



“SANT MARAL” Foundation

POLITBAROMETER #11(44), June 2012

The “Sant Maral” foundation presents the results of the June 2012 survey. The representative sample of 1000 respondents from the capital Ulan Bator and Suhebaatar, Arhangay, Selenge, Hovd aymaks (distributed proportionally by 4 regional divisions and Ulan Bator) was collected from June 6 to June 14, 2012. Tabulations are band by Ulan Bator, Countryside and Nationwide areas when necessary.

The survey is conducted with the support of the Woodmont International and the AmCham Mongolia



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Voting intention

1. “Would you participate in 2012 Parliament Elections?”

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
▪ “Yes”	87.8	75.3	82.8
▪ “No”	8.3	14.0	10.6
▪ (No answer)	1.0	2.8	1.7
▪ (Don’t know)	2.8	8.0	4.9

2. “Which party would you vote¹ for?”

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide	
			%	Valid % ²
Mongolian People’s Party	21.3	15.0	18.8	27.9
Democratic Party	30.0	26.5	28.6	42.4
MPPRP, MNDP Coalition	17.0	14.3	15.9	23.6
Civic Will - Green Party	.8	4.3	2.2	3.3
Third Power Coalition	1.2	1.5	1.3	1.9
MTUP (Traditional United)		.3	.1	.1
Other Party	.3	1.0	.6	.9
(No answer)	7.4	12.0	9.2	
(Don’t know)	22.0	25.3	23.3	

¹ In expectations of the coming change in the existing Election law, the distribution in our survey is based on: **one voter - one vote**.

² Excluding “No answer”, “Don’t know” and non-partisan options

3³. Voters distribution since Elections 2008 (parties)

2008 ⁴	MPP	DP	For diff. parties
Next Elections			
Mongolian People's Party	54.8%	5.4%	25.8%
Democratic Party	6.8%	78.8%	40.9%
MPRP, MNDP Coalition	37.2%	10.4%	18.2%
Civic Will - Green Party	1.2%	1.3%	7.6%
Third Power Coalition		2.1%	6.1%
MTUP (Traditional United)		.4%	
Other Party		1.7%	1.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

4. Think about all political parties in Mongolia: In general, do you favour one certain party?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Yes, I favour <u>one</u> certain party	53.8	45.0	50.3
No, I do not favour one party	44.5	52.0	47.5
(No answer)	.2	.3	.2
(Don't know)	1.5	2.8	2.0

5. "The Favourite one" party

Nationwide for all respondents

Favour strength level by supporters only

	%	Valid %	Rather strong	Average	Rather weak
Mongolian People's Party	16.2	32.2	42.0%	40.7%	16.7%
Democratic Party	20.9	41.6	50.2%	34.4%	12.9%
MPRP	10.2	20.3	51.0%	30.4%	15.7%
Civic Will - Green Party	1.5	3.0	-	-	-
Republican Party	.4	.8	-	-	-
MNDP(New National Party)	.2	.4	-	-	-
(No answer)	50.6				
Total	100				

³ In tables 4 and 5 in columns MPP and DP are those who voted only for one party. In case of mixed choice they are in next columns. Small parties and independents are not present because of small sample size.

⁴ The existing at that time Election law gave every voter from 2 to 4 votes that he/she may distribute between various parties and candidates. It means that Elections distribution is based on multiple choices. The Parliament proportion of seats was 20 for UB and 56 for the countryside.

6. Parties activity evaluation by all respondents

average response on a scale from – 5 (very bad) to +5 (very good)

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
1. MPP	.48	-.12	.24
2. Democratic Party	.55	.40	.49
3. MPRP	.29	-.34	.03
4. Civil Will- Green Party	-.42	-.27	-.36
5. Republican Party	-.63	-.80	-.70
6. MNDP	-.44	-.79	-.59

7.	Mean of ALL respondents (as shown in "Barometer")	Only respondents who say that they favour this particular party			
		"rather strong"	"average"	"rather weak"	all who favour
1. MPP	.24	1.38	.65	.00	.89
2. Democratic Party	.49	1.83	.77	-.01	1.18
3. MPRP	.03	not calculated because there are not enough cases			
4. Civil Will- Green Party	-.36				
5. Republican Party	-.70				
6. MNDP	-.59				

