



“Sant Maral” Foundation



Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

POLITBAROMETER #15(49), March 2016

The “Sant Maral” foundation presents the results of the survey, conducted from March 11 to March 31, 2016. The representative sample of 1500 respondents was collected in the capital Ulan Bator and Khovd, Bulgan, Uvurhangay, Selenge, Sukhebaatar, Dundgovi 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.

Due to restrictions on information flow in new Elections law we can not publish political ratings on our WEB site until after Elections. If interested in full version of PB please send your email contact to info@santmaral.mn. We apologize for inconvenience.

Director

/L. Sumati

Economy

E1. Present economic situation in Mongolia is

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• very good	.4	.5	.4
• good	4.2	3.8	4.1
• not good, nor bad	32.2	24.9	29.1
• bad	44.2	50.9	47.1
• very bad	16.5	19.1	17.6
• (No answer)	0	0	0
• (Don't know)	2.5	.8	1.7

E2. The economic situation is

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Improving	7.5	5.7	6.7
• Stagnating	41.4	40.6	41.1
• In decline	47.2	49.8	48.3
• (No answer)	.4	.2	.3
• (Don't know)	3.5	3.7	3.6

E3. In five years the economic situation will be

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Much better	3.9	3.7	3.8
• Slightly better	39.1	41.2	40.0
• The same	14.9	16.9	15.8
• Slightly worse	9.4	10.2	9.7
• Much worse	3.9	5.1	4.4
• (No answer)	.9	.3	.7
• (Don't know)	27.9	22.6	25.6

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	10.7	9.1	10.0
There should be long-term social programs through more investment in education, health, etc.	35.1	36.9	35.9
All citizen should equally benefit through direct disbursement	8.2	8.3	8.3
Funds should be invested by the state to improve economic development	40.0	40.6	40.3
(No answer)	1.4	.5	1.0
(Don't know)	4.6	4.6	4.6

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• 100% Mongolian	21.1	20.3	20.7
• more than 51% Mongolian	63.4	64.6	63.9
• Equal	10.0	8.5	9.3
• more than 51% foreign	1.2	1.4	1.3
• 100% Foreign	.2	0	.1
(Don't know)	3.8	4.3	4.0
(No answer)	.4	.9	.6

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Only state	40.8	40.5	40.7
• Mixed	47.9	48.3	48.1
• Only private business	4.2	4.9	4.5
(Don't know)	5.8	5.7	5.7
(No answer)	1.3	.6	1.0

Social schemes

E7. There is a government social insurance scheme in Mongolia. Are you aware of it?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Yes	60.4	57.7	59.2
• No	32.2	34.9	33.4
(Don't know)	7.1	7.4	7.2
(No answer)	.4	0	.2

E8. Are you paying taxes for social insurances?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Yes	45.9	42.0	44.2
• No	54.1	58.0	55.8
• (No answer)	0	0	0
• (Don't know)	0	0	0

E9. If you are not paying then why?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• No regular income	27.6	24.6	26.3
• Registration problems	.2	.9	.5
• High social tax to pay	1.4	1.4	1.4
• No need/don't want to pay	3.4	4.6	3.9
• Student	4.6	9.4	6.7
• Retired/social benefits	15.5	15.8	15.7
• Army	.1		.1
• Other	.7	.8	.7
• (No answer)	.1	.2	.1
• (Don't know)	.4	.3	.3

E10. In your opinion is the governmental insurance enough if you lose your job?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Yes	14.4	9.9	12.5
• No	69.7	73.6	71.3
(Don't know)	15.9	16.1	16.0
(No answer)	0	.4	.2

