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Evaluating and improving international assistance programmes: Examples from Mongolia's transition experience

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5.

Expectations of transition and its outcome in Mongolia

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5.1 Introduction

The transition from a communist system to a democracy and a market economy in Mongolia started in 1990. This transition was widely supported as, on the one hand, people were tired of standing in line for scarce basic necessities and were tired of the lack of freedom to make their own choices. On the other hand, on the economic and political level, problems were increasing vastly and the communist leadership did not know how to tackle those problems. In 1990 Mongolians, in general, were completely ignorant of the capitalist system and of democracy, as Mongolia had been one of the most isolated countries during communism. Only a handful of Mongolian diplomats had ever had the possibility to see in reality the functioning of both a market economy and a democracy. Even though no one had any idea of what a democracy or market economy looked like, or how it could be realized in Mongolia, the Mongolians embarked upon the road of rapid privatization, liberalization and stabilization with the help of the International Financial Organizations and individual Western countries and organizations⁹⁶. Within just a few years, the whole political and economic system had changed fundamentally. In the wake of these changes, society also changed fundamentally.

After 15 years of transition, it was a good moment to investigate: what Mongolians themselves had expected at the time of transition; how they perceive the changes in their system and their life; and how they value those changes. A time span of 15 years is long enough for people to evaluate the transition, and to be able to have a meaningful opinion on the changes due to the transition, but at the same time the beginning of the transition is still close enough for them to remember clearly what the expectations were when the transition started.

⁹⁶ This strategy is also referred to as 'shock therapy'.

What do Mongolians think of the transition?

In this research we wanted to find out what Mongolian people themselves think of the transition; what is important to them; and how they evaluate it without leading the answers in any way. Therefore, we carried out an explorative research study. Neither the topic of this research – expectations of transition, the fulfilment of the expectations, and the outcome of the transition according to ordinary people – has been addressed, and nor has this research method been used before in Mongolia.

The outcome of the transition has been the subject of numerous research studies. Those studies usually focus on a particular aspect of the outcome of transition – such as the development of the political system, the privatizations, economic development, or poverty – and questions are asked from a specific – theoretical – background (for instance, an economic, sociological or political science background). To give an example, De la Sablonnière et al. (2009) looked into the consequences of social change in Russia and Mongolia after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Many of the subjects they touched upon in their studies are quite similar to the issues that the Mongolian respondents of our survey mentioned in their answers. However, the focus of De la Sablonnière and co-authors is on the impact of social changes, and they looked into this from the theoretical background of relative deprivation and social identity theories (De la Sablonnière et al. 2009: pp. 327-348). Their conclusions are not focused on how the Mongolians experienced the transition or the accompanying changes, but they wanted to find out how, amongst other things, collective relative deprivation is linked to collective esteem, and how Relative Deprivation Theory and Social Identity Theory can be integrated.

Research questions

The research questions addressed in this research are:

1. What did the respondent expect of the transition in 1990?
2. To what extent were his/her expectations fulfilled in 2005?
3. What are the most important outcomes of the transition in 2005?
4. What influence has the transition had upon the respondents' life?

Sub-questions with regard to the educational level, age, gender, and occupation were asked as well.

The expectation was that the Mongolians who profited from the transition would be more positive about the outcome of the transition than the people who lost as a result of the transition. We expected, furthermore, that occupational background and educational level would be of influence on the perception of the outcomes, and possibly on the expectations of transition.

5.2 Method

5.2.1 Procedure

To find out what Mongolians had expected of the transition, and what they see as the outcome of the transition, a questionnaire was administered in November and December

2005 to three groups of Mongolians, who were approached in three different ways. The largest group ($N = 159$; 61.6%) who filled out the questionnaire was a group of entrepreneurs who were approached at a conference of the Mongolian Chamber of Commerce in Ulaanbaatar. They were approached directly by the researcher with the aid of translators. The second largest group ($N = 57$; 22.1%) consisted of employees of two universities and two schools in Ulaanbaatar. Those respondents were approached directly by a senior staff member of the university and by three translators. The third group ($N = 42$; 16.3%) was approached by students and consisted of their acquaintances (i.e. the snowball method).

The reason those particular groups were approached was that they represent both ends of the continuum of people who are supposed to have “won” as a result of the transition and those who are supposed to have “lost” as a result of the transition. The group of entrepreneurs is the group that, in general, may be considered to have gained from the transition⁹⁷. People from the educational institutions and the acquaintances of students are people who have lost as a result of the transition both in money and in prestige. Before 1990, people working in the education and health sectors in Mongolia were considered to be well off. In 2005, they had the smallest income of all people working in the formal sector. It should be noted that, though we reached people who lost during the transition, nearly all the people we interviewed still had jobs in the formal sector. That means they are much better-off than the unemployed, and they are generally regarded in Mongolia as being better-off than the Mongolians who have a job in the informal sector⁹⁸.

5.3 *Materials*

As little was known about the Mongolians’ expectations and perceptions of the transition, the objective of this research was exploratory. To prevent a cultural bias, and in order not to lead the answers of the respondents when trying to find out what their expectations of the transition were, and what the actual outcome was, the questionnaire administered to the respondents consisted mainly of open questions. The questionnaires were translated into Mongolian, and were distributed to the respondents, and collected shortly afterwards.

In the questionnaire the basic particulars of each respondent were first established. Thus, the respondents were asked for their *age* (and year of their birth), their *gender*, and their *level of education*. Furthermore we inquired about their occupational status. The respondents were asked about their *job* and *sector of work* – both in 1990 and 2005. Furthermore, we inquired about the *occupation of their parents* in 1990, and asked whether their parents worked in the same company as they were working.

⁹⁷ This is especially so, as this group of entrepreneurs attended a conference for which they had to pay. In Mongolia this means that they are the more successful amongst the entrepreneurs. Those who are not successful would not be able to attend such a conference.

⁹⁸ According to the data of the World Bank in 2004 60.4% of all employed people were self-employed, and only 39.3% of all employed people were wage and salaried workers. See World Bank data by country: <http://data.worldbank.org/country/mongolia>

The respondents who were approached through the Chamber of Commerce were asked an additional series of questions regarding the company they worked for (such as the location, size, sector and profits of the company).

The respondents were then asked to write down their three main *expectations for their personal life* and their three main *expectations for society* at the time the transition started in 1990. The respondents were then asked to evaluate each expectation they mentioned.

For each expectation, they had to indicate on a 3-point scale whether that expectation had been *fulfilled* (the expectation was: (0) not realized, (1) partly realized, or (2) realized). They were, furthermore, asked to write down the five *most important outcomes* of the transition in 2005 (that is 15 years after the transition began). Finally, the respondents were asked to evaluate the influence of the transition. They had to write down how the *transition had influenced* their personal life. After the questionnaires were returned, the answers of the respondents were translated into German for coding.

5.3.1 Respondents

Demographic characteristics of the respondents (age, gender, education)

The survey was filled out by 258 persons. Men ($N = 119$) and women ($N = 118$) were equally represented in the sample with $N = 21$ missing responses (21 respondents did not inform us about their gender). The age of the respondents varied between 18 and 69 years ($M = 42.54$, $SD = 11.08$). The number of people who filled out the questionnaire was quite equally spread over the various age groups with a slight over-representation of the age group 40-49, as 35.8% of the respondents belonged to this group (see Figure 5-1).

The vast majority of respondents who indicated their educational level ($N = 200$) had completed tertiary education ($N = 169$; 84.5%). Only 8 respondents (4%) had received less than secondary education, and 23 respondents (11.5%) had finished secondary school or vocational training. Compared with the adult population of Mongolia, highly-educated people are over-represented in the sample, as in the population 31.4% had received a higher diploma than just that of secondary school, 51.6% secondary education⁹⁹ and 17.1% less than secondary education (NSO, 2004)¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁹ Secondary education in Mongolia consists of 2 parts: 24.7% of the population had reached the 8th grade of secondary school, 26.9% had finished secondary school completely (National Statistical Office of Mongolia, World Bank, and UNDP, 2004: p.38).

¹⁰⁰ 'Adult population' refers to the population of 18 years and more. Less than 10% of them were still attending educational institutions. In Ulaanbaatar the number of people with tertiary education was 43.1% (National Statistical Office of Mongolia, World Bank, and UNDP: 2004).

