Codebook and coding instructions

The Indonesian election posters dataset

The creation of this large Indonesian election poster dataset would not have been possible without the help of a number of individuals. They all answered the call to go forth and photograph posters! A big thank you to Firman Witoelar for contacting SurveyMETER researchers to photograph posters. Aside from posters photographed by the author, researchers from personal networks and SurveyMETER who contributed posters to this project include: Dani Alfah, Abdullah Alwazin, Alpha Amirrachman, Colin Cahill, Erica Copeland, Kevin Fogg, Jesse Gerstin, Ruth Hastutiningsih, Bettie Landauer Menchik, Taufiq Nur, Christina Pomianek, Lacey Raak, Jacob Ricks, Megan Ryan, Danau Tanu, Bart Thanhauser, Ibrahim Zafar, and Muslim Zainuddin.

There were three main stages in data collection and processing of the election posters: photographing, processing and selection of eligible posters, and descriptive coding of posters. Descriptions of each stage and the code definitions follow.

A. Photographing posters

Indonesian election posters were photographed between 2009 and 2012 in legislative and regional head elections. They were photographed using digital cameras and the photographs of posters were stored in a database for coding and analysis.

2009 legislative elections

Posters from candidates competing in Indonesia's legislative elections were photographed in 2009. In April of that year, elections were held for national and local legislatures, including the national upper house, the national lower house, the provincial legislature, and the district legislatures. To obtain a geographically diverse sample of posters, researchers working for an Indonesian survey company, SurveyMETER, were recruited. SurveyMETER is an Indonesian NGO research institution that, over the last 15 years, has provided data collection, analysis, and research services. They have been responsible for gathering data for several iterations of Rand's longitudinal household surveys, known as the Indonesian Family Life Survey (IFLS). SurveyMETER researchers gather data for nationally representative samples, so they are spread out across Indonesia, in urban and rural areas. In the weeks before the election, an email was sent to them asking if they would photograph as many election posters as they could in the areas where they lived. They were instructed to photograph the entire poster. These poster photographs were gathered and stored in a database.

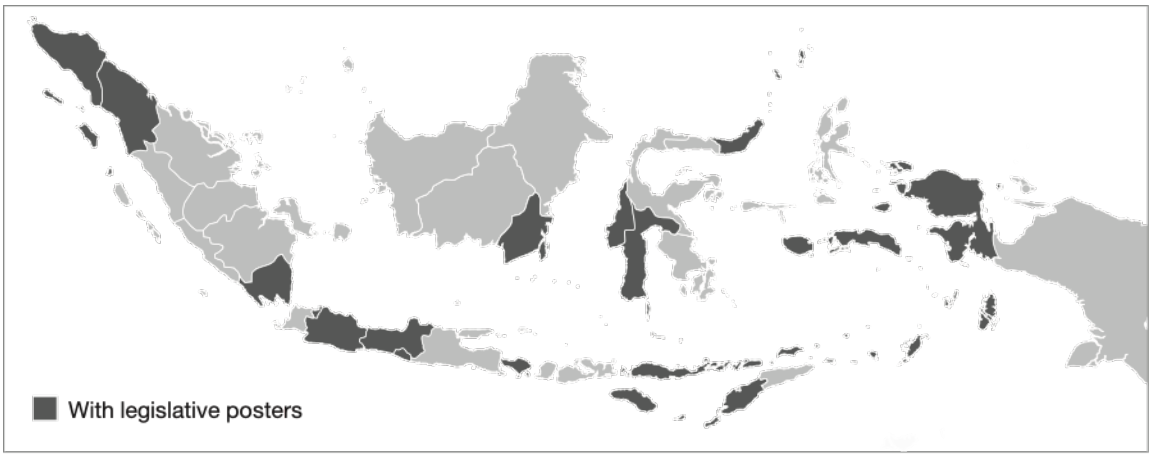


Figure c1. Provinces where legislative election posters were gathered.