E11. In which ratio would you pay higher taxes for receiving more financial assistance, if you lose your job?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
0 % more taxes to receive 0% more assistance	52.1	36.3	45.6
10 % more taxes to receive 10% more assistance	24.1	26.7	25.2
20 % more taxes to receive 20% more assistance	9.0	14.7	11.3
30 % more taxes to receive 30% more assistance	4.6	7.3	5.7
40 % more taxes to receive 40% more assistance	.3	.7	.5
50 % more taxes to receive 50% more assistance	2.8	1.1	2.1
Over 50% more taxes to receive over 50% more assistance	1.3	1.1	1.2
(Don't know)	5.6	8.8	6.9
(No answer)	.3	3.3	1.5

E12. In your opinion do you get enough money after going in retirement?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Yes	21.0	15.8	18.9
• No	62.1	71.8	66.1
(Don't know)	16.7	12.1	14.8
(No answer)	.3	.4	.3

E13. In which ratio would you pay higher taxes for receiving more financial assistance, if you go in retirement?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
0 % more taxes to receive 0% more assistance	50.0	38.8	45.4
10 % more taxes to receive 10% more assistance	24.1	30.4	26.7
20 % more taxes to receive 20% more assistance	12.8	11.0	12.1
30 % more taxes to receive 30% more assistance	4.1	4.8	4.4
40 % more taxes to receive 40% more assistance	2.6	2.6	2.6
50 % more taxes to receive 50% more assistance	2.6	3.7	3.0
Over 50% more taxes to receive over 50% more assistance	.5	.4	.5
(Don't know)	3.1	7.0	4.7
(No answer)	.3	1.5	.8

E14. In your opinion is governmental insurance after you got injured and you have to pay for a doctor enough?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Yes	20.5	17.2	19.2
• No	68.7	71.1	69.7
(Don't know)	10.8	11.7	11.2
(No answer)	0	0	0

E15. In which ratio would pay higher taxes for receiving more financial assistance to pay your hospital bills?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
0 % more taxes to receive 0% more assistance	57.4	41.0	50.7
10 % more taxes to receive 10% more assistance	19.5	26.0	22.2
20 % more taxes to receive 20% more assistance	9.7	11.0	10.3
30 % more taxes to receive 30% more assistance	3.3	4.8	3.9
40 % more taxes to receive 40% more assistance	1.3	1.5	1.4
50 % more taxes to receive 50% more assistance	1.3	1.8	1.5
Over 50% more taxes to receive over 50% more assistance	.8	.4	.6
(Don't know)	6.4	12.5	8.9
(No answer)	.3	1.1	.6

E16. How do you evaluate the general social insurance system in Mongolia?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• very good	.5	.9	.7
• good	25.2	21.4	23.5
• not good, nor bad	40.6	43.7	41.9
• bad	13.9	19.1	16.1
• very bad	4.8	4.2	4.5
(Don't know)	14.8	10.2	12.8
(No answer)	.2	.6	.4

Economic System

E17. In 1990, Mongolia changed from a state controlled, planned economic system to a free market economy. What is your opinion about its success or failure and the future?

(only one answer)

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• The system functions in principle but is not liberal enough. The state should provide more freedom for the enterprises.	23.6	24.9	24.2
• The free market economy as it is at present functions and serves Mongolia well; it should continue unchanged	25.3	22.3	24.0
• The system functions in principle but is too liberal. The state should protect consumers/ citizens and exercise more control that enterprises cannot abuse their economic power.	26.6	27.2	26.9
• The free market system has not worked well for Mongolia and the country should reverse to a state controlled economy.	15.9	17.2	16.5
(Don't know)	7.6	7.2	7.5
(No answer)	.9	1.1	1.0

E18. Would you pay higher taxes to fight poverty and support poor people with low or without any income?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Yes	36.1	35.8	36.0
• No	53.8	47.7	51.1
(Don't know)	9.5	15.2	12.0
(No answer)	.6	1.2	.9

E19. Some people think that the state should nationalize every Mongolian company

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• The government has to nationalize every Mongolian company	17.1	13.1	15.3
• The government has to take different actions than nationalizing	39.4	38.6	39.1
• The government should not interfere	29.3	32.9	30.9
• Spontaneously (it may interfere, or may not interfere)	7.4	9.7	8.4
(Don't know)	6.0	5.2	5.7
(No answer)	.8	.5	.7