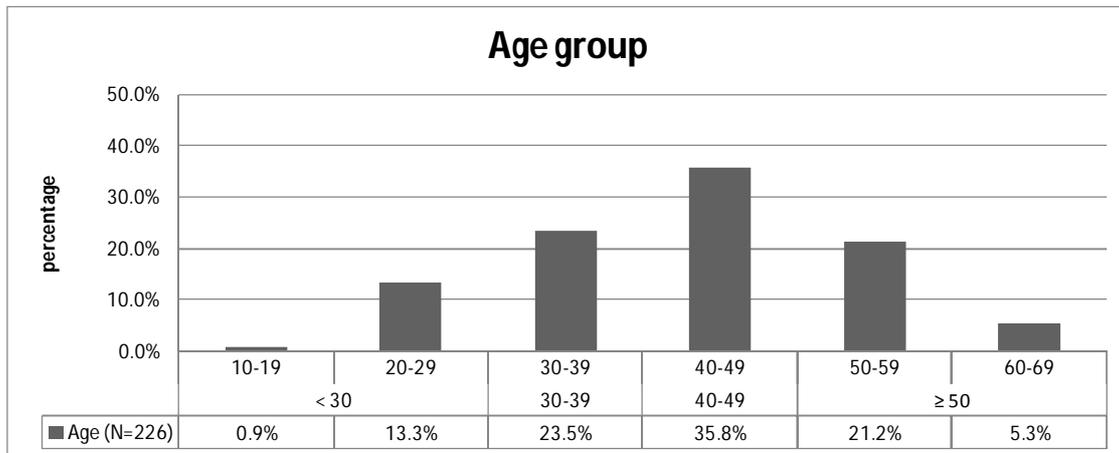


Figure 5-1. Age of respondents

Occupational background of respondents

Over half of the respondents (52.8%) had a high occupational level in 2005: 40.8% held a management position (director, manager, or chief), almost 11% (10.7%) were entrepreneurs and 1.3% were investors. Another 40% of the respondents were employees (39.9%). Only 5.1% had a low occupational level. These respondents were manual labourers (3.4%) or were unemployed (1.7%). Another 2.1% of the respondents were students (see Figure 5-2). Their parents had a less high occupational level (see Figure 5-3).

Of the respondents who held a job (N = 174), most were working in business (50.6%). The second largest group of respondents were working in education (17.2%). The other respondents were working in industry or agriculture (10.9%), in science, or the health sector (12.7%), and almost 9% of the respondents (8.6%) were working for the state (see Figure 5-4). Only 11 respondents (9.4%) worked in the same company as one or both of their parents.

Differences between subsamples

Because of the way respondents were approached, those with a high educational level and those working in business are overrepresented. A chi-square test showed that the subsamples differed significantly in occupational level, sector of work, and in age (see Table 5-1). The respondents approached through the Chamber of Commerce were older, worked in business more often, and had a higher occupational level compared with the other two samples (see Table 5-1).

The subsample of the Chamber of Commerce contained few young respondents (8%), and the subsample approached through students contained a few older respondents (10%). Over 80% of the respondents approached through the Chamber of Commerce currently had a high occupational level, whereas over 80% of the other respondents had a medium occupational level. Also the occupational level in 1990 differed. The “student”

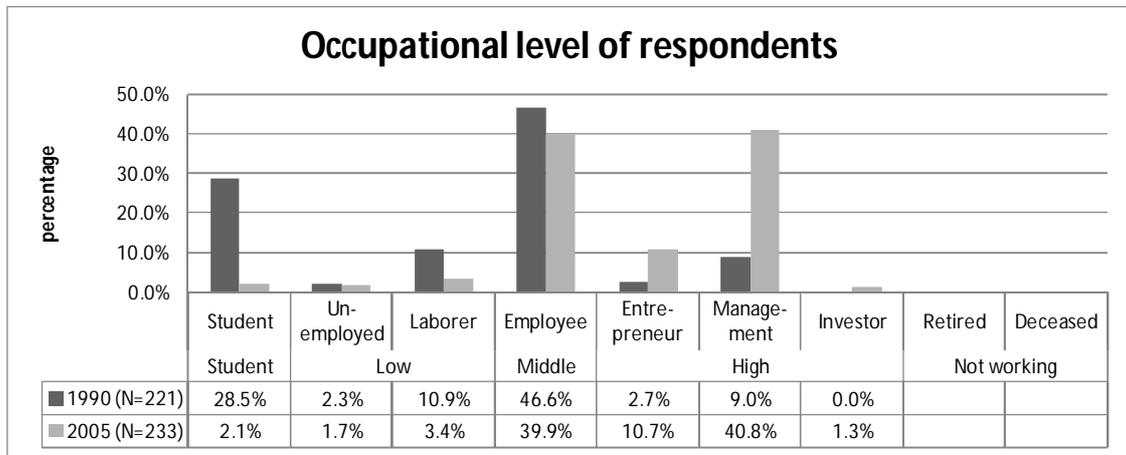


Figure 5-2. Occupational level of the respondents in 1990 and 2005

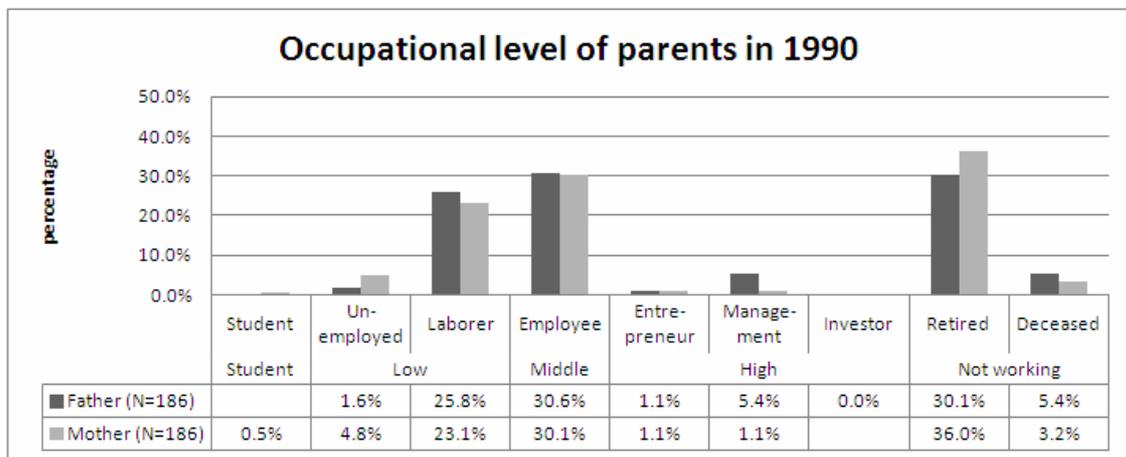


Figure 5-3. Occupational level of the parents

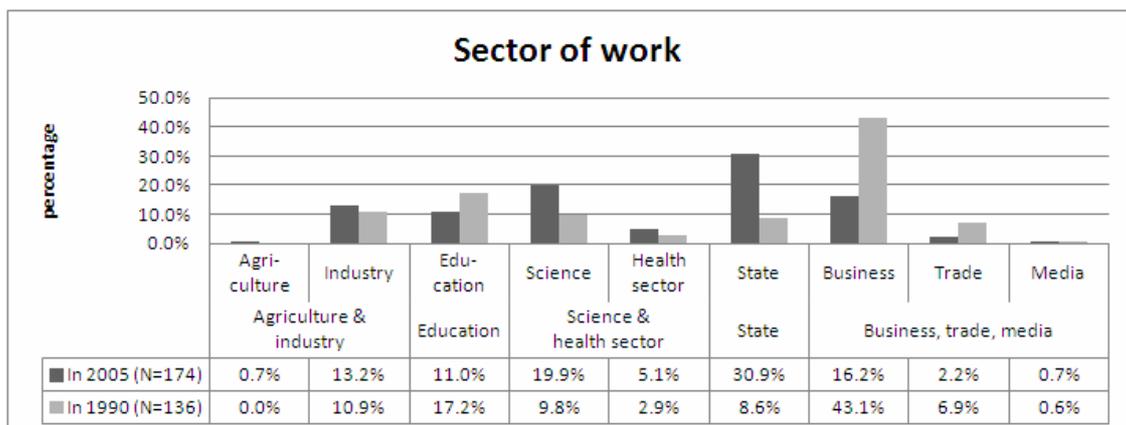


Figure 5-4. Respondents' sector of work in 1990 and 2005

Expectations of transition and its outcome in Mongolia

Table 5-1. Differences in demographic and socio-economic background between subsamples

