Gender
- 0. Male
- 1. Female

Rural-urban
- 0. Rural
- 1. Urban

q_k. How many people live in this house? L.FamSize

q_2. What is your age now? L.Age

q_3. What is your ethnic group?
- 1. Javanese
- 2. Sundanese
- 3. Malay
- 4. Madurese
- 5. Bugis
- 6. Betawi
- 7. Batak
- 8. Minang
- 9. Others

q_4. What is your religion? L.Religion
- 1. Islam
- 2. Protestantism
- 3. Catholicism
- 4. Hinduism
- 5. Buddhism
- 6. Confucianism
- 7. Other.

q_6. SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD. How would you describe the present economic situation? A.EconSit
- 1. Very bad
- 2. Bad
- 3. Average
- 4. Good
- 5. Very good
- 8. DK/DA
q_7. SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD. How would you describe the present political situation? Z.In04.A.PolitSit
   1. Very bad
   2. Bad
   3. Average
   4. Good
   5. Very good
   8. DK/DA

q_8. SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD. In general, are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy is working in our country now? B.DemSat
   1. Not at all satisfied
   2. Not very satisfied
   3. Somewhat satisfied
   4. Very satisfied
   8. DK/DA

q_9. Some people feel close to a particular political party over a long period of time, although they may occasionally vote for a different party. What about you? Is there a particular political party that you feel closer to? C.PartyID
   0. No
   1. Yes

q_10. SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD. Which party do you feel closer to? C.PartyIDWhich
   1. Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)
   2. Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB)
   3. Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P)
   4. Partai Golongan Karya (Golkar)
   5. Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB)
   6. Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)
   7. Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP)

q_11. How close do you feel to this party? C.PartyIDStrength
   1. Very close
   2. Somewhat close
   3. Not very close

q_12-19. SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD. I will read the names of several parties. How close do you feel to each of these parties?
   1. Very close
   2. Somewhat close
   3. Rather distant
   4. Very distant
q_12. PAN C.ProxPAN
q_13. PBB C.ProxPBB
q_14. PDI-P C.ProxPDIP
q_15. Golkar C.ProxGolkar
q_16. PKB C.ProxPKB
q_17. PKS C.ProxPKS
q_18. PPP C.ProxPPP
q_20. We would like to know if any political party or legislative candidate contacted you during the election campaign, either directly, by telephone, or by letter? Z.In04PartyCont
   1. No
   2. Yes
q_21-28. What parties contacted you?
   1. Directly
   2. By telephone
   3. By letter
q_21. PAN Z.In04.I.ContPAN
q_22. PBB Z.In04.I.ContPBB
q_23. PDI-P Z.In04.I.ContPDIP
q_24. Golkar Z.In04.I.ContGolkar
q_25. PKB Z.In04.I.ContPKB
q_26. PKS Z.In04.I.ContPKS
q_27. PPP Z.In04.I.ContPPP
q_29. Did you attend any party meetings or rallies during the most recent election campaign? I.MeetAny
   0. No
   1. Yes
q_30_1. From which parties? I.MeetPartyWhich
1. PAN
2. PBB
3. PDI-P
4. Golkar
5. PKB
6. PKS
7. PPP

q_39. SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD. How frequently did you talk about the most recent election campaign with your family? **E.FamTalk**
   1. Never
   2. Rarely
   3. Sometimes
   4. Often

q_40. Do you think that the members of your family voted like you or did they vote for another party? **E.FamTalkPart**
   0. Same
   1. Different

q_41. If different, please name the party. **Z.In04.E.FamTalkPart**
   1. PAN
   2. PBB
   3. PDI-P
   4. Golkar
   5. PKB
   6. PKS
   7. PPP
   8. DK/DA

q_42. SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD. How frequently did you talk to your friends about the election campaign? **E.FriendTalk**
   1. Never
   2. Rarely
   3. Sometimes
   4. Often

q_43. Do you think your friends voted like you or for a different party? **E.FriendTalkPart**
   1. Same
   2. Different

q_44. If different, please name the party. **Z.In04.FriendTalkPart**
   1. PAN
   2. PBB
   3. PDI-P
q.45. SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD. How frequently did you talk to your neighbors about the election campaign? **E.NeighTalk**
   1. Never
   2. Rarely
   3. Sometimes
   4. Often

