



A Comparative Survey of

*DEMOCRACY, GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT*

Working Paper Series: No. 33

Jointly Published by

**GLOBALBAROMETER™**

Mongolia Country Report

Second Wave of Asian Barometer Survey

Damba Ganbat

Academy of Political Education

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**Asian Barometer**  
A Comparative Survey of Democracy, Governance and Development

**Working Paper Series**

Jointly Published by  
**Globalbarometer**

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## **The Asian Barometer Round Two Survey Mongolia, 2006**

The survey has been conducted by the Academy of Political Education, Mongolia in May-June, 2006. The Academy has also conducted Asian Barometer First Round Survey in Mongolia in 2003.

### **A. Fieldwork activity**

#### **1. Geographic scope**

Population of Mongolia is 2,5 million. In the last presidential election held in 2005 there were 1241691 registered voters<sup>1</sup>. The survey covered the entire Mongolia dividing it into eight regions based on 76 electoral districts; Western region, Northern region, Central I, Central II, Central III, Eastern region, Southern region and Ulaanbaatar (the capital city). Sample design draft was discussed and approved during joint seminar with professors from the National University of Taiwan in 2004 (Yu-tzung Chang, Alfred Hu, Yung-tai Hung, Nathan Batto).<sup>2</sup>

#### **2. Pre-survey preparations**

- 1) The questionnaire has been translated into Mongolian language and some amendments and changes were made based on country specifics.
- 2) Pre-testing and finalizing the Questionnaire. Pre-testing of the questionnaire was made on 20 voting-age adults from different socio-economic classes from urban and rural area.
- 3) Training
  - (a) Training has been conducted in Ulaanbaatar and branch offices of the Academy of Political Education.
  - (b) Training for interviewers and supervisors prior to field implementation (One day to learn the basic of the project for new interviewers, training of sampling area, household, sample method including Kish Grid. One day to practice on questionnaire by interviewing each other as respondents.)

#### **3. Sampling method**

*Sample sizes and error margins.* The total sample size was 1206 voting-age adults. Totally **1211** interviews were collected. Data has been gathered through face-to-face interviews with voting-age Mongolian men and women (18 years old and above) as respondents. 80-168 sample size in each of the study areas except Ulaanbaatar city, depending on population size. In Ulaanbaatar city sample size is 410. 1206 gives a maximum error margin of  $\pm 3\%$  at the 95% confidence level, assuming a simple random sampling design.

*Sampling scheme.* The survey had a four stage random sampling design. This design uses as its sampling frame the list of the administrative units Aimaks (provinces) and cities of Mongolia, divided into 76 electoral districts. The lower administrative level the Soums (counties) and Districts in the cities, is our Secondary Sampling Unit. Different number of Soums and Districts per PSU has been chosen. The data used in the appendix based on the data of the last presidential election 2005.

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<sup>1</sup> Elections of Democratic State. General Election Commission of Mongolia. 2005, page 169. (In Mongolian)

<sup>2</sup> Asian Barometer Survey Methodology Workshop. Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, March 31-April 4, 2004

Regions	Number of eligible voters	Sample%=x*1206	
Western region	165031	13,3%	168
Northern region	136930	11%	132
Central I	113378	9,1%	120
Central II	82915	6,7%	80
Central III	123316	9,9%	120
Eastern region	102313	8,3%	96
Southern region	85148	6,9%	80
Ulaanbaatar and vicinity	432660	34,8%	410
<b>Total</b>	<b>1241691</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>1206</b>

First stage – selection of PSU:

From regional lists divided into election districts PSUs has been selected using a Probability Proportionate to Size interval from a randomly generated starting point.

Second stage – selection of SSU:

Per PSU number of Soums (in Aimaks) and Districts (in Cities) has been also selected using a random selection procedure.

Third stage – selection of Households:

A random starting point has been chosen in each Soums and then at concrete interval households has been selected. Each team has cards with numbers from 5 to 15 used for this stage. All selection procedures in each Soums noted in a special protocol and signed by supervisor. Households in rural divided into two groups, the Soum centre and nomadic, in order to represent both groups of population living in the rural. The teams has produced simple maps before starting the interview process to ensure the use of the interval procedure does not exclude particular areas of the Soums and to facilitate post-hoc spot checks. The Academy now has the maps of all Soums in countryside where the survey conducted. Selection of nomads living between Soum centres was made using dice.

Fourth stage – selection of Respondent:

To select respondents in a selected household a Kish Grid table is used. Each interviewer has the table in own manual and to select randomly the respondent a dice is used in each household.

Number of Calls and Substitution

If the randomly selected household is unavailable or refused to be interviewed, interviewer had to go to the left sided household (if the household is unavailable too, to the right sided one) to get a substitute respondent. The substitute respondent does not affect selected intervals in the sample region.

#### **4. Field work**

1) Workers on Hand. For this project, a total of 48 field staffs (21 from the Academy) have been deployed:

2) Supervision

(a) Evaluation of interviewer's work

All first interviews of each field interviewer are observed by field supervisor, and then evaluated. Each supervisor had to note the results and remarks of the observation in protocol. Only after

meeting a certain evaluation criteria is an interviewer left to interview on his/her own, although his/her field supervisor always stays within the vicinity of the sample spot to conduct checks.

(b) Field supervisors (Academy's central office staff) reporting to central office monitor the study full time. Supervisors observed about 28% of all interviews, followed up and did surprise checks on 24% of all respondents during field survey. This number is noted in the protocol of supervisors. Field supervisors ensured that field logistics are received promptly and administered properly.

(c) Spot checking

Part of quality control is to make sure at least 30% of each interviewer's output is spot-checked. To do it, supervisors had to check all interview records every day and note all remarks in the protocol. Once an incomplete or inconsistent answer is spotted in the questionnaire, the field interviewer goes back to the respondent's house to re-ask the question for verification. Reasking percentage is less than 10%.

(d) Back checking

After finishing the field surveys and collecting data, back checking was made from central office of the Academy. Where it was possible telephone number of respondents was noted in the last page of interview form. Back checking has been conducted using the phone numbers of randomly selected respondents. Because in rural only in province centers respondents have home phone or mobile phone, it is not possible to include Soum level respondents in the back checking. About 20% of all interviews were back checked.

(e) Field Editing

- After each interview, the interviewer is asked to go over his/her own work and check for consistency.
- All accomplished interview schedules are submitted to the assigned field supervisor who, in turn, edits every interview.

## **5. Data Processing**

1) Office editors conduct final consistency checks on all interviews prior to coding. All supervisors have submitted report on field survey along with maps of sampled area, supervisor's protocol and receipts of expenditure, including respondents cash payment signature's list.

2) Interview spot checking

Randomly selected interviews were spot checked by a person from outside. Some minor inaccuracy was detected. For instance, interviewers 02 and 03 conducted 11-14 interviews in one day, which are not possible at all. Because these interviews conducted in remote Soum area, there was no possibility to check back the interviews.

3) Translating and preparation of coding of open-ended questions.

(a) Memo on Code Q.91 and Q. 100-102 were translated into Mongolian language.

