



"Sant Maral" Foundation



Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

POLITBAROMETER #16(50), March 2017

The "Sant Maral" foundation presents the results of the survey, conducted from March 10 to March 30, 2017. The representative sample of 1200 respondents was collected in the capital Ulan Bator and Zavhan, Uvurkhangay, Arkhangay, Dornogovi, Khentii and Tuv aymags (split proportionally by 4 regional divisions and Ulan Bator).

In the data below, tabulations are sorted by "capital," "countryside," and "nationwide" when relevant.

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Director

/L. Sumati

Economy

E1. Present economic situation in Mongolia is

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• very good	.0	0	0
• good	3.2	2.0	2.7
• not good, nor bad	39.2	29.1	34.6
• bad	44.9	53.1	48.7
• very bad	10.5	14.5	12.3
(No answer)	0	0	0
(Don't know)	2.2	1.3	1.8

E2. The economic situation is

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Improving	10.8	7.8	9.4
• Stagnating	45.5	48.9	47.1
• In decline	32.8	38.0	35.2
(No answer)	.5	.0	.3
(Don't know)	10.5	5.3	8.1

E3. In five years the economic situation will be

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Much better	2.9	3.1	3.0
• Slightly better	47.1	48.9	47.9
• The same	16.9	14.4	15.8
• Slightly worse	6.8	9.5	8.0
• Much worse	1.2	4.0	2.5
(No answer)	.5	.4	.4
(Don't know)	24.6	19.8	22.4

E4. 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	8.9	10.9	9.8
There should be long-term social programs through more investment in education, health, etc.	34.8	30.5	32.8
All citizen should equally benefit through direct disbursement	6.8	5.5	6.2
Funds should be invested by the state to improve economic development	45.7	49.8	47.6
(No answer)	.3	.7	.5
(Don't know)	3.5	2.5	3.1

E5. What should be the proportion of Mongolian and Foreign ownership in strategic mine deposits

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• 100% Mongolian	28.2	22.7	25.7
• more than 51% Mongolian	58.2	58.2	58.2
• Equal	7.7	13.1	10.2
• more than 51% foreign	.3	.7	.5
• 100% Foreign	0	.7	.3
(Don't know)	5.1	4.2	4.7
(No answer)	.6	.4	.5

E6. The ownership of Mongolian investment in strategic mine deposits should be

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Only state	37.4	35.5	36.5
• Mixed	52.0	54.7	53.3
• Only private business	2.2	4.2	3.1
(Don't know)	7.4	5.6	6.6
(No answer)	1.1	0	.6

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"?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Fully approve	8.0	3.6	6.0
• Rather approve	46.2	33.6	40.4
• Rather disapprove	26.8	32.9	29.6
• Totally disapprove	13.5	26.0	19.3
• (No answer)	.2	.0	.1
• (Don't know)	5.4	3.8	4.7

G2. Satisfaction with Government

	Nationwide
very satisfied	7.5
fairly satisfied	38.8
rather not satisfied	29.9
totally unsatisfied	19.0
(No answer)	.3
(Don't know)	4.6

G3. Satisfaction with Opposition

	Nationwide
very satisfied	5.2
fairly satisfied	27.2
rather not satisfied	26.8
totally unsatisfied	24.4
(No answer)	2.0
(Don't know)	14.5

G4. Rating of socio-political or economic problems in Mongolia today(nationwide)

1.	Unemployment	43.3
2.	Standard of living\ poverty\ income	15.7
3.	Economy\ manufacturing	8.2
4.	Price increase\ Inflation	5.8
5.	Education	4.8
6.	Law enforcement	4.8
7.	Social Justice	3.7
8.	Corruption	3.6
9.	State administration	3.4

10.	Mining	1.8
11.	Ecology\ Environment	1.3
12.	Agriculture	.8

G5. How often do you feel that government policies fail to solve the most important problem you named (in reference to question above)”?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Always	55.4	58.9	57.0
• Often	29.1	26.0	27.7
• Sometimes	10.6	7.6	9.3
• Seldom	.9	2.2	1.5
• Never	.6	.7	.7
• (No answer)	.8	.4	.6
• (Don't know)	2.6	4.2	3.3

