



POLITBAROMETER #20(54), April 2021

The "Sant Maral" Foundation presents the results of the survey, conducted from April 1 to April 16, 2021. This time due to the COVID-19 restrictions, the representative sample of 1210 respondents were collected by CATI in the capital Ulan Bator and 21 aymags (split proportionally by 4 regional divisions and Ulan Bator). In the data below, tabulations are sorted by "capital," "countryside," and "nationwide" when relevant.

This survey was sponsored by the Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation of Germany

25 years of the Sant Maral Foundation surveys

The Sant Maral Foundation started its empirical research shortly before parliamentary elections of 1996 when Mongolia's political, social, and economic transformation process had been ongoing for some years and political actors as well as the general public were in need of independent and unbiased assessments of developments. Based on opinion polls conducted in a scientific manner, the Sant Maral Foundation provided such assessments of public perceptions on a regular basis and began publishing its findings widely in the "Polit Barometer" which by now has been a reliable source of valuable information for 25 years.

Scientific professionalism, transparency, and unbiased analysis have been key issues in creating and maintaining the high standard of "Politbarometer" which is appreciated by political decision makers just as much as by students of relevant subjects and by international observers of Mongolia's development. Especially the independence from influence of political parties gives the Sant Maral Foundation's research credibility. What is published in the "Politbarometer" are the perceptions of people as found out during the interviews without a party-biased filter obstructing views that may not please certain political circles to satisfy others.

The Sant Maral Foundation has achieved these high standards through the professionalism of its members and staff and through international co-operation and exchange of experience. Study tours to world-known research institutions in the USA and Europe and participation in international conferences and seminars helped the Foundation's staff to stay in touch with international developments in the field of empirical research. The Konrad Adenauer Foundation of Germany was among the Sant Maral Foundation's international partners in this field and as resident representative of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Mongolia I had the opportunity to work closely with the Sant Maral Foundation during the initial years. Moreover, I have maintained a close relationship with the Sant Maral Foundation after my retirement and worked together with the Foundation to publish two compilations of research findings from the years 1995 to 2005 ("Voters Voices" Vol. I) and 2008 to 2016 ("Voters' Voices" Vol. II). These publications provide analyses of long-term developments which complement the observations in the "Politbarometer" showing the situation at a specific moment.

During the past 25 years the Sant Maral Foundation's "Politbarometer" has established its place as an important source of information regarding people's opinions on political, social, and economic developments in Mongolia during and after the country's transformation process. The "Politbarometer" reflects these opinions and provides reliable analyses of these data. It has been a pleasure being associated with the Foundation's work.

Werner Prohl
Representative of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Mongolia (1993 – 1999)

25 years passed since the SMF has started to survey opinions of Mongolian people. The unrestricted opinion was an integral part of the new political system that was adopted by Mongolian population in the 1992 Constitution. During the past 25 years, we were trying to inform the population and decision makers about major problems facing the country and the public assessments of the governance. The SMF believes that there was enough need in the new and democratic society for the public concerns to be openly voiced. On the one hand, a display of a variety of opinions and an ability to find a compromise between opposing views is a sign of a growing maturity in a society. On the other hand, without a reliable feedback on the impact of its policies, any governance is doomed to fail. We hope that our findings on diverse and pressing issues such as strategic mining, social and income discrepancy etc. helped to address and promote good decision-making. Especially, considering that starting from 2013 we are surveying attitudes of Mongolians toward strategic mining ownership and management, which is increasingly an issue of national concern and future development. Judging by some reactions and comments our findings were a big surprise both for politicians and investors.

On behalf of the SMF, I would like to express a special gratitude to the Konrad Adenauer Foundation that was supporting our activity for 25 years. This support helped us not only to maintain independence from political influence, but also to continuously improve our level of professionalism. It also meant that the Politbarometer became the only openly and freely accessible longitudinal study of its kind in Mongolia. Today with their support of our growth we have many other partners such as Gallup with which we are participating in the World Poll that covers 150 countries, and the Asia Foundation with which we are conducting the "Corruption Benchmark survey", that is well known to Mongolian public.

Although some signs of negative trends are emerging today in our society, such as public voices should not be too loud and rather limited to a whisper into some elitist ears, the SMF believes that as long as voters are present, we will continue to express their voices for another 25 years.

