The Effect of Electoral Inversions on Democratic Legitimacy:[†] Evidence from the United States

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Abstract

When a party or candidate loses the popular vote but still wins the election, do voters view the winner as legitimate? This scenario, known as an electoral inversion, can give power to candidates or parties in democratic systems who lose the popular vote, including the winners of two of the last five presidential elections in the United States. We report results from two experiments testing the effect of inversions on democratic legitimacy in the U.S. context. Our results indicate that inversions significantly decrease the perceived legitimacy of winning candidates. Strikingly, this effect does not vary with the margin by which the winner loses the popular vote nor by whether they are a co-partisan. The effect is driven by Democrats, who punish inversions regardless of candidate partisanship; few effects are observed among Republicans. These results suggest that inversions may increase sensitivity to such outcomes among supporters of the losing party.

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What happens when the candidate or party that wins the most votes loses a democratic election? Such *electoral inversions* challenge the core democratic principle that all votes count equally. It is therefore essential to examine how voters judge such outcomes and to determine whether inversions undermine perceptions of electoral legitimacy, particularly after recent inversions in presidential elections in the United States, the world's longest-standing democracy.

Inversions can take place when votes are tallied in sub-national districts such that the geographical distribution of votes, not just their total number, affects outcomes. Assembly elections in single-member districts (SMDs) are particularly prone to inversion. For example, the United Kingdom, which relies on SMDs to elect its House of Commons, experienced inversions in 1951 and again in 1974. In the first case, Labour's vote total surpassed that of the Conservatives by one percentage point, but the Conservatives nevertheless won a majority of seats. In 1974, the Conservatives beat Labour by three percentage points in the popular vote, but Labour captured more seats. In New Zealand, the National Party won successive elections in 1978 and 1981 despite losing the nationwide popular vote to the Labour Party (by 0.6% and 0.2%, respectively)—results that fueled support for the adoption of proportional representation in that country. In the United States, Democrats exceeded the Republican popular vote total by one percentage point in 2012 elections for the House of Representatives, but the G.O.P. captured 54% of the seats (Christensen 2020).

Even more conspicuously, the United States has experienced inversions in two of its last five presidential elections. In 2000, Republican George W. Bush won the presidency despite losing the popular vote to Democrat Al Gore by 0.5 percentage points. In 2016, Republican Donald Trump captured the White House even though he lost the popular vote to Democrat Hillary Clinton by 2.1 percentage points. Both Bush and Trump captured the presidency by converting their support more efficiently into Electoral College votes than did their Democratic rivals.[1]

[1]Such an outcome is precluded elsewhere because other popularly elected chief executives are selected based on national vote totals. Outside the U.S., the last countries to elect presidents indirectly via electoral college, Finland and Argentina, abandoned the practice in 1988 and 1994, respectively (Shugart and Carey 1992).

Although such outcomes are thought to be consequential for democracy, research to date typically focuses on estimating the likelihood of inversions (e.g., May 1948; Kikuchi 2016; Kaniovski and Zaigraev 2018; Geruso, Spears and Talesara 2019). We instead seek to understand the effects of such outcomes on the legitimacy of election results, which are difficult to measure with observational data. We therefore conduct national survey experiments in the United States to assess the legitimacy of various potential outcomes of the 2020 presidential election. This design allows us to isolate the effects of inversions and popular vote margins from the tendency for supporters of a winning party or candidate to regard electoral outcomes as more legitimate (the "winner effect").

Our results indicate that popular vote inversions reduce the legitimacy of winning candidates. This inversion penalty varies little by electoral margin within plausible bounds (a popular vote defeat of up to five percentage points) and is insensitive to whether the loser is from the respondent's own party or the opposing one. It is, however, party-specific — the inversion penalty we find is consistently observed among Democrats, the party whose presidential candidates were defeated in the two most recent U.S. electoral inversions. By contrast, we find limited and inconsistent evidence that inversion reduces legitimacy among Republicans. These results suggest that inversion penalties may be concentrated among supporters of the parties most likely to suffer from them.

Theoretical expectations

Inversions derive from electoral rules that, in effect, weigh votes from some areas more heavily than others. The principle that all votes should count equally is embraced by an overwhelming majority of Americans (Carey et al. 2019). We thus expect inversions to diminish perceived legitimacy:[2]

H1: We expect the perceived legitimacy of an election result – i.e., which candidate

[2]Our hypotheses and analysis plans are preregistered at `https://osf.io/r5muc/?view_only=0fbc60a331ea47dc9085527f67589424` and `https://osf.io/7bxkc/?view_only=e53f83a7d0fe42e8a753a357c341eb0c`.

assumes office – to be lower when the Electoral College (EC) winner loses the popular vote than when the EC and popular vote are won by the same candidate.

Second, supporters of winning candidates and parties report higher system support (Anderson and Guillory 1997; Craig et al. 2006; Nadeau and Blais 1993) and confidence in the vote count (Sances and Stewart 2015) than do those who supported losing candidates and parties. We therefore also expect perceptions of electoral legitimacy to be shaped by partisanship:

H2: We expect the perceived legitimacy of election results to be greater when a co-partisan wins the Electoral College.

In addition, we preregistered a research question asking whether the reduction in legitimacy after a popular vote inversion would be less pronounced among Republicans (compared to Democrats) because their party benefited from inversions in two recent elections.

We further posited that "winner effects" might interact with inversions. After the 2016 election, confidence in the U.S. system increased among Trump voters relative to Clinton voters in a manner broadly consistent with past non-inversion elections (Sinclair, Smith and Tucker 2018; Stewart 2019; Levy 2020). However, the negative partisanship that characterizes contemporary American politics (Iyengar and Westwood 2015; Iyengar et al. 2019) suggests that voters might demonstrate heightened sensitivity to inversion victories by the opposition party compared to inversions in which the party they prefer wins. We therefore expect the following:

H3: We expect the difference in perceived legitimacy between a co-partisan Electoral College winner and out-party Electoral College winner will be larger when the Electoral College winner loses the popular vote.

We also consider how the popular vote margin might influence the strength of any inversion effect on legitimacy. Election observers, judges, and even constitutional designers all explicitly weigh the scale of reported electoral irregularities against vote margins on the premise that wider victory margins confer increased legitimacy in competitive elections (Organization of American

States 2017, 2019; Vickery et al. 2018; United Mexican States 2017). Scholars who study elections in autocracies likewise posit that the legitimacy of the winner's claim to rule rises with the vote margin unless it becomes implausibly lopsided (Higashijima 2015; Gehlbach and Simpser 2015; Rundlett and Svolik 2014). Research on U.S. elections reinforces these intuitions. In 2012, confidence in state-level vote counts was lower among supporters of both parties in states in which presidential vote margins were narrower (Sances and Stewart 2015).

These findings all suggest that the popular vote margin is related to the legitimacy of the winning candidate. We specifically consider the possibility that inversions damage legitimacy *more* as the popular vote advantage of the losing candidate increases. The violation of the all-votes-equal principle is more egregious, for instance, if an inversion winner loses the popular vote by four percent rather than by two percent. We therefore offer the following hypothesis:

> H4: When the Electoral College winner and the popular vote winner are different, we expect that the perceived legitimacy of the Electoral College winner will decrease as the popular vote margin of the losing candidate increases.

Finally, we are interested in how political awareness affects responses to inversions. We preregistered research questions on whether a respondent's level of general political knowledge or the value the respondent places on democracy shapes their sensitivity to inversions. We also sought to determine whether the salience of recent popular vote inversions would affect attitudes. In one set of experiments, we tested whether reminding participants of the 2016 inversion would affect reactions to a potential 2020 inversion and support for changing to a national popular vote system.

Methods

We conducted two between-subjects experiments asking Americans to rate the legitimacy of a potential 2020 electoral outcome. We employ a 2×4 factorial design where the winning party and the popular vote margin are randomly varied but the Electoral College total is held fixed. Each respondent was shown only one scenario. Our first experiment drew on a nationally representative

sample of 3,395 respondents recruited from YouGov's online panel from March 23–30, 2020. In this experiment, we varied the party of the winning candidate (Democrat or Republican) as well as their popular vote margin (win by 3 percentage points [+3], win by 1 percentage point [+1], lose by 1 percentage point [-1], lose by 3 percentage points [-3]). Our second round of experiments drew on a sample of 7,749 Democratic or Republican identifiers recruited from Lucid between May 12-22, 2020 using quotas to match population benchmarks. Participants were presented with an identical version of the initial design except that we replaced the scenario in which the winning candidate won the popular vote by 3 percentage points with one in which they lost by 5 percentage points (the possible popular vote outcomes were thus +1, -1, -3, -5). From this second sample, we also collected additional information such as attitudes on support for replacing the Electoral College with a national popular vote. Finally, the second sample also included an orthogonal manipulation in which respondents were randomly reminded with probability .5 that the outcome of the 2016 experiment was an inversion (i.e., that Donald Trump won the Electoral College but lost the popular vote).

The specific scenario presented to participants focused on potential outcomes in the 2020 election, the most proximate and salient case of a potential inversion for our participants. After an introduction explaining we were interested in how people judge the outcomes of presidential elections, respondents were randomly shown one of the following descriptions of a potential outcome of the election in which the popular vote margin is randomly varied (each outcome also randomizes the party of the winning candidate[3]):

> Imagine the {Democratic/Republican} candidate wins the Electoral College and the presidency in 2020 **and wins the popular vote by 3 percentage points** compared to the {Republican/Democratic} candidate (YouGov sample only).
>
> Imagine the {Democratic/Republican} candidate wins the Electoral College and the presidency in 2020 **and wins the popular vote by 1 percentage point** compared to the {Republican/Democratic} candidate (both samples).

[3]We omit Donald Trump's name to avoid confounding between party and the identification of a nominee — the Democratic nomination was not decided when the studies were conducted.

> Imagine the {Democratic/Republican} candidate wins the Electoral College and the presidency in 2020 **but loses the popular vote by 1 percentage point** compared to the {Republican/Democratic} candidate (both samples).
>
> Imagine the {Democratic/Republican} candidate wins the Electoral College and the presidency in 2020 **but loses the popular vote by 3 percentage points** compared to the {Republican/Democratic} candidate (both samples).
>
> Imagine the {Democratic/Republican} candidate wins the Electoral College and the presidency in 2020 **but loses the popular vote by 5 percentage points** compared to the {Republican/Democratic} candidate (Lucid sample only).

We measure the perceived legitimacy of this outcome by combining responses to three questions we asked respondents immediately afterward in random order: "Would you consider the winning candidate to be the rightful winner of the election or not the rightful winner?", "Would you view the winning candidate's presidency to be legitimate or not legitimate?," and "Do you think the winning candidate's victory was fair or not fair?" The first was adapted from Craig et al. (2006) and the second and third resemble surveys conducted after the 2000 and 2016 elections (CNN 2000; Jones 2016). See Online Appendix C for full question wording, the distribution of the component variables (measured on four-point scales), and the reliability of the combined measure.

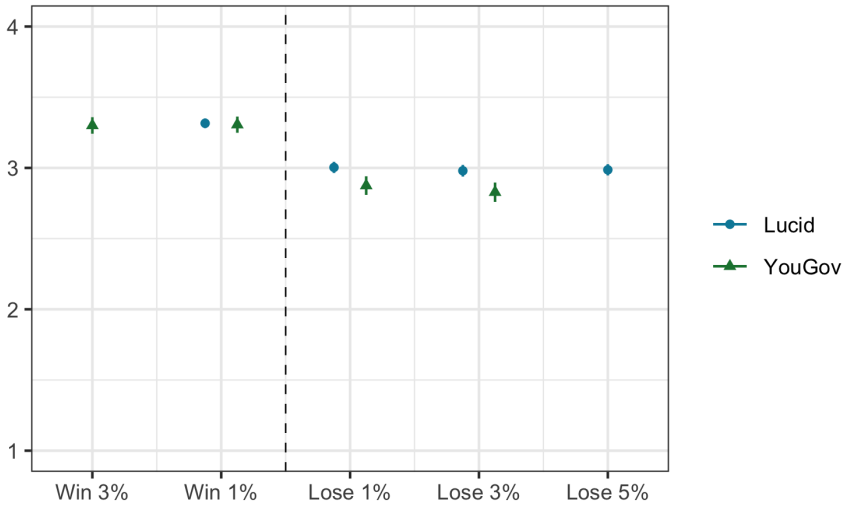
Results

Inversion penalties

Figure 1 shows mean values of the legitimacy index by vote margin conditions in our YouGov and Lucid experiments. Non-inversions are plotted to the left of the vertical dashed line and inversions to its right. Our results demonstrate that inversions reduce perceived legitimacy by about a half of a point on our four-point scale in the YouGov sample (Cohen's $d = 0.48$) and a third of a point in the Lucid sample (Cohen's $d = 0.38$). However, conditional on an inversion is taking place, the legitimacy of the winner does not appear to vary by whether they lose the popular vote by three or five percentage points rather than one percentage point.

