

APPENDIX

NOTE ON METHOD AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This research project was funded by the European Union (NextGenerationEU), under the National Recovery and Resilience Plan (NRRP), Mission 4, Component 2, Investment 1.1, call PRIN 2022 D.D. 104 published on 2 February 2022 by the Italian Ministry of University and Research (Ministero dell'Università e della Ricerca), CUP F53D2300634006.

The project, entitled *Fandom Democracy? Celebrity and New Forms of Citizens' Engagement* (Fandom Democracy Project; FanDem; <https://www.fandomdemocracyproject.eu/>), involved a research team from three Italian academic institutions: the University of Bergamo, the University of Perugia, and the University of Urbino Carlo Bo. Rosanna De Rosa from the University of Naples Federico II joined the Urbino unit.

The research design comprised two intertwined empirical lines of inquiry. The mixed-methods approach comprised a multi-country survey and a systematic content analysis of posts authored by citizens and political actors on a digital platform. The following pages outline the main research methods and techniques adopted by the working group.

Opinion Survey Design and Sampling Strategy

Ethical Approval

The *Fandem Project*'s, overall research design received ethical approval from the Committee for Integrity and Ethics of Research at the University of Bergamo (communication of 26 June 2024). Its questionnaire, sampling procedure, and the overall research design, received ethical approval from the Ethics Committee for Human Research (CESU) at the University of Urbino Carlo Bo, as documented in the meeting minutes no. 83 dated 27 June 2024. The research protocol was determined to be in full compliance with the General Data Protection Regulation (EU Regulation 2016/679), which establishes the protection of natural persons with regard to the processing of personal data as a fundamental right (<https://www.uniurb.it/ateneo/identita/portale-web-di-ateneo/privacy-policy-english-version>).

Furthermore, the procedures concerning the retrieval, storage, and access of social media data were approved by the Bioethics Committee of the University of Perugia (minutes of meeting no. 31, of 26 June 2024), in accordance with its regulatory standards and the University's policies (<https://www.unipg.it/files/statuto-regolamenti/statuti/statuto-comitato-bioetica.pdf>).

Data Collection and Sampling Design

Data collection was conducted by the Italian polling organization Demetra [Opinioni.net](https://www.opinioni.net) from 29 July to 7 August 2024, utilizing the computer-assisted web interviewing (CAWI) technique. Respondents were selected through quota sampling to ensure representation across key sociodemographic variables, such as gender, age group, educational attainment level, and geographical area.

Table A1 Sample size by country

<i>Country</i>	<i>Sample size</i>
Bulgaria	1,044
France	1,026
Germany	1,006
Italy	1,021
Poland	1,049
Spain	1,011
UK	1,004
Total	7,161

The seven nationally representative samples (Bulgaria, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Spain, and the United Kingdom [UK]) comprised just over 1,000 cases each, ranging from $n = 1,004$ (UK) to $n = 1,049$ (Poland), as detailed in Table A1, for an overall sample size of $N = 7,161$. The margin of sampling error for country-level estimates is approximately $\pm 2.6\%$ at the 95% confidence level. Using a maximum of two contact attempts, the final achieved sample sizes were as follows:

Weighting Procedure

A post-stratification weighting procedure was implemented to align sample distributions with known population parameters. This approach reduced non-response bias and improved the precision of overall survey estimates. The weighting procedure also incorporated the relative population size of each country, so that aggregated figures represent the combined population of the seven countries when total values are presented in the analyses.

The Fandom Democracy Project Questionnaire

The questionnaire comprised seven thematic sections: (A) standard sociodemographic variables; (B) respondents' media consumption styles; (C) socio-political orientation, core values, and voting choice; (D) political fandom affective engagement, including associated consumption and production practices; (E) anti-fandom orientations; (F) entertainment celebrity fandom attitudes and practices; and (G) political attitudes and participation behaviour.

Translated versions of the questionnaire were circulated among members of the FanDem Research Project International Board and country-specific subject-matter experts from each participating nation to ensure terminological and linguistic consistency across comparative contexts. The preliminary draft of the questionnaire was pilot-tested ($n = 208$) across the seven countries included in the Fandom Democracy Project to assess the validity and appropriateness of both the questions and response formats. The pilot responses were not included in the final dataset.