(b) SE12 was changed according to country specifics.

(c) To prepare guiding for data entering of the open-ended questions, 300 interviews were analyzed to find most frequent responds and differences from the Coding Scheme. After this procedure the guide for data entering was finalized.

4) Data entering and cleaning.

- (a) 5 persons were responsible for data entering under supervision of project leader. Each person had a special designed sheet for noting strange cases to be resolved by supervisor.
- (b) For checking and data cleaning SPSS was used to obtain a frequency distribution of the variables. After it a cross table was produced to see if the responses make sense for some variables which are part of the same question. (38/39,39A; 51/51A; 157-160/161-164)

## **6. Weighting Procedure**

The data was weighted by gender and age, which statistics are more accurate in Mongolia. Regarding statistics on educational groups, we are not sure to use it. Gender and age statistics are used from Population and Housing Census, 2000 and Mongolian Statistical Yearbook, 2004.

## **B. Mongolia's macro-political context**

### **1. Introduction**

Since its democratic transition in 1990, Mongolia represents a primary example of a 'least likely'<sup>3</sup> case of democratisation in relation to other 'fourth wave' democracies<sup>4</sup> and in the Central Asian region itself. The political system that has been established meets most of the minimal and procedural criteria for democracy outlined by democracy analysts<sup>5</sup>, has a competitive and developed political party system and has maintained peaceful and regular transfers of power over five successive parliamentary elections (1990, 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004) and four presidential elections (1993, 1997, 2001, 2005). It is 'least likely' since it lacks the standard 'prerequisites' for democracy posited by the modernization perspective, it lacks the certain cultural factors seen to be essential for democracy, and it has established democracy among a set of comparable post-communist neighbours that have remained (or become) largely undemocratic.

### **2 Main characteristics**

2.1 Mongolia has been consolidating democracy over the last 17 years. By both narrow and quite broad criteria ranging from regular elections to popular attitudes towards democracy, Mongolia appears to have consolidated democracy and it is unlikely that democratic governance itself is under serious threat, but its long-term prospects remain precarious.

2.2 Mongolia has established a multi-party competitive political system where there has been significant alternation in power between civilian leaders without any interruption to democratic practices.

2.3 Mongolia has a large number of political parties that serve to represent a broad range of political views and interests, and which have been establishing firm roots in society.

2.4 Mongolia has a vibrant and lively civil society with strong and large nongovernmental organisations, particularly among journalists and women.

2.5 Mongolian citizens express strong support for the democratic transition and the democratic system even during times of economic adversity, while express less support for the democratic process itself and mixed support for political institutions.

2.6 Despite the process of democratic consolidation there remain significant areas of concern about the fullness of Mongolian democracy, particularly in areas such as the right to health, problems with corruption, poverty and unemployment, and other social and economic rights limitations that impinge on the full exercise of civil and political rights.

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<sup>3</sup> Landman, T. (2005a) 'Democracy Analysis' in International IDEA, Ten Years of Supporting Democracy Worldwide, Stockholm: International IDEA, 19-27.

<sup>4</sup> Doorenspleet, R. (2000) 'Reassessing the Three Waves of Democratization', World Politics, 52 (3): 384-406.

<sup>5</sup> Diamond, L. (1999) Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation, Baltimore: JHU Press.

2.7 There are problems with access to and administration of justice, where patterns of corruption have undermined due process, and unreasonable conditions of pre-trial detention and the use of the death penalty in secret limit the notion of a full protection of civil rights.

2.8 The semi-presidential institutional design has provided the opportunity for power sharing and political accommodation, but elections have been dominated by the success of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), which has tended to control the parliament and the presidency, while constitutional amendments have undermined horizontal accountability by allowing MPs to serve simultaneously as cabinet members.

2.9 At the international level, Mongolia has served as a beacon of democracy in a fairly non-democratic part of the world and has shown leadership in the international community of democracies, as well as adopting a ninth Millennium Development Goal specifically on democracy and human rights.

2.10 Mongolia has ratified most of the international human rights treaties with few reservations, but has had persistent difficulty in implementing their provisions fully.

2.11 Mongolia remains highly donor-dependent, which has had an impact on its economic policies (particularly privatisation), but it has resisted undue influence from Russia and China.

The most recent overall assessment of democratic governance for Mongolia made in 2006 by the project named Democratic Governance Indicators has been set at **3.02 points** (using 5 points scale). This corresponds with the following assessment: "Democratic and non-democratic characteristics are fairly proportional and situation could turn either way"<sup>6</sup>.