E20. Do you think that nationalizing every Mongolian company will reduce social inequality?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• to a large extent	4.1	2.2	3.3
• to some extent	17.1	15.5	16.4
• a little	29.1	28.9	29.0
• not at all	31.1	37.4	33.8
(Don't know)	17.5	15.7	16.7
(No answer)	1.2	.3	.8

E21. Which economic system is more suitable for Mongolia? Could you provide your assessment of its economic efficiency?

a. Having a strong state that set strict rules and nationalize private companies to guarantee economic success and an equal distribution of public weal (In such a state income inequalities are small, many people are employed in the state sector and there is little opportunity for an individual to become successful.)

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• very good	6.1	4.2	5.3
• good	23.1	17.5	20.7
• not good, nor bad	24.1	26.8	25.3
• bad	19.4	27.1	22.7
• very bad	12.4	13.1	12.7
(Don't know)	14.0	10.6	12.5
(No answer)	.9	.8	.9

b. Having a state that is not engaged into economic affairs and is completely liberal to generate freedom of actions for companies? (In such a state income inequalities are large, but there are more opportunities for an individual to succeed.)

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• very good	7.2	6.3	6.8
• good	34.0	39.8	36.5
• not good, nor bad	25.1	30.0	27.2
• bad	12.6	11.2	12.0
• very bad	3.4	2.6	3.1
(Don't know)	15.9	9.2	13.0
(No answer)	1.9	.8	1.4

c. Having a liberal state that set and control rules which create a good basis for founding new companies and general economic actions of companies? (In such a state income inequalities are large, individuals find opportunities in various sectors.)

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• very good	9.1	6.3	7.9
• good	36.7	39.8	38.1
• not good, nor bad	25.3	27.7	26.3
• bad	9.4	11.5	10.3
• very bad	2.1	3.1	2.5
(Don't know)	15.4	10.6	13.3
(No answer)	2.0	.9	1.5

d. Having a state that supports economy by investing money in private sector and supports companies with financial assistance? (In such a state income inequalities are large, individuals find opportunities mainly in the private sector.)

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• very good	14.0	11.2	12.8
• good	40.2	43.7	41.7
• not good, nor bad	20.5	22.8	21.5
• bad	9.2	8.0	8.7
• very bad	2.5	2.5	2.5
(Don't know)	11.9	10.8	11.4
(No answer)	1.8	1.1	1.5

E22. How satisfied are you with the governmental performance in economic affairs?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Very satisfied	.7	.6	.7
• Fairly satisfied	11.4	10.0	10.8
• Rather not satisfied	59.6	57.1	58.5
• Totally unsatisfied	17.9	24.0	20.5
(Don't know)	9.2	7.8	8.6
(No answer)	1.2	.5	.9

E23. How do you approve or disapprove the following statement: "In principal, every Mongolian has the same chance to achieve economic rise."?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Fully approve	22.9	20.8	22.0
• Rather approve	33.8	35.8	34.7
• Rather disapprove	24.4	23.2	23.9
• Totally disapprove	12.2	15.8	13.8
(Don't know)	5.4	3.5	4.6
(No answer)	1.3	.8	1.1

Education System

E24. Present situation for children from poor families to get well educated is ...?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• very good	.7	.5	.6
• good	10.9	7.5	9.5
• not good, nor bad	23.4	24.3	23.8
• bad	43.4	43.2	43.3
• very bad	19.4	23.2	21.1
(Don't know)	1.8	1.2	1.5
(No answer)	.4	0	.2

E25. In your opinion should the state guarantee an education system which supports everyone in the same way?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Yes	80.6	79.4	80.1
• No	13.6	15.4	14.4
(Don't know)	5.2	5.2	5.2
(No answer)	.6	0	.3

