

ONLINE SUPPLEMENTARY APPENDIX:

REPRESENTATION AND PARTISANSHIP: HOW DO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FRAME COMMUNICATIONS WITH THEIR CONSTITUENCIES?

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Appendix 1: Newsletter Sample by MP Party

Political Party	Sample (Frequency)	Sample (Percent)	Population (Percent)	Difference (Percent)
Liberal	79	54.5%	45.7%	8.8%
Conservative	36	24.8%	35.6%	-10.8%
Bloc Québécois	15	10.3%	9.5%	0.8%
NDP	12	8.3%	7.1%	1.2%
Green	3	2.1%	0.9%	1.2%
Total	145	100%		

Note: Party standings prior to September 2021 election. Includes householder from Green MP Janica Atwin before she crossed the floor to the Liberal Party in June 2021.

Appendix 2: Full List of Topics

Original Term	Definition	Final Category
Community activities	Any information related to the MP's community activities like meetings, activities, and online gatherings. Includes direct interventions by the MP to try and get something done in their riding.	Constituency Focus
Community happenings	Things going on in the community.	Constituency Focus
Community projects	Any information or comments related to a specific community project. For example, new infrastructure projects.	Constituency Focus
Community Services	Any comments or information regarding services given in the specific community.	Constituency Focus
Congrats to 2020 grads	Congratulatory messages and well-wishes to individuals who graduated in 2020.	Constituency Focus
Contact information	Information related to the MP's email, office address, or team contact information.	Constituency Focus
Food recipe	Information offering instructions on how to make a certain food, like cookies.	Constituency Focus
Food support	Information related to food support programs such as food banks.	Constituency Focus
Government funding	Information on funding from different levels of government.	Constituency Focus
Government services	Any comments related to services offered by a specific government to Canadians. For example, government services include websites or apps that will help Canadians, for example, find a job, apply for benefits, get travel, work, and immigration permits, and obtain supports for families, children, and mental health.	Constituency Focus
National holiday	Comments related to a national holiday like Canada Day.	Constituency Focus
New year wishes	Any comments related to wishing constituents a happy new year.	Constituency Focus
Nutrition information	Comments on nutritional information. This can include comments on Canada's food guide or how much nutrition Canadians should be getting.	Constituency Focus
Referendum	Any information on a referendum vote. This includes constituency referenda, where a Member of Parliament puts forward a question to their constituents, which will guide them to make a specific decision, like how they will vote in the House of Commons.	Constituency Focus
Senior support	Information discussing programs related specifically to the support of older Canadians.	Constituency Focus

	Also, comments are offered on issues like care in long-term care facilities.	
Survey	When a Member of Parliament sends out a survey to constituents, seeking their advice on one or multiple numbers of topics and questions.	Constituency Focus
Youth summer jobs	Any comments or information related to summer jobs for young people.	Constituency Focus
Atlantic Bubble	Comments related to the Atlantic bubble created between Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia created during the pandemic.	COVID-19, Constituency Focus
COVID financial support	All information related to the government financial support plans designed for the pandemic.	COVID-19, Constituency Focus
COVID Information	All the information regarding COVID that is not related to the financial support programs. It includes messages of hope for the constituencies, general information about social distancing, and any related comments about the pandemics, like the vaccine.	COVID-19, Constituency Focus
Citizen repatriation	Comments related to repatriating citizens, specifically those overseas who sought to return home during the pandemic.	COVID-19, Policy
Critic to COVID financial support	Comments criticizing the Covid financial support measures put in place by the federal government during the COVID-19 pandemic.	COVID-19, Policy
Critic to COVID measures	Comments that critique measures enacted to combat the pandemic. Such discussions can include comments on border closures and openings, restrictions or the lack of travel restrictions, and quarantine measures for those entering Canada.	COVID-19, Policy
Post-COVID plan	Discussions on plans that will be enacted after the COVID-19 pandemic ends.	COVID-19, Policy
Party Leader Message	A profile on a party leader or a message directly from a party leader (if that leader is not the MP that sent the householder).	Leader Focus
Government accountability	Comments related to the federal government's accountability.	Ottawa Focus
Oppose shutting down parliament	Comments displaying opposition to parliament shut down.	Ottawa Focus
Parliament activities	Any information or comment related to the MP's activities in the House of Commons. For example, participation in a parliamentary committee or promises to work in parliament	Ottawa Focus

