



**"Sant Maral" Foundation**



**Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung**

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The "Sant Maral" foundation presents the results of the survey, conducted from March 15 to April 2, 2018. The representative sample of 1200 respondents was collected in the capital Ulan Bator and Uvs, Sukhbaatar, Bayankhongor, Khuvsgul, Dundgovi and Selenge 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              | 4.0         | 2.2        | 3.2        |
| • not good, nor bad | 33.8        | 26.0       | 30.3       |
| • bad               | 44.3        | 51.3       | 47.5       |
| • very bad          | 16.3        | 19.8       | 17.9       |
| (No answer)         | 0           | 0          | 0          |
| (Don't know)        | 1.5         | .7         | 1.2        |

### E2. The economic situation is

|              | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|--------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • Improving  | 16.3        | 12.4       | 14.5       |
| • Stagnating | 45.5        | 44.0       | 44.8       |
| • In decline | 31.5        | 39.1       | 35.0       |
| (No answer)  | .3          | .2         | .3         |
| (Don't know) | 6.3         | 4.4        | 5.4        |

**E3. In five years the economic situation will be**

|                   | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|-------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • Much better     | 2.9         | 1.6        | 2.3        |
| • Slightly better | 37.5        | 44.5       | 40.8       |
| • The same        | 18.6        | 19.5       | 19.0       |
| • Slightly worse  | 8.2         | 8.4        | 8.3        |
| • Much worse      | 2.9         | 4.9        | 3.8        |
| (No answer)       | .5          | .7         | .6         |
| (Don't know)      | 29.4        | 20.4       | 25.3       |

**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               | 10.6        | 14.0       | 12.2       |
| - There should be long-term social programs through more investment in education, health, etc. | 35.2        | 42.0       | 38.3       |
| - All citizen should equally benefit through direct disbursement                               | 8.8         | 5.1        | 7.1        |
| - Funds should be invested by the state to improve economic development                        | 43.5        | 36.2       | 40.2       |
| (No answer)  | .2          | .4         | .3         |
| (Don't know)   | 1.7         | 2.4        | 2.0        |

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

|                           | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|---------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • 100% Mongolian          | 27.8        | 32.7       | 30.1       |
| • more than 51% Mongolian | 60.2        | 57.1       | 58.8       |
| • Equal                   | 7.4         | 5.6        | 6.6        |
| • more than 51% foreign   | .2          | .2         | .2         |
| • 100% Foreign            | 0           | .2         | .1         |
| (Don't know)              | 4.5         | 4.2        | 4.3        |
| (No answer)               | .0          | .0         | .0         |

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

|                         | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|-------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • Only state            | 50.6        | 43.1       | 47.2       |
| • Mixed                 | 41.1        | 49.3       | 44.8       |
| • Only private business | 2.2         | 2.9        | 2.5        |
| (Don't know)            | 6.0         | 4.2        | 5.2        |
| (No answer)             | .2          | .5         | .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”?**

|                      | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|----------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • Fully approve      | 3.1         | 1.6        | 2.4        |
| • Rather approve     | 35.4        | 25.3       | 30.8       |
| • Rather disapprove  | 30.8        | 37.8       | 34.0       |
| • Totally disapprove | 26.5        | 31.6       | 28.8       |
| (No answer)          | .2          | .0         | .1         |
| (Don't know)         | 5.4         | 3.6        | 4.0        |

**G2. Satisfaction with Government**

|                        | Nationwide |
|------------------------|------------|
| • very satisfied       | 4.8        |
| • fairly satisfied     | 30.3       |
| • rather not satisfied | 33.9       |
| • totally unsatisfied  | 27.2       |
| (No answer)            | .3         |
| (Don't know)           | 3.5        |

**G3. Satisfaction with Opposition**

|                        | Nationwide |
|------------------------|------------|
| • very satisfied       | 5.0        |
| • fairly satisfied     | 23.9       |
| • rather not satisfied | 29.6       |
| • totally unsatisfied  | 26.2       |
| (No answer)            | .9         |
| (Don't know)           | 14.4       |

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

|     |                                     |      |
|-----|-------------------------------------|------|
| 1.  | Unemployment                        | 37.4 |
| 2.  | Standard of living\ poverty\ income | 16.0 |
| 3.  | Economy\ manufacturing              | 7.8  |
| 4.  | Corruption                          | 6.6  |
| 5.  | Law enforcement                     | 5.7  |
| 6.  | Price increase\ Inflation           | 5.5  |
| 7.  | Social Justice                      | 4.7  |
| 8.  | State administration                | 4.4  |
| 9.  | Education                           | 3.6  |
| 10. | Ecology\ Environment                | 3.0  |