E26. Would you support higher taxes to abolish tuition fees at universities for enabling everyone to get well educated?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Yes	50.4	50.6	50.5
• No	38.5	39.7	39.0
(Don't know)	10.1	9.5	9.9
(No answer)	1.1	.2	.7

E27. How satisfied are you with the current education system in Mongolia?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Very satisfied	2.9	1.4	2.3
• Fairly satisfied	33.6	25.2	30.0
• Rather not satisfied	50.4	57.1	53.3
• Totally unsatisfied	9.8	12.6	11.0
(Don't know)	2.9	3.4	3.1
(No answer)	.4	.3	.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	3.3	3.5	3.4
• Rather approve	36.9	27.4	32.8
• Rather disapprove	37.2	34.8	36.1
• Totally disapprove	18.8	30.3	23.8
• (No answer)	.5	.3	.4
• (Don't know)	3.3	3.7	3.5

G2. Satisfaction with Government

	Nationwide
very satisfied	3.1
fairly satisfied	30.9
rather not satisfied	35.9
totally unsatisfied	24.9
(No answer)	.4
(Don't know)	4.9

G3. Satisfaction with Opposition

	Nationwide
very satisfied	5.8
fairly satisfied	24.3
rather not satisfied	30.7
totally unsatisfied	22.2
(No answer)	1.9
(Don't know)	15.1

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

1.	Unemployment	36.3
2.	Standard of living\ poverty\ income	15.1
3.	Economy\ manufacturing	9.0
4.	Price increase\ Inflation	8.0
5.	Education	5.8
6.	Law enforcement	5.7
7.	Corruption	4.4
8.	Social Justice	3.6
9.	State administration	3.0
10.	Mining	2.8

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	57.1	54.5	55.9
• Often	27.6	28.6	28.1
• Sometimes	9.6	9.5	9.6
• Seldom	1.9	2.6	2.2
• Never	.5	1.2	.8
• (No answer)	.4	.0	.2
• (Don't know)	2.9	3.5	3.2

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Mongolian People's Party	17.9	10.3	14.6
Democratic Party	11.2	10.9	11.1
MPRP	6.2	7.5	6.8
Civic Will - Green Party	1.2	.9	1.1
MNDP(New National Party)	.1	.5	.3
NLP (Labour)	2.0	4.2	2.9
Other Party	1.4	.9	1.2
None	31.9	39.4	35.1
(No Answer)	1.9	1.2	1.6
(Don't Know)	26.2	24.2	25.3

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

(% from responded)

	MPP	DP
Unemployment	35.8%	36.1%
Standard of living\ poverty\ income	20.2%	15.7%
Price increase\ Inflation	7.8%	9.0%
Education	5.0%	4.8%
Law enforcement	6.9%	3.0%
Corruption	2.3%	6.0%
Economy\ manufacturing\mining	8.3%	6.6%
State administration	3.7%	3.0%
Mining	2.3%	4.2%
Social Justice	3.2%	3.0%

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Government	47.8	41.5	45.1
• The Parliament	18.2	15.8	17.2
• The president	9.6	9.2	9.5
• Judiciary	4.5	5.1	4.7
• Political parties	4.1	3.2	3.7
• Civil society	8.6	14.8	11.3
• None	2.7	4.5	3.5
• (No answer)	.5	.2	.3
• (Don't know)	4.0	5.7	4.7

G9. Government's greatest success

Dealing with:

1. Infrastructure development	7.5
2. Education	6.5
3. Corruption	6.2
4. Agriculture	6.0
5. Mining	5.0
6. Economy\ manufacturing	2.6
7. Law enforcement	2.3
8. Reduction of unemployment	2.0
9. Inflation	1.8
10. Ecology\ Environment	1.1

G10. Government's biggest failure

Dealing with

1. Growing of unemployment	18.5
2. Price increase\ Inflation	13.1
3. Declining of standard of living	12.1
4. State administration/ policy	8.9
5. Corruption	8.3
6. Mining	8.1
7. Economy\ investments	8.0
8. Law enforcement	5.5
9. Social Justice	3.7
10. Debt /Chingis bond	2.6

