

Table 1. Coding scheme

Category	Coding: supportive/opposed, with examples
1. Problem definition and solution	<p>Supportive: “dealing with the coronavirus ... which is now a pandemic” (indicating that the pandemic is the problem, Van der Staaij, SGP, 12/03/2020)</p> <p>Opposed: “We’re talking about a type of flue that has somehow gotten blown up to a pandemic. ... Of course pepole shouldn’t respect the containment measures.” Indicating that the containment mesasures are the problem(Freek Jansen, FVD, 21/12/2021)</p>
2. Audience and constituency	<p>Supportive: Just as healthcare personnel are “heroes on the frontline”, “I want to thank the ministers who are fighting this crisis” (Lodewijk Asscher, PvdA, 26/03/2020)</p> <p>Opposed: “a teacher told me she’s missing her homeless pupils who are trying to follow online classes from a car” because of too rigid measures. (Farid Azarkan, Denk, 15/12/2020)</p>
3. Group formation	<p>Supportive: “The cabinet listens to experts and does its best. ... it’s good to have this debat because together we know more” (we’ meaning all politicians, in government and parliament, including the opposition. Gert-Jan Segers, CU, 12/03/2020)</p> <p>Opposed: “Hospitality workers are rightly furious to have to check QR-codes as though they are the police which is completely unnecessary”. (Geert Wilders, PVV, 16/09/2021)</p>
4. Blame game	<p>Supportive: “Why didn’t (containment) work? ... Is it our Dutch nature? Is our stubbornness the problem? ... Our creativity in bending the rules so we can do what we want?” (Klaas Dijkhoff, 14/10/2020)</p> <p>Opposed: “The cabinet has re-started the export of pork to China. For many reasons we should be closing down operation in slaughter houses: to protect labour migrants, to lower the risk of zoonoses. ... you’re choosing economic interest and think it easier to close schools.” (Esther Ouwehand, PvdD, 15/12/2020)</p>
5. Legitimacy of political decision-making (also caretaker status.	<p>Supportive: “We all make the rules. And all of us should follow them, whether you vote PVV or PvdA”. (Geert Wilders, PVV, 14/10/2020)</p> <p>Opposed: “Of course a caretaker cabinet must be able to take measures against corona, but we think it is inappropriate to take a measure as extreme as this one.” (Geert Wilders, PVV, 21/01/2021)</p>

The full texts of the debates are publicly available at www.tweedekamer.nl, where the reader can find them according to date. We downloaded those texts into MS-Word documents and categorized each statement in the debate (whether it was an opening statement or an interruption) according to 6 categories (see above) and coded them as supportive or not (examples in the table above). We also coded the tone of the statements as combative or cooperative. How we sometimes had to separate tone from content can be seen in the example of Geert Wilders opposing the distance rule (debate of 14/10/2020): he opposes the rule yet urges everyone to follow it because it was decided on democratically. However, he did that using coarse language ('bull', or 'kulregel' in Dutch), making his tone combative.