#### 2.12 Economy<sup>7</sup>

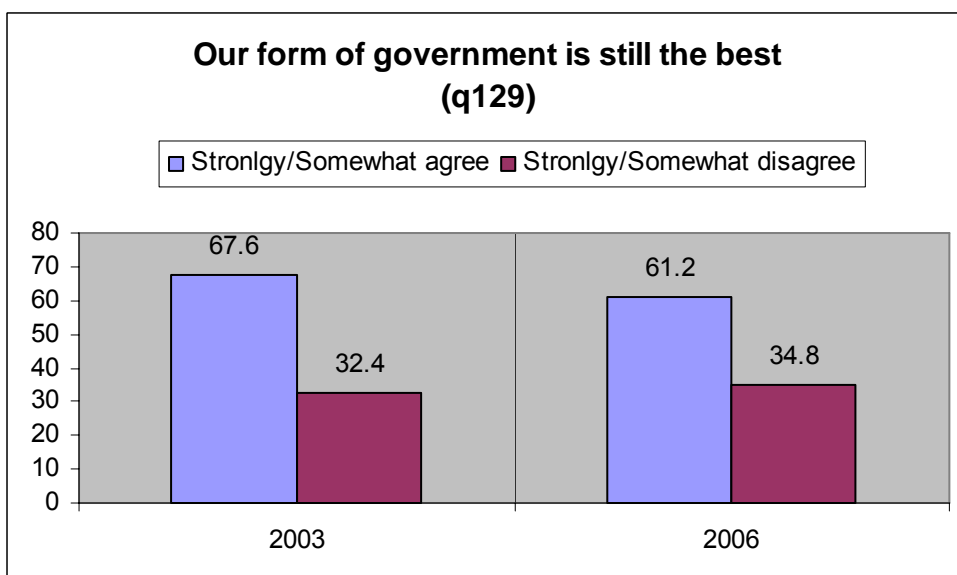
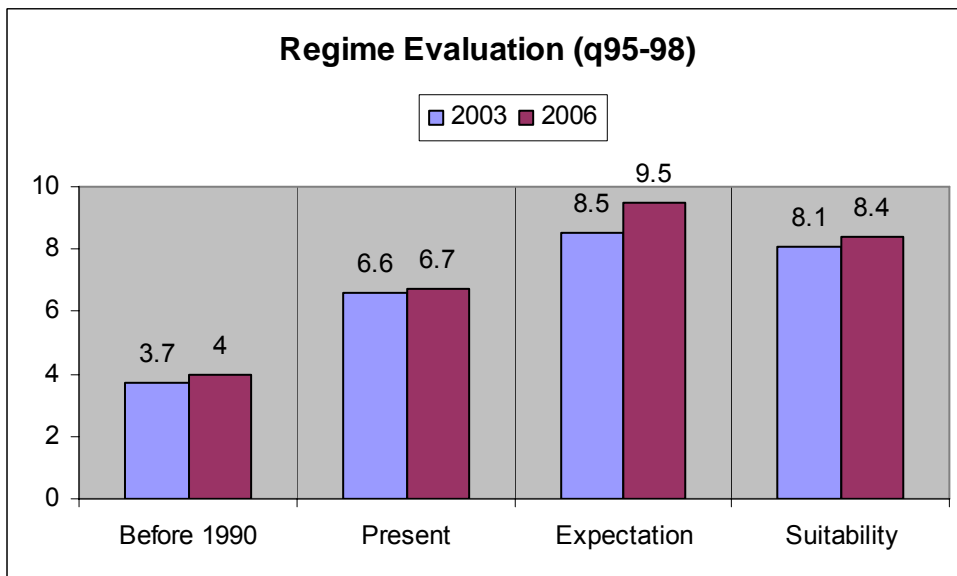
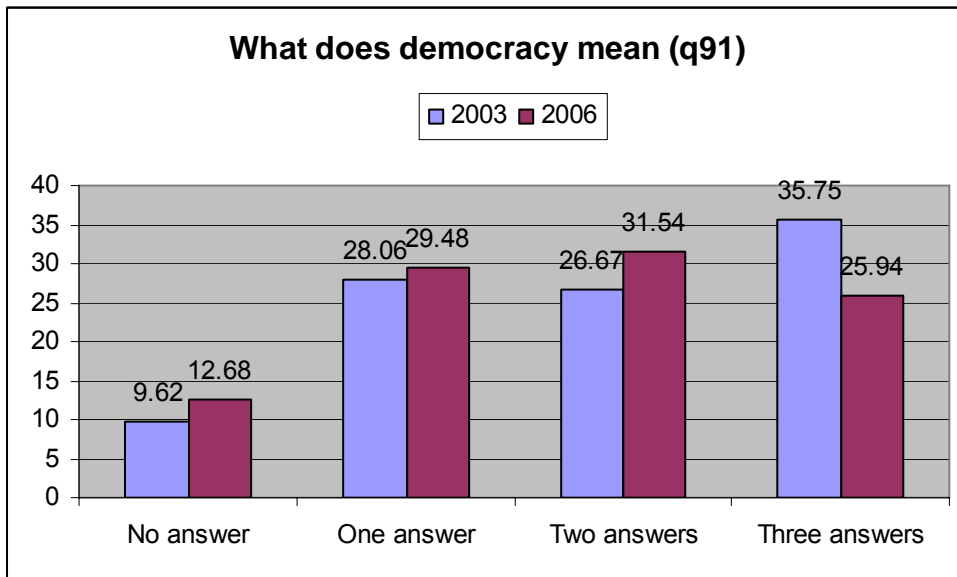
- The economy has been performing well
- Growth in GDP picked up to 8.4%
- Inflation is moderated from high levels and both the fiscal and current accounts were in surplus
- Broad money (M2) growth was high in 2006 at 35%
- But inflation slowed from an average of nearly 13% in 2005 to 5.1% in 2006
- On the back of rising income from mining, the budget was in surplus in 2006 (by 3.9% of GDP)

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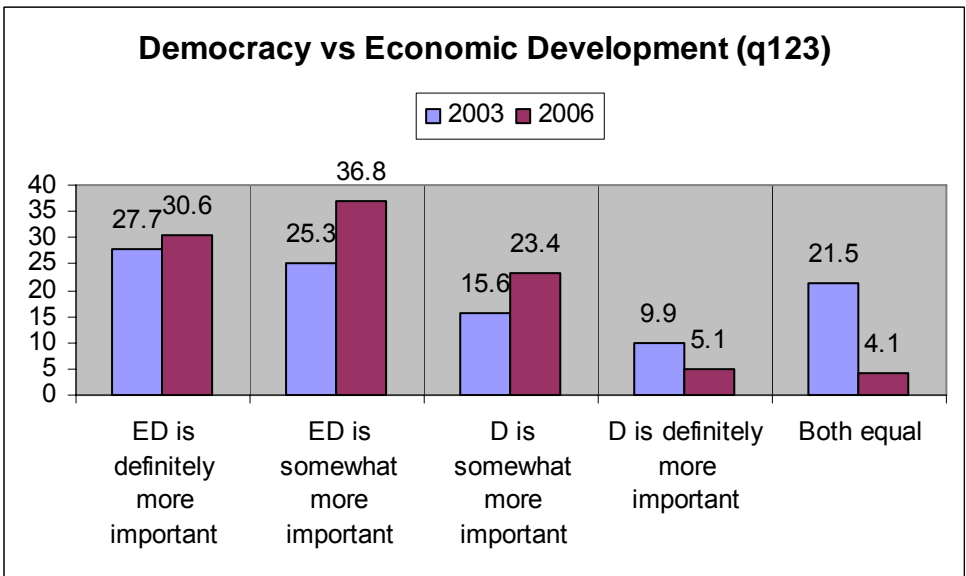
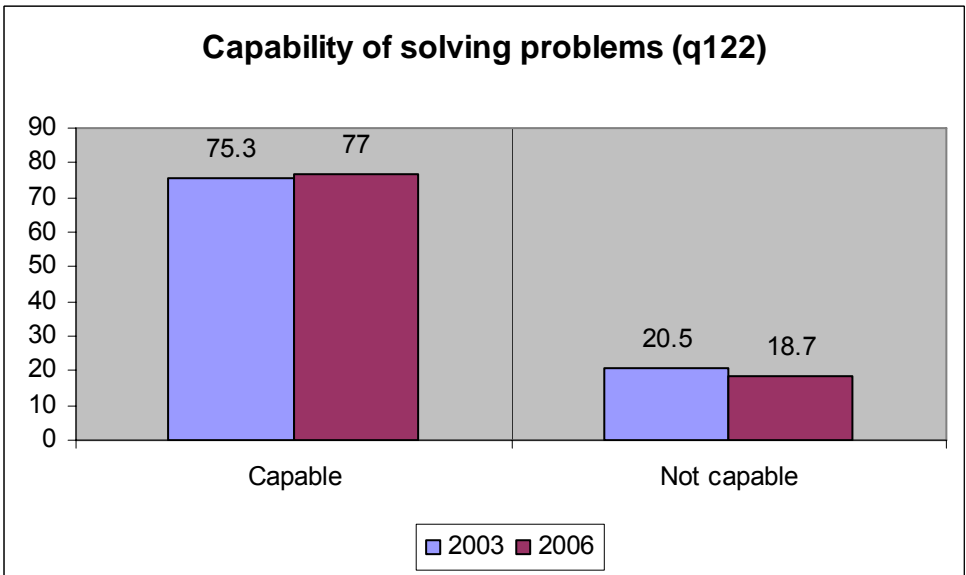
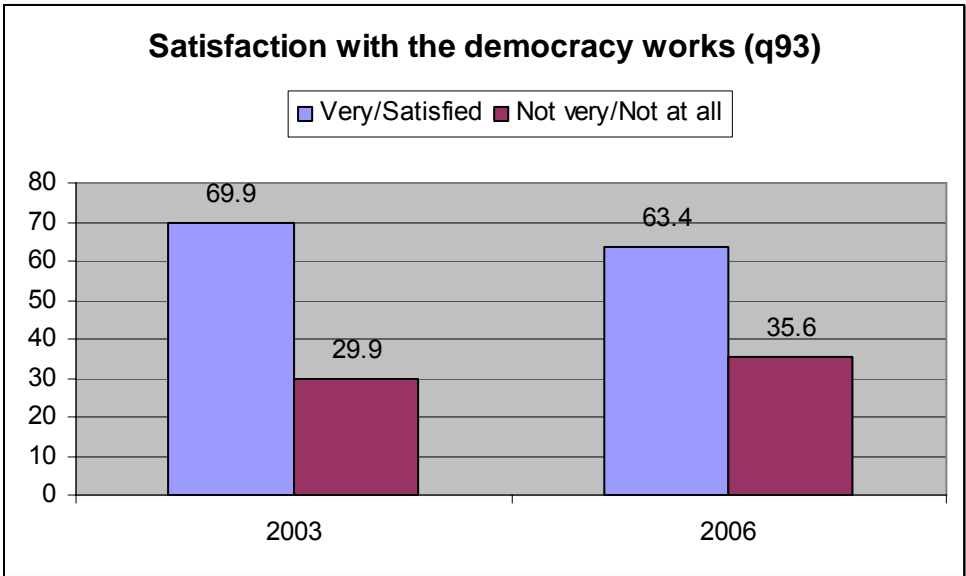
<sup>6</sup> Follow-up Project to Implement the Decisions of the 5th International Conference on New and Restored Democracies. Country Information Note. Ulaanbaatar 2006, 10.