G6. Which political party can best solve the problem (in reference to question above)?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Mongolian People's Party	27.7	20.2	24.3
Democratic Party	9.2	12.2	10.6
MPRP	2.3	3.5	2.8
Other Party	0.7	1.4	1.0
None	30.5	39.5	34.6
(No Answer)	2.8	1.1	2.0
(Don't Know)	26.9	22.2	24.8

G7. Problem solving capacity by two major parties is ...

(% from responded)

	MPP	DP
1. Unemployment	41.0%	51.2%
2. Standard of living\ poverty\ income	17.0%	19.7%
3. Price increase\ Inflation	5.2%	7.1%
4. Education	3.1%	4.7%
5. Law enforcement	6.3%	2.4%
6. Corruption	3.5%	1.6%
7. Economy\ manufacturing	8.7%	7.9%
8. State administration	4.9%	1.6%
9. Ecology\ Environment	1.4%	.8%
10. Social Justice	2.1%	2.4%
11. Agriculture	1.0%	-
12. Mining	3.1%	.8%

G8. Which institution should play the leading role in solving this problem?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Government	48.6	50.0	49.3
• The Parliament	16.2	16.4	16.3
• The president	10.0	8.0	9.1
• Judiciary	3.4	3.3	3.3
• Political parties	3.4	3.6	3.5
• Civil society	10.8	9.1	10.0
• None	1.7	2.9	2.3
• (No answer)	.3	.0	.2
• (Don't know)	5.7	6.7	6.2

G9. Government's greatest success

Dealing with:

1. Agriculture/ rural development	6.6
2. Education	5.8
3. Economy\ manufacturing	4.7
4. Mining	4.1
5. Reduction of unemployment	2.7
6. Debt handling	2.4
7. State administration	2.1
8. Law enforcement	2.0
9. Corruption	1.8
10. Social security	1.7

G10. Government's biggest failure

Dealing with

1. Growing of unemployment	14.7
2. Declining of standard of living	12.3
3. Corruption	9.0
4. State administration	9.0
5. Price increase\ Inflation	8.8
6. Economy\ manufacturing	7.4
7. Law enforcement	5.5
8. Social Justice	4.0
9. Mining	3.9
10. Debt handling	1.8

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?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Economic growth will provide sufficient employment in the future	22.0	24.9	23.3
Economic growth alone is not enough - the government has to take action to reduce unemployment.	73.1	70.5	71.9
(No answer)	.2	.2	.2
(Don't know)	4.8	4.4	4.6

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?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
The government has to eliminate income differences	35.8	37.3	36.5
The government has to take moderate action to reduce income differences	50.9	42.9	47.3
The government should not interfere	6.0	7.8	6.8
Spontaneously: (it may interfere, or may not interfere)	4.5	8.7	6.4
(No answer)	.2	.4	.3
(Don't know)	2.6	2.9	2.8

G13. 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)	23.5	23.6	23.6
Support for the middle class	4.5	4.4	4.4
Support for the poor (for example through "child money" and other welfare programs that benefit mostly the poor people)	9.1	7.1	8.2
Self-interested politicians and lack of concern for society at large	42.0	42.7	42.3
None of the above: I think that policies were fair and for the benefit of all people	9.4	6.2	7.9
(No answer)	.2	.5	.3
(Don't know)	11.4	15.5	13.3

Systemic

S1. Importance of democratic values (sorted by declined importance)

