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Who Feels Left Out? Perceptions of Mongolians About Changes in Living Conditions During the Transition

MINATO Kunio

Introduction

The transition from a socialist system to a market economy affects people's lives. A shrinking economy, inflation, unemployment, reduction of social services, and poverty are some of the challenges that emerge at the initial stage of the transition and cause the living conditions in former socialist countries to deteriorate. Economic recovery in recent years does not guarantee the restoration of people's living conditions devastated during such a transition process. Moreover, "rapid growth rates can also conceal less positive features" (EBRD, 2007b). It is necessary to shed light on those who have not fully enjoyed the benefits of the transition.

This has been particularly true for Mongolia, where the negative impact of transition had been one of the key issues during the 1990s. Researchers during those years focused on problems such as poverty, unemployment, and worsening living conditions (Griffin, 1995; Minato, 1999; Nyamtseren, 1998; Odgaard, 1996; Skapa & Benwell, 1996; UNDP & the Government of Mongolia, 1997; Walters, Nixon & Suvd, 1999). Despite recent increases in income levels and progress in human development (UNDP & the Government of Mongolia, 2007), growing inequality (*ibid*), limited success of measures to reduce poverty (Rossabi, 2005), disparities between urban and rural communities, and poor living conditions of new urban migrants and other vulnerable people (Nagasawa, Imaoka, Shimazaki & Mongolian State University of Education Department of Social Work, 2007) indicate that a number of people have not yet received a share of the recent growth and progress.

In light of these issues, several questions arise: To what extent have the economic and social improvements affected the Mongolian people? Have they benefited the majority of Mongolians, or only a few? Furthermore—and this is the most significant—who are the people that have not yet reaped the benefits of the improvements? Addressing these questions will help clarify who should receive assistance and what type of assistance should be provided as Mongolia tackles the remaining costs of transition.

This article aims to address these questions by analyzing data from a survey conducted

throughout Mongolia as well as in other transition countries. Specifically, the article uses the data of the Life in Transition Survey (hereafter LiTS) collected in 2006, and focuses on responses that show people's perceptions of the changes in their own lives.

The article is organized as follows. Section I discusses the approaches to examining change in living conditions in Mongolia in previous studies and in this article. Section II explains the outline of the LiTS. Section III shows how the Mongolians perceive changes in their living conditions during the period of transition by examining and comparing responses from surveys conducted throughout the country. In section IV, the perception of changes in living conditions is examined with a general linear model analysis. Section V presents a conclusion and explains the implications of certain policies. Section V presents conclusion and policy implication.

I Approaches to Changes in Living Condition in Mongolia During the Transition

As mentioned in the introduction, previous studies have already focused on living conditions in Mongolia during the transition. These studies take either one or both of two approaches. The first approach is to show living conditions through trends at the country or regional level by using macro socioeconomic indices, including unemployment rate, poverty level, Gini coefficient, GDP per capita, and household expenditure (Griffin, 1995; Nyamtseren, 1998; Odgaard, 1996; Rossabi, 2005; Skapa & Benwell, 1996; UNDP et al., 1997, 2000, 2003, 2007; Walters et al., 1999). The second approach is to describe living conditions through case studies focusing on specific areas or target groups (Gankhuyag, 1999; Minato, 1999; Nagasawa et al., 2007).

However, the two approaches have serious limitations when it comes to measuring changes in both the living conditions of the Mongolians and the factors affecting these conditions. First, the macro socioeconomic approach shows only the number of people suffering through the transition and does not provide profiles of these people. Second, it is difficult to gauge the extent to which findings from case studies can be generalized. In the case study approach, it can be difficult to determine how an individual case fits into society as a whole. Besides, it is not certain whether the findings from a series of case studies can be applied to other cases.

Neither approach is able to clarify two factors in particular. The first factor is changes occurring in the lives of Mongolians during the transition; the second factor is the correlation between these changes and other possible factors. Transition affects not just a small group of people, but the overall population. At the same time, a transition may have a different impact on the living conditions of different people. It is essential, therefore, to examine data that represent the overall population in Mongolia in order to accurately determine whose living conditions were improved or

worsened during the transition and to discover which factors created the differences.