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	21.3	28.3	24.3
Economic growth alone is not enough - the government has to take action to reduce unemployment.	73.5	65.7	70.1
(No answer)	.6	.8	.7
(Don't know)	4.6	5.2	4.9

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	37.2	33.4	35.5
The government has to take moderate action to reduce income differences	47.8	50.8	49.1
The government should not interfere	7.4	10.0	8.5
Spontaneously: (it may interfere, or may not interfere)	4.9	3.1	4.1
(No answer)	.1	.2	.1
(Don't know)	2.6	2.6	2.6

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)	34.6	30.2	32.7
Support for the middle class	5.8	5.7	5.7
Support for the poor (for example through "child money" and other welfare programs that benefit mostly the poor people)	10.2	9.4	9.9
Self-interested politicians and lack of concern for society at large	37.6	38.2	37.9
None of the above: I think that policies were fair and for the benefit of all people	4.0	6.3	5.0
(No answer)	.4	.2	.3
(Don't know)	7.4	10.2	8.6

Systemic

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

	Mean ¹	Std Dev
1. All people are equally treated by the law	1.46	.650
2. Social differences are kept as small as possible	1.66	.654
3. The state provides for social justice in a market economy	1.69	.654
4. Men and women have equal rights	1.70	.730
5. Income differences are kept as small as possible	1.72	.722
6. All people have equal educational opportunities	1.74	.698
7. Everybody has the right to enter one's desired profession	1.75	.674
8. Everybody has the freedom to decide about his property	1.75	.647
9. Everybody can express his/her opinion freely	1.77	.655
10. There is a free, democratic market	1.81	.723
11. Everybody can participate in the activities of their choice during one's free time	1.89	.719
12. The state provides as many social security services as possible	1.94	.789
13. Media and research are uncensored in Mongolia	2.02	.813
14. I can travel wherever I want	2.10	.766
15. Everybody can believe in what he/she wants	2.11	.814
16. All parties have an equal chance to come into government	2.21	.856

S2. With this idea, I...

	Agree	Disagree
• The state should guarantee the right to a job for everybody	82.6	11.8
• The rich and powerful prevent other citizens from earning equal benefits from the wealth they created	65	21.7
• The state should guarantee a minimal standard of living for everybody, if one wants more, he should provide for himself	68	22.5
• No matter who governs the country, circumstances for the common citizen will remain the same	63.9	27.5
• The two large political parties, the MPP and DP, are the same when it comes to self-interest	57.9	27.4
• Contemporary society no longer has strong ideals that guide the people	57.5	26.5
• The key sectors of economy should be state owned	67.4	25
• It is enough if one participates in election regularly	48.3	37.6
• In democracy not all things go the way one would like, but there is no better state model	44.9	36.1
• In every democratic society there are conflicts that can only be solved through violence	37.7	41.9
• I am against dictatorship but support a government with a strong hand	37.3	47
• Under certain circumstances dictatorship is better than democracy	32.9	51.7
• Only through socialism can all problems be solved	31.1	49.5
• Women should care for the family and household and leave politics to men	21.3	72.1

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.

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	23.1	29.7	25.9
Rather good	38.5	37.7	38.1
Rather bad	11.1	11.4	11.2
Bad	5.8	7.2	6.4
(No answer)	2.2	.5	1.5
(Don't know)	19.4	13.5	16.9

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Good	19.1	24.0	21.2
Rather good	35.1	30.3	33.0
Rather bad	13.9	17.2	15.3
Bad	9.3	9.7	9.5
(No answer)	2.8	.9	2.0
(Don't know)	19.9	17.8	19.0

c. Rule by military, intelligence and police forces

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Good	4.6	7.2	5.7
Rather good	17.6	19.5	18.5
Rather bad	22.7	23.8	23.2
Bad	30.6	32.8	31.5
(No answer)	3.1	1.1	2.2
(Don't know)	21.4	15.5	18.9

