Online Appendix

Supplementary materials for the manuscript:
Islamic political parties and election campaigns in Indonesia

Includes methodological notes, descriptive and summary statistics, alternative models, supplementary figures, and an overview of the election poster data and codebook.

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Methodological Notes

A. Main Regression Models

Table A6 presents the statistical findings on the impact of the key variables on inclusive nationalist appeals and exclusive Islamic appeals. Regressions were run using all candidates, as well as with subsets of Muslim democratic and Islamist candidates. Each model contains all key independent variables and the controls.

B. Constituency Population Control Variable

Initially we included the log of the constituency's population as a control. The thinking was that nationalist or Islamic appeals could potentially be used more frequently in more populous constituencies in order to reach out across the population. However, its inclusion was somewhat problematic because all *national* constituencies are significantly larger in terms of size and population (average 3.1 million), compared to *regional* constituencies (average 1.3 million). As a result, there is some correlation with our regional/national variable. To investigate if population was driving differences in appeals we tried a few things:

1. We compared appeals by candidates competing in district (kabupaten/kota) elections with provincial elections. We found that while the average populations of provincial constituencies are larger than district constituencies (1.6 million versus 1 million), the level of nationalist and Islamic appeals was almost exactly the same among candidates in district and provincial elections (within 1-2 percent).
2. We ran all the models with and without population size to see what affect it had. It only affected the regional legislature variables and had practically no affect on the coefficients or significance of the population size and urbanization variables.
3. We checked to see if candidates' place of residence affected appeals (as opposed to population size). By focusing only on the 89 national (DPR-RI) candidates who served constituencies outside Jakarta, we could keep population size relatively constant. We found that 49 candidates of these candidates lived in Jakarta and made more nationalist and less Islamic appeals, compared to the 40 candidates who lived in their constituency among the people they served. This was in line with our expectations that living among your constituents affected appeals. It also helped us conclude that differences in appeals were not being driven by population size and so we excluded it from the models.

C. Alternative Models

While the predicted probabilities in this paper were based on Table A6, a number of alternative models were run in order to deal with a number of issues and to confirm that our findings in Table A6 held up.

1. Candidates who had a limited number of posters

One potential issue with the data was that we often had just one or two posters for a candidate. As a result, many candidates had a score of 0 or 1 on the dependent variables, creating non-normal distributions. As a robustness check, we dichotomized the dependent variables and used a logit model. Next, we considered the limited nature of the dependent variable using a Tobit model with a floor of 0 and a ceiling of 1. See Table A7 and Table A8.

2. Muslim headscarf

Another issue was coding Muslim women's headscarf as an Islamic symbol. In addition to including a binary variable for candidate gender in the main regression models (Table A6) to control for the use of the headscarf, we also ran separate regressions with all 125 female candidates in the dataset omitted. See Table A10.

3. Posters which contained both nationalist and Islamic appeals

A third concern was that 118 posters (16%) contained both nationalist and Islamic appeals. As a robustness check, alternative models were run excluding these posters in order to more clearly compare candidates' choice of nationalist and Islamic posters. See Table A11.

4. Poster as unit of analysis

As a final robustness check, we ran the regression models again using the poster as the unit of analysis (rather than the candidate's entire poster campaign). See Table A15.

Descriptive statistics

Table A1. Distribution of posters, candidates, and constituencies by province

				# Constituencies in the province with posters			
Province name	**Province number**	**# Posters**	**# Candidates**	**District (DPRD)**	**Province (DPRD)**	**National (DPD-RI)**	**All**
Aceh	1100	85	69	1	1	1	3
Sumatera Utara	1200	8	6	1	1	1	3
Lampung	1800	94	70	3	1	3	7
Jakarta	3100	63	46	0	3	5	8
Jawa Barat	3200	125	78	3	2	2	7
Jawa Tengah	3300	184	133	3	4	2	9
Yogyakarta	3400	89	74	4	1	4	9
Nusa Tenggara Timur	5300	17	16	1	1	1	3
Kalimantan Selatan	6300	21	18	1	1	1	3
Sulawesi Selatan	7300	11	10	1	1	1	3
Sulawesi Barat	7600	8	6	1	1	2	4
Maluku	8100	24	21	2	1	1	4
Papua Barat	9100	26	25	1	1	1	3
	Total	**755**	**572**	**22**	**19**	**25**	**66**