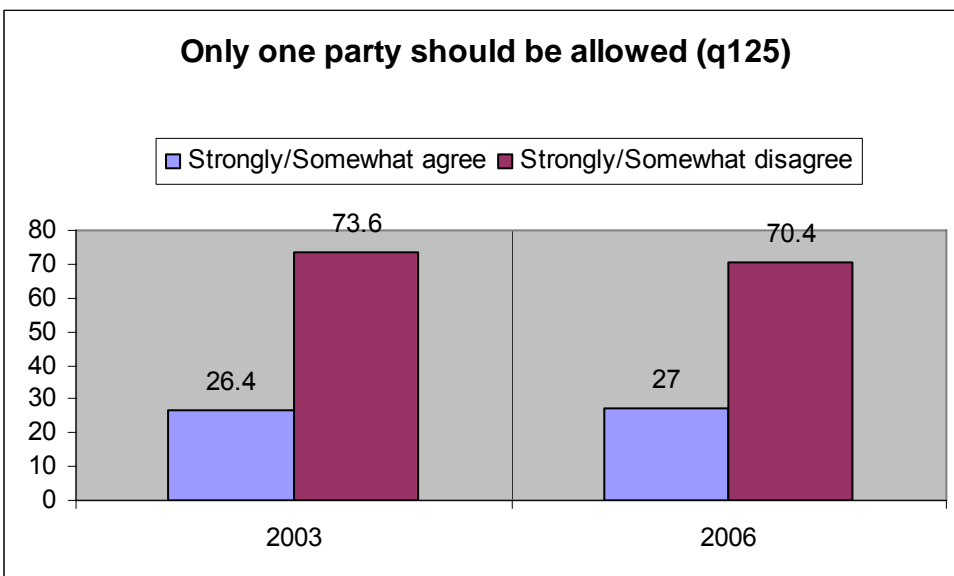
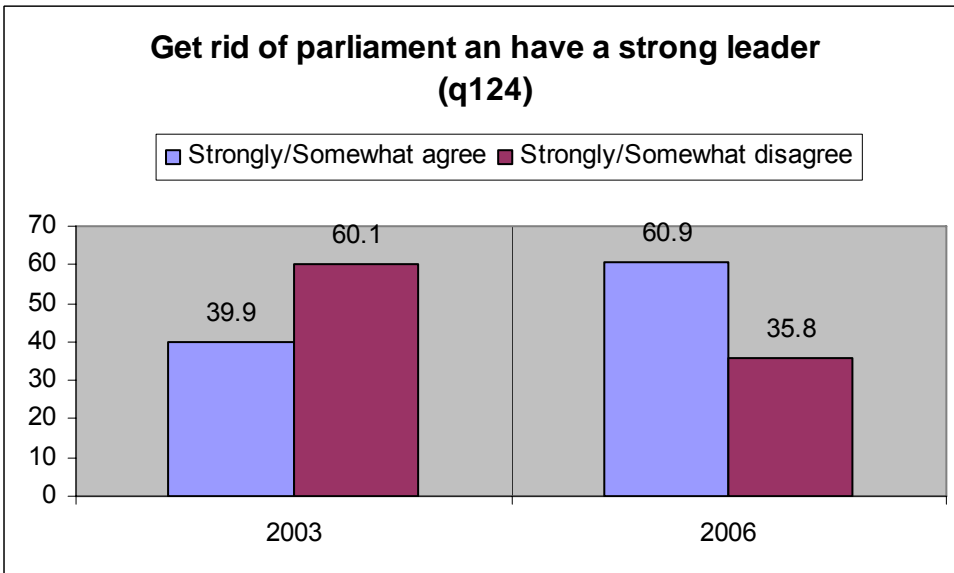
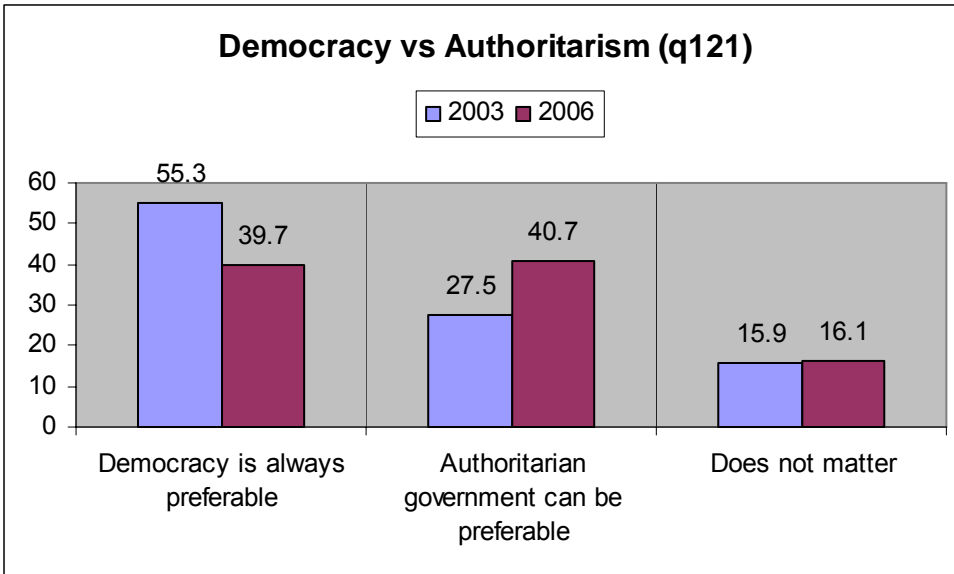
<sup>7</sup> Source: Asian Development Outlook 2007, p.149-152

