Codebook and coding instructions

The Indonesian newspaper dataset

The codebook and instructions on coding has three sections:

A. An introduction to the project
B. Procedure and report eligibility for study
C. Content variable operational definitions

A. Introduction

The Research Project

For this research project I want to code the kinds of campaign events, endorsements, group appeals, and candidate attributes that appear in the Indonesian newspaper reports. Specifically, I'm interested in seeing how religious, indigenous, and local community aspects of campaigns have changed over time, from 1997 to 2014. This period covers a democratic transition in 1999 through to the consolidation of democracy and a shift from a party-centric electoral system (1997-2004) to a candidate-centric system (2009-2014). Overall, this is not meant to be a study of the press and how it selects and frames news reports. Instead, media reports of elections are used as a proxy for candidates' campaigns, providing valuable information on how candidates appeal to the masses.

Choice of Newspaper

This codebook for coding the reports was developed during the course of eight months of field research in Medan in 2010. Another field trip took place in 2014 to gather reports from the 2014 election. In 2010, some time was initially spent reviewing archives of number of newspapers published out of Medan, before I settled on *Waspada.* Newspaper archives were obtained from the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, the Indonesian National Library in Jakarta, and the National Library of Australia in Canberra. More contemporary newspaper archives were reviewed at KIPPAS, a media NGO in Medan. The regional papers reviewed included Mestika, Mimbar Umum, Sinar Baru, Waspada, Sinar Indonesia Baru, Analisa, and Sumut Pos. This review, plus interviews with journalists and constituents in North Sumatra, helped me choose the newspaper Waspada for detailed content analysis.

Four criteria guided the choice of *Waspada*.

1. Serves a multi-ethnic community.
2. Has extensive political coverage and to be broadly popular within the community. Rather than appealing to a niche group or nonpolitical interests, the paper has a large readership and is popular among different ethnic groups interested in local politics.
3. Has been in existence before Indonesia's transition to democracy and, has had no change in ownership.
4. Print archives from 1997-2014 were available.

Before coding, I photographed each entire paper for the month before and two weeks after each election. Most archives were photographed in Medan, others were photographed at the library of congress in Washington DC.

Codebook

To minimize the risk of inconsistent coding, a number of months were then spent analyzing sample reports and working on the codebook. During this time, I drafted the codebook a number of times, devising various coding fields and testing them on multiple sample reports. In initial codebooks, I attempted to code an extensive array of content. However, through testing, this was narrowed down to a smaller and more meaningful set of coding fields. Once the codebook was finalized, I created a graphical user interface for consistent data entry. The interface contained an image of the report alongside all possible coding options. Predefined drop-down options were built to maximize consistency. For each report, summaries of the important points were written and I transcribed each verbal appeal that was coded. This allowed me to easily review reports and appeals that I had previously coded to check for consistency during the coding process.

Beyond inconsistent coding, there is also the potential for misinterpreting verbal appeals and references to ethnic groups. One great advantage of doing much of the work on this project in Medan was that I was able to consult with research assistants, experts on the local media, constituents, campaign managers, and journalists on issues regarding interpretation of the reports and the use of ethnic campaign appeals. These conversations also enhanced my overall understanding of election campaigns in North Sumatra. Overall, by reading each and every report and discussing them with informed individuals, I was able to get a much deeper understanding of campaigns compared to just looking at outputted quantitative levels of appeals provided by coders. This approach leveraged the advantages of qualitative analysis and quantitative content analysis.

B. Procedure and Newspaper Report Eligibility for Study

After photographing newspapers, each issue was reviewed cover to cover and any articles that qualified as election articles were cropped and set aside for coding. In sampling reports for content analysis, I excluded reports on national politicians and party heads, reports on the organization and implementation of elections, opinion pieces, and editorials. These reports are not a significant source of information about how local candidates campaign. Candidates' newspaper advertisements were also excluded. While advertisements do contain campaign appeals, they require a different coding scheme than reports and have only became popular in the last few years.

The content analysis in focuses on three types of reports:

1. Interviews with local party leaders and candidates.
2. Reports on campaign events.
3. Paid advertorials on candidates and parties campaigns.