To confirm these results and to determine how they vary by partisanship, we analyze the data

Figure 1: Effect of electoral inversions on election legitimacy



Means by condition with 95% confidence intervals. "Legitimacy" measured based on survey responses which scale together as a composite measure. Dashed line shows where election winner loses popular vote.

using OLS regressions that estimate the effect on perceived election legitimacy of both popular vote margin and whether the candidate is a co-partisan or opposition party member. The models we estimate, which are reported in Table 1, include only partisans (respondents who self-identified as Democrats or Republicans, including leaners) and include controls for individual-level characteristics.[4] The reference category for popular vote margin is the condition in which the Electoral College winner also wins the popular vote by one percentage point.

Across both samples, inversions depress perceived legitimacy, but the margin by which the Electoral College winner loses (or wins) the popular vote does not measurably affect legitimacy in the ranges we evaluated (winning the popular vote by 1 or 3 percentage points or losing it by 1, 3, or 5 percentage points). In our YouGov sample, for instance, inversions damage election legitimacy almost identically regardless of popular vote margin: -0.483 for a one-point inversion (SE=0.047) and -0.506 (SE=0.049) for a three-percent inversion. Similarly, a candidate who loses the popular vote by three percentage points but wins the election is no less legitimate than one who loses the

[4]Results including independents from the YouGov sample are reported in Table D1 in Online Appendix D.

Table 1: Effects of winner vote margin on election legitimacy (relative to +1 percentage point)

	YouGov	Lucid
+3 percentage points	0.014	
	(0.041)	
-1 percentage point	-0.483***	-0.319***
	(0.047)	(0.026)
-3 percentage point	-0.506***	-0.333***
	(0.049)	(0.026)
-5 percentage point		-0.342***
		(0.026)
Co-partisan wins	0.416***	0.247***
	(0.034)	(0.019)
Control variables	✓	✓
Respondents	2664	7150

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < .005$ (two-sided). OLS models with robust standard errors. The reference category for the popular vote margin coefficients is a popular vote victory of one percentage point. "Election legitimacy" measured based on survey responses which scale together as a composite measure. All models above control for political interest, race, college education, sex, and age group. Both models above include only self-identified Democrats or Republicans including leaners. (See Online Appendix D for full results including results with independents in the YouGov sample.)

popular vote by one percentage point. Results from the replication using Lucid are similar. All inversion scenarios yield lower legitimacy, but by similar amounts: -0.319 (SE=0.026), -0.333 (SE=0.026), and -0.342 (SE=0.026) for -1, -3, and -5 percentage point popular vote margins, respectively.[5] Finally, we find that respondents see winning candidates from their own party as more legitimate than winners from the opposing party; this effect holds among Democrats and Republicans in our sample. Supporting the winning candidate increases perceptions of legitimacy

[5]We confirm that these results are not simply induced by respondents moving between the two affirmative categories (e.g., "Entirely legitimate" versus "Somewhat legitimate") with exploratory linear probability models for each outcome measure where the dependent variable is a binary measure of whether the respondent answered in an affirmative way or not. In our YouGov sample, inversion conditions cause a 14%, 19% and 24% reduction in the proportion of people who answer the winner is "legitimate," "rightful," and the process is "fair," respectively. Results are similar for our Lucid sample (11%, 14% and 16%, respectively). See Online Appendix E for details.

by 0.416 (SE=0.034) in our YouGov sample and 0.247 (SE=0.019) in our Lucid sample. (All results listed above are significant at the $p < .005$ level.)

These results provide support for H1 and H2. Inversions reduce election legitimacy relative to outcomes where the popular vote winner becomes president. Voters whose favored party wins regard outcomes as more legitimate than do those who support the losing party. However, we do not find that larger vote margins magnify the effect of inversions, contradicting H4.

Heterogeneous effects by party

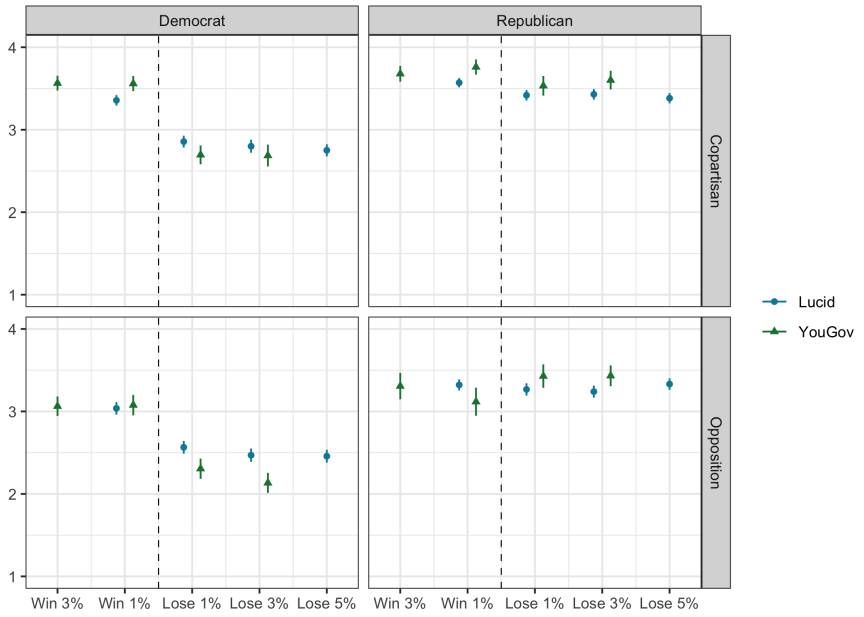
A next question is whether inversion effects on legitimacy vary by party. Figure 2 follows the format of Figure 1 but presents results separately for Democrats and Republicans, showing how each group evaluates the perceived legitimacy of a winning copartisan or opposition candidate. First, we find no evidence to support H3. Neither Democrats nor Republicans punish inversions more severely when an opposing candidate wins the presidency instead of a copartisan.[6] However, we do observe substantial heterogeneity by party. Democrats clearly rate inversion winners as less legitimate, whereas perceived legitimacy is largely stable among Republicans when we compare non-inversion and inversion outcomes.

Table 2 summarizes how the average marginal effects of the popular vote margin and the party of the winning candidate vary between Democrats and Republicans. (The underlying interaction model is reported in Table G1 in Online Appendix G.) As expected, we find substantial co-partisan winner effects in both experiments and among supporters of both parties. In general, people view election outcomes as more legitimate when their preferred party prevails.

Our focus here, however, is understanding how the effects of inversions vary by party. We consider first the marginal effects of the popular vote margin among Democrats. Relative to the baseline of winning the popular vote by one percentage point, we find substantial inversion penalties when the winning candidate instead loses the popular vote. However, these generally do not

[6]This result is confirmed in Online Appendix Table G, which shows that neither Democrat nor Republican respondents punished opposite-party candidates more severely for inversions.

Figure 2: Effect of electoral inversions on election legitimacy by party



Means by condition with 95% confidence intervals. Left and right panes present separate means for Democratic and Republican identifiers (including leaners); the top and bottom panes present means by whether respondents rated the legitimacy of a scenario in which a copartisan or opposition party candidate win the election. "Legitimacy" is measured based on survey responses which scale together as a composite measure. Dashed line shows where election winner loses popular vote.

vary by margin. Only in the five-point inversion condition in our Lucid experiment can we reject the null hypothesis that the size of the loser's popular vote victory had no effect on perceived legitimacy — the estimated marginal effect relative to a 1-point margin is $-.103$ ((SE=0.035, p<.004; see Table F1). Hence, we find very limited support for H4, which is only supported among Democrats in one condition in one sample.

The story among Republicans is strikingly different. In the YouGov experiment, there is no measurable inversion effect at all among Republicans. The Lucid experiment shows small inversion penalties among Republicans that are statistically significant but the point estimates are about one-fifth as large of those observed among Democrats. Moreover, there is again little evidence of increasing legitimacy penalties as the inversion vote margin grows.[7]

In sum, we find no evidence that partisans punish opposition party winners more severely. In-

[7]We similarly find no support for H4 in the full sample; see Table D1 in Online Appendix D.

Table 2: Average marginal effects by party (relative to +1 percentage point)

	Democrats		*Republicans*	
	YouGov	Lucid	YouGov	Lucid
Co-partisan wins	0.492***	0.310***	0.316***	0.165***
	(0.040)	(0.025)	(0.048)	(0.026)
+3 percentage points	-0.022		0.066	
	(0.056)		(0.069)	
-1 percentage points	-0.868***	-0.490***	0.048	-0.105***
	(0.057)	(0.034)	(0.068)	(0.037)
-3 percentage points	-0.951***	-0.557***	0.108	-0.113***
	(0.057)	(0.035)	(0.068)	(0.036)
-5 percentage points		-0.592***		-0.096***
		(0.035)		(0.036)
Co-partisan wins	0.492***	0.310***	0.316***	0.165***

stead, Democrats punish inversions consistently, while Republicans barely do so in one experiment and not at all in another. Finally, we find limited and inconclusive evidence that larger inversion vote margins damage legitimacy more than narrower margins (among only one party in just one sample).

Political awareness, values, and the 2016 election reminder

We also consider whether the political knowledge and democratic values of participants in our experiments moderates their sensitivity to inversions. We preregistered research questions asking whether greater political awareness or commitment to electoral democracy might heighten sensitivity to popular vote inversions. For each participant in our Lucid experiments, we generated indices measuring their political knowledge, the value they place on democracy generally, and the priority they afford to popular sovereignty via elections. The questions that comprise each index are shown along with the complete survey instrument in Online Appendix M.

The knowledge index shows a pattern of inversion sensitivity that increases with political awareness. Table H1 in the Online Appendix H shows increasing legitimacy penalties among higher-knowledge respondents. This effect again differs by party. Inversions have modest negative

effects on legitimacy among low-knowledge Democrats (-0.210 for a one-point inversion, -0.275 for a three-point inversion, -0.346 for five points) that are amplified (marginal effects of -0.561, -0.640, and -0.602, respectively) among their high-knowledge counterparts.[8] As before, no such effects are observed among Republicans. The survey questions aimed at measuring support for democracy and for electoral sovereignty did not load together to produce meaningful indices.[9]

We also manipulated respondent awareness by randomly providing the following reminder message to half of the participants in our Lucid sample just before the legitimacy experiment: "Before we start, we would like to remind you that the most recent presidential election took place in 2016. Donald Trump was elected President after winning the Electoral College (304 Trump to 227 Clinton), although Hillary Clinton won the popular vote (48% Clinton to 46% Trump)." This reminder did not measurably affect how Democrats or Republicans reacted to variation in the popular vote margin or party of the winning candidate (a preregistered research question). (See Table K in the Online Appendix.)

Finally, we asked the following question to each participant both before and after the experimental section of the study: "For future presidential elections, would you support or oppose changing to a system in which the president is elected by direct popular vote, instead of by the Electoral College?" Respondents answered using a five-point scale ranging from "support strongly" to"oppose strongly." Among Democrats, exposure to the 2016 reminder message had no measurable effect on preferences for a national popular vote system, but the reminder decreased support for replacing the Electoral College among Republicans. (See Online Appendix L.)

[8]These differences by political knowledge may reflect elite cues — numerous Democratic candidates for president in 2020, for instance, supported abolishing the Electoral College (Schneider 2019).

[9]We instead estimate separate models for each question that are reported in Online Appendices I1 and J1. These results show some heightened sensitivity to inversions among respondents with stronger democratic values on specific measures and among supporters of direct elections for president, but the patterns are not consistent.

Conclusion

Though scholars frequently study the likelihood of electoral inversions (when a party or candidate who gets the most votes does not win), the effects of such an outcome on perceptions of democratic legitimacy have not been closely examined. Using survey experiments, we measure these effects in the context of the most salient sources of potential inversions — presidential elections in the United States, which are decided by the Electoral College. Consistent with our expectations, inversions reduce democratic legitimacy overall, but the effect is driven almost entirely by Democrats, who consistently punish inversions in both of our experiments. Republicans, by contrast, punish inversions barely in one experiment and not at all in another.

Partisanship drives these inversion penalties in both expected and unexpected ways. Consistent with longstanding research on winners' effects, partisans on both sides attribute greater legitimacy to copartisan presidential victors regardless of the popular vote. However, we find no evidence that partisans punish inversions more severely among opposition party candidates. Instead, we find general inversion penalties that are asymmetric by party. Democrats rate inversions as less legitimate for both Democratic and Republican winners; Republicans barely, if at all, rate inversions as less legitimate whichever party benefits from them. A similarly unexpected finding is that legitimacy judgments are not tightly bound to the scale of an inversion. We find limited evidence that Democrats punish large inversions more than small ones, and no such evidence among Republicans.

These results suggest that asymmetries in partisan experiences with inversions are at the root of these partisan differences. Two of the last four Democratic presidential candidates won the popular vote but lost the election. Democrats also experienced an inversion in control of the House of Representatives during the same period. Though Democrats tend to express strong commitments to the related value of equal voting rights in general (Carey et al. 2020), these past experiences with inversions might make them especially likely to view inversions as less legitimate. Such experiences might also increase Democrats' support for reforms that would eliminate inversions from presidential elections, which were endorsed by numerous Democratic presidential candidates

in 2020 (Schneider 2019). By contrast, we found weaker and less consistent inversion penalties among Republicans, who have benefited from the Electoral College system. Finally, inversion penalties are stronger among more knowledgeable Democratic participants in our experiments.