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

|              | <b>Countryside</b> | <b>Ulan Bator</b> | <b>Nationwide</b> |
|--------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| • Always     | 60.8               | 57.8              | 59.4              |
| • Often      | 28.5               | 27.6              | 28.1              |
| • Sometimes  | 8.3                | 8.2               | 8.3               |
| • Seldom     | .5                 | 2.7               | 1.5               |
| • Never      | .5                 | 1.1               | .8                |
| (No answer)  | .3                 | .0                | .2                |
| (Don't know) | 1.2                | 2.5               | 1.8               |

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

|                            | <b>Countryside</b> | <b>Ulan Bator</b> | <b>Nationwide</b> |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| • Mongolian People's Party | 12.8               | 9.1               | 11.1              |
| • Democratic Party         | 9.4                | 9.8               | 9.6               |
| • MPRP                     | 2.9                | 4.9               | 3.8               |
| • Other Party              | .6                 | .4                | .5                |
| • None                     | 52.5               | 55.5              | 53.8              |
| (No Answer)                | 0                  | 2.0               | .8                |
| (Don't Know)               | 21.8               | 18.2              | 20.4              |

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

(% from responded)

|                                       | <b>MPP</b> | <b>DP</b> |
|---------------------------------------|------------|-----------|
| • Unemployment                        | 38.3%      | 44.6%     |
| • Standard of living\ poverty\ income | 18.0%      | 18.8%     |
| • Price increase\ Inflation           | 3.0%       | 7.1%      |
| • Education                           | 3.0%       | 1.8%      |
| • Law enforcement                     | 4.5%       | 5.4%      |
| • Corruption                          | 4.5%       | 4.5%      |
| • Economy\ manufacturing              | 12.8%      | 7.1%      |
| • State administration                | 3.8%       | 2.7%      |
| • Ecology\ Environment                | 2.3%       | 1.8%      |
| • Social Justice                      | 6.0%       | 5.4%      |

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

|                     | <b>Countryside</b> | <b>Ulan Bator</b> | <b>Nationwide</b> |
|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| • Government        | 43.5               | 43.5              | 43.5              |
| • The Parliament    | 10.3               | 12.0              | 11.1              |
| • The president     | 21.5               | 21.8              | 21.7              |
| • Judiciary         | 4.3                | 3.5               | 3.9               |
| • Political parties | 1.7                | 1.5               | 1.6               |
| • Civil society     | 12.2               | 10.9              | 11.6              |
| • None              | 1.5                | 1.8               | 1.7               |
| (No answer)         | .3                 | .7                | .5                |
| (Don't know)        | 4.6                | 4.4               | 4.5               |

**G9. Government's greatest success**

Dealing with:

|                                   |     |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| 1. Reducing corruption            | 6.7 |
| 2. Mining                         | 6.4 |
| 3. Economy                        | 6.3 |
| 4. Agriculture/ rural development | 5.8 |
| 5. Education                      | 5.5 |
| 6. Reduction of unemployment      | 2.1 |
| 7. Infrastructure                 | 1.9 |
| 8. State administration           | 1.7 |
| 9. Law enforcement                | 1.5 |
| 10. Inflation                     | 1.1 |

**G10. Government's biggest failure**

Dealing with

|                                 |      |
|---------------------------------|------|
| 1. Growing of unemployment      | 17.8 |
| 2. Declining standard of living | 14.7 |
| 3. State administration         | 10.4 |
| 4. Corruption                   | 9.4  |
| 5. Law enforcement              | 8.9  |
| 6. Price increase\ Inflation    | 8.7  |
| 7. Economy                      | 5.3  |
| 8. Mining                       | 5.2  |
| 9. Social Justice               | 4.3  |
| 10. Education                   | 1.3  |

**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?**

|   | <b>Countryside</b> | <b>Ulan Bator</b> | <b>Nationwide</b> |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| • Economic growth will provide sufficient employment in the future                              | 31.7               | 31.3              | 31.5              |
| • Economic growth alone is not enough - the government must take action to reduce unemployment. | 65.1               | 63.6              | 64.4              |
| (No answer)   | .3                 | .5                | .4                |
| (Don't know)  | 2.9                | 4.5               | 3.7               |

