Appendix 1 – Collection of metadata

Video metadata in terms of views, likes, comments and shares were originally taken from the TikTok API. However, on discovering that other researchers had found that the TikTok API often erroneously reported engagement data, sometimes by orders of magnitude (Pearson et al., 2024), the decision was taken to record metadata manually. Thus, the metadata on each video as reported here was taken later, from the 4th to the 7th of December 2024. Due to this, one caveat is that the engagement data presented may be slightly higher than that which occurred in the campaign proper. Nevertheless, this was done for a sound methodological reason as the slight inflation that may occur by any extra engagement after the initial surge is still likely to be more accurate than that obtained directly from the TikTok API (ibid). In addition, social media engagement tends to fall sharply after the initial surge (Bhattacharya et al, 2017), so provides an accurate representation of each post's engagement during the campaign. The same approach was used for Reels for consistency.

Appendix 2 – Intercoder reliability test results

Krippendorff's Alpha Scores

Dominant Figure	Clear Policy	Call To Action	Dominant Content	Meme	Humour	Walking /Selfie Video	Music via App	Slide Show	Mash-up/Montage/Duet
.7216	.7787	.6783	.6816	.8134	.8333	.8251	.8481	.9041	.6634

Percentage agreement

Dominant Figure	Clear Policy	Call To Action	Dominant Content	Meme	Humour	Walking /Selfie Video	Music via App	Slide Show	Mash-up/Montage/Duet
78.409%	92.045%	88.636%	78.409%	93.182%	93.182%	98.864%	95.4555%	97.727%	86.745%

Appendix 3: Full code book supplemented with notes for variables we draw tentative conclusions from

As shown in Appendix two, five variables fall in the tentative reliability score 0.667>0.800 (Krippendorff, 2018). Notes are added to the full coding scheme below to reflect on this.

Dominant figure

No Figure = 0

Leader of party = 1

Secretary of State / Minister / Candidate of party = 2

Opposition Leader = 3

Opposition Politician (Secretary of State / Minister / Candidate) = 4

Non-political figure = 5

The α score of 0.722 allows for tentative conclusions. Coders coded this based on who they thought was the dominant figure in a video. Videos containing multiple figure types may have impacted reliability here. To be more objective, future studies could calculate the time that figures appear on the screen for.

Clear policy (a policy proposal must be specific and clearly identifiable, for example 'improve the economy' would not count here)

Present = 1

Not Present = 0

Whether the video contains a clear policy proposal was coded as present or not and this category was at the higher end of tentative with a α score of 0.779. Videos discussing policies and issues may have caused some disagreement over whether the content contains a proposal, or a broad claim or issue discussion

Call to action

Present = 1

Not present = 0

Tentative α score of 0.6783. Call to action was coded as present or not and included calls to vote, contact other politicians, donate, attend events and any other call to action online or offline. Disagreements arose when calls to action were more passing rather than direct. For example, in one video 'we want to hear from voters' was coded as a call to action by one coder and not another. However, there was still 89% agreement on this variable.

Dominant content:

Original Content = 1

Re-use of Content from mainstream media / other Party social media = 2

Equal mix = 3

Original Infographics = 4

Tentative α score of 0.6816. Dominant content attempted to capture whether the content was produced originally for TikTok or Reels or whether it had been repurposed from traditional media or more longstanding social media. Disagreements occurred on videos where it was unclear whether the clips were repurposed from traditional media radio shows, or party-made discussion videos or podcasts. Percentage agreement approached 80%, so tentative conclusions are still possible.

Meme (classic template, memetic phrase or video, clip recontextualised for comic or memetic effect).

Present = 1

Not present = 0

Humour (interpret as clear attempt to be funny by poster)

Present = 1

Not present = 0

Walking while talking / selfie video

Present = 1

Not present = 0

Music via in-app widget (music plays via the platform feature, not the video itself)

Present = 1

Not present = 0

Slide Show

Present = 1

Not present = 0

Mashup/ montage/ duet (off the peg clip cut with new footage, successive shots for comic or dramatic effect or use of duet feature)

Present = 1

Not present = 0

Tentative α score of 0.6634. Coders disagreed on 11 out of 83 videos (constituting 86.75% raw agreement). The presence of a mashup, montage or duet was coded as present or not. A mashup is where multiple creatives are combined into one video, for example multiple videos pasted together consecutively, or shot showing bits of text, images and videos pasted on the screen. A montage is where separate pieces of film are pasted together to form a continuous whole and represented TikTokification due to norms on the platform. A duet was coded as a specific feature of social media where users can respond to videos posted by other users, showing both the original video and the creators' 'response' in a way that signals new trends because of the specific technological affordances to do so. Presence was coded as 1 where at least one of these features were present, and in practice posts did not contain more than one of these features in a single post. These are all common features on TikTok.

While this category initially appears to be fairly simple, cases of disagreement indicate where this is often murky. For example, some videos by the Labour Party consecutively showed Keir Starmer in different scenes in a slower, less 'fun' fashion, which does not intuitively feel like the same 'mash-up' trend but makes is hard to categorise. Future researchers using this schema could set additional requirements such as the speed at which scenes changes and any video effects added, in order to build on this reliability score.