If lived experience drives responses to inversions, then the partisan asymmetries that we find are likely to persist. In August 2020, *The Economist*'s forecast estimated the likelihood that President Trump would win a second term while again losing the popular vote at 8% and the journalist Nate Silver's model assigned that outcome a 10% chance. Both forecasts projected the likelihood of an inversion benefiting Trump's Democratic rival, Joe Biden, as approaching nil (The Economist N.d.; FiveThirtyEight N.d.). The partisan asymmetries we observe in both the causes and effects of inversions suggest formidable obstacles to any reform of the Electoral College.

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Online Appendix

A Experiment overview

In March and May of 2020, we recruited 3395 and 7748 respondents on YouGov and Lucid, respectively. The YouGov study was fielded among a nationally representative sample of American voters. The Lucid experiment was conducted among a diverse sample of Americans who self-identify as partisans (i.e., excluding independents). In this paper, we will refer to the former as our YouGov sample or experiment, and the latter as our Lucid sample or experiment. These details are summarised in Table A1. Both experiments were pre-registered on OSF [10].

Table A1: Summary of experiments

	Platform	Date	*N*	Target population
Experiment 1	YouGov	March 23–30, 2020	3395	US electorate
Experiment 2	Lucid	May 12–22, 2020	7749	Partisans only

Our YouGov sample was fielded as part of a YouGov Omnibus survey in which respondents answer multiple survey modules from different YouGov clients. In order to rule out any unforeseen interactions with previous modules and to measure additional respondent covariates that are not offered on YouGov, we therefore fielded a replication and extension study on the Lucid survey platform. Our Lucid study differed in three respects from the YouGov study. First, we measured respondent covariates such as political knowledge, Trump approval, attitudes towards democracy, and system support. We also measured policy attitudes towards reforming the Electoral College. Second, we changed the treatment to replaced the scenario in which the Electoral College winner wins the popular vote by 3 percentage points with one in which the Electoral College winner loses the popular vote by 5 percentage points. Finally, we added an additional manipulation in which we randomly reminded respondents of the 2016 Electoral College and popular vote results prior to being exposed to our hypothetical election outcome. Figures A1 and A2 illustrate these experimental procedures.

[10] `https://osf.io/r5muc/?view_only=0fbc60a331ea47dc9085527f67589424` and `https://osf.io/7bxkc/?view_only=e53f83a7d0fe42e8a753a357c341eb0c`.

Figure A1: YouGov experimental procedure

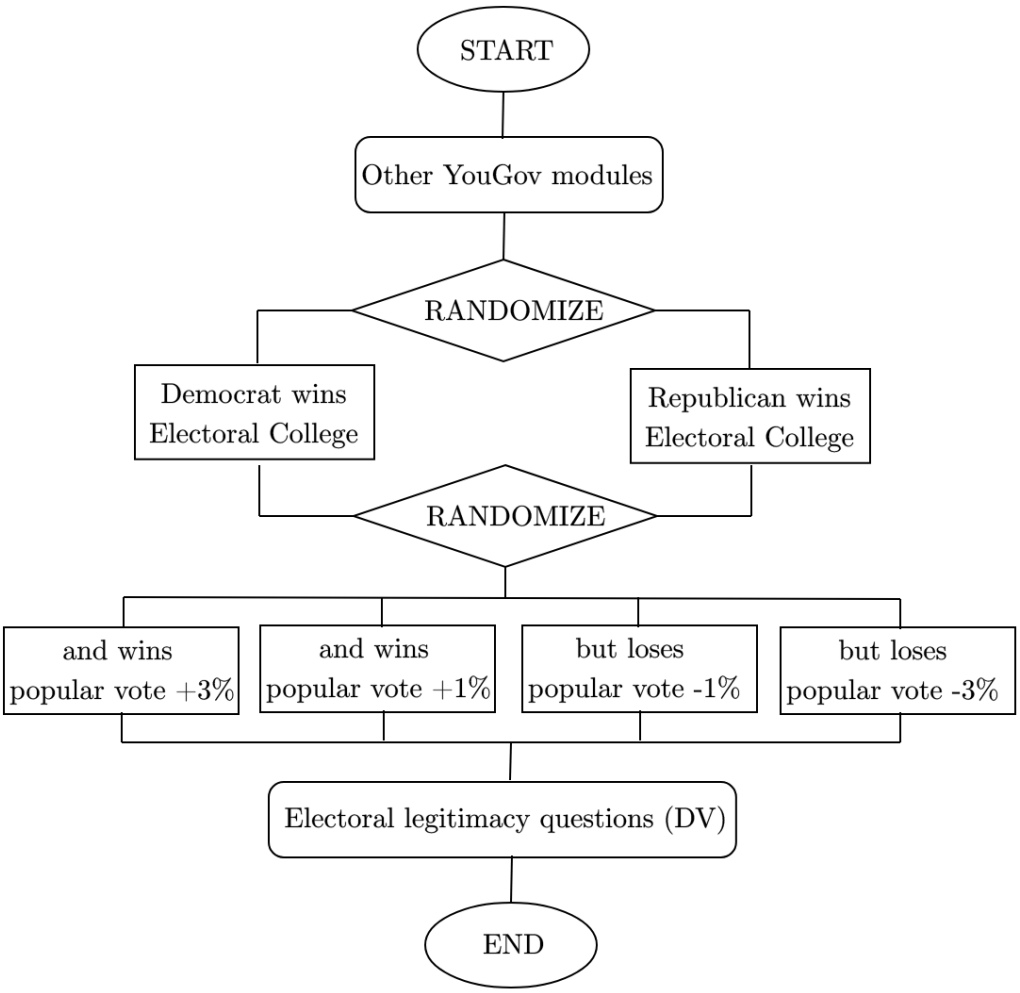
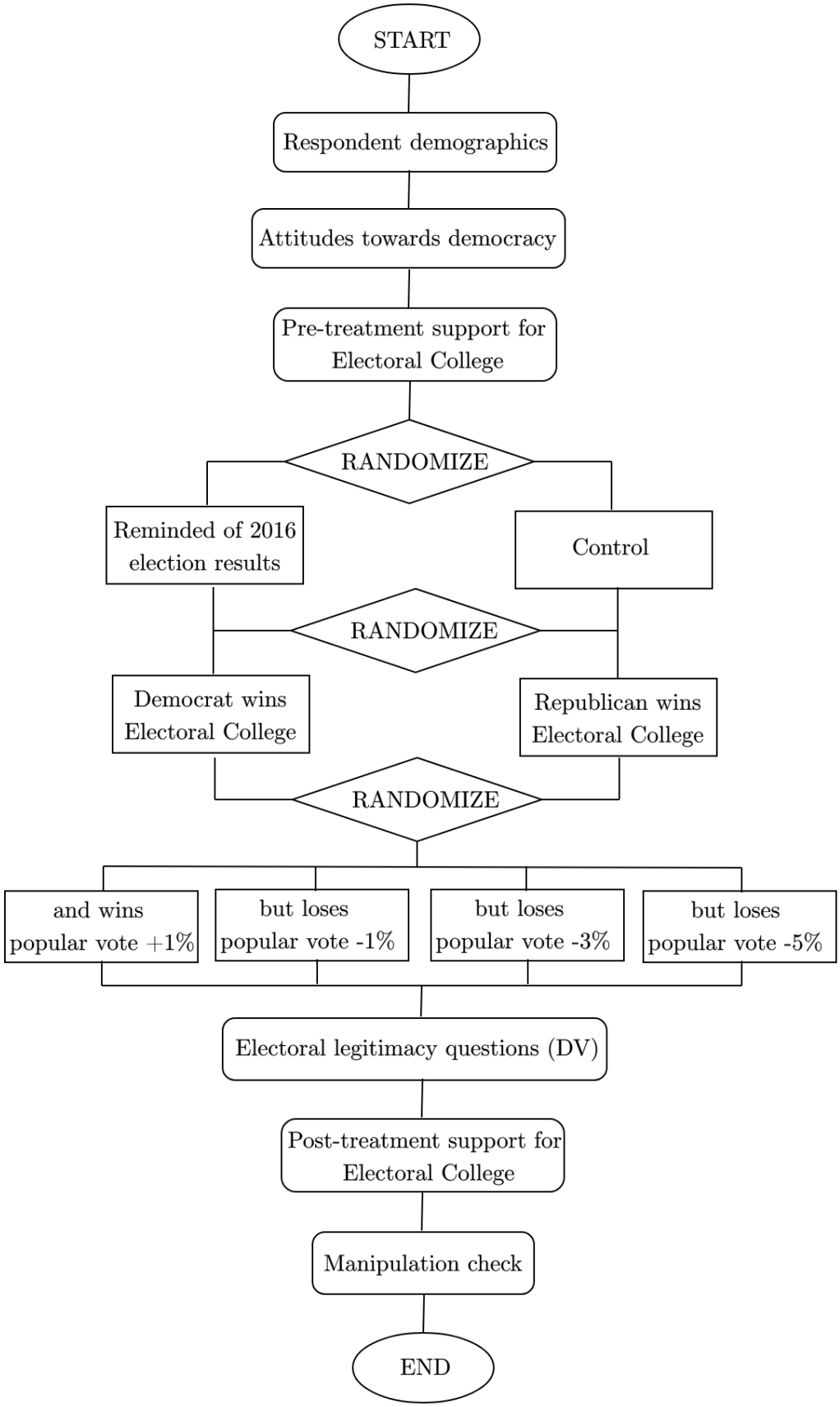


Figure A2: Lucid experimental procedure



B Sample demographics and covariate balance

Table B1 presents sample characteristics for both experiments.

Table B1: Sample characteristics

		Mean	Median	Min.	Max
YouGov	Female	0.53	1	0	1
	Age	47.4	47	18	89
	White	0.65	1	0	1
	Republican	0.32	0	0	1
Lucid	Female	0.52	1	0	1
	Age	44.3	42	18	106
	White	0.71	1	0	1
	Republican	0.48	0	0	1

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The number of respondents by treatment condition is shown in Table B2. Across eight conditions in both experiments, treatment assignment seems to be balanced.

In Tables B3 and B4 we summarize test statistics for covariate balance across treatment arms. For the margins condition, t-tests are conducted relative to the reference category (+1% condition). In Table B5, we also test for covariate balance across those reminded of the 2016 election outcome in our Lucid sample. Out of all 36 tests, only one group's mean (proportion of whites in the -3% condition) is statistically significant relative to control. We further confirm in Table B6 with regressions of treatment assignment on covariates that all observed F-statistics are above conventional significance levels, suggesting that covariates are jointly orthogonal to treatment assignment.

Table B2: Treatment assignment by condition

	Who won EC	+3%	+1%	-1%	-3%	-5%
YouGov	Democrat	405	449	430	406	
	Republican	451	397	420	437	
Lucid	Democrat		956	884	904	852
	Republican		913	940	866	918

Table B3: Covariate balance by popular vote margin treatment

		+3%	+1%	-1%	-3%	-5%
YouGov	Female	0.52	0.52	0.55	0.53	
		(0.01)		(-1.31)	(-0.22)	
	Age	46.5	48.1	47.8	47.4	
		(1.95)		(0.41)	(0.85)	
	White	0.66	0.66	0.65	0.61*	
		(-0.08)		(-0.59)	(-2.23)	
	Republican	0.33	0.33	0.32	0.31	
		(0.48)		(-0.40)	(-0.15)	
Lucid	Female		0.52	0.52	0.52	0.51
				(-0.12)	(0.39)	(0.86)
	Age		44.3	44.7	44.3	44.6
				(-0.81)	(-0.03)	(-0.61)
	White		0.71	0.72	0.70	0.71
				(0.84)	(-0.19)	(0.52)
	Republican		0.48	0.46	0.50	0.51
				(0.85)	(-1.33)	(-1.81)

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < .005$ (two-sided). Means for variable by condition. T-statistic relative to the +1% condition in parentheses.)

Table B4: Covariate balance by party of Electoral College winner treatment

		Democrats won	Republicans won
YouGov	Female	0.52	0.54
			(-0.86)
	Age	48.0	46.8
			(1.98)
	White	0.64	0.65
			(0.73)
	Republican	0.32	0.33
			(-0.08)
Lucid	Female	0.52	0.51
			(0.59)
	Age	44.7	44.3
			(1.00)
	White	0.71	0.71
			(-0.29)
	Republican	0.48	0.49
			(-0.45)

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < .005$ (two-sided). Means for variable by condition. T-statistic relative to the condition where a Democratic candidate wins in parentheses.)

Table B5: Covariate balance by 2016 reminder treatment

		Control	Reminded
Lucid	Female	0.52	0.51
			(0.76)
	Age	44.6	44.4
			(0.52)
	White	0.72	0.71
			(-1.18)
	Republican	0.48	0.49
			(-0.52)

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < .005$ (two-sided). Means for variable by condition. T-statistics relative to control condition in parentheses.)