	related to a specific issue. Importantly, this includes virtual parliament.	
Post-election comments	Remarks about an election. For example, expressing a desire to work with the community in the current period.	Ottawa Focus
Prorogation	Comments describing what prorogation is.	Ottawa Focus
WE charity scandal	Comments related to the WE charity scandal.	Ottawa Focus
Agriculture	Information related to the agricultural sector of Canada, like farming.	Policy
Airlines	Information about the airline industry of Canada, like airports that airlines use.	Policy
Arts	Information related to the arts sector in Canada. Such a discussion usually touches on the Department of Canadian Heritage.	Policy
Black Lives Matter movement	Comments that specifically mention the “Black Lives Matter” movement.	Policy
Childcare	Comments related to childcare measures and issues related to children like schools.	Policy
Climate change	Any information related to climate change and efforts to deal with the matter.	Policy
Criminal justice	Any comments related to the criminal justice system and efforts to improve it.	Policy
Disability rights	Comments related to the rights of individuals with disabilities.	Policy
Domestic abuse	Comments related to domestic abuse in Canada and efforts to tackle it.	Policy
Economy	Comments related to the Canadian economy, and actions that would strengthen and improve it.	Policy
Environment	Any information related to Canada’s environmental policy and comments that directly reference Canada’s environment, separate from discussing climate change.	Policy
Fighting racism	Any information or comments related to policy that addresses racial inequality and combating racism/hate.	Policy
Gun laws	Comments related to legislation on guns.	Policy
Healthcare	Any information or comment related to a healthcare policy proposal not directly related to COVID, and the healthcare sector in Canada.	Policy
Housing	Any information or comments related to housing policy.	Policy
Immigration	Any information on the Canadian immigration system, and immigrants in Canada.	Policy
Indigenous affairs	Any information related to Indigenous issues.	Policy
Infrastructure	Comments related to infrastructure in Canada.	Policy

International affairs	Any comments related to global affairs, including relations between Canada and other nations, meetings and summits, and events outside Canada like the January 6 unrest in the US Capitol building.	Policy
Internet	Any information and comments related to the internet.	Policy
Language rights	Discussion related to language rights of Canadians, like the official language rights of minority communities.	Policy
LGBTQ2 rights	Comments related to the rights of the LGBTQ2 community	Policy
Military	Information on Canada's military, military actions taken, and military remembrances like Remembrance Day. As well, this can include discussion on benefits for military veterans.	Policy
Natural resources	Discussion on Canada's natural resources. This can include information on the forestry, fisheries, natural gas, and oil sectors of Canada, legislation like banning shipping resources on railways, discussion on pipelines, and fracking.	Policy
Public transit	Any information related to public transit and investments made to improve it.	Policy
Rural	Comments related to rural Canada.	Policy
Safety	Comments related to public and community safety, and the safety of Canadians.	Policy
Social welfare	Comments related to the social welfare system of Canada, proposals like a guaranteed basic income, or income inequality.	Policy
Tax	Comments related to Canadians' taxes, filing taxes, tax benefits, or taxation measures. Such discussion includes the carbon tax.	Policy
Tourism	Information on the Canadian tourism industry.	Policy
Trade	Information on trade agreements Canada has signed and implemented with other countries and trade arrangements between Canadian provinces and territories.	Policy
Women's rights	Comments related to the rights of women.	Policy

Appendix 3: Supplementary Models

This appendix contains four tables, one for each of the four dependent variables found in Table 1 of the main paper. Specification 1 of each table only considers MP-level independent variables; specification 2 only considers riding-level independent variables; specification 3 only considers the time-period/context independent variables. Specification 4 of each table is the full model with all independent variables and corresponds to the information for each column in Table 1 pertaining to that dependent variable

Table A1: Determinants of COVID-19 Focus in Newsletters (March 2020-August 2021)