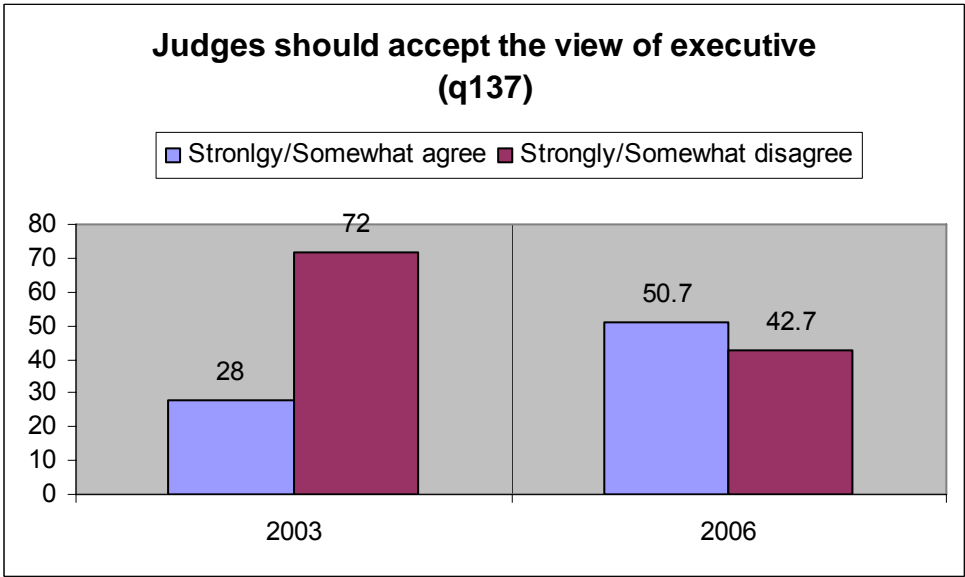
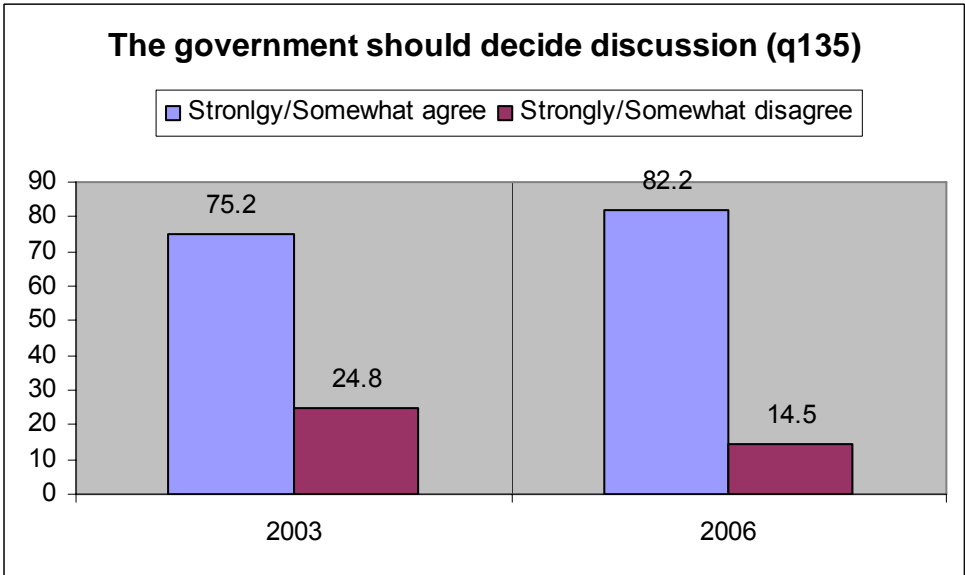
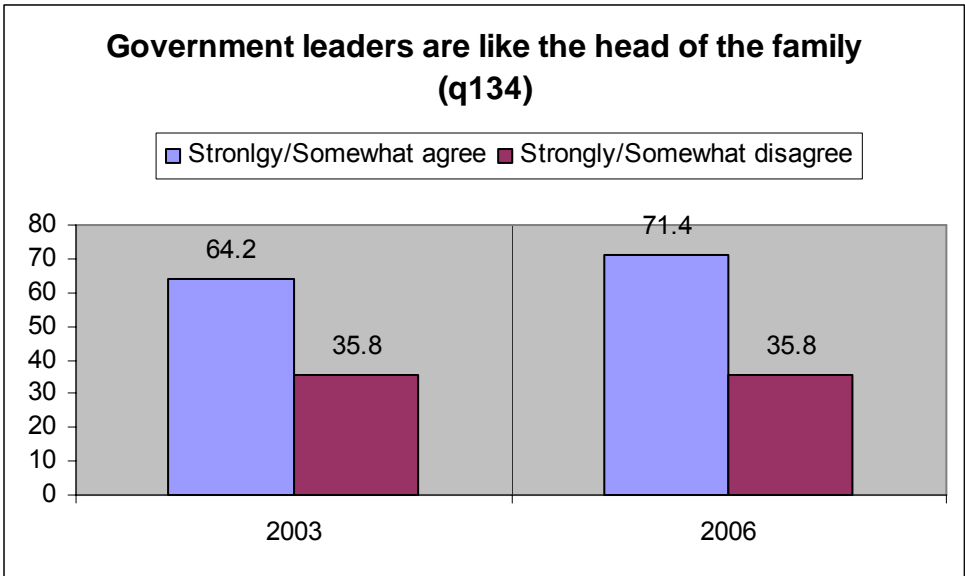
**C. Most important findings and comparisons**