Table A2. Distribution of posters, candidates, and constituencies by party

						# Constituencies with posters			
Party Name	**Islamic nature**	**Regional/ National**	**Party Number**	**# Posters**	**# Candidates**	**District (DPRD)**	**Province (DPRD)**	**National (DPD-RI)**	**All**
PAAS	Islamic	Regional	2	5	5	1	0	1	2
PBA	Islamic	Regional	3	8	7	1	0	1	2
PDA	Islamic	Regional	4	7	4	1	0	0	1
PPNUI	Islamic	National	19	3	3	2	0	1	3
PAN	Moderate	National	24	242	179	20	19	19	58
PBB	Islamic	National	25	70	57	12	10	8	30
PBR	Islamic	National	27	36	27	6	4	7	17
PKB	Moderate	National	34	89	75	15	8	12	35
PKNU	Moderate	National	36	51	35	9	7	9	25
PKS	Islamic	National	38	123	94	15	10	14	39
PPP	Islamic	National	41	121	86	13	9	12	34
		Total		**755**	**572**	**95**	**67**	**84**	**246**

Full names of regional Acehnese parties: Partai Aceh Aman Seujahtera (PAAS); Partai Bersatu Atjeh (PBA); Partai Daulat Atjeh (PDA). Full names of national parties: Partai Persatuan Nahdlatul Ummah Indonesia (PPNUI); Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN); Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB); Partai Bintang Reformasi (PBR); Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB); Partai Kebangkitan Nasional Ulama (PKNU); Partai Kedadilan Sejahtera (PKS); Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP).

Summary statistics

Unit of analysis = Candidate

Table A3. Summary statistics for dependent variables (UOA = Candidate)

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Nationalist poster campaign (%)	572	0.328	0.452	0	1
Islamist poster campaign (%)	572	0.473	0.491	0	1

Table A4. Summary statistics for independent variables (UOA = Candidate)

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Islamic party candidate (1/0)	572	0.495	0.500	0.00	1.00
Muslim population (%)	572	0.864	0.213	0.05	0.99
Modern sector GRDP (%)	572	0.841	0.149	0.44	1.00
Regional legislature (1/0)	572	0.795	0.404	0.00	1.00
Female candidate (1/0)	572	0.219	0.414	0.00	1.00
Java (1/0)	572	0.579	0.494	0.00	1.00
Jakarta (1/0)	572	0.080	0.272	0.00	1.00

Table A5. Correlation matrix for independent variables (UOA = Candidate)

	Islamic party candidate (1/0)	Muslim population (%)	Modern sector GRDP (%)	Regional legislature (1/0)	Female candidate (1/0)	Java (1/0)	Jakarta (1/0)
Islamic party candidate (1/0)	1.000						
Muslim population (%)	0.004	1.000					
Modern sector GRDP (%)	0.024	-0.014	1.000				
Regional legislature (1/0)	0.034	0.009	0.097	1.000			
Female candidate (1/0)	0.001	0.024	-0.083	0.006	1.000		
Java (1/0)	-0.097	0.369	0.048	0.015	0.057	1.000	
Jakarta (1/0)	0.055	-0.045	0.315	-0.105	0.046	0.252	1.000

Regression tables

Unit of analysis = Candidate

Table A6. Candidate Poster Campaigns (OLS)