	Mean ¹	Std Dev
1. All people are equally treated by the law	1.41	.599
2. Men and women have equal rights	1.64	.669
3. The state provides for social justice in a market economy	1.68	.658
4. Social differences are kept as small as possible	1.69	.642
5. Income differences are kept as small as possible	1.71	.691
6. There is a free, democratic market	1.75	.643
7. Everybody has the freedom to decide about his property	1.75	.621
8. All people have equal educational opportunities	1.76	.662
9. Everybody has the right to enter one's desired profession	1.77	.637
10. Everybody can express his/her opinion freely	1.79	.623
11. Everybody can participate in the activities of their choice during one's free time	1.94	.685
12. Everybody can believe in what he/she wants	2.01	.729
13. Media and research are uncensored in Mongolia	2.06	.811
14. The state provides as many social security services as possible	2.06	.797
15. I can travel wherever I want	2.09	.732
16. All parties have an equal chance to come into government	2.21	.826

S2. With this idea, I...

	Agree	Disagree
• The state should guarantee the right to a job for everybody	79.2	13.9
• The rich and powerful prevent other citizens from earning equal benefits from the wealth they created	76.7	15.2
• The state should guarantee a minimal standard of living for everybody, if one wants more, he should provide for himself	71.9	19.3
• No matter who governs the country, circumstances for the common citizen will remain the same	70.5	22.5
• The two large political parties, the MPP and DP, are the same when it comes to self-interest	58.7	29.8
• Contemporary society no longer has strong ideals that guide the people	61.6	24.6
• The key sectors of economy should be state owned	72.8	22.0
• It is enough if one participates in election regularly	48.2	41.4
• In democracy not all things go the way one would like, but there is no better state model	40.6	37.3
• In every democratic society there are conflicts that can only be solved through violence	41.2	38.8
• I am against dictatorship but support a government with a strong hand	32.7	52.8
• Under certain circumstances dictatorship is better than democracy	30.6	54.8
• Only through socialism can all problems be solved	29.8	49.4
• Women should care for the family and household and leave politics to men	16.9	78.3

¹Mean is calculated from 1 - 'very important', 2 - "rather important" 3 - "rather not important" and 4- "not important". "Don't know" and "no answer" are not included.

3. 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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Good	28.6	26.2	27.5
Rather good	39.7	41.6	40.6
Rather bad	8.5	11.3	9.8
Bad	6.5	5.5	6.0
(No answer)	1.1	.7	.9
(Don't know)	15.7	14.7	15.3

b. Team of independent from the government professionals or experts developing state policy (elitist governance)

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Good	17.8	19.1	18.4
Rather good	39.7	34.7	37.4
Rather bad	10.6	16.7	13.4
Bad	9.5	10.2	9.8
(No answer)	2.5	.5	1.6
(Don't know)	19.8	18.7	19.3

c. Rule by military, intelligence and police forces

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Good	4.2	4.5	4.3
Rather good	14.0	15.8	14.8
Rather bad	20.3	25.3	22.6
Bad	36.8	30.0	33.7
(No answer)	2.8	1.5	2.2
(Don't know)	22.0	22.9	22.4

d. Democratic system: governance through democratically elected representatives of the people

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Good	22.8	17.8	20.5
Rather good	48.0	51.6	49.7
Rather bad	9.1	12.7	10.8
Bad	4.5	5.1	4.8
(No answer)	1.5	.9	1.3
(Don't know)	14.2	11.8	13.1

System evaluation

S4. How satisfied are you by the Democracy and present political system?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Satisfied	16.8	9.8	13.6
• Rather satisfied	42.0	36.4	39.4
• Rather not satisfied	21.8	28.5	24.9
• Not satisfied	15.2	22.5	18.6
• (No answer)	.0	.2	.1
• (Don't know)	4.2	2.5	3.4

S5. 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 a developed democracy	4.9	7.6	6.2
• We are at the point of developing democracy	27.4	22.0	24.9
• We are at a crossroads	37.7	35.5	36.7
• We are changing to a dictatorship	20.0	23.6	21.7
• We are too dictatorial	3.4	4.9	4.1
• (No answer)	.3	1.1	.7
• (Don't know)	6.3	5.3	5.8

S6. In your opinion, do political parties represent public opinion?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Yes	13.2	9.1	11.3
• No	78.9	84.2	81.3
• (No answer)	1.1	.5	.8
• (Don't know)	6.8	6.2	6.5

