

- 1 **Supplementary Material**
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- 3 **Table A1.** Summary of the collected sample.

Country	Party	Vote %	Posts	Likes	Comments	Shares
Ukraine	Servant of the people (SP)	43,16	230	1259	145	293
	Opposition platform - for life (OP)	13,05	380	19.7	1.1	1.9
	Fatherland (Fthl)	8,18	190	225	97.4	60.2
	European Solidarity (ES)	8,10	221	2196	220	400
	Holos	5,82	511	963	102	169
Russia	United Russia (UR)	50,88	191	79.4	9	10.8
	Communist	19,33	72	111	18	25.9
	A Just Russia — For Truth (JR)	7,71	90	50	6.9	8.8
	Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR)	7,62	64	11.1	2.5	2.9
	New People (NP)	5,43	14	42.4	6.4	4.1

- 4 Notes: For likes, comments and shares the mean values are indicated

- 5 **Table A2. Descriptive statistics**

	Ru		Ukr	
	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation
Patriotism	0.087	0.282	0.104	0.305
War & military	0.000	0.000	0.042	0.201
Defense	0.007	0.083	0.089	0.285

Foreign & international	0.012	0.106	0.094	0.293
Populism (anti-elite)	0.176	0.381	0.145	0.353
Populism (pro-people)	0.055	0.228	0.286	0.452
Polity	0.030	0.170	0.062	0.242
Politics	0.311	0.463	0.381	0.486
Economic policy	0.057	0.232	0.057	0.232
Family & social policy	0.226	0.419	0.071	0.256
Corruption policy	0.014	0.116	0.020	0.141
Infrastructure & energy policy	0.055	0.228	0.054	0.226
Other policy	0.331	0.471	0.271	0.445
Positive / negative tone	0.767	0.801	0.912	0.971
Personal framing	0.304	0.460	0.324	0.468
Video	0.459	0.499	0.300	0.458
Foto	0.539	0.499	0.565	0.496

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7 **Table A3.** Negative binomial model of campaigning strategies effects on users likes, shares, comments.

	Model 1 (likes)		Model 2 (shares)		Model 3 (comments)	
	Ukr	Ru	Ukr	Ru	Ukr	Ru
Intercept	5.011***	-16.28	4.026***	-31.82	4.340***	-32.80
	(0.115)	(1931.8)	(0.156)	(4.8e+06)	(0.153)	(6.8e+06)
Patriotism	-0.140	0.336**	-0.302	0.177	-0.298*	0.502*

	(0.090)	(0.114)	(0.126)	(0.182)	(0.125)	(0.221)
War & military	-0.375**	NA	-0.513**	NA	-0.540**	NA
	(0.145)		(0.196)		(0.194)	
Defense	0.387***	0.489	0.808***	0.482	0.643***	-0.232
	(0.103)	(0.376)	(0.141)	(0.408)	(0.140)	(0.752)
Foreign & international	0.172†	0.139	0.429**	0.322	0.279†	0.517
	(0.102)	(0.311)	(0.143)	(0.494)	(0.142)	(0.594)
Populism (anti-elite)	0.027	0.247**	0.177	0.380*	0.081	0.164
	(0.086)	(0.094)	(0.116)	(0.149)	(0.113)	(0.284)
Populism (pro-people)	0.085	-0.053	0.030	-0.099	-0.022	-0.036
	(0.064)	(0.147)	(0.089)	(0.234)	(0.088)	(0.284)
Polity	-0.027	0.486*	-0.086	0.620†	-0.253	1.021*
	(0.116)	(0.213)	(0.158)	(0.341)	(0.156)	(0.408)
Politics	0.174*	-0.202*	0.217*	-0.069	0.172†	-0.104
	(0.076)	(0.101)	(0.105)	(0.162)	(0.104)	(0.197)
Economic Policy	0.234†	-0.041	0.449**	-0.107	0.422**	0.168
	(0.120)	(0.141)	(0.162)	(0.224)	(0.158)	(0.274)
Family & social policy	-0.405***	-0.135	-0.706***	-0.264†	-0.528***	0.240
	(0.112)	(0.096)	(0.151)	(0.153)	(0.148)	(0.186)
Corruption policy	-0.419*	-0.288	-0.518†	-0.107	-0.462†	-0.121
	(0.197)	(0.288)	(0.266)	(0.451)	(0.260)	(0.550)