q.46. Do you think your neighbors voted like you or for a different party? **E.NeighTalkPart**
   0. Same
   1. Different

q.47. If different, please name the party. **Z.In04.E.NeighTalkPart**
   1. PAN
   2. PBB
   3. PDI-P
   4. Golkar
   5. PKB
   6. PKS
   7. PPP
   8. DK/DA

q.48. SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD. How frequently did you talk to your co-workers about the election campaign? **E.WorkTalk**
   1. Never
   2. Rarely
   3. Sometimes
   4. Often

q.49. Do you think your co-workers voted like you or for another party? **E.WorkTalkPart**
   0. Same
   1. Different

q.50. If different, please name the party. **Z.In04.E.WorkTalkPart**
   1. PAN
   2. PBB
   3. PDI-P
   4. Golkar
   5. PKB
6. PKS
7. PPP
8. DK/DA

q_57-65. Please tell me if you belong to any of the organizations listed on this card.
SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD.
   1. Member
   2. Non-member

q_57. Religious groups. **F.AsoRelig**

q_58. Sports clubs. **F.AsoSport**

q_59. Educational, artistic or cultural groups. **F.AsoCult**

q_60. Trade unions. **F.AsoTu**

q_61. Professional associations. **F.AsoProf**

q_62. Business associations. **Z.In04.F.AsoBusiness**

q_64. Political parties. **F.AsoParty**

q_70. Which of these organizations is the most important to you? **F.Aso1**

q_71-73. For each of the organizations to which you belong, how often do you participate in meetings and other activities?
   1. Often
   2. Sometimes
   3. Rarely
   4. Never

q_71_2. First Organization. **F.Aso1Freq**

q_72_2. Second Organization. **F.Aso2Freq**

q_73_2. Third Organization. **F.Aso3Freq**

q_74. Did you receive any information about the recent election campaign from this group? **Z.In04.F.AsoCont**
   1. Yes
   2. No

q_75. Which organization contacted you during the campaign?
   1. **F.Aso1Cont**
   2. **F.Aso2Cont**
3. F.Aso3Cont

q_76-78. How did you receive information from that organization during the campaign? Was it directly from a member of the organization, by telephone, by mail, or through the mass media (radio, TV or printed media)?
   1. Directly from a member
   2. By telephone
   3. By mail
   4. Through the mass media
   5. Did not receive any information

q_76_2. First organization. Z.In04.F.Aso1ContHow

q_77_2. Second organization. Z.In04.F.Aso2ContHow

q_78_2. Third organization. Z.In04.F.Aso3ContHow

q_79-81. (If the information was directly from a member or by telephone) Was this contact with someone you know or some other representative of the group?
   0. No
   1. Yes

q_79_2. First organization. F.Aso1Know

q_80_2. Second organization. F.Aso2Know

q_81_2. Third organization. F.Aso3Know

q_82-84. Which party did this organization support?
   1. PAN
   2. PBB
   3. PDI-P
   4. Golkar
   5. PKB
   6. PKS
   7. PPP
   8. DK/DA
   0. Did not support any party

q_82_1. First organization. F.Aso1Part

q_83_1. Second organization. F.Aso2Part

q_84_1. Third organization. F.Aso3Part
q_85-89. During the electoral campaign, how frequently did you follow political news or societal events at the national or regional level through the following media? [SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD]
   1. Every day or almost every day
   2. 3-4 days a week
   3. 1-2 days a week
   4. Less frequently
   5. Never
   8. DA

q_85. Newspaper. D.CamPaper

q_86. Newsmagazine. D.CamMag

q_87. TV. D.CamTV

q_88. Radio. D.CamRadio

q_89. Internet. D.CamInternet

q_90. [SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD] Some people, when they want to know more about a political issue, ask prominent community leaders for advice. How about you? Do you often, sometimes, rarely or never consult with a community leader for advice on political matters? Z.In04.E.ComLeaderConsult
   1. Often
   2. Sometimes
   3. Rarely
   4. Never
   8. DK/DA

q_92. Did you receive advice from a local community leader concerning the best party in the most recent election? E.ComLeaderAdvise1
   0. No
   1. Yes

q_93. (If yes) Which party did he or she recommend? E.ComLeaderAdvise2

q_95. Did you vote for a political party in the 1999 election? Z.In04.H.Turnout99
   0. No
   1. Yes

q_96. [SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD] (If yes) Which party did you vote for in the 1999 election? H.Vote99
   1. PAN
   2. PBB
   3. PDI-P
q_97. Did you vote for a party in the 2004 national and regional legislative election held several days ago? **H.Turnout**