This article takes another approach to revealing the living conditions in Mongolia during the transition. The approach has two features. First, data from social surveys conducted throughout Mongolia are analyzed. Second, the relationship between lifestyle changes and other possible factors is examined through micro-level data analyses. This approach makes it possible to examine changes in the living conditions of individuals without bias, as well as to elucidate factors affecting the change.

The analyses in this article focus on the question of whether the Mongolians think they live a better life in the year the survey was conducted than the year when socialist system began to collapse. In other words, this article focuses on the subjective perceptions of Mongolians about the changes in their living conditions.

The reason for taking this approach is that it is not possible to objectively determine each individual's living conditions prior to the transition. The only possible method to describe life before the transition is to have an individual recollect his or her life then. However, it should be noted that people's perceptions best describes the change in their living conditions even if there were other objective indices available. Although a shift in objective indices (such as income level and expenditure) affects living conditions, the degree of the impact differs among individuals, and so do changes in living conditions. This article examines how the living conditions of the Mongolians changed, and this cannot be properly clarified without asking how the Mongolians themselves perceive the change.

II Life in Transition Survey (LiTS)

This article examines data of the LiTS. This survey was organized jointly by the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), an international financial institution that supports the transition of former socialist countries to a market economy. The countries surveyed in the LiTS were the Former Soviet Union countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan), the countries once considered together as "East Europeans" (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, FYR Macedonia, Hungary, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Serbia, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia), Mongolia, and Turkey. Turkmenistan was not covered because of "operational difficulties" in conducting a survey (EBRD, 2007a: 13). Turkey, which is not a former socialist country, was included because it is one of the World Bank's European and Central Asian countries, as well as other countries covered in LiTS except Mongolia (Synovate, 2006).

In Mongolia, as in the other countries surveyed, the fieldwork of LiTS took place between August and October 2006 through face-to-face interviews with 1,000 respondents aged 18 or older. The respondents were chosen randomly from all over Mongolia by the probability proportionate to size method and thus representativeness of the sample is assured.

Details of the sampling method are as follows: First, the country was divided into 182 PSU (primary sampling unit) sampling frames based on geographical classification. The PSU frames were stratified into the capital city Ulaanbaatar (first stratum) and other urban and rural areas (second stratum). Second, 50 PSUs were selected from the PSU sampling frames, in accordance with the population ratio of the two strata. Specifically, 19 PSUs were selected from the first stratum, and the remaining 31 PSUs were selected from the second. Then, 20 persons were randomly chosen from each PSU selected.¹⁾

Data in the CSV and the Stata formats, a questionnaire, a survey report, and related materials of the LiTS are available from “Life in Transition Survey” page in the EBRD website (<http://www.ebrd.com/pages/research/analysis/publications/transition.shtml>). In this article, data in the CSV format were transformed into the SPSS format and then analyzed.

III Analysis (1): Comparative Analyses of the Perceptions of Changes During the Transition

This article focuses on examining the extent to which respondents agreed or disagreed with the statement “My household lives better nowadays than around 1989.” The choices were “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Neither disagree nor agree,” “Agree,” “Strongly agree,” “Not applicable,” and “Don’t know.” Out of these, “Not applicable” and “Don’t know” were excluded from the analysis for procedural reasons. Then, the rest of answers were converted into scores as follows: “Strongly disagree” into “-2,” “Disagree” into “-1,” “Neither disagree nor agree” into “0,” “Agree” into “+1,” and “Strongly agree” into “+2.” This means that the larger the score, the more positively respondents perceived changes in their living conditions.

Using these scores, I first compared respondents’ perceptions of changes in living conditions in the 29 countries surveyed. The results are shown in Table 1. The mean score of living conditions in Mongolia is relatively high, compared with overall mean score. However, considering that the score is negative in 20 out of 29 countries surveyed, it would be more accurate to say that the score in Mongolia is not as low as the scores in most of the countries.