**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?**

|   | <b>Countryside</b> | <b>Ulan Bator</b> | <b>Nationwide</b> |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| • The government must eliminate income differences                        | 40.5               | 44.2              | 42.2              |
| • The government has to take moderate action to reduce income differences | 48.2               | 44.5              | 46.5              |
| • The government should not interfere                                     | 3.7                | 4.5               | 4.1               |
| • Spontaneously: (it may interfere, or may not interfere)                 | 4.9                | 4.2               | 4.6               |
| (No answer)   | .5                 | .2                | .3                |
| (Don't know)  | 2.3                | 2.4               | 2.3               |

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

|   | <b>Countryside</b> | <b>Ulan Bator</b> | <b>Nationwide</b> |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| -Support for the rich (for example through preferential fiscal and land ownership policy that benefit mostly the rich people) | 33.4               | 34.5              | 33.9              |
| -Support for the middle class   | 5.1                | 3.8               | 4.5               |
| -Support for the poor (for example through "child money" and other welfare programs that benefit mostly the poor people)      | 8.2                | 7.8               | 8.0               |
| -Self-interested politicians and lack of concern for society at large   | 41.4               | 42.9              | 42.1              |
| -None of the above: I think that policies were fair and for the benefit of all people   | 5.4                | 3.5               | 4.5               |
| (No answer)   | .3                 | .4                | .3                |
| (Don't know)  | 6.3                | 7.1               | 6.7               |

## Systemic

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

|  | Mean <sup>1</sup> | Std Dev |
|--|-------------------|---------|
| 1. All people are equally treated by the law   | 1.30              | .510    |
| 2. The state provides for social justice in a market economy                           | 1.56              | .604    |
| 3. Men and women have equal rights   | 1.57              | .645    |
| 4. Social differences are kept as small as possible                                    | 1.61              | .626    |
| 5. Everybody has the freedom to decide about his property                              | 1.63              | .620    |
| 6. Everybody can express his/her opinion freely  | 1.63              | .600    |
| 7. Everybody has the right to enter one's desired profession                           | 1.66              | .583    |
| 8. There is a free, democratic market  | 1.66              | .655    |
| 9. Income differences are kept as small as possible                                    | 1.66              | .672    |
| 10. All people have equal educational opportunities                                    | 1.73              | .725    |
| 11. Everybody can participate in the activities of their choice during one's free time | 1.83              | .725    |
| 12. Everybody can believe in what he/she wants   | 1.96              | .803    |
| 13. Media and research are uncensored in Mongolia                                      | 1.99              | .931    |
| 14. I can travel wherever I want   | 2.09              | .763    |
| 15. The state provides as many social security services as possible                    | 2.15              | .924    |
| 16. All parties have an equal chance to come into government                           | 2.32              | .979    |

### S2. With this idea, I...

|   | Agree | Disagree |
|---|-------|----------|
| • The state should guarantee the right to a job for everybody   | 88.0  | 6.7      |
| • The rich and powerful prevent other citizens from earning equal benefits from the wealth they created                   | 80.2  | 15.3     |
| • The state should guarantee a minimal standard of living for everybody, if one wants more, he should provide for himself | 77.3  | 16.2     |
| • No matter who governs the country, circumstances for the common citizen will remain the same                            | 71.3  | 21.5     |
| • The two large political parties, the MPP and DP, are the same when it comes to self-interest                            | 70.8  | 18.0     |
| • Contemporary society no longer has strong ideals that guide the people  | 65.2  | 22.2     |
| • The key sectors of economy should be state owned  | 75.2  | 18.5     |
| • It is enough if one participates in election regularly  | 47.7  | 43.8     |
| • In democracy not all things go the way one would like, but there is no better state model                               | 47.3  | 32.6     |
| • In every democratic society there are conflicts that can only be solved through violence                                | 42.1  | 41.8     |
| • I am against dictatorship but support a government with a strong hand   | 35.4  | 52.9     |
| • Under certain circumstances dictatorship is better than democracy   | 34.2  | 51.6     |
| • Only through socialism can all problems be solved   | 29.3  | 49.3     |
| • Women should care for the family and household and leave politics to men  | 18.0  | 79.3     |

<sup>1</sup>Mean 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.