2010 - 2012 regional head elections

Posters from candidates competing in regional head elections were photographed between 2010 and 2012. During this time, a number of regional head elections were being held on a rolling basis across the country. Regional head elections are executive elections for governors, mayors and regents for the second (provincial) and third tier of government (district). Regional head elections were introduced on a rolling basis across districts in 2005. By 2010, the first five-year term for many regional heads expired and new elections began in various provinces and districts. During 2010, an email was again sent to SurveyMETER researchers to photograph election posters. The dataset of regional head posters needed to be supplemented, however, because elections were not being held in all districts where SurveyMETER researchers lived. A personal network of researchers was drawn on to photograph regional head election posters in regions where they were working between 2010 and 2012. The author also photographed posters during numerous regional head elections over the same time period in North Sumatra, Central Java, and Maluku. All of these photographs were added to the dataset.

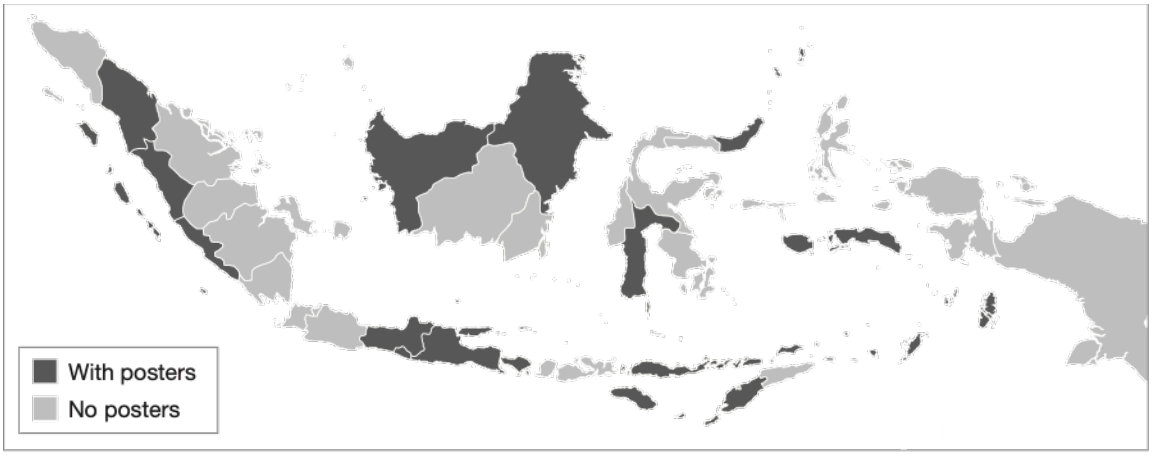


Figure c2. Provinces where regional head election posters were gathered.

B. Procedure and poster eligibility for study

After the posters were photographed they were processed in Adobe Lightroom, a professional photography archiving software. First, posters were sorted by party and candidate. Each photograph was cropped to one election poster and the set of posters was digitally enhanced for readability.

Next, five types of posters were excluded before coding.

1. *Irrelevant posters:* These are photos of posters that were mistakenly taken. Often they are pictures of older posters from a previous regional head election or posters advertising a product such as a cell phone or noodles.
2. *Poster or flag with no information:* These are posters or flags with no picture, no imagery, and no written appeal. To qualify as a poster they must at least have a name (and a party logo if for the legislative election).
3. *Party Poster:* These are posters that advertise a party as a whole, and do not mention a local candidate. They are not helpful in understanding the individual campaign behavior of candidates. Ultimately, these kinds of posters are very rare in contemporary elections in Indonesia.
4. *Group posters for the legislative elections:* Posters promoting groups of candidates from a political party competing in different legislative elections were also removed from the dataset to establish a tighter connection between the appeals on a poster and an individual candidate competing in a specific legislative election (e.g., national lower house, provincial legislature). This was particularly important for the analysis because the electoral districts for district, provincial, and national legislatures are of different sizes. As a result, they have different ethnic demographics. So, for example, a candidate competing for a district legislative seat might be competing in a small and ethnically homogenous electoral district. Meanwhile, a candidate in the same town competing for a national legislative seat could be competing in a much larger and more ethnically diverse electoral district.
5. *Duplicate poster:* Duplicate posters were posters with the same design and posted by the same candidate in different places in the electoral district. While some researchers included duplicate posters in the photographs they sent in, other researchers did not. To avoid any potential bias in the sample, it was decided to drop all duplicate posters.

