**ONLINE APPENDIX**

***Documents sample***

Two document sources were analyzed during the research. The first is a subset of debates in the House of Commons on the COVID-19 pandemic. The 10 bills selected represent the most important social policies implemented or modified by the federal government in response to the pandemic. These bills span the period from March 2020 to after the 2021 federal election. We specifically analyzed the second reading of each bill in the House of Commons to better capture the programmatic beliefs of political parties regarding social policy and the specific measures prescribed. Moreover, the analysis of programmatic debates in the House of Commons provides us with three main “steps” in the policy cycle: agenda-setting, policy formulation and design, and decision-making (in this case, the votes in the second and third readings). We analyzed the “major speeches” during the second reading, which are delivered by the minister responsible for the bill on the government side and the leader or frontbencher MPs of each opposition party. These speeches allow us to analyze the official position of each political party. The speakers for each bill analyzed are listed in Table I. In total, this document source contains 107,000 words of debates.

The second source of documents used is the electoral platforms and party manifestos for the 2015, 2019, and 2021 elections (for the LPC, CPC, BQ, and NDP). These documents were collected from Université Laval’s POLTEXT data set for the 2015 and 2019 elections, and from each party’s website for the 2021 election. These documents come from a collection of political documents collected by the Center for Public Policy Analysis (CAPP) of Université Laval, with financial support from the Fonds de recherche du Québec – Société et culture (FRQSC) and diffused on the website https://www.poltext.org/. First, the electoral platforms were read in their entirety to gain a full understanding of each party’s policy program and ideas. Then, the leader’s introductory letter, the introduction of each section, and the specific sections related to the economy and social policies were analyzed more thoroughly during the coding. The introductory sections of the documents at hand are particularly useful for analyzing the justification and the framing of the policy program in the electoral platform. We also highlighted the main policy prescriptions in each electoral platform from a financial point of view, using the fiscal plan in the platform when it was available, or the *Synthèse des cadres financiers des partis politiques* produced each election by the Chaire de recherche en fiscalité et en finances publiques at the Université de Sherbrooke. The presentation of the electoral platforms was also analyzed, in particular the quotations (whether from the party leader, other party officials, supporters, future constituents of the prescribed social policies, or third-party organizations such as think tanks, trade unions, or industrial associations).

Note that the French version of each document was analyzed and that the coding was done in French. Debates in the House of Commons are translated into Canada’s two official languages, while each party publishes its electoral platform in French and English (although the Bloc Québécois only publishes its platforms in French). Where quotations have been used in the article, they have been taken from the English version of the documents.

***Coding***

The same qualitative codebook was used for both document sources. The codes were then linked to Mudge’s theoretical framework of political parties’ programmatic language: policy prescriptions, the framing of policy programs, and the social categories targeted by political parties. This linkage with Mudge’s framework helped to construct Table 2 in the article, which presents our main findings on the electoral platforms.

The codebook has five dimensions. First, the diagnostic discourse of the political and social context, which is the interpretive frame through which parties understand the larger context in which they act. Specific emphasis was placed on the interpretation of the COVID-19 pandemic as a large-scale crisis. Second, discourses related to political responsibility in the face of the perceived context, for both the government and opposition parties. These discourses relate to messages of unity during the COVID-19 pandemic, calls for greater parliamentary cooperation, or the attribution of blame. Third, policy prescriptions and policy parameters (for example, who can benefit from, the degree of universality or conditionality, the level of financial support). This dimension refers to the specific social and economic policies proposed by each party in their electoral platform and during the COVID-19 debates in the House of Commons. Fourth, the framing and justification of policy prescriptions and the electoral platform in a more general way, as well as the references to public sentiments (the shared values and public opinion in the Canadian political culture). Fifth, the learning discourses and the origins of political ideas. For example, the use of third-party organizations as blueprints for policy ideas (policy transfer), or the reference to past events as a source of inspiration (for example, references to the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic wave during later waves).

Specifically for electoral platforms, we outlined a distinction between a social and an economic framing in the justification of policy prescriptions and the platform in general. By social framing, we refer to the discourses that emphasize specific social groups and communities (such as students, families, the elderly, or people with disabilities), the country as a whole (the nation, the Canadian society), and that emphasize social values such as solidarity, universality, or a sense of community. By economic framing, we refer to the discourses that emphasize employment, workers, small and medium-sized businesses, and industries, and that emphasize economic values such as free-market, growth, or entrepreneurship.

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| First reading | Bill proposals | Speakers  LPC, CPC, BQ, NDP |
| March 24, 2020 | C-13 | Bill Morneau  Andrew Scheer  Gabriel Ste-Marie  Jagmeet Singh |
| April 11, 2020 | C-14 (43, 1) | Bill Morneau  Pierre Poilievre  Yves-François Blanchet  Lindsay Mathyssen |
| April 29, 2020 | C-15 | Carla Qualtrough  Alain Rayes  Y-F Blanchet  Jagmeet Singh |
| July 20, 2020 | C-20 | Mona Fortier  Pierre Poilievre  Y-F Blanchet  Jagmeet Singh |
| September 28, 2020 | C-4 | Carla Qualtrough  Gary Vidal  Marilène Gill  Jagmeet Singh |
| November 2, 2020 | C-9 | Chrystia Freeland  Pierre Poilievre  Gabriel Ste-Marie  Peter Julian |
| December 2, 2020 (adopted on April 15, 2021) | C-14 (43, 2) | Julie Dzerowicz  Pierre Poilievre  Louise Chabot  Peter Julian |
| February 25, 2021 | C-24 | Carla Qualtrough  Pierre Poilievre  Alain Therrien  Daniel Blaikie |
| April 30, 2021 | C-30 | Chrystia Freeland  Ed Fast  Gabriel Ste-Marie  Peter Julian |
| November 24, 2021 | C-2 | Randy Boissonnault  Pierre Poilievre  Gabriel Ste-Marie  Daniel Blaikie |

**Table 1:** Speakers during Debates at the House of Commons