S7. In your opinion, how much influence do voters have on political decision making?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Very strong	15.1	8.7	12.2
• Rather strong	22.8	18.9	21.0
• Rather little	38.3	40.0	39.1
• None	14.8	25.3	19.6
• (No answer)	.6	1.5	1.0
• (Don't know)	8.5	5.6	7.2

S8. What do you think about our society? In general, is there more justice or more injustice?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
There is more justice	3.8	2.7	3.3
There is more injustice	76.8	83.6	79.9
Depending (sometime more justice, other times more injustice)	16.3	11.6	14.2
(No answer)	.3	.0	.2
(Don't know)	2.8	2.0	2.4

S9. What should be the foundation of the social order in Mongolia?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Every person should have equal rights against the law	63.8	57.5	60.9
Ethical relations that benefit society	33.1	36.7	34.8
(No answer)	.8	.0	.4
(Don't know)	2.3	5.8	3.9

S10. Which form of state is more suitable for Mongolia?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Current semi-parliamentarian with influential president	24.6	26.0	25.3
• Parliamentary	13.8	16.0	14.8
• Presidential	50.6	44.9	48.0
• DK/NA	10.9	13.1	11.9

S11. With regard to parties...

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• There should be many parties representing a variety of opinions	18.5	19.6	19.0
• In principal, we don't need any third force – two parties are sufficient	31.7	24.7	28.5
• In principal we don't need parties – to have a strong president is the right thing	44.0	44.5	44.3
• (No answer)	0	0	0
• (Don't know)	5.8	11.1	8.3

S12. How confident are you 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	15.3	13.5	16.0	24.4	4.1	12.5
rather confident	26.5	37.9	36.9	47.8	29.2	37.3
rather not confident	25.5	28.3	25.9	19.0	35.1	26.3
not confident	28.6	16.9	16.3	6.5	25.5	14.9
(No answer)	.1	.2	.3	.4	.3	.3
(Don't know)	4.0	3.2	4.7	1.8	5.8	8.8

S13. In your opinion, how strong should the role of the religion be in

	Your life	Education	Politics
• Very strong	4.4	5.6	1.4
• Strong	10.3	5.3	4.0
• Moderate	35.7	15.7	11.8
• Little	28.0	18.2	15.6
• No role	20.6	42.6	50.3
• (No answer)	.2	.4	.5
• (Don't know)	.8	12.3	16.4

Political Parties

P1. Think about all political parties in Mongolia: In general, do you favour one particular party?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Yes, I favour <u>one</u> particular party	43.2	39.6	41.6
No, I do not favour any party	55.2	58.9	56.9
(No answer)	.3	.2	.3
(Don't know)	1.2	1.3	1.3

P2. Data on the self-reported "favourite" party

Nationwide for all respondents

How strongly supporters favour the party they reported favouring

	%	Valid %	Rather strong	Average	Rather weak
Mongolian People's Party	22.8	54.9	41.6%	46.4%	10.9%
Democratic Party	14.4	34.7	44.5%	42.8%	9.2%
MPRP	3.6	8.6	41.9%	51.2%	7.0%
Other Party	.8	1.8	-	-	-
(No answer)	58.4				
Total	100				

P3. Parties activity evaluation by all respondents

responses on a scale from - 5 (very bad) to +5 (very good) (mean)

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
1. MPP	.82	-.33	.29
2. Democratic Party	.15	-.38	-.10
3. MPRP	-.25	-.66	-.44
4. Civil Will- Green Party	-1.10	-1.49	-1.29
5. MNDP	-1.29	-1.68	-1.48
6. NLP	-1.25	-1.54	-1.39

P4. In your opinion, is the MPP headed in the right or wrong direction?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Right direction	42.9	27.6	35.9
Wrong direction	21.4	36.4	28.3
(No answer)	2.2	2.0	2.1
(Don't know)	33.5	34.0	33.8

P5. In your opinion is the DP headed in the right or wrong direction?

