



“SANT MARAL” Foundation

POLITBAROMETER #1(34), May 2008

The “Sant Maral” foundation presents the results of the newly designed May 2008 survey. The representative sample of 1200 respondents from the capital Ulan Bator and Zavhan, Huvsgul, Suhbaatar, Dundgobi aymaks was collected from May 2 to May 12, 2008. Tabulations are band by Capital, Countryside and Nationwide areas when necessary.

The survey is sponsored by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation of Germany.

We congratulate the office of Konrad Adenauer Foundation with 15 years anniversary in Mongolia. Sant Maral foundation also express special gratitude for Mr Werner Prohl, Ms Viola Neu and Ms Maria Lotito for their contribution in our survey design.

Director

Voting intention

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
▪ “yes”	88.2	75.5	83.1
▪ “no”	5.7	12.7	8.5
▪ (Don’t know)	5.7	9.8	7.3
▪ (No answer)	.5	2.0	1.1

2. “If Parliament Elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote¹ for?”

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide	
			%	Valid %
MPRP	30.5	17.8	25.5	38.9
Democratic Party	27.2	21.2	24.8	37.8
Civil Will Party	1.7	4.8	2.9	4.5
People’s Party	-	.5	.2	.3
Civil Coalition ²	.8	4.7	2.4	3.6
Third Power Coalition ³	2.3	3.8	2.9	4.4
Other party	-	-	-	-
Independent ⁴	4.0	11.2	6.9	10.5
(No answer)	13.2	18.0	15.1	
(Don’t know)	20.3	18.0	19.4	

¹ The existing Election law gives every voter from 2 to 4 votes that he/she may distribute between various parties and candidates. The proportion of seats is 20 for UB in 56 for the countryside. As it was announced to be changed once again in 2012, the distribution in our survey is based on one voter - one vote. Our other surveys showed that the discrepancy of two methods results is not significant.

² Coalition of Green Party, Civil Movement Party and Social Democratic Party

³ Coalition of New National Party, Republican Party and Motherland Party

⁴ As a rule independent candidates were not known at a time of interview and therefore could be treated as another DK option, alternative to parties’ candidates. The respondent will vote but supposedly not for a party. The proportion of “independents” diminishes closer to Elections when parties facilitate their campaigning.

3. Voters distribution since 2004

	2004	MPRP	Motherland-Dem. Coal.	Other parties	Independent
2008					
MPRP		54.2%	3.8%	7.1%	2.8%
Democratic Party		6.8%	50.6%	25.0%	11.1%
Civil Will Party		1.3%	3.4%	14.3%	2.8%
People's 'Party		-	.5%	-	-
Civil Coalition		1.3%	3.6%	3.6%	2.8%
Third Power Coalition		1.5%	3.8%	14.3%	11.1%
Other party		-	-	-	-
Independent		5.3%	6.2%	7.1%	27.8%
(No answer)		10.8%	9.1%	14.3%	22.2%
(Don't know)		19.0%	18.9%	14.3%	19.4%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Yes, I favour <u>one</u> certain party	54.8	42.8	49.8
No, I do not favour one party	39.0	44.7	41.4
(Don't know)	4.0	7.5	5.4
(No answer)	2.2	5.0	3.4

5. "The Favourite one" party

Nationwide for all respondents

		Favour strength level by supporters only		
		Rather strong	Average	Rather weak
MPRP	24.4	63.7%	30.8%	5.5%
Democratic Party	20.2	60.9%	31.8%	6.9%
Motherland Party	1.2	41.7%	41.7%	16.7%
Civil Will Party	2.5	46.7%	40.0%	13.3%
Republican Party	.6	-	-	-
New National Party	.3	-	-	-
Green Party)	.7	-	-	-
Civil Movement Party	.1	-	-	-
(Don't know)	.3			
(No answer)	49.7			