Processing Note: Group election posters were very rare, so their removal had little impact on the size of the dataset. Interestingly, group posters were most common among the arguably most disciplined political parties—the Islamic party, the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS), and the Acehnese regional party, Party Aceh (Partai Aceh, PA). But even among these parties, group election posters were rare.

C. Content variable operational definitions

The codebook was developed during fieldwork in Indonesia. During this phase posters were coded in a largely descriptive way for their content. Posters were deconstructed into four parts—index information, candidate clothing, imagery, and textual content—each containing a number of fields.

Each poster was coded using Extensis Portfolio professional photo archiving software, which has extensive meta-tagging functions and allows the user to create custom fields with constrained drop-down options. This helped to streamline the process and ensure consistent data entry. The general approach to coding was to view multiple poster images at once and code for one variable. For example, first, code every poster for the presence or absence of an Indonesian flag; next, code the clothing of the first candidate, etc. This approach of focusing on one variable and doing multiple passes on the dataset proved to be the most reliable method.

The four deconstructed parts of the posters are described in detail in the following sections. In the options for coding, NA means not applicable. It is usually used for a second candidate when there is no second candidate in the poster, so the code is not applicable.



Figure c3. An illustration of an election poster from a district head election in Medan, North Sumatra. It highlights coded elements in a poster.

1. Index information
Each poster was coded for all index information.

BPS year: The date of the BPS admin codes for the election. There has been a lot of district splitting and the district codes (e.g. 1273 for Medan, North Sumatra) have changed over the years. BPS year is the date the district and provincial codes were released by the BPS.

Options

December 2008	for all posters from the 2009 legislative election
August 2009	for the regional head posters in 2010 and 2011

Candidate number: This is a unique number for each legislative candidate or head/deputy team in an electoral district. This is the candidate number on the ballot and it is always on candidate posters. In legislative elections it is the number the candidate is on the party list in that electoral district.
In the upper house national legislative elections (DPD) and the regional head elections it is a number assigned to the candidates, unique for their electoral district. Some potential regional head candidates put up posters, but never got assigned a number or made it onto the ballot. Ultimately they did not compete in the election. Code these 80 for the first one in the district, 81 for the next, etc.

Options

#	Candidate ballot number
80, 81, 82 etc.	for a candidate who, ultimately, did not get on the ballot (these were dropped)

Sub-electoral district number: The sub-electoral district number (*dapil*) that candidates for district legislatures were competing in. Assigned from electoral information and BPS codes.

Options
It is only relevant for district legislative elections.
Use 99 code, for all other elections.

District Code: The district number for districts that are the same as BPS administrative units. Assigned from electoral information and BPS codes.

Options	
Legislative district elections:	the code is the BPS district code (e.g. 1101)
District head elections:	the code is the BPS district code (e.g. 1101)
Governor elections:	the code is the BPS province code (e.g. 1100 for Aceh)
Legislative upper house (DPD)	the code is the BPS province code
Legislative lower house (DPR-RI)	blank
Legislative provincial:	blank

Electoral district number: The electoral district number. It is assigned from electoral information for the 2009 legislative elections or from the BPS district codes for the appropriate year.

Options	
1 to 9	(assigned number) for the national legislature (DPR-RI)
1 to 9	(assigned number) for the provincial legislature (DPRD Provinsi).
BPS district #	for district legislative elections (DPRD Kab/Kota)
BPS district #	for regional head elections.

