
Indonesia	W6	+5.9*	-10.9***	+5.8**	-0.8	-3.2	-0.1	+4.5†	-1.1
Japan	W3	+2.3	-2.9	-1.3	+1.9	-1.8	+0.7	-3.7*	+4.8*
Japan	W4	-6.9*	-6.0†	+7.9**	+5.0†	-4.9	+0.7	+3.5	+0.7
Malaysia	W3	-9.0†	-9.6†	+11.6*	+7.0	+13.7*	+2.3	-1.1	-14.8***
Malaysia	W4	-9.1*	-7.4†	+9.3**	+7.2†	-10.0*	+3.0	+7.6*	-0.6
Mongolia	W3	-2.9	+0.6	+1.4	+0.9	-5.0	+3.7	-3.6	+4.9†
Mongolia	W4	+3.1	-1.8	+0.0	-1.3	-1.0	+1.9	-1.0	+0.0
Mongolia	W6	+0.5	-10.8**	+10.9**	-0.6	+2.6	-5.7*	+5.7	-2.5
Myanmar	W4	-11.5**	-3.2	+8.2**	+6.5†	-1.4	+5.0*	+7.2*	-10.8**
Philippines	W3	-8.6*	-2.8	+11.1**	+0.3	-0.9	-0.9	-1.1	+2.9
Philippines	W4	-3.8	-4.6	+8.1†	+0.2	-3.1	+4.5	+4.5	-5.9†
Philippines	W6	+1.3	-2.7	+1.0	+0.3	-7.2*	+9.1**	-4.3	+2.5
South Korea	W3	-4.2	-5.1	+6.7†	+2.7	+2.6	-1.1	-0.6	-0.9
South Korea	W4	+2.1	-10.4**	+6.4†	+1.9	+2.7	-7.4*	+3.3	+1.4
South Korea	W6	-1.7	+0.7	-1.6	+2.6	+3.2	-4.6	-2.4	+3.7*
Taiwan	W3	+4.8	-14.7***	+2.5	+7.4**	-7.2*	-0.3	+8.5***	-1.0
Taiwan	W4	+1.5	-11.6***	+5.0**	+5.1*	-9.9***	+6.6*	+5.1*	-1.9
Taiwan	W6	+2.1	-4.4	+5.9*	-3.6	+10.3**	-0.4	-9.1***	-0.8

(continued)

Country	Wave	Jobs	Law and or	Media free	Parties	Clean poli	Court prot	Protest fr	Unemployme
Thailand	W3	-1.0	-1.3	+1.6	+0.7	+1.0	-3.5	+0.4	+2.0
Thailand	W4	-3.7	+0.0	+0.7	+3.0	-10.5*	+0.7	+10.3***	-0.5
Thailand	W6	-16.4**	+4.3	+7.6	+4.6	+6.4	+5.6	+12.0**	-23.9***
*									

Note: Values are average marginal effects in percentage points. Significance: *** p<0.001,

** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10.

C.2 Procedural-Substantive Gap by Country-Wave

Table C7: Procedural-Substantive Gap by Country and Wave

Country	Wave	Gap (pp)	95% CI
Australia	W6	+3.8	[+0.7, +6.8]
Cambodia	W3	+13.2	[+8.9, +17.5]
Cambodia	W4	+13.2	[+9.6, +16.8]
Cambodia	W6	+13.8	[+6.5, +21.0]
Indonesia	W3	-3.7	[-6.8, -0.5]
Indonesia	W4	+1.8	[-1.4, +5.0]
Indonesia	W6	+0.4	[-2.8, +3.5]
Japan	W3	-1.2	[-4.0, +1.5]
Japan	W4	+5.1	[+1.5, +8.8]

Malaysia	W3	+15.2	[+9.7, +20.7]
Malaysia	W4	+8.2	[+3.6, +12.9]
Mongolia	W3	-0.7	[-3.9, +2.4]
Mongolia	W4	-2.1	[-5.4, +1.1]
Mongolia	W6	+5.0	[+1.2, +8.7]
Myanmar	W4	+16.6	[+12.6, +20.6]
Philippines	W3	+4.5	[+0.7, +8.2]
Philippines	W4	+5.1	[+0.7, +9.4]
Philippines	W6	-0.7	[-4.6, +3.3]
South Korea	W3	+4.8	[+1.2, +8.4]
South Korea	W4	+1.0	[-2.5, +4.5]
South Korea	W6	+2.8	[-0.6, +6.1]
Taiwan	W3	+3.1	[-0.3, +6.4]
Taiwan	W4	+5.5	[+2.4, +8.6]
Taiwan	W6	-4.7	[-8.2, -1.3]
Thailand	W3	-0.8	[-4.6, +2.9]
Thailand	W4	+11.0	[+5.8, +16.3]
Thailand	W6	+23.8	[+17.4, +30.2]

Note: Gap = (Mean Procedural AME) - (Mean Substantive AME). Positive values indicate losers favor procedural items more than substantive items relative to winners.