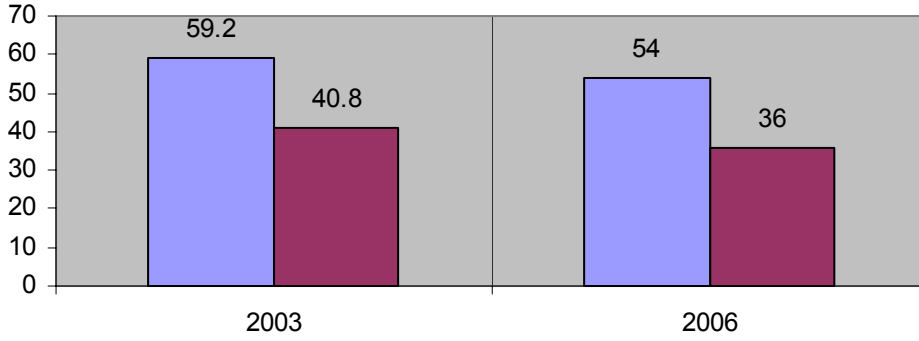






**Government checked by the legislature cannot accomplish great things (q138)**

■ Strongly/Somewhat agree ■ Strongly/Somewhat disagree



## COUNTRY INFORMATION DATA

### Geography

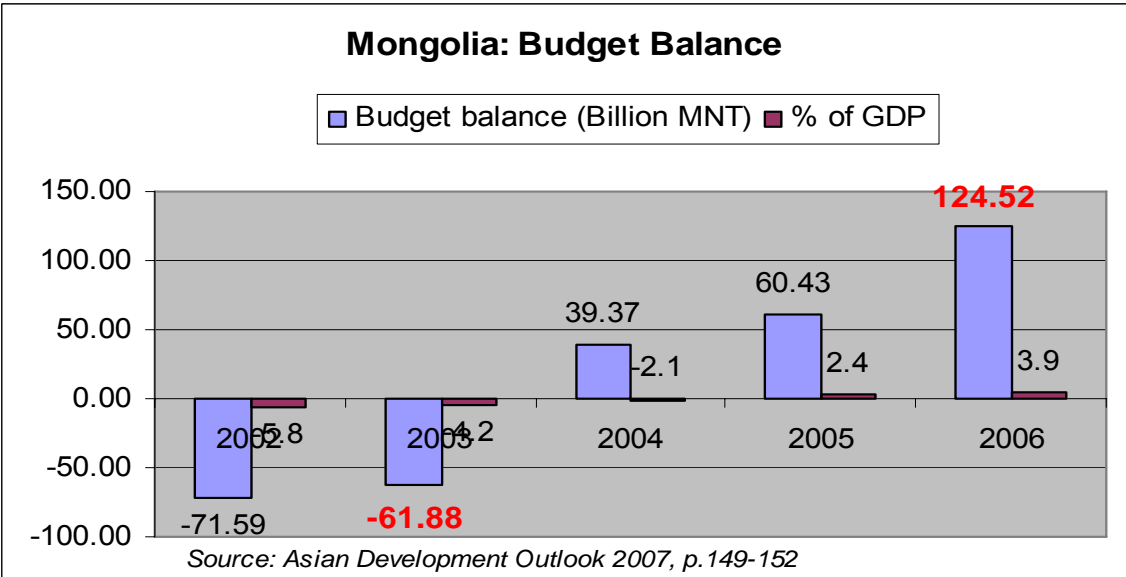
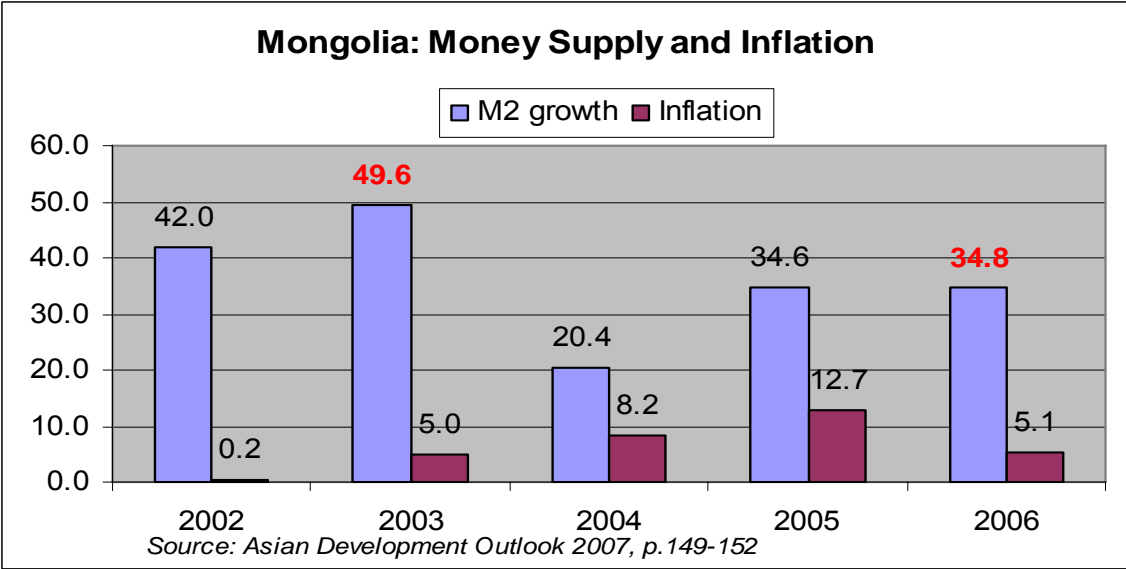
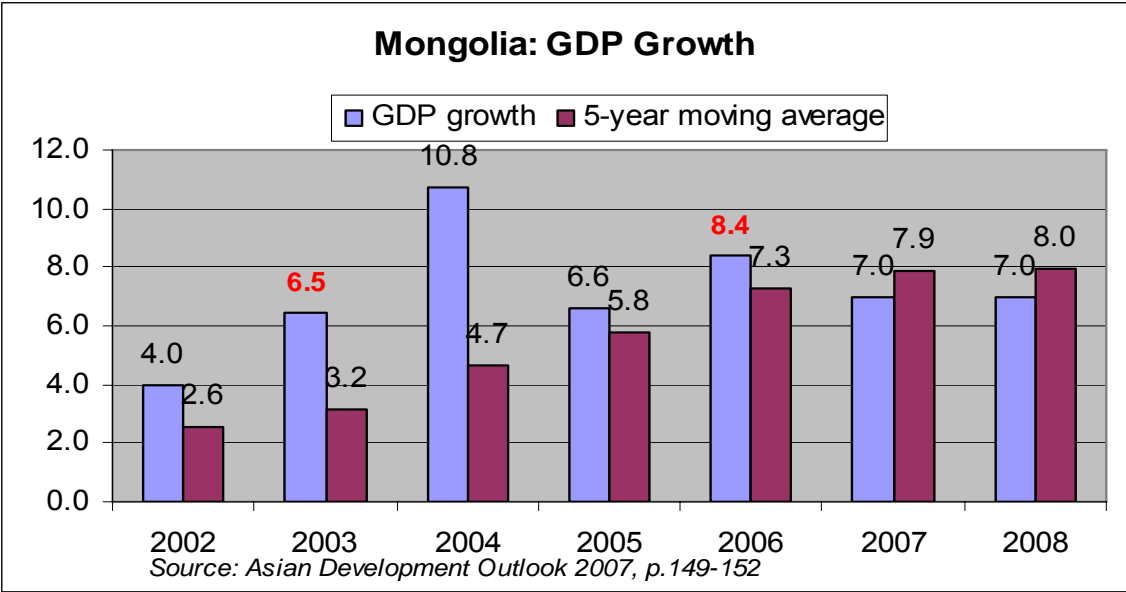
Geographic location	East Asia, situated between the Russian Federation and PRC, landlocked
Size of territory, sq. km	1,564,116
Climate	Continental