Table B6: F-statistics for regressions of treatment assignment on covariates

	YouGov		Lucid		
Treatment	*Margin*	*EC winner*	*Margin*	*EC winner*	*2016 reminder*
Female	0.025	0.016	-0.015	-0.009	-0.008
	(0.039)	(0.017)	(0.027)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Age	-0.000	-0.001*	0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.0004)	(0.0004)
Not white	0.099*	-0.020	0.018	0.001	0.018
	(0.041)	(0.019)	(0.031)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Republican	0.040	0.006	0.063	0.006	0.011
	(0.042)	(0.019)	(0.028)	(0.012)	(0.012)
F statistic	1.624	1.538	1.525	0.4827	0.7528
	(df = 4; 3390)	(df = 4; 3390)	(df = 4; 7145)	(df = 4; 7145)	(df = 4; 7202)

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < .005$ (two-sided). OLS models where dependent variable is transformed into numeric. For margin treatment, party treatment and 2016 reminder treatment, the +1% condition, Democratic EC winner condition and control condition are respectively turned into 0.

Table C1: Pair-wise correlations between dependent variables

	YouGov	Lucid
Fair/legitimate	0.81	0.73
Legitimate/rightful	0.82	0.74
Rightful/fair	0.81	0.73

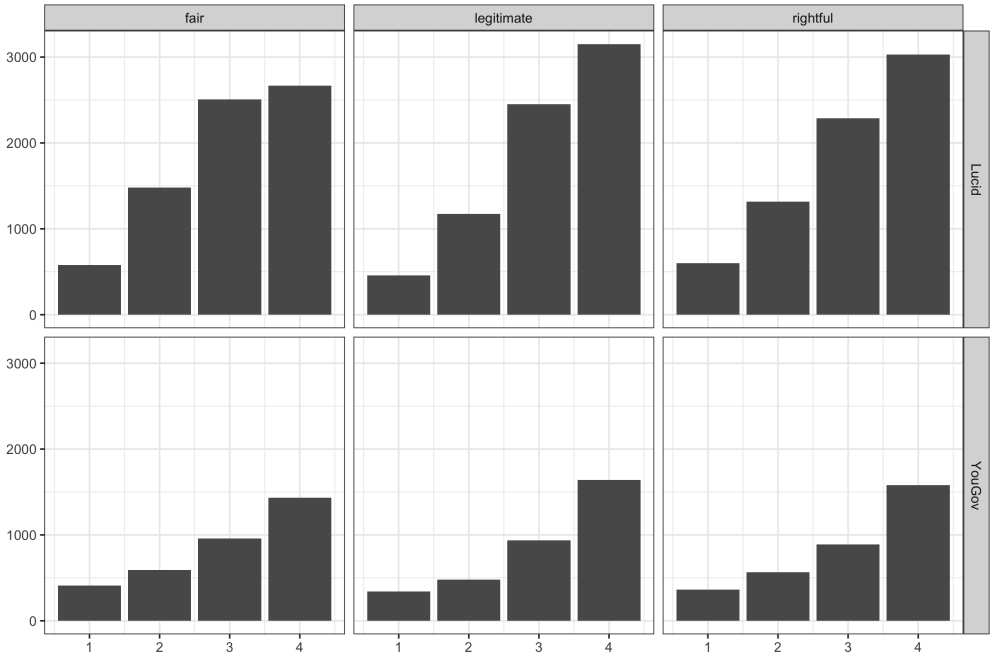
C Measurement of dependent variables

We measure legitimacy using three questions presented in random order. Each item was coded in the same direction with higher values indicating greater agreement with the result of the election.

- Would you consider the winning candidate to be the rightful winner of the election or not the rightful winner?
  - Definitely the rightful winner (4)
  - Probably the rightful winner (3)
  - Probably not the rightful winner (2)
  - Definitely not the rightful winner (1)
- Would you view the winning candidate's presidency to be legitimate or not legitimate?
  - Entirely legitimate (4)
  - Somewhat legitimate (3)
  - Not very legitimate (2)
  - Not legitimate at all (1)
- Do you think the winning candidate's victory was fair or not fair?
  - Very fair (4)
  - Somewhat fair (3)
  - Not very fair (2)
  - Not at all fair (1)

In Figure C1, we visualize the distribution of each dependent variable for both experiments. Correlations between all three items are high (0.7–0.8) in both experiments. We therefore combined them to increase scale reliability (Broockman, Kalla and Sekhon 2017). In Table C1, we summarize the correlations between each item. Cronbach's α for internal consistency are 0.93 and 0.89, respectively, for the YouGov and Lucid experiments, suggesting that our scale is very reliable.

Figure C1: Distribution of dependent variables



D YouGov results with independents

Below we report the full results from Table 1 in the main text as well as additional models including independents from the YouGov sample (column 1) and the Lucid model with the 2016 election reminder included as a control variable (column 4). The reference category for the popular vote margin coefficients is +1%. Political interest was measured by the following question: "Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs." Responses were measured on a four-point Likert scale with a don't know option (which is treated as missing). The measure of political interest ranges from 1 to 4 where higher values indicate greater interest. Respondent race was measured with the following question: "What racial or ethnic group best describes you?" and is answered in eight categories (White, Black, Hispanic/Latino, Asian, Native American, Middle Easter, Mixed Race, Other). Respondents who do not identify as white are assigned a value of 1 for the nonwhite measure and those who identify as white are assigned a value of 0. Education levels are measured with the following question: "What is the highest level of education you have completed?" Respondents answered on a six-point scale from "No high school degree" to "Post-graduate degree." The college graduate indicator takes a value of 1 if respondents have a four-year college degree or more and 0 if not. Female respondents are also represented with indicators for respondents who identify as female to the question "Are you male or female?" (1 if female, 0 if male). Finally, indicators are included for age groups of 30–44, 45–59, and 60+ years old; the 18–29 age group is the reference category.

Neither the direction nor magnitude of effect sizes and standard errors varies between model specifications. Relative to +1%, an inversion causes a significant decrease in perceived legitimacy, while an increase in popular vote margin does not. Co-partisans who win are seen as more legitimate. Finally, we confirm that adding the 2016 election result reminder manipulation as a control does not change our results (a consequence of randomization).

Table D1: Effects of winner vote margin on election legitimacy (relative to +1 percentage point)

	YouGov		Lucid	
	With independents	Partisans only	Partisans only	Partisans only
+3 percentage points	0.007	0.014		
	(0.038)	(0.041)		
-1 percentage point	-0.454***	-0.483***	-0.319***	-0.319***
	(0.043)	(0.047)	(0.026)	(0.026)
-3 percentage point	-0.472***	-0.506***	-0.333***	-0.333***
	(0.044)	(0.049)	(0.026)	(0.026)
-5 percentage point			-0.342***	-0.342***
			(0.026)	(0.026)
Co-partisan wins	0.376***	0.416***	0.247***	0.247***
	(0.031)	(0.034)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Political interest	0.090***	0.091***	0.065***	0.065***
	(0.018)	(0.020)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Non-white	-0.166***	-0.167***	-0.174***	-0.175***
	(0.034)	(0.037)	(0.021)	(0.021)
College educated	0.037	0.049	0.088***	0.088***
	(0.034)	(0.036)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Female	-0.209***	-0.201***	-0.257***	-0.257***
	(0.032)	(0.035)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Age 30–44	0.036	0.010	0.083**	0.083**
	(0.046)	(0.051)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Age 45–59	0.123*	0.114*	0.130***	0.129***
	(0.049)	(0.054)	(0.029)	(0.029)
Age 60+	0.136**	0.133**	0.184***	0.184***
	(0.047)	(0.051)	(0.030)	(0.030)
2016 reminder				0.0173
				(0.019)
Respondents	3194	2664	7150	7150

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < .005$ (two-sided). OLS models with robust standard errors. The reference category for the popular vote margin coefficients is a popular vote victory of one percentage point. "Election legitimacy" is measured based on survey responses which scale together as a composite measure.

E Linear probability models for binary categories

In Table E1, we show results from an alternative coding of the dependent variable in which we transform the dependent variable into a binary indicator of whether the respondent answered in an affirmative manner to each of the disaggregated response items — i.e, the respondent answers that the candidate who won the Electoral College is “definitely" or “probably" the rightful winner, that the the presidency is “entirely" or “somewhat" legitimate, or that the victory was “very" or “somewhat" fair, the answer is recorded as a 1 and 0 otherwise (see Online Appendix C for details on the response items). Each model is a OLS with robust standard errors. The reference category is +1%.

Across all models, inversions reduce perceived legitimacy by 10–25 percentage points on this binary measure. These results do not vary meaningfully by popular vote margin. Overall, these results suggest that our results reported in the main text are not simply a reflection of respondents changing their responses between the top two affirmative categories; a substantial number of respondents change from positive to negative evaluations

Table E1: Effects of winner vote margin on binary measures (relative to +1 percentage point)

	YouGov			Lucid		
Dependent variable	*Fair*	*Legitimate*	*Rightful*	*Fair*	*Legitimate*	*Rightful*
+3 percentage points	0.012	0.001	-0.001			
	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.018)			
-1 percentage point	-0.245***	-0.138***	-0.174***	-0.148***	-0.096***	-0.127***
	(0.021)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.013)
-3 percentage point	-0.223***	-0.143***	-0.224***	-0.151***	-0.117***	-0.155***
	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.014)
-5 percentage point				-0.169***	-0.104***	-0.135***
				(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.014)
Co-partisan wins	0.130***	0.115***	0.137	0.093***	0.107***	0.100***
	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Control variables	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Respondents	3194	3194	3194	7150	7150	7150

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < .005$ (two-sided). OLS models with robust standard errors. The reference category for the popular vote margin coefficients is a popular vote victory of one percentage point. The dependent variable is an indicator for whether the respondent answered in an affirmative manner for each item. All models above control for political interest, race, college education, sex, and age group. Both models above include only self-identified Democrats or Republicans including leaners. (See Online Appendix D for full results including results with independents in the YouGov sample.)

F Average marginal effects of vote margins with different baseline

We further explore H4 by presenting the average marginal effects of electoral margins on legitimacy using the same models as Table 2, but using the -1 percentage point condition as the baseline. We show these alternative results to highlight that penalties on electoral legitimacy do not seem to be exacerbated by the inversion margin, but simply by the fact of the inversion itself. Table F1 shows these results. Only in the five-point inversion condition among Democrats in our Lucid experiment can we reject the null hypothesis that the size of the loser's popular vote victory made no difference — the estimated marginal effect relative to a 1-point margin is -0.103 (SE=0.035) and is statistically significant.

Table F1: Average marginal effects by party (relative to -1 percentage point)

	Democrats		*Republicans*	
	YouGov	Lucid	YouGov	Lucid
Co-partisan wins	0.492***	0.310***	0.316***	0.165***
	(0.040)	(0.025)	(0.048)	(0.026)
+3 percentage points	0.846***		0.0183	
	(0.055)		(0.068)	
+1 percentage points	0.868***	0.490***	-0.048	0.105***
	(0.057)	(0.034)	(0.068)	(0.037)
-3 percentage points	-0.082	-0.068	0.060	-0.009
	(0.057)	(0.035)	(0.067)	(0.037)
-5 percentage points		-0.103***		0.009
		(0.035)		(0.037)

G Heterogeneous treatment effects by partisanship

Table G1 shows results from regressions analyzing how the effects of our popular vote margin manipulation on perceived legitimacy vary with the partisanship of respondent and the winning candidate. The reference categories are a Democratic respondent, a win for the opposite-party (Republican) candidate, and a +1 percentage point margin in the popular vote. The top three rows show estimates of the marginal effect of a Republican respondent, a copartisan victory, and the interaction of those two conditions. Below, the table is organized in blocks of four rows, with each block corresponding to an alternative popular vote outcome – a larger (three percentage point) non-inversion margin, then inversions of -1, -3, and -5 percentage points. Within each block, estimates on the interaction terms illustrate the marginal effects of a win by a copartisan candidate, of respondent partisanship (Republican rather than Democrat), and of Republican respondents with a copartisan winner.

Starting at the top, the first three rows estimate effects for the baseline scenario of a one-percent popular vote win for the presidential winner. In the initial experiment with YouGov, we find no difference in perceived legitimacy by respondent partisanship, but in the Lucid sample, Republican respondents rate legitimacy higher in this scenario by 0.253 (SE=0.052). In both experiments, the magnitude of the copartisan effect is not distinguishable between Democrats and Republicans.

The next block of rows shows marginal effects of increasing the popular vote margin of the presidential winner to three percentage points. We included this scenario only in the YouGov experiment. We find no difference in effect overall, no difference in the magnitude of the copartisan effect, no effect by respondent partisanship, and none for the interaction between respondent partisanship and the party of the winning candidate. In short, when the popular vote winner wins the presidency, even narrowly, respondents appear to be at their legitimacy ceiling. Moving from a narrow to a more comfortable popular vote margin does not push legitimacy higher.

