Online Supplementary Materials

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Gathering Election Posters

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. 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, myself and a colleague 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.

2010–2012 Regional Head Elections: By 2010, the first five-year term for many regional heads was expiring and new elections, held on a rolling basis, began in various provinces and districts. In 2010, the same email was again sent to SurveyMETER researchers, inviting them to photograph election posters in regional head elections if one was occurring in their region. I also drew on a personal network of researchers to photograph regional head election posters in the areas where they lived. Furthermore, between 2010 and 2012 I travelled around the country photographing posters during numerous regional head elections in North Sumatra, Central Java, and Maluku. All these photographs were added to the dataset.

Poster 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 ethnic demographics. Thus, for example, a candidate competing for a district legislative seat might have a small and ethnically 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. Where they did appear, it was usually among arguably the most disciplined of Indonesia's political parties—the Islamic PKS and the Acehnese regional Party Aceh (Partai Aceh, PA).
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.

Table 1. Number of Posters, Candidates, and Constituencies

	Legislative Elections			Regional Head Elections		
	Posters	**Candidates**	**Constituencies**	**Posters**	**Candidates**	**Constituencies**
Aceh	217	174	3	-	-	-
North Sumatra	71	54	9	783	91	15
West Sumatra	-	-	-	112	19	4
Bengkulu	-	-	-	2	2	1
Lampung	305	229	8	-	-	-
Jakarta	168	124	6	-	-	-
West Java	365	252	7	-	-	-
Central Java	535	391	10	231	17	5
Yogyakarta	253	203	9	51	9	2
East Java	-	-	-	51	16	3
Bali	15	11	4	8	4	2
East Nusa Tenggara	121	109	3	51	35	5
West Kalimantan	-	-	-	5	3	1
South Kalimantan	32	29	3	-	-	-
East Kalimantan	-	-	-	25	8	2
North Sulawesi	25	22	3	21	12	3
South Sulawesi	42	34	3	71	22	5
West Sulawesi	41	35	5	-	-	-
Maluku	113	92	4	90	8	1
West Papua	158	143	3	-	-	-
Total	**2,461**	**1,902**	**80**	**1,501**	**246**	**49**

Codebook Overview

The development of the codebook and the interpretation of the election posters were undertaken during my fieldwork in Indonesia. Figure 1 presents an example of an election poster and the kinds of elements coded. Each poster was coded by hand in the archiving software Extensis Portfolio. Afterwards, transcriptions from the posters were machine-coded for particular words related to ethnicity, using Yoshi Coder and Stata software.

There were some challenges in coding the posters. Early in the process, it became apparent that no individual Indonesian research assistant had all the knowledge necessary to code all the posters. This was because many posters contained elements specific to particular identity groups and regions —types of clothing, regional buildings, symbols, etc. Previous scholars also found that content analysis of campaign materials often requires a certain level of expertise to interpret identity-related content. For example, Chandra (2005) relied on expert decisions to code whether a party was ethnic based on their campaign materials. Also, McIlwain and Caliendo (2011) used their expertise to code racial appeals in television advertisements. In both cases, the scholars were careful to provide details on their definitions of ethnic or racial appeals.

Although my codebook added consistency to the coding process, I sought outside help in interpreting poster appeals. Specifically, during my fieldwork I consulted with research assistants, local residents, and campaign team members from different parts of the country and various ethnic groups, to identify unknown elements in the posters. Online resources, encyclopedias, and scholarly works on ethnic and religious clothing and architecture supplemented the identification of poster elements. In addition, 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.



Figure 1. Sample poster. An election poster from a district head election in Medan, North Sumatra, with some of the coded elements identified.

Variables Coded

Below is a list of variables coded for each election poster. Any variables that refer to a second candidate (e.g., second candidate name, clothing 2 etc.) apply only to the deputy head candidate in regional head candidate posters. Also, there are some mentions of BPS code numbers. Each Indonesian province or district is assigned a code number by the government's statistics department (BPS), and these codes are updated every few years.

1. Index information

1. *BPS year:* The year in which the BPS released the applicable code numbers for provinces and districts.
2. *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 and usually on each regional head candidate's poster.
3. *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*).
4. *District code:* The district code for regional head election constituencies. It is the BPS code for the province or district.
5. *Constituency number:* Specific constituency numbers are assigned in the legislative elections. For the regional head elections, this number is the same as V1.4.
6. Election: The type of election in which the candidate shown in the poster was competing—e.g., lower house national legislature election or provincial governor election.
7. *Province code:* The provincial code assigned by the BPS.
8. *Poster image name:* The name of the poster image file in the software.
9. *First candidate name:* The name of the legislative candidate on the poster. In the case of regional head elections, if there were two candidates on the poster, the name of the head candidate was placed here. However, if the deputy head candidate was the only candidate on the poster, the deputy head candidate's name was entered here.
10. *Second candidate name:* In regional head election posters, if the names and/or pictures of two candidates appeared, the deputy candidate's name was entered here.
11. *Number of candidates:* The number of candidates on the poster, either 1 or 2.
12. Poster set: A variable to indicate if the poster came from one of nine districts that were photographed intensively using GPS coordinates.
13. *Poster number:* A number for a unique poster design of a candidate. (Most candidates had more than one poster design in the dataset.)
14. *Gender 1:* Gender of the first candidate on the poster.
15. *Gender 2:* Gender of the second candidate on the poster.
16. *Item Id:* A unique identification number for each poster, generated in the coding software.
17. *Political party:* A unique number for each political party (selected from a list).

2. Candidate Clothing

1. *Clothing 1:* The style or type of clothing for the first candidate on the poster (e.g., ethnic Acehnese, Islamic, government, suit and tie).
2. *Clothing 2:* The style of clothing for the second candidate on the poster.
3. *Headdress 1:* The style of headdress for the first candidate (e.g., jilbab, turban).
4. *Headdress 2:* The style of headdress for the second candidate.
5. *Cloth accessory 1:* Any cloth accessory held by the first candidate; e.g., Batak cloth (*ulos*), turban cloth (*sorban*).
6. *Cloth accessory 2:* Any cloth accessory used by the second candidate.
7. *Party clothing 1:* Whether the first candidate wore official party clothing or used the party logo or color prominently in his or her clothing (e.g., a red suit when the party color was red).
8. *Party clothing 2:* Whether the second candidate wore party colors or party logos.

3. Imagery

1. *Supporting institution:* Name of the institution or individual supporting or endorsing the candidate on the poster.
2. *Supporter identity:* Identity category of the institution or individual supporting or endorsing the candidate; e.g., ethnic Acehnese, Islamic, nationalist, youth.
3. *Party support:* Presence and prominence of support for regional heads by their nominating parties.
4. *Party logo or flag:* Presence of a party logo or a party flag in the background of the poster.
5. *Elite image:* Presence and type of any elite image in the poster (e.g., Megawati, Islamic leader, Christian leader, Javanese leader).
6. *Indonesian flag:* Presence of an Indonesian flag in the background or on a candidate's clothing.
7. *Imagery:* Any other images, signs, or symbols on the poster (e.g.; buildings, monuments, symbols, patterns, landscapes, events, maps, people).

4. Textual content

1. *Common text messages:* Any of the common messages that often appear on posters (e.g., website address).
2. *Non-Indonesian language:* Any languages, other than Indonesian, used on the poster (e.g. Arabic, Javanese).
3. *Non-Indonesian transcription:* All the non-Indonesian language text on the poster.
4. *Non-Indonesian translation:* Translation into English of the non-Indonesian text.
5. *Indonesian transcription:* All the Indonesian-language text on the poster.