Codebook
The Demand Side of Democratic Backsliding: How Divergent Understandings of Democracy Shape Political Choice

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1 cjoint_data.rds

1. **ResponseId:** Unique identifier for each respondent.
2. **Choice:** The choice scenario presented to the respondent. Values range from 1 to 12.
3. **Rating0:** The rating provided by the respondent, with values from 1 to 6.
4. **Attr_Gender:** Gender of the candidate in the choice scenario.
   - **Male**
   - **Female**
5. **Attr_Age:** Age of the candidate in the choice scenario. Values represent the age in years (e.g., 47, 62, etc.).
6. **Attr_Party:** Political party affiliation of the candidate.
   - **PiS** (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość)
   - **KO** (Koalicja Obywatelska)
   - **Lewica**
   - **Polska 2050**
   - **Konfederacja**
7. **Attr_Abortion:** Candidate's stance on abortion.
   - **abortion_lib** (Liberal stance)
   - **abortion_illib** (Illiberal stance)
8. **Attr_Tax:** Candidate's stance on taxation.
   - **tax_all** (Tax all income brackets equally)
   - **tax_rich** (Higher taxes on the rich)
   - **tax_less** (Lower taxes)
9. **Attr_Judges:** Candidate's stance on judiciary independence.
   - **judges_A** (Support for authoritarian justice system)
   - **judges_L** (Support for liberal justice system)
   - **judges_M** (Support for majoritarian justice system)
10. **Attr_Media:** Candidate's stance on media freedom.
    - **media_A** (Support for authoritarian media system)
    - **media_L** (Support for liberal media system)
    - **media_M** (Support for majoritarian media system)

11. **Selection:** The candidate selected by the respondent in the choice scenario.
    - **Candidate A**
    - **Candidate B**
12. **Profile:** The candidate profile presented to the respondent.
    - **Candidate A**
    - **Candidate B**
13. **Chosen:** Indicates whether the respondent's choice matches the selected candidate.
    - **1** (Yes)
    - **0** (No)

2 survey_data_subset.rds

1. **ResponseId:** Unique identifier for each respondent.
2. **birthyear:** Year of birth of the respondent.
3. **age_group:** Age group of the respondent.
    - **18-24**
    - **25-34**
    - **35-44**
    - **45-54**
    - **55+**
4. **Q103:** Party preference of the respondent.
    - **Law and Justice (PiS)**
    - **Civic Coalition**
    - **Poland 2050**
    - **Confederation**
    - **The Left**
    - **Don't know/none**
5. **Q101A_1:** Changes in the global climate imply important decisions by politicians and citizens. We want to know how essential you consider each element to be in the response to global climate change. We also want to make sure people are paying attention to the question. To demonstrate that you have read this much, please ignore the following question and select [3 - Slightly important] for all items listed below. Please indicate for each of the following items how essential you believe it to be for an effective response to global climate change. Protecting the local ecosystem
    - **Very important**
    - **Moderately important**
    - **Slightly important**
    - **Neutral**
    - **Not important**
    - **Not at all important**
6. **Q101A_2:** Changes in the global climate imply important decisions by politicians and citizens. We want to know how essential you consider each element to be in the response to global climate change. We also want to make sure people are paying attention to the question. To demonstrate that you have read this much, please ignore the following question and select [3 - Slightly important] for all items listed below.

Please indicate for each of the following items how essential you believe it to be for an effective response to global climate change. Protecting the local ecosystem. Protecting natural diversity

- **Very important**
- **Moderately important**
- **Slightly important**
- **Neutral**
- **Not important**
- **Not at all important**

7. **Q101A_3:** Changes in the global climate imply important decisions by politicians and citizens. We want to know how essential you consider each element to be in the response to global climate change. We also want to make sure people are paying attention to the question. To demonstrate that you have read this much, please ignore the following question and select [3 - Slightly important] for all items listed below. Please indicate for each of the following items how essential you believe it to be for an effective response to global climate change. Protecting the local ecosystem. Protecting the competitiveness of the local economy

   - **Very important**
   - **Moderately important**
   - **Slightly important**
   - **Neutral**
   - **Not important**
   - **Not at all important**

8. **Q101A_4:** Changes in the global climate imply important decisions by politicians and citizens. We want to know how essential you consider each element to be in the response to global climate change. We also want to make sure people are paying attention to the question. To demonstrate that you have read this much, please ignore the following question and select [3 - Slightly important] for all items listed below. Please indicate for each of the following items how essential you believe it to be for an effective response to global climate change. Protecting the local ecosystem. Protecting jobs in key industries

   - **Very important**
   - **Moderately important**
   - **Slightly important**
   - **Neutral**
   - **Not important**
   - **Not at all important**

9. **duration:** Duration of the survey response in minutes.