	Nationalist Appeals (% of candidates' poster campaigns)			**Islamic Appeals** (% of candidates' poster campaigns)		
	All candidates (1)	Muslim democrats (2)	Islamists (3)	All candidates (4)	Muslim democrats (5)	Islamists (6)
Islamist party candidate (1/0)	-0.076*			0.106**		
	(0.037)			(0.035)		
Muslim population (%)	-0.239*	-0.062	-0.439**	0.241**	0.429**	0.047
	(0.102)	(0.142)	(0.141)	(0.084)	(0.101)	(0.127)
Modern sector GRDP (%)	-0.362**	-0.277	-0.446*	0.233^	0.080	0.350*
	(0.133)	(0.195)	(0.177)	(0.122)	(0.174)	(0.173)
Regional legislature (1/0)	-0.134**	-0.032	-0.248**	0.088*	0.075	0.092
	(0.051)	(0.067)	(0.074)	(0.042)	(0.057)	(0.062)
Female candidate (1/0)	-0.004	0.029	-0.038	0.598**	0.580**	0.603**
	(0.045)	(0.068)	(0.059)	(0.029)	(0.047)	(0.034)
Java (1/0)	0.050	0.068	0.019	0.037	0.056	0.019
	(0.040)	(0.062)	(0.051)	(0.041)	(0.059)	(0.058)
Jakarta (1/0)	0.183*	0.254*	0.146	0.084	0.079	0.086
	(0.082)	(0.124)	(0.108)	(0.070)	(0.106)	(0.096)
Intercept	0.940**	0.614**	1.228**	-0.212^	-0.244	-0.032
	(0.143)	(0.205)	(0.195)	(0.124)	(0.159)	(0.185)
N	572	289	283	572	289	283
R-squared	0.06	0.03	0.13	0.30	0.31	0.29

Note: The entries indicate the results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

Table A7. Candidate poster campaigns

Tobit Model. Lower limit (ie. left-censoring) set to 0; upper limit (ie. right-censoring) set to 1 for each DV.

	Nationalist Appeals (% of candidates' poster campaigns)			**Islamic Appeals** (% of candidates' poster campaigns)		
	All candidates (1)	Muslim democrats (2)	Islamists (3)	All candidates (4)	Muslim democrats (5)	Islamists (6)
Islamic party candidate (1/0)	-1.195*			0.212**		
	(0.543)			(0.071)		
Muslim population (%)	-3.394*	-0.684	-6.887**	0.574**	16.897*	1.091
	(1.393)	(1.703)	(2.528)	(0.196)	(7.058)	(3.230)
Modern sector GRDP (%)	-5.227**	-3.218	-7.971*	0.473^	2.779	8.304
	(1.964)	(2.399)	(3.370)	(0.252)	(4.939)	(5.138)
Regional legislature (1/0)	-1.790**	-0.387	-3.594**	0.173^	2.120	2.648
	(0.667)	(0.789)	(1.251)	(0.090)	(1.798)	(1.866)
Female candidate (1/0)	0.011	0.436	-0.567	0.975**	15.490**	-
	(0.615)	(0.781)	(0.989)	(0.082)	(5.076)	
Java (1/0)	0.868	0.859	0.625	0.076	1.545	0.545
	(0.614)	(0.783)	(0.960)	(0.080)	(1.608)	(1.423)
Jakarta (1/0)	2.505*	2.965^	2.537	0.152	2.831	2.741
	(1.067)	(1.509)	(1.570)	(0.138)	(3.114)	(2.638)
Intercept	6.879**	1.762	12.453**	-1.255**	-24.326*	-12.186*
	(2.103)	(2.384)	(4.013)	(0.283)	(9.727)	(5.933)
N	572	289	283	572	289	283

Note: All female candidates from Islamic parties had Islamic appeals in 100% of their posters. Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the TOBIT regression model. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.
^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

Table A8. Candidate poster campaigns
Logit Model: DV = 1 if Nationalist (or Islamic) appeals are 50% or more of candidate's posters.