Background characteristic	χ^2	df	p		Subsample				Total				
					Students	University	Chamber of commerce						
Gender	3.03	2	0.219	Men	23	55%	22	40%	74	53%	119	50.2%	
				Women	19	45%	33	60%	66	47%	118	49.8%	
				Total	42	100%	55	100%	140	100%	237	100.0%	
Age group	19.94	6	0.003	**	Younger than 30 years	13	32%	9	16%	10	8%	32	14.2%
					30-39 years	10	24%	14	25%	28	22%	52	23.0%
					40-49 years	14	34%	20	36%	48	37%	82	36.3%
					50 years and older	4	10%	13	23%	43	33%	60	26.5%
					Total	41	100%	56	100%	129	100%	226	100.0%
Tertiary education	1.52	2	0.467	No	4	13%	11	21%	16	14%	31	15.5%	
				Yes	26	87%	42	79%	101	86%	169	84.5%	
				Total	30	100%	53	100%	117	100%	200	100.0%	
Occupational level in 2005	134.37	4	0.000	***	Student								
					Low	3	8%	5	9%	4	3%	12	5.3%
					Medium	33	83%	45	83%	15	11%	93	40.8%
					High	4	10%	4	7%	115	86%	123	53.9%
					Stopped working								
Total	40	100%	54	100%	134	100%	228	100.0%					
Occupational level in 1990	35.78	6	0.000	***	Student	21	51%	16	29%	26	21%	63	28.5%
					Low	1	2%	4	7%	24	19%	29	13.1%
					Medium	18	44%	34	62%	51	41%	103	46.6%
					High	1	2%	1	2%	24	19%	26	11.8%
					Stopped working								
Total	41	100%	55	100%	125	100%	221	100.0%					
Occupational level of father in 1990	8.58	6	0.199	Student									
				Low	8	23%	13	25%	30	30%	51	27.4%	
				Medium	15	43%	12	24%	30	30%	57	30.6%	
				High	4	11%	2	4%	6	6%	12	6.5%	
				Stopped working	8	23%	24	47%	34	34%	66	35.5%	
Total	35	100%	51	100%	100	100%	186	100.0%					
Occupational level of mother in 1990	6.00	4	0.199	Student									
				Low	9	25%	9	18%	34	35%	52	28.7%	
				Medium	14	39%	16	33%	26	27%	56	30.9%	
				High									
				Stopped working	13	36%	24	49%	36	38%	73	40.3%	
Total	36	100%	49	100%	96	100%	181	100.0%					
Sector of work in 2005	117.75	8	0.000	***	Agriculture, industry	2	13%	1	2%	16	14%	19	10.9%
					Education	8	50%	21	46%	1	1%	30	17.2%
					Science or health	3	19%	16	35%	3	3%	22	12.6%
					State	0	0%	6	13%	9	8%	15	8.6%
					Business	3	19%	2	4%	83	74%	88	50.6%
					Total	16	100%	46	100%	112	100%	174	100.0%
Sector of work in 1990	43.63	8	0.000	***	Agriculture, industry	1	6%	0	0%	18	22%	19	14.0%
					Education	5	31%	2	5%	8	10%	15	11.0%
					Science or health	3	19%	21	57%	10	12%	34	25.0%
					State	6	38%	11	30%	25	30%	42	30.9%
					Business	1	6%	3	8%	22	27%	26	19.1%
					Total	16	100%	37	100%	83	100%	136	100.0%

Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

sample had a higher percentage of respondents who were still children or students in 1990, and the “university” sample had comparatively a higher percentage of respondents with a medium occupational level.

As expected, in 2005 the vast majority of respondents of the “Chamber of Commerce” sample worked in business (74%), whereas the majority of the respondents of the other two samples worked in education (46-50%) or in the science and the health sector (19-35%). In 1990 more than 30% of all respondents worked for the state. However, in the “university” sample 57% of the respondents worked in science or health, in the “student” sample over 30% worked in education, and in the Chamber of Commerce sample over 40% worked in agriculture or industry (22%) or in business (27%).

5.4 Analyses

5.4.1 Coding of expectations and outcomes

As the questions on expectations were open, a system had to be devised to code the answers. Because each of the 258 respondents could fill out three personal expectations, three societal expectations and five outcomes of transition, a maximum number of 2838 answers were possible. In total, 1743 answers were given.

Development of the coding system

Establishing the unit of coding

Many respondents mentioned several expectations or outcomes in a single answer (see examples a and b). To give an example of some answers:

- a. ‘Rise of alcoholism and corruption has reached a historical high point’;
- b. ‘Freedom and democracy’;
- c. ‘A significant difference immediately arose between the rich and the poor’.

All answers were split into statements (the maximum number of statements within a single answer was four). The total number of statements that had to be coded was 2019: 615 with regard to personal expectations; 605 with regard to societal expectations; and 800 with regard to the outcomes of the transition.

Establishing the coding categories

First, all statements were listed and keywords from each statement were written down. For the examples mentioned above the keywords were:

- a. ‘Alcoholism’ and ‘corruption’;
- b. ‘Freedom’ and ‘democracy’;
- c. ‘Difference between rich and poor’.

Next, similar keywords and synonyms were replaced with one keyword. The procedure resulted in 114 different keywords¹⁰¹. With the keywords, the statements of each respondent were categorized. Whenever in a statement a new combination of keywords appeared, a new category was created. This procedure resulted in 195 mutually exclusive categories.

Coding of answers

The resulting 195 categories were used to code the expectations for personal life, for society, and for the perceived outcomes. If an answer did not fall into the category, it was attributed the value 0, if it did fall into the category it was attributed the value 1.

Classification of the coded answers

Finally, each category was denoted as negative or not, and the categories were classified in 25 classes. Some of the categories fell into two or even three classes. For example, the category 'private family business' fell into the class 'family' and into the class 'business'. With regard to the examples mentioned above, they fell in the following classes:

- a. 'Health' and 'state and politics';
- b. 'Freedom' and 'state and politics';
- c. 'General financial situation'.

Two coders developed the coding system and did the coding. The system and the coding were checked and discussed by both of them until full agreement was achieved.

5.4.2 Analyses of differences

With repeated measure analyses, we tested the overall difference between the expectations for the respondents' personal life, the expectations for society, fulfilment of the expectations and the perceived outcomes within subjects. The differences between specific expectations for the respondents' personal life, specific expectations for society and specific outcomes within subjects were tested using t-tests.

Using multivariate general linear models (MANOVA), we tested the effect of each background variable on the respondents' personal expectations, societal expectations, the positive outcomes, and the negative outcomes, and on the evaluation of the transition (fulfilment of expectations and the influence of the transition). The effect on specific expectations for the respondents' personal life, specific expectations for society, specific outcomes and specific evaluations were tested using univariate general linear models (ANOVA).

¹⁰¹ The list of keywords and categories can be requested from the authors.

5.5 *Results*

5.5.1 **Expectations of the transition in Mongolia in 1990 with regard to personal life**

In 1990, virtually all respondents expected positive changes of the transition both for their personal life and for society in general. Only 7 out of 207 respondents mentioned a negative expectation. The negative expectations concerned the economy, state and politics, society, and general finance.

An improvement of the private financial situation was the expectation that was mentioned most often for personal life: 38% of the respondents mentioned this expectation (see Table 5-2. Descriptive statistics of the expectations and fulfilment). An almost similar number of respondents had positive expectations regarding the economy (37%), such as starting a private business and a free economy, though this finding may be biased owing to the large number of (successful) entrepreneurs who filled out the questionnaire. About a quarter of the respondents had expected an increase of private property (27%), and an almost similar number of respondents (26%) had held positive expectations with regard to work (for example a job, or a good job). Obviously, people expected considerable improvements in their personal (financial) life after the transition from a communist system to a market economy. Another 16% of the respondents indicated that they had expected a more pleasant personal life, and 11% had expected a more secure life.

