

Appendix 4b: Coding scheme for tweets

Thematic Categories TW1-16	Possibilities, examples Coding rules	
April 5 reception on Twitter	<i>Tweet can fit into multiple categories.</i>	
TW1. Emotional	Emotional reactions, comments after viewing. <i>Any one emotionally loaded word makes tweet fit this category</i> “Shocked after seeing”, “this is depressing”, “makes me sad”, “angry”, “Goddamn”, “nuts”, “OMG!”	
TW2. News notification (typically includes link)	a. Own frame	News is framed in own words, no clear traces of WCM frame “Video shows killing” <i>For these frames, also code rhetorical/lexical choices</i> <i>blow</i>
	b. WCM frame with attribution	WCM frame with attribution, subtle distance ‘Murder’ between brackets, “Wikileaks calls it “Collateral Murder””, “footage believed to show cover-up”...
	c. Exact WCM frame (copy)	Exact WCM frame (copy) Wikileaks LEAK retweet / Own words but clearly in Wikileaks frame: Video shows <i>Collateral Murder</i> in Iraq, and/or cover-up Note the term “indiscriminate slaying” was introduced by Wikileaks.
	d. Rejecting WCM frame	“You say zoom lens, I say RPG” – implying the soldiers were in the right (no Collateral Murder)
TW3. Media reaction	a. Neutral notifications	Neutral notifications or questions on story progress “Anybody seen official reactions yet?” “Video has now been watched 1,5 million times”
	b. Mainstream media criticism	Mainstream media coverage criticism (includes critical questions) “Media ignoring this video” “NYTimes falsely implies...” “Where’s the mainstream media?”
TW4. Anti-war, political comments	Comments implying dislike or disgust from war and conflict, and the government waging it, in general “This is how you win hearts and minds”, “war is terrible”, “we wonder why they hate us”, “love your government”, “someone should be accountable”, “human rights”	
TW5. Citation from video	Quoting helicopter pilots from the video “Ha, ha, I hit them”	
TW6. Recommendation after viewing	People telling one another to watch the video “MUST SEE!”, “Shouldn’t more people watch this?”	
TW7. Thanking Wikileaks	People thanking Wikileaks for leaking the video. “God bless Wikileaks”	
TW8. Video authenticity	Video is real, says authority, AP	
Other	Link to torrent, Wikileaks also publishes rules of Engagement, Calling the video “funny”	
Rhetorical & Lexical Categories TWR1-2, TWL1-2	Possibilities, examples Coding rules	
<i>For own frames in news notification tweets</i>	<i>Multiple adjective categories possible. Please note the term “2007 video” is not coded here.</i>	