Election: The election the candidate(s) in the poster are competing in. The legislative elections are from 2009. The regional head elections are from 2010 and 2011.

Options	
Leg_lowerh	the lower house of the national legislature
Leg_upperh	the upper house of the national legislature
Leg_pro	provincial legislature election
Leg_dis	district legislative election
Gov	provincial governor election
Dis_head	district head election (kabupaten and kota)

Province number: The assigned BPS province number.

Options	
BPS province #	(e.g. 1100 for Aceh).

Poster image name: The names of the poster image files.

Options
File name assigned e.g. WPapua_PSingle_ID1839.jpg

First candidate name: Name of the candidate on the poster. Does not have to be a picture, but there must be some name (or team name) on the poster to identify the candidate. If, in the case of regional head elections, there are 2 candidates on the poster, the name of the official head candidate should go here. If the deputy head candidate was the only candidate on the poster, the deputy head candidate's name goes here.

Options
Candidate name

Notes on transcribing names

- Do not use any suffix (e.g. Sh., SE,), prefix (e.g. Haji, H., Ir.,), or nicknames (which are often written in brackets). If you are unsure if a part of the name is a suffix, prefix or nickname, just include it.
- If there is a middle initial, put a full stop after it.
- Use title case – capitalize first letter of each name, and lower-case for the rest.
- If it happens that 2 candidates in the same province have the same name, then put a (1) after the first candidate, a (2) after the second candidate etc.
- If you notice that a candidate uses two variations of his/her name, then pick one of the variations for all the candidate's posters.

Example: Ir. Yusmaizal (YUS), should be typed in as 'Yusmaizal'.

Second candidate name: In regional head election posters, if there are two names and/or pictures of two candidates then a name goes here. It should be the name of the deputy candidate.

Options
Candidate name
NA (if only one regional head candidate or if it is a legislative poster)

Number of candidates: This is the number of candidates (in name at least) on the poster, either 1 or 2.

Options

1	for all legislative posters
1	for regional head posters that feature only the head or deputy candidate
2	for regional head posters that feature both the head and deputy candidate

Poster set: Variable to indicate if a poster is a coded poster from a set of 9 districts that were photographed intensively with GPS coordinates. These were all district head elections. Another dataset has all the same poster designs with the various GPS coordinates. The non-gps posters were not photographed with gps and lack any other posters with the same design. These are the legislative posters and some regional head posters.

Options

gps	from dataset of posters photographed intensively with gps
non-gps	all other posters.

Poster number: Some candidates had more than one poster design that was coded. Each unique poster design for a candidate got a number beginning with 1, then 2 etc.

Options

Poster #	for a unique poster design

Gender 1: This applies to the first candidate. All posters were coded with it because all posters applied to at least one candidate.

Options
Female
Male

Gender 2: This applies to the second candidate. In cases where there was no second candidate (all legislative candidates or when a regional head poster only promoted one candidate) this was marked as NA.

Options
Female
Male
NA if there is no candidate 2

Item Id: A unique id number for each poster that was generated in the coding software, 'Extensis Portfolio'. Used to identify posters in Extensis Portfolio.

Options
Assigned number in Extensis Portfolio.

Political party: This is a number for each party listed in an attached table of political parties. The acronym list has a few parties that were modified to make sure they were unique. Each party is coded with a number:

1. See tables for the full list of parties.
2. DPD candidates: they were not allowed to be members of political parties.
3. Regional heads: they could run as independents or be supported by multiple political parties. Data was not gathered on political parties.

2. Candidate Clothing

Four fields were created to code candidate clothing: the type of clothing, headdress, cloth accessory, and whether clothing was in the party color or used the party logo. Each field contains a fixed set of options and only one option can be selected for each field.