These reports form the bulk of election coverage and provide a great amount of detail on campaigns, including campaign events, endorsements, appeals to social and ethnic groups, as well as candidates attributes and qualifications. Studying these types of reports over time offers good measures of changes in electoral campaigns through Indonesia's democratic transition.

The official campaign period in Indonesia is relatively short, approximately 17-24 days for the elections covered in this analysis. Any report that fitted any of the three types above that were published in the three weeks before each election could be coded. However, I engaged in some random sampling by only coding every second report.

C. Content Variable Operational Definitions

Below lists and describes the variables used in the content analysis. I should note that in each report, multiple events, endorsements, group appeals, and candidate attributes could be coded. Often there were multiple endorsements, group appeals and references to candidate attributes in the same report. Also, occasionally a report covered more than one campaign event. The lists of options were generated while coding sample reports. Any relevant information in images and captions were also coded.

1. Index information

V1.1: **Article ID**: The article identification number is automatically assigned.

V1.2: **Coded:**

Coded
Not Coded

V1.3: **Title:** Title of article.

V1.4: **Page**: Page article was on.

V1.5: **Day**: Day article was published.

V1.6: **Month**: Day article was published.

V1.7: **Year:** Year article was published.

V1.8: **Report From:** District (*Kabupaten* or *Kota*) represented before the first line.

V1.9: **Political Party:** Select from list of options below.

List of options for party

Some party names have changed slightly from one election to another. The list below is the latest name for every party that contested in elections from 1997-2014.

	Full Name	Short Name
1	Partai Abul Yatama	PAY
2	Partai Aliansi Demokrat Indonesia	PADI
3	Partai Amanat Nasional	PAN
4	Partai Barisan Nasional	P.BarisanN
5	Partai Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Indonesia	PBI
6	Partai Bintang Reformasi	PBR
7	Partai Bulan Bintang	PBB
8	Partai Buruh	PB
9	Partai Buruh Nasional	P.BuruhN
10	Partai Cinta Damai	PCD
11	Partai Damai Sejahtera	PDS
12	Partai Daulat Rakyat	PDR
13	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan	PDI-P
14	Partai Demokrasi Kasih Bangsa	PDKB
15	Partai Demokrasi Kebangsaan	PDK
16	Partai Demokrasi Pembaruan	PDP
17	Partai Demokrat	PD
18	Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya	Gerindra
19	Partai Golongan Karya	Golkar
20	Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat	Hanura
21	Partai Ikatan Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia	IPKI
22	Partai Indonesia Baru	PIB
23	Partai Indonesia Sejahtera	PIS
24	Partai Islam Demokrat	PID
25	Partai Karya Peduli Bangsa	PKPB
26	Partai Karya Perjuangan	PKP
27	Partai Kasih Demokrasi Indonesia	PKD
28	Partai Keadilan	P.Keadilan
29	Partai Keadilan Dan Persatuan Indonesia	PKPI
30	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa	PKB
31	Partai Kebangkitan Muslim Indonesia	Kami
32	Partai Kebangkitan Nasional Ulama	PKNU
33	Partai Kebangkitan Umat	PKU

	Full Name	Short Name
34	Partai Kebangsaan Merdeka	PKM
35	Partai Kedadilan Sejahtera	PKS
36	Partai Kedaulatan	P.Kedaulatan
37	Partai Kristen Nasional Indonesia	Krisna
38	Partai Masyumi Baru	P.MasyumiB
39	Partai Matahari Bangsa	P.MatahariB
40	Partai Merdeka	PM
41	Partai Musyawarah Kekeluargaan Gotong Royong	MKGR
42	Partai Musyawarah Rakyat Banyak	Murba
43	Partai NasDem	NasDem
44	Partai Nasional Bangsa Indonesia	PNBI
45	Partai Nasional Benteng Kerakyatan Indonesia	PNBK
46	Partai Nasional Demokrat	PND
47	Partai Nasional Indonesia	PNI
48	Partai Nasional Indonesia Đ Front Marhaenis	PNIĐFrontMarhaenis
49	Partai Nasional Indonesia Marhaenisme	PNIM
50	Partai Patriot	P.Patriot
51	Partai Peduli Rakyat Nasional	PPRN
52	Partai Pekerja Indonesia	P.PekerjaI
53	Partai Pelopor	P.Pelopor
54	Partai Pemuda Indonesia	P.PemudaI
55	Partai Penegak Demokrasi Indonesia	PPDI
56	Partai Pengusah Dan Pekerja Indonesia	PPPI
57	Partai Perjuangan Indonesia Baru	PPIB
58	Partai Persatuan	P.Persatuan
59	Partai Persatuan Daerah	PPD
60	Partai Persatuan Nahdlatul Ummah Indonesia	PPNUI
61	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan	PPP
62	Partai Pilihan Rakyat	Pilar
63	Partai Politik Islam Indonesia Masyumi	Masyumi
64	Partai Rakyat Demokratik	PRD
65	Partai Rakyat Indonesia	Pari
66	Partai Republik	P.Republik