Table 1 Mean Score of Perceptions of Changes in Living Conditions During the Transition

Rank	Country	Mean	N	S.D.	S.E.	Rank	Country	Mean	N	S.D.	S.E.
1	Albania	0.81	941	1.053	0.034	16	Romania	-0.19	941	1.192	0.039
2	Belarus	0.38	711	0.951	0.036	17	Kyrgyzstan	-0.19	736	1.075	0.040
3	Estonia	0.32	889	1.139	0.038	18	Moldova	-0.31	860	1.056	0.036
4	Slovenia	0.21	863	1.128	0.038	19	Bulgaria	-0.32	923	1.149	0.038
5	Czech Republic	0.15	869	1.144	0.039	20	Azerbaijan	-0.39	935	1.060	0.035
6	Lithuania	0.14	953	1.236	0.040	21	Armenia	-0.45	836	1.123	0.039
7	Poland	0.10	906	1.191	0.040	22	Georgia	-0.49	918	1.092	0.036
8	Mongolia	0.01	738	1.025	0.038	23	Macedonia FYR	-0.49	922	1.195	0.039
9	Kazakhstan	0.00	817	1.154	0.040	24	Ukraine	-0.50	896	1.118	0.037
10	Uzbekistan	-0.02	713	1.124	0.042	25	Croatia	-0.53	932	1.293	0.042
11	Slovakia	-0.06	800	0.981	0.035	26	Montenegro	-0.73	864	1.122	0.038
12	Turkey	-0.11	871	1.364	0.046	27	Hungary	-0.77	927	1.087	0.036
13	Tajikistan	-0.11	656	1.207	0.047	28	Serbia	-0.85	916	1.104	0.036
14	Latvia	-0.15	878	1.295	0.044	29	Bosnia and Herzegovina	-0.92	928	1.040	0.034
15	Russia	-0.19	836	1.225	0.042	Total		-0.20	24975	1.206	0.008

Note: N = Number of respondents; S.D. = Standard Deviation; S.E. = Standard Error

Next, I compared the score of living conditions with the scores of both economic situation and political situation. The latter two items derive from respondents' reactions to the statements, "The economic situation in this country is better today than around 1989," and "The political situation in this country is better today than around 1989." The answers were converted into the same numerical codes used to organize the responses to changes in living conditions.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of change in the three dimensions. As is seen in the figure, there are fewer positive responses to changes in living conditions than to changes in economic situation and political situation. More respondents gave negative or neutral answers to the questions on changes in living conditions, but the difference in the percentage of such answers among the three dimensions is smaller than in that of positive answers.

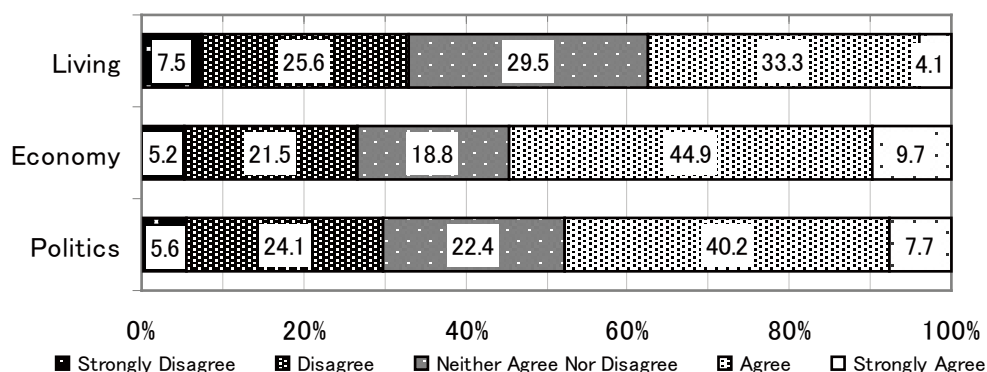
Figure 1. Distribution of Perception of Change During Transition