The next block of rows shows estimates for a narrow inversion, moving from a popular vote win of one percentage point to a popular vote loss of one percentage point for the presidential winner. The first set of coefficients in this block show the marginal effect of this inversion on Democratic respondents — -0.822 (SE=0.090) in the YouGov sample and -0.475 (SE=0.056) in Lucid. The next estimates show that, contra H3, this decrease in legitimacy is not related to the partisanship of the presidential winner. Among Democrats, assessments of legitimacy decrease as much when a copartisan wins by inversion as when a Republican does. This negative effect of inversions on legitimacy is absent altogether among Republican respondents (the effect observed among Democrats is offset by positive interactions between the inversion conditions and Republican identification). Finally, we note that the response to inversions among Republicans varied somewhat by party of the winning candidate in the YouGov sample. In the YouGov sample (but not Lucid), Republicans rated an election outcome in which a Democrat won the Electoral College but lost the popular vote as more legitimate than a Republican co-partisan winning in an inversion. Because this result shows up in the YouGov sample only, and not the Lucid replication, we treat it with caution, but we note that it is the opposite of what H3 would posit—that inversion wins by opposite-party candidates would reduce legitimacy assessments more than inversion wins by copartisans.

The next block of estimates replicate precisely the same pattern for a three percentage point inversion as for the one percentage point inversion above. Democrats rate inversions lower in legitimacy regardless of the partisanship of the winner. This inversion penalty is offset entirely

among Republican respondents, where we see the same YouGov-only pattern of greater legitimacy for Democratic inversion winners than Republicans.

Finally, the bottom block shows that these effects persist when the popular vote margin in the inversion scenario is five percentage points (tested in the Lucid experiment only). Democratic respondents punish this inversion, not distinguishing by the partisanship of winner, but the effect is offset among Republicans, who impose no inversion penalty. As these estimates underscore, we find no evidence for H4, which predicted that popular vote margins would affect legitimacy under inversions. Democrats do impose an inversion penalty, but its magnitude is indistinguishable across the vote margin scenarios we tested.

Table G1: Effects of winner margin on legitimacy by partisanship (relative to +1 percentage point)

	YouGov (w/independents)	YouGov	Lucid
Republican respondent	-0.064	-0.008	0.253***
	(0.97)	(0.105)	(0.052)
Co-partisan wins	0.456***	0.496***	0.324***
	(0.061)	(0.073)	(0.050)
Co-partisan × Republican	0.183	0.141	-0.080
	(0.114)	(0.121)	(0.066)
+3 percentage points	-0.028	-0.024	
	(0.066)	(0.085)	
+3 percentage points × co-partisan candidate	0.006	0.004	
	(0.089)	(0.104)	
+3 percentage points × Republican respondent	0.213	0.208	
	(0.134)	(0.144)	
+3 percentage points × co-partisan × Republicans	-0.243	-0.238	
	(0.159)	(0.167)	
-1 percentage points	-0.609***	-0.822***	-0.475***
	(0.070)	(0.090)	(0.056)
-1 percentage points × co-partisan candidate	-0.303**	-0.092	-0.029
	(0.010)	(0.115)	(0.074)
-1 percentage points × Republican respondent	0.935***	1.142***	0.412***
	(0.131)	(0.142)	(0.075)
-1 percentage points × co-partisan × Republican	-0.244	-0.450*	-0.054
	(0.166)	(0.175)	(0.098)
-3 percentage points	-0.713***	-0.986***	-0.565***
	(0.070)	(0.090)	(0.057)
-3 percentage points × co-partisan candidate	-0.200	0.072	0.015
	(0.106)	(0.120)	(0.076)
-3 percentage points × Republican respondent	1.076***	1.343***	0.476***
	(0.126)	(0.137)	(0.075)
-3 percentage points × co-partisan × Republican	-0.300	-0.568***	-0.063
	(0.164)	(0.173)	(0.100)
-5 percentage points			-0.571***
			(0.056)
-5 percentage points × co-partisan candidate			-0.042
			(0.074)
-5 percentage points × Republican respondent			0.570***
			(0.074)
-5 percentage points × co-partisan × Republican			-0.145
			(0.098)
Control variables	✓	✓	✓
Respondents	3194	2664	7150

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < .005$ (two-sided). OLS models with robust standard errors. The reference category for the popular vote margin coefficients is a popular vote victory of one percentage point. "Election legitimacy" measured based on survey responses which scale together as a composite measure. All models above control for political interest, race, college education, sex, and age group. The models in the center and rightmost columns include only self-identified Democrats or Republicans including leaners. The leftmost model includes all participants in the YouGov sample (including independents).

H Political knowledge

We test whether political knowledge moderates the effect of popular vote margins on election legitimacy. Political knowledge is measured as the number of correct answers to questions regarding the length of a US senator's term, how many senators represent each state, how many times an individual can be elected President, the name of the Prime Minister of the UK, and the length of a US House member's term. We categorize respondents in roughly equal bins with those who scored 0 or 1 points as "low knowledge," 2 or 3 points as "medium knowledge," and 4 or 5 as "high knowledge" respondents. Table H1 shows these results. We also calculate average marginal effects using the same model for political knowledge and report these results in Table H2. First, in general, high political knowledge is associated with greater perceived legitimacy across all election scenarios. However, this finding masks heterogeneity by party. On average, political knowledge increases legitimacy for Republicans, but decreases legitimacy for Democrats. These differences are exacerbated in inversion conditions—perceived legitimacy is reduced more by inversions among Democratic respondents with high political knowledge compared to those who have low political knowledge, while knowledge generally does not significantly moderate the effects of the popular vote margin among Republicans.

Table H1: Political knowledge interaction (relative to +1 percentage point, and low political knowledge)

	Lucid	
	(1)	(2)
Medium political knowledge	-0.002	0.022
	(0.067)	(0.066)
High political knowledge	0.355***	0.355***
	(0.067)	(0.068)
Co-partisan wins	0.218**	0.246***
	(0.074)	(0.018)
Co-partisan wins × medium knowledge	0.144	
	(0.091)	
Co-partisan wins × high knowledge	-0.006	
	(0.089)	
Republican respondent		0.113
		(0.075)
Republican × medium knowledge		0.161
		(0.090)
Republican × high knowledge		0.081
		(0.089)
-1 percentage points	-0.117	-0.210**
	(0.078)	(0.075)
-1% × co-partisan wins	-0.55	
	(0.106)	
-1% × Republican respondent		0.145
		(0.105)
-1% × medium knowledge	-0.098	-0.191*
	(0.098)	(0.093)
-1% × high knowledge	-0.421***	-0.561***
	(0.103)	(0.098)
-1% × co-partisan wins × medium knowledge	-0.074	
	(0.132)	
-1% × co-partisan wins × high knowledge	0.182	
	(0.137)	
-1% × Republican × medium knowledge		0.150
		(0.129)
-1% × Republican × high knowledge		0.504***
		(0.131)
-3 percentage points	-0.183*	-0.275***
	(0.075)	(0.075)
-3% × co-partisan wins	-0.000	
	(0.107)	
-3% × Republican respondent		0.206
		(0.106)
-3% × medium knowledge	-0.027	-0.157
	(0.097)	(0.094)
-3% × high knowledge	-0.362***	-0.640***
-3% × co-partisan wins × medium knowledge	-0.131	
	(0.134)	
-3% × co-partisan wins × high knowledge	0.111	
	(0.138)	
	(0.101)	(0.100)
-3% × Republican × medium knowledge		0.105
		(0.131)
-3% × Republican × high knowledge		0.575***
		(0.133)
-5 percentage points	-0.202**	-0.346***
	(0.074)	(0.074)
-5% × co-partisan wins	-0.065	
	(0.106)	
-5% × Republican respondent		0.257*
		(0.104)
-5% × medium knowledge	0.015	-0.103
	(0.096)	(0.092)
-5% × high knowledge	-0.291**	-0.602***
	(0.103)	(0.099)
-5% × co-partisan wins × medium knowledge	-0.121	
	(0.131)	
-5% × co-partisan wins × High knowledge	0.103	
	(0.139)	
-5% × Republican × medium knowledge		0.058
		(0.128)
-5% × Republican × high knowledge		0.610***
		(0.131)
Control variables	✓	✓
Respondents	7150	7150

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < .005$ (two-sided). OLS model with robust standard errors.

Table H2: Average marginal effect of political knowledge on legitimacy

	All	Lucid Republicans	Democrats
Medium political knowledge	0.026	0.149***	-0.090**
	(0.025)	(0.034)	(0.033)
High political knowledge	0.153***	0.408***	-0.087*
	(0.027)	(0.037)	(0.036)

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < .005$ (two-sided).

I Democratic support moderators

We attempt to measure a latent factor related to support for democracy. Our measured items consist of three questions below.

- How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically? On this scale where 1 means it is "not at all important" and 10 means "absolutely important," what position would you choose? (full response scale was 1–10 scale)
  - 1 through 7 (low bin)
  - 8 and 9 (medium bin)
  - 10 (high bin)
- Democracy may have problems, but it is better than any other form of government.
  - Agree strongly (high bin)
  - Agree somewhat (medium bin)
  - Neither agree or disagree (low bin)
  - Disagree somewhat (low bin)
  - Disagree strongly (low bin)
- We should rely on a leader with a strong hand to solve our country's problems rather than relying on a democratic form of government.
  - Agree strongly (low bin)
  - Agree somewhat (low bin)
  - Neither agree or disagree (medium bin)
  - Disagree somewhat (high bin)
  - Disagree strongly (high bin)

Because the three variables do not clearly load on a single factor in a principal components factor analysis, we estimate a separate model for each variable following our pre-analysis plan. To avoid a linearity assumption, each moderator is separated into approximate terciles (shown in parentheses above), where the "High" bin is coded to indicate higher support for democratic values. The results are reported in Table I1. We also calculate average marginal effects in Table I2.

Table I1: Effects of democratic support on electoral legitimacy (relative to +1 percentage point)

	Lucid		
	(Live in democracy)	(Democracy best)	(Strong hand)
Moderator (medium)	0.033	0.163*	0.005
	(0.064)	(0.067)	(0.065)
Moderator (high)	0.189**	0.316***	0.075
	(0.061)	(0.067)	(0.059)
Copartisan wins	0.150*	0.298***	0.219***
	(0.060)	(0.073)	(0.052)
Copartisan wins × moderator (medium bin)	0.131	-0.131	-0.033
	(0.086)	(0.093)	(0.089)
Copartisan wins × moderator (high bin)	0.191*	0.028	0.155*
	(0.080)	(0.088)	(0.075)
-1 percentage point	-0.187**	-0.192*	-0.068
	(0.062)	(0.078)	(0.056)
-1 percentage point × moderator (medium bin)	0.031	-0.062	0.211*
	(0.094)	(0.101)	(0.096)
-1 percentage point × moderator (high bin)	-0.270**	-0.196*	-0.478***
	(0.089)	(0.099)	(0.088)
-1 percentage point × copartisan wins	-0.016	-0.142	-0.102
	(0.087)	(0.107)	(0.076)
-1 percentage point × moderator (medium bin) × copartisan wins	-0.114	0.116	0.162
	(0.128)	(0.137)	(0.131)
-1 percentage point × moderator (high bin) × copartisan wins	0.0419	0.149	0.118
	(0.119)	(0.132)	(0.115)
-3 percentage point	-0.254***	-0.281***	-0.031
	(0.061)	(0.076)	(0.057)
-3 percentage point × moderator (medium bin)	0.010	-0.096	-0.446***
	(0.096)	(0.097)	(0.094)
-3 percentage point × moderator (high bin)	-0.152	-0.044	-0.486***
	(0.090)	(0.100)	(0.090)
-3 percentage point × copartisan wins	0.052	-0.053	-0.129
	(0.088)	(0.110)	(0.079)
-3 percentage point × moderator (medium bin) × copartisan wins	-0.143	0.121	0.328
	(0.129)	(0.140)	(0.132)
-3 percentage point × moderator (high bin) × copartisan wins	-0.075	-0.008	0.103*
	(0.122)	(0.136)	(0.119)
-5 percentage point	-0.196**	-0.161*	-0.105
	(0.061)	(0.082)	(0.057)
-5 percentage point × moderator (medium bin)	-0.136	-0.212*	-0.216*
	(0.096)	(0.103)	(0.100)
-5 percentage point × moderator (high bin)	-0.151	-0.161	-0.388***
	(0.089)	(0.102)	(0.089)
-5 percentage point × copartisan wins	-0.028	-0.218*	-0.079
	(0.086)	(0.110)	(0.076)
-5 percentage point × moderator (medium bin) × copartisan wins	-0.042	0.283*	0.030
	(0.119)	(0.139)	(0.134)
-5 percentage point × moderator (high bin) × copartisan wins	-0.080	0.111	-0.002
	(0.120)	(0.136)	(0.117)
Control variables	✓	✓	✓
Respondents	7150	6954	7150

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < .005$ (two-sided). OLS models with robust standard errors. The reference category for the popular vote margin coefficients is a popular vote victory of one percentage point. All models above control for political interest, race, college education, sex, and age group.)