	Nationalist Appeals (% of candidates' poster campaigns)			**Islamic Appeals** (% of candidates' poster campaigns)		
	All candidates (1)	Muslim democrats (2)	Islamists (3)	All candidates (4)	Muslim democrats (5)	Islamists (6)
Islamic party candidate (1/0)	-0.411*			0.596**		
	(0.181)			(0.200)		
Muslim population (%)	-0.983*	-0.055	-2.122**	1.572*	3.767**	0.306
	(0.462)	(0.626)	(0.654)	(0.620)	(1.077)	(0.721)
Modern sector GRDP (%)	-1.546*	-0.859	-2.404*	1.393^	0.962	1.599
	(0.649)	(0.873)	(0.982)	(0.734)	(1.065)	(0.988)
Regional legislature (1/0)	-0.642**	-0.194	-1.196**	0.558*	0.381	0.661^
	(0.223)	(0.294)	(0.345)	(0.264)	(0.363)	(0.390)
Female candidate (1/0)	-0.006	0.180	-0.240	3.640**	3.255**	
	(0.219)	(0.298)	(0.340)	(0.379)	(0.483)	
Java (1/0)	0.368^	0.347	0.328	0.264	0.392	0.094
	(0.210)	(0.288)	(0.318)	(0.226)	(0.333)	(0.312)
Jakarta (1/0)	0.850*	0.925^	0.929^	0.553	0.386	0.793
	(0.362)	(0.537)	(0.525)	(0.407)	(0.594)	(0.580)
Intercept	1.989**	0.237	3.744**	-4.074**	-5.582**	-2.606*
	(0.673)	(0.899)	(1.002)	(0.884)	(1.379)	(1.097)
N	572	289	283	572	289	221
Pseudo R2	0.05	0.02	0.10	0.24	0.25	0.04
Log Likelihood	-357.54	-192.01	-158.37	-302.11	-148.17	-144.93

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the LOGIT regression model. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.
^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

Table A9. Candidate poster campaigns
OLS Model: Using PKS candidates only

	Nationalist Appeals (% of candidates' poster campaigns)	**Islamic Appeals** (% of candidates' poster campaigns)
Muslim population (%)	-0.676**	0.257
	(0.209)	(0.157)
Modern sector GRDP (%)	-0.529	0.032
	(0.362)	(0.277)
Regional legislature (1/0)	-0.207	0.158
	(0.128)	(0.096)
Female candidate (1/0)	-0.013	0.662**
	(0.124)	(0.065)
Java (1/0)	-0.139	0.137
	(0.114)	(0.107)
Jakarta (1/0)	0.156	0.072
	(0.176)	(0.147)
Intercept	1.701**	-0.157
	(0.378)	(0.264)
N	94	94
R Squared	0.15	0.39

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.
^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

Table A10. Candidate poster campaigns
OLS Model: Excludes posters with female candidates

	Nationalist Appeals (% of candidates' poster campaigns)			**Islamic Appeals** (% of candidates' poster campaigns)		
	All candidates (1)	Muslim democrats (2)	Islamists (3)	All candidates (4)	Muslim democrats (5)	Islamists (6)
Islamist party candidate (1/0)	-0.061			0.103*		
	(0.042)			(0.044)		
Muslim population (%)	-0.246*	-0.155	-0.377*	0.205*	0.340**	0.063
	(0.114)	(0.157)	(0.163)	(0.094)	(0.101)	(0.161)
Modern sector GRDP (%)	-0.398**	-0.334	-0.438*	0.271^	0.078	0.427*
	(0.152)	(0.225)	(0.202)	(0.152)	(0.215)	(0.216)
Regional legislature (1/0)	-0.117*	0.018	-0.264**	0.105*	0.078	0.120
	(0.059)	(0.076)	(0.087)	(0.052)	(0.068)	(0.079)
Female candidate (1/0)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Java (1/0)	0.054	0.112^	-0.009	0.035	0.046	0.021
	(0.045)	(0.068)	(0.057)	(0.050)	(0.070)	(0.072)
Jakarta (1/0)	0.231*	0.264^	0.226^	0.118	0.077	0.143
	(0.097)	(0.144)	(0.133)	(0.096)	(0.144)	(0.129)
Intercept	0.950**	0.674**	1.188**	-0.227	-0.161	-0.141
	(0.161)	(0.234)	(0.223)	(0.145)	(0.180)	(0.231)
N	447	226	221	447	226	221
R Squared	0.06	0.04	0.14	0.05	0.05	0.05

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.
^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

Table A11. Candidate poster campaigns
OLS Model: Excludes posters that have both nationalist and Islamic appeals