**6. Parties activity evaluation by all respondents
mediane from – 5 (very bad) to +5 (very good)**

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
MPRP	1.26	.45	.93
Democratic Party	1.25	.73	1.04
Motherland Party	-.33	-.55	-.43
Civil Will Party	.21	.13	.17
Republican Party	-.68	-.59	-.64
New National Party	-.78	-.81	-.79
Green Party	-.57	-.65	-.60
Civil Movement Party	-.37	-.37	-.37

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Right direction	36.4	21.4	30.4
Wrong direction	24.5	37.2	29.6
(Don't know)	35.6	35.7	35.7
(No answer)	3.5	5.7	4.4

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Right direction	35.8	28.9	33.0
Wrong direction	21.8	25.2	23.2
(Don't know)	38.6	41.1	39.6
(No answer)	3.8	4.8	4.2

9. Satisfaction with Government

10. Satisfaction with Opposition

	Nationwide		Nationwide
very satisfied	16.1	very satisfied	13.9
fairly satisfied	42.0	fairly satisfied	37.5
rather not satisfied	23.1	rather not satisfied	25.3
totally unsatisfied	10.9	totally unsatisfied	11.4
(Don't know)	6.7	(Don't know)	9.6
(No answer)	1.2	(No answer)	2.3

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

▪ Inflation	32.0
▪ Unemployment	24.9
▪ Standard of living	15.8
▪ Corruption	5.7
▪ Law enforcement	4.6
▪ Economy\ manufacturing	4.3
▪ Education	3.5
▪ Ecology\ environment	3.3
▪ Social Justice	2.8
▪ State administration	2.3

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
<input type="radio"/> Always	36.8	37.4	37.0
<input type="radio"/> Often	30.1	29.4	29.8
<input type="radio"/> Sometimes	18.6	16.9	17.9
<input type="radio"/> Seldom	3.7	3.8	3.7
<input type="radio"/> Never	2.2	2.3	2.2
<input type="radio"/> (Don't know)	7.3	8.3	7.7
<input type="radio"/> (No answer)	1.3	1.8	1.5

13. Which political party can solve the problem best?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
MPRP	27.8	15.5	22.9
Democratic Party	19.8	19.7	19.8
Motherland Party	1.5	1.0	1.3
Civil Will Party	1.5	4.8	2.8
Republican Party	.3	3.3	1.5
New National Party	.2	.7	.4
Green Party	-	.2	.1
Civil Movement Party	.7	3.3	1.7
None	23.8	28.9	25.8

14. Problem solving capacity by two major parties

(% from total sample)

	MPRP	DP
Unemployment	6.8%	6.8%
Standard of living	5.1%	4.0%
Inflation	9.6%	6.9%
Education	1.4%	.9%
Law enforcement	1.4%	1.4%
Corruption	1.0%	2.0%
Economy\ manufacturing	1.4%	1.3%
State administration	.1%	.4%
Ecology\ environment	1.1%	.7%
Social Justice	.9%	.6%

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Government	57.2	37.9	49.5
The Parliament	13.5	13.4	13.4
The president	4.5	7.2	5.6
Judiciary	5.0	5.7	5.3
Political parties	3.0	5.7	4.1
Civil society	3.2	10.9	6.2
None	3.7	5.0	4.2
(Don't know)	7.7	12.2	9.5
(No answer)	1.8	2.2	2.0

16. Government greatest success

Economy\ manufacturing	11.9
Corruption	9.0
Education	7.0
Unemployment	5.9
State administration	4.8
Standard of living	4.0
Law enforcement	3.6
Inflation	3.3
Social Justice	2.6
Ecology\ environment	1.4

17. Government biggest failure

Inflation	46.9
Unemployment	13.3
Standard of living	8.4
Corruption	5.0
Law enforcement	4.8
Economy\ manufacturing	3.8
Ecology\ environment	2.4
State administration	2.3
Social Justice	1.6
Education	1.0

18. 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	12.8	5.5	9.9
▪ Rather approve	49.1	37.6	44.5
▪ Rather disapprove	22.8	31.9	26.4
▪ Totally disapprove	11.6	19.2	14.7
▪ (Don't know)	3.3	4.8	3.9
▪ (No answer)	.3	1.0	.6