	Full Name	Short Name
67	Partai Republika Nusantara	Republikan
68	Partai Sarikat Indonesia	PSI
69	Partai Solidaritas Pekerja	PSP
70	Partai Solidaritas Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia	PSPSI
71	Partai Solidaritas Uni Nasional Indonesia	SUNI
72	Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia	PSII
73	Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia Ð 1905	PSIIÐ1905
74	Partai Umat Muslimin Indonesia	PUMI
75	Partai Ummat Islam	PUI
76	Partai Uni Demokrasi Indonesia	PUDI

V1.10: **Summary:** Summary of report pertinent to what needs coding.

2. Events

V2.1: **Event ID**: The event identification number is automatically assigned.

V2.2: **Event Comment:** Any comment on the numbers in attendance and the place.

V2.3: **Event Type**: Select the type of event or from list of options. Reports that took the form of an interview with the reporter, a statement from the candidate, or a profile piece on a candidate are not coded for any event and should be left blank.

List of options for event type

Party Events

1. **Political Rally:** Political rallies are a common campaign event. They are usually held in an open field that can hold large crowds, and have a stage set up for the candidate or candidates. To be a rally, the crowd must be at least a thousand. Most of the time it will be in the 1000s. While some religious or indigenous activities might take place at the rally (such as praying, giving of indigenous gifts), they should not constitute the main purpose of the event.
2. **Party Leader/Cadre Visit:** These events are similar to rallies but the audience for the candidate are party leaders, party cadre, and party campaign volunteers. It can include party meetings and party inauguration ceremonies. These are often at the offices of parties and party leaders.

Religious Events

3. **Religious Ceremony/Festival:** Included reports on candidate going to morning prayers, religious ceremonies, etc.
4. **Religious Group Visit:** Campaign events where the main audience is explicitly identified in terms of their religious identity. Includes candidate visits to Islamic women's groups, church congregation, Christian youth group etc.

Indigenous Events

5. **Indigenous Ceremony/Festival:** Indigenous ceremonies attended by candidates often include indigenous arts, dance, and other rituals.

6. **Indigenous Group Visit:** Campaign events where the main audience is explicitly identified in terms of their indigenous identity. Includes candidate visits to indigenous associations, youth groups, particular Batak clan (*marga)* etc.

Community Events

7. **Community Group Visit:** A community visit involves visits to a neighborhood. The candidate or candidates might walk around the neighborhood visiting individual households and/or they might have a small meeting with residents. Unlike rallies that are held in large open fields with large crowds, community events might have a few dozen, or at most 300 or so who listen and speak with the candidate. They are smaller and more intimate affairs. Community events should not be framed in the report in terms of the ethnicity or religious of the residents.
8. **Community Service Event:** Community service events is when a candidate or candidates are involved with others (often party members and residents) in doing some work in a neighborhood. One common event is 'fogging,' which is the eradication of mosquitos. Others include, offering basic free medical services, planting trees, picking up litter, clearing drains etc.
9. **Sports Event:** Examples include local soccer tournaments and sports fishing events.

Occupational Events

10. **Occupational Group Visit:** Candidate visits with groups primarily identified by their occupation. Includes candidate visits with teachers, farming, fishing, and motorbike driver (*becak)* associations.