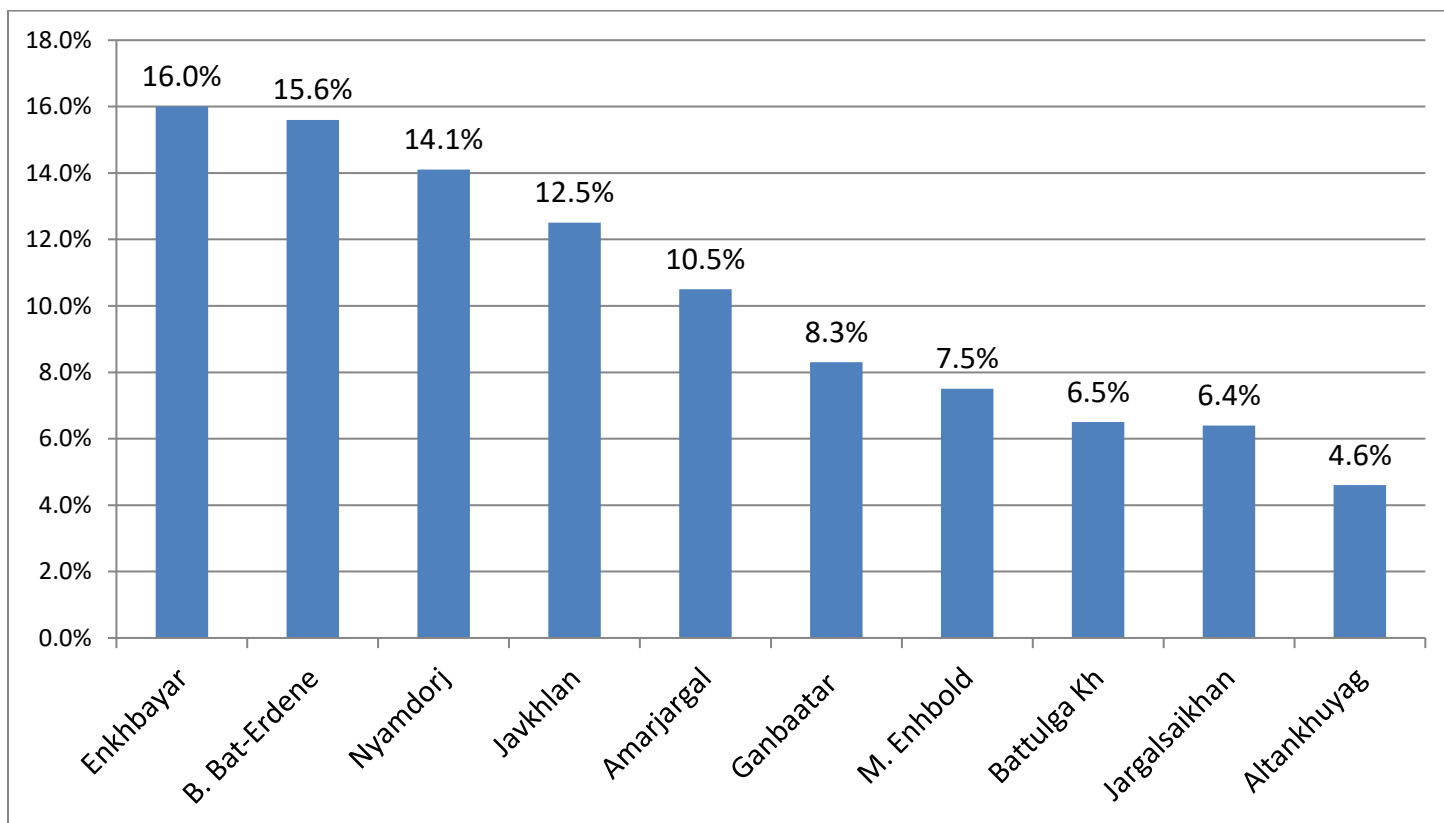
	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Right direction	25.4	23.8	24.7
Wrong direction	31.5	41.8	36.3
(No answer)	2.2	1.5	1.8
(Don't know)	40.9	32.9	37.3

P6. How do you evaluate the activity of the Party you voted for?