**S3. 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        | 41.2        | 36.7       | 39.2       |
| • Rather good | 37.2        | 36.7       | 37.0       |
| • Rather bad  | 8.2         | 6.2        | 7.3        |
| • Bad         | 3.2         | 3.8        | 3.5        |
| (No answer)   | .3          | 2.2        | 1.2        |
| (Don't know)  | 9.8         | 14.4       | 11.9       |

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

|               | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|---------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • Good        | 22.6        | 28.9       | 25.5       |
| • Rather good | 40.8        | 35.5       | 38.3       |
| • Rather bad  | 13.1        | 10.4       | 11.8       |
| • Bad         | 6.2         | 5.5        | 5.8        |
| (No answer)   | .5          | 4.5        | 2.3        |
| (Don't know)  | 16.9        | 15.3       | 16.2       |

**c. Rule by military, intelligence and police forces**

|               | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|---------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • Good        | 5.8         | 6.5        | 6.2        |
| • Rather good | 17.8        | 14.9       | 16.5       |
| • Rather bad  | 22.8        | 21.6       | 22.3       |
| • Bad         | 36.9        | 31.8       | 34.6       |
| (No answer)   | .8          | 5.8        | 3.1        |
| (Don't know)  | 15.8        | 19.3       | 17.4       |

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

|               | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|---------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • Good        | 25.2        | 23.3       | 24.3       |
| • Rather good | 44.9        | 37.6       | 41.6       |
| • Rather bad  | 14.5        | 13.5       | 14.0       |
| • Bad         | 3.4         | 5.5        | 4.3        |
| (No answer)   | .5          | 7.3        | 3.6        |
| (Don't know)  | 11.5        | 12.9       | 12.2       |



## System evaluation

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

|                        | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • Satisfied            | 10.9        | 10.2       | 10.6       |
| • Rather satisfied     | 37.1        | 29.6       | 33.7       |
| • Rather not satisfied | 26.9        | 29.6       | 28.2       |
| • Not satisfied        | 22.8        | 28.2       | 25.3       |
| (No answer)            | .2          | .2         | .2         |
| (Don't know)           | 2.2         | 2.2        | 2.2        |

### 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               | 5.8         | 7.1        | 6.4        |
| • We are at the point of developing democracy | 20.0        | 18.9       | 19.5       |
| • We are at a crossroads                      | 40.0        | 38.5       | 39.3       |
| • We are changing to a dictatorship           | 25.7        | 24.2       | 25.0       |
| • We are too dictatorial                      | 4.2         | 4.0        | 4.1        |
| (No answer)                                   | .3          | .7         | .5         |
| (Don't know)                                  | 4.0         | 6.5        | 5.2        |

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

|              | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|--------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • Yes        | 10.2        | 6.7        | 8.6        |
| • No         | 86.0        | 88.9       | 87.3       |
| (No answer)  | .2          | .5         | .3         |
| (Don't know) | 3.7         | 3.8        | 3.8        |

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

|                 | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|-----------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • Very strong   | 11.2        | 9.3        | 10.3       |
| • Rather strong | 23.1        | 13.5       | 18.7       |
| • Rather little | 38.5        | 36.9       | 37.8       |
| • None          | 21.4        | 29.5       | 25.1       |
| (No answer)     | .2          | 1.5        | .8         |
| (Don't know)    | 5.7         | 9.5        | 7.4        |

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

|   | <b>Countryside</b> | <b>Ulan Bator</b> | <b>Nationwide</b> |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| • There is more justice   | 3.4                | 2.5               | 3.0               |
| • There is more injustice                                       | 84.2               | 84.5              | 84.3              |
| • Depending (sometime more justice, other times more injustice) | 11.5               | 11.8              | 11.7              |
| (No answer)   | .2                 | .4                | .3                |
| (Don't know)  | .8                 | .7                | .8                |

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

|   | <b>Countryside</b> | <b>Ulan Bator</b> | <b>Nationwide</b> |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| • Every person should have equal rights against the law | 71.7               | 65.5              | 68.8              |
| • Ethical relations that benefit society                | 25.8               | 28.2              | 26.9              |
| (No answer)   | .0                 | 1.1               | .5                |
| (Don't know)  | 2.5                | 5.3               | 3.8               |

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

|   | <b>Countryside</b> | <b>Ulan Bator</b> | <b>Nationwide</b> |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| • Current semi-parliamentarian with influential president | 21.5               | 21.3              | 21.4              |
| • Parliamentary   | 10.6               | 8.5               | 9.7               |
| • Presidential  | 60.3               | 60.9              | 60.6              |
| DK/NA   | 7.5                | 9.3               | 8.3               |

**S11. With regard to parties...**

|  | <b>Countryside</b> | <b>Ulan Bator</b> | <b>Nationwide</b> |
|--|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| • There should be many parties representing a variety of opinions                    | 14.0               | 13.1              | 13.6              |
| • In principal, we don't need any third force – two parties are sufficient           | 23.4               | 20.0              | 21.8              |
| • In principal we don't need parties – to have a strong president is the right thing | 57.1               | 56.4              | 56.8              |
| (No answer)  | 0.2                | 0                 | 0.1               |
| (Don't know)   | 5.4                | 10.5              | 7.8               |