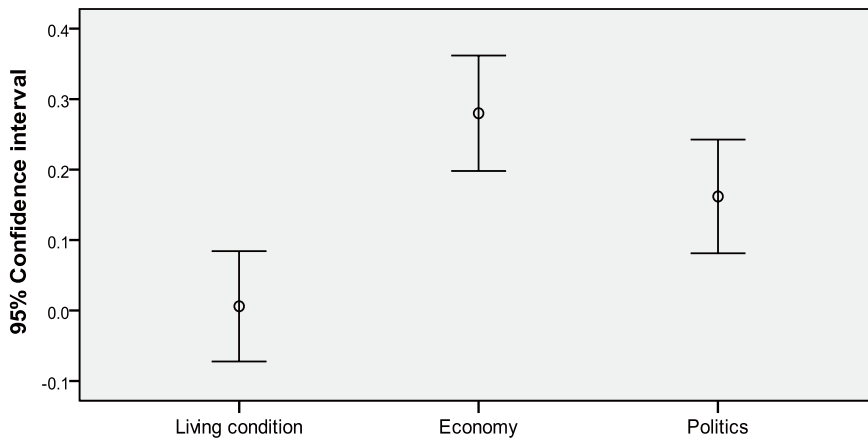
Figure 2. Mean Scores and Their 95% Confidence Interval

Figure 2 shows the mean scores of responses to the three questions and the 95% confidence interval.²⁾ Obviously, the score of living conditions is lower than the scores of both economic and political situation. In this figure, mean scores are expressed as a circle. The score of living conditions is slightly higher than zero, but, statistically speaking, the true value of the score can be both positive and negative. This means that perception about changes in living conditions of the entire Mongolians is not necessarily positive; it might be negative or neutral.

The two figures above imply that Mongolians in general are not benefiting economically as individuals even as the country as a whole has seen improvements in the macro economy. Moreover, the difference in positive answers between changes in living conditions and economic situation observed in Figure 1 indicates that many Mongolians are feeling left out of macroeconomic advances.

Who are these people, specifically? In the next section, a profile of these individuals will be derived from multivariate analysis.

IV Analysis (2) Factors of Perception Toward Change in Living Condition During Transition

I conducted general linear model (GLM) analysis on the perceptions of changes in living conditions in order to examine the relationship of these perceptions to other factors.³⁾ The variables included in this analysis are listed in Table 2.

Table 2. List of Variables

Variables	Note
Dependent Variable	
<i>Living condition of household compared with around 1989</i>	Response to the question "My household lives better nowadays than around 1989", coding "Strongly disagree" into -2, "Disagree" into -1, "Neither agree nor disagree" into 0, "Agree" into 1, and "Strongly agree" into 2
Independent Variables	
I. Demographic Attributes	
<i>Gender</i>	=1 if R is male
<i>Age group</i>	R's age sorted by ten years increment
<i>Education</i>	R's highest education classified into "None/Compulsory" (no education and compulsory education), "Secondary" (secondary education), "Professional" (professional and vocational school/training), and "Tertiary" (higher professional degree (university/college) and post graduate degree)
<i>Job category</i>	R's main job classified into "Upper white" ('legislator, senior official, manager' and 'professionals'), "Lower white" ('technicians and associated professionals', 'clerks', 'service workers and shop/market sales workers' and 'armed forces'), "skilled worker" ('craft and related trades' and 'plant and machine operators'), "Unskilled worker", "Agro-fishery" ('skilled agricultural and fishery workers') and "Not worked"
<i>Residence</i>	R's current residential area
<i>Current household income</i>	Current income level of R's household located by R him/herself in a ten-step ladder, of which the first step stands the poorest and on the tenth step, stands the richest
<i>Most important income source</i>	Most important source of livelihood for R, classified into "Wage" (in cash or in kind), "Self-employed business" (self-employment, family business, investments, savings, rental of property), "Farm products" (sales or bartering), "Pension", "Benefit/Help" (benefit from public agencies, stipend, or help from relatives, friends, charity or NGO)
II. Identity	
<i>Religion</i>	=1 if R has a religion
<i>Member of ethnic minorities</i>	=1 if R considers him/herself as a member of an ethnic minority
III. Starting Condition	
<i>What R was doing in 1989</i>	R's situation in 1989
<i>R has been a member of MPRP</i>	=1 if R has ever been a member of Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party
<i>Member of MPRP in family</i>	=1 if R has any family who has ever been a member of Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party
IV. Change after 1989	
<i>Change in household income</i>	Current income level ("Subjective household income ranking") minus the income level of R's household around 1989, both measured by ten-step ladder
<i>Received unemployment benefits</i>	=1 if R has ever received unemployment benefit since 1989
<i>Found a better job</i>	=1 if R has ever found a better job since 1989
<i>Job below qualifications</i>	=1 if R has ever had a job below his/her qualifications since 1989
<i>Wage cut or arrears</i>	=1 if R has ever experienced wage cut or arrears since 1989
<i>Decided not to work</i>	=1 if R has ever decided not to work since 1989
<i>Moved from rural to urban</i>	=1 if R has ever moved from rural area to urban area since 1989
<i>Moved from urban to rural</i>	=1 if R has ever moved from urban area to rural area since 1989