Assessment	Party voted for	MPP	DP	MPRP
Very good		5.7%	4.4%	2.1%
Good		24.5%	14.3%	25.0%
Average		46.4%	51.2%	45.8%
Bad		14.1%	18.1%	12.5%
Very bad		3.8%	3.8%	4.2%
(No answer)		.5%	1.2%	2.1%
(Don't know)		5.0%	7.0%	8.3%
Total		100%	100%	100%

P7. “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 ranking order by percentage of cases. The cumulative percentage could be up to 300%.)



Top ranking politicians

P8. in Ulan Bator

1. S. Javkhlan	14.9%
2. N. Enkhbayar	14.4%
3. R. Amarjargal	13.1%
4. Ts. Niamdorj	11.3%
5. S. Ganbaatar	10.0%
6. Kh. Battulga	9.5%
7. B. Jargalsaikhan	9.1%
8. B. Bat-Erdene	7.8%
9. E. Bat-Uul	6.2%
10. N. Altankhuyag	4.9%

P9. in Tuv

1. M. Enkhbold	36.8%
2. N. Enkhbayar	27.9%
3. Ts. Niamdorj	17.4%
4. B. Bat-Erdene	13.2%

P10. in Arkhangay

1. N. Enkhbayar	30.1%
2. B. Bat-Erdene	21.7%
3. R. Gonchigdorj	19.3%
4. G. Temuulen	15.7%

P11. in Uvurkhangay

1. N. Enkhbayar	16.0%
2. S. Javkhlan	14.9%
3. D. Togtokhsuren	14.9%
4. M. Enkhbold	13.8%

P12. in Dornogovi

1. Ts. Niamdorj	34.5%
2. R. Amarjargal	10.9%
3. B. Bat-Erdene	10.9%

P13. in Khentii

1. B. Bat-Erdene	68.6%
2. U. Khurelsukh	11.4%
3. N. Ganbyamba	11.4%

P14. in Zavkhan

1. Ts. Niamdorjt	25.8%
2. Ya. Sanjmyatav	23.7%
3. B. Bat-Erdene	19.6%

Elections

EI1. “If elections were held tomorrow, would you participate?”

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
▪ “Yes”	90.6	84.2	87.7
▪ “No”	7.1	13.6	10.1
▪ (No answer)	0	.4	.2
▪ (Don’t know)	2.3	1.8	2.1

EI2. “If Parliament Elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?”

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide	
			%	Valid %
• Mongolian People’s Party	37.5	24.5	31.6	55.9
• Democratic Party	16.2	20.4	18.1	32.0
• MPRP	3.8	6.7	5.2	9.1
• Other Party	.8	2.7	1.7	2.9
• (No answer)	11.2	10.0	10.7	
• (Don’t know)	30.5	35.6	32.8	

EI3. Distribution of Voters since Election 2016 (parties)

Next Elections	2016	MPP	DP	MPRP
• Mongolian People’s Party		89.4%	5.3%	2.7%
• Democratic Party		4.5%	89.5%	2.7%
• MPRP		4.7%	1.9%	91.9%
• Other Party		1.4%	3.3%	0
		100%	100.0%	100.0%

Of the prominent persons in the country whom would you like to see as the new president of Mongolia?²

² No filter as the legal restrictions was set for this question, no name suggested.