Director of SMF

L. Sumati

Economy

E1. Present economic situation in Mongolia is				
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide	
very good	-	-	-	
good	4.4%	9.1%	6.9%	
 not good, nor bad 	31.8%	41.2%	36.8%	
• bad	44.9%	38.1%	41.3%	
very bad	17.5%	10.2%	13.6%	
(No answer)	-	-	-	
(Don't know)	1.4%	1.4%	1.4%	

E2. The economic situation is			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
Improving	10.5%	13.5%	12.1%
 Stagnating 	40.0%	42.5%	41.3%
 In decline 	46.9%	40.9%	43.7%
(No answer)	-	-	-
(Don't know)	2.6%	3.1%	2.9%

E3. In five years the economic situation will be				
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide	
Much better	2.3%	5.5%	4.0%	
 Slightly better 	45.1%	47.8%	46.5%	
 The same 	20.3%	15.5%	17.8%	
 Slightly worse 	12.9%	12.1%	12.5%	
 Much worse 	5.2%	3.9%	4.5%	
(No answer)	-	-	-	
(Don't know)	14.2%	15.2%	14.7%	

E4. Through recent development of the mining sector Mongolia has gained considerable wealth. How should this money be used?				
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide	
There should be increased social programs to give immediate relief to the poor	4.5%	8.5%	6.6%	
There should be long-term social programs through more investment in education, health, etc.	45.8%	32.1%	38.6%	
All citizens should equally benefit through direct disbursement	5.4%	12.7%	9.3%	
Funds should be invested by the state to improve economic development	43.0%	45.1%	44.1%	
(No answer)	.2%		.1%	
(Don't know)	1.0%	1.6%	1.3%	

E5. What should be the proportion of Mongolian and Foreign ownership in strategic mine deposits?				
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide	
100% Mongolian	18.4%	36.4%	27.9%	
 more than 51% Mongolian 	69.2%	52.7%	60.5%	
• Equal	7.7%	7.7%	7.7%	
 more than 51% foreign 	1.4%	.5%	.9%	
100% Foreign	.3%		.2%	
(Don't know)	2.3%	2.7%	2.5%	
(No answer)	.7%	.2%	.4%	

E6. The ownership of Mongolian investment in strategic mine deposits should be				
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide	
 Only state 	31.3%	39.3%	35.5%	
 Mixed 	60.3%	54.9%	57.4%	
 Only private business 	5.6%	3.3%	4.4%	
(Don't know)	2.3%	2.5%	2.4%	
(No answer)	.5%		.2%	

E7. In your opinion how strongly Mongolian citizen interest is represented in Erdenet?				
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide	
Very strong	9.3%	13.6%	11.6%	
 Strong 	21.9%	20.5%	21.2%	
Little	39.2%	42.0%	40.7%	
 Not at all 	10.7%	6.0%	8.2%	
(Don't know/ No answer)	19.1%	17.9%	18.4%	

E8. In your opinion how strongly Mongolian citizen interest is represented in Oyu Tolgoy? **Ulan Bator** Countryside Nationwide Very strong 7.5% 5.2% 6.4% Strong 11.9% 14.7% 13.4% Little 44.8% 46.2% 45.5% Not at all 25.3% 16.9% 20.9% (Don't know/ No answer) 12.8% 14.6% 13.7%

E9. In your opinion how strongly Mongolian citizen interest is represented in Tavan Tolgoy?				
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide	
 Very strong 	6.6%	7.8%	7.3%	
 Strong 	20.8%	19.7%	20.2%	
• Little	44.8%	49.4%	47.2%	
 Not at all 	11.9%	6.4%	9.0%	
(Don't know/ No answer)	15.9%	16.6%	16.3%	

Governance

G1. How do you approve or disapprove the following statement: "In principal, you can trust that the government is doing the right things for citizens"?

Ulan Bator

Fully approve

9.8%

17.4%

13.8%

Rather approve

43.0%

47.5%

45.4%

 Rather approve 	43.0%	47.5%	45.4%
 Rather disapprove 	27.1%	20.7%	23.7%
 Totally disapprove 	19.1%	13.0%	15.9%
(No answer)		.2%	.1%
• (Don't know)	1.0%	1.3%	1.2%

G2. Satisfaction with Government		G3. Satisfaction with Opposition	
	Nationwide		Nationwide
very satisfied	12.2%	very satisfied	4.6%
fairly satisfied	45.0%	fairly satisfied	27.1%
rather not satisfied	24.3%	rather not satisfied	23.9%
totally unsatisfied	16.2%	totally unsatisfied	31.4%
(No answer)	.1%	(No answer)	.3%
(Don't know)	2.2%	(Don't know)	12.6%

	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 Unemployment 	13.1%	23.5%	18.6%
2. Health (COVID-19)	12.8%	12.9%	12.8%
Economy\ manufacturing	11.7%	12.9%	12.3%
Standard of living	8.7%	14.7%	11.9%
5. Education	16.1%	6.1%	10.8%
6. Corruption	6.6%	3.8%	5.1%
7. Social Justice	4.4%	4.4%	4.4%
8. State administration	5.6%	2.2%	3.8%
Price increase\ Inflation	2.4%	3.9%	3.2%
10.Law enforcement	3.7%	2.8%	3.2%