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Good	23.2	20.6	22.1
Rather good	47.3	42.2	45.1
Rather bad	12.0	16.5	13.9
Bad	4.4	9.5	6.6
(No answer)	1.1	.5	.8
(Don't know)	12.1	10.8	11.5

System evaluation

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Satisfied	12.6	10.3	11.6
• Rather satisfied	36.6	35.4	36.1
• Rather not satisfied	32.6	28.0	30.6
• Not satisfied	15.1	22.9	18.5
• (No answer)	.5	.3	.4
• (Don't know)	2.7	3.1	2.9

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	8.1	7.2	7.7
• We are at the point of developing democracy	30.4	27.5	29.1
• We are at a crossroads	31.1	31.4	31.2
• We are changing to a dictatorship	20.2	21.4	20.7
• We are too dictatorial	3.3	4.0	3.6
• (No answer)	.4	.6	.5
• (Don't know)	6.6	7.8	7.1

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Yes	15.9	13.8	15.0
• No	76.1	77.7	76.8
• (No answer)	.5	.3	.4
• (Don't know)	7.5	8.2	7.8

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Very strong	7.5	4.9	6.4
• Rather strong	25.6	26.9	26.2
• Rather little	40.6	41.1	40.8
• None	17.2	19.5	18.2
• (No answer)	.7	1.2	.9
• (Don't know)	8.4	6.3	7.5

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	4.7	4.2	4.5
There is more injustice	72.6	72.3	72.5
Depending (sometime more justice, other times more injustice)	20.0	19.8	19.9
(No answer)	.5	.2	.3
(Don't know)	2.2	3.5	2.8

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	60.9	55.2	58.5
Ethical relations that benefit society	34.0	37.2	35.4
(No answer)	.2	.8	.5
(Don't know)	4.7	6.8	5.6

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Current semi-parliamentarian with influential president	21.2	24.2	22.5
• Parliamentary	17.2	16.5	16.9
• Presidential	50.8	48.9	50.0
• DK/NA	10.8	10.5	10.7

S11. With regard to parties...

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• There should be many parties representing a variety of opinions	14.9	20.9	17.5
• In principal, we don't need any third force – two parties are sufficient	36.1	28.5	32.8
• In principal we don't need parties – to have a strong president is the right thing	41.6	43.2	42.3
• (No answer)	0	0	0
• (Don't know)	7.3	7.4	7.3

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	18.9	10.1	16.0	28.7	6.5	16.9
rather confident	32.1	30.8	37.1	43.5	28.4	39.1
rather not confident	25.2	34.1	26.5	16.8	31.8	22.3
not confident	19.4	19.8	14.9	8.3	26.9	13.2
(No answer)	.3	.7	.6	.5	1.0	1.3
(Don't know)	4.1	4.4	4.9	2.3	5.4	7.3

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

	Your life	Education	Politics
• Very strong	3.7	1.8	1.4
• Strong	7.5	3.8	3.2
• Moderate	28.0	12.0	10.5
• Little	28.6	22.6	17.2
• No role	29.8	46.0	48.9
• (No answer)	.6	.3	.3
• (Don't know)	1.7	13.4	18.5

Personal

Pe1. How proud are you to be Mongolian?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Very proud	95.5	93.1	94.5
• Rather proud	3.9	4.9	4.3
• Not that proud	.5	1.1	.7
• Not proud at all	0	.5	.2
• (No answer)	0	.5	.2
• (Don't know)	.1	0	.1

Pe2. How do you evaluate your nearest future?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Optimistic	89.1	88.5	88.8
• Pessimistic	7.5	7.5	7.5
• (No answer)	.2	.6	.4
• (Don't know)	3.2	3.4	3.3