	Nationalist Appeals (% of candidates' poster campaigns)			**Islamic Appeals** (% of candidates' poster campaigns)		
	All candidates (1)	Muslim democrats (2)	Islamists (3)	All candidates (4)	Muslim democrats (5)	Islamists (6)
Islamist party candidate (1/0)	-0.025			0.149**		
	(0.035)			(0.036)		
Muslim population (%)	-0.227*	-0.240^	-0.256^	0.291**	0.332**	0.231^
	(0.099)	(0.139)	(0.148)	(0.078)	(0.095)	(0.132)
Modern sector GRDP (%)	-0.329**	-0.301^	-0.353*	0.340**	0.177	0.457*
	(0.121)	(0.177)	(0.165)	(0.122)	(0.171)	(0.177)
Regional legislature (1/0)	-0.161**	-0.071	-0.265**	0.083^	0.062	0.094
	(0.050)	(0.067)	(0.075)	(0.043)	(0.056)	(0.066)
Female candidate (1/0)	-0.221**	-0.213**	-0.218**	0.641**	0.633**	0.637**
	(0.028)	(0.049)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.058)	(0.036)
Java (1/0)	0.029	0.084	-0.026	0.035	0.075	0.003
	(0.036)	(0.057)	(0.046)	(0.042)	(0.060)	(0.060)
Jakarta (1/0)	0.078	0.095	0.080	-0.016	-0.085	0.022
	(0.081)	(0.143)	(0.101)	(0.076)	(0.098)	(0.107)
Intercept	0.843**	0.724**	0.977**	-0.426**	-0.327*	-0.318
	(0.138)	(0.195)	(0.204)	(0.118)	(0.154)	(0.193)
N	502	246	256	502	246	256
R Squared	0.11	0.07	0.17	0.33	0.33	0.30

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.
^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

Summary statistics

Unit of analysis = Poster

Table A12. Summary statistics for dependent variables (UOA = Poster)

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Nationalist poster (1/0)	755	0.338	0.473	0	1
Islamist poster (1/0)	755	0.472	0.500	0	1

Table A13. Summary statistics for independent variables (UOA = Poster)

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Islamic party candidate (1/0)	755	0.494	0.500	0.00	1.00
Muslim population (%)	755	0.877	0.195	0.05	0.99
Modern sector GRDP (%)	755	0.843	0.151	0.44	1.00
Regional legislature (1/0)	755	0.774	0.419	0.00	1.00
Female candidate (1/0)	755	0.208	0.406	0.00	1.00
Java (1/0)	755	0.611	0.488	0.00	1.00
Jakarta (1/0)	755	0.083	0.277	0.00	1.00

Table A14. Correlation matrix for independent variables (UOA = Poster)

	Islamic party candidate (1/0)	Muslim population (%)	Modern sector GRDP (%)	Regional legislature (1/0)	Female candidate (1/0)	Java (1/0)	Jakarta (1/0)
Islamic party candidate (1/0)	1.000						
Muslim population (%)	-0.013	1.000					
Modern sector GRDP (%)	0.032	-0.045	1.000				
Regional legislature (1/0)	0.047	0.010	0.060	1.000			
Female candidate (1/0)	0.003	-0.004	-0.051	0.004	1.000		
Java (1/0)	-0.091	0.349	0.053	-0.004	0.021	1.000	
Jakarta (1/0)	0.075	-0.080	0.312	-0.100	0.034	0.241	1.000

Regression Table

Unit of analysis = Poster

Table A15. Candidate poster campaigns (OLS)
OLS Model. Uses an election poster as the unit of analysis (N = 755)

	Nationalist Appeals (% of candidates' poster campaigns)			**Islamic Appeals** (% of candidates' poster campaigns)		
	All candidates (1)	Muslim democrats (2)	Islamists (3)	All candidates (4)	Muslim democrats (5)	Islamists (6)
Islamic party candidate (1/0)	-0.044			0.080*		
	(0.034)			(0.031)		
Muslim population (%)	-0.260**	-0.074	-0.449**	0.245**	0.403**	0.084
	(0.097)	(0.139)	(0.135)	(0.080)	(0.096)	(0.121)
Modern sector GRDP (%)	-0.250*	-0.188	-0.331*	0.244*	0.083	0.362*
	(0.121)	(0.171)	(0.166)	(0.108)	(0.154)	(0.149)
Regional legislature (1/0)	-0.121**	-0.016	-0.249**	0.112**	0.051	0.171**
	(0.044)	(0.058)	(0.065)	(0.036)	(0.050)	(0.050)
Female candidate (1/0)	-0.018	0.029	-0.071	0.605**	0.588**	0.609**
	(0.042)	(0.062)	(0.055)	(0.026)	(0.041)	(0.030)
Java (1/0)	0.083*	0.091	0.053	0.010	0.067	-0.036
	(0.037)	(0.056)	(0.048)	(0.036)	(0.052)	(0.051)
Jakarta (1/0)	0.115	0.226*	0.055	0.105^	0.067	0.131
	(0.074)	(0.112)	(0.098)	(0.063)	(0.098)	(0.081)
Intercept	0.835**	0.519**	1.161**	-0.216^	-0.205	-0.119
	(0.134)	(0.188)	(0.187)	(0.114)	(0.143)	(0.171)
N	755	382	373	755	382	373
R Squared	0.04	0.02	0.10	0.28	0.28	0.29