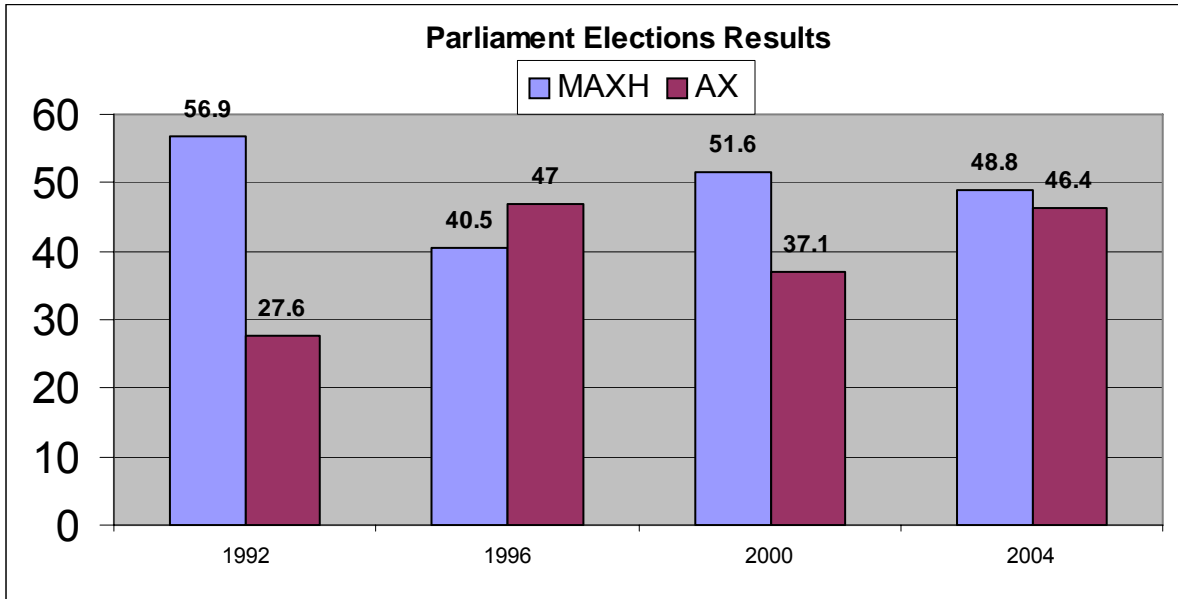
### Demography, Society

Settled population, thousand people	2533.1 (as of the end of 2004)
<i>Urban</i>	1498.2
<i>Rural</i>	1034.9
Average life expectancy	64.6 (2004)
<i>Men</i>	61.6
<i>Women</i>	67.8
Economically active population (thousands)	986.1
Unemployment level (%)	3.6
Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live born)	22.3
Literacy rate of population beyond age 15 (%)	97.6 (2000 Population Census data)
Poverty rate	36.1 (2004)
Ginny coefficient	0.329 (2002-2003)
Human development index	0.679

### Government

Date of current Constitution	01.13.1992
Form of governance	Parliamentary republic
State structure	Unified
Right to elect, age	Universal, 18
Capital	Ulaanbaatar
Administrative territorial structure	21 aimags, capital city
Legislature	State Great Hural, 76 members, unicameral
<i>Term of office</i>	4 years
<i>Election results</i>	SGH elections held in 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004. 2004 election resulted in MPRP-36, Motherland-Democratic Coalition 34, MRP 1, independent-3 seats.
<i>Number of women in parliament (%)</i>	5 women, 6.7%
Head of state	President Nambaryn Enkhbayar (from June 2005)
<i>Election</i>	Candidacy nomination by parliamentary parties, election by popular vote. Term of office - 4 years
Head of government	Prime Minister Miegombyn Enkhbold (from January 2006), PM appointed by SGH in consultation with the President
Judiciary	The judiciary system composed of the Supreme Court, aimag, capital city, soum or inter-soum, district courts. The General Council of Courts appoints members of Supreme Court in consultation with the President. Judges nominated by GCC, appointed by President.
Parliamentary parties	Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), Democratic Party (DP), Republican Party (RP), Motherland Party (MP), Citizen's Will Party (CWP)





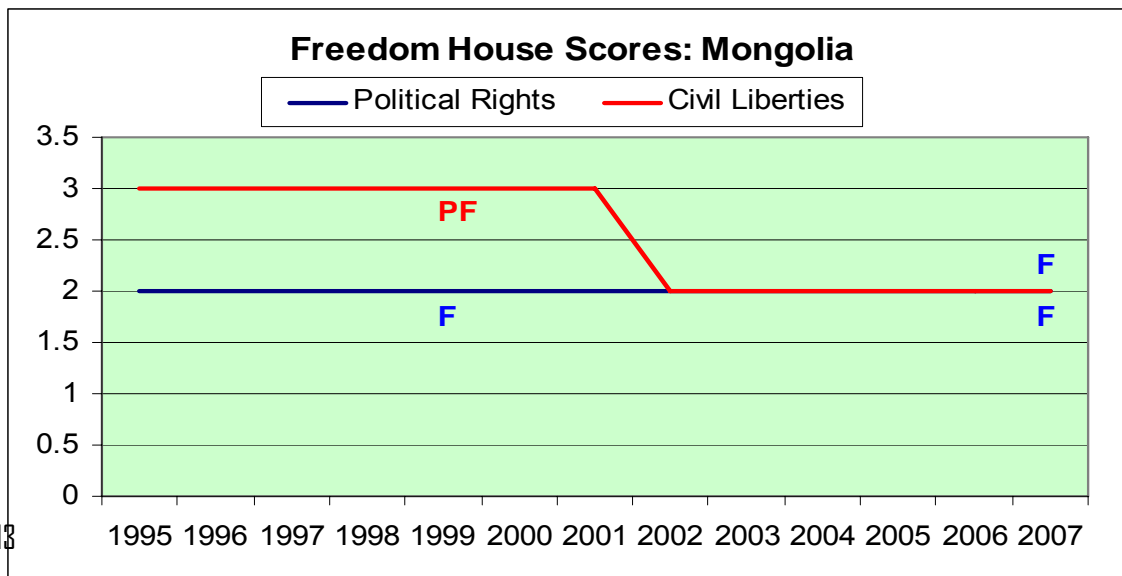
MAXH- Mongolian Peoples Revolutionary Party  
 AX- Democratic Forces/Party