10. **gender:** Gender of the respondent.

    - **Male**
    - **Female**

11. **education_level2_pl_rc:** Level of education of the respondent.

    - **Primary/vocational**
    - **Secondary/Post-secondary**
    - **Higher**
    - **No response**

12. **income_PL_rc:** Income level of the respondent.

    - **<2000 zł**
    - **2001-3000 zł**
    - **3001-4000 zł**
    - **4001-6000 zł**
    - **>6000 zł**
    - **No response**

13. **financial_situation_rc:** Financial situation of the respondent.

    - **Very poor/poor**
    - **Fair**
    - **Good/very good**

14. **Q102_1:** Democracy can mean different things to different people. Please indicate for each of the following items how essential you believe they are for a democracy. People choose their leaders in free elections. People choose their leaders in free elections.

    - **1** (Not at all important)
    - **2** (Slightly important)
    - **3** (Moderately important)
    - **4** (Very important)
    - **5** (Extremely important)
    - **NA** (No response)

15. **Q102_2:** Democracy can mean different things to different people. Please indicate for each of the following items how essential you believe they are for a democracy. Civil rights protect people from state oppression.

- **1** (Not at all important)
- **2** (Slightly important)
- **3** (Moderately important)
- **4** (Very important)
- **5** (Extremely important)
- **NA** (No response)

16. **Q102_3:** Democracy can mean different things to different people. Please indicate for each of the following items how essential you believe they are for a democracy. Women have the same rights as men.

    - **1** (Not at all important)
    - **2** (Slightly important)
    - **3** (Moderately important)
    - **4** (Very important)
    - **5** (Extremely important)
    - **NA** (No response)

17. **Q102_15:** Democracy can mean different things to different people. Please indicate for each of the following items how essential you believe they are for a democracy. The majority can always overrule the minority.

    - **1** (Not at all important)
    - **2** (Slightly important)
    - **3** (Moderately important)
    - **4** (Very important)
    - **5** (Extremely important)
    - **NA** (No response)

18. **Q102_16:** Democracy can mean different things to different people. Please indicate for each of the following items how essential you believe they are for a democracy. Any law can be changed if there is a majority for it.

    - **1** (Not at all important)
    - **2** (Slightly important)
    - **3** (Moderately important)
    - **4** (Very important)
    - **5** (Extremely important)
    - **NA** (No response)

19. **Q102_18:** Democracy can mean different things to different people. Please indicate for each of the following items how essential you believe they are for a democracy. The minority must accept the will of the majority in all circumstances.

    - **1** (Not at all important)
    - **2** (Slightly important)
    - **3** (Moderately important)
    - **4** (Very important)
    - **5** (Extremely important)
    - **NA** (No response)

20. **Q102_5:** Democracy can mean different things to different people. Please indicate for each of the following items how essential you believe they are for a democracy. The government uses violence to enforce public order.

    - **1** (Not at all important)
    - **2** (Slightly important)
    - **3** (Moderately important)
    - **4** (Very important)
    - **5** (Extremely important)
    - **NA** (No response)

21. **Q102_7:** Democracy can mean different things to different people. Please indicate for each of the following items how essential you believe they are for a democracy. Elections only serve to confirm the ruling party in office.

    - **1** (Not at all important)
    - **2** (Slightly important)
    - **3** (Moderately important)
    - **4** (Very important)
    - **5** (Extremely important)
    - **NA** (No response)

22. **Q102_8:** Democracy can mean different things to different people. Please indicate for each of the following items how essential you believe they are for a democracy. The government limits civic freedoms to rule efficiently.