Clothing 1: The style of clothing for the first candidate. If the clothing is a traditional ethnic type of clothing, identify what the clothing is and select it if it is in the list (e.g. Ethnic Acehnese). If it is not in the list, add it. This is an emergent code, there are too many potential ethnic groups to list out.

Options

Ethnic
- Batik Modern
- Ethnic 'Group name' indigenous clothing, e.g. Ethnic Acehnese; add if not in the list

Religious
- Islamic
- Priest
- Buddhist
- Confucian
- Hindu

Uniforms
- Government
- Graduating_Gown
- Military or Police

Secular
- Dress
- Shirt
- Shirt and Tie
- Suit Jacket
- Suit Jacket Shirt and Tie
- Sweater or Casual Jacket

Other
- Unable to Interpret
- NA — When there is no picture of the candidate (common for deputy candidate in regional elections)
- X-None — When there is a candidate picture, but clothing is not visible

Clothing 2: The style of clothing for the second candidate. Use conventions and same list as for the first candidate.

Headdress 1: The style of headdress (anything that could be worn on the head) for the first candidate.

Options

Men
- Peci Black — truncated cone shaped hat, also called *songkok* or *kopiah*
- Peci Design Islamic
- Peci Design Unknown
- Turban

Women
- Jilbab — women's Islamic headdress (hejab)
- Selenda — looser cloth over the head
- Skullcap

Either
- Ethnic 'Group name' — indigenous headdress, e.g. Ethnic Acehnese; add if not in the list

Other

Other	e.g. baseball hat
Unable to Interpret	
NA	When there is no picture of the candidate (common for deputy candidate in regional elections)
X-None	When there is a candidate picture, but no headdress

Headdress 2: The style of headdress for the second candidate. Use conventions and same list as for the first candidate.

Cloth accessory 1: Any cloth accessory held by the first candidate or slung over their shoulder. Indigenous groups in Indonesia often accessorize their clothing with a long piece of indigenous material. For example, in North Sumatra, a number of ethnic Batak candidates draped a traditional cloth (an ulos) over the shoulder.

Options

Ethnic 'Group name'	(e.g. the Batak cloth, ulos, held on the arm or on the shoulder)
Islamic	(e.g. the turban cloth, *sorban*, held on the arm or around the neck)
Party	
Other	
Unable to Interpret	
NA	When there is no picture of the candidate (common for deputy candidate in regional elections)
X-None	When there is a candidate picture, but no cloth accessory

Cloth accessory 2: Any cloth accessory used by the second candidate. Use conventions and same list as for the first candidate.

Party clothing 1: Whether the first candidate wore official party clothing, used the party logo on their clothing, or used the party color prominently in their clothing (e.g. a red suit when the party color is red).

Options

Yes	
No	
Unable to interpret	
NA	When there is no picture of the candidate (common for deputy candidate in regional elections)

Party clothing 2: Whether the second candidate wore party colors or party logos. Use conventions and same list as for the first candidate.

3. Imagery

Supporting institution: Name of the institution or individual that is supporting/endorsing the candidate. Endorsements (often using logos) from a range of groups and actors, including local businesses and associations representing indigenous, religious, occupational, and youth groups, appeared on posters.

Options

Name of supporting institution	type name in
X-None	

Supporter identity: Identity category of the institution or individual that is supporting/endorsing the candidate.

Options

Ethnic, Religious & Nationalist

Ethnic 'Group name'	indigenous group/institution e.g. Ethnic Acehnese; add if not in the ethnic list
Religious 'description'	select from the religious list
Nationalism	for nationalist groups

Other

Candidate	candidates often set up their own supporting group
Youth	for secular community-oriented youth groups with no other explicit identity
Youth 'description'	for groups with explicit identity (e.g. Youth Ethnic Betawi), add if not in list
Other 'description'	add best description (e.g. Other Business, Other NGO, Other Sport) if not in list
Unable_to_Interpret	
X-None	

Party support: Presence and prominence of support for regional heads from parties. Legislative candidates always have the party logo, so this is only coded for regional head elections. Small party logo is discrete, large logos and presence of party leaders is prominent. Prominent means that it is hard to miss the fact that a particular party or parties are supporting the candidate. Small means you could easily miss the party support if you looked at the poster for a few seconds.