A. STANDARD SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

1. **Country**
2. **Municipality**
3. **Gender**
4. **Year of birth**

5. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

- None or primary school leaving certificate
- Secondary School up to the compulsory school leaving age
- Secondary education diploma (beyond the compulsory school leaving age)
- University/Higher Education

6. What is your current job?

- Labourer
- Technician, office worker, civil servant
- Manager
- Trader
- Craftsman
- Freelancer (Lawyer, doctor, quantity surveyor...)
- Businessman
- Student (including students who work)
- Housewife, Homemaker, Home duties
- Unemployed
- Retired
- Armed forces/Voluntary civil service
- Other

7. In which sector do you work/did you work?

- Public
- Private

B. RESPONDENTS' MEDIA CONSUMPTION STYLES

8. To keep up-to-date, what media have you most frequently used recently?

All your answers must be different and you must rank in order. Please select at most 2 answers.

- Websites/apps or social media pages of daily newspapers or news magazines
- Social media such as Facebook-Meta, X-Twitter, Instagram or others

- Printed newspapers and magazines
- Television: news or talk shows
- Radio news broadcasts or radio programs
- Information podcasts
- I have tried to avoid news

C. SOCIO-POLITICAL ORIENTATION AND ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR

9. How interested would you say you are in politics? Are you very interested, somewhat interested, not very interested, or not at all interested?

Please choose only one of the following.

- Very interested
- Somewhat interested
- Not very interested
- Not at all interested

10. Many people use the terms "left" and "right" when talking about politics. The following is a row of boxes running from left to right. When thinking about your political views, in which box would you place yourself?

- 0=Left
- 10=Right
- I would not position myself

11. Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular party?

Please choose only one of the following.

- Yes
- No

12. What is the party you feel close to?

Answer only if "Yes" at question #11. Please choose only one of the following.

- List of political parties by country.

13. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means very distant and 10 means very close, how close would you say you are to this political party?

- 0=Very distant
- 10=Very close

14. In the [date and name of the country] general elections, which party did you vote for?

Please choose only one of the following.

- List of political parties by country.
- Other party [*Specify*]
- Blank ballot / null ballot
- I did not vote
- I was not old enough to vote

15. Would you say you voted mainly for [name of the political party voted] or for [name of the political party leader]?

Answer only if “a political party” was indicated in question #14. Please choose only one of the following.

- Political party voted
- Leader of political party voted

16. You will find a list of the names of some political figures below. If you know them, please indicate how you rate them, giving them a grade from 0 to 10, where 0 means a completely negative rating and 10 a completely positive rating. If you do not know them, please indicate "I do not know him/her". On the other hand, if you cannot make a judgement, please state "I don't know".

Please choose the appropriate response for each item:

- List of political party leaders by country
- 0=Completely negative opinion
- 10=Completely positive opinion
- I do not know him/her
- I don't know

17. In your opinion, is it important for politicians and the media to disclose details of the private lives of politicians?

Please choose only one of the following:

- Yes, it helps to know and judge politicians better
- Yes, I am curious
- No, it is not important to me
- No, because it distracts from the things that matter

D. POLITICAL FANDOM, AFFECTIVE ENGAGEMENT, CONSUMPTION AND PRODUCTION PRACTICES

18. Thinking of people who have a political role in the [name of the country] right now, is there a leader or political figure you feel close to?

Please choose only one of the following:

- Yes
- No

19. Who is this [name of the country] leader or political figure to whom you feel close?

Answer only if “Yes” at question #18

- Please write your answer here: [_____]

20. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means very distant and 10 means very close, how close would you say you are to this [name of the country] leader or political figure?

Answer only if “Yes” at question #18

- 0=Very distant
- 10=Very close

21. For what reasons do you like this leader or political figure?

Answer only if “Yes” at question #18. All your answers must be different, and you must rank in order. Please select at most 3 answers.

- For being competent and capable
- For understanding the problems of the people
- For sharing his/her ideas and political vision

- For being likeable
- For being a real, authentic person
- For being an honest person
- For being the only one who can save [name of the country]

22. Referring to this leader or political figure, would you say that...

Answer only if “Yes” at question #18. Please choose the appropriate response for each item: Yes/No.

- he/she is a charming person
- I like the way he/she dresses
- I like his/her lifestyle

23. Also, regarding this leader or political figure, have you recently...

Answer only if “Yes” at question #18. Please choose the appropriate response for each item: Yes/No.

- read an article or watched TV programmes where his/her private life was discussed?
- in particular, have you read articles in gossip, fashion or news magazines?
- read a biography/autobiography about him/her?
- seen and/or heard him/her in person at a public event?