Table I2: Average marginal effect of moderators (relative to lowest moderator category)

Moderator	Category	AME
Live in democracy	Medium	0.039
		(0.027)
	High	0.129***
		(0.025)
Democracy is best	Medium	0.072**
		(0.027)
	High	0.263***
		(0.27)
Don't need strongman	Medium	-0.164***
		(0.026)
	High	-0.155***
		(0.022)

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < .005$ (two-sided). OLS models with robust standard errors. The reference category for the popular vote margin coefficients is a popular vote victory of one percentage point.

J Electoral sovereignty moderators

We attempt to measure a latent factor related to support for electoral sovereignty. Our measured items consist of three questions below.

- For future presidential elections, would you support or oppose changing to a system in which the president is elected by direct popular vote, instead of by the Electoral College? [11]
  - Support strongly (high bin)
  - Support somewhat (medium bin)
  - Neither support or oppose (low bin)
  - Oppose somewhat (low bin)
  - Oppose strongly (low bin)
- The United States is a republic, not a democracy.
  - Agree strongly (low bin)
  - Agree somewhat (low bin)
  - Neither agree or disagree (medium bin)
  - Disagree somewhat (high bin) [12]
  - Disagree strongly (high bin)
- People should choose their leaders in free elections.
  - Agree strongly (low bin)
  - Agree somewhat (low bin)
  - Neither agree or disagree (medium bin)
  - Disagree somewhat (high bin)
  - Disagree strongly (high bin)

Because the three variables do not clearly load on a single factor in a principal components factor analysis, we estimate a separate model for each variable following our pre-analysis plan. To avoid a linearity assumption, each moderator is separated into approximate terciles (shown in parentheses), where the “High" bin is coded to indicate higher support for elections. The results are reported in Table J1. We also report average marginal effects in Table J2.

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[11] Support for the National Popular Vote was asked both before and after the experimental module of our survey. We use the pre-treatment measure for our moderator here.

[12] In administrating our survey, we made a mistake where this option was incorrectly labeled as “Disagree strongly," resulting in having the “Disagree strongly" option shown twice.

Table J1: Effects of electoral sovereignty on electoral legitimacy (relative to +1 percentage point)

	(EC)	Lucid (is Republic)	(Free election)
Moderator (medium bin)	-0.107**	-0.155	-0.433**
	(0.021)	(0.056)	(0.157)
Moderator (high bin)	-0.081	-0.223**	-0.238
	(0.064)	(0.072)	(0.144)
Copartisan wins	0.197***	0.244***	0.041
	(0.052)	(0.049)	(0.208)
Copartisan wins × moderator (medium bin)	0.077	-0.034	0.177
	(0.079)	(0.075)	(0.230)
Copartisan wins × moderator (high bin)	0.190*	0.218*	0.254
	(0.082)	(0.090)	(0.211)
-1 percentage point	-0.016	-0.291***	-0.342
	(0.056)	(0.058)	(0.204)
-1 percentage point × moderator (medium bin)	-0.253**	-0.084	0.248
	(0.086)	(0.088)	(0.226)
-1 percentage point × moderator (high bin)	-0.581***	-0.018	0.007
	(0.093)	(0.107)	(0.208)
-1 percentage point × copartisan wins	-0.061	-0.002	0.097
	(0.074)	(0.075)	(0.287)
-1 percentage point × moderator (medium bin) × copartisan wins	-0.030	0.033	-0.117
	(0.113)	(0.117)	(0.319)
-1 percentage point × moderator (high bin) × copartisan wins	0.017	-0.175	-0.128
	(0.123)	(0.134)	(0.292)
-3 percentage point	-0.019	-0.276***	-0.350
	(0.055)	(0.058)	(0.220)
-3 percentage point × moderator (medium bin)	-0.236**	-0.138	0.221
	(0.084)	(0.085)	(0.240)
-3 percentage point × moderator (high bin)	-0.644***	-0.018	0.003
	(0.092)	(0.107)	(0.224)
-3 percentage point × copartisan wins	-0.041	-0.073	-0.097
	(0.074)	(0.077)	(0.327)
-3 percentage point × moderator (medium bin) × copartisan wins	-0.091	0.121	0.125
	(0.117)	(0.118)	(0.354)
-3 percentage point × moderator (high bin) × copartisan wins	0.029	0.028	0.071
	(0.123)	(0.137)	(0.332)
-5 percentage point	-0.003	-0.265***	-0.442*
	(0.054)	(0.059)	(0.183)
-5 percentage point × moderator (medium bin)	-0.345***	-0.068	0.372
	(0.086)	(0.087)	(0.208)
-5 percentage point × moderator (high bin)	-0.600***	-0.026	0.118
	(0.094)	(0.107)	(0.188)
-5 percentage point × copartisan wins	-0.154*	-0.044	0.321
	(0.074)	(0.075)	(0.289)
-5 percentage point × moderator (medium bin) × copartisan wins	0.136	-0.025	0.175
	(0.114)	(0.115)	(0.321)
-5 percentage point × moderator (high bin) × copartisan wins	0.081	-0.187	0.252
	(0.124)	(0.139)	(0.295)
Control variables	✓	✓	✓
Respondents	7150	7150	7150

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < .005$ (two-sided). OLS models with robust standard errors. The reference category for the popular vote margin coefficients is a popular vote victory of one percentage point. All models above control for political interest, race, college education, sex, and age group.)

Table J2: Average marginal effect of moderators (relative to lowest moderator category)

Moderator	Category	AME
Support NPV	Medium	-0.271***
		(0.024)
	High	-0.420***
		(0.022)
US is not republic	Medium	-0.228***
		(0.023)
	High	-0.151***
		(0.024)
Choose leader in free election	Medium	-0.115
		(0.064)
	High	-0.055
		(0.059)

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < .005$ (two-sided). OLS models with robust standard errors. The reference category for the popular vote margin coefficients is a popular vote victory of one percentage point.

K 2016 reminder

In our Lucid experiment, prior to showing respondents the hypothetical election profile, half of the respondents were randomized to see a reminder of the 2016 result. The text of the treatment is shown below (the full design of our Lucid experiment is summarized in Figure A2).

> Before we start, we would like to remind you that the most recent presidential election took place in 2016. Donald Trump was elected President after winning the Electoral College (304 Trump to 227 Clinton), although Hillary Clinton won the popular vote (48% Clinton to 46% Trump).

As model (1) indicates, the reminder reduced perceived legitimacy on average among Democrats and increased it among Republicans (averaging over popular vote margin conditions). However, as model (2) indicates, the reminder did not significantly moderate the effects of the popular vote margin on election legitimacy.

Table K1: Effects of 2016 reminder on election legitimacy (relative to +1 percentage point)

	Lucid	
	(1)	(2)
Co-partisan wins	0.244***	0.347***
	(0.018)	(0.070)
2016 reminder	-0.057*	-0.029
	(0.027)	(0.078)
Republican respondent	0.465***	0.219***
	(0.026)	(0.075)
Republican respondent × 2016 reminder	0.145***	0.067
	(0.036)	(0.103)
Republican respondent × copartisan wins		-0.112
		(0.096)
Copartisan wins × 2016 reminder		-0.043
		(0.100)
Republican respondent × copartisan wins × 2016 reminder		0.066
		(0.133)
-1 percentage point	-0.311***	-0.458***
	(0.025)	(0.077)
-1% × Republican respondent		0.335**
		(0.107)
-1% × 2016 reminder		-0.039
		(0.112)
-1% × copartisan wins × Republican respondent		0.072
		(0.141)
-1% × copartisan wins × 2016 reminder		0.187
		(0.148)
-1% × Republican respondent × 2016 reminder		0.149
		(0.150)
-1% × copartisan wins × Republican respondent × 2016 reminder		-0.245
		(0.196)
-3 percentage point	-0.345***	-0.545***
	(0.025)	(0.077)
-3% × Republican respondent		0.427***
		(0.108)
-3% × 2016 reminder		-0.039
		(0.113)
-3% × copartisan wins × Republican respondent		0.040
		(0.141)
-3% × copartisan wins × 2016 reminder		0.061
		(0.152)
-3% × Republican respondent × 2016 reminder		0.095
		(0.150)
-3% × copartisan wins × Republican respondent × 2016 reminder		-0.202
		(0.200)
-5 percentage points	-0.356***	-0.546***
	(0.025)	(0.077)
-5% × Republican respondent		0.496***
		(0.106)
-5% × 2016 reminder		-0.054
		(0.112)
-5% × copartisan wins × Republican respondent		-0.161
		(0.139)
-5% × copartisan wins × 2016 reminder		-0.072
		(0.148)
-5% × Republican respondent × 2016 reminder		0.145
		(0.147)
-5% × copartisan wins × Republican respondent × 2016 reminder		0.030
		(0.195)
Control variables	✓	✓
Respondents	7150	7150

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < .005$ (two-sided). OLS models with robust standard errors. The reference category for the popular vote margin coefficients is a popular vote victory of one percentage point. "Election legitimacy" measured based on survey responses which scale together as a composite measure. All models above control for political interest, race, college education, sex, and age group.)

L Electoral College support

We measured support for Electoral College twice in our Lucid experiment — once before our experimental section and once after. Our question wording was as follows:

- For future presidential elections, would you support or oppose changing to a system in which the president is elected by direct popular vote, instead of by the Electoral College?
  - Support strongly (1)
  - Support somewhat (2)
  - neither support nor oppose (3)
  - Oppose somewhat (4)
  - Oppose strongly (5)

Survey responses were coded as indicated in parentheses. A higher number indicates higher support for the existing Electoral College system (and conversely less support for the National Popular Vote Initiative).

In Table L1, we estimate several models that predict support for post-treatment Electoral College support. As model (2) indicates, we find that the reminder of the 2016 election outcome increased support for the Electoral College overall among Republicans. However, attitudes toward the Electoral College were not affected by the popular vote margin (model 1) nor were those effects moderated by respondent partisanship (model 2), whether the winning candidate was a co-partisan (model 3), or the interaction between the two (model 4).

Table L1: Effects of winner margins on Electoral College support (relative to +1 percentage point)

	Lucid			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Pre-treatment EC support	0.786***	0.734***	0.785***	0.733***
	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.010)
2016 reminder	0.035	-0.030		
	(0.021)	(0.026)		
Republican respondent		0.385***		0.473***
		(0.046)		(0.052)
Copartisan wins			-0.33	-0.005
			(0.041)	(0.048)
2016 reminder × Republican respondent		0.132***		
		(0.040)		
Republican respondent × copartisan wins				-0.043
				(0.076)
-1 percentage point	-0.006	0.040	-0.049	0.024
	(0.028)	(0.036)	(0.039)	(0.050)
-1 percentage point × Republican respondent		-0.093		-0.137
		(0.056)		(0.077)
-1 percentage point × copartisan wins			0.083	0.034
			(0.056)	(0.071)
-1 percentage point × Republican respondent × copartisan wins				0.085
				(0.111)
-3 percentage point	0.041	0.047	0.006	0.022
	(0.028)	(0.037)	(0.038)	(0.047)
-3 percentage point × Republican respondent		-0.037		-0.061
		(0.056)		(0.073)
-3 percentage point × copartisan wins			0.071	0.051
			(0.057)	(0.073)
-3 percentage point × Republican respondent × copartisan wins				0.053
				(0.111)
-5 percentage points	0.007	-0.006	-0.034	-0.026
	(0.029)	(0.037)	(0.041)	(0.050)
-5 percentage point × Republican respondent		0.004		-0.013
		(0.057)		(0.080)
-5 percentage point × copartisan wins			0.080	0.040
			(0.058)	(0.074)
-5 percentage point × Republican respondent × copartisan wins				0.035
				(0.114)
Control variables	✓	✓	✓	✓
Respondents	7028	7028	7028	7028

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < .005$ (two-sided). OLS models with robust standard errors. The reference category for the popular vote margin coefficients is a popular vote victory of one percentage point. Electoral College support measured based on likert scale in which a higher number means support for the Electoral College. All models above control for political interest, race, college education, sex, and age group.)

M Survey instruments

==========

[redacted]

Interviews: 3500
Field Period: March 12, 2020 - March 30, 2020
Project Manager: Sam Luks - 650.462.8009
==========

YouGov interviewed 3687 respondents who were then matched down to a sample of 3500 to produce the final dataset. The respondents were matched to a sampling frame on gender, age, race, and education. The frame was constructed by stratified sampling from the full 2017 American Community Survey (ACS) 1-year sample with selection within strata by weighted sampling with replacements (using the person weights on the public use file).

The matched cases were weighted to the sampling frame using propensity scores. The matched cases and the frame were combined and a logistic regression was estimated for inclusion in the frame. The propensity score function included age, gender, race/ethnicity, years of education, and region. The propensity scores were grouped into deciles of the estimated propensity score in the frame and post-stratified according to these deciles.