	(1) MP	(2) Riding	(3) Context	(4) Combined
Political Party (Ref: Liberal)				
Conservative	0.241* (0.149)			0.210+ (0.178)
Other Opposition	1.007 (0.708)			0.672 (0.563)
Margin of Victory (2019)	1.013 (0.015)			1.008 (0.020)
Female MP	0.929 (0.522)			1.025 (0.632)
Rookie MP	0.624 (0.322)			0.429 (0.261)
Minister	1.778 (1.987)			1.300 (1.590)
Median Riding Ideology		0.179 (0.232)		0.488 (0.950)
Median Riding Income				
Second quintile		0.276 (0.244)		0.439 (0.440)
Third quintile		0.414 (0.384)		0.539 (0.558)
Fourth quintile		0.454 (0.446)		0.634 (0.754)
Fifth (wealthiest) quintile		0.389 (0.373)		0.475 (0.542)
Population Density				
Second quintile		0.931 (0.662)		1.198 (1.058)
Third quintile		0.990 (0.814)		1.259 (1.276)
Fourth quintile		1.373 (1.146)		1.484 (1.477)
Fifth (most dense) quintile		1.809 (1.918)		2.077 (2.670)
Time Period (Ref: March-June 2020)				
July-December 2020			0.526 (0.621)	0.482 (0.617)
January-April 2021			0.163+ (0.179)	0.077* (0.090)
May - August 2021			0.073* (0.080)	0.040** (0.048)
Observations	145	145	145	145

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: specification 4 in this table corresponds to specification 1 of Table 1 in the main paper.

Table A2: Determinants of Policy Focus in Newsletters (March 2020-August 2021)

	(1) MP	(2) Riding	(3) Context	(4) Combined
Political Party (Ref: Liberal)				
Conservative	3.019*			6.301*
	(1.623)			(4.588)
Other Opposition	1.160			2.598
	(0.558)			(1.661)
Margin of Victory (2019)	0.998			0.993
	(0.012)			(0.014)
Female MP	1.733			1.497
	(0.692)			(0.678)
Rookie MP	1.210			1.657
	(0.508)			(0.799)
Minister	1.226			1.779
	(0.719)			(1.188)
Median Riding Ideology		2.187		0.699
		(2.200)		(0.954)
Median Riding Income				
Second quintile		2.374		1.561
		(1.393)		(1.035)
Third quintile		2.989 ⁺		1.807
		(1.868)		(1.245)
Fourth quintile		1.124		0.909
		(0.673)		(0.617)
Fifth (wealthiest) quintile		1.699		1.335
		(1.014)		(0.905)
Population Density				
Second quintile		2.234		2.248
		(1.435)		(1.602)
Third quintile		0.753		0.817
		(0.484)		(0.588)
Fourth quintile		1.838		1.619
		(1.161)		(1.157)
Fifth (most dense) quintile		2.811		4.671 ⁺
		(1.972)		(3.824)
Time Period (Ref: March-June 2020)				
July-December 2020			2.812*	4.306*
			(1.419)	(2.720)
January-April 2021			2.909*	3.659*
			(1.485)	(2.252)
May - August 2021			5.195**	9.891**
			(3.012)	(7.213)
Observations	145	145	145	145

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses

⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: specification 4 in this table corresponds to specification 2 of Table 1 in the main paper.

Table A3: Determinants of Ottawa Focus in Newsletters (March 2020-August 2021)

	(1) MP	(2) Riding	(3) Context	(4) Combined
Political Party (Ref: Liberal)				
Conservative	5.568** (2.944)			6.745** (4.723)
Other Opposition	1.841 (0.890)			2.371 (1.431)
Margin of Victory (2019)	1.012 (0.013)			1.015 (0.015)
Female MP	0.989 (0.418)			0.890 (0.408)
Rookie MP	0.813 (0.351)			0.787 (0.369)
Minister	0.142+ (0.152)			0.112+ (0.125)
Median Riding Ideology		16.038** (16.347)		1.472 (2.048)
Median Riding Income				
Second quintile		1.867 (1.090)		1.509 (1.002)
Third quintile		1.641 (1.008)		0.749 (0.539)
Fourth quintile		2.156 (1.352)		1.642 (1.194)
Fifth (wealthiest) quintile		3.131+ (1.921)		1.215 (0.861)
Population Density				
Second quintile		1.940 (1.172)		2.129 (1.459)
Third quintile		0.993 (0.656)		0.995 (0.757)
Fourth quintile		2.114 (1.329)		2.196 (1.569)
Fifth (most dense) quintile		2.020 (1.431)		1.513 (1.247)
Time Period (Ref: March-June 2020)				
July-December 2020			2.190 (1.112)	2.586 (1.704)
January-April 2021			1.652 (0.847)	3.564* (2.282)
May - August 2021			0.909 (0.508)	0.886 (0.632)
Observations	145	145	145	145