**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            | 41.4             | 7.7               | 10.3                    | 25.6             | 4.2                      | 16.1                 |
| • rather confident     | 33.5             | 25.6              | 31.5                    | 45.5             | 18.5                     | 42.6                 |
| • rather not confident | 13.7             | 31.8              | 26.6                    | 17.3             | 32.3                     | 20.2                 |
| • not confident        | 8.2              | 31.2              | 27.3                    | 10.5             | 40.4                     | 15.1                 |
| (No answer)            | .0               | .3                | .5                      | .1               | .4                       | .8                   |
| (Don't know)           | 3.3              | 3.4               | 3.9                     | 1.1              | 4.2                      | 5.3                  |

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

|               | <b>Your life</b> | <b>Education</b> | <b>Politics</b> |
|---------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| • Very strong | 3.8              | 6.6              | 2.8             |
| • Strong      | 9.6              | 7.7              | 6.5             |
| • Moderate    | 35.9             | 15.4             | 13.3            |
| • Little      | 24.3             | 18.6             | 14.9            |
| • No role     | 23.6             | 37.2             | 45.2            |
| (No answer)   | .3               | .9               | 1.3             |
| (Don't know)  | 2.5              | 13.7             | 16.1            |

## 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 | 35.7        | 27.6       | 32.0       |
| • No, I do not favour any party             | 62.8        | 69.5       | 65.8       |
| (No answer)                                 | .5          | 1.1        | .8         |
| (Don't know)                                | 1.1         | 1.8        | 1.4        |

### 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 | 14.5 | 45.3    | 34.5%         | 50.0%   | 14.4%       |
| • Democratic Party         | 12.8 | 39.8    | 37.9%         | 53.6%   | 8.5%        |
| • MPRP                     | 4.3  | 13.5    | 42.3%         | 44.2%   | 9.6%        |
| • Other Party              | .4   | 1.0     | -             | -       | -           |
| (No answer)                | 68.0 |         |               |         |             |
| 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 |
|--------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • MPP              | -.73        | -1.43      | -.91       |
| • Democratic Party | -.36        | -1.09      | -.81       |
| • MPRP             | -.30        | -1.13      | -.69       |

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

|                   | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|-------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • Right direction | 25.8        | 15.3       | 21.0       |
| • Wrong direction | 38.0        | 47.1       | 42.2       |
| (No answer)       | 1.1         | 4.7        | 2.8        |
| (Don't know)      | 35.1        | 32.9       | 34.1       |

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

|                   | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|-------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • Right direction | 22.3        | 16.2       | 19.5       |
| • Wrong direction | 37.8        | 42.7       | 40.1       |
| (No answer)       | 1.4         | 5.3        | 3.2        |
| (Don't know)      | 38.5        | 35.8       | 37.3       |