D Country Trajectory Plots

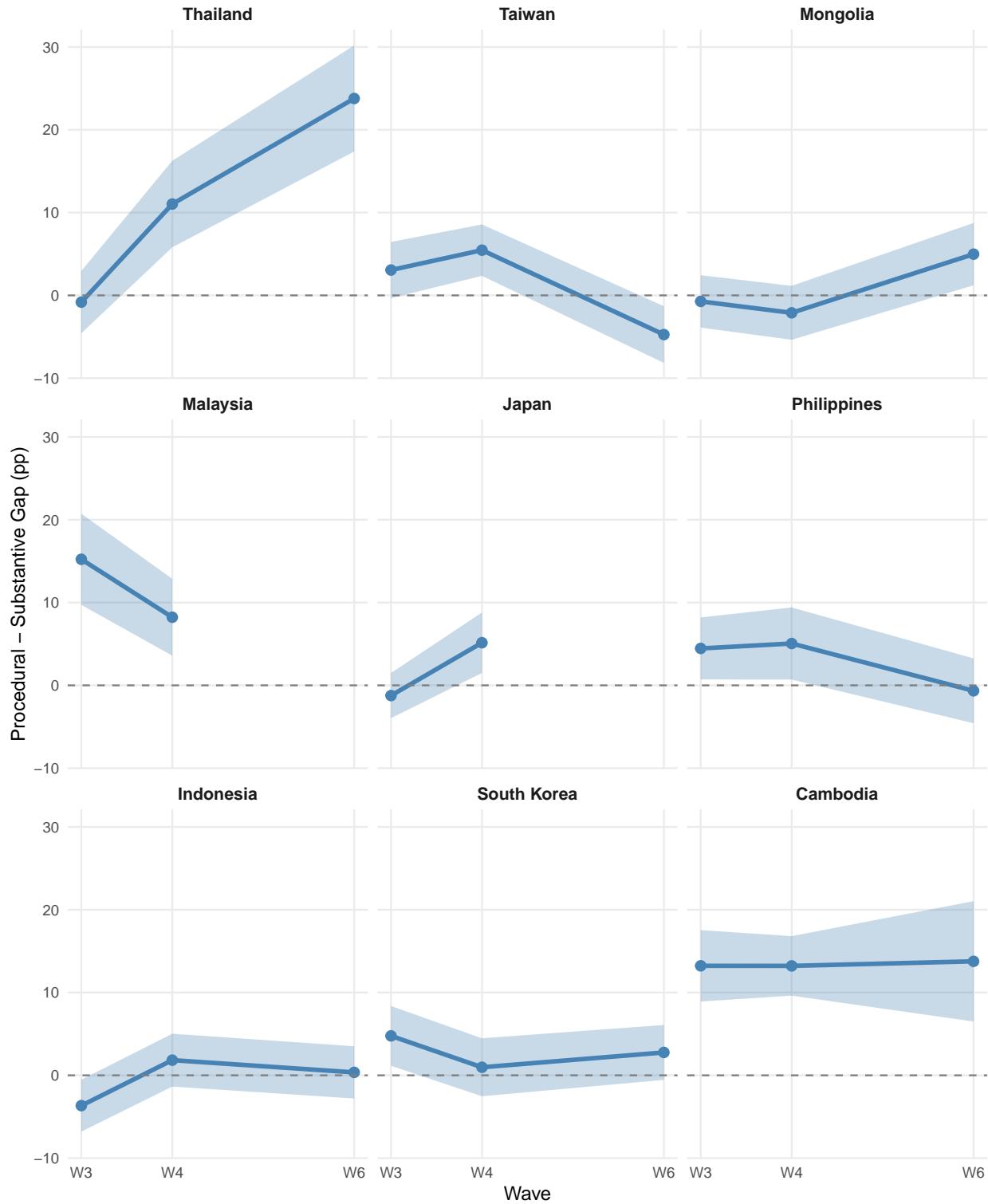


Figure D1: Procedural-Substantive Gap Trajectories by Country

Note: Countries are ordered by the magnitude of change in the procedural-substantive gap across waves, with Thailand (largest change) first. Positive gap values indicate losers prioritize procedural items more than substantive items, relative to winners.