Note: "R" stands for the respondent.

As shown in the table, independent variables can be sorted into four categories. The first category describes basic attributes of the respondents. These variables themselves are not only themselves examined but also used as control variables to observe the true effect of the rest of the variables. The second category consists of two variables concerning respondents' religiosity and ethnic identification. These variables are included to examine differences in perceptions of changes in living conditions among people with different identities. It is especially important to observe whether ethnic minorities are left behind during periods of economic progress, considering the powerful ethnic conflicts present in transition countries. The third category examines the initial conditions of transition. Examining initial conditions is essential in order to clarify how the

transition affected different groups of people. Studies cited in preceding sections argued that the transition had a negative impact on vulnerable groups such as pensioners, and the analysis attempts to test this argument. The fourth category includes variables regarding changes that occurred after 1989. These variables are included in order to examine whether respondents' experiences after the transition affected their living conditions, and how they did so.

With these variables, I conducted a GLM analysis on perceptions of changes in living conditions. Table 3 shows the results of the analysis of the five models.

Table 3. Result of GLM Analysis of Perceptions of Changes in Living Conditions

		Model 1 (N=713)		Model 2 (N=713)		Model 3 (N=682)		Model 4 (N=651)		Model 5 (N=679)	
		B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Intercept		-1.157	0.182***	-1.167	0.203***	-0.846	0.258**	-0.001	0.274	-0.197	0.226
Gender (Male)	Female	-0.019	0.068	-0.033	0.069	-0.099	0.071	-0.138	0.070*	-0.070	0.067
Age group (20 to 29 years of age)	30 - 39	-0.003	0.113	-0.008	0.113	-0.031	0.129	-0.051	0.130	-0.064	0.113
	40 - 49	0.136	0.113	0.123	0.114	-0.005	0.158	-0.043	0.157	0.030	0.113
	50 - 59	0.000	0.127	-0.007	0.127	-0.140	0.172	-0.069	0.171	0.015	0.125
	60 - 69	0.186	0.158	0.158	0.159	-0.006	0.198	0.115	0.194	0.210	0.154
	70 and over	-0.085	0.192	-0.122	0.193	-0.222	0.249	-0.112	0.240	-0.071	0.186
Education (Tertiary)	None/Compulsory	0.032	0.112	0.020	0.112	0.018	0.115	0.031	0.112	0.023	0.109
	Secondary	0.031	0.106	0.033	0.106	0.008	0.112	0.021	0.110	0.060	0.105
	Professional	-0.051	0.102	-0.054	0.102	-0.064	0.104	-0.030	0.100	-0.015	0.098
Job category (Upper white)	Lower white	-0.237	0.127+	-0.217	0.128+	-0.219	0.129+	-0.201	0.127	-0.230	0.125+
	Skilled worker	-0.172	0.148	-0.152	0.149	-0.169	0.150	-0.213	0.148	-0.218	0.146
	Unskilled worker	-0.213	0.178	-0.193	0.179	-0.204	0.181	-0.262	0.177	-0.268	0.175
	Agro-fishery	-0.225	0.172	-0.210	0.172	-0.212	0.175	-0.216	0.169	-0.244	0.166
	Not worked	-0.345	0.132**	-0.322	0.133*	-0.344	0.138*	-0.353	0.135**	-0.346	0.131**
Current household income	Covariate	0.312	0.024***	0.313	0.024***	0.315	0.025***	0.180	0.029***	0.175	0.028***
Most important income source (Wage)	Self-employed	0.079	0.086	0.076	0.086	0.070	0.088	0.040	0.089	0.035	0.086
	Farm products	-0.070	0.140	-0.072	0.140	-0.107	0.143	-0.050	0.139	-0.017	0.136