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.
^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

Figures

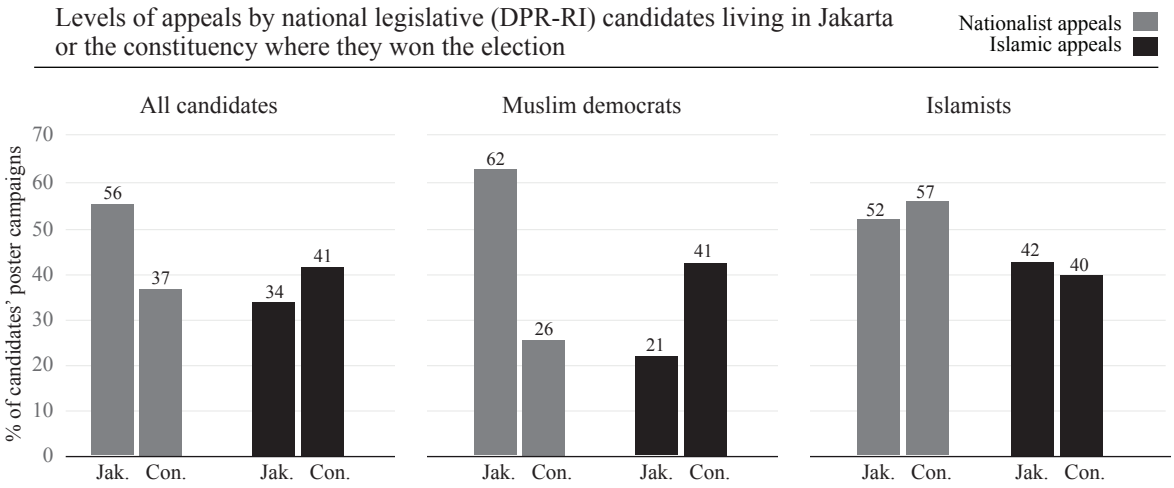


Figure A1. Nationalist and Islamic appeals by candidates residence

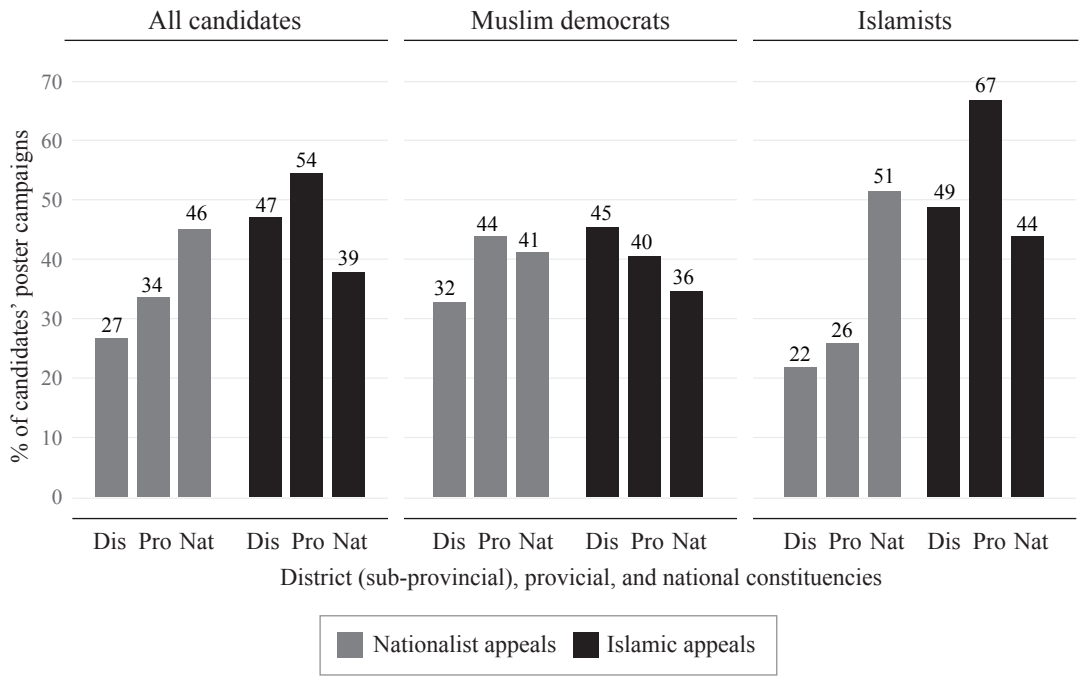


Figure A2. Nationalist and Islamic appeals by district (sub-provincial), provincial, and national constituencies.

Election poster data

Below are methodological notes on gathering of election posters, the criteria for poster eligibility, and a list of the coded variables and the classifications of posters. The complete codebook for the election poster data can be found at the author's website.

Gathering

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. At the time, SurveyMETER was an Indonesian NGO research institution that provided data collection, analysis, and research services. It was responsible for gathering data for several iterations of Rand's longitudinal household surveys, known as the Indonesian Family Life Survey (IFLS). SurveyMETER researchers were spread out across Indonesia, in both urban and rural areas, so that the NGO could gather data for nationally representative samples. In the weeks before the election, we emailed these researchers, inviting them to photograph as many election posters as they could in the areas where they lived. They were instructed to photograph the entire poster and were paid on a per-poster basis. These poster photographs were then gathered and stored in a database.

Eligibility

After the posters were photographed, they were processed in professional photography archiving software (Adobe Lightroom). First, they were sorted by party and candidate. Each photograph was cropped to contain a single election poster, and the set of posters was digitally enhanced for readability. Next, five types of posters were excluded before coding:

1. *Irrelevant posters:* Some photos were taken by mistake, either because they were left over from a previous election or advertised a product (such as a cell phone or noodles), not a candidate.
2. *Poster or flag with no information:* Some posters or flags had no picture, no imagery, and no written appeal. To qualify for coding, they needed to have a name (and a party logo if for the legislative election).