Infrastructure & energy policy	-0.237*	-0.387*	-0.117	-0.569*	-0.247	0.043
	(0.121)	(0.150)	(0.165)	(0.247)	(0.162)	(0.291)
Other policy	0.304***	-0.153†	0.336***	-0.052	0.105	-0.131
	(0.075)	(0.093)	(0.102)	(0.148)	(0.101)	(0.180)
Emotional framing	-0.116***	0.102*	-0.184***	0.044	-0.060	0.009
	(0.030)	(0.041)	(0.042)	(0.066)	(0.041)	(0.080)
Personal framing	-0.052	0.135†	-0.196*	0.064	0.040	0.098
	(0.058)	(0.072)	(0.080)	(0.114)	(0.080)	(0.139)
Video	0.560***	19.88	0.650***	33.75	0.621	34.40
	(0.090)	(1931.8)	(0.122)	(4.8e+06)	(0.120)***	(6.8e+06)
Photo	0.514***	20.31	0.046	33.78	0.271*	34.69
	(0.087)	(1931.8)	(0.119)	(4.8e+06)	(0.117)	(6.8e+06)
ES / LDPR	2.104***	-1.568***	1.583***	-1.082***	0.432**	-1.063***
	(0.108)	(0.118)	(0.145)	(0.192)	(0.141)	(0.231)
Holos/ Communists	1.283***	0.799***	0.596***	1.033***	-0.332**	1.078***
	(0.098)	(0.107)	(0.132)	(0.170)	(0.129)	(0.208)
OP / UR	-2.523***	0.500***	-3.477***	0.362*	-4.694***	0.261
	(0.105)	(0.088)	(0.146)	(0.141)	(0.147)	(0.172)
SP / NP	1.540***	-0.239	1.357***	-0.805*	0.189	-0.106
	(0.109)	(0.203)	(0.147)	(0.342)	(0.143)	(0.396)
Log-likelihood	-21,891.12	-4207.766	-15,586.83	-2877.128	-14605.49	-2678.523

Dispersion parameter	.90 (.03)	2.60(.18)	.50 (.02)	1.06(.08)	.53(.02)	.72(.05)
AIC	21937	4251	15633	2921	14651	2723

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9 **Table A4.** Negative binomial model of campaigning strategies effects on users engagement (controlling  
10 for number of followers)

	Ukr	Ru
Intercept	6.377*** (0.263)	86.35** (31.67)
Patriotism	-0.145 (0.092)	0.398** (0.124)
War & military	-0.357* (0.145)	NA
Defense	0.456*** (0.106)	0.512 (0.406)
Foreign & international	0.230* (0.105)	0.161 (0.332)
Populism (anti-elite)	0.055 (0.087)	0.207* (0.101)
Populism (pro-people)	0.060 (0.066)	-0.175 (0.160)
Polity	-0.080 (0.119)	0.572* (0.230)
Politics	0.180* (0.079)	-0.124 (0.113)
Economic Policy	0.274* (0.122)	-0.024 (0.153)
Family & social Policy	-0.510*** (0.114)	-0.040 (0.104)
Corruption Policy	-0.420* (0.201)	-0.065 (0.308)
Infrastructure & energy Policy	-0.249* (0.126)	-0.395* (0.162)
Other Policy	0.296*** (0.077)	-0.195† (0.100)
Positive / negative tone	-0.102*** (0.031)	0.074 (0.045)
Personal framing	-0.069 (0.060)	0.010 (0.078)
Video	0.517*** (0.092)	36.22 (5.7e+06)
Photo	0.340*** (0.089)	35.60 (5.7e+06)
Followers	-0.000* (0.000)	-0.001** (0.5e-03)
ES / LDPR	1.715*** (0.113)	-5.627** (2.117)
Holos/ Communists	0.544** (0.189)	4.656* (1.835)
OP / UR	-3.421*** (0.240)	2.193** (0.829)
SP / NP	0.900*** (0.184)	-7.726** (2.973)
Log-likelihood	-22,968.77	-4,533.941

Dispersion parameter	.86 (.03)	2.18(.14)
AIC	23017	4578
N cases	1532	431

11 *Sig.*: †  $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ . Standard Errors in parentheses.