G5. How often do you feel that government policies fail to solve the most important problem you named? **Ulan Bator** Countryside **Nationwide** Always 51.4% 41.1% 46.0% Often 23.3% 23.2% 23.2% Sometimes 16.3% 23.7% 20.2% Seldom 3.7% 4.5% 5.3% 2.6% 3.6% 3.1% Never (No answer) .2% .1% (Don't know) 2.6% 3.1% 2.9%

66. Which political party can best solve the problem?				
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide	
 Mongolian People's Party 	16.6%	28.8%	23.1%	
Democratic Party	4.4%	8.6%	6.6%	
MPRP	.9%	1.3%	1.1%	
 National Labor Party 	4.9%	.3%	2.5%	
Other party	.3%	.2%	.2%	
None	48.8%	39.7%	44.0%	
(No Answer)	1.2%	1.1%	1.2%	
(Don't Know)	22.9%	20.1%	21.4%	

G7. Problem solving capacity by major parties is			
(% from responded) 1. Unemployment 2. Standard of living\ poverty\ income 3. Price increase\ Inflation 4. Education 5. Law enforcement 6. Corruption 7. Economy\ manufacturing 8. State administration/Government policy 9. Ecology\ Environment 10. Social Justice 11. Agriculture	MPP 17.9% 12.9% 3.6% 7.2% 1.4% 5.0% 14.3% 2.9% 1.8% 3.6% 1.1%	DP 21.3% 17.5% 2.5% 11.3% 3.8% 2.5% 13.8% 1.3% 1.3% 2.5%	
12. Mining 13. Health (COVID-19)	2.5% 18.3%	2.5% 11.3%	

G8. Which institution should play the leading role in solving this problem?			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 Government 	45.1%	43.4%	44.2%
 The Parliament 	9.3%	10.5%	9.9%
The president	6.1%	13.8%	10.2%
Judiciary	5.2%	2.7%	3.9%
 Political parties 	2.6%	3.3%	3.0%
 Civil society 	24.5%	19.9%	22.1%
None	3.1%	2.0%	2.6%
(No answer)	1.0%		.5%
(Don't know)	3.0%	4.4%	3.7%

G9. Government's greatest success Dealing with:		G10. Government's biggest fail	ıre
Health (COVID-19 handling)	13.7%	Health (COVID-19 handling)	21.5%
2. Mining	7.4%	2. State administration	14.5%
Support for household income	3.7%	3. Corruption	6.4%
4. Supporting the standard of living	3.1%	4. Law enforcement	5.1%
5. State administration	2.9%	Decline in standard of living	4.9%
6. Economy growth	2.8%	6. Growing unemployment	4.4%
7. Education	2.3%	7. Economy growth	3.9%
8. Ecology	2.0%	8. Social Justice	3.9%
9. Corruption reduction	1.6%	9. Inflation	3.6%
10. Agriculture	1.0%	10. Education	2.9%
		 Welfare excessively widespread 	2.8%

G11. 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?

	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 Economic growth will provide sufficient employment in the future 	25.7%	30.4%	28.2%
 Economic growth alone is not enough - the government must take action to reduce unemployment. 	73.4%	68.8%	71.0%
(Don't know)	.7%	.8%	.7%
(No answer)	.2%		.1%

G12. 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?

	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
The government must take strong actions to eliminate income differences	33.7%	39.8%	36.9%
The government must take moderate action to reduce income differences	48.8%	47.3%	48.0%
The government should not interfere	14.2%	8.8%	11.3%
Spontaneously: (it may interfere, or may not interfere)	2.3%	2.7%	2.5%
(Don't know)	.7%	1.4%	1.1%
(No answer)	.3%		.2%

G13. If you think about government policy since its formation, do you think that it was characterized most by...

	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
Support for the rich (for example through preferential fiscal and land ownership policy that benefit mostly the rich people)	24.8%	28.5%	26.8%
Support for the middle class	6.6%	9.1%	7.9%
Support for the poor (for example through "child money" and other welfare programs that benefit mostly the poor people)	16.8%	16.6%	16.7%
Self-interested politicians and lack of concern for society at large	33.9%	29.3%	31.5%
None of the above: I think that policies were fair and for the benefit of all people	10.7%	12.5%	11.7%
(Don't know)	6.3%	3.9%	5.0%
(No answer)	.9%		.4%

Systemic

S1. Which political system is more suitable for Mongolia? Could you provide your assessment of its governance efficiency?

a. Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with the Parliament and elections			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
Good	20.8%	31.2%	26.3%
 Rather good 	34.1%	38.7%	36.5%
 Rather bad 	15.2%	7.5%	11.2%
Bad	21.9%	11.1%	16.2%
(No answer)	.2%	.3%	.2%
(Don't know)	7.9%	11.1%	9.6%

b. Team of independent from the government professionals or experts developing state policy (elitist governance)			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 Good 	28.0%	28.7%	28.3%
 Rather good 	41.6%	39.5%	40.5%
 Rather bad 	11.9%	9.7%	10.7%
Bad	9.4%	7.2%	8.3%
(No answer)	-	-	-
(Don't know)	9.1%	14.9%	12.1%

c. Rule by military, intelligence and police forces			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 Good 	3.0%	3.8%	3.4%
 Rather good 	8.7%	18.2%	13.7%
 Rather bad 	23.4%	19.0%	21.1%
Bad	59.6%	49.1%	54.0%
(No answer)	-	-	-
(Don't know)	5.2%	10.0%	7.8%

d. Democratic system: governance through democratically elected representatives of the people			
.,	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 Good 	28.5%	25.7%	27.0%
 Rather good 	47.2%	50.5%	48.9%
 Rather bad 	10.5%	9.7%	10.1%
Bad	8.0%	5.0%	6.4%
(No answer)	.2%	.2%	.2%
(Don't know)	5.6%	8.9%	7.4%

S2. Overall, how do you think the socio-political-economic system in Mongolia can deal with the country's challenges?

	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
Fully	17.0%	29.0%	23.3%
Partly	45.1%	38.9%	41.8%
A little	25.0%	22.3%	23.6%
Not at all	10.3%	7.2%	8.7%
(Don't know)	2.6%	2.7%	2.6%
(No answer)	-	-	-

S3. What scale of reforms would you like to see in the socio-political-economic system?

We need decisive full-scale reforms	Ulan Bator 77.8%	Countryside 77.4%	Nationwide 77.6%
We need some limited insignificant reforms	19.4%	16.3%	17.8%
We don't need reforms; we should keep things as they are	1.6%	4.4%	3.1%
(Don't know)	1.0%	1.7%	1.4%
(No answer)	.2%	.2%	.2%

S4. What should be changed in a first place? (Open-ended)			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 Increase the standard of living (salary, wages, pension) 	11.5%	21.3%	16.7%
Reform the legal system	13.8%	13.5%	13.6%
Change government, power	7.5%	7.5%	7.5%
Change President	.2%	.3%	.2%
Reduce housing and utilities tariffs, prices for medicines,	.3%	.6%	.5%
6. Fight corruption	5.9%	5.0%	5.5%
Provide affordable and (good) quality education	8.0%	3.0%	5.4%
Create jobs, employment	13.1%	16.1%	14.7%
Improve the economy	8.7%	9.2%	9.0%
 Redistribute resources to the poor at the expense of the rich 	2.1%	3.3%	2.7%
11. Carry out democratic reform	4.2%	3.6%	3.9%
12. Provide affordable housing	.7%	1.1%	.9%
13. Develop regions	2.4%	4.1%	3.3%
14. Other	5.8%	2.2%	3.9%
15. Health/Covid19	1.2%	.3%	.7%
16. State administration	2.3%	.9%	1.6%
17. Banking/interest rates	.7%	.3%	.5%

18. Political system/parties	3.7%	1.1%	2.3%
19. Mining	.5%	.3%	.4%
20. Environment		.2%	.1%
21. Support for business	1.9%	1.1%	1.5%
22. Justice	1.2%	.5%	.8%
23. Decrease welfare	.2%	.2%	.2%
24. Accountability/Transparency	.3%	.5%	.4%
25. Public awareness	1.2%	.9%	1.1%
(No answer)	-	.2%	.1%
(Don't know)	2.3%	2.7%	2.5%

System Evaluation

SE1. How satisfied are you by the Democracy and present political system?			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 Satisfied 	11.7%	14.3%	13.1%
 Rather satisfied 	38.5%	43.7%	41.2%
 Rather not satisfied 	25.2%	22.4%	23.7%
 Not satisfied 	23.4%	17.9%	20.5%
(No answer)			
(Don't know)	1.2%	1.7%	1.5%

SE2. 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?			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 We have a developed democracy 	6.6%	6.6%	6.6%
 We are at the point of developing democracy 	18.5%	16.5%	17.4%
 We are at a crossroads 	33.4%	31.2%	32.2%
 We are changing to a dictatorship 	32.9%	34.5%	33.7%
 We are too dictatorial 	6.5%	6.9%	6.7%
(No answer)		.2%	.1%
(Don't know)	2.1%	4.2%	3.2%