The weights were then post-stratified on 2016 Presidential vote choice, and a four-way stratification of gender, age (4-categories), race (4-categories), and education (4-categories), to produce the final weight.
==========

Variable List
==========

caseid	Panman Sample ID
weight	Gen Pop Weight
cand1party	Winning Candidate's party
cand2party	Losing Candidate's party
popvote	Popular vote outcome
pop_per	Percentage points
Q1	Rightful winner
Q2	Legitimatcy
Q3	Fairness
birthyr	Birth Year
gender	Gender
race	Race
educ	Education
marstat	Marital Status
employ	Employment Status
faminc_new	Family income
pid3	3 point party ID
pid7	7 point Party ID
presvote16post	2016 President Vote Post Election
inputstate	State of Residence

votereg Voter Registration Status
ideo5 Ideology
newsint Political Interest
starttime Questionnaire Start Time
endtime Questionnaire End Time

Verbatims

Variable map and codebook

Name: caseid
Description: Panman Sample ID

Numeric Variable – no categories

answered : 3500

Name: weight
Description: Gen Pop Weight

Numeric Variable – no categories

answered : 3500

Name: cand1party
Description: Winning Candidate's party

Count	Code	Label
1756	1	Democratic
1744	2	Republican

Name: cand2party
Description: Losing Candidate's party

Count	Code	Label
1744	1	Democratic
1756	2	Republican

Name: popvote
Description: Popular vote outcome

Count	Code	Label
1755	1	and wins
1745	2	but loses

```
================================================================================
Name:          pop_per
Description:   Percentage points

          Count   Code   Label
          -----   ----   -----
           1745      1   1 percentage point
           1755      2   3 percentage points

================================================================================
Name:          Q1
Description:   Rightful winner

          Count   Code   Label
          -----   ----   -----
           1637      1   Definitely the rightful winner
            918      2   Probably the rightful winner
            572      3   Probably not the rightful winner
            373      4   Definitely not the rightful winner

================================================================================
Name:          Q2
Description:   Legitimatcy

          Count   Code   Label
          -----   ----   -----
           1704      1   Entirely legitimate
            959      2   Somewhat legitimate
            486      3   Not very legitimate
            351      4   Not legitimate at all

================================================================================
Name:          Q3
Description:   Fairness

          Count   Code   Label
          -----   ----   -----
           1490      1   Very fair
            987      2   Somewhat fair
            601      3   Not very fair
            422      4   Not at all fair

================================================================================
Name:          birthyr
Description:   Birth Year

               Numeric Variable - no categories

               answered       : 3500
```

```
================================================================================
Name:          gender
Description:   Gender

          Count   Code   Label
          -----   ----   -----
           1639      1   Male
           1861      2   Female

================================================================================
Name:          race
Description:   Race

          Count   Code   Label
          -----   ----   -----
           2270      1   White
            414      2   Black
            517      3   Hispanic
            128      4   Asian
             37      5   Native American
             47      6   Mixed
             84      7   Other
              3      8   Middle Eastern

================================================================================
Name:          educ
Description:   Education

          Count   Code   Label
          -----   ----   -----
            184      1   No HS
           1194      2   High school graduate
            772      3   Some college
            338      4   2-year
            634      5   4-year
            378      6   Post-grad

================================================================================
Name:          marstat
Description:   Marital Status

          Count   Code   Label
          -----   ----   -----
           1616      1   Married
             75      2   Separated
            375      3   Divorced
            161      4   Widowed
           1099      5   Never married
            174      6   Domestic / civil partnership
```

```
================================================================================
Name:          employ
Description:   Employment Status

          Count   Code   Label
          -----   ----   -----
           1296      1   Full-time
            366      2   Part-time
             28      3   Temporarily laid off
            239      4   Unemployed
            747      5   Retired
            288      6   Permanently disabled
            247      7   Homemaker
            233      8   Student
             56      9   Other

================================================================================
Name:          faminc_new
Description:   Family income

          Count   Code   Label
          -----   ----   -----
            229      1   Less than $10,000
            248      2   $10,000 - $19,999
            342      3   $20,000 - $29,999
            342      4   $30,000 - $39,999
            285      5   $40,000 - $49,999
            296      6   $50,000 - $59,999
            191      7   $60,000 - $69,999
            238      8   $70,000 - $79,999
            264      9   $80,000 - $99,999
            189     10   $100,000 - $119,999
            190     11   $120,000 - $149,999
            107     12   $150,000 - $199,999
             49     13   $200,000 - $249,999
             26     14   $250,000 - $349,999
             17     15   $350,000 - $499,999
             14     16   $500,000 or more
            473     97   Prefer not to say

================================================================================
Name:          pid3
Description:   3 point party ID

          Count   Code   Label
          -----   ----   -----
           1339      1   Democrat
            815      2   Republican
            975      3   Independent
            125      4   Other
```

```
            246      5   Not sure

================================================================================
Name:          pid7
Description:   7 point Party ID

          Count   Code   Label
          -----   ----   -----
            918      1   Strong Democrat
            421      2   Not very strong Democrat
            338      3   Lean Democrat
            503      4   Independent
            323      5   Lean Republican
            257      6   Not very strong Republican
            558      7   Strong Republican
            182      8   Not sure
              0      9   Don't know

================================================================================
Name:          presvote16post
Description:   2016 President Vote Post Election

          Count   Code   Label
          -----   ----   -----
           1275      1   Hillary Clinton
            963      2   Donald Trump
             98      3   Gary Johnson
             53      4   Jill Stein
             15      5   Evan McMullin
             52      6   Other
           1033      7   Did not vote for President
             11     98   skipped

================================================================================
Name:          inputstate
Description:   State of Residence

          Count   Code   Label
          -----   ----   -----
             65      1   Alabama
              7      2   Alaska
            104      4   Arizona
             27      5   Arkansas
            396      6   California
             73      8   Colorado
             28      9   Connecticut
             19     10   Delaware
             18     11   District of Columbia
            274     12   Florida
            114     13   Georgia
```

10	15	Hawaii
16	16	Idaho
150	17	Illinois
67	18	Indiana
39	19	Iowa
20	20	Kansas
55	21	Kentucky
35	22	Louisiana
14	23	Maine
68	24	Maryland
73	25	Massachusetts
77	26	Michigan
64	27	Minnesota
23	28	Mississippi
65	29	Missouri
16	30	Montana
17	31	Nebraska
47	32	Nevada
18	33	New Hampshire
134	34	New Jersey
27	35	New Mexico
185	36	New York
88	37	North Carolina
7	38	North Dakota
127	39	Ohio
38	40	Oklahoma
54	41	Oregon
151	42	Pennsylvania
13	44	Rhode Island
42	45	South Carolina
9	46	South Dakota
60	47	Tennessee
277	48	Texas
24	49	Utah
4	50	Vermont
103	51	Virginia
72	53	Washington
30	54	West Virginia
49	55	Wisconsin
7	56	Wyoming
0	60	American Samoa
0	64	Federated States of Micronesia
0	66	Guam
0	68	Marshall Islands
0	69	Northern Mariana Islands
0	70	Pala
0	72	Puerto Rico
0	74	U.S. Minor Outlying Islands
0	78	Virgin Islands
0	81	Alberta

0	82	British Columbia
0	83	Manitoba
0	84	New Brunswick
0	85	Newfoundland
0	86	Northwest Territories
0	87	Nova Scotia
0	88	Nunavut
0	89	Ontario
0	90	Prince Edward Island
0	91	Quebec
0	92	Saskatchewan
0	93	Yukon Territory
0	99	Not in the U.S. or Canada

==========

Name: votereg
Description: Voter Registration Status

Count	Code	Label
3035	1	Yes
354	2	No
111	3	Don't know

==========

Name: ideo5
Description: Ideology

Count	Code	Label
514	1	Very liberal
587	2	Liberal
1029	3	Moderate
572	4	Conservative
459	5	Very conservative
339	6	Not sure

==========

Name: newsint
Description: Political Interest

Count	Code	Label
1782	1	Most of the time
858	2	Some of the time
396	3	Only now and then
261	4	Hardly at all
203	7	Don't know

Date format variables

```
================================================================================
Name:          starttime
Description:   Questionnaire Start Time
          DateTime variable - no categories

================================================================================
Name:          endtime
Description:   Questionnaire End Time
          DateTime variable - no categories
```

Electoral margins experiment

Survey Flow

EmbeddedData
pidValue will be set from Panel or URL.
SUPPLIER_IDValue will be set from Panel or URL.
SUPNAMEValue will be set from Panel or URL.
Q_BallotBoxStuffingValue will be set from Panel or URL.
Q_PopulateResponseValue will be set from Panel or URL.
Q_RelevantIDDuplicateScoreValue will be set from Panel or URL.
Q_RelevantIDFraudScoreValue will be set from Panel or URL.
Q_RelevantIDDuplicateValue will be set from Panel or URL.
ridValue will be set from Panel or URL.

Standard: Consent (2 Questions)
Standard: Age (2 Questions)
Standard: Gender (2 Questions)
Standard: State (2 Questions)
Standard: PID (2 Questions)

Branch: New Branch
If
If Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a ...? Independent Is Selected
Or Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a ...? Other Is Selected
Or Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a ...? Not sure Is Selected

Standard: PID other (2 Questions)

Branch: New Branch
If
If Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic or the Republican Party? Neither Is Selected
Or Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic or the Republican Party? Not sure Is Selected

EndSurvey: Advanced

Branch: New Branch
If
If Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a ...? Republican Is Selected

Standard: PID Republican (2 Questions)

Branch: New Branch
If
If Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a ...? Democrat Is Selected

Standard: PID Democrat (2 Questions)

Standard: Ideo (2 Questions)
Standard: Educ (2 Questions)

Standard: Race (2 Questions)
Standard: Political interest (2 Questions)
Standard: Trump approval (1 Question)
Standard: Live in democracy (2 Questions)
Standard: EC policy PRE (2 Questions)
Standard: Dem support statements intro (2 Questions)
Standard: Dem support statements (5 Questions)
Standard: Political knowledge intro (2 Questions)
Standard: Political knowledge (6 Questions)

BlockRandomizer: 1 -

Standard: PV margins prompt only (2 Questions)
Standard: PV margins prompt + 2016 reminder (2 Questions)

BlockRandomizer: 1 -

Block: R-lose1 (5 Questions)
Standard: D-lose1 (5 Questions)
Standard: R-lose3 (5 Questions)
Standard: D-lose3 (5 Questions)
Standard: R-win1 (5 Questions)
Standard: D-win1 (5 Questions)
Standard: R-lose5 (5 Questions)
Standard: D-lose5 (5 Questions)

Standard: Explain answer (2 Questions)
Standard: EC policy POST (2 Questions)
Standard: Manipulation checks (5 Questions)
Standard: Trolling (2 Questions)
Standard: Look up (2 Questions)
Standard: Comments (2 Questions)
Standard: End (1 Question)

EndSurvey: Advanced

Page Break

Start of Block: Consent

Q34 This study is being conducted by [redacted] We ask for your attention for a few minutes and we thank you for your attention and your responses. Your participation is voluntary and you may decline the survey or withdraw at any time. No information that identifies you will be collected or retained by the researchers. However, any online interaction carries some risk of being accessed. Do you consent to participate in the survey?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

[redacted]

Q122 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Consent

Start of Block: Age

*

Q35 In what year were you born? (Please answer in full 4-digit years)

_____

Q121 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Age

Start of Block: Gender

Q36 Are you male or female?

- Male (1)
- Female (2)

Q120 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Gender

Start of Block: State

Q44 In which state do you currently reside?

▼ Alabama (1) ... I do not reside in the United States (53)

Q119 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: State

Start of Block: PID

Q44 Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a ...?

- Democrat (1)
- Republican (2)
- Independent (3)
- Other (4)
- Not sure (5)

Q118 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: PID

Start of Block: PID other

Q45 Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic or the Republican Party?

- The Democratic Party (1)
- The Republican Party (2)
- Neither (3)
- Not sure (4)

Q117 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: PID other

Start of Block: PID Republican

Q47 Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

- Strong Republican (1)
- Not very strong Republican (2)

Q116 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: PID Republican

Start of Block: PID Democrat

Q46 Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

- Strong Democrat (1)
- Not very strong Democrat (2)

Q115 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: PID Democrat

Start of Block: Ideo

Q43
When it comes to politics, would you describe yourself as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal

nor conservative?

- Very conservative (1)
- Somewhat conservative (2)
- Slightly conservative (3)
- Moderate; middle of the road (4)
- Slightly liberal (5)
- Somewhat liberal (6)
- Very liberal (7)

Q114 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Ideo

Start of Block: Educ

Q48
What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?

- Did not graduate from high school (1)
- High school diploma or the equivalent (GED) (2)
- Some college (3)
- Associate's degree (4)
- Bachelor's degree (5)
- Master's degree (6)
- Professional or doctorate degree (7)

Q113 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Educ

Start of Block: Race

Q49 With which race or ethnicity do you most identify?

- American Indian or Alaska Native (1)
- Black or African American (2)
- Asian/Pacific Islander (3)
- White (4)
- Hispanic/Latino/Chicano/a (5)
- Multi-racial (6)
- Other (7)

Q112 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Race

Start of Block: Political interest

Q50 Generally, how interested are you in politics?

- Not at all interested (1)
- Not very interested (2)
- Somewhat interested (3)
- Very interested (4)
- Extremely interested (5)

Q111 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Political interest

Start of Block: Trump approval

Q51 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as President?