Other Events

11. **Nationalist Group Visit:** Candidate visit to any nationalist group, such as Pancasila Youth (Pemuda Pancasila).
12. **Officeholder Visit:** Includes meetings with government officials such as district heads.
13. **Forum/Debate:** Candidate speaks at a forum on a particular topic/issue, or in debate with other candidates.
14. **Political Protest:** Candidate takes part in a political protest.

V2.4: **Event: Identity Religion**: If applicable, select the religious group identity from list of options.

List of options for Event: Identity Religion

1. **Islamic**
2. **Christian:** If only Christian is mentioned, not the particular type of Christian religion.
3. **Catholic**
4. **Charismatic**
5. **Protestant**
6. **Pentacostal**
7. **Methodist**
8. **Hindu**
9. **Buddhist**
10. **Confucian**
11. **Parmalin**
12. **Religion Gen/Var**: If it was a clearly religious event, but it was unclear what religion, or if it was some kind of multi-religious event.

V2.5: **Event: Identity Indigeneity**: If applicable, select the indigenous group identity from list of options.

List of options for Event: Identity Indigeneity

1. **Acehnese**
2. **Arabic**
3. **Batak:** If the Batak group is not specified.
4. **Batak Karo**
5. **Batak Mandailing**
6. **Batak Nias**
7. **Batak Pakpak**
8. **Batak Simalungun**
9. **Batak Tapanuli**
10. **Batak Toba**
11. **Chinese**
12. **Gayo**
13. **Hindustani**

14. **Javanese**
15. **Malay**
16. **Manortor**
17. **Minang**
18. **Pahae**
19. **Indigeneity Gen/Var:** If it was clearly an indigenous event, but it was unclear what indigenous group it was for, or if it was some kind of multi-indigenous event.

V2.6: **Event: Identity Occupation**: If applicable, select the occupational group identity from list of options.

List of options for Event: Identity Occupation

Agricultural Workers

1. **Farmers**
2. **Plantation Workers**
3. **Fishermen**

Urban Workers

4. **Market Traders**
5. **Kaki Lima**
6. **Transportation Workers**
7. **Becak Drivers**
8. **Small Business Owners**
9. **Working Class or Labor**
10. **Laborers**
11. **Journalists and Academics**

Civil Service Workers

12. **Police**
13. **Military**
14. **Bureaucrat Administrators**
15. **Teachers**

V2.7: **Event: Identity Other**: If applicable, select the 'other' group identity from list of options.

List of options for Event: Identity Other

Poor and Marginalized

1. **The Poor**
2. **Disaster Victims**
3. **The Oppressed**
4. **The Sick**
5. **Unemployed**

Women and Youth

6. **Child Orphans**
7. **Street Kids**
8. **Children**
9. **School Children**
10. **Students**
11. **Youth**
12. **Women**

Regional

13. **Urban**
14. **Rural**
15. **Provincial**
16. **Nation**
17. **Nation-Youth**

3. Elite support and endorsements

V3.1: **Support ID**: The support identification number is automatically assigned.

V3.2: **Support Comment**: Any comments relating to support.

V3.3: **Support Type**: Select the type of event or from list of options.

List of options for Support Type

Party Support

1. **Political Party (Head):** If the leader of the party leader is present at the event.
2. **Political Party (Leaders):** If there are other party leaders at the event. They must be serving party roles, or be candidates, at the provincial or national level to qualify as 'leaders'. Solo campaign events are not coded as Political Party (Leaders) even if the candidate is running for the provincial or national parliament. This is because there is no party leader support at their event.

Religious Support

3. **Religious House of Worship:** An elite representing a particular house of worship
4. **Religious Organization**
5. **Religious Education Institution**
6. **Religious Youth Group**
7. **Religious Womens Group**
8. **Religious Leader**

Indigenous Support

9. **Indigenous Association**
10. **Indigenous Youth Group**
11. **Indigenous Leader**

Community

12. **Community Association/Leader**
13. **Social & Sports Association**
14. **Educational Institute/NGO**
15. **Youth & Student Association**

Occupational

16. **Occupational Association**
17. **Business Association/Leader**

Other

18. **Nationalist Association**
19. **Local Government**

V3.4: **Support: Identity Religion**: If applicable, select the religious group identity from list of options (see the list V2.4 above).