8. In your opinion is the MPP headed in the right or wrong direction?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Right direction	33.5	29.5	31.9
Wrong direction	23.7	27.3	25.1
(No answer)	1.8	5.0	3.1
(Don't know)	41.0	38.3	39.9

9. In your opinion is the DP headed in the right or wrong direction?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Right direction	34.5	35.8	35.0
Wrong direction	22.8	23.0	22.9
(No answer)	2.3	3.5	2.8
(Don't know)	40.3	37.8	39.3

10. Satisfaction with Government

	Nationwide
very satisfied	10.4
fairly satisfied	38.8
rather not satisfied	29.2

11. Satisfaction with Opposition

	Nationwide
very satisfied	12.6
fairly satisfied	31.1
rather not satisfied	19.7

totally unsatisfied	16.7	totally unsatisfied	18.4
(No answer)	.4	(No answer)	1.4
(Don't know)	4.5	(Don't know)	16.8

12. How do you evaluate the activity of the Party you voted for?				
Party voted for	MPP	DP	Different parties	Independent
Assessment				
Very good	4.6%	2.5%	-	3.2%
Good	21.6%	25.5%	12.8%	6.5%
Average	48.8%	42.7%	46.4%	35.5%
Bad	17.4%	19.3%	22.4%	32.3%
Very bad	4.3%	6.9%	14.4%	9.7%
(No answer)	.6%	.3%	-	6.5%
(Don't know)	2.7%	2.8%	4.0%	6.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

13. Rating of socio-political or economic problems in Mongolia today (nationwide)	
1. Unemployment	27.8
2. Standard of living\ poverty\ income	15.6
3. Price increase\ Inflation	14.6
4. Law enforcement	8.9
5. Corruption	8.0
6. Social Justice	4.9
7. Economy\ manufacturing\ mining	4.4
8. Education	4.2
9. Ecology\ Environment	3.7
10. State administration	3.5

14. How often do you feel that government policies fail to solve the most important problem you mentioned?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Always	65.2	61.8	63.8
• Often	21.7	24.5	22.8
• Sometimes	7.8	6.8	7.4
• Seldom	1.5	2.8	2.0
• Never	.2	.8	.4
• (No answer)	.2	.8	.4
• (Don't know)	3.5	2.8	3.2

15. Which political party can solve the problem best?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Mongolian People's Party	12.7	12.3	12.5
Democratic Party	15.3	17.3	16.1
MPRP, MNDP Coalition	10.2	9.0	9.7
Civic Will - Green Party	.8	3.3	1.8
Third Power Coalition	.7	1.0	.8
Other Party	-	.8	.3
None	60.3	56.5	58.8

16. Problem solving capacity by major parties

(% from responded)

	MPP	DP	MPRP
Unemployment	27.4%	20.1%	28.1%
Standard of living\ poverty\ income	18.5%	18.2%	12.5%
Price increase\ Inflation	17.7%	14.5%	14.6%
Education	4.8%	6.3%	3.1%
Law enforcement	8.9%	11.3%	11.5%
Corruption	4.0%	8.8%	7.3%
Economy\ manufacturing\ mining	4.0%	5.7%	7.3%
State administration	3.2%	3.1%	3.1%
Ecology\ Environment	3.2%	4.4%	3.1%
Social Justice	5.6%	6.3%	6.3%

17. Which institution should play the leading role in solving this problem?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Government	49.0	45.5	47.6
• The Parliament	16.3	15.8	16.1
• The president	6.0	10.0	7.6
• Judiciary	4.0	6.5	5.0
• Political parties	3.5	1.5	2.7
• Civil society	10.3	10.8	10.5
• None	1.5	1.5	1.5
• (No answer)	.5	.5	.5
• (Don't know)	8.8	8.0	8.5

20. How do you approve or disapprove the following statement: “In principal you can trust that the government is doing the right things for citizens”?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Fully approve	11.3	7.5	9.8
• Rather approve	50.0	43.5	47.4
• Rather disapprove	17.3	28.0	21.6
• Totally disapprove	15.5	15.5	15.5
• (No answer)	1.3	2.0	1.6
• (Don't know)	4.5	3.5	4.1