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• Very good	1.1	.8	.9
• Good	17.2	17.2	17.2
• Partly good/partly bad	63.3	58.9	61.4
• Bad	15.9	19.8	17.6
• Very bad	2.4	2.9	2.6
• (No answer)	0	.2	.1
• (Don't know)	.2	.2	.2

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• better	10.2	12.9	11.4
• the same	47.6	47.2	47.5
• worse	41.4	39.1	40.4
• (No answer)	.2	.2	.2
• (Don't know)	.5	.6	.5

Pe5. How interested are you in politics?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• very much interested	5.5	5.1	5.3
• interested	25.3	27.7	26.3
• somehow interested	19.3	23.5	21.1
• rather not interested	32.0	24.8	28.9
• not interested	17.1	18.2	17.5
• (No answer)	.2	.2	.2
• (Don't know)	.6	.6	.6

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	53.1	48.6	51.1
• Rather on the state	34.7	30.2	32.7
• Rather on other forces	5.4	11.1	7.9
• (No answer)	.9	1.8	1.3
• (Don't know)	5.9	8.3	6.9

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	25.1	20.8	23.2
There is no significant difference, our lives are almost equal	34.8	33.8	34.4
I will achieve much more than my parents	33.2	36.9	34.8
(No answer)	2.5	1.7	2.1
(Don't know)	4.5	6.8	5.5

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	34.9	31.2	33.3
I consider myself rather a winner	12.4	11.4	11.9
Depending (sometimes I am a winner, sometimes I am a loser)	34.8	40.5	37.3
(No answer)	2.8	1.4	2.2
(Don't know)	15.1	15.5	15.3

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	18.5	14.9	16.9
• I need help only to find a job	26.2	22.0	24.4
• I need financial support	26.1	27.5	26.7
• I don't expect anything from the government	24.6	29.2	26.6
• (No answer)	.8	.2	.5
• (Don't know)	3.8	6.2	4.8

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
• I will go to court	2.8	2.9	2.9
• I will join street protests	7.5	6.5	7.1
• I will join/support civil organizations that can protect my rights	14.8	15.7	15.2
• I will vote against the government in elections	19.8	16.5	18.3
• I will join the opposition party	2.0	2.2	2.1
• Do nothing and wait for matters to improve	30.0	28.3	29.3
• (No answer)	5.3	6.6	5.9
• (Don't know)	17.8	21.4	19.3

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	61.1	5.5
• China	1.6	20.2
• USA	6.8	7.2
• European Union ²	4.0	4.8
• Japan	6.3	9.8
• South Korea	1.6	7.6
• Others	.5	.9
• (No answer)	1.1	44.1
• (Don't know)	17.0	-
• Total	100%	100%

G12. Which country is the best partner for Mongolia?

Cumulative percentage, valid cases only.

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
▪ Russia	85.7%	75.8%	81.4%
▪ China	26.6%	26.6%	26.6%
▪ USA	14.0%	21.0%	17.1%
▪ European Union	7.5%	14.9%	10.7%
▪ Japan	16.9%	23.1%	19.6%
▪ South Korea	11.3%	11.2%	11.2%
▪ Others	1.2%	2.2%	1.6%

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	38.7	3.9
▪ China	10.7	12.9
▪ USA	1.6	2.3
▪ European Union ³	1.2	1.3
▪ Japan	4.5	5.3
▪ South Korea	13.9	12.1
▪ Others	.3	.3
▪ (No answer)	2.1	61.7
▪ (Don't know)	27.0	-
▪ Total	100%	100%

²Includes all mentioned EU countries

³Includes all mentioned EU countries

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

Cumulative percentage, valid cases only.

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
▪ Russia	63.3%	56.1%	60.2%
▪ China	30.8%	36.4%	33.3%
▪ USA	6.0%	4.9%	5.5%
▪ European Union	2.3%	5.1%	3.6%
▪ Japan	13.4%	14.3%	13.8%
▪ South Korea	36.3%	37.0%	36.7%
▪ Others	.8%	1.1%	.9%