24. Again, regarding this leader or political figure, do you follow his/her personal social media accounts/pages?

Answer only if “Yes” at question #18.

Please choose only one of the following:

- Yes
- No

25. In respect of his/her social media accounts, have you ever...

Answer only if “Yes” at question #24. Please choose the appropriate response for each item: Yes/No.

- “like” or repost his/her content
- follow one of his/her live video
- comment on one of his/her posts (even with an emoticon)

26. Besides the official accounts, do you know of any other social media accounts or pages dedicated to your favourite leader or political figure

Answer only if “Yes” at question #18. Please choose only one of the following:

- Yes, and I follow it
- Yes, but I don't follow it
- No

27. Why do you follow these social accounts or pages?

Answer only if “Yes, and I follow it” at question #26. All your answers must be different, and you must rank in order. Please select at most 2 answers.

- I find it entertaining
- I am interested in following pages about the leader
- I enjoy interacting with like-minded people about the leader
- I feel part of a community

28. Regarding this leader or political figure, have you ever...

Answer only if “Yes” at question #18.

Please choose the appropriate response for each item: Yes/No.

- ...reposted/retweeted memes about him/her
- ...used hashtags with his/her name
- ...written posts/tweets about him/her?
- ...created and circulated a meme, hashtag or social media page about him/her?

29. Still considering this leader or political figure, how much do you identify with each of the following sentences, on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means that you do not identify with it at all and 10 that you identify with it completely?

Answer only if “Yes” at question #18.

0=I don't identify with it all

10= I identify with it completely

- I love him/her as if he/she were my friend
- When the media or other politicians or network users criticise him/her in a way that seems unfair to me, it is almost as if they were doing it to me
- I like talking to other people who admire him/her as much as I do
- I would like to have a coffee/beer with him/her
- I would like to take a selfie with him/her
- I would buy merchandise (a T-shirt/mug/something else) with his/her name or face on it

E. ANTI-FANDOM ORIENTATIONS

30. Thinking about the people who have a political role in [name of the country] right now, is there a leader or a political figure you really dislike?

Please choose only one of the following:

- Yes
- No

31. Who is this [name of the country] leader or political figure that you really dislike?

Answer only if “Yes” at question #30.

- Please write your answer here: [_____]

32. Regarding this leader or political figure you really dislike, do you follow his/her personal social media accounts/pages?

Answer only if “Yes” at question #30. Please choose only one of the following:

- Yes
- No

33. In respect of his/her social media accounts, have you ever...

Please choose the appropriate response: Yes/No.

Answer only if “Yes” at question #30.

- comment negatively on one of his/her posts (even with an emoticon)

34. Besides the official accounts, do you know of any other account or page critical of this leader or political figure that you really dislike?

Answer only if “Yes” at question #30. Please choose only one of the following:

- Yes, I also follow it and leave comments
- Yes, I follow it but don't leave any comments
- Yes, but I don't follow it
- No

F. STAR FANDOM ORIENTATIONS

35. Is there a current celebrity or star in sport, entertainment (film, music, etc.), media (TV personality, social media, etc.), fashion or culture who you admire or are a fan of?

Please choose only one of the following:

- Yes
- No

36. Who is this celebrity or star? (if more than one, please indicate the celebrity you relate to the most)

Answer only if “Yes” at question #35.

- Please write your answer here: [_____]

37. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means very distant and 10 means very close, how close would you say you are to this celebrity or star?

Answer only if “Yes” at question #35.

- 0=Very distant
- 10=Very close

38. For what reasons do you like this celebrity or star?

Answer only if “Yes” at question #35. All your answers must be different, and you must rank in order.

Please select at most 3 answers.

- For being good at his/her job
- For being one of us

- For sharing his/her ideas
- For being likeable
- For being a real, authentic person
- For being a good person
- For being unique and extraordinary

39. About this celebrity or star, would you say that...?

Answer only if “Yes” at question #35. Please choose the appropriate response for each item: Yes/No.

- he/she is a charming person
- I like how he/she dresses
- I like his/her lifestyle

40. Also speaking about this celebrity or star, have you recently...

Answer only if “Yes” at question #35. Please choose the appropriate response for each item: Yes/No.

- read an article or watched TV programmes where his/her private life was discussed?
- in particular, have you read articles in gossip, fashion or news magazines?
- read a biography/autobiography about him/her?
- seen and/or heard him/her in person at a public event?