21. Unemployment has been a major problem for many people in past years. Some people think that this is only a temporary matter and that economic progress in the future will take care of the problem. Other people think that the government needs to intervene and take appropriate measures to reduce unemployment. What do you think?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Economic growth will provide sufficient employment in the future	27.2	23.3	25.6
Economic growth alone is not enough - the government has to take action to reduce unemployment.	65.5	70.0	67.3
(No answer)	.7	.8	.7
(Don't know)	6.7	6.0	6.4

22. Some people think that government should take actions to reduce income differences between the poor and rich, but others think that the government should not interfere. What is your opinion?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
The government has to eliminate income differences	38.2	35.0	36.9
The government has to take moderate action to reduce income differences	45.7	48.0	46.6
The government should not interfere	6.7	6.8	6.7
Spontaneously: (it may interfere, or may not interfere)	6.3	6.3	6.3
(No answer)	.7	1.3	.9
(Don't know)	2.5	2.8	2.6

23. If you think about government policy since its formation, do you think that it was characterized most by:

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Support for the rich (for example through preferential fiscal and land ownership policy that benefit mostly the rich people)	29.0	27.8	28.5
Support for the middle class	4.8	3.5	4.3
Support for the poor (for example through "child money" and other welfare programs that benefit mostly the poor people)	13.0	17.0	14.6
Self-interested politicians and lack of concern for society at large	34.7	32.8	33.9
None of the above: I think that policies were fair and for the benefit of all people	11.2	12.0	11.5
(No answer)	.2	.5	.3
(Don't know)	7.2	6.5	6.9

24. Through recent development of the mining sector Mongolia has gained considerable wealth. How should this money be used?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
There should be increased social programs to give immediate relief to the poor	7.3	11.3	8.9
There should be long-term social programs through more investment in education, health, etc.	30.7	39.0	34.0
All citizen should equally benefit through direct disbursement	17.3	10.5	14.6
Funds should be invested by the state to improve economic development	42.7	35.3	39.7

(No answer)	-	-	-
(Don't know)	2.0	4.0	2.8

25. Present economic situation in Mongolia

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• very good	.3	2.3	1.1
• good	9.2	11.0	9.9
• not good, nor bad	49.3	36.3	44.1
• bad	30.2	37.5	33.1
• very bad	5.3	8.3	6.5
• (No answer)	.2	.3	.2
• (Don't know)	5.5	4.5	5.1

26. The economic situation is

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Improving	30.0	34.5	31.8
• Stagnating	44.3	41.8	43.3
• In decline	13.3	16.8	14.7
• (No answer)	2.3	1.3	1.9
• (Don't know)	10.0	5.8	8.3

27. In five years the economic situation will be

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Much better	9.5	12.3	10.6
• Slightly better	53.2	46.0	50.3
• Same	11.5	16.5	13.5
• Slightly worse	4.5	6.0	5.1
• Much worse	2.3	3.0	2.6
• (No answer)	.7	1.0	.8
• (Don't know)	18.3	15.3	17.1

Systemic part

28. Importance of democratic values

	Important ⁵	Not important
1. All people are equally treated by the law	93.2	3.1
2. The state provides for social justice in a market economy	92.5	2.2
3. Social differences are kept as small as possible	91.7	3.9
4. There is a free, democratic market	89.1	5.7
5. Men and women have equal rights	89.0	5.2
6. Everybody can express his/her opinion freely	84.5	9.7
7. Everybody has the freedom to decide about his property	91.4	3.9
8. Everybody has the right to enter one's desired profession	89.7	5.3
9. All people have equal educational opportunities	87.1	7.3
10. Income differences are kept as small as possible	89.7	6.0
11. Everybody can participate in the activities of their choice during one's free time	86.9	7.9
12. All parties have an equal chance to come into government	71.0	19.0
13. Everybody can believe in what he/she wants	78.3	16.9
14. I can travel wherever I want	78.1	20.9
15. The state provides as many social security services as possible	73.1	19.9
16. Media and research are uncensored in Mongolia	72.8	17.6

29. How much are you satisfied with the Democracy and present political system?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Satisfied	18.7	17.0	18.0
• Rather satisfied	40.7	30.8	36.7
• Rather not satisfied	18.0	27.5	21.8
• Not satisfied	17.3	19.5	18.2
• (No answer)	1.2	.5	.9
• (Don't know)	4.2	4.8	4.4

⁵ **Important** combines both 'very important' and 'rather important' options while **not important** includes 'rather not important' and 'not important'. 'Don't know' and 'no answer' are not included.