V3.5: **Event: Identity Indigeneity**: If applicable, select the indigenous group identity from list of options (see the list V2.5 above).

V3.6: **Event: Identity Occupation**: If applicable, select the occupational group identity from list of options (see the list for V2.6 above).

V3.7: **Event: Identity Other**: If applicable, select the 'other' group identity from list of options (see the list for V2.7 above).

4. Verbal Appeals

Reports were coded for verbal appeals made by candidates in interviews and at campaign events. Verbal appeals by candidates came in two basic forms—appeals to issues or policy, and appeals to identity groups. The coding system allowed for each verbal appeal to be coded as an issue appeal, an identity group appeal, or both.

V4.1: **Verbal Appeal ID**: The verbal appeal identification number is automatically assigned.

V4.2:**Verbal Appeal Comment**: Any comments relating to the group appeal.

V4.3: **Social Group Appeals:** Candidates appealed to a particular identity group (ethnic and non-ethnic) when they made statements of support or admiration for a particular religious, indigenous, occupational, or other group. The identity group needed to be mentioned by name, or a term closely related to a particular identity group. Select the type of identity group appeal from list of options.

List of options for Group Appeal

Religious Group Appeal

1. **Islamic**
2. **Christian**
3. **Protestant**
4. **Methodist**
5. **Pentacostal**
6. **Charismatic**
7. **Catholic**
8. **Buddhist**
9. **Hindu**
10. **Confucian**
11. **Parmalin**
12. **Religion Gen/Var**

Indigenous Group Appeal

13. **Acehnese**
14. **Batak**
15. **Batak Karo**

16. **Batak Mandailing**
17. **Batak Nias**
18. **Batak Pakpak**
19. **Batak Simalungun**
20. **Batak Tapanuli**
21. **Batak Toba**
22. **Chinese**
23. **Gayo**
24. **Hindustani**
25. **Javanese**
26. **Malay**
27. **Minang**
28. **Indigeneity Gen/Var**

Occupational Group Appeal

29. **Agriculture-Fishermen**
30. **Agriculture-Traditional Fishermen**
31. **Agriculture-Farmers**
32. **Agriculture-Rice Farmers**
33. **Agriculture-Plantation Workers**
34. **Workers-Business Class**
35. **Workers-Middle Class**
36. **Workers-Working Class**
37. **Workers-Labor**
38. **Workers-Market Traders**
39. **Workers-Kaki Lima**
40. **Workers-Small Business Owners**
41. **Workers-Transportation Workers**
42. **Workers-Becak Drivers**
43. **Workers-Employeers**
44. **Workers-Businessmen**
45. **Workers-Small Business Owners**
46. **Workers-Laborers**
47. **Civil Service-Teachers**
48. **Civil Service-Government Workers**
49. **Civil Service-Police**

50. **Civil Service-Military**

The Poor Group Appeal

51. **The Underclass**
52. **The Poor**
53. **Rakyat Kecil**
54. **Rakyat Miskin**
55. **Lower Class**
56. **Less Fortunate**
57. **Disaster Victims**
58. **The Oppressed**
59. **The Sick**
60. **Unemployed**
61. **Child Orphans**
62. **Street Kids**

Women and Youth Group Appeals

63. **Women**
64. **Children**
65. **Youth**
66. **Elderly**
67. **Pelajar**
68. **Mahasiswa**

V4.4: **Issue/Policy Appeals:** Candidates appealed to issues when, for example, they emphasized their plans to boost the economy, policies on poverty reduction, support for local markets, programs to promote education, or concern over voter fraud. Issue politics is the main focus of these campaign messages and no specific identity group is mentioned. Some verbal appeals were both an appeal to an issue and a social group. In these cases the appeal was coded both as an issue appeal and an identity group appeal. For example, if a candidate made an appeal to increase teachers salaries to help improve the quality of education it was coded as an issue appeal (Government Services > Education) and an identity group appeal (Occupational-Civil Service > Teachers). Select the type of issue appeal from list of options.