SE3. In your opinion, do political parties represent public opinion?			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
Yes	13.8%	19.3%	16.7%
• No	83.9%	78.4%	81.0%
(No answer)	.3%		.2%
(Don't know)	1.9%	2.4%	2.1%

SE4. In your opinion, how much influence do voters have on political decision making?			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
Very strong	12.1%	11.6%	11.8%
 Rather strong 	17.7%	16.5%	17.0%
 Rather little 	40.6%	46.4%	43.6%
None	28.0%	23.2%	25.5%
(No answer)	-	-	-
(Don't know)	1.7%	2.4%	2.1%

ore injustice?	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 There is more justice 	4.4%	6.7%	5.6%
There is more injustice	87.1%	86.7%	86.9%
 Depending (sometimes more justice, other times more injustice) 	7.7%	6.3%	6.9%
(No answer)			
(Don't know)	.9%	.3%	.6%

SE6. If you have a dispute over a civil, administrative or family matter (such as a dispute over property, land use, family relations issues, landlord/tenant issue, employment, claim against a government act, or other contractual issue, or where the victim of a crime) will you try to settle it through courts or rather settle it through negotiations?

	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 Through courts 	30.2%	27.9%	29.0%
 Rather through courts 	7.7%	7.7%	7.7%
 Rather through negotiations 	27.1%	29.5%	28.3%
 Through negotiations 	31.1%	32.1%	31.7%
(No answer)	-	-	-
(Don't know)	3.8%	2.8%	3.3%

SE7 How strong are ethical principles set in Mongolian society?			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
Very strong	5.9%	6.0%	6.0%
Strong	10.8%	12.1%	11.5%
Weak	60.0%	59.7%	59.8%
 Not at all 	21.3%	16.9%	19.0%
(Don't know)/(No answer)	1.9%	5.3%	3.7%

SE8. How strong is "The rule of law" in Mongolian society?				
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide	
Very strong	3.1%	3.1%	3.1%	
Strong	12.2%	11.4%	11.8%	
 Weak 	55.9%	54.4%	55.1%	
 Not at all 	28.1%	29.5%	28.8%	
(Don't know)/(No answer)	.5%	1.6%	1.1%	

SE9. What should be the foundation of the social order in Mongolia?			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 Every person should have equal rights against the law 	62.8%	70.1%	66.6%
 Ethical relations that benefit society 	34.4%	28.2%	31.2%
(No answer)	.5%	.2%	.3%
(Don't know)	2.3%	1.6%	1.9%

SE10. Which form of state is more suitable for Mongolia?			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 Current semi-parliamentarian with influential president 	35.0%	27.9%	31.2%
Parliamentarian	20.8%	11.6%	16.0%
 Presidential 	40.4%	53.9%	47.5%
(Don't know)	3.8%	6.6%	5.3%

SE11. With regards to parties			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 There should be many parties representing a variety of opinions 	38.3%	15.7%	26.4%
 In principle, we do not need any third force – two parties are sufficient 	26.9%	38.9%	33.2%
 In principle, we do not need parties – to have a strong president is the right thing 	31.3%	43.7%	37.9%
(No answer) (Don't know)	3.5%	1.7%	2.6%

SE12. How confident are you in state institutions? (nationwide)						
	President	Parliament	Judiciary System	Gvt admin	Political parties	Civil society
confident	33.1%	10.2%	11.2%	18.5%	4.0%	18.2%
 rather confident 	37.7%	37.3%	32.9%	48.3%	26.4%	37.5%
 rather not confident 	12.3%	21.8%	21.9%	17.3%	21.5%	15.0%
not confident	15.0%	29.3%	31.8%	14.6%	45.1%	24.1%
(No answer)	.2%	.2%	.2%	.2%	.4%	.2%
(Don't know)	1.7%	1.2%	2.0%	1.0%	2.6%	5.0%

SE13. In your opinion, how strong should the role of the religion be in				
	Your life	Education	Politics	
Very strong	3.1%	2.5%	.7%	
 Strong 	8.3%	4.3%	2.0%	
 Moderate 	34.5%	19.0%	12.2%	
Little	29.4%	22.6%	15.7%	
 No role 	23.5%	46.4%	62.0%	
(No answer)	.2%	5.3%	.2%	
(Don't know)	1.0%	7.6%	7.3%	

SE14. 2020 was a particularly challenging year for Mongolia. If it comes to political influence and decision making, which of three Mongolian power centers was the most effective during that time?