31. Some people think that there is too much democracy in Mongolia and that a dictatorship would make things better. Others think that we have a kind of dictatorship with no real democratic values. In your opinion, where does Mongolia belong on the spectrum?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
We have too much democracy	12.3	9.0	11.0
We have a moderate level of democracy	22.2	27.5	24.3
We are at a crossroads	26.7	28.0	27.2
We have a moderate level of dictatorship	20.3	19.3	19.9
We are too dictatorial	8.5	7.0	7.9
(No answer)	.8	2.0	1.3
(Don't know)	9.2	7.3	8.4

32. In your opinion, do political parties represent public opinion?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Yes	26.0	25.0	25.6
• No	60.2	64.8	62.0
• (No answer)	1.8	1.8	1.8
• (Don't know)	12.0	8.5	10.6

33. In your opinion, how strong is voters' influence on political decision making?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Very strong	18.2	17.8	18.0
• Rather strong	43.7	38.8	41.7
• Rather little	20.2	23.0	21.3
• None	6.0	10.3	7.7
• (No answer)	1.7	4.5	2.8
• (Don't know)	10.3	5.8	8.5

34. What do you think about our society? In general, is there more justice or more injustice?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
There is more justice	6.2	6.3	6.2
There is more injustice	73.2	70.5	72.1
Spontaneous:(Sometime more justice and other time more injustice)	17.8	20.5	18.9

(No answer)	.5	.3	.4
(Don't know)	2.3	2.5	2.4

35. Confidence in state institutions (nationwide)

	<i>President</i>	<i>Parliament</i>	<i>Judiciary system</i>	<i>Gvt admin</i>	<i>Political parties</i>	<i>Civil society</i>
confident	22.6	13.7	12.5	20.2	7.9	18.2
rather confident	31.4	30.7	25.7	44.0	28.6	36.9
rather not confident	20.6	27.0	26.4	17.8	23.7	17.3
not confident	18.7	22.0	27.2	12.5	28.7	15.4
(No answer)	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.6	2.5	2.4
(Don't know)	5.0	4.9	6.4	3.9	8.6	9.8

40. Which country is the best partner for Mongolia?

No names were suggested, each respondent could mention up to two countries.

	1 choice	2 choice
• Russia	43.7	3.3
• China	1.2	13.9
• USA	11.3	11.0
• European Union ⁶	3.4	5.8
• Japan	6.9	8.2
• South Korea	1.3	5.9
• Others	2.6	2.5
• (No answer)	4.4	49.4
• (Don't know)	25.1	-
• Total	100%	100%

41. Which country is the best partner for Mongolia?

Cumulative percentage, valid cases only.

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
▪ Russia	74.0%	56.1%	66.6%
▪ China	18.0%	26.2%	21.4%
▪ USA	28.2%	36.4%	31.6%
▪ European Union	9.7%	17.7%	13.0%
▪ Japan	18.4%	25.5%	21.4%
▪ South Korea	13.6%	5.4%	10.2%
▪ Others	6%	9.2%	7.4%
▪ Total	168.0%	176.5%	171.5%

⁶ Includes all mentioned EU countries

42. With which country citizens Mongolians are better in communication and cooperation?

No names were suggested, each respondent could mention up to two countries.

	1 choice	2 choice
▪ Russia	28.1	1.1
▪ China	11.8	10.2
▪ USA	2.9	4.0
▪ European Union ⁷	1.3	1.4
▪ Japan	5.5	4.4
▪ South Korea	9.3	8.9
▪ Others	1.4	.8
▪ (No answer)	4.5	69.1
▪ (Don't know)	35.2	-
▪ Total	100%	100%

43. With which country citizens Mongolians are better in communication and cooperation?

Cumulative percentage, valid cases only.