0. No
1. Yes
8. DA

q_98. [SHOW THE LIST OF PARTIES] For which party did you vote? (Provide an envelope if the respondent objects to naming a party.) **H.Vote04**

1. Partai Nasional Indonesia Marhaenisme
2. Partai Buruh Sosial Demokrat
3. Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB)
4. Partai Merdeka
5. Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP)
6. Partai Persatuan Demokrasi Kebangsaan
7. Partai Perhimpunan Indonesia Baru
8. Partai Nasional Benteng Kemerdekaan
9. Partai Demokrat (PD)
10. Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia
11. Partai Penegak Demokrasi Indonesia
12. Partai Persatuan Nahdatul Ummah Indonesia
13. Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)
14. Partai Karya Peduli Bangsa
15. Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB)
16. Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)
17. Partai Bintang Reformasi
18. Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P)
19. Partai Damai Sejahtera
20 Partai Golongan Karya (Golkar)
21. Partai Patriot Pancasila
22. Partai Sarikat Indonesia
23. Partai Persatuan Daerah
24. Partai Pelopor
25. No answer because the vote is secret
26. DA

*Weight:* A weight variable was constructed for analysis of party choice in the 2004 election. **Z.In04.L.PartyWeight**
q_100. [SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD] When did you decide to vote for that party?

H.Decide
1. Before the election campaign
2. During the campaign
3. During “quiet week” before voting day
4. On election day before going to the polling place
5. In the polling booth

q_104. [SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD] On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election, held in 2004 and carried out a few days ago?

K.ElectsFF
1. Completely free and fair
2. Free and fair, with minor problems
3. On the whole free and fair, but with several major problems
4. Not free or fair

q_109-130. Now I would like to ask if you know any of the following names. If you do know the name, do you like that individual?

q_109. Abdurrahman Wahid Z.In04.C.KnowWahid
0. No
1. Yes
8. DK/DA

q_110. (If yes) Do you like that individual? Z.In04.C.LikeWahid
0. No
1. Yes
8. DK/DA

q_111. Akbar Tandjung Z.In04.C.KnowTandjung
0. No
1. Yes
8. DK/DA

q_112. (If yes) Do you like that individual? Z.In04.C.LikeTandjung
0. No
1. Yes
8. DK/DA

q_113. Amien Rais Z.In04.C.KnowRais
0. No
1. Yes
8. DK/DA

q_114. (If yes) Do you like that individual? Z.In04.C.LikeRais
0. No
1. Yes
8. DK/DA

q_115. Hamzah Haz Z.In04.C.KnowHaz
0. No
1. Yes
8. DK/DA

q_116. (If yes) Do you like that individual? Z.In04.C.LikeHaz
0. No
1. Yes
8. DK/DA

q_117. Megawati Sukarnoputri Z.In04.C.KnowSukar
0. No
1. Yes
8. DK/DA

q_118. (If yes) Do you like that individual? Z.In04.C.LikeSukar
0. No
1. Yes
8. DK/DA

q_121. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Z.In04.C.KnowYudho
0. No
1. Yes
8. DK/DA

q_122. (If yes) Do you like that individual? Z.In04.C.LikeYudho
0. No
1. Yes
8. DK/DA

q_154-157. [SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD] Do you agree strongly, agree, not agree, or strongly disagree with the following statements?
1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Agree
4. Strongly agree
5. DK/DA

q_154. People like me do not have any influence over what the government does.
B.NoInflu
q_155. Generally, politics seems so complicated that people like me cannot understand what is happening. **B.PolCompl**

q_156. Compared with other forms of government, democracy is the best form of government for a country like ours. **Z.In04.B.DemBest**

q_157. Politicians do not worry much about what people like me think. **B.DontCare**