E Demographic Controls Comparison

This section compares pooled average marginal effects estimated with and without demographic controls to assess the stability of the loser effect.

Table E8: Comparison of AMEs With and Without Demographic Controls

Item	Type	AME with controls (pp)	AME without controls (pp)	Difference (pp)
Set 1				
Reduce gap rich/poor	substantive	-2.2*	-2.6*	+0.35
Free elections	procedural	-0.6	-0.1	-0.52
No waste	governance	-0.5	-0.6	+0.15
Free expression	procedural	+3.3*	+3.3*	+0.02
Set 2				
Legislature oversight	procedural	+0.7	+1.1	-0.41
Basic necessities	substantive	-3.5***	-4.3***	+0.77
Organize groups	procedural	+3.7**	+4.0**	-0.39
Quality services	governance	-0.9	-0.9	+0.02
Set 3				
Law and order	governance	-5.4***	-5.4***	+0.03
Media freedom	procedural	+4.1***	+4.3***	-0.25
Jobs for all	substantive	-1.7	-2.1	+0.47
Party competition	procedural	+2.9†	+3.2†	-0.24
Set 4				

Protest freedom	procedural	+1.7	+2.2	-0.48
Clean politics	governance	-1.0	-1.2	+0.15
Court protection	procedural	+1.5	+1.6	-0.13
Unemployment aid	substantive	-2.2†	-2.6*	+0.46
Wave 2				
Elections	procedural	+2.2	+2.9†	-0.64
Criticize power	procedural	+2.0	+2.6	-0.57
Income equality	substantive	-1.6†	-1.8*	+0.17
Basic necessities	substantive	-2.6*	-3.6***	+1.05

Note: Demographic controls include age, gender, education level, and urban/rural residence.

The stability of estimates across specifications indicates that the loser effect is not driven by compositional differences between winner and loser populations. Significance: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10.

F Wave 2 Detailed Results

Table F9: Wave 2 Multinomial Logit Results

Item	Type	AME (pp)	SE	95% CI	Sig
Elections	procedural	+2.2	(1.5)	[-0.7, +5.1]	
Criticize power	procedural	+2.0	(1.7)	[-1.3, +5.4]	
Income equality	substantive	-1.6	(0.9)	[-3.4, +0.1]	†
Basic necessities	substantive	-2.6	(1.1)	[-4.7, -0.5]	*

Note: Wave 2 employed a single forced-choice item asking respondents to identify the

“most essential characteristic of democracy” from four options. Unlike Sets 1–4 in later waves, these options directly compared procedural (elections, criticize power) and substantive (income equality, basic necessities) conceptions within a single item. The AMEs represent the percentage-point difference in the probability of selecting each option between electoral losers and winners, controlling for country fixed effects and demographic characteristics.

G Non-Voter Rates and Sample Selection

Because the analysis conditions on reported vote choice to assign electoral status, non-voters are excluded by design. This section assesses the scope and consequences of this exclusion.

Table F1 reports non-voter rates by country and wave for the eleven countries in the analysis sample. In most country-waves, non-voter rates fall between 8 and 25 percent, consistent with the moderately high turnout typical of Asian democracies. Rates are lowest in Thailand, where they never exceeded 10 percent, and highest in select waves of Malaysia, Myanmar, and Mongolia.

Table G10: Non-Voter Rates by Country and Wave

country_name	wave	N_total	N_voter	N_nonvoter	pct_nonvoter
Australia	6	1111	1070	41	3.7
Cambodia	3	1196	941	255	21.3
Cambodia	4	1195	994	201	16.8
Cambodia	6	1196	1054	142	11.9
Indonesia	3	1525	1400	125	8.2
Indonesia	4	1538	1424	114	7.4
Indonesia	6	1519	1429	90	5.9
Japan	3	1845	1592	253	13.7
Japan	4	1034	857	177	17.1
Malaysia	3	1017	790	227	22.3
Malaysia	4	1039	890	149	14.3
Mongolia	3	1202	1070	132	11.0
Mongolia	4	1226	1108	118	9.6
Mongolia	6	1261	1070	191	15.1
Myanmar	4	1567	1156	411	26.2
Philippines	3	1032	824	208	20.2
Philippines	4	1105	932	173	15.7
Philippines	6	1068	913	155	14.5
South Korea	3	1123	928	195	17.4
South Korea	4	1150	979	171	14.9
South Korea	6	1214	¹⁵ 1079	135	11.1
Taiwan	3	1522	1325	197	12.9