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
▪ Russia	50.6%	45.5%	48.4%
▪ China	34.1%	39.7%	36.5%
▪ USA	7.2%	17.1%	11.4%
▪ European Union	4.0%	5.1%	4.5%
▪ Japan	12.1%	22.2%	16.4%
▪ South Korea	29.8%	30.7%	30.2%
▪ Others	3.2%	4.7%	3.9%

⁷ Includes all mentioned EU countries

Personal part

45. How you evaluate your nearest future?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Optimistic	86.5	82.8	86.0
• Pessimistic	5.8	8.8	5.4
• (No answer)	.7	1.5	1.6
• (Don't know)	7.0	7.0	7.0

46. Present personal and family's life level situation

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Very good	-	1.3	.4
• Good	13.7	15.3	13.8
• Partly good/partly bad	66.0	61.5	65.3
• Bad	17.7	19.8	18.3
• Very bad	1.5	1.3	1.4
• (No answer)	.7	.8	.4
• (Don't know)	.5	.3	.4

47. Life level development comparing to last year

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• better	29.8	20.8	28.8
• the same	57.7	59.5	57.3
• worsened	10.7	18.5	12.6
• (No answer)	1.2	.5	.7
• (Don't know)	.7	.8	.6

48. How much are you interested in politics?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• very much interested	4.5	6.3	5.2
• interested	21.2	21.8	21.4
• somehow interested	29.8	28.5	29.3
• rather not interested	28.7	26.5	27.8
• not interested	14.5	16.3	15.2
• (No answer)	.2	.3	.2
• (Don't know)	1.2	.5	.9

51. Due to both just and unjust circumstances in a society, there are both winners and losers among the different social groups. In your opinion, to which group do you belong?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
I consider myself rather a loser	43.5	34.8	40.0
I consider myself rather a winner	4.5	7.5	5.7
Spontaneous:(Sometimes I am winner, sometimes a loser)	33.5	40.0	36.1
(No answer)	2.3	3.0	2.6
(Don't know)	16.2	14.8	15.6

52. In times of economic difficulties some people depend on the government to come to their assistance; others believe they can solve the problem by themselves.

Do you expect help from the state in solving your problems?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• I don't need any help	13.8	12.5	13.3
• I need help only to find a job	26.8	26.8	26.8
• I need financial support	37.3	29.0	34.0
• I don't expect anything from the government	15.8	23.8	19.0
• (No answer)	.7	1.5	1.0
• (Don't know)	5.5	6.5	5.9

53. If the government fails to meet your expectations, what would you do? (most important)

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• I will go to court	1.8	2.8	2.2
• I will join street protests	6.0	7.0	6.4
• I will join/support civil organizations that can protect my rights	21.8	21.3	21.6
• I will vote against the government in elections	16.2	14.3	15.4
• I will join the opposition party	3.0	4.0	3.4
• Do nothing and wait for matters to improve	29.7	17.5	24.8
• (No answer)	4.2	10.3	6.6
• (Don't know)	17.3	23.0	19.6

54. “Whom of the prominent persons in the country would you like to name; who, in your opinion, should play an important role in politics?”

(No names were suggested, each respondent could mention up to three persons. Responses are listed here in a ranking order by percentage of cases. The cumulative percentage could be up to 300%.)

Top 10 politicians

55. in Ulan Bator		56. in Countryside⁸	
1. Enkhbayar	19.5%	1. Enkhbayar	24.4%
2. Elbegdorj	17.4%	2. Elbegdorj	17.2%
3. Ganbaatar	13.7%	3. Ganbaatar	15.0%
4. Batbold	10.8%	4. Batbold	11.0%
5. Bat-Uul	9.5%	5. Bayartsogt	10.7%
6. Altay	9.1%	6. Ulaan	10.2%
7. Ulaan	7.5%	7. N. Batbayar	8.8%
8. Temuujin	7.1%	8. Udval	8.0%
9. Oyun	6.6%	9. Zorigt (DP)	7.5%
10. Bagabandi	5.0%	10. Bud	6.7%

⁸ Countryside list is strongly influenced by a local leadership (origin) factor. This factor is diminishing with the decreasing of province's sample proportion in a general sample.