**P6. In your opinion is the MPRP headed in the right or wrong direction?**

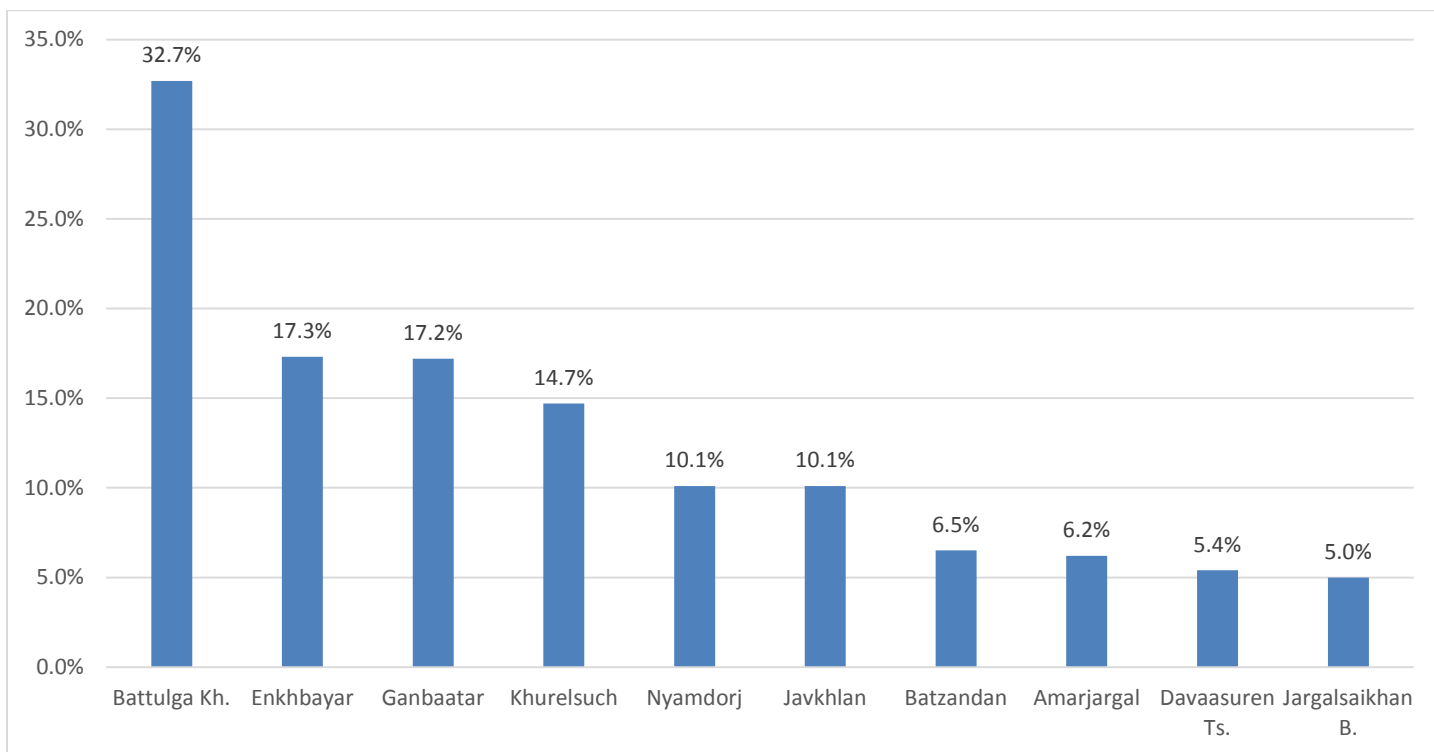
|                   | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|-------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • Right direction | 15.8        | 13.3       | 14.7       |
| • Wrong direction | 31.8        | 39.5       | 35.3       |
| (No answer)       | 1.5         | 5.8        | 3.5        |
| (Don't know)      | 50.8        | 41.5       | 46.5       |

**P7. How do you evaluate the activity of the Party you voted for since Elections?**

| Party voted for   | MPP   | DP    | MPRP  |
|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| <b>Assessment</b> |       |       |       |
| • Very good       | 2.6%  | 1.7%  | 1.8%  |
| • Good            | 17.0% | 19.8% | 24.5% |
| • Average         | 45.2% | 45.0% | 42.7% |
| • Bad             | 21.6% | 21.5% | 17.3% |
| • Very bad        | 10.1% | 6.7%  | 1.8%  |
| (No answer)       | .2%   | .2%   | .9%   |
| (Don't know)      | 3.3%  | 5.0%  | 10.9% |
| <b>Total</b>      | 100%  | 100%  | 100%  |

**P8. “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**

**P9. in Ulan Bator**

|                     |       |
|---------------------|-------|
| 1. Kh. Battulga     | 33.6% |
| 2. N. Enkhbayar     | 20.8% |
| 3. S. Ganbaatar     | 19.8% |
| 4. U. Khurelsukh    | 14.7% |
| 5. S. Javkhlan      | 12.6% |
| 6. R. Amarjargal    | 8.5%  |
| 7. Ts. Niamdorj     | 8.5%  |
| 8. B. Jargalsaikhan | 5.8%  |
| 9. J. Batzandan     | 5.6%  |
| 10. B. Bat-Erdene   | 3.6%  |

### **P10. in Uvs**

|                     |       |
|---------------------|-------|
| 1. Ts. Niamdorj     | 33.6% |
| 2. B. Khurelbaatar  | 29.5% |
| 3. Ch. Chojjilsuren | 14.5% |

### **P11. in Bayankhongor**

|                    |       |
|--------------------|-------|
| 1. Kh. Battulga    | 56.9% |
| 2. S. Ganbaatar    | 19.0% |
| 3. U. Khurelsukh   | 15.5% |
| 4. G. Zandanshatar | 15.5% |

### **P12. in Khuvsgul**

|                   |       |
|-------------------|-------|
| 1. Ts. Davaasuren | 42.9% |
| 2. Kh. Battulga   | 30.4% |
| 3. N. Enkhbayar   | 10.7% |

### **P13. in Dundgovi**

|                 |       |
|-----------------|-------|
| 1. S. Ganbaatar | 36.5% |
| 2. N. Enkhbayar | 30.2% |
| 3. Kh. Battulga | 25.4% |