Options

Prominent	large party logos and/or prominent images of party leaders
Discrete	small logos and/or small images of party leaders
X-None	
NA	for all elections that were not regional head elections

Party logo or flag: Is the party logo or a party flag in the background of the poster.

Options

Yes
X-None
Unable to interpret

Elite image: Is there a political, indigenous, religious, or other elite in the poster, e.g. Megawati, Islamic leader, Christian leader, Javanese leader, etc. Select the code that best describes the leader.

Options

Ethnic, Religious & Nationalist

Ethnic 'Group name'	indigenous leader, e.g. Ethnic Acehnese; add if not on list
Religious 'description'	religious leader; add best description (e.g. Religious Christian) if not in list
Nationalism	nationalist leader

Political & Government

DPD-Leader	DPD politicians do not have a political party
Political-Party	A national or local party leader
Government 'description'	description e.g. 'Village head', 'Bupati' etc.; add if not in list
Military	

Other
Youth
Occupational
Family
Unable_to_interpret
X-None

Indonesian flag: Is there an Indonesian flag in the background or on the clothing.

Options
Yes
X-None
Unable to interpret

Imagery: There is a variety of other images, signs and symbols that can be in posters e.g. buildings and monuments, symbols and patterns, landscapes, events, maps, etc. Use emergent coding, with descriptive phrases used for these background elements. Code all images. Some guidelines are below.

Options	
Ethnic event 'group name'	add group name
People 'description'	add description for groups of people in posters e.g. kids, outdoor rally etc.
Scene 'description'	add description for a scene, e.g. Mecca, mountains, beach
Other 'description'	add description for other images e.g. Indonesia map, mosque, ethnic house Batak etc.

4. Textual content
Five fields were created to code textual content: common text messages, non-Indonesian language, non-Indonesian language transcription, non-Indonesian translation, and Indonesian transcription.

Common text messages: There were some common messages on posters. Select as many options from the list that apply.

Options	
Family Member(s)	
HP No/Office/Home Address	
Many Picture Captions	
Mohon Doa Phrase	forms of "Mohon Do'a Restu dan Dukungannya"
Promoting Pres Candidate	

Resume/CV Long
Visi/Misi Long
Website/Email Address
X-None

Non-Indonesian language: The name of any languages, other than Indonesian, used on the poster, e.g. Arabic, Javanese. Multiple languages can be selected.

Options

Name of ethnic language	select from ethnicity list e.g. Ethnic Acehnese
Arabic	
Dutch	
English	
Unable_to_interpret	
X-None	

Non-Indonesian transcription: Transcription of non-Indonesian language text. Type in all non-Indonesian text.

Non-Indonesian translation: Translation to English of non-Indonesian text. This field will be filled in after coding by a translator.

Indonesian transcription: Transcription of Indonesian-language text. Type in all Indonesian text.

Coding Challenges

The codebook and the interpretation of the election posters were undertaken during fieldwork in Indonesia. There were some challenges in coding the posters. Some of the posters contained elements specific to particular identity groups and regions that were difficult to identify. These included specific types of clothing, regional buildings, monuments, symbols, and patterns. Over the course of a year, Indonesian informants in Sumatra, Java, and Maluku were consulted to help identify unknown elements in the posters. Online resources, encyclopedias, and scholarly works on ethnic and religious clothing and architecture supplemented the identification of all poster elements. The interpretation of appeals (as indigenous-Javanese, religious-Muslim, nationalist, etc.) was aided with the help of regular Indonesians within the electoral districts. In addition, the coding protocol, interpretation issues, and some preliminary results were presented to a general audience and a panel of experts at two institutes in Jakarta. Their feedback also contributed to final revisions.