	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 Government 	60.0%	47.8%	53.6%
President	14.2%	25.9%	20.3%
 Parliament 	9.8%	11.8%	10.8%
(All the same)	3.0%	4.2%	3.6%
• (None)	8.2%	5.8%	6.9%
(Don't know)	4.7%	4.5%	4.6%
(No answer)	.2%		.1%

Political Parties

P1. Think about all political parties in Mongolia: In general, do you favour <u>one</u> particular party?					
<u> </u>	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide		
 Yes, I favour <u>one</u> particular party 	26.7%	33.5%	30.3%		
 No, I do not favour any party 	73.1%	66.5%	69.6%		
(No answer)					
(Don't know)	.2%		.1%		

P2. Data on the self-reported "favourite" party					
Nationwide for all respondents			How stror	ngly supporter	s favour the
		_		hey reported f	avouring
	%	Valid %	Rather	Average	Rather
		7 411 47 70	strong		weak
 Mongolian People's Party 	15.9	53.0	56.3%	36.5%	7.3%
 Democratic Party 	8.9	29.8	43.5%	42.6%	13.9%
MPRP	1.2	4.1	66.7%	26.7%	6.7%
 Civic Will - Green Party 	.1	.3	-	-	-
Green Party	.1	.3	-	-	-
 National Labor Party 	3.5	11.6	52.4%	38.1%	9.5%
Republican Party	.2	.6	-	-	-
 Other party 	.1	.3	-	-	-
(No answer, missing)	70.1				
Total	100%				

P3. Parties activity evaluation by all respondents responses on a scale from – 5 (very bad) to +5 (very good) (average)					
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide		
MPP	1.23	1.93	1.61		
 Democratic Party 	-0.18	.70	.57		
MPRP	-0.58	.57	.02		

P4. In your opinion, is the MPP headed in the right or wrong direction?					
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide		
 Right direction 	33.4%	45.8%	39.9%		
 Wrong direction 	40.4%	29.8%	34.8%		
(No answer)	1.6%	.3%	.9%		
(Don't know)	24.7%	24.1%	24.4%		

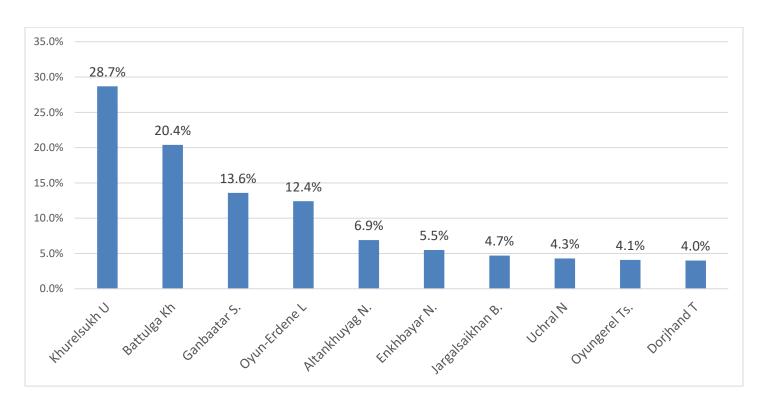
P5. In your opinion is the DP headed in the right or wrong direction?					
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide		
 Right direction 	14.9%	21.6%	18.4%		
 Wrong direction 	56.3%	46.7%	51.2%		
(No answer)	3.3%	1.7%	2.5%		
(Don't know)	25.5%	29.9%	27.9%		

P6. In your opinion is the MPRP headed in the right or wrong direction?					
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide		
 Right direction 	10.3%	20.8%	15.9%		
 Wrong direction 	45.3%	30.4%	37.4%		
(No answer)	3.0%	3.3%	3.1%		
(Don't know)	41.4%	45.5%	43.6%		

P8. What is your <u>main source</u> of information about politics?				
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide	
TV	44.9%	69.4%	57.9%	
Newspapers	1.9%	1.4%	1.7%	
Radio/FM		.5%	.2%	
FB/Twitter	17.7%	15.5%	16.5%	
Internet, WEB sites	32.2%	11.8%	21.4%	
Words of mouth	2.4%	.9%	1.7%	
Other	.3%	.2%	.2%	
(Don't know)	.3%		.2%	
(No answer)	.2%	.3%	.2%	

P9. "Of the prominent persons in the country, who would you like to name as those 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 rankingorder by percentage of cases. The cumulative percentage could be up to 300%.)