41. Again, regarding this celebrity or star, do you follow his/her personal social media accounts/pages?

Answer only if “Yes” at question #35.

- Yes
- No

42. Besides the official accounts, do you know of any other social accounts or pages dedicated to the celebrity or star we have talked about so far?

Answer only if “Yes” at question #35. Please choose only one of the following:

- Yes, and I follow it
- Yes, but I don’t follow it
- No

43. As regards these unofficial pages or social media accounts, you follow them because...

Answer only if “Yes, and I follow it” at question #42. All your answers must be different, and you must rank in order.

Please select at most 2 answers.

- I find it entertaining
- I am interested in following pages about him/her
- I enjoy interacting with like-minded people about him/her
- I feel part of a community

44. Still considering this celebrity or political star, how much do you identify with each of the following sentences, on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means that you do not identify with it at all and 10 that you identify with it completely?

Answer only if “Yes, and I follow it” at question #35.

0=I don’t identify with it all

10= I identify with it completely

- I love him/her as if he/she were my friend
- When the media or other people or network users criticise him/her in a way that seems unfair to me, it is almost as if they were doing it to me
- I like talking to other people who admire him/her as much as I do
- I would like to have a coffee/beer with him/her
- I would like to take a selfie with him/her
- I would buy merchandising (a T-shirt/mug/something else) with his/her name or face on it

45. Do you know if this celebrity or star has ever supported any political or social causes?

Answer only if “Yes, and I follow it” at question #35. Please choose only one of the following:

- Yes, and I shared his/her position
- Yes, but I did not share his/her position
- No, but if he/she did, I would consider his/her opinion
- No, but if he/she did it would not be relevant to me

46. Has this celebrity or star ever aligned him/herself with a candidate or politician?

Answer only if “Yes, and I follow it” at question #35. Please choose only one of the following:

- Yes, and his/her opinion was important to me
- Yes, but his/her opinion did not matter to me
- No, but if he/she did, I would consider his/her opinion
- No, but if he/she did it would not be relevant to me

G. POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND PARTICIPATION

47. How often in the last year have you participated in the following activities?

Please choose the appropriate response for each item: Every month, Two or Three times a year, Once a year, Never.

- Political / party demonstrations
- Public protest demonstrations
- Political discussions via the Internet (websites, blogs, discussion groups, Facebook, X, etc.)

48. Have you ever...

Please choose the appropriate response: Yes/No.

- gone out canvassing or campaigning for a candidate, list or party (leafleting, stalls, etc.)?

49. How much do you trust the following institutions?

Please choose the appropriate response for each item: Very much, Somewhat, Not Much, Not at all

- European Union
- [Name of the country] parliament

50. On a scale of 1 to 10, how satisfied are you with...

Please choose the appropriate response for each item:

- the economic situation in the [name of the country]
- the economic situation of your family
- how democracy works in the [name of the country]

51. I will now present some views on very topical issues. Can you tell me how much you agree with each of them?

Please choose the appropriate response for each item: Very much, Somewhat, Not Much, Not at all

- Immigrants are a danger to public order and safety
- People like me matter little in today's society
- Today's world causes me anxiety

52. Which of these statements do you agree with most?

Please choose the appropriate response: Yes/No.

- Democracy is preferable to any other form of government
- In some circumstances, an authoritarian regime might be preferable to a democratic system
- Whether authoritarian or democratic, it makes little difference to me

53. Which of these statements would you agree with most?

Please choose the appropriate response: Yes/No.

- The country needs to be led by a strong leader
- Strong leaders are a danger to democracy

Submit your survey. Thank you for completing this survey!

Content Analysis of Instagram Posts

The Exploratory Study

The first field analysis was conducted using Meta's proprietary data extraction tools for Facebook and Instagram, and it focused on Italy as a pilot case-study. An exploration of the digital landscape of political fan-pages and accounts was conducted, revealing that relevant activity throughout the previous year (from 22/05/2023 to 22/05/2024) was infrequent and that most fan-pages related to high-profile Italian leaders were virtually inactive (see Table A2 and Table A3).

Moreover, a qualitative focus on the most active pages employing netnographic approaches revealed that the grassroots nature of their content and purpose was questionable, as they seemed to reproduce and disseminate content similar to that circulated by party and politicians' accounts in

Table A2 Active fan-pages (22/05/2023–22/05/2024)

<i>Page name</i>	<i>Posts in the last year</i>	<i>Followers</i>
Lebimbedigiuseppeconte I	114	207,994
Fanpage su Giuseppe Conte		
Giuseppe Conte Fanpage ♥	83	5,594
Giuseppe Conte Brazil Support	58	71,217
Elly Schlein Biella	19	2,591
Giorgia Meloni News	4	1,254
Elly Schlein combatte la povertà	2	329
Giuseppe Conte Fanpage	1	5,564
Giuseppe Conte Premier	1	3,245
Lucca per Elly Schlein	1	229
Parte da Noi - Massa Carrara per Elly Schlein	1	109

Table A3 Fan-pages
for each leader as of
22/05/24

<i>Leader</i>	<i>N. of fan-pages on Instagram</i>
Elly Schlein	34
Matteo Salvini	19
Giuseppe Conte	16
Giorgia Meloni	5
Total	74

their campaigning activities. Hence, we devised a method of data collection that was not dependent upon the study of fan-pages that were identified to be highly contingent, volatile phenomena.

The Data Collection Process

Our approach to the digital landscape is informed by Zizi Papacharissi’s *Affective Publics: Sentiment, Technology and Politics* (2014), in which hashtags are framed as contested spaces. In these spaces, collective meanings are co-constructed through the alignment of affective and cognitive processes manifesting in the production and circulation of social media content. Accordingly, we employed the software 4k Stogram to extract all metadata of the posts published with the hashtags containing the name and surname of four prominent leaders from each country¹. Because the literature on political fandom—notably the work of Jonathan Dean and

¹Specifically, for Italy, we selected #GiorgiaMeloni, #MatteoSalvini, #GiuseppeConte, #EllySchlein. For Spain, #PedroSanchez, #yolandadiaz, #SantiagoAbascal, #isabeldiazayuso. For France, #raphaelglucksmann, #MarineLePen, #EmmanuelMacron, #Melenchon. The

Cornel Sandvoss—identifies election campaigns as pivotal moments for the emergence of fan-like behaviours, we focused our data extraction on May and the first ten days of June 2024, leading up to the EU elections.

Analytical Framework

Following the extraction of the metadata, we developed a codebook deductively, based on the existing literature on political fandom. We then piloted the codebook on a preliminary dataset to fine-tune the categories and ensure that our theoretical framework aligned with the empirical data. Table A4 presents the final codebook used for the entire dataset, including definitions for each category.

To identify several of the categories presented in Table A4, we used a multimodal² approach. This involved analysing biographical descriptions to determine the account-holder's background as well as examining super-imposed text and captions to infer the meaning and origin of the posted images.

Finally, to gain a deeper understanding of fan-like content, we employed a qualitative approach, applying a social semiotic framework for visual analysis.³ Specifically, we examined the symbolic processes attributed to the posts through four key analytical concepts:

- Represented subjects: all human and non-human subjects occupying a prominent part of the frame. Key aspects shaping their significance include their compositional placement and their positioning relative to the camera.
- Modality: the degree of representational accuracy, where high modality indicates an accurate depiction of the subject, while low modality suggests the representation has been altered.
- Circumstances of accompaniment: the social or symbolic relationships between the participants shown in the shot and between them and the leader.
- Spatial circumstances: the setting and background elements discernible in a shot, which may provide additional layers of meaning to the image.

last hashtag was selected after using #JeanLucMelenchon returned much lower results as compared to the other French leaders analysed.

²The multimodal analysis was conducted following Kress, G. (2013). Multimodal discourse analysis. In *The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 61–76). Routledge.

³Specifically, we based our visual approach on the categories devised by Kress, G. R., & Van Leeuwen, T. (2006). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*. Routledge.

Table A4 Codebook used for the entire dataset, including the categories employed and their definitions

