

Supplementary material to the paper “When Illiberals Govern: Educational and Cultural Policies in Hungary and Poland”

Appendix 1 – List of interviewees

Interviewee ID	Date (MM/DD/YYYY)	Interviewee type	Interviewee profile
1	3/13/2023	Professional/practitioner	Hungary/education
2	5/17/2023	Expert (country or policy)	Hungary/culture
3	6/23/2023	Expert (country or policy)	Hungary/culture
4	6/28/2023	Expert (country or policy)	Hungary/culture
5	8/14/2023	Expert (country or policy)	Hungary/culture
6	6/23/2023	Expert (country or policy)	Poland/education
7	6/24/2023	Professional/practitioner	Poland/education
8	6/25/2023	Expert (country or policy)	Poland/education
9	5/23/2023	Professional/practitioner	Poland/education
10	5/24/2023	Expert (country or policy)	Poland/education
11	2/1/2023	Professional/practitioner	Poland/education
12	2/10/2023	Professional/practitioner	Poland/education
13	1/18/2023	Politician	Poland/education
14	9/1/2023	Journalist/media	Hungary/culture

Appendix 2 – Semi-structured interview questionnaire

Block 1 – Policy-making

1. How did illiberal governments in your country alter the way (institutions, procedures, actors, etc.) of policymaking?
2. To what extent were these specific policies driven by factors such as: ideology, vested interests, political alliances, competitive relationship with other parties, international considerations, popularity, mainstream international policy patterns, or emotional patterns?
3. Which are the most important stakeholder groups and stakeholder organizations that illiberal parties treat as allies or ignore/neglect/exclude?

Block 2 – Content and underlying values

4. What have been the most important institutional changes introduced or proposed by illiberal parties in your country in education/cultural policy?
5. What have been the main elements of the policy agenda set by the party programs: what are the problems that the parties aim at addressing and what are those they neglect?
6. Could you please name some concrete and specific interventions in education/cultural policy that were included in the programs/implemented by governing parties?
7. Which were the policy initiatives of the illiberal parties that have built on strong popular support, and which are those that they initiated despite popular opposition?

8. Which are the policy initiatives of the illiberal parties that are justified by national identity related considerations/narratives?
9. Which are the policy initiatives of the illiberal parties that are justified by religious values and/or Christian cultural traditions?
10. What are the major non-ideological driving factors or justifications behind cultural policies proposed by the programs?

Block 3 - Impact

11. What are the policy initiatives that aim at or result in major redistribution of public resources?
12. Did these policies aim at large scale systemic reforms or at incremental changes?
13. In terms of societal groups, which are the beneficiaries of the policies of illiberal parties?
14. Based on international comparative indicators, to what extent have the policy initiatives of illiberal parties been successful?

Appendix 3 – Coding scheme for thematic analysis

Category	Guiding questions	Example quotes
Ideological indoctrination	Does the quote provide evidence or suggest that policy shifts serve normative aims aligned with the governing parties' ideology?	<p>"[the History and the Present textbook is] propaganda posing as pedagogy"</p> <p>"Hungary and Poland have exactly the same solutions for the same problems. For example, LGBT [people], minorities, NGOs [in schools], critical thinking. They have some common agenda. If you read the formal documents, the documents from consultations between governments and trade unions, you can see the similar solutions. And some of them are also connected with Russian solutions...like bans for NGOs. This is typical for authoritarian or illiberal democracies."</p>
Clientelism	Does the quote provide evidence or suggest that changes in policies were mostly driven by elite replacement and politically centralized control over public funds?	<p>"nepotism is completely detectable in the case of Demeter, he puts his own people everywhere, and likes to pose as someone who has an impact on everything"</p> <p>"Fidesz is trying to take advantage of the event management market. Through acquiring Visual Europe Group, they bought the strongest Hungarian company in event technology. There are lots of festivals where Fidesz and the System of National Cooperation has some sort of interest."</p>