19. 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	23.8	20.2	22.4
Economic growth alone is not enough, the government has to take action to reduce unemployment.	66.9	62.3	65.0
(Don't know)	8.7	15.4	11.3
(No answer)	.7	2.2	1.3

20. 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	31.7	34.2
The government has to take moderate action to reduce income	42.1	38.6	40.7
The government should not interfere	8.2	11.2	9.4
Spontaneously: (it may interfere, or may not interfere)	8.8	7.7	8.4
(Don't know)	3.8	8.3	5.6
(No answer)	1.4	2.5	1.8

21. 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)	25.1	22.2	24.0
Support for the middle class	7.8	6.8	7.4
Support for the poor (for example through "child money" and other welfare programs that benefit mostly the poor people)	21.3	16.7	19.5
Self-interested politicians and lack of concern for society at large	23.1	31.9	26.6
None of the above: I think that policies were fair and for the benefit of all people	10.5	8.2	9.6
(Don't know)	11.6	11.5	11.6
(No answer)	.5	2.7	1.4

22. 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	17.8	13.9	16.2
There should be long-term social programs through more investment in education, health, etc.	24.5	31.6	27.3
All citizen should equally benefit through direct disbursement	20.5	14.5	18.1
Funds should be invested by the state to improve economic development	33.3	29.4	31.7
(Don't know)	3.0	7.5	4.8
(No answer)	1.0	3.2	1.9

23. Present economic situation in Mongolia

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
▪ very good	.8	1.2	1.0
▪ good	11.8	8.7	10.6
▪ not good, nor bad	45.3	32.9	40.3
▪ bad	31.6	37.4	33.9
▪ very bad	6.7	14.0	9.6
▪ (Don't know)	3.5	4.7	4.0
▪ (No answer)	0.4	1.2	.7

24. The economic situation is

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
♦ Improving	25.6	17.9	22.5
♦ Stagnating	34.3	35.7	34.9
♦ In decline	31.8	34.7	33.0
♦ (Don't know)	7.5	10.0	8.5
♦ (No answer)	0.9	1.7	1.2

25. In five years the economic situation will be

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
▪ Much better	7.5	7.5	7.5
▪ Slightly better	43.3	39.4	41.7
▪ Same	16.3	17.5	16.8
▪ Slightly worse	6.2	9.2	7.4
▪ Much worse	3.7	6.5	4.8
▪ (Don't know)	20.5	18.2	19.6
▪ (No answer)	2.7	1.7	2.3

Systemic part

26. Importance of democratic values

	Important ⁵	Not important
▪ I can travel wherever I want	66.2	24
▪ Everybody can believe in what he/she wants	68.1	24.2
▪ Everybody can express his/her opinion freely	82.6	9.4
▪ Media and research are uncensored in Mongolia	69.9	25.5
▪ Everybody has the right to enter one's desired profession	82.5	9.5
▪ Everybody can participate in the activities of their choice during one's free time	74	16.8
▪ There is a free, democratic market	80.8	9.5
▪ Men and women have equal rights	80.8	10.1
▪ All parties have an equal chance to come into government	66.9	19.2
▪ All people have equal educational opportunities	79.6	11.9
▪ Income differences are kept as small as possible	77.8	13.6
▪ All people are equally treated by the law	89.4	4.4
▪ The state provides as many social security services as possible	77	15.1
▪ Everybody has the freedom to decide about his property	78.6	9.3
▪ Social differences are kept as small as possible	84.2	8.4
▪ The state provides for social justice in a market economy	85.8	5.9

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
▪ Satisfied	31.8	20.9	27.4
▪ Rather satisfied	44.3	37.2	41.5
▪ Rather not satisfied	13.3	20.2	16.1
▪ Not satisfied	6.7	15.0	10.0
▪ (Don't know)	3.5	5.2	4.2
▪ (No answer)	.5	1.5	.9