- Strongly approve (1)
- Somewhat approve (2)
- Somewhat disapprove (3)
- Strongly disapprove (4)

End of Block: Trump approval

Start of Block: Live in democracy

Q66 How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically? On this scale where 1 means it is “not at all important” and 10 means “absolutely important,” what position would you choose?

- ○ Not at all important1 (1)
- ○ 2 (2)
- ○ 3 (3)
- ○ 4 (4)
- ○ 5 (5)
- ○ 6 (6)
- ○ 7 (7)
- ○ 8 (8)
- ○ 9 (9)
- ○ Absolutely important10 (10)

Q105 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Live in democracy

Start of Block: EC policy PRE

Q85 For future presidential elections, would you support or oppose changing to a system in which the president is elected by direct popular vote, instead of by the Electoral College?

- ○ Support strongly (1)
- ○ Support somewhat (2)
- ○ Neither support nor oppose (3)
- ○ Oppose somewhat (4)
- ○ Oppose strongly (5)

Q104 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: EC policy PRE

Start of Block: Dem support statements intro

Q86 Now we're going to show you several more statements. After each one, we would like you to tell us how strongly you agree or disagree.

Q106 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Dem support statements intro

Start of Block: Dem support statements

Q71 Democracy may have problems, but it is better than any other form of government.

- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree stronglly (5)

Q72 The United States is a republic, not a democracy.

- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree strongly (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q73 People should choose their leaders in free elections.

- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q74 We should rely on a leader with a strong hand to solve our country's problems rather than relying on a democratic form of government.

- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q107 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Dem support statements

Start of Block: Political knowledge intro

Q52
The next set of questions helps us learn what types of information are commonly known to the public. Please answer these questions on your own without asking anyone or looking up the answers. Many people don't know the answers to these questions, but we'd be grateful if you would please answer every question even if you're not sure what the right answer is.

It is important to us that you do NOT use outside sources like the Internet to search for the correct answer. Will you answer the following questions without help from outside sources?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q108 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Political knowledge intro

Start of Block: Political knowledge

Q53
For how many years is a United States Senator elected - that is, how many years are there in one full term of office for a U.S. Senator?

- Two years (1)
- Four years (2)
- Six years (3)
- Eight years (4)
- None of the above (5)
- I don't know (6)

Q54
How many U.S. Senators are there from each state?

- One (1)
- Two (2)
- Four (3)
- Depends on which state (4)
- Don't know (5)

Q55
How many times can an individual be elected President of the United States under current laws?

- Once (1)
- Twice (2)
- Four times (3)
- Unlimited number of terms (4)
- Don't know (5)

Q56 Who is the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom?

- Richard Branson (1)
- Nick Clegg (2)
- Theresa May (3)
- Boris Johnson (4)
- Margaret Thatcher (5)
- Don't know (6)

Q57
For how many years is a member of the United States House of Representatives elected—that is, how many years are there in one full term of office for a U.S. House member?

- Two years (1)
- Four years (2)
- Six years (3)
- Eight years (4)
- For life (5)
- Don't know (6)

Q109 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Political knowledge

Start of Block: PV margins prompt only

Q78
We are interested in how people evaluate the outcomes of presidential elections, which are decided in the United States by the Electoral College. In the questions that follow, we will ask you to evaluate a possible outcome of the 2020 presidential election.

Q103 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: PV margins prompt only

Start of Block: PV margins prompt + 2016 reminder

Q17
We are interested in how people evaluate the outcomes of presidential elections, which are decided in the United States by the Electoral College. In the questions that follow, we will ask you to evaluate a possible outcome of the 2020 presidential election.

Before we start, we would like to remind you that the most recent presidential election took place in 2016. Donald Trump was elected President after winning the Electoral College (304 Trump to 227 Clinton), although Hillary Clinton won the popular vote (48% Clinton to 46% Trump).

Q102 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: PV margins prompt + 2016 reminder

Start of Block: R-lose1

Q4
Imagine **the Republican candidate wins the Electoral College** and the presidency in 2020 **but loses the popular vote by 1 percentage point** compared to the Democratic candidate.

Q1
Would you view the winning candidate's presidency to be legitimate or not legitimate?

- Entirely legitimate (1)
- Somewhat legitimate (2)
- Not very legitimate (3)
- Not legitimate at all (4)

Q2
Would you consider the winning candidate to be the rightful winner of the election or not the rightful winner?

- Definitely the rightful winner (1)
- Probably the rightful winner (2)
- Probably not the rightful winner (3)
- Definitely not the rightful winner (4)

Q3
Would you think the winning candidate's victory was fair or not fair?

- Very fair (1)
- Somewhat fair (2)
- Not very fair (3)
- Not at all fair (4)

Q101 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: R-lose1

Start of Block: D-lose1

Q18
Imagine **the Democratic candidate wins the Electoral College** and the presidency in 2020 **but loses the popular vote by 1 percentage point** compared to the Republican candidate.

Q19
Would you view the winning candidate's presidency to be legitimate or not legitimate?

- Entirely legitimate (1)
- Somewhat legitimate (2)
- Not very legitimate (3)
- Not legitimate at all (4)

Q20
Would you consider the winning candidate to be the rightful winner of the election or not the rightful winner?

- Definitely the rightful winner (1)
- Probably the rightful winner (2)
- Probably not the rightful winner (3)
- Definitely not the rightful winner (4)

Q21
Would you think the winning candidate's victory was fair or not fair?

- Very fair (1)
- Somewhat fair (2)
- Not very fair (3)
- Not at all fair (4)

Q100 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: D-lose1

Start of Block: R-lose3

Q5
Imagine **the Republican candidate wins the Electoral College** and the presidency in 2020 **but loses the popular vote by 3 percentage point** compared to the Democratic candidate.

Q6
Would you view the winning candidate's presidency to be legitimate or not legitimate?

- Entirely legitimate (1)
- Somewhat legitimate (2)
- Not very legitimate (3)
- Not legitimate at all (4)

Q7
Would you consider the winning candidate to be the rightful winner of the election or not the rightful winner?

- Definitely the rightful winner (1)
- Probably the rightful winner (2)
- Probably not the rightful winner (3)
- Definitely not the rightful winner (4)

Q8
Would you think the winning candidate's victory was fair or not fair?

- Very fair (1)
- Somewhat fair (2)
- Not very fair (3)
- Not at all fair (4)

Q99 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: R-lose3

Start of Block: D-lose3

Q22
Imagine **the Democratic candidate wins the Electoral College** and the presidency in 2020 **but loses the popular vote by 3 percentage point** compared to the Republican candidate.

Q23
Would you view the winning candidate's presidency to be legitimate or not legitimate?

- Entirely legitimate (1)
- Somewhat legitimate (2)
- Not very legitimate (3)
- Not legitimate at all (4)

Q24
Would you consider the winning candidate to be the rightful winner of the election or not the rightful winner?

- Definitely the rightful winner (1)
- Probably the rightful winner (2)
- Probably not the rightful winner (3)
- Definitely not the rightful winner (4)

Q25
Would you think the winning candidate's victory was fair or not fair?

- Very fair (1)
- Somewhat fair (2)
- Not very fair (3)
- Not at all fair (4)

Q98 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: D-lose3

Start of Block: R-win1

Q9
Imagine **the Republican candidate wins the Electoral College** and the presidency in 2020 **and wins the popular vote by 1 percentage point** compared to the Democratic candidate.

Q10
Would you view the winning candidate's presidency to be legitimate or not legitimate?

- Entirely legitimate (1)
- Somewhat legitimate (2)
- Not very legitimate (3)
- Not legitimate at all (4)

Q11
Would you consider the winning candidate to be the rightful winner of the election or not the rightful winner?

- Definitely the rightful winner (1)
- Probably the rightful winner (2)
- Probably not the rightful winner (3)
- Definitely not the rightful winner (4)

Q12
Would you think the winning candidate's victory was fair or not fair?

- Very fair (1)
- Somewhat fair (2)
- Not very fair (3)
- Not at all fair (4)

Q97 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: R-win1

Start of Block: D-win1

Q26
Imagine **the Democratic candidate wins the Electoral College** and the presidency in 2020 **and wins the popular vote by 1 percentage point** compared to the Republican candidate.

Q27
Would you view the winning candidate's presidency to be legitimate or not legitimate?

- Entirely legitimate (1)
- Somewhat legitimate (2)
- Not very legitimate (3)
- Not legitimate at all (4)

Q28
Would you consider the winning candidate to be the rightful winner of the election or not the rightful winner?

- Definitely the rightful winner (1)
- Probably the rightful winner (2)
- Probably not the rightful winner (3)
- Definitely not the rightful winner (4)

Q29
Would you think the winning candidate's victory was fair or not fair?

- Very fair (1)
- Somewhat fair (2)
- Not very fair (3)
- Not at all fair (4)

Q96 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: D-win1

Start of Block: R-lose5

Q13
Imagine **the Republican candidate wins the Electoral College** and the presidency in 2020 **but loses the popular vote by 5 percentage point** compared to the Democratic candidate.

Q14
Would you view the winning candidate's presidency to be legitimate or not legitimate?

- Entirely legitimate (1)
- Somewhat legitimate (2)
- Not very legitimate (3)
- Not legitimate at all (4)

Q15
Would you consider the winning candidate to be the rightful winner of the election or not the rightful winner?

- Definitely the rightful winner (1)
- Probably the rightful winner (2)
- Probably not the rightful winner (3)
- Definitely not the rightful winner (4)

Q16
Would you think the winning candidate's victory was fair or not fair?

- Very fair (1)
- Somewhat fair (2)
- Not very fair (3)
- Not at all fair (4)

Q95 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: R-lose5

Start of Block: D-lose5

Q30
Imagine **the Democratic candidate wins the Electoral College** and the presidency in 2020 **but loses the popular vote by 5 percentage point** compared to the Republican candidate.

Q31
Would you view the winning candidate's presidency to be legitimate or not legitimate?

- Entirely legitimate (1)
- Somewhat legitimate (2)
- Not very legitimate (3)
- Not legitimate at all (4)

Q32
Would you consider the winning candidate to be the rightful winner of the election or not the rightful winner?

- Definitely the rightful winner (1)
- Probably the rightful winner (2)
- Probably not the rightful winner (3)
- Definitely not the rightful winner (4)

Q33
Would you think the winning candidate's victory was fair or not fair?

- Very fair (1)
- Somewhat fair (2)
- Not very fair (3)
- Not at all fair (4)

Q94 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: D-lose5

Start of Block: Explain answer

Q62 We would like to understand your thinking in assessing this outcome. Why did you answer the way you did about whether this outcome is fair and legitimate and whether the victorious candidate is the rightful winner?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q93 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Explain answer

Start of Block: EC policy POST

Q65 For future presidential elections, would you support or oppose changing to a system in which the president is elected by direct popular vote, instead of by the Electoral College?

- Support strongly (1)
- Support somewhat (2)
- Neither support nor oppose (3)
- Oppose somewhat (4)
- Oppose strongly (5)

Q87 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: EC policy POST

Start of Block: Manipulation checks

Q88 In the hypothetical 2020 election scenario that you read about, which party's nominee won the Electoral College and was elected president?

- The Democratic candidate (1)
- The Republican candidate (2)
- Not sure (3)

Q67 In the hypothetical 2020 election scenario that you read about, what was the outcome of the popular vote?

- Democrats won the popular vote by 5 percentage points (1)
- Democrats won the popular vote by 3 percentage points (2)
- Democrats won the popular vote by 1 percentage point (3)
- Republicans won the popular vote by 1 percentage point (4)
- Republicans won the popular vote by 3 percentage points (5)
- Republicans won the popular vote by 5 percentage points (6)
- Not sure (7)

Q86 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

Page Break

Q79 To the best of your knowledge, what was the outcome of the 2016 presidential election?

- Donald Trump won the Electoral College and won the popular vote (1)
- Donald Trump won the Electoral College but Hillary Clinton won the popular vote (2)
- Hillary Clinton won the Electoral College but Donald Trump won the popular vote (3)
- Hillary Clinton won the Electoral College and won the popular vote (4)
- Not sure (5)

Q89 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Manipulation checks

Start of Block: Trolling

Q58 We sometimes find people don't always take surveys seriously, instead providing humorous or insincere responses to questions. How often do you do this?

- Never (1)
- Rarely (2)
- Some of the time (3)
- Most of the time (4)
- Always (5)

Q90 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Trolling

Start of Block: Look up

Q63 It is essential for the validity of this study that we know whether participants looked up any information online during the study. Did you make an effort to look up information during the study? Please be honest; you will still be paid and you will not be penalized in any way if you did.

- ○ Yes, I looked up information (1)
- ○ No, I did not look up information (2)

Q91 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Look up

Start of Block: Comments

Q59 Do you have any comments on the survey? Please let us know about any problems you had or aspects of the survey that were confusing.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q92 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Comments

Start of Block: End

Q60

Thank you for answering these questions. This research is not intended to support or oppose any political candidate or office. The research has no affiliation with any political candidate or campaign and has received no financial support from any political candidate or campaign.

[redacted]

End of Block: End