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: specification 4 in this table corresponds to specification 3 of Table 1 in the main paper.

Table A4: Determinants of Leader Focus in Newsletters (March 2020-August 2021)

	(1) MP	(2) Riding	(3) Context	(4) Combined
Political Party (Ref: Liberal)				
Conservative	1.121 (1.126)			0.825 (1.252)
Other Opposition	2.168 (2.117)			2.124 (2.914)
Margin of Victory (2019)	1.024 (0.023)			1.021 (0.031)
Female MP	0.271 (0.296)			0.216 (0.271)
Rookie MP	0.248 (0.275)			0.454 (0.649)
Minister	1.301 (1.574)			2.232 (3.208)
Median Riding Ideology		0.677 (1.325)		0.305 (1.035)
Median Riding Income				
Second quintile		1.100 (1.620)		1.735 (2.995)
Third quintile		1.295 (1.902)		1.115 (1.996)
Fourth quintile		1.024 (1.575)		1.542 (2.685)
Fifth (wealthiest) quintile		5.861 (7.166)		10.629 (18.668)
Population Density				
Second quintile		0.709 (1.057)		0.403 (0.724)
Third quintile		0.872 (1.255)		0.328 (0.606)
Fourth quintile		1.301 (1.780)		0.762 (1.222)
Fifth (most dense) quintile		1.056 (1.682)		1.158 (2.282)
Time Period (Ref: March-June 2020)				
July-December 2020			0.800 (0.645)	0.880 (0.960)
January-April 2021				
May - August 2021			0.533 (0.508)	0.648 (0.804)
Observations	145	145	103	103

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: specification 4 in this table corresponds to specification 4 of Table 1 in the main paper.

Appendix 4: Missing Data Analysis for Key Variables

This appendix compares whether our sample of MPs is non-randomly different from their counterparts (within their party) who did not respond to our requests for householders. The only statistically significant difference concerns population density for Conservative MPs, where the MPs who responded to us represented significantly less dense ridings than their Conservative colleagues who did not respond.

Table A5: Ministerial Status for Liberal MPs

Ministerial Status	Missing/Present in Dataset		
	Present	Missing	Total
Backbencher	62	62	124
	81.58	74.70	77.99
Minister	14	21	35
	18.42	25.30	22.01
Total	76	83	159
	100.00	100.00	100.00

First row has *frequencies* and second row has *column percentages*
Chi2 = 1.094 Pr = 0.296

Table A6: Rookie Status for Liberal MPs

Rookie Status	Missing/Present in Dataset		
	Present	Missing	Total
Non-Rookie	60	69	129
	78.95	83.13	81.13
Rookie	16	14	30
	21.05	16.87	18.87
Total	76	83	159
	100.00	100.00	100.00

First row has *frequencies* and second row has *column percentages*
Chi2 = 0.454 Pr = 0.500

Table A7: Rookie Status for Conservative MPs

Rookie Status	Missing/Present in Dataset		
	Present	Missing	Total
Non-Rookie	27 67.50	57 72.15	84 70.59
Rookie	13 32.50	22 27.85	35 29.41
Total	40 100.00	79 100.00	119 100.00

First row has *frequencies* and second row has *column percentages*
Chi2 = 0.277 Pr = 0.599

Table A8: Rookie Status for Other Opposition MPs

Rookie Status	Missing/Present in Dataset		
	Present	Missing	Total
Non-Rookie	13 44.83	17 54.84	30 50.00
Rookie	16 55.17	14 45.16	30 50.00
Total	29 100.00	31 100.00	60 100.00