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

28. Thinking about...

	Agree	Disagree
▪ Under certain circumstances dictatorship is better than democracy	27.7	48.8
▪ Only through socialism can all problems be solved	16.9	48.8
▪ Contemporary society no longer has strong ideals that guide the people	35.2	33.1
▪ In democracy not all things go the way one would like, but there is no better state model	42	22
▪ The key sectors of economy should be state owned	58.2	22.9
▪ The rich and powerful prevent other citizens from earning equal benefits from the wealth they created	49.9	25.1
▪ In every democratic society there are conflicts that can only be solved through violence	28.8	39.1
▪ Women should care for the family and household and leave politics to men	19.2	63
▪ I am against dictatorship but support a government with a strong hand	34	38.9
▪ The two large political parties, the MPRP and DP, are the same when it comes to self-interest	45.3	29.9
▪ The state should guarantee the right to a job for everybody	65.7	17.5
▪ The state should guarantee a minimal standard of living for everybody, if one wants more, he should provide for himself	55.8	20.7
▪ No matter who governs the country, circumstances for the common citizen will remain the same	56.5	24.1
▪ It is enough if one participates in election regularly	36.1	37.9

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
We have too much democracy	13.5	12.4	13.0
We have a moderate level of democracy	28.1	24.7	26.8
We are at a crossroads	29.1	29.4	29.2
We have a moderate level of dictatorship	14.1	16.9	15.2
We are too dictatorial	1.7	3.7	2.5
(Don't know)	10.3	10.2	10.3
(No answer)	3.2	2.7	3.0

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Yes	30.4	18.9	25.8
No	57.6	60.9	58.9
(Don't know)	10.5	16.2	12.8
(No answer)	1.3	3.8	2.4

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Very strong	15.5	15.2	15.4
Rather strong	39.4	30.4	35.8
Rather little	27.6	31.1	29.0
None	7.3	10.2	8.5
(Don't know)	8.8	10.5	9.5
(No answer)	1.4	2.5	1.8

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

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
There is more justice	4.3	5.2	4.7
There is more injustice	72.7	71.8	72.3
Spontaneous:(Sometime more justice and other time more injustice)	20.8	18.0	19.7
(Don't know)	1.7	4.0	2.6
(No answer)	0.5	1.0	0.7

33. Confidence in state institutions (nationwide)

	<i>President</i>	<i>Parliament</i>	<i>Judiciary system</i>	<i>Gvt admin</i>	<i>Political parties</i>	<i>Civil society</i>
confident	16.8	26.5	16.3	18.1	8.1	10.2
rather confident	35.1	32.8	30.8	40.1	31.7	32.3
rather not confident	27.1	20.0	25.7	24.5	31.3	25.0
not confident	13.3	11.4	18.0	9.8	17.1	16.5
(Don't know)	4.9	6.5	5.8	5.1	8.3	12.4
(No answer)	2.9	2.7	3.5	2.2	3.5	3.8

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

	Your life	Education	Politics
Very strong	5.5	6.3	2.9
Strong	14.4	7.3	5.0
Moderate	32.7	17.5	21.0
Little	17.9	18.5	18.4
No role	21.8	32.5	32.1
(Don't know)	4.9	14.1	16.4
(No answer)	2.7	3.8	4.3

34. 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	44.3	8.8
▪ China	2.3	12.5
▪ USA	16.4	14.0
▪ European Union ⁶	4.0	5.8
▪ Japan	7.6	13.3
▪ South Korea	4.0	7.5
▪ Others	1.1	1.1

35. Which country is the best partner for Mongolia?

Cumulative percentage only.