q_159-163. [SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD] In our country, how often…
   1. Always
   2. Often
   3. Rarely
   4. Never
   5. DK

q_159. Do people have to be careful of what they say about politics? **Z.In04.A.FreeSpeech**

q_160. Does the government ignore the constitution and laws? **Z.In04.A.GovIgnoreLaw**

q_161. Do people have to fear unlawful arrest? **Z.In04.A.WrongArrest**

q_162. Do people have to be careful about what organization they join? **Z.In04.A.FreeAssoc**

q_163. Do people need to be careful about practicing the teachings of their religion? **Z.In04.A.FreeRelig**

q_164-166. [SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD] There are many ways to govern a country. Would you strongly disapprove, disapprove, approve, or strongly approve of the following alternatives?
   1. Strongly disapprove
   2. Disapprove
   3. Approve
   4. Strongly approve
   5. DK

q_164. Only one political party is allowed to stand for election and hold office. **B.RejOneParty**

q_165. The army comes in to govern our country. **B.RejMilRule**

q_166. Elections, Parliament and the Senate are abolished so that the government rules by itself. **B.RejPresDict**

q_167. In your opinion, how much of a democracy is our country today? **B.DemExtent**
1. A full democracy
2. A democracy, but with minor problems
3. A democracy, but with major problems
4. Not a democracy
5. DK/DA

q_168-171. [SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD] People associate democracy with many diverse meanings such as the ones I will mention now. In order for a society to be called democratic, is each of these very important, important, not very important, or not important at all?
   1. Very important
   2. Important
   3. Not important
   4. Not very important
   5. Not important at all

q_168. Freedom to criticize the government. B.DemMeanCrit
q_169. Jobs for everyone. B.DemMeanJobs
q_170. Free and fair elections. B.DemMeanElec
q_171. A smaller income gap between rich and poor. B.DemMeanGap

q_172. Are you very proud, proud, not proud, or not at all proud to be an Indonesian citizen? Z.In04.B.NatPride
   1. Not at all proud
   2. Not proud
   3. Proud
   4. Very proud

q_173. Do you consider yourself more as a member of an ethnic group/from a certain region of the country or as an Indonesian citizen? Z.In04.B.EthnicPride
   1. Member of an ethnic group/from a certain region
   2. Indonesian citizen
   3. DK/DA

q_174. [SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD] I am going to read you some alternative ways for organizing the government in Indonesia. Could you please tell me which one you agree with the most? Z.In04.B.AltGov
   1. A state with only a central government and without autonomous regional governments
   2. A state with autonomous regional governments, as at present
   3. A federal state in which regional governments would have more autonomy than they now have
4. A state in which national groups would have the right to establish their own independent states

q_175. [SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD] What level of education have you completed?

**L.Education**
1. None
2. Did not finish primary education
3. Completed primary education
4. Incomplete lower secondary education
5. Completed lower secondary education
6. Incomplete higher secondary education
7. Completed higher secondary education
8. Incomplete university education/still a university student
9. Completed diploma studies
10. Completed undergraduate or higher university education

q_176. Are you employed? **Z.In04.L.WorkStat**
1. No
2. Yes
3. Already pensioned

q_177. (If yes) What is your main employment? **Z.In04.L.Occupation**

q_178. (If not employed) why do you not work? **Z.In04.WhyNoWork**
1. Still in school
2. Housewife
3. Not yet found employment
4. Other. Write:

q_182. [SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD] Please indicate what number on the card corresponds to the gross monthly income of your family? **L.Income**
1. Below Rp 200,000
2. Rp 200-399,000
3. Rp 400-599,000
4. Rp 600-799,000
5. Rp 800-999,000
6. Rp 1,000,000-1,199,000
7. Rp 1,200,000-1,399,000
8. Rp 1,400,000-1,599,000
9. Rp 1,600,000-1,799,000
10. Rp 1,800,000-1,999,000
11. Rp. 2,000,000 or higher

q_187-196. [ONLY FOR MUSLIM RESPONDENTS] [SHOW ASSISTANCE CARD] Do you never, rarely, often, very often/always perform the following religious activities?
1. Never
2. Rarely  
3. Often  
4. Very often/always  
8. DK

q_191. Perform collective prayers. **Z.In04.L.CollectPrayer**