3. *Party poster:* Some posters promoted only their party as a whole and did not mention any local candidate. These posters are not helpful in understanding the individual campaign behavior of candidates. They are also very rare in contemporary Indonesian elections.

4. *Group posters for legislative elections:* Posters promoting groups of candidates from a single political party competing in different legislative elections were also removed from the dataset, so as to maintain a tighter connection between the appeals on each poster and a particular candidate competing in a specific legislative election constituency. This was particularly important for the analysis because the constituencies for district, provincial, and national legislatures are of different sizes. As a result, they have different demographics. Thus, for example, a candidate competing for a district legislative seat might have a small and religiously homogeneous constituency, whereas another candidate in the same town but competing for a national legislative seat could be appealing to a larger and more ethnically diverse constituency. Group election posters were very rare, so their removal had little impact on the size of the dataset.
5. *Duplicate posters:* By this term, I refer to posters with the same design, used by the same candidate in different geographic areas. Some researchers included duplicate posters among their photographs, but others did not. To avoid possible bias, I retained just one unique design of each election poster in the dataset.
6. *Non-Islamic political parties*: For this study we only included posters from Islamic political parties.

Codebook

The development of the codebook and the interpretation of the election posters were undertaken during fieldwork in Indonesia. The coding protocol, interpretation issues, and some preliminary results were presented on two occasions in Jakarta—to a general audience at the Freedom Institute and to a panel of experts at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. The feedback received there contributed to coding and interpretation revisions.