Top ranking politicians

P10.	in Ulan Bator	
1.	Khurelsukh U	21.5%
2.	Battulga Kh.	12.8%
3.	Oyun-Erdene	9.8%
4.	Ganbaatar S.	8.9%
5.	Oyungerel Ts.	7.0%
6.	Uchral N	5.9%
7.	Jargalsaikhan B.	5.8%
8.	Altankhuyag N.	5.8%
9.	Dorjhand T.	5.2%
10.	Amarjargal R.	3.8%

P11. in Rural area	
 Khurelsukh U Battulga Kh. Ganbaatar S. Oyun-Erdene L Altankhuyag N. Enkhbayar N. 	35.1% 27.3% 17.7% 14.7% 7.8% 7.7%
7. Zandanshatar G.8. Jargalsaikhan B.9. Uchral N.10. Dorjhand T.	4.2% 3.8% 2.8% 2.8%

Elections

El1. "If elections were held tomorrow, would you participate?"			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
■ "Yes"	85.3%	87.9%	86.7%
■ "No"	13.6%	8.2%	10.7%
(No answer)	.3%	.8%	.6%
(Don't know)	.7%	3.1%	2.0%

El2. "If Parliament Elections were held t for?"	omorrow, wl	nich party v	vould you	ı vote
			Natio	nwide
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	%	Valid %
Mongolian People's Party	15.2%	25.7%	20.7%	56.2
Democratic Party	6.6%	12.4%	9.7%	26.2
 MPRP 	1.4%	3.3%	2.4%	6.5
National Labor Party	7.2%	.5%	3.6%	9.8
Other party (specify):	.3%	.6%	.5%	1.3
Independent	.2%	.3%	.2%	
Depends on candidate	56.3%	47.0%	51.4%	
None	5.4%	3.4%	4.4%	
(No answer)	2.6%	1.9%	2.2%	
(Don't know)	4.7%	4.9%	4.8%	

El3. Which of the parties with seats in the State Great Hural can nominate a candidate that suits your opinion in this year's presidential election?			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
Mongolian People's Party	22.0%	33.2%	27.9%
 Democratic Party 	12.4%	15.2%	13.9%
MPRP	3.8%	5.2%	4.5%
National Labor Party	9.1%	1.6%	5.1%
None	15.7%	8.3%	11.8%
(Don't know)	33.0%	34.8%	34.0%
(No answer)	3.8%	1.7%	2.7%

	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
U. Khurelsukh	19.2%	26.2%	22.9%
Kh. Battulga	16.3%	22.3%	19.4%
 S. Ganbaatar 	4.7%	7.1%	6.0%
S. Oyungerel	10.0%	2.0%	5.8%
 N. Enkhbayar 	2.1%	2.2%	2.1%

Personal

Pe1. How proud are you to be	Mongolian?		
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 Very proud 	84.8%	95.8%	90.6%
 Rather proud 	11.2%	4.1%	7.4%
 Not that proud 	2.4%		1.2%
 Not proud at all 	1.2%	.2%	.7%
(No answer)			
(Don't know)	.3%		.2%

Pe2. How do you evaluate ye	our nearest future?		
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 Optimistic 	93.9%	94.7%	94.3%
Pessimistic	4.9%	4.4%	4.6%
(No answer)	.2%		.1%
(Don't know)	1.0%	.9%	1.0%

Pe3. How is your present personal and family's standard of living?			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 Very good 	.7%	.2%	.4%
• Good	24.1%	19.0%	21.4%
 Partly good/partly bad 	62.1%	66.1%	64.2%
Bad	11.7%	11.9%	11.8%
Very bad	1.2%	2.7%	2.0%
(No answer)	-	-	-
(Don't know)	.2%	.2%	.2%

Pe4. How is your standard of living compared to the last year?			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
better	14.5%	13.8%	14.1%
the same	46.0%	49.7%	47.9%
worse	39.3%	36.4%	37.8%
(No answer)	-	-	-
(Don't know)	.2%	.2%	.2%

Pe5. How interested are you in p	olitics?		
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 very much interested 	11.9%	5.8%	8.7%
interested	28.3%	29.2%	28.8%
 somehow interested 	25.5%	24.0%	24.7%
 rather not interested 	23.6%	28.4%	26.1%
 not interested 	10.7%	12.5%	11.7%
(No answer)	-	-	-
(Don't know)	-	.2%	.1%

Pe6. What do you think, does your future depend on your own achievements, the State, or on other forces (like churches, trade unions, firms, the press, TV/radio, communities, business relations), that could influence the economy?

	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 Rather on myself 	66.4%	56.1%	61.0%
 Rather on the state 	22.4%	34.8%	28.9%
 Rather on other forces 	10.3%	7.1%	8.6%
(No answer)	.2%	.2%	.2%
(Don't know)	.7%	1.9%	1.3%

Pe7. When comparing your life with the life of your parents, what would you say?			
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 My parents achieved much more than I will be able to 	14.7%	21.2%	18.1%
 There is no significant difference, our lives are almost equal 	24.7%	32.9%	29.0%
 I will achieve much more than my parents 	55.4%	41.5%	48.1%
(No answer)	1.2%	.6%	.9%
(Don't know)	4.0%	3.8%	3.9%

Pe8. 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?