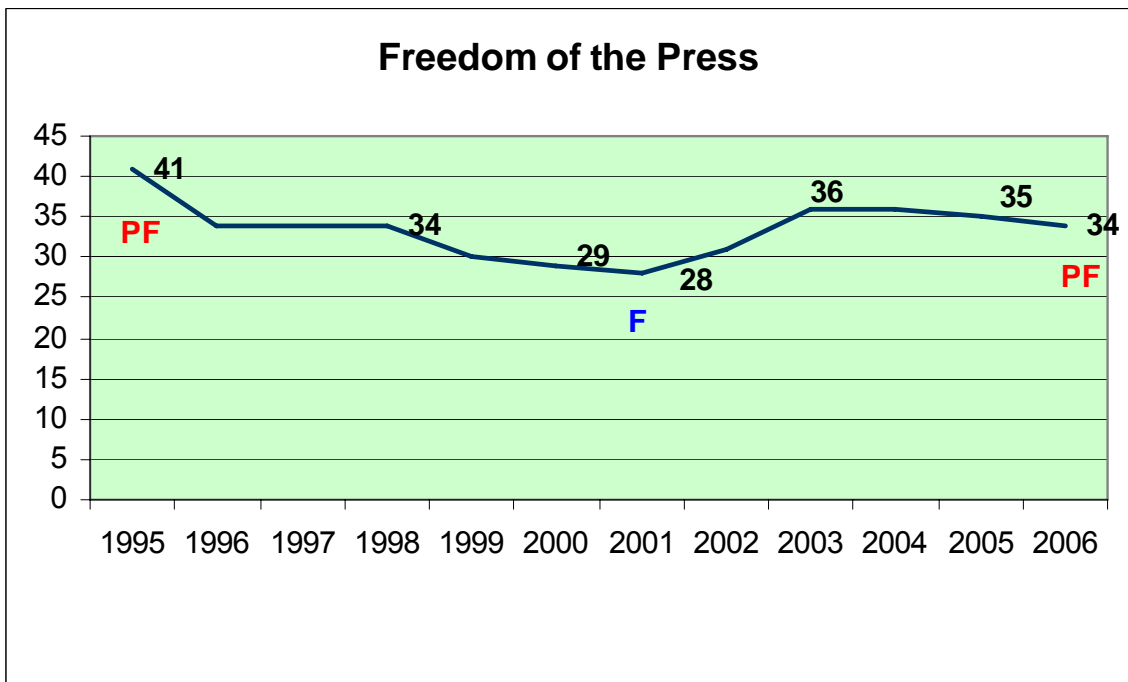
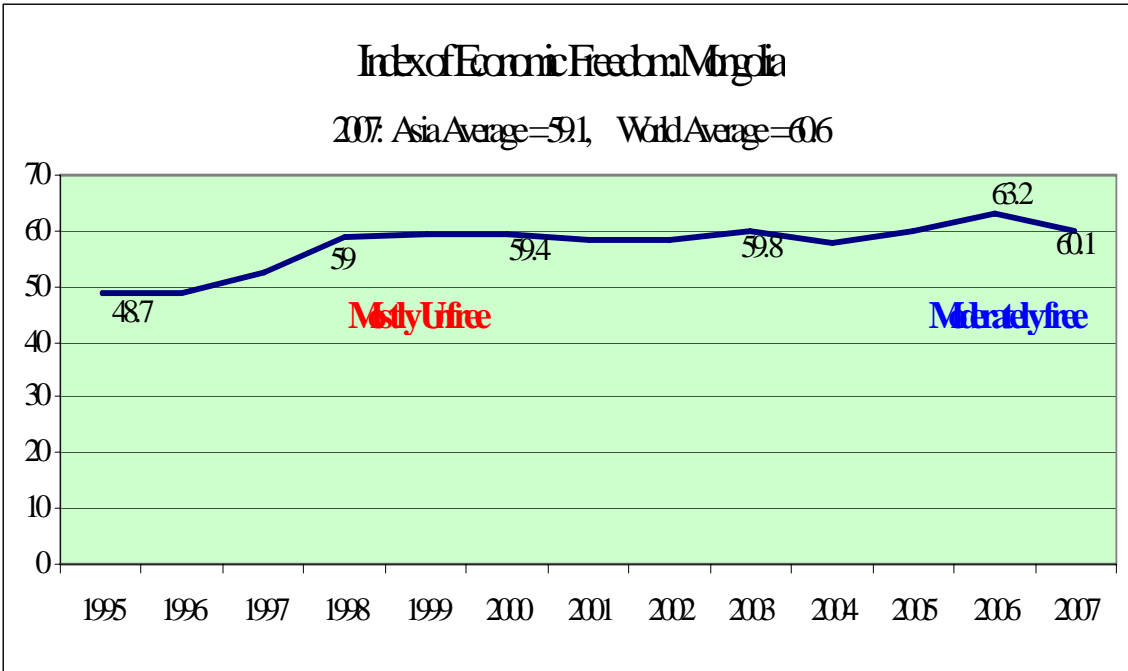
	1990-1992	1992-1996	1996-2000	2000-2004	2004-2006	2006-now
<b>% of Seats in Parliament</b>	MPRP 62 DC 38	MPRP 92.1 DC 7.9	MPRP 32.9 DC 65.6	MPRP 94.7 DC 2.6	MPRP 48.68 DC 34.21	MPRP 51.32 DP 32.89 Others 15.79
<b>Executive Status</b>	Consensual (MPRP+DC)	Single Party (MPRP)	Coalition (DC)	Single party (MPRP)	Consensual (MPRP+DC)	Consensual (MPRP+Others)
<b>N of Resigned Cabinets</b>	1 attempt	0	3	0	1	3 Ministries resigned, 3 to be resigned

MPRP- Mongolian Peoples Revolutionary Party  
 DC- Democratic Coalition  
 DP- Democratic Party

**EAB Survey 2003**

**AB Survey 2006**







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# Asian Barometer

## A Comparative Survey of Democracy, Governance and Development

The Asian Barometer Survey (ABS) grows out of the Comparative Survey of Democratization and Value Change in East Asia Project (also known as East Asia Barometer), which was launched in mid-2000 and funded by the Ministry of Education of Taiwan under the MOE-NSC Program for Promoting Academic Excellence of University. The headquarters of ABS is based in Taipei, and is jointly sponsored by the Department of Political Science at NTU and the Institute of Political Science of Academia Sinica. The East Asian component of the project is coordinated by Prof. Yun-han Chu, who also serves as the overall coordinator of the Asian Barometer. In organizing its first-wave survey (2001-2003), the East Asia Barometer (EABS) brought together eight country teams and more than thirty leading scholars from across the region and the United States. Since its founding, the EABS Project has been increasingly recognized as the region's first systematic and most careful comparative survey of attitudes and orientations toward political regime, democracy, governance, and economic reform.

In July 2001, the EABS joined with three partner projects -- New Europe Barometer, Latinobarometro and Afrobarometer -- in a path-breathing effort to launch Global Barometer Survey (GBS), a global consortium of comparative surveys across emerging democracies and transitional societies.

The EABS is now becoming a true pan-Asian survey research initiative. New collaborative teams from Indonesia, Singapore, Cambodia, and Vietnam are joining the EABS as the project enters its second phase (2004-2008). Also, the State of Democracy in South Asia Project, based at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (in New Delhi) and directed by Yogendra Yadav, is collaborating with the EABS for the creation of a more inclusive regional survey network under the new identity of the Asian Barometer Survey. This path-breaking regional initiative builds upon a substantial base of completed scholarly work in a number of Asian countries. Most of the participating national teams were established more than a decade ago, have acquired abundant experience and methodological know-how in administering nationwide surveys on citizen's political attitudes and behaviors, and have published a substantial number of works both in their native languages and in English.

*For more information, please visit our website: [www.asianbarometer.org](http://www.asianbarometer.org)*