### **P13. in Selenge**

|                 |       |
|-----------------|-------|
| 1. Kh. Battulga | 50.0% |
| 2. J. Erdenebat | 23.9% |
| 3. S. Ganbaatar | 22.7% |

### **P14. in Sukhbaatar**

|                  |       |
|------------------|-------|
| 1. Kh. Battulga  | 26.6% |
| 2. U. Khurelsukh | 21.9% |
| 3. N. Enkhbayar  | 18.8% |

# Elections

## EI1. "If elections were held tomorrow, would you participate?"

|              | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|--------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| ▪ "Yes"      | 85.7        | 83.5       | 84.7       |
| ▪ "No"       | 10.5        | 13.5       | 11.8       |
| (No answer)  | .2          | .2         | .2         |
| (Don't know) | 3.7         | 2.9        | 3.3        |

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

|                            | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |         |
|----------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|---------|
|                            |             |            | %          | Valid % |
| • Mongolian People's Party | 21.7        | 12.9       | 17.7       | 38.8    |
| • Democratic Party         | 19.1        | 18.7       | 18.9       | 41.5    |
| • MPRP                     | 5.2         | 9.8        | 7.3        | 16.1    |
| • CWGP                     | .0          | 1.5        | .7         | 1.5     |
| • Other Party              | .9          | 1.1        | 1.0        | 2.2     |
| (No answer)                | 12.5        | 15.8       | 14.0       |         |
| (Don't know)               | 40.6        | 40.2       | 40.4       |         |

## EI3. Distribution of Voters since Election 2016 (parties)

|                            | 2016 | MPP   | DP     | MPRP   |
|----------------------------|------|-------|--------|--------|
| Next Elections             |      |       |        |        |
| • Mongolian People's Party |      | 81.0% | 4.3%   | 3.6%   |
| • Democratic Party         |      | 7.4%  | 86.7%  | 3.6%   |
| • MPRP                     |      | 8.7%  | 6.2%   | 90.9%  |
| • Other Party              |      | 3.1%  | 2.8%   | 1.8%   |
|                            |      | 100%  | 100.0% | 100.0% |



# Personal

## Pe1. How proud are you to be Mongolian?

|                    | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|--------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • Very proud       | 97.5        | 95.1       | 96.4       |
| • Rather proud     | 1.8         | 4.5        | 3.1        |
| • Not that proud   | .3          | .2         | .3         |
| • Not proud at all | .0          | .2         | .1         |
| (No answer)        | .0          | 0          | .0         |
| (Don't know)       | .3          | .0         | .2         |

## Pe2. How do you evaluate your nearest future?

|               | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|---------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • Optimistic  | 94.2        | 91.8       | 93.1       |
| • Pessimistic | 3.7         | 5.3        | 4.4        |
| (No answer)   | .0          | .0         | .0         |
| (Don't know)  | 2.2         | 2.9        | 2.5        |

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

|                          | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|--------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • Very good              | .6          | .4         | .5         |
| • Good                   | 14.9        | 15.8       | 15.3       |
| • Partly good/partly bad | 67.5        | 63.1       | 65.5       |
| • Bad                    | 14.5        | 17.3       | 15.8       |
| • Very bad               | 2.2         | 3.5        | 2.8        |
| (No answer)              | 0           | .0         | .0         |
| (Don't know)             | .3          | .0         | .2         |

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

|              | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|--------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • better     | 16.2        | 17.3       | 16.7       |
| • the same   | 65.7        | 58.2       | 62.3       |
| • worse      | 17.2        | 23.5       | 20.1       |
| (No answer)  | .0          | .0         | .0         |
| (Don't know) | .9          | 1.1        | 1.0        |

**Pe5. How interested are you in politics?**

|                         | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|-------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • very much interested  | 4.5         | 5.6        | 5.0        |
| • interested            | 17.5        | 21.6       | 19.4       |
| • somehow interested    | 23.8        | 23.3       | 23.6       |
| • rather not interested | 32.9        | 31.5       | 32.3       |
| • not interested        | 21.2        | 17.8       | 19.7       |
| (No answer)             | .0          | .0         | .0         |
| (Don't know)            | .0          | .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?**

|                          | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|--------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| • Rather on myself       | 50.9        | 48.7       | 49.9       |
| • Rather on the state    | 37.8        | 33.5       | 35.8       |
| • Rather on other forces | 2.5         | 5.1        | 3.7        |
| (No answer)              | .5          | 1.6        | 1.0        |
| (Don't know)             | 8.3         | 11.1       | 9.6        |