First row has *frequencies* and second row has *column percentages*
Chi2 = 0.601 Pr = 0.438

Table A9: Gender of MP for Liberal MPs

Gender of MP	Missing/Present in Dataset		
	Present	Missing	Total
Female	26 34.21	28 33.73	54 33.96
Male	50 65.79	55 66.27	105 66.04
Total	76 100.00	83 100.00	159 100.00

First row has *frequencies* and second row has *column percentages*
Chi2 = 0.004 Pr = 0.950

Table A10: Gender of MP for Conservative MPs

Gender of MP	Missing/Present in Dataset		
	Present	Missing	Total
Female	7	14	21
	17.50	17.72	17.65
Male	33	65	98
	82.50	82.28	82.35
Total	40	79	119
	100.00	100.00	100.00

First row has *frequencies* and second row has *column percentages*
 Chi2 = 0.001 Pr = 0.976

Table A11: Gender of MP for Other Opposition MPs

Gender of MP	Missing/Present in Dataset		
	Present	Missing	Total
Female	13	11	24
	44.83	35.48	40.00
Male	16	20	36
	55.17	64.52	60.00
Total	29	31	60
	100.00	100.00	100.00

First row has *frequencies* and second row has *column percentages*
 Chi2 = 0.545 Pr = 0.460

Table A12: Median riding ideology for Liberal MPs**Two-sample t test with equal variances**

Present (N)	Missing (N)	Present (Mean)	Missing (Mean)	T-statistic	P value
76	83	-.081	-.051	-.95	.332

Table A13: Median riding ideology for Conservative MPs**Two-sample t test with equal variances**

Present (N)	Missing (N)	Present (Mean)	Missing (Mean)	T-statistic	P value
40	79	.252	.296	-1.3	.205

Table A14: Median riding ideology for Other Opposition MPs
Two-sample t test with equal variances

Present (N)	Missing (N)	Present (Mean)	Missing (Mean)	T-statistic	P value
29	31	-.012	.024	-.8	.432

Table A15: Median riding income for Liberal MPs
Two-sample t test with equal variances

Present (N)	Missing (N)	Present (Mean)	Missing (Mean)	T-statistic	P value
76	83	40568.421	40973.494	-.45	.644

Table A16: Median riding income for Conservative MPs
Two-sample t test with equal variances

Present (N)	Missing (N)	Present (Mean)	Missing (Mean)	T-statistic	P value
40	79	42510	42597.469	-.1	.924

Table A17: Median riding income for Other Opposition MPs
Two-sample t test with equal variances

Present (N)	Missing (N)	Present (Mean)	Missing (Mean)	T-statistic	P value
29	31	41089.655	40683.871	.4	.7

Table A18: Population Density for Liberal MPs
Two-sample t test with equal variances

Present (N)	Missing (N)	Present (Mean)	Missing (Mean)	T-statistic	P value
76	83	2444.401	2509.629	-.15	.888

Table A19: Population Density for Conservative MPs
Two-sample t test with equal variances

Present (N)	Missing (N)	Present (Mean)	Missing (Mean)	T-statistic	P value
40	79	539.135	266.129	2.2	.032

Table A20: Population Density for Other Opposition MPs
Two-sample t test with equal variances

Present (N)	Missing (N)	Present (Mean)	Missing (Mean)	T-statistic	P value
29	31	1154.603	1129.087	.05	.96

Table A21: Percent Votes Obtained for Liberal MPs

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Present (N)	Missing (N)	Present (Mean)	Missing (Mean)	T-statistic	P value
76	83	47.755	45.91	1.55	.128

Table A22: Percent Votes Obtained for Conservative MPs

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Present (N)	Missing (N)	Present (Mean)	Missing (Mean)	T-statistic	P value
40	79	51.035	51.519	-.3	.779

Table A23: Percent Votes Obtained for Other Opposition MPs

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Present (N)	Missing (N)	Present (Mean)	Missing (Mean)	T-statistic	P value
29	31	46.331	43.736	1.45	.155