A more direct test examines whether non-voters' democratic conceptions systematically resemble those of winners or losers. Table F2 reports the procedural-substantive gap across three groups: winners, losers, and non-voters. Non-voters' gap (14.3 percentage points, 95% CI: 12.7–15.8) is virtually identical to that of winners (13.9 pp, 95% CI: 13.2–14.7) and clearly below that of losers (17.3 pp, 95% CI: 16.3–18.3).

Table G11: Procedural-Substantive Gap by Electoral Status Group

group	mean_gap	se	ci_low	ci_high
Winner	0.139	0.004	0.132	0.147
Loser	0.173	0.005	0.163	0.183
Non-voter	0.143	0.008	0.127	0.158

Table F3 disaggregates these patterns by item set.

Table G12: Item Choice Proportions by Electoral Status Group

Item	Loser	Non-voter	Winner	set	Loser - Winner	NonVoter - Winner	type
Reduce gap rich/poor	0.199	0.216	0.209	Set1	-0.010	0.007	substantive
Free elections	0.346	0.334	0.370	Set1	-0.023	-0.035	procedural
No waste	0.192	0.192	0.183	Set1	0.009	0.009	governance
Free expression	0.262	0.258	0.238	Set1	0.024	0.020	procedural
Legislature oversight	0.152	0.128	0.139	Set2	0.013	-0.011	procedural
Basic necessities	0.308	0.340	0.327	Set2	-0.019	0.012	substantive
Organize groups	0.168	0.166	0.155	Set2	0.013	0.011	procedural
Quality services	0.372	0.366	0.378	Set2	-0.006	-0.012	governance
Law and order	0.252	0.273	0.298	Set3	-0.046	-0.025	governance
Media freedom	0.208	0.184	0.169	Set3	0.039	0.015	procedural
Jobs for all	0.342	0.357	0.352	Set3	-0.010	0.005	substantive
Party competition	0.198	0.187	0.181	Set3	0.017	0.006	procedural
Protest freedom	0.188	0.193	0.185	Set4	0.004	0.009	procedural
Clean politics	0.379	0.328	0.368	Set4	0.011	-0.040	governance
Court protection	0.226	0.255	0.228	Set4	-0.002	0.027	procedural
Unemployment aid	0.207	0.223	0.219	Set4	-0.012	0.004	substantive

Note: L - W = Loser minus Winner; NV - W = Non-voter minus Winner. Positive values on procedural items indicate greater procedural orientation relative to winners.

Table F4 reports pairwise chi-square tests confirming that non-voters differ more from losers than from winners across all item sets (Cramér's V for the loser–non-voter comparison ranges from 0.020 to 0.052, consistently exceeding the winner–non-voter comparison of 0.021 to 0.038).

Table G13: Pairwise Chi-Square Tests and Effect Sizes

comparison	chi_sq	df	p_value	cramers_v	set
Winner vs Loser	26.063	3	0.000	0.033	Set1
Winner vs Non-voter	19.031	3	0.000	0.032	Set1
Loser vs Non-voter	5.305	3	0.151	0.020	Set1
Overall (3 groups)	37.507	6	0.000	0.026	Set1
Winner vs Loser	17.983	3	0.000	0.028	Set2
Winner vs Non-voter	8.243	3	0.041	0.021	Set2
Loser vs Non-voter	20.393	3	0.000	0.040	Set2
Overall (3 groups)	30.390	6	0.000	0.024	Set2
Winner vs Loser	95.838	3	0.000	0.064	Set3
Winner vs Non-voter	12.199	3	0.007	0.025	Set3
Loser vs Non-voter	16.732	3	0.001	0.036	Set3
Overall (3 groups)	97.549	6	0.000	0.042	Set3
Winner vs Loser	5.622	3	0.132	0.016	Set4
Winner vs Non-voter	27.146	3	0.000	0.038	Set4
Loser vs Non-voter	34.931	3	0.000	0.052	Set4
Overall (3 groups)	39.671	6	0.000	0.027	Set4

These patterns indicate that non-voters resemble winners who chose not to participate rather than disaffected citizens with distinctive democratic conceptions. Their exclusion does not

inflate the estimated loser effect.

References