EI4. in Ulan Bator

1. N. Enkhbayar	8.9
2. R. Amarjargal	7.1
3. B. Bat-Erdene	4.9
4. S. Javkhlan	4.9
5. N. Altankhuyag	4.0
6. Ts. Nyamdorj	3.8
7. Kh. Battulga	3.8
8. E. Bat-Uul	3.5
9. M. Enhbold	2.9
10. B. Jargalsaikhan	2.2

EI5. in Countryside

1. B. Bat-Erdene	14.0
2. N. Enkhbayar	8.6
3. M. Enhbold	6.0
4. Ts. Niamdorj	3.4
5. R. Amarjargal	3.4
6. S. Javkhlan	3.4
7. N. Altankhuyag	2.0
8. N. Bagabandi	1.4
9. S. Ganbaatar	1.4
10. Kh. Battulga	1.4

EI6. Nationwide

1. B. Bat-Erdene	9.8
2. N. Enkhbayar	8.8
3. R. Amarjargal	5.1
4. M. Enhbold	4.6
5. S. Javkhlan	4.1
6. Ts. Niamdorj	3.6
7. N. Altankhuyag	2.9
8. Kh. Battulga	2.5
9. E. Bat-Uul	2.1
10. U. Khurelsukh	1.5

E17. Of the prominent persons in the country whom would you like to see as the new president of Mongolia (by parties supporters)

MPP	DP	MPRP	Nonpartisan ³
B. Bat-Erdene 18.9	R. Amarjargal 12.7	N. Enkhbayar 66.7	B. Bat-Erdene 14.9
M. Enkhbold 17.4	B. Bat-Erdene 11.2	B. Bat-Erdene 8.3	N. Enkhbayar 13.9
Ts. Niamdorj 12.1	N. Altankhuyag 10.4	Ts. Niamdorj 5.6	R. Amarjargal 8.9
N. Enkhbayar 11.6	E. Bat Uul 8.2		S. Javkhlan 8.2

E18. Of the prominent persons in the country whom would you like to see as the new president of Mongolia (by gender)

Male		Female	
B. Bat-Erdene	18.5	N. Enkhbayar	12.5
N. Enkhbayar	14.4	B. Bat-Erdene	11.7
R. Amarjargal	7.3	R. Amarjargal	8.2
M. Enkhbold	6.8	S. Javkhlan	8.2

E19. Of the prominent persons in the country whom would you like to see as the new president of Mongolia (by age)

	Age groups						Total
	18 - 24	25 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 59	60 +	
N. Enkhbayar	14.1%	4.0%	13.4%	13.7%	19.3%	14.6%	13.4%
Ts. Niamdorj		5.0%	7.2%	5.5%	5.3%	7.3%	5.5%
M. Enkhbold	5.4%	6.0%	4.8%	6.2%	7.0%	13.8%	7.0%
R. Amarjargal	2.2%	4.0%	9.6%	8.9%	7.0%	11.4%	7.8%
B. Bat-Erdene	13.0%	16.0%	17.2%	14.4%	16.7%	11.4%	15.1%
S. Javkhlan	20.7%	12.0%	6.2%	3.4%			6.3%

³ Non partisans are those who replied "No" in P1

Personal

Pe1. How proud are you to be Mongolian?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Very proud	96.5	94.0	95.3
• Rather proud	2.9	5.1	3.9
• Not that proud	.0	.5	.3
• Not proud at all	.3	.2	.3
• (No answer)	.2	0	.1
• (Don't know)	.2	.2	.2

Pe2. How do you evaluate your nearest future?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Optimistic	95.7	92.2	94.1
• Pessimistic	3.1	5.1	4.0
• (No answer)	.2	.2	.2
• (Don't know)	1.1	2.5	1.8

Pe3. How is your present personal and family's standard of living?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Very good	.6	.9	.8
• Good	16.5	17.6	17.0
• Partly good/partly bad	66.2	59.5	63.1
• Bad	14.9	18.9	16.8
• Very bad	1.7	2.9	2.3
• (No answer)	0	0	.0
• (Don't know)	.2	.2	.2

Pe4. How is your standard of living compared to the last year?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• better	17.2	15.5	16.4
• the same	58.0	51.8	55.2
• worse	24.0	31.6	27.5
• (No answer)	.2	.4	.3
• (Don't know)	.6	.7	.7