	Pension	-0.313	0.130*	-0.308	0.130*	-0.303	0.135*	-0.297	0.130*	-0.306	0.124*
	Benefits/Help	-0.376	0.142**	-0.379	0.142**	-0.361	0.153*	-0.332	0.147*	-0.360	0.137**
Residence (Rural)	Metropolitan	0.076	0.092	0.079	0.092	0.080	0.095	0.010	0.096	0.013	0.092
	Urban	0.143	0.081+	0.141	0.081+	0.135	0.083	0.058	0.087	0.056	0.085
Religion (Atheistic/Agnostic/None)	Have religion			0.099	0.072	0.132	0.075+	0.105	0.073	0.076	0.071
Member of ethnic minorities (No)	Yes			-0.070	0.097	-0.070	0.099	-0.081	0.098	-0.100	0.097
What R was doing in 1989 (Other)	Working					-0.011	0.141	0.012	0.137		
	Student/At school					-0.193	0.160	-0.095	0.158		
	Military service					-0.270	0.289	-0.346	0.285		
	Not working, disabled					0.232	0.356	-0.071	0.368		
	Housework					-0.069	0.180	0.040	0.177		
	Retired					-0.185	0.291	-0.128	0.277		
	Maternity leave					0.367	0.362	0.452	0.367		
R has been a member of MPRP (No)	Yes					-0.120	0.093	-0.167	0.091+		
Member of MPRP in family (No)	Yes					-0.119	0.071+	-0.053	0.069		
Change in household income	Covariate							0.178	0.021***	0.182	0.020***
Received unemployment benefits (No)	Yes							-0.006	0.170	-0.031	0.166
Found a better job (No)	Yes							0.114	0.190	0.136	0.189
Job below qualifications (No)	Yes							-0.108	0.164	-0.083	0.163
Wage cut or arrears (No)	Yes							0.029	0.156	0.048	0.154
Decided not to work (No)	Yes							0.043	0.123	0.036	0.122
Moved from rural to urban (No)	Yes							-0.161	0.129	-0.149	0.125
Moved from urban to rural (No)	Yes							-0.245	0.186	-0.258	0.182
F-value		13.900	***	12.806	***	9.169	***	10.142	***	13.357	***
Adjusted R ²		0.276		0.276		0.277		0.360		0.361	

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.01

For exploring an optimal model, five models are constructed and analyzed. Model 1 includes only independent variables of the first category; model 2 includes those of the first and the second categories; model 3 includes those of the first through the third categories; model 4 includes all the variables listed in Table 2; model 5 excludes variables of the third category from model 4. Judging from the adjusted R^2 , model 5 can be considered to be optimal.

Among the variables in the first category, current household income,⁴⁾ job category (not worked), and primary income source (pension and benefits/help) have a significant impact on perceptions of changes in living conditions. The first variable has a positive effect, while the other two have negative effects. The two variables in the second category do not significantly affect perceptions, which means that in Mongolia religion and ethnic affiliation are not significantly related to perceptions in changes in living conditions.

It is worth noting that the variables in the third category do not significantly affect respondents' perceptions. In fact, when these variables are removed, the power of explanation slightly improves. The analysis shows that, contrary to the argument proposed in previous studies, respondents' living conditions at the beginning of the transition do not influence changes in living conditions. In addition, respondents' experiences after the transition have little influence on living conditions. It appears that only changes in household income have a significant effect.