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
▪ Russia	72.7%	56.4%	66.5%
▪ China	17.0%	21.4%	18.6%
▪ USA	33.3%	45.8%	38.1%
▪ European Union	10.5%	15.2%	12.3%
▪ Japan	25.9%	26.9%	26.2%
▪ South Korea	17.6%	9.3%	14.4%
▪ Others	2.4%	3.3%	2.8%

⁶ Includes all mentioned EU countries

Personal part

37. How proud are you to be a Mongolian?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Very proud	82.4	68.8	76.9
Rather proud	13.5	14.7	14.0
Not that proud	1.7	7.8	4.1
Not proud at all	.3	3.5	1.6
(Don't know)	.8	3.2	1.8
(No answer)	1.3	2.0	1.5

38. How you evaluate your nearest future?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Optimistic	75.9	69.1	73.2
Pessimistic	14.0	13.5	13.8
(Don't know)	8.8	14.4	11.0
(No answer)	1.3	2.8	1.9

39. Present personal and family's life level situation

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
Very good	.5	1.2	.8
Good	13.0	13.4	13.1
Partly good/partly bad	60.7	53.1	57.7
Bad	19.1	25.5	21.7
Very bad	6.0	5.0	5.6
(Don't know)	.3	1.0	.6
(No answer)	.3	.8	.5

40. Life level development comparing to last year

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
better	17.0	15.7	16.5
the same	52.1	49.4	51.0
worsened	29.8	32.4	30.8
(Don't know)	1.0	1.3	1.1
(No answer)	.2	1.2	.5

41. How much are you interested in politics?

	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
very much interested	12.0	11.7	11.9
interested	33.3	31.1	32.4
somehow interested	21.5	23.7	22.4
rather not interested	20.1	18.5	19.5
not interested	12.0	11.5	11.8
Don't know)	.7	1.3	.9
(No answer)	.5	2.2	1.2

42. 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	38.8	34.4	37.0
Rather on the state	27.3	30.6	28.6
Rather on other forces	8.8	13.2	10.6
(Don't know)	20.1	17.2	19.0
(No answer)	5	4.7	4.9

43. 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 do	21.1	23.2	22.0
There is no significant difference, we are almost equal	31.9	34.1	32.8
I will achieve much more than my parents	23.0	23.4	23.1
(Don't know)	17.3	14.5	16.2
(No answer)	6.7	4.9	6.0

44. 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	40.1	38.2	39.4
I consider myself rather a winner	8.0	7.7	7.9
Spontaneous:(Sometimes I am winner, sometimes a loser)	31.8	29.5	30.9
(Don't know)	15.1	16.7	15.8
(No answer)	5	7.9	6.2

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

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

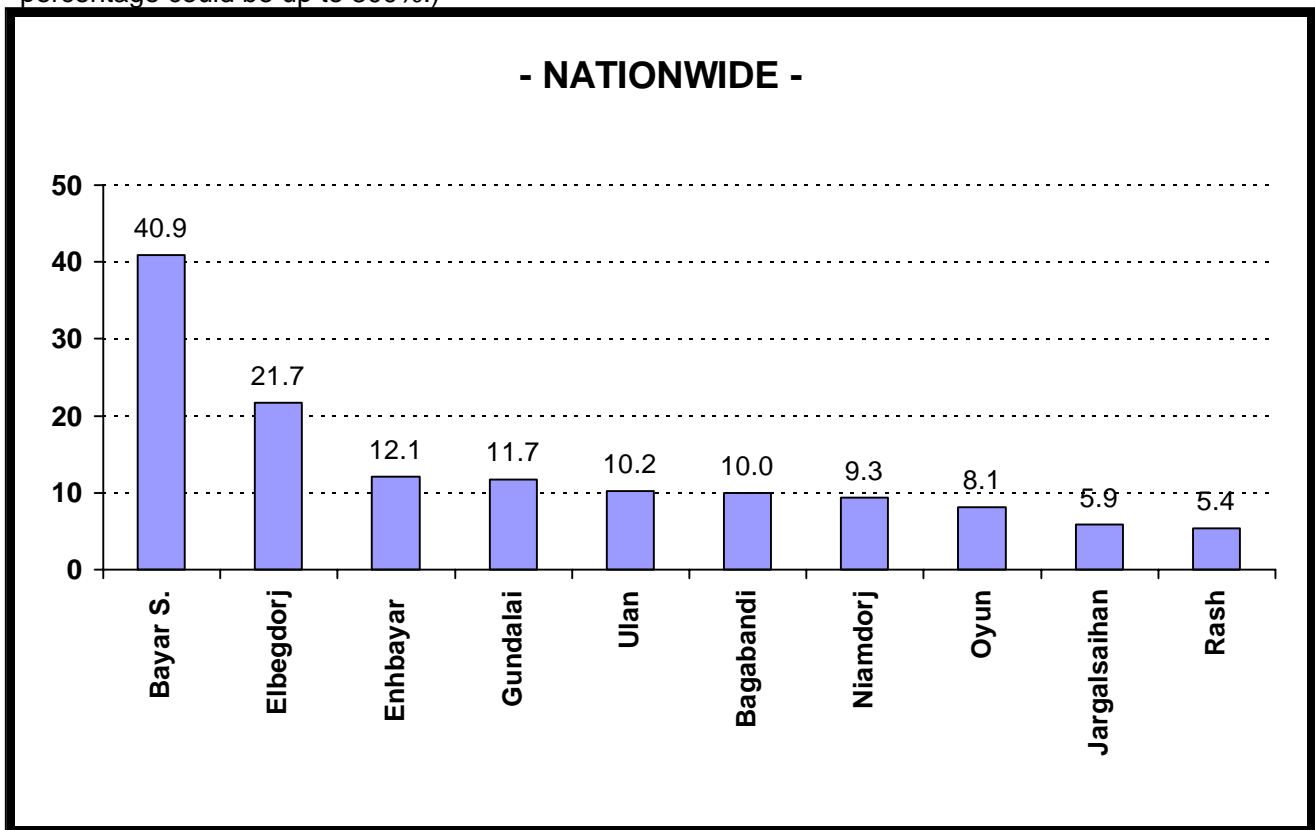
	Countryside	Ulan Bator	Nationwide
I don't need any help	6.7	13.2	9.3
I need help only to find a job	33.5	23.2	29.4
I need financial support	31.3	29.5	30.6
I don't expect anything from the government	20.2	24.0	21.7
(Don't know)	6.7	8.2	7.3
(No answer)	1.7	2.0	1.8

46. 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	2.2	2.6
I will join street protests	4.7	7.7	5.9
I will join/support civil organizations that can protect my rights	20.2	17.8	19.2
I will vote against the government in elections	20.8	26.0	22.9
I will join the opposition party	2.2	2.8	2.4
Do nothing and wait for matters to improve	24.2	20.0	22.5
(Don't know)	20.0	14.7	17.9
(No answer)	5.2	8.8	6.6