    - **1** (Not at all important)
    - **2** (Slightly important)
    - **3** (Moderately important)
    - **4** (Very important)

- **5** (Extremely important)
- **NA** (No response)

23. **Q1_4:** Many factors influence voters' decisions to vote for a specific candidate during elections. We want to find out which of these factors are the most important to voters. We also want to ensure that respondents pay proper attention to this question. To confirm that you have read the above text, ignore the following question and select two answers - Internet and radio. Indicate the most important sources through which you access political news.

    - National press
    - TV
    - Social media
    - Internet
    - Friends and family
    - Regional/local press
    - I do not follow political news.

24. **Q2_4:** [show question when Q1_4 not answered correctly i.e., internet and radio were not selected] Many factors influence voters' decisions to vote for a specific candidate during elections. We want to find out which of these factors are the most important to voters. We also want to ensure that respondents pay proper attention to this question. To confirm that you have read the above text, ignore the following question and select two answers - Internet and radio. Indicate the most important sources through which you access political news.

    - National press
    - TV
    - Social media
    - Internet
    - Friends and family
    - Regional/local press
    - I do not follow political news.

25. **Q4_4:** [show question when Q2_4 not answered correctly i.e., internet and radio were not selected] Many factors influence voters' decisions to vote for a specific candidate during elections. We want to find out which of these factors are the most important to voters. We also want to ensure that respondents pay proper attention to this question. To confirm that you have read the above text, ignore the following question and select two answers - Internet and radio. Indicate the most important sources through which you access political news.

    - National press

- TV
- Social media
- Internet
- Friends and family
- Regional/local press
- I do not follow political news.

26. **Q117_1:** There are different views of what can be considered democratic and what not. How democratic do you think each of the following statements is? Judges should be selected based on cross-party consensus.

    - **1** Not at all democratic
    - **2** Not democratic
    - **3** Slightly not democratic
    - **4** Neither not democratic nor democratic
    - **5** Slightly democratic
    - **6** Democratic
    - **7** Extremely democratic

27. **Q117_2:** There are different views of what can be considered democratic and what not. How democratic do you think each of the following statements is? Judges should be selected based on cross-party consensus. Judges should be selected by the government.

    - **1** Not at all democratic
    - **2** Not democratic
    - **3** Slightly not democratic
    - **4** Neither not democratic nor democratic
    - **5** Slightly democratic
    - **6** Democratic
    - **7** Extremely democratic

28. **Q117_3:** There are different views of what can be considered democratic and what not. How democratic do you think each of the following statements is? Judges should be selected based on cross-party consensus. Judges should be selected by the leader of the ruling party.

    - **1** Not at all democratic
    - **2** Not democratic
    - **3** Slightly not democratic

- **4** Neither not democratic nor democratic
- **5** Slightly democratic
- **6** Democratic
- **7** Extremely democratic

29. **Q117_4:** There are different views of what can be considered democratic and what not. How democratic do you think each of the following statements is? Judges should be selected based on cross-party consensus. The role of public media is to report independently on political developments.

    - **1** Not at all democratic
    - **2** Not democratic
    - **3** Slightly not democratic
    - **4** Neither not democratic nor democratic
    - **5** Slightly democratic
    - **6** Democratic
    - **7** Extremely democratic

30. **Q117_5:** There are different views of what can be considered democratic and what not. How democratic do you think each of the following statements is? Judges should be selected based on cross-party consensus. The role of public media is to justify government policy towards the wider public.

    - **1** Not at all democratic
    - **2** Not democratic
    - **3** Slightly not democratic
    - **4** Neither not democratic nor democratic
    - **5** Slightly democratic
    - **6** Democratic
    - **7** Extremely democratic

31. **Q117_6:** There are different views of what can be considered democratic and what not. How democratic do you think each of the following statements is? Judges should be selected based on cross-party consensus. The role of public media is to defend government policy against criticism.

    - **1** Not at all democratic
    - **2** Not democratic
    - **3** Slightly not democratic
    - **4** Neither not democratic nor democratic
    - **5** Slightly democratic
    - **6** Democratic
    - **7** Extremely democratic

3 polpan_subset.rds

Citation: Słomczyński, Kazimierz M.; Tomescu-Dubrow, Irina; Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences: Polish Panel Survey POLPAN. With assistance of Michal Kotnarowski. Available online at https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.