List of options for Group Appeal

Agriculture

1. **Farming**
2. **Fishing**
3. **Loans & Investment**

Business

4. **International**
5. **Local Markets & Business**
6. **Loans & Investment**

Consumer Issues

7. **Goods & Utilities**
8. **Housing**

Corruption

9. **General Corruption**

Economy

10. **Budgets & Debt**
11. **Economic Development**
12. **Financial Crisis**

Government Services

13. **Bureaucracy**
14. **Education**
15. **Health**
16. **Sports**

Infrastructure

17. **Environmental Protection**
18. **Infrastructure Other**
19. **Natural Disasters**
20. **Transportation**

Jobs & Welfare

21. **Inequality & Poverty**
22. **Jobs & Income**
23. **Social Welfare**
24. **Tax**

Reform & Democracy

25. **Democratic Development**
26. **Economic Reform**
27. **Government Reform**
28. **Land Reform**

Ethnic

29. **Indigenous**
30. **Religious**

Security & Social Order

31. **Crime**
32. **Group Conflict**
33. **National Defense**
34. **Social Issues**

5. Candidate Attributes

V5.1: **Candidate Identity ID**: The candidate identification number is automatically assigned.

V5.2: **Candidate Identity Comment**: Type in the reference to the candidate's identity made in the article.

V5.3: **Candidate Identity:** Select the candidate's identity category that was referred to in the article from list of options.

List of options for Candidate Identity

Religion

1. **Islamic**

2. **Christian**
3. **Catholic**
4. **Charismatic**
5. **Protestant**
6. **Pentacostal**
7. **Methodist**
8. **Hindu**
9. **Buddhist**
10. **Confucian**
11. **Parmalin**

Indigeneity

12. **Acehnese**
13. **Arabic**
14. **Batak**
15. **Batak Karo**
16. **Batak Mandailing**
17. **Batak Nias**
18. **Batak Pakpak**
19. **Batak Simalungun**
20. **Batak Toba**
21. **Chinese**
22. **Gayo**
23. **Hindustani**
24. **Javanese**
25. **Malay**
26. **Manortor**
27. **Minang**
28. **Pahae**

Other

29. **Regional**
30. **National**
31. **Woman**
32. **Youth**

V5.4: **Candidate Experience ID**: The candidate identification number is automatically assigned.

V5.5: **Candidate Experience Comment**: Type in the reference to the candidate's work experience made in the article.

V5.6: **Candidate Experience:** Select the candidate's work experience that was referred to in the article from list of options.

List of options for Candidate Experience

Occupational Experience

1. **Business**
2. **Doctor**
3. **Education - Professor**
4. **Education - Teacher**
5. **Engineer**
6. **Housewife**
7. **Journalist**
8. **Laborer**
9. **Lawyer**
10. **Lobbyist**
11. **Politics - Bupati/Walikota**
12. **Politics - Diplomat**
13. **Politics - DPR-RI**
14. **Politics - DPRDK**
15. **Politics - Governor**
16. **Politics - Party Leader**
17. **Politics - President**
18. **The State - Bureaucracy**
19. **The State - Military**

Religious Organizations Experience

20. **Islamic Organization**
21. **Christian Organization**
22. **Islamic Women's Group**
23. **Christian Women's Group**

24. **Islamic Youth Group**
25. **Christian Youth Group**
26. **Islamic Teaching Institution**

Indigenous Organizations Experience

27. **Acehnese Organization**
28. **Batak Organization**
29. **Javanese Organization**
30. **Malay Organization**

Other Organizations Experience

31. **Activist Organization**
32. **Anti-Corruption Body**
33. **Business/Economic Associations**
34. **Education Organization**
35. **Nationalist Organization**
36. **Pemekaran Movement**
37. **Sports Organization**
38. **Youth Organization**
39. **Organization - General/Unknown**

V5.7: **Candidate Trait ID**: The candidate trait identification number is automatically assigned.

V5.8: **Candidate Trait Comment** Type in the reference to the candidate's personal trait made in the article.

V5.9: **Candidate Trait:** Select the most candidate's trait that is the best match for what was referred to in the article from list of options.

List of options for Candidate Trait

1. **Strong Leader**
2. **Compassionate & Empathetic**
3. **Honest Loyal & Hardworking**
4. **Intelligent**

5. **Moral**
6. **Other**