With regard to non-material matters, people had also held very positive expectations. Almost 30% of the respondents indicated that they had expected an improvement of education, and an almost similar number of people expected freedom (28%). An increase of foreign contacts, which had been very rare during the communist era, was mentioned by 13% of the respondents. Finally, 20% of the respondents had positive expectations with regard to state and politics.

Less frequently-mentioned positive expectations, but still mentioned by between 5 and 10% of the respondents concerned the following subjects: their children or family, mentality and conduct in society, justice, and advances in technology. Less than 5% of the respondents had expectations for their personal life related to privatization, food, health, general financial conditions, transparency, choice, stability, merchandise, support, or order.

Evaluation of the transition: Fulfilment of expectations with regard to personal life

Overall, the expectations of the respondents for their personal lives were reasonably well fulfilled (mean (M) = 1.22, standard deviation (SD) = 0.67, and number of valid responses $N=205$).

The positive expectations regarding non-material matters (education, freedom, foreign contacts, and state and politics) were reasonably well to well fulfilled (see Figure 5-5. Expectations for personal life and society in 1990 Figure 5-6 Fulfilment of expectations for personal life and society). With regard to an improvement of

education, the increase of freedom and of foreign contacts, the expectations were fulfilled well ($M = 1.60$, $M = 1.41$ and $M = 1.46$, respectively), and the positive expectation regarding state and politics was fulfilled reasonably well ($M = 1.23$).

As for the more material expectations, the expectations of the respondents with regard to economy, work, and security were reasonably well fulfilled ($M = 1.20$ to $M = 1.26$; see Table 5-2), but the expectations regarding the increase of private property, the improvement of their private financial situation and a pleasant life were only partially met ($M = 0.90$ to $M = 1.09$).

5.5.2 Expectations of the transition in Mongolia in 1990 with regard to society

As was the case with the expectations for personal life, virtually all expectations with regard to society were positive. Only 9 out of 199 respondents reported a negative expectation. Overall expectations with regard to society were significantly different from the expectations for personal life, as was shown by a repeated measures analysis ($F_{25,161} = 4.61$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .42$).

Similar to the expectation for personal life, 39% of the respondents expected for society an improvement of the private financial situation (such as an increase of wages or an increase of private capital). Over a quarter of the respondents expected for society an increase or improvement of the economy (27%) (see Figure 5). This number was significantly lower than the number of respondents who held such expectations for their personal lives (which was almost 40% of the respondents). Similarly, significantly fewer respondents expected an increase of private possessions in society (19%) than in their personal lives (27%).

The number of respondents who mentioned expectations for society with regard to work (19%), a pleasant personal life (20%), and a more secure life (11%) was comparable to the expectations for their personal life.

With regard to non-material matters, people had also held very positive expectations for society. Almost 40% of the respondents expected more freedom (significantly more than for their personal lives), and another 11% expected more foreign contacts. However, significantly fewer respondents expected an improvement of education (8%), even though almost 30% of the respondents held these expectations for their personal life.

For society almost 40% of the respondents expected an improvement of politics and state (which is significantly more than for personal life). Also significantly more respondents expected an improvement of the mentality or conduct in society (19%), justice (17%), the general financial situation (9%) and stability (8%).

Less than 5% of the respondents held positive expectations for society with regard to children, family, food, merchandise, privatization, transparency, health, support, order, or technology (see Table 5-2).

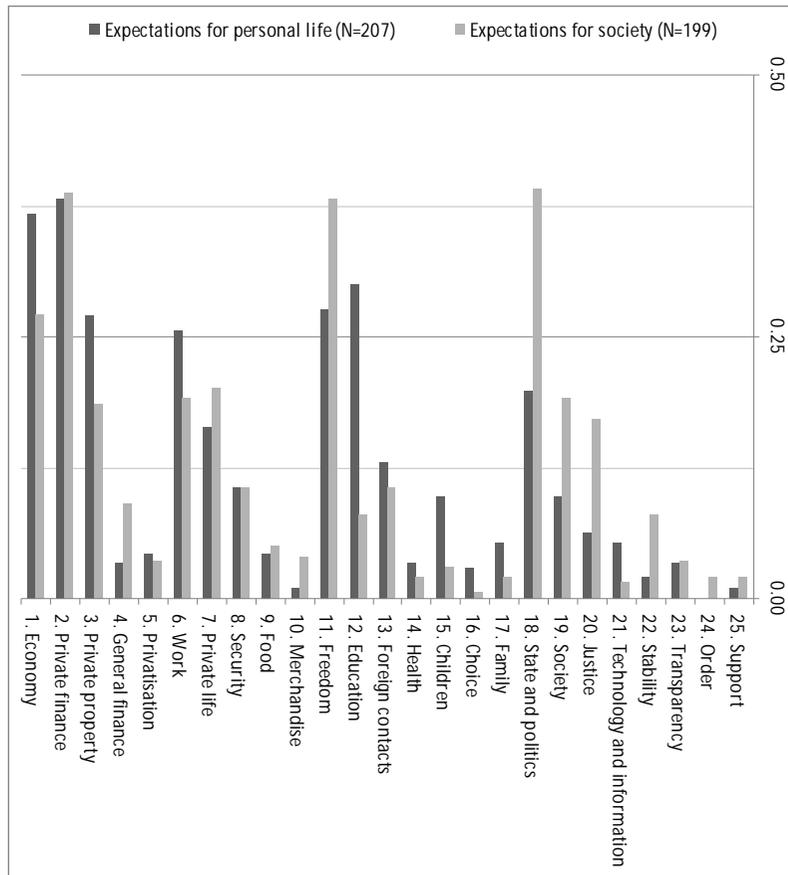


Figure 5-5. Expectations for personal life and society in 1990

Note: In theory a proportion could be between 0 (none of the respondents) and 1 (all respondents). In our survey we found a minimum of 0.00 and a maximum of 0.39, hence the scale from 0 to 0.50.

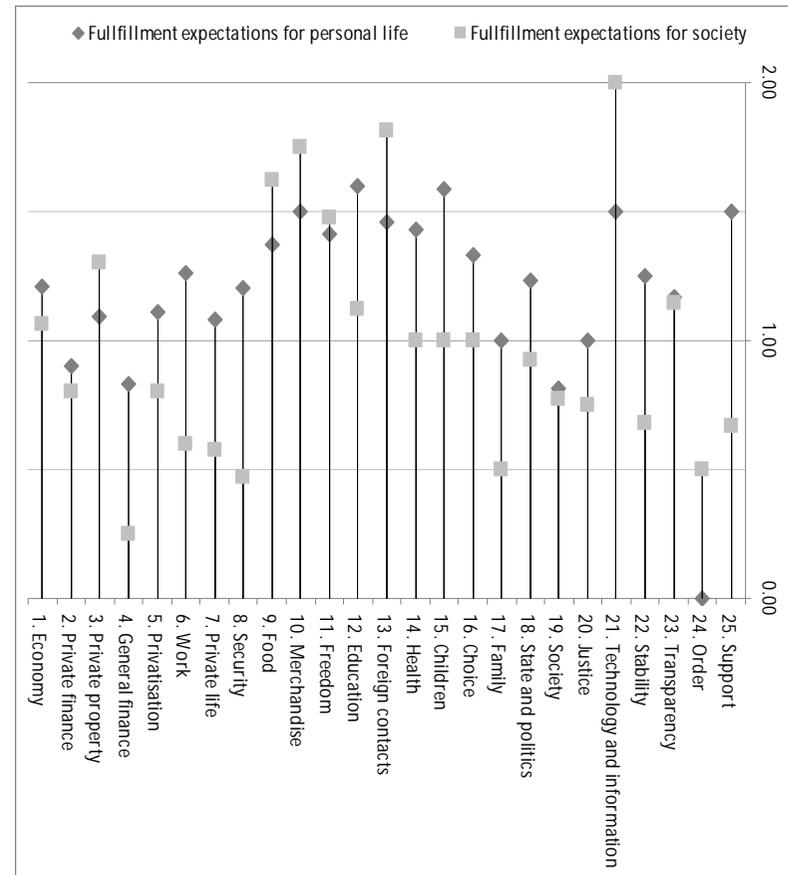


Figure 5-6. Fulfilment of expectations for personal life and society

Note: For each expectation respondents could indicate on a 3-point scale whether their expectation had been fulfilled, hence the scale from 0 to 2.

Table 5-2. Descriptive statistics of the expectations and fulfilment

	Expectations for personal life (N=207)			Fulfillment expectations for personal life			Expectations for society (N=199)			Fulfillment expectations for society			Difference between expectations for personal life and expectations for society			
	Sum	M	SD	N	M	SD	Sum	M	SD	N	M	SD	M _{dif}	SD _{dif}	t ₍₁₈₅₎	p
1. Economy	76	0.37	0.48	66	1.21	0.83	54	0.27	0.45	48	1.06	0.70	0.10	0.55	2.55	0.011 *
2. Private finance	79	0.38	0.49	76	0.90	0.81	77	0.39	0.49	71	0.81	0.68	-0.01	0.63	-0.23	0.817
3. Private property	56	0.27	0.45	53	1.09	0.86	37	0.19	0.39	36	1.30	0.63	0.10	0.49	2.82	0.005 **
4. General finance	7	0.03	0.18	6	0.83	0.98	18	0.09	0.29	16	0.25	0.41	-0.06	0.31	-2.56	0.011 *
5. Privatisation	9	0.04	0.20	9	1.11	0.78	7	0.04	0.18	5	0.80	0.84	0.01	0.24	0.30	0.764
6. Work	53	0.26	0.44	48	1.26	0.86	38	0.19	0.39	35	0.60	0.65	0.06	0.54	1.49	0.138
7. Private life	34	0.16	0.37	30	1.08	0.79	40	0.20	0.40	34	0.57	0.70	-0.04	0.50	-1.18	0.239
8. Security	22	0.11	0.31	22	1.20	0.91	21	0.11	0.31	19	0.47	0.70	0.00	0.37	0.00	1.000
9. Food	9	0.04	0.20	8	1.38	0.92	10	0.05	0.22	8	1.63	0.52	-0.01	0.25	-0.58	0.565
10. Merchandise	2	0.01	0.10	2	1.50	0.71	8	0.04	0.20	8	1.75	0.46	-0.03	0.23	-1.91	0.058
11. Freedom	57	0.28	0.45	54	1.41	0.68	76	0.38	0.49	69	1.48	0.64	-0.10	0.52	-2.53	0.012 *
12. Education	62	0.30	0.46	59	1.60	0.59	16	0.08	0.27	16	1.13	0.72	0.22	0.47	6.20	0.000 ***
13. Foreign contacts	27	0.13	0.34	27	1.46	0.75	21	0.11	0.31	16	1.81	0.40	0.04	0.41	1.26	0.210
14. Health	7	0.03	0.18	7	1.43	0.98	4	0.02	0.14	2	1.00	1.41	0.02	0.16	1.34	0.180
15. Children	20	0.10	0.30	17	1.59	0.71	6	0.03	0.17	6	1.00	0.63	0.06	0.32	2.73	0.007 **
16. Choice	6	0.03	0.17	6	1.33	0.82	1	0.01	0.07	1	1.00	.	0.02	0.15	2.02	0.045 *
17. Family	11	0.05	0.22	11	1.00	0.77	4	0.02	0.14	4	0.50	1.00	0.04	0.26	1.96	0.052
18. State and politics	41	0.20	0.40	37	1.23	0.82	78	0.39	0.49	68	0.93	0.83	-0.20	0.60	-4.66	0.000 ***
19. Society	20	0.10	0.30	19	0.82	0.69	38	0.19	0.39	31	0.77	0.84	-0.09	0.48	-2.57	0.011 *
20. Justice	13	0.06	0.24	13	1.00	0.82	34	0.17	0.38	28	0.75	0.84	-0.11	0.43	-3.56	0.000 ***
21. Technology and information	11	0.05	0.22	10	1.50	0.71	3	0.02	0.12	3	2.00	0.00	0.03	0.16	2.26	0.025 *
22. Stability	4	0.02	0.14	4	1.25	0.50	16	0.08	0.27	14	0.68	0.67	-0.06	0.29	-3.07	0.002 **
23. Transparency	7	0.03	0.18	6	1.17	0.98	7	0.04	0.18	7	1.14	0.90	0.00	0.18	0.00	1.000
24. Order	0	0.00	0.00	0			4	0.02	0.14	2	0.50	0.71	-0.02	0.15	-2.02	0.045 *
25. Support	2	0.01	0.10	2	1.50	0.71	4	0.02	0.14	3	0.67	1.15	-0.01	0.16	-0.45	0.656

Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Evaluation of the transition: Fulfilment of expectations for society

Seeing the specific expectations for society in combination with the high educational level of the people in the sample (and thus a better chance for those people to succeed in personal life than people with less education), it is not surprising that the overall fulfilment of societal expectations ($M = 0.98$, $SD = 0.65$) was significantly less than the outcome of the expectations for personal life ($M = 1.16$, $SD = 0.65$, $t_{178} = 3.52$, $p < .001$).

The expectations regarding private property were fulfilled reasonably well ($M = 1.30$), and the expectations regarding the economy were fulfilled partially ($M = 1.06$). In contrast, the expectations with regard to the private financial situation, mentioned by 39% of the respondents, were fulfilled only to a very limited extent ($M = 0.81$), and the expectations regarding the general financial situation, work, a pleasant personal life, and a more secure life were hardly fulfilled ($M \leq 0.60$).

The non-material expectations for society were fulfilled quite well (see Figure 5-6). The expected increase in freedom, expected by almost 40% of the respondents, and an increase in foreign contacts were well fulfilled ($M = 1.48$ and $M = 1.81$), and the expectations with regard to education were reasonably well fulfilled ($M = 1.13$).

The expected improvement of politics and state was partially fulfilled ($M = 0.93$), but the improvement of justice ($M = 0.75$), mentality and conduct in society ($M = 0.77$), and stability ($M = 0.68$) was fulfilled only to a very limited extent (see Table 5-2).

5.5.3 The outcomes and influence of the transition in Mongolia after 15 years (in 2005)

Whereas virtually all respondents indicated that they had had positive expectations in 1990 with regard to their personal lives and with regard to society, the outcomes mentioned were both positive and negative. Most respondents mentioned only positive outcomes (43.5%), 40.9% mentioned both positive and negative outcomes and 15.6% did not mention any positive outcome at all in 2005 (see Table 5-4).

Using repeated measures analyses, we found an overall difference between positive and negative outcomes ($F_{19,167} = 20.29, p < .001, \eta^2 = .70$), between positive outcomes and positive personal expectations ($F_{24,146} = 6.18, p < .001, \eta^2 = .50$), and between positive outcomes and positive societal expectations ($F_{25,143} = 5.08, p < .001, \eta^2 = .47$).

For the economy, the outcome was consistent with the expectations: 30% of the respondents mentioned positive outcomes for the economy (e.g. private business). We should note, however, that it is likely that there is a bias in the data, because entrepreneurs are overrepresented in this survey and – as those entrepreneurs attended the conference of the Chamber of Commerce for which they had to pay – it is only the more successful entrepreneurs who filled out the questionnaire. That may be a reason why such a high number (30%) of the respondents mentioned positive outcomes for the economy.

Another expectation that was realized was the increase of private property. In 1990, 27% of the respondents had expected an increase of private property. In 2005, 24% of the respondents mentioned that private property had indeed increased. However, some respondents did remark in their answer, that even though private property was now common, the division of former state property into private hands had been unfair.

The perceived outcome of the private financial situation and the general financial situation did not meet the respondents' expectations (see Table 5-3). An improvement of the personal financial situation was the most frequently-mentioned expectation (by almost 40% of the respondents), but only 12% of the respondents mentioned this as an outcome – which is significantly less than the expectations (see Table 5-3). A more or less similar percentage of respondents (9%) said the opposite: they indicated that their personal financial situation had deteriorated. The most frequently-mentioned negative outcome was a worsening of the general financial situation, which was mentioned by 34% of the respondents: 22% mentioned poverty; 6% mentioned an increase of the

difference between the rich and the poor, and another 6% of the respondents mentioned inflation, amongst other things.

Opinions on the outcome of the transition on work vary: 16% of the respondents reported a negative outcome, while 14% mentioned a positive outcome. These 14% are still significantly less than the 26% of the respondents who expected a positive outcome for work (see Table 5-3). Furthermore, although a fair percentage of subjects had expected their personal life to be pleasant (15%), and expected security (12%); significantly fewer respondents mentioned this as an outcome (respectively, 6% and 3%).

The most frequently-mentioned positive outcome was freedom (mentioned by 43% of the respondents), which significantly exceeds the 28% of the respondents who held this expectation for their personal life (see Table 5-3). The increase of foreign contacts, which was mentioned by a quarter of the respondents, also significantly exceeds expectations. Another positive outcome was the increase of choice (8%), which had been mentioned by only 1 to 2% of the respondents as expectation.

In contrast, over 30% of the respondents had indicated that they expected an improvement of education, whereas only 11% mentioned this as an outcome, and 5% mentioned a worsening of the educational quality as an outcome. Furthermore, a fair percentage of subjects had expected in their personal life a positive future for their children (9%) or family (4%), but significantly fewer respondents mentioned this as an outcome (1% and 0%). Finally, not mentioned in the expectations, but mentioned as an outcome of the transition were negative health outcomes (such as an increase of alcoholism and of Aids) mentioned by 9% of the respondents, and chaos in society or state mentioned by 6% of the respondents.

For state and politics the outcomes were both positive and negative. In the outcomes, 30% of the respondents indicated positive outcomes for state and politics (such as democracy 22%). Not consistent with the expectations, however, was that 21% of the respondents also mentioned negative outcomes for aspects of state and politics, such as corruption (12%), bad government (9%), and bureaucracy (4%). For justice and society a similar contradiction between expectations and outcome can be seen: whereas 17% of the respondents expected an improvement of justice, 18% reported a negative outcome, and only 10% a positive outcome. For conduct and mentality in society 20% held a positive expectation and 17% did mention a positive outcome. However, a similar percentage of respondents mentioned a negative outcome (23%), such as egoism, immoral behaviour, criminality, prostitution, and chaos.

5.5.4 Evaluation of the transition: The influence of the transition upon personal life

The respondents' evaluation of the transition's influence upon their personal life was significantly more positive ($M = 1.20$, $SD = 0.88$, $N = 160$) than negative ($M = 0.62$, $SD = 0.87$, $N = 160$; $t_{159} = 4.96$, $p < .001$). Over half of all respondents (55.7%) described the transitions' influence in only positive terms. Most of these respondents (41.3%) described the transition's influence upon their lives only in positive terms (such as "good" or

“positive”), and 14.4% of the respondents described the influence in slightly positive terms (e.g. “a bit positive” and “not bad”).

Less than a quarter of the respondents described the influence in only negative terms (see table 5-4). Most of these, 16.3%, described the influence as negative (e.g. “generally negative”, “no trust in the future”, “fight for a living”), and 6.3% in slightly negative terms (e.g. “more negative, I can’t say positive”). The remaining respondents described the influence as neither positive nor negative (8.1%, e.g. “normal”, “no good or bad results”, “no special changes”), or to some extent in both positive and negative terms (13.8%, e.g. “equally positive and negative”, “positive and negative”).

5.5.5 Effects of respondents’ background upon expectations, outcomes and evaluations

Effects of education, age, and gender

The multivariate analyses did not show any significant effect of age group and gender upon expectations, upon the evaluations (fulfilment of the expectations and the transition’s influence), and upon the perceived outcomes. Tertiary education did have a significant effect upon the positive expectations for the personal life and for society (see Table 5-5). Univariate analyses show that respondents with a tertiary education less often expected an improvement of stability and of state and politics in society, and less often expected an increase of privatization, an improvement of the general financial situation, and an increase in the availability of merchandise in their personal life. For their personal life they expected a pleasant life more often (see Table 5-14 in Appendix A).

Effects of previous occupational background (in 1990)

The multivariate analyses showed that the occupational level of the father in 1990, the occupational level of the mother in 1990, and the sector of work in 1990 did not have a significant effect upon the expectations, perceived outcomes, and the evaluation. The occupational level in 1990 had a significant effect only on the positive expectations for personal life (see Table 5-6).

The univariate analyses showed that the respondents who were still children or students in 1990 more often expected an improvement of education in their personal life, and more often expected an improvement for their family. Furthermore, respondents with a low occupational level (unemployed, labourers) more often expected an improvement for their children’s education (see Table 5-15 in the Appendix A5).

Expectations of transition and its outcome in Mongolia

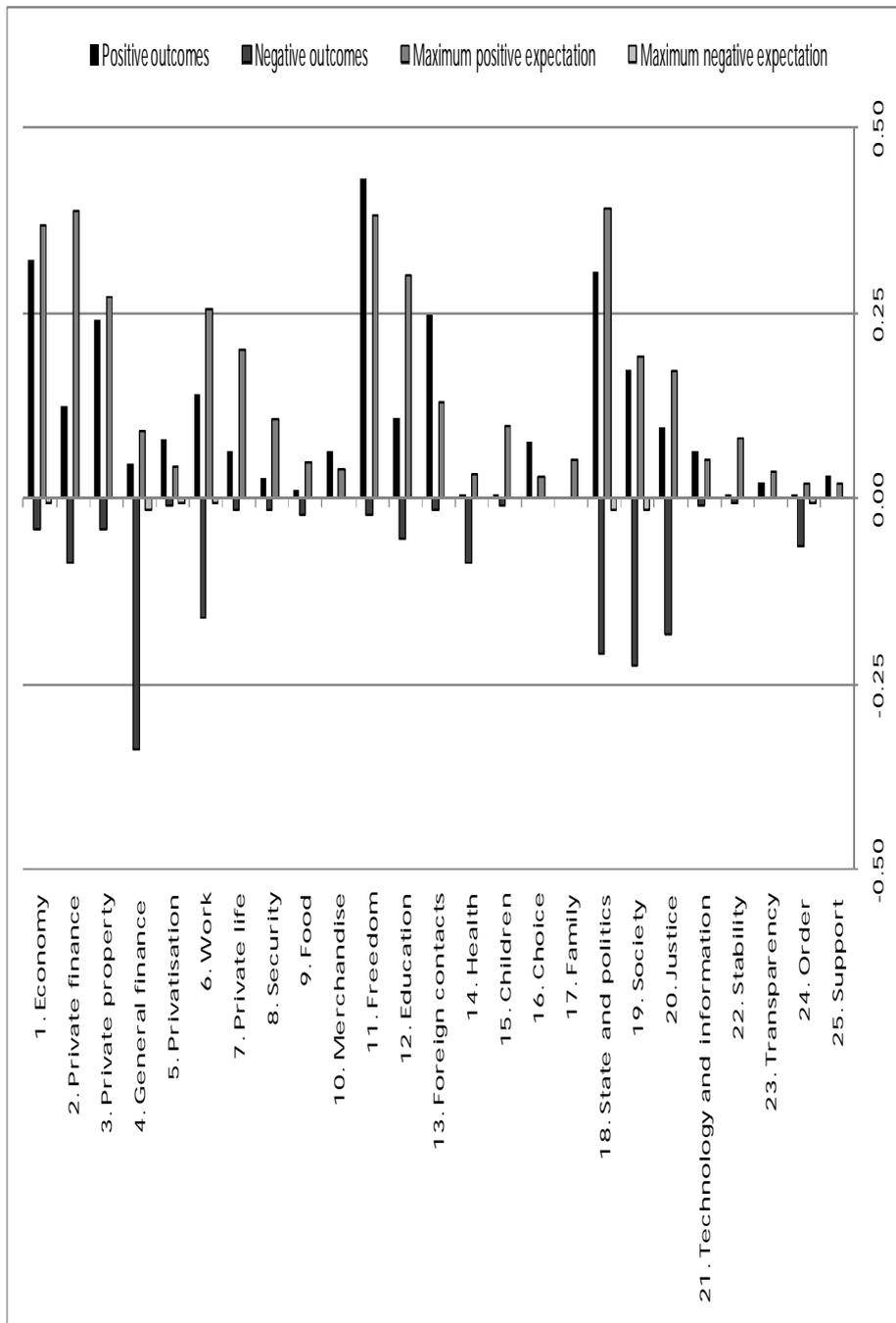


Figure 5-7. Perceived outcomes of the transition in 2005 and maximum expectations (for personal life or society)

Table 5-3. Descriptive statistics of the perceived outcomes and t-tests of differences between outcomes and expectations

	Negative outcomes (N = 186)			Positive outcomes (N = 186)			Difference between negative and positive outcome (N = 186)			Difference between positive personal expectations and positive outcome (N = 170)				Difference between positive societal expectations and positive outcome (N = 168)			
	<i>Sum</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M_{dif}</i>	<i>SD_{dif}</i>	<i>t₍₁₈₅₎</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>M_{dif}</i>	<i>SD_{dif}</i>	<i>t₍₁₆₉₎</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>M_{dif}</i>	<i>SD_{dif}</i>	<i>t₍₁₆₇₎</i>
1. Economy	8	0.04	0.20	60	0.32	0.47	-0.28	0.51	-7.53 ***	0.33	0.01	0.58	0.13	0.28	-0.05	0.58	-1.19
2. Private finance	16	0.09	0.28	23	0.12	0.33	-0.04	0.45	-1.15	0.41	0.28	0.58	6.37 ***	0.39	0.27	0.55	6.29 ***
3. Private property	8	0.04	0.20	45	0.24	0.43	-0.20	0.47	-5.72 ***	0.27	0.02	0.58	0.53	0.18	-0.06	0.47	-1.63
4. General finance	63	0.34	0.47	9	0.05	0.22	0.29	0.53	7.45 ***	0.04	-0.01	0.29	-0.53	0.10	0.04	0.35	1.53
5. Privatisation	2	0.01	0.10	15	0.08	0.27	-0.07	0.29	-3.23 **	0.05	-0.04	0.31	-1.51	0.04	-0.04	0.32	-1.71
6. Work	30	0.16	0.37	26	0.14	0.35	0.02	0.51	0.58	0.26	0.12	0.57	2.67 **	0.20	0.05	0.49	1.27
7. Private life	3	0.02	0.13	12	0.06	0.25	-0.05	0.28	-2.35 *	0.15	0.08	0.40	2.69 **		0.13	0.48	3.38 ***
8. Security	3	0.02	0.13	5	0.03	0.16	-0.01	0.21	-0.71	0.12	0.09	0.32	3.56 ***	0.11	0.08	0.32	3.40 ***
9. Food	4	0.02	0.15	2	0.01	0.10	0.01	0.18	0.82	0.04	0.04	0.21	2.14 *	0.05	0.04	0.24	1.91
10. Merchandise				12	0.06	0.25				0.01	-0.06	0.28	-2.72 **	0.04	-0.03	0.32	-1.21
11. Freedom	4	0.02	0.15	80	0.43	0.50	-0.41	0.51	-10.83 ***	0.29	-0.15	0.62	-3.08 **	0.38	-0.06	0.64	-1.20
12. Education	10	0.05	0.23	20	0.11	0.31	-0.05	0.40	-1.84	0.31	0.19	0.51	4.93 ***	0.08	-0.04	0.38	-1.40
13. Foreign contacts	3	0.02	0.13	46	0.25	0.43	-0.23	0.46	-6.86 ***	0.12	-0.13	0.51	-3.34 **	0.10	-0.17	0.50	-4.34 ***
14. Health	16	0.09	0.28	1	0.01	0.07	0.08	0.29	3.76 ***	0.04	0.03	0.20	1.90	0.02	0.01	0.15	1.00
15. Children	2	0.01	0.10	1	0.01	0.07	0.01	0.13	0.58	0.09	0.09	0.30	3.78 ***	0.02	0.02	0.17	1.34
16. Choice				14	0.08	0.26				0.02	-0.06	0.29	-2.90 **	0.01	-0.08	0.27	-3.74 ***
17. Family				0	0.00	0.00				0.04	0.04	0.20	2.69 **	0.02	0.02	0.13	1.74
18. State and politics	39	0.21	0.41	57	0.31	0.46	-0.10	0.63	-2.08 *	0.24	-0.08	0.60	-1.67	0.39	0.06	0.64	1.21
19. Society	42	0.23	0.42	32	0.17	0.38	0.05	0.59	1.23	0.11	-0.05	0.51	-1.34	0.20	0.03	0.55	0.70
20. Justice	34	0.18	0.39	18	0.10	0.30	0.09	0.51	2.29 *	0.07	-0.02	0.38	-0.82	0.17	0.08	0.44	2.29 *
21. Technology and information	2	0.01	0.10	12	0.06	0.25	-0.05	0.27	-2.72 **	0.05	-0.02	0.28	-0.83	0.02	-0.05	0.23	-3.07 **
22. Stability	1	0.01	0.07	1	0.01	0.07				0.02	0.02	0.15	2.02 *	0.10	0.09	0.31	3.78 ***
23. Transparency				4	0.02	0.15				0.04	0.02	0.25	0.90	0.04	0.02	0.26	0.90
24. Order	12	0.06	0.25	1	0.01	0.07	0.06	0.26	3.12	0.00				0.02	0.01	0.15	1.00
25. Support				6	0.03	0.18				0.01	-0.02	0.19	-1.64	0.02	-0.01	0.24	-0.63

Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Expectations of transition and its outcome in Mongolia

Table 5-4. Evaluation of the transition's influence upon personal life and the outcomes

	N	%
Influence of transition		
Only in positive terms	66	41.3
Only in slightly positive terms	23	14.4
In positive terms and in slightly negative terms	1	0.6
Both in slightly positive and slightly negative terms	6	3.8
Both in positive and in negative terms	14	8.8
In negative terms and in slightly positive terms	1	0.6
In neither positive nor negative terms	13	8.1
Only in slightly negative terms	10	6.3
Only in negative terms	26	16.3
Total	160	100.0
Outcomes		
Only positive outcomes	81	43.5
Both positive and negative outcomes	76	40.9
Only negative outcomes	29	15.6
Total	186	100.0

Table 5-5. Multivariate analyses of the effects of education, age, and gender upon the expectations, the evaluation and outcomes

Independent variable	Dependent variables	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	η^2
Age group	Positive expectations for personal life	1.20	72	507	0.15
	Positive expectations for society	1.15	75	486	0.15
	Positive outcomes	0.89	72	447	0.13
	Negative outcomes	1.20	60	459	0.14
	Evaluation of the transition	1.60	12	363	0.05
Gender	Positive expectations for personal life	1.48	24	170	0.17
	Positive expectations for society	1.06	25	160	0.14
	Positive outcomes	1.03	23	155	0.13
	Negative outcomes	0.82	20	158	0.09
	Evaluation of the transition	1.87	4	119	0.06
Tertiary education	Positive expectations for personal life	1.60	24	152	* 0.20
	Positive expectations for society	2.05	25	143	** 0.26
	Positive outcomes	0.79	23	130	0.12
	Negative outcomes	0.46	19	134	0.06
	Evaluation of the transition	0.21	4	112	0.01

Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 5-6. Multivariate analyses of the effects of occupational background prior to the transition (in 1990) upon the expectations, the evaluation and outcomes

Independent variable	Dependent variables	<i>F</i>	<i>Hypothesis df</i>	<i>Error df</i>		η^2
Occupational level in 1990	Positive expectations for personal life	1.38	72	495	*	0.17
	Positive expectations for society	1.18	75	471		0.16
	Positive outcomes	1.03	72	438		0.14
	Negative outcomes	1.03	60	450		0.12
	Evaluation of the transition	1.38	12	360		0.04
Occupational level of father	Positive expectations for personal life	1.02	72	405		0.15
	Positive expectations for society	1.31	75	396		0.20
	Positive outcomes	1.07	72	360		0.18
	Negative outcomes	0.91	60	372		0.13
	Evaluation of the transition	0.85	12	297		0.03
Occupational level of mother	Positive expectations for personal life	1.08	48	260		0.17
	Positive expectations for society	1.28	50	260		0.20
	Positive outcomes	1.21	46	234		0.19
	Negative outcomes	0.83	40	240		0.12
	Evaluation of the transition	1.06	8	202		0.04
Sector of work in 1990	Positive expectations for personal life	1.20	96	396		0.23
	Positive expectations for society	1.15	96	364		0.23
	Positive outcomes	0.95	88	340		0.20
	Negative outcomes	0.89	76	352		0.16
	Evaluation of the transition	0.69	16	320		0.03

Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 5-7. Multivariate analyses of the effects of occupational background after the transition (in 2005) on the expectations, the evaluation, and outcomes

Independent variable	Dependent variable	<i>F</i>	<i>Hypothesis df</i>	<i>Error df</i>		η^2
Occupational level in 2005	Positive expectations for personal life	1.91	48	332	***	0.22
	Positive expectations for society	1.17	50	316		0.16
	Positive outcomes	2.07	46	304	***	0.24
	Negative outcomes	1.61	40	310	*	0.17
	Evaluation of the transition	2.62	8	240	**	0.08
Sector of work in 2005	Positive expectations for personal life	1.09	92	504		0.17
	Positive expectations for society	0.95	100	456		0.17
	Positive outcomes	1.14	96	436		0.20
	Negative outcomes	1.89	80	452	***	0.25
	Evaluation of the transition	2.42	16	384	**	0.09

Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Sector of work in 2005

The multivariate analyses demonstrated a significant effect of the current sector of work on the perceived negative outcomes and evaluation of the transition (see Table 5-7). The univariate analyses showed that the respondents who were working for the state more often mentioned a deterioration of education, health, and the general financial situation as outcomes. The respondents working for the state evaluated the transition's influence on their personal lives as least positive (followed by the respondents working in the health or science sector).

Respondents working in business or trade and respondents working in agriculture or industry were less negative about the morality and conduct in society, and evaluated the transition's influence as less negative. The respondents who worked in agriculture or industry more often mentioned a deterioration of stability as an outcome (see Table 5-17 in Appendix A5).

5.6 Conclusions

5.6.1 Only positive expectations of transition

In 1990 when the transition from a communist system to a capitalist system began, people had high expectations of the transition. Hardly anyone had negative expectations of the system change, neither for themselves nor for society. The respondents mentioned positive expectations related to material, non-material, and social issues (in total 25 different issues).

As for the more material expectations (both for their personal lives and for society), we see that almost 40% of the respondents expected an improvement of the private financial situation and the economy. Furthermore, over a quarter of the respondents expected an increase of property ownership, and improvement of the work situation. Between 10 and 20% of the respondents expected a more pleasant private life and more security. The other four material issues (food, privatization, general financial situation, and merchandise) were very seldom mentioned.

The most frequently mentioned non-material issue (almost 40%) was an increase of freedom both in their personal life and generally in society. Over a quarter of the respondents expected that their own education would improve. Also quite a few respondents (between 10 and 20%) expected more foreign contacts in their personal life and generally in society, and a better situation for their own children. An improvement of the family situation, health, and an increase of choice were seldom mentioned.

At a social level respondents (over 40%) particularly expected improvement of state and politics (both for their personal life and generally in society). Between 10 and 20% of the respondents expected an improvement of conduct and morality in society, and of justice. The other five social issues were seldom mentioned (technology and information, transparency, stability, support, order).

Table 5-8. Overview of main expectations prior to transition (in 1990)

Maximum number of respondents	<i>Material matters</i>	<i>Non-material matters</i>	<i>Social matters</i>
Almost 40%	Private finance (39%) Economy (37%)	Freedom (38%)	State and politics (39%)
Over 25%	Private property (27%) Work (26%)	Education (30%)	
Between 10 and 20%	Private life (20%) Security (11%)	Foreign contacts (13%) Children (10%)	Society (19%) Justice (17%)
Between 5 and 10%	General finance (9%) Food (5%)	Family (5%)	Stability (8%) Technology and information (5%)
Less than 5%	Privatisation (4%) Merchandise (4%)	Health (3%) Choice (3%)	Transparency (4%) Support (2%) Order (2%)

5.6.2 Most important outcomes of transition

The respondents had almost only positive expectations for the transition. Obviously, after the transition, in 2005, the respondents also saw some negative outcomes, but overall their perception of the transition was positive. The largest group of respondents only mentioned positive outcomes (44%). In contrast, 16% mentioned only negative outcomes. The respondents' expectations for their personal lives were reasonably well fulfilled. Their expectations for society were partially fulfilled. Clearly societal expectations were less fulfilled than the expectations for personal lives. Also, the respondents' evaluation of the transition's influence upon their personal life was clearly more positive than negative. Over half of all respondents (56%) described the transition's influence in only positive terms, and less than a quarter of the respondents described the influence only in negative terms.

What were the most important outcomes of the transition according to the respondents of this research? The respondents mentioned outcomes with regard to 25 issues. Of those 25 issues, 11 issues were frequently mentioned: more than 15% of the respondents mentioned an outcome related to those issues. For 4 out of the 11 issues, the outcome was clearly positive, for 6 issues the opinions were clearly divided, and for only 1 issue the outcome was clearly negative. For the details of these 11 outcomes, see Sections 0 and 5.6.3 below.

Frequently mentioned important outcomes

Important positive outcomes

The outcome for four issues can be considered positive, because more than 20% of the respondents mentioned a positive outcome, and less than 5% mentioned a negative outcome. Most frequently-mentioned as positive outcome was freedom (43%), which exceeded the positive expectations for respondents' personal life (29%). Foreign contacts were also frequently-mentioned as a positive outcome (25%), which clearly exceeded the positive expectations for both their personal life (12%) and society (10%).

The more material issues for which many respondents mentioned a positive outcome were the economy (32%) and an increase of private property (24%). The positive expectations the respondents had were clearly met, because the percentage of respondents mentioning positive outcomes was similar to the percentage of respondents who mentioned positive expectations.

Mixed outcomes

For six issues the opinions were clearly divided, because the difference in the number of respondents mentioning a positive outcome and the number of respondents mentioning a negative outcome was quite small (equal to or less than 10%).

Slightly positive

For one issue the outcome was overall more positive than negative. Most respondents (46%) mentioned an important outcome related to the issue 'state and politics'. The percentage of respondents who mentioned a positive outcome (31%) was similar to the percentage of respondents who had positive expectations. However, a considerable percentage of respondents (21%) mentioned a negative outcome for state and politics.

Below expectations

For four issues the outcome was equally positive as negative, because the percentage of respondents mentioning positive outcomes was similar to the percentage of respondents mentioning negative outcomes. For society, a fair percentage of the respondents mentioned a positive outcome (17%). This percentage is nearly the same as the percentage of respondents who had a positive expectation for society (20%). However, a similar percentage of respondents mentioned a negative outcome for society (23%), therefore, the overall outcome was well below the positive expectations.

Also changes in work, education, and private finance were mentioned quite often as an important outcome (more than 15%), and the positive outcomes equalled the negative outcomes mentioned. However, clearly more respondents had held positive expectations with regard to those issues than the percentage of respondents who mentioned a positive outcome.

For work, 14% of the respondents mentioned a positive outcome. Considerably more respondents had mentioned positive expectations for their personal life (26%). For education, 11% of the respondents mentioned a positive outcome, which is in contrast to the 31% of the respondents who mentioned a positive expectation for education in their personal life. Finally, for private finance 12% of the respondents mentioned a positive outcome, while 41% had mentioned a positive expectation for their personal life and 39% a positive expectation for society. Clearly, the overall outcome of work, education, and private finance was considerably below the respondents' positive expectations.

Slightly negative

For one issue the overall outcome was more negative than positive. For justice, more respondents mentioned a negative outcome (18%) than a positive outcome (10%). In fact,

the percentage of respondents mentioning a negative outcome is similar to the percentage of respondents who had held a positive expectation for society (17%).

Important negative outcome

Only for one issue was a clearly negative outcome mentioned: the general financial situation. Even though only 10% had held a positive expectation for society regarding the general financial situation, 34% mentioned a negative outcome, as opposed to the 5% who mentioned a positive outcome on the general financial situation. The most frequently mentioned negative outcome regarding the general financial situation was poverty (22%), but many respondents also mentioned an increase of the difference between the rich and the poor, inflation, the deterioration of the bank system, and increased taxes.

Table 5-9. Overview of main outcomes

	Material matters	Non-material matters	Social matters	Outcomes				Positive Expectationse			
				Total	Positive	Negