

Appendix A. Coding rules for leadership presentation

egory	Operational definition	Typical visual cues	Illustrative examples
Agentic	Leadership is primarily communicated through competence, confidence, authority, dominance, decisiveness, or institutional power.	Official political settings (parliament, government buildings, diplomatic meetings, military visits); speeches; signing legislation; leading meetings; formal business attire; restrained emotional expression; determined posture or movement.	Leader giving a speech from a podium; signing legislation; leading a cabinet meeting; official press conference; determined portrait looking into the distance; headshot with serious look into camera.
Communal	Leadership is primarily communicated through warmth, friendliness, empathy, cooperation, accessibility, or interpersonal connection.	Smiling or laughing; listening; eye contact; hugging; physical proximity; informal conversations; interaction with supporters or citizens; family moments; symbolic gestures directed toward followers (e.g., wishing Merry Christmas or raising a glass).	Leader laughing with a citizen outdoors; politician hugging a child or attentively listening to a citizen; politician making a toast toward the audience by raising glass towards followers.
Hybrid	Both agentic and communal dimensions are present, with neither dominating the overall visual message.	Combination of institutional context and visible interpersonal warmth.	Leader participating in a televised political debate while warmly engaging with other participants; leader sharing a selfie with others in parliament.
Missing/unclear	The image primarily communicates symbolic presence or political branding rather than enacted leadership or interpersonal warmth.	Applied for two reasons: (1) technical limitations, such as small or distant images where the leader is barely identifiable; or (2) genuine ambiguity, such as portraits without a clearly agentic (purposeful, authoritative) or communal (warm, inviting) expression.	Leader visible from very far; photo functioning as a logo within a graphic; no clear leadership signaling.

Appendix B. Tables & Figures

Table A1. Generalized linear mixed-effects models predicting visual self-presentation

<i>Predictors</i>	Gender only				Platform only				Main effects				Gender $\tilde{A}$ — Platform			
	<i>Odds Ratios</i>	<i>std. Error</i>	<i>CI</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Odds Ratios</i>	<i>std. Error</i>	<i>CI</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Odds Ratios</i>	<i>std. Error</i>	<i>CI</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Odds Ratios</i>	<i>std. Error</i>	<i>CI</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	3.42	2.45	0.00 – Inf	0.085	1.32	0.85	0.00 – Inf	0.668	2.94	2.29	0.00 – Inf	0.167	4.85	4.11	0.00 – Inf	0.063
Gender [Male]	0.23	0.23	0.00 – Inf	0.145					0.20	0.22	0.00 – Inf	0.141	0.06	0.07	0.00 – Inf	0.020
Platform [Instagram]					3.26	0.72	0.00 – Inf	<0.001	3.27	0.72	0.00 – Inf	<0.001	1.15	0.35	0.00 – Inf	0.649
Platform [X]					0.67	0.13	0.00 – Inf	0.045	0.67	0.13	0.00 – Inf	0.045	0.37	0.10	0.00 – Inf	<0.001
Gender [Male] * Platform [Instagram]													9.26	4.29	0.00 – Inf	<0.001
Gender [Male] * Platform [X]													3.95	1.70	0.00 – Inf	0.001
ICC	0.31				0.42				0.34				0.38			
N	6 Politician				6 Politician				6 Politician				6 Politician			
Observations	900				900				900				900			
Marginal R ² / Conditional R ²	0.102 / 0.381				0.074 / 0.462				0.179 / 0.462				0.197 / 0.502			
AIC	939.861				884.112				884.256				863.085			

APPENDIX TABLE A2. PREDICTED PROBABILITIES

MODEL 1: Gender only

	Gender	prob	SE	df	asympt.LCL	asympt.UCL
1	Female	0.7738842	0.1250272	Inf	0.4576010	0.9328148
2	Male	0.4400885	0.1758752	Inf	0.1625026	0.7609906

MODEL 2: Platform only

	Platform	prob	SE	df	asympt.LCL	asympt.UCL
1	Facebook	0.5688785	0.15846353	Inf	0.2710926	0.8239932
2	Instagram	0.8116075	0.09958149	Inf	0.5458707	0.9391737
3	X	0.4689065	0.16078830	Inf	0.1994101	0.7578478

MODEL 3: Main effects

	Gender	Platform	prob	SE	df	asympt.LCL	asympt.UCL
1	Female	Facebook	0.7460489	0.14759724	Inf	0.38954035	0.9311534
2	Male	Facebook	0.3712308	0.18203429	Inf	0.11350364	0.7313656
3	Female	Instagram	0.9056975	0.06724405	Inf	0.67240709	0.9782320
4	Male	Instagram	0.6587230	0.17539505	Inf	0.29492966	0.8990559
5	Female	X	0.6628655	0.17379153	Inf	0.29982501	0.9002775
6	Male	X	0.2832292	0.15843577	Inf	0.07884696	0.6459122

MODEL 4: Gender × Platform

	Gender	Platform	prob	SE	df	asympt.LCL	asympt.UCL
1	Female	Facebook	0.8290381	0.1202515	Inf	0.47899501	0.9623744
2	Male	Facebook	0.2283644	0.1507887	Inf	0.05241434	0.6129186

3	Female	Instagram	0.8476337	0.1098370	Inf	0.51232237	0.9671697
4	Male	Instagram	0.7587408	0.1555152	Inf	0.37301029	0.9432620
5	Female	X	0.6420674	0.1930348	Inf	0.25694180	0.9029658
6	Male	X	0.3016216	0.1795994	Inf	0.07511302	0.6966724