1. **YRBIRTH:** Year of birth of the respondent.
2. **TE08:** Party preference in the 2015 Sejm elections (2018 survey).
    - **1**: Civic Platform
    - **2**: Law and Justice
    - **3**: Kukiz'15
    - **4**: Modern party of Ryszard Petru
    - **5**: Polish Peasants' Party
    - **6**: United Left
    - **7**: KORWiN
    - **8**: Together Party
    - **9**: Other
3. **XM07A:** "Democracy means minority yields to majority" (1998 survey).
    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral
    - **4**: Disagree
    - **5**: Strongly disagree
4. **WM0708A:** "Democracy means minority yields to majority" (2003 survey).
    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral
    - **4**: Disagree
    - **5**: Strongly disagree
5. **UC01F:** "Democracy means minority yields to majority" (2013 survey).
    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral

- **4**: Disagree
- **5**: Strongly disagree

6. **TC01F:** "Democracy means minority yields to majority" (2018 survey).
    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral
    - **4**: Disagree
    - **5**: Strongly disagree
7. **XM07K:** "A good leader need not obey the law" (1998 survey).
    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral
    - **4**: Disagree
    - **5**: Strongly disagree
8. **WM0708K:** "A good leader need not obey the law" (2003 survey).
    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral
    - **4**: Disagree
    - **5**: Strongly disagree
9. **VM04F:** "A good leader need not obey the law" (2008 survey).
    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral
    - **4**: Disagree
    - **5**: Strongly disagree
10. **UC02G:** "A good leader does not need to obey the law" (2013 survey).
    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral
    - **4**: Disagree

- **5**: Strongly disagree

11. **TC01P:** "A good leader does not need to obey the law" (2018 survey).
    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral
    - **4**: Disagree
    - **5**: Strongly disagree
12. **XM07I:** "Elections are not necessary" (1998 survey).
    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral
    - **4**: Disagree
    - **5**: Strongly disagree
13. **WM0708I:** "Elections are not necessary if leaders represent citizens' interests" (2003 survey).
    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral
    - **4**: Disagree
    - **5**: Strongly disagree
14. **VM04E:** "Elections are not necessary if leaders represent citizens' interests" (2008 survey).
    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral
    - **4**: Disagree
    - **5**: Strongly disagree
15. **UC01I:** "Elections are not necessary if leaders represent citizens' interests" (2013 survey).
    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral

- **4**: Disagree
- **5**: Strongly disagree

16. **TC01H:** "Elections are not necessary if leaders represent citizens' interests" (2018 survey).

    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral
    - **4**: Disagree
    - **5**: Strongly disagree

17. **XM06F:** "One good political party would make other parties unnecessary" (1998 survey).

    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral
    - **4**: Disagree
    - **5**: Strongly disagree

18. **WM06F:** "One good political party would make other parties unnecessary" (2003 survey).

    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral
    - **4**: Disagree
    - **5**: Strongly disagree

19. **VM03F:** "One good political party would make other parties unnecessary" (2008 survey).

    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral
    - **4**: Disagree
    - **5**: Strongly disagree

20. **UC01B:** "One good political party would make other parties unnecessary" (2013 survey).

    - **1**: Strongly agree

- **2**: Agree
- **3**: Neutral
- **4**: Disagree
- **5**: Strongly disagree

21. **TC01A:** "One good political party would make other parties unnecessary" (2018 survey).

    - **1**: Strongly agree
    - **2**: Agree
    - **3**: Neutral
    - **4**: Disagree
    - **5**: Strongly disagree

4 hungary_survey.rds

Citation: Wunsch, Natasha; Gessler, Theresa (2023): Who tolerates democratic backsliding? A mosaic approach to voters' responses to authoritarian leadership in Hungary. In Democratization 30 (5), pp. 914–937. DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2023.2203918.

1. **birthyear:** Year of birth of the respondent.

2. **gender:** Gender of the respondent.

   - **1**: Male
   - **2**: Female

3. **Q101_1:** Democracy can mean different things to different people. Please indicate to what extent you agree that each of the following items is an essential element for a democracy. People choose their leaders in free elections.

   - **1**: Strongly disagree
   - **2**: Disagree
   - **3**: Somewhat disagree
   - **4**: Neither agree nor disagree
   - **5**: Somewhat agree
   - **6**: Agree
   - **7**: Strongly agree

4. **Q101_2:** Civil rights protect people's liberty against state oppression.