**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           | 27.1        | 26.0       | 26.6       |
| • There is no significant difference, our lives are almost equal | 31.2        | 26.4       | 29.0       |
| • I will achieve much more than my parents                       | 29.8        | 32.4       | 31.0       |
| (No answer)  | 3.7         | 7.1        | 5.3        |
| (Don't know)   | 8.2         | 8.2        | 8.2        |

**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                            | 36.6        | 36.7       | 36.7       |
| • I consider myself rather a winner                           | 9.5         | 8.9        | 9.3        |
| • Depending (sometimes I am a winner, sometimes I am a loser) | 40.5        | 36.9       | 38.8       |
| (No answer)   | .6          | 2.5        | 1.5        |
| (Don't know)  | 12.8        | 14.9       | 13.8       |

**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?**

|   | <b>Countryside</b> | <b>Ulan Bator</b> | <b>Nationwide</b> |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| • I don't need any help                       | 15.1               | 13.3              | 14.3              |
| • I need help only to find a job              | 32.5               | 22.2              | 27.8              |
| • I need financial support                    | 18.5               | 22.9              | 20.5              |
| • I don't expect anything from the government | 29.8               | 35.8              | 32.6              |
| (No answer)                                   | .3                 | 1.5               | .8                |
| (Don't know)                                  | 3.8                | 4.4               | 4.1               |

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

|  | <b>Countryside</b> | <b>Ulan Bator</b> | <b>Nationwide</b> |
|--|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| • I will go to court   | 1.1                | 2.7               | 1.8               |
| • I will join street protests  | 8.0                | 11.6              | 9.7               |
| • I will join/support civil organizations that can protect my rights | 22.5               | 18.7              | 20.8              |
| • I will vote against the government in elections                    | 20.9               | 16.5              | 18.9              |
| • I will join the opposition party                                   | 2.0                | 1.6               | 1.8               |
| • Do nothing and wait for matters to improve                         | 30.3               | 34.4              | 32.2              |
| (No answer)  | .2                 | 2.2               | 1.1               |
| (Don't know)   | 15.1               | 12.2              | 13.8              |

# 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                          | 69.8     | 2.1      |
| • China                           | .8       | 19.9     |
| • USA                             | 6.3      | 10.7     |
| • European countries <sup>2</sup> | 1.3      | 3.8      |
| • Japan                           | 5.9      | 11.1     |
| • South Korea                     | 2.4      | 12.1     |
| • Others                          | 1.0      | 1.9      |
| (No answer)                       | .7       | 38.5     |
| (Don't know)                      | 11.8     | -        |
| Total                             | 100%     | 100%     |

## G12. Which country is the best partner for Mongolia?

Cumulative percentage, valid cases only.

|                      | Countryside | Ulan Bator | Nationwide |
|----------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| ▪ Russia             | 87.5%       | 76.4%      | 82.2%      |
| ▪ China              | 22.3%       | 25.3%      | 23.7%      |
| ▪ USA                | 15.1%       | 24.0%      | 19.3%      |
| ▪ European countries | 5.1%        | 6.4%       | 5.7%       |
| ▪ Japan              | 17.2%       | 21.8%      | 19.4%      |
| ▪ South Korea        | 17.1%       | 16.0%      | 16.6%      |
| ▪ Others             | 1.3%        | 5.6%       | 3.3%       |

## 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                          | 42.5     | 2.0      |
| ▪ China                           | 9.8      | 14.6     |
| ▪ USA                             | 1.8      | 4.6      |
| ▪ European countries <sup>3</sup> | .8       | 1.6      |
| ▪ Japan                           | 7.3      | 3.9      |
| ▪ South Korea                     | 19.0     | 17.8     |
| ▪ Others                          | .5       | 1.0      |
| (No answer)                       | 1.0      | 54.6     |
| (Don't know)                      | 17.4     | -        |
| Total                             | 100%     | 100%     |

<sup>2</sup>Includes all mentioned EU countries and the UK

<sup>3</sup>Includes 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.

|                      | <b>Countryside</b> | <b>Ulan Bator</b> | <b>Nationwide</b> |
|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| ▪ Russia             | 53.9%              | 55.3%             | 54.5%             |
| ▪ China              | 34.8%              | 24.3%             | 29.8%             |
| ▪ USA                | 5.1%               | 10.8%             | 7.8%              |
| ▪ European countries | 1.9%               | 4.1%              | 3.0%              |
| ▪ Japan              | 12.6%              | 14.8%             | 13.7%             |
| ▪ South Korea        | 44.6%              | 45.6%             | 45.0%             |
| ▪ Others             | 1.0%               | 2.8%              | 1.8%              |