TWR1. Adjective before 'video' OR 'footage' OR 'images', description immediately after (e.g. the video, which is graphic,...)	a. SOURCING Wikileaks('), Wikileaks "Collateral Murder" video [only with brackets], Wikileaks Iraq video, United States military
	b. CATEGORIZING AS WAR IMAGES Combat, war, Apache gunship, guncamera
	c. EMPHASIZING LEAKED/CLASSIFIED CHARACTER Classified, until now classified, long-sought, leaked, decrypted
	d. EMPHASIZING KILLING, SHOOTING (Iraq)-killing, Iraq (shooting), deadly
	e. LABELLING CONTROVERSIAL Contraversial
	f. EMPHASIZING SHOCKING CHARACTER Disturbing, shocking, graphic
	g. EMPHASIZING BRUTAL CHARACTER Brutal, grisly, harrowing, disgusting, deadly, sickening, depressing, deeply disturbing, gruesome
	h. PERTAINING TO QUALITY Gritty
	NO ADJECTIVE
	<i>Multiple labels possible</i>
TWR2. Labels for / description of incident	a. TECHNICAL TERM Attack (that killed), firefight, air attack, engagement, strike
	b. FOCUSSED ON THE ACT OF SHOOTING Shooting (at), firing (repeatedly) (on), opening fire on, raid
	c. FOCUSSED ON THE ACT OF KILLING Shooting <i>and</i> killing, killing(s), gunning down, gunned down, ...gunfire kills
	d. WCM FRAME WITH ATTRIBUTION What Wikileaks calls 'collateral murder', 'slaying', 'coverup'
	e. WCM FRAME COPY Murdering / murder, indiscriminate targeting and killing, slaying [without brackets], massacre, cover-up
	f. IN LINE WITH WCM FRAME 'Atrocity'
	g. ALTERNATIVE Grave and horrible mistake
	Others: no description of incident, f.i. Tweet: "Wikileaks posts combat video"
	<i>Only one victim category per unit of analysis, choose the one with most determined victims</i>
TWL1 .Victims As named in the tweet	a. IRAQIS / CIVILIANS People in Iraq, Iraqis, (Iraqi) civilians, (group of) men, more than a dozen Iraqis
	b. UNARMED CIVILIANS / IRAQIS Unarmed Iraqis, (Iraqi) civilians, (group of) men
	c. A GROUP OF MEN, SOME UNARMED (...a group of men, some of whom were) unarmed (men)
	d. ONLY JOURNALIST(S) ((Two) Reuters) journalists, employees, news photographer (and his driver)
	e. JOURNALISTS AND (POSSIBLY) ARMED MEN Men who are believed to be holding guns and ((two) Reuters) journalists
	f. UNARMED CIVILIANS / MEN AND JOURNALISTS Murder of <i>unarmed</i> civilians and journalists
	e. IRAQIS/PEOPLE AND JOURNALISTS Iraqis, group of men <i>and</i> journalists, group of men including journalists, "shooting into Iraqi crowd, including two Reuters employees", "killing reporters and (dozens of) others" (no 'armed' or 'unarmed')
	f. IRAQIS, JOURNALISTS and VAN COLLETING WOUNDED / CHILDREN

	Iraqis, group of men <i>and</i> journalists, group of men including journalists, “shooting into Iraqi crowd, killing two Reuters employees” and a van collecting the wounded(innocent civilians, children)
	OTHERS: NO VICTIMS MENTIONED
	<i>Only one culprit category per unit of analysis. Naming forces overrules naming the above</i>
TWL2. Culprit	a. COUNTRY, ARMY or HELICOPTER US, US Army, US military, US Army,military/American helicopter, Apache
	b. FORCES US (or American) forces (or soldiers, or troops, pilot, personell) “Video shows soldiers firing in on...”
	Others: no mention of ‘culprit’

April 7 follow-up on Twitter	
TW8. White House responds	The White House responds to the video.
TW9. Lost tape	Army, military cannot find its version of leaked tape
TW10. Journalism, media	Social media influence on journalism / war reportage / future of journalism
TW11. Video criticism	Criticism from US army, military, commentators: images lack context
TW12. Wikileaks	Focus on Wikileaks, the organization, precedents, history includes for instance tweets referring to NYTimes article “Notice to a Web Site” and notifications that Wikileaks has 10.000+ new followers
TW13. Broad discussion, questions over incident, what video shows	Does the video show murder? How to interpret the video? What are your views? Includes links to coverage on other platforms, f.i. Assange on Russia today, Al Jazeera with the families, <i>DemocracyNow</i> interview, Douglas Haddow’s popular article on “ <i>Grim truths</i> ”, Glenn Greenwalds “Iraq slaughter not an aberration”
TW14. Coverage notifications	Neutral notifications on story progress or questions “Anybody seen official reactions yet?” “Video has now been watched 1,5 million times”
TW15. Mainstream media criticism	Mainstream media coverage criticism “Media ignoring this video” “NYTimes falsely implies”
TW16. Iraq outrage	Outrage in Iraq after the video got published
TW17. Connection to other wars	“Incident happened over 90 times in Gaza”
TW18. Video authenticity confirmed / questioned	Video is real officials say, video may not be real military says
Other comments	“Where is the outrage?” “War crime takes two days to reach you”