<i>Category</i>	<i>Definition</i>
Attitude towards the leader (entire post)	
Personal admiration of the leader	Expressions of personal admiration unrelated to political roles. Includes vague or nonspecific praise focusing on the leader's character, appearance, or personality rather than on political substance
Approval of political performance	Expressions of approval of the results achieved by the politician
Participation in the leader's "supporter community"	Expressions of satisfaction with the experience of undertaking supporter activities, either alone or with others
Disapproval of political performance	Expressions of disagreement with the leader's political actions
Personal dislike	Expressions of dislike of the leader based on their personal characteristics
Antagonism towards the leader's "supporter community"	Expressions of opposition to the leader's supporters or to the group/party the leader belongs to (often personified by the leader)
N.A. (stop coding)	
Apparent affective stimulus towards the leader	
Love, esteem, or admiration	Explicit expressions of attachment, admiration, or personal support
Anger, hatred, or contempt	Expressions of hostility towards the leader
Interest or approval	Positive comments on specific actions or characteristics of the leader
Hope, trust, or encouragement	Expressions of support or invitations to support someone/something
Indignation, dissatisfaction, or shame	Explicit criticism or grievances directed at specific actors or general political conditions
Other	Contains nonspecific emotional content or general affective markers
N.A. (stop coding)	
Post theme	
Leader off-duty	The post shows the leader engaged in activities unrelated to their work or public role
Leader at work	Visual or textual evidence of the leader performing official functions or participating in formal policy-making
External networking	The leader is depicted with other politicians outside of routine office or work environments

(continued)

Table A4 (continued)

<i>Category</i>	<i>Definition</i>
Celebrity association	The leader is shown alongside famous non-political figures
Civic interaction	The leader is shown interacting with supporters and ordinary citizens
Public performance	Captures the leader in high-profile public roles, such as addressing rallies or leading protests
Decontextualized leader	Representation of the leader without indications of the context
Fan self-representation	Activities by the page owner reflecting their dedication to the leader (e.g., fan-made content) without direct interaction
Stance (public debate)	Comments on speeches, interviews, or statements by/about the leader or their political group
Promotional content (non-commercial)	Promoting the leader's activities to increase online/offline visibility
Commercial content	Promotion of products for sale
Other	A relevant fandom-related theme not yet identified
Representation of the leader	
Successful/skilled	Highlights the leader's specific skills, professional competencies, or leadership traits
Party/candidate support	Depicts the leader engaged in partisan advocacy or supporting fellow party members
Honest/consistent	Illustrates consistency between the leader's personal conduct and their stated political values
Aesthetically attractive	Expressions of admiration for the leader's physical appearance or aesthetic style
Energetic/aggressive	Captures the leader exhibiting affective intensity, passion, or charismatic energy
Close to the people/"one of us"	Portrays the leader in relatable, everyday settings or engaging in routine interactions with citizens
Incompetent/weak/ineffective	Claims the leader is incompetent, unfit, or otherwise unqualified for their institutional role
Inconsistent	Emphasizes a perceived disconnect between the leader's public values and their private actions
Unattractive/grotesque	Features a satirical or distorted representation of the leader's physical traits
Snobbish	Portrays the leader as elitist, out of touch, or detached from the concerns of ordinary citizens
N.A.	The leader is entirely absent from the content (textual and visual)
Does the post contain irony?	
Celebratory/positive	Affirmative humour or jokes intended to enhance the leader's public image

(continued)

Table A4 (continued)

<i>Category</i>	<i>Definition</i>
Denigrating/negative N.A.	Mockery directed at the leader
Leader's attire	
Formal	Suit and tie (men) or business suit (women)
Smart casual	Shirt without tie (men) and/or without jacket (women)
Informal	Informal or casual attire (e.g., sportswear, t-shirts, or workwear)
Explicit comparison	
Political opposition	Political antagonism or conflict between the leader and other political actors
Media opposition	Media antagonism or conflict between the leader and journalists/media outlets
Media support	Consensus or alignment between the leader's stance and media actors
Political support	Shared goals or proximity with other political actors
N.A.	No reference to other actors
Party symbol present?	Yes / No
Visual cultural references	
Pop	References to contemporary popular culture
Intrinsically political	Political symbols (flags, EU, non-partisan political orgs)
Religious	References to religion
Gastronomic	Food, beverages, or agricultural products
Sporting	Symbols of sports organizations, personalities, or events
Law enforcement/military N.A.	References to the police or armed forces
Publisher profile	
Ordinary user	Ordinary individual not fitting other categories
Hashtag leader	The leader the hashtag refers to
Other political actor	Professional politician (not the hashtag leader)
Party (national/local)	Official page of a political party
News or meme pages	General interest, news, or meme-focused pages
Political (anti-)fan-page	Page focused on a politician or political cause (positive or negative)
Media actors	Journalist or news website page
Non-political celebrity	High-profile, non-political figure
Media extracts?	Yes (direct/indirect quotes)/no
Post type	Photo, photo with text, collage, screenshot, infographic, caricature, text only
Selfie	Yes/no