	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
 I consider myself rather a loser 	32.0%	30.6%	31.2%
 I consider myself rather a winner 	22.9%	20.7%	21.7%
 Depending (sometimes I am a winner, sometimes I am a loser) 	37.6%	39.2%	38.4%
(No answer)	1.2%	.6%	.9%
(Don't know)	6.3%	8.9%	7.7%

Pe9. In times of economic difficulty, some people depend on the government for assistance; others believe they can solve the problem by themselves. Do you expect help from the state in solving your problems? **Ulan Bator** Countryside Nationwide I do not need any help 29.4% 19.9% 24.4% I need help only to find a job 16.1% 20.5% 18.4% I need financial support 17.3% 28.5% 23.2% I do not expect anything from the 35.0% 28.4% 31.5%

1.2%

1.0%

.8%

1.9%

1.0%

1.5%

government

(No answer) (Don't know)

Pe10. If the government fails to meet your expectations, what would you do?				
(most important)	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide	
 I will go to court 	2.1%	2.5%	2.3%	
 I will join street protests 	11.5%	8.2%	9.8%	
 I will join/support civil organizations that can protect my rights 	14.9%	15.2%	15.0%	
 I will vote against the government in elections 	20.5%	13.5%	16.8%	
 I will join the opposition party 	1.9%	2.2%	2.1%	
 Do nothing and wait for matters to improve 	38.1%	48.1%	43.4%	
(No answer)	3.5%	3.0%	3.2%	
(Don't know)	7.5%	7.4%	7.4%	

COVID-19

Co1. How much is your personal life affected by the coronavirus?				
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide	
A lot	48.1%	40.9%	44.3%	
 To a certain extent 	39.5%	42.6%	41.2%	
 Not very much 	10.8%	14.1%	12.6%	
Not at all	1.6%	2.4%	2.0%	
(No answer)	-	-	-	
(Don't know)	-	-	-	

Co2. How much are you satisfied with the measures taken by the Government and the Ministry of Health in dealing with the coronavirus?				
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide	
 Satisfied 	18.2%	30.7%	24.8%	
 Rather satisfied 	35.3%	40.3%	37.9%	
 Rather not satisfied 	16.3%	10.3%	13.1%	
 Not satisfied 	28.3%	16.9%	22.3%	
(No answer)	.2%	-	.1%	
(Don't know)	1.7%	1.7%	1.7%	

Co3. Concerning the government policy on coronavirus, do you think that the government should continue the lockdown policy or should start relaxing it to give room for more economic activity?				
	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide	
 Continue with lockdown and social distancing 	29.9%	37.5%	33.9%	
 Gradually releasing it, encouraging more economic activity 	67.5%	60.7%	63.9%	
(No answer)	-	-	-	
(Don't know)	.2%	.2%	.2%	

Global

73.0 5.3 2.7 1.7	7.1 27.7 12.1
2.7	
	12.1
1 7	
1.7	4.4
5.2	9.9
2.8	13.2
.3	1.1
.5	1.4
8.5	14.3
	2.8 .3 .5

Cumulative percentage, valid cases only.	Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
Russia	70.0%	88.0%	79.5%
China	49.2%	36.3%	42.4%
USA	18.9%	16.2%	17.4%
European countries	13.2%	6.7%	9.8%
■ Japan	24.5%	16.5%	20.3%
South Korea	11.9%	17.6%	14.9%
Others	2.9%	1.5%	2.2%

GI3. With which country's citizens are	Mongolians in better cor	nmunication and
cooperation?		
No names were suggested, each respondent could mention		•
	1 choice	2 choice
Russia	40.4	14.6
China	16.0	21.3
■ USA	1.4	3.9
 European countries² 	.5	1.3
Japan	3.3	7.4
South Korea	21.0	13.8
Others	.3	.9
(No answer)	1.4	2.0
(Don't know)	15.7	17.7
Total	100%	

¹Includes all mentioned EU countries and the UK ²Includes all mentioned EU countries and the UK

GI4. With which country's citizens are Mongolians in better communication and **cooperation?**Cumulative percentage, valid casesonly.

		Ulan Bator	Countryside	Nationwide
•	Russia	49.5%	66.4%	58.5%
•	China	45.1%	45.0%	45.1%
•	USA	10.8%	6.4%	8.5%
•	European countries	7.8%	2.1%	4.7%
•	Japan	22.9%	12.9%	17.5%
•	South Korea	42.8%	42.0%	42.3%
•	Others	2.6%	1.5%	2.0%