   - **1**: Strongly disagree
   - **2**: Disagree
   - **3**: Somewhat disagree
   - **4**: Neither agree nor disagree
   - **5**: Somewhat agree
   - **6**: Agree
   - **7**: Strongly agree

5. **Q101_3:** Women have the same rights as men.

   - **1**: Strongly disagree
   - **2**: Disagree
   - **3**: Somewhat disagree
   - **4**: Neither agree nor disagree
   - **5**: Somewhat agree

- **6**: Agree
- **7**: Strongly agree

6. **Q101_10:** The majority can always overrule the minority.
    - **1**: Strongly disagree
    - **2**: Disagree
    - **3**: Somewhat disagree
    - **4**: Neither agree nor disagree
    - **5**: Somewhat agree
    - **6**: Agree
    - **7**: Strongly agree
7. **Q101_11:** Any law can be changed if there is a majority for it.
    - **1**: Strongly disagree
    - **2**: Disagree
    - **3**: Somewhat disagree
    - **4**: Neither agree nor disagree
    - **5**: Somewhat agree
    - **6**: Agree
    - **7**: Strongly agree
8. **Q101_12:** The minority must accept the will of the majority in all circumstances.
    - **1**: Strongly disagree
    - **2**: Disagree
    - **3**: Somewhat disagree
    - **4**: Neither agree nor disagree
    - **5**: Somewhat agree
    - **6**: Agree
    - **7**: Strongly agree
9. **Q101_4:** The government uses violence to enforce public order.
    - **1**: Strongly disagree
    - **2**: Disagree
    - **3**: Somewhat disagree
    - **4**: Neither agree nor disagree
    - **5**: Somewhat agree

- **6**: Agree
- **7**: Strongly agree

10. **Q101_5:** Elections only serve to confirm the ruling party in office.
    - **1**: Strongly disagree
    - **2**: Disagree
    - **3**: Somewhat disagree
    - **4**: Neither agree nor disagree
    - **5**: Somewhat agree
    - **6**: Agree
    - **7**: Strongly agree
11. **Q101_6:** The government limits civic freedoms to rule efficiently.
    - **1**: Strongly disagree
    - **2**: Disagree
    - **3**: Somewhat disagree
    - **4**: Neither agree nor disagree
    - **5**: Somewhat agree
    - **6**: Agree
    - **7**: Strongly agree
12. **Q104:** If there were a national election tomorrow, which party coalition on this list would you support?
    - **1**: Fidesz
    - **2**: Christian Democratic People's Party
    - **3**: Jobbik
    - **4**: Hungarian Socialist Party
    - **5**: Democratic Coalition
    - **6**: Dialogue for Hungary
    - **7**: Momentum
    - **7**: Hungary's Green Party
    - **8**: Would not support any of these
    - **9**: Don't know
13. **Q124:** Which is the highest level of education or work-related qualification you achieved?
    - **1**: Primary school (8 primary)

- **2**: Vocational training
- **3**: High school, graduation
- **4**: College, university
- **5**: Refusal

14. **Q128:** Please indicate your average monthly gross income over the past twelve months.
    - **1**: Below 125,000 HUF
    - **2**: Between 125,000 and 300,000 HUF
    - **3**: Between 300,000 and 500'000 HUF
    - **4**: Between 500,000 and 750'000 HUF
    - **5**: Between 750,000 and 1,500,000 HUF
    - **6**: Above 1'500'000 HUF
    - **7**: Refusal

5 hungary_choices.rds

Citation: Wunsch, Natasha; Gessler, Theresa (2023): Who tolerates democratic backsliding? A mosaic approach to voters' responses to authoritarian leadership in Hungary. In Democratization 30 (5), pp. 914–937. DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2023.2203918.

1. **RecordNo:** Record number for each response.
2. **cand:** Candidate identifier.
3. **set:** Set number for the candidate.
4. **violation:** Judicial independence violation attribute
    - **Judges removed if they prevent decisions**
    - **Judges should not annul decisions**
    - **Judges removed if they prevent decisions**
5. **democracy:** Principles of democracy attribute
    - **maj: implement majority will**
    - **egal: living conditions for all**
    - **lib: equal rights for all**
6. **decision_numeric:** Respondent's choice
    - **0**: Disagree
    - **1**: Agree