Pe5. How interested are you in politics?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• very much interested	7.7	10.5	9.0
• interested	28.0	28.7	28.3
• somehow interested	22.8	23.3	23.0
• rather not interested	27.5	23.5	25.7
• not interested	13.4	13.5	13.4
• (No answer)	.3	.2	.3
• (Don't know)	.3	.4	.3

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?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Rather on myself	54.6	46.9	51.1
• Rather on the state	32.0	37.8	34.7
• Rather on other forces	4.5	5.6	5.0
• (No answer)	1.1	.5	.8
• (Don't know)	7.8	9.1	8.4

Pe7. When comparing your life with the life of your parents, what would you say?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
My parents achieved much more than I will be able to	21.5	25.1	23.2
There is no significant difference, our lives are almost equal	31.4	29.1	30.3
I will achieve much more than my parents	38.0	38.2	38.1
(No answer)	1.2	1.5	1.3
(Don't know)	7.8	6.2	7.1

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?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
I consider myself rather a loser	29.2	29.1	29.2
I consider myself rather a winner	13.1	12.2	12.7
Depending (sometimes I am a winner, sometimes I am a loser)	39.2	38.2	38.8
(No answer)	2.6	2.4	2.5
(Don't know)	15.8	18.2	16.9

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?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• I don't need any help	18.2	16.4	17.3
• I need help only to find a job	27.2	27.3	27.3
• I need financial support	24.6	24.4	24.5
• I don't expect anything from the government	22.6	28.0	25.1
• (No answer)	1.1	.4	.8
• (Don't know)	6.3	3.6	5.1

Pe10. If the government fails to meet your expectations, what would you do? (most important)

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• I will go to court	4.8	2.9	3.9
• I will join street protests	4.8	9.8	7.1
• I will join/support civil organizations that can protect my rights	19.8	17.6	18.8
• I will vote against the government in elections	12.6	18.4	15.3
• I will join the opposition party	1.8	1.5	1.7
• Do nothing and wait for matters to improve	29.4	24.9	27.3
• (No answer)	7.4	4.5	6.1
• (Don't know)	19.4	20.4	19.8

Global

G11. 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	66.6	2.0
• China	.6	21.6
• USA	6.5	9.9
• European Union ⁴	1.6	3.5
• Japan	7.3	9.5
• South Korea	.9	8.3
• Others	.8	2.3
• (No answer)	.6	43.0
• (Don't know)	15.2	-
• Total	100%	100%

G12. Which country is the best partner for Mongolia?

Cumulative percentage, valid cases only.

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
▪ Russia	69.7%	67.3%	68.6%
▪ China	19.7%	25.1%	22.2%
▪ USA	14.5%	18.7%	16.4%
▪ European Union	3.7%	6.7%	5.1%
▪ Japan	12.8%	21.6%	16.8%
▪ South Korea	9.4%	8.9%	9.2%
▪ Others	3.1%	2.9%	3.0%

G13. With which country's citizens are Mongolians in better communication and cooperation?

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

	1 choice	2 choice
▪ Russia	32.1	2.3
▪ China	13.6	15.1
▪ USA	1.9	1.2
▪ European Union ⁵	.8	1.1
▪ Japan	6.2	3.5
▪ South Korea	17.8	11.7
▪ Others	.3	.9
▪ (No answer)	.8	64.3
▪ (Don't know)	26.4	-
▪ Total	100%	100%

⁴Includes all mentioned EU countries and the UK

⁵Includes all mentioned EU countries and the UK

G14. With which country's citizens are Mongolians in better communication and cooperation?

Cumulative percentage, valid cases only.

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
▪ Russia	33.5%	44.2%	34.3%
▪ China	27.7%	37.4%	28.7%
▪ USA	2.2%	5.2%	3.1%
▪ European Union	.6%	4.3%	1.9%
▪ Japan	6.2%	17.3%	9.7%
▪ South Korea	26.8%	41.0%	29.5%
▪ Others	.8%	2.3%	1.3%