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

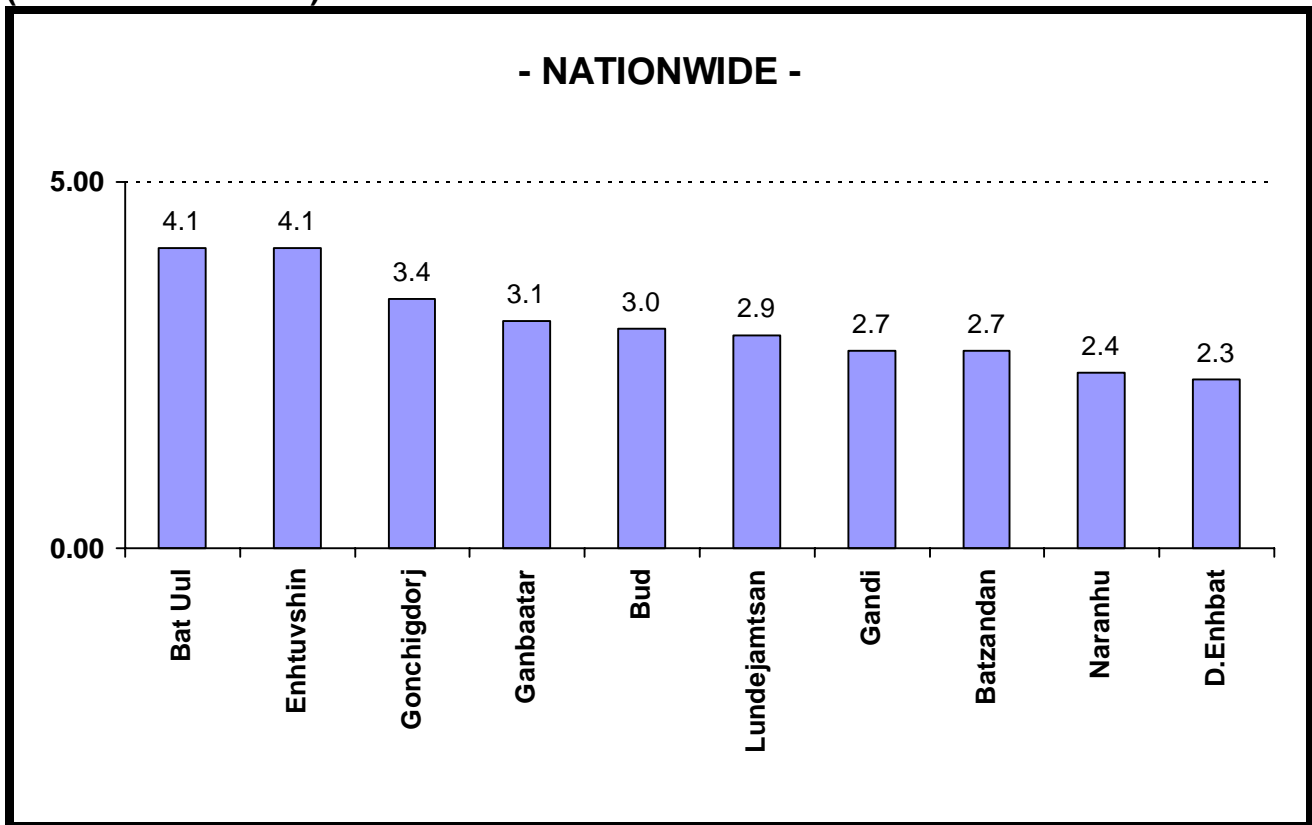
(No names were suggested, each respondent could mention up to three persons. Responses are listed here in a ranking order by percentage of cases. The cumulative percentage could be up to 300%.)



Top 10 politicians

48. in Ulan Bator		49. in Countryside	
1. Bayar S.	42.0	1. Bayar S.	40.1
2. Elbegdorj	28.9	2. Elbegdorj	17.0
3. Gundalai	14.3	3. Ulan	15.5
4. Niamdorj	13.1	4. Enhbayar	13.1
5. Jargalsaihan	11.6	5. Bagabandi	12.0
6. Oyun	11.0	6. Gundalai	10.0
7. Enhbayar	10.6	7. Rash	8.9
8. Bagabandi	6.8	8. Niamdorj	6.8
9. Bat Uul	6.3	9. Enhtuvshin	6.8
10. Ganbaatar	6.1	10. Oyun	6.3

**50. “Whom of the prominent persons in the country would you like to name; who, in your opinion, should play an important role in politics?”
(continuation: 11-20)**



The new barometer is presenting the new stage of Sant Maral Foundation political research. We are planning to do two polls a year like in previous polls. The difference is in a different methodology and an extended questionnaire designed to match changes reflecting the end of the transition time.

Our 13 years of tracing transition is over. Those who are interested in our findings we can direct to our book:

“Voters’ Voices”, Werner Prohl, Luvsandendev Sumati
People’s Perception of Mongolia’s Political and Economic Transition as Reflected in Opinion Polls from 1995 to 2007.

For UB dwellers It is available in INTERNOM bookstore (200m SSW from Chinese Embassy, attached to Petrovis building)

Or through

<http://www.shopmongolia.com/>

http://www.shopmongolia.com/product_info.php?cPath=21&products_id=418