These findings from the GLM analysis can be summarized as follows. First, how respondents feel about change in their living conditions is influenced by the current income level and by the changes in income level after 1989. Second, not only the level but also the source of income is relevant to changes in living conditions. Those relying on a pension, social security benefits, or help from others tend to think negatively of changes in their living conditions. Third, although previous studies argued that the social cost of transition burdens vulnerable groups excessively, the analysis here hardly verified such tendency. Only those who are currently unemployed claim that their lives have not improved during the transition. The living conditions of retired people and non-working individuals in 1989 were thought to have worsened because of the erosion of their pensions and benefits by hyperinflation, but the analysis here does not support this argument. However, it should be noted that the analysis here examined changes in living standards, and not merely living standards themselves. It is possible, or in some cases even likely, that groups of people regarded as "vulnerable" by previous studies were not doing well even before the transition, and that their living conditions did not improve after this period. It is important to think carefully when interpreting the results of the analysis.⁵⁾

V Conclusion

This article examined how the Mongolians perceived changes in their living conditions and how their perceptions varied among groups of people. As a result, the article clarified the following two points. First, the Mongolians have not observed vast improvements in their living conditions even though the country's economy has strengthened. This implies that a feeling of "being left out" of economic advancement prevails in Mongolia. This feeling may promote a sense of dissatisfaction and undermine the stability of Mongolian society. Second, people struggling to manage a decline in income level, currently unemployed people, and people dependent on public welfare or private help do not feel that they can live a better life than they did before the transition started. The answer to the question, "Who feels left out?" will point to those groups of people. Therefore, it is necessary to take measures that will enable them to feel their living conditions have improved.

Then, what should be done? Considering that less income leads to less realization of improvements in living conditions, increasing the personal or household income of low-income earners will be essential in ameliorating their living conditions. However, it might not be effective to extend social welfare or benefits to such people. The analyses in this article showed that people dependent on pensions, social security benefits, or help from others as their main income source did not feel that their living conditions had improved. This means that, given the same income level, those who can earn their own living are more likely to observe positive changes in their living conditions after the transition than those who rely on others. The issue is not only the amount of income but also the source of income. Ensuring employment is essential to enable people to make a living for themselves.

Those who feel left out of economic advancements are people who cannot earn their own living and must depend on public or private help. In order to change their situation, it is necessary to support them so that ultimately they will become self-sufficient. Generating reliable sources of income and employment is crucial to enable the Mongolians to realize that they can live a better life than they did before the transition.

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Notes

- (1) See Synovate (2006) for sampling method in other countries.
- (2) “Confidence interval” shows the range that the true value of a parameter lies into in given frequency. In Figure 2 “the true value of a parameter” is the score of change in living condition, economic situation and political situation calculated from perception of all the Mongolians. “95% confidence interval” means that, suppose same experiment is repeated 100 times, in 95 times out of the experiments the result of will be contained in that interval.
- (3) I also conducted ordered logistic regression analysis, which is more desirable than GLM analysis to analyze interval variable like score of living condition. However, the result of the analysis did not satisfy hypothesis of parallel line, and therefore question arise whether it is appropriate to use this method. Even if it were appropriate, the result of analysis is similar to that of GLM analysis. For these reasons, this article only deals with the result of GLM analysis.
- (4) In this analysis income is not measured in its monetary value, but in a ten-step ladder of income level, where the lowest step in the ladder stands for the poorest and the highest stands for the richest. In RiTS respondents were asked to locate their income level on the step of the ladder, both at the time of survey and in 1989. I used this measurement as a variable of income because in LiTS income was not asked in monetary term. However, income in monetary term would not have been of use even if it had been asked. Severe inflation and drastic change in the price system made it out of question to compare living condition in monetary term between before and after transition. In addition, a model including income variable in the ten-step ladder can be applied to cross-national comparative analysis among transition countries, since the variable is free from difference in currency unit.
- (5) Another point to be noted is that some of groups focused on by previous studies, such as street children and member of woman-headed family, are not included in the analysis in this article. Because LiTS focus changes since transition and target adults, there are no current street children in the respondents. In addition, LiTS does not have questions necessary to define one-time street children or those who were member of woman-headed family in 1989. Another survey is required to clarify change in living condition of such people.

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