APPENDIX TABLE A3. REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS

Model 1

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	1.230375	0.7144923	1.722027	0.08506469
GenderMale	-1.471178	1.0098687	-1.456801	0.14517129

Model 2

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	0.2772767	0.6461154	0.4291443	6.678182e-01
PlatformInstagram	1.1832128	0.2193525	5.3941167	6.886144e-08
PlatformX	-0.4018114	0.2007674	-2.0013776	4.535171e-02

Model 3

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	1.0776495	0.7790420	1.383301	1.665726e-01
GenderMale	-1.6045896	1.0904527	-1.471489	1.411588e-01
PlatformInstagram	1.1845487	0.2195125	5.396269	6.804106e-08
PlatformX	-0.4015593	0.2007171	-2.000624	4.543297e-02

Model 4

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	1.5788254	0.8484313	1.8608759	6.276170e-02
GenderMale	-2.7963953	1.2051588	-2.3203542	2.032173e-02
PlatformInstagram	0.1373359	0.3020220	0.4547215	6.493096e-01
PlatformX	-0.9944769	0.2782585	-3.5739323	3.516599e-04
GenderMale:PlatformInstagram	2.2260224	0.4633680	4.8040057	1.555224e-06

GenderMale:PlatformX 1.3724591 0.4312275 3.1826803 1.459186e-03

APPENDIX TABLE A3. OUTPUT CROSSTABS, CHI-SQUARE LEADERSHIP STYLES

Platform	N	Agentic	Communal	Hybrid
Facebook	143	77 (53.85%)	34 (23.78%)	32 (22.38%)
Instagram	202	96 (47.52%)	47 (23.27%)	59 (29.21%)
X	140	79 (56.43%)	29 (20.71%)	32 (22.86%)
Female	308	175 (56.82%)	62 (20.13%)	71 (23.05%)
Male	177	77 (43.50%)	48 (27.12%)	52 (29.38%)
Alice Weidel	92	73 (79.35%)	1 (1.09%)	18 (19.57%)
Geert Wilders	20	15 (75.00%)	2 (10.00%)	3 (15.00%)
Giorgia Meloni	88	37 (42.05%)	17 (19.32%)	34 (38.64%)
Marine Le Pen	128	65 (50.78%)	44 (34.38%)	19 (14.84%)
Nigel Farage	108	40 (37.04%)	35 (32.41%)	33 (30.56%)
Tom van Grieken	49	22 (44.90%)	11 (22.45%)	16 (32.65%)

Comparison	χ^2	df	p	Cramér's V
Platform $\times$ Leadership	3.772	4	0.438	0.062
Gender $\times$ Leadership	8.03	2	0.018	0.129
Politician $\times$ Leadership	71.058	10	< .001	0.271

Platform	Female\nAgentic	Female\nCommunal	Female\nHybrid	Male\nAgentic	Male\nCommunal	Male\nHybrid	χ^2	df	p	Cramér's V
Facebook	60 (60.00%)	17 (17.00%)	23 (23.00%)	17 (39.53%)	17 (39.53%)	9 (20.93%)	8.819	2	0.012	0.248
Instagram	59 (50.00%)	24 (20.34%)	35 (29.66%)	37 (44.05%)	23 (27.38%)	24 (28.57%)	1.432	2	0.489	0.084
X	56 (62.22%)	21 (23.33%)	13 (14.44%)	23 (46.00%)	8 (16.00%)	19 (38.00%)	10.136	2	0.006	0.269

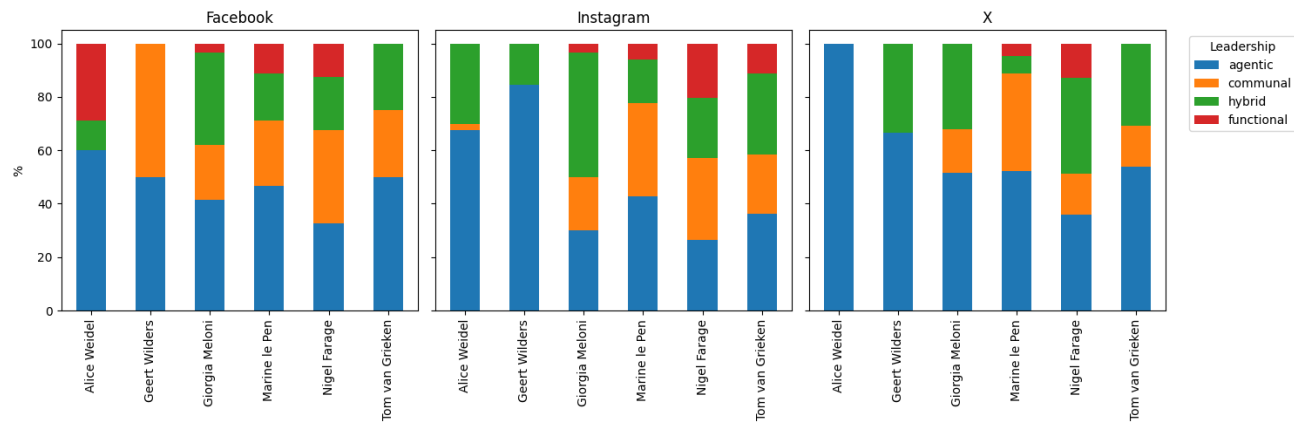


Figure 1: leadership representation split by leaders and platforms, including functional/missing category