The imagery in each poster was coded by hand in the archiving software Extensis Portfolio and Adobe Lightroom. Afterwards, text transcriptions from the posters were machine-coded for particular words related to Islam and nationalism, using Yoshi Coder and Stata software. Below is a list of variables coded for each election poster for this project.

I. Index information

1. *Candidate number:* A unique number for each legislative or regional head candidate in a constituency. It is on the ballot, and on each legislative candidate's poster.
2. *Sub-constituency number:* The sub-constituency number (*dapil*) for candidates competing for a seat in a district legislature. The number can represent one or more sub-districts (*kecamatan*).

3. *Constituency number:* Specific constituency numbers are assigned in the legislative elections.
4. *Election:* The type of election in which the candidate shown in the poster was competing —e.g., lower house national legislature election.
5. *Province code:* The provincial code assigned by the Central Bureau of Statistics (Badan Pusat Statistik, BPS).
6. *Poster image name:* The name of the poster image file in the software.
7. *Candidate name:* The name of the legislative candidate on the poster.
8. *Poster number:* A number for a unique poster design of a candidate. (Most candidates had more than one poster design in the dataset.)
9. *Gender:* Gender of the first candidate on the poster.
10. *Item Id:* A unique identification number for each poster, generated in the coding software.
11. *Political party:* A unique number for each political party (selected from a list).

II. Candidate clothing

1. *Clothing:* The style or type of clothing for the first candidate on the poster (e.g., Islamic).
2. *Headdress:* The style of headdress for the first candidate (e.g., jilbab, turban).
3. *Cloth accessory:* Any cloth accessory held by the first candidate (e.g., turban cloth (*sorban*)).

III. Imagery

1. *Supporting institution:* Name of the institution supporting or endorsing the candidate on the poster (type in).
2. *Supporter identity:* Identity category of the institution supporting or endorsing the candidate; e.g., Islamic or nationalist institution.
3. *Elite image:* Presence and type of any elite image in the poster (e.g., Islamic leader).
4. *Indonesian flag:* Presence of an Indonesian flag in the background or on a candidate's clothing.
5. *Imagery:* Any other images, signs, or symbols on the poster (e.g., Islamic images such as a mosque, or nationalist images such as a map of the country).

IV. Textual content

1. *Non-Indonesian language:* Any languages, other than Indonesian, used on the poster (e.g. Arabic, Javanese).
2. *Non-Indonesian transcription:* All the non-Indonesian language text on the poster.
3. *Non-Indonesian translation:* Translation into English of the non-Indonesian text.

4. *Indonesian transcription:* All the Indonesian-language text on the poster.

Table A16. Inter-coder reliability tests

	Percent Agreement	Scott's Pi	Cohen's Kappa	Krippendorff's Alpha	N Cases
Clothing	96.69	0.91	0.91	0.91	755
Headdress	98.54	0.96	0.96	0.96	755
Cloth accessory	99.60	0.88	0.88	0.88	755
Suporter identity	99.87	0.92	0.92	0.92	755
Elite image	99.87	0.98	0.98	0.98	755
Indonesian flag	97.62	0.94	0.94	0.94	755
Imagery	99.47	0.94	0.94	0.94	755
Non-Indonesian language	99.34	0.93	0.93	0.93	755

Dictionaries

Dictionaries were used to machine code text transcriptions from the posters. Initially, all text from the posters was exported and every word was listed by frequency. The list of words was reviewed and words that invoked nationalism and Islam were selected to be used in the dictionaries.

Table A17. Dictionary of words that invoked Islam and nationalism

Islam words				Nationalism words
ahhal	idul fitri	muhammadiyah	shalat	garuda
akbar	imam	muharam	shaleh	indonesia
alhamdullilah	insyaallah	muharram	shariah	kain tradisional
allah	insyalloh	muslim	shariat	motherland
allahuakbar	islam	muslimah	sholat	nasionalis
alwasliyah	kaba	muslimat	syaria	negara
arabic	Kaaba	muslimin	syariat	negeri
assalamu	kabah	persis	syawal	pahlawan nasional
babi ilegal	kyai	qur'an	syekh	
hadith	masjid	ramadhan	taqwa	
haji	mesjid		ulama	
			ustadz	