12 *Questions for coding categories.*

13 Patriotism: This variable encompasses posts that feature images with patriotic elements, such as patriotic  
 14 gestures (e.g., an intentional hand on the heart during national references, salutes, or paying tribute to  
 15 the flag). Additionally, it includes images featuring patriotic symbols like coats of arms and the national  
 16 flag. The specific symbolic elements used may vary depending on the geographical context, incorporating  
 17 symbolics relevant to the specific territory or country region.

18 War and Military Conflicts: This variable encompasses posts that make references to wars and military  
 19 conflicts in which the analyzed country is involved, participates, or plays an active role.

20 Defense Policy: This variable encompasses posts referring to various aspects of defense policy, including  
 21 national security, the military, external security, peace policy, and détente policy.

22 Foreign Policy and International Relations: This variable includes posts addressing foreign policy issues.  
 23 This category encompasses topics such as relations with other countries, interactions with international  
 24 organizations (e.g., UN, NATO), development policy, arms trade, sanctions, and more.

25 Populism (anti-elite): This variable examines whether a post criticizes or assigns blame to the political elite  
 26 in a broad sense.

27 Populism (pro-people): This category assesses whether the post directly appeals to "the people" as a  
 28 unified community or as the political authority.

29 Polity: This variable focuses on the institutional and normative aspects of politics, including structures,  
 30 laws, and institutions. Examples include the political order, electoral systems, and relationships between  
 31 the state and other entities such as churches.

32 Politics: This variable pertains to the processual aspects of politics, such as legislative processes, election  
 33 campaigning, and information on current or past poll numbers and public opinion polls.

34 Economic Policy: This variable focuses on topics related to the economy and finance, including issues like  
35 the European crisis, austerity measures, trade agreements, protectionism, taxes, national debt, budgetary  
36 policy, agriculture, enterprise policy, and consumer protection.

37 Family & Social Policy: This category encompasses policies concerning families, children, labor, and social  
38 issues. Examples include childcare, youth policy, parental allowance, protection for expectant mothers,  
39 pensions, wages, labor market policies, and the welfare state.

40 Corruption Policy: This variable pertains to policy measures aimed at addressing corruption, as well as the  
41 general problem of corruption.

42 Infrastructure & Energy Policy: This variable covers topics related to transport, infrastructure, and energy  
43 policy, including public transportation infrastructure, energy system transformation, and electricity prices.

44 Other Policy: This category encompasses various policy topics not covered by the previous variables, such  
45 as health policy, crime rates, political radicalism, immigration policy, environmental policy, education,  
46 sports, culture, and more.

47 Personal Framing: This variable captures references to personal aspects of a candidate's life, including  
48 their professional competence, activities, home and family life, and personal preferences.

49 Positive/Negative Tone (Scale Variable): This variable measures the overall tone of posts, ranging from 0  
50 to 3 on a scale where 0 indicates a neutral tone (neither negative nor positive), 1 indicates only a positive  
51 tone, 2 indicates a combination of positive and negative tones, and 3 indicates only a negative  
52 tone. Positive Tone: posts with a positive tone acclaim or portray the supported candidate, party, topic, or  
53 issue in a favorable light. They may applaud the actions of the respective party or candidate and convey  
54 supportive sentiments. Negative Tone: posts with a negative tone contain negative statements, images,  
55 and emotions characterized by refusal, hostility, dislike, or hatred. These posts may express strong  
56 negative emotions and may include images depicting negative facial expressions or gestures, which are  
57 particularly influential in conveying the negative tone.

58 *\* The described variables, with the exception of Positive/Negative tone, are binary dummy variables scaled*  
59 *from 0 to 1. A score of 0 indicates that the specific topic was not mentioned in the post, while a score of 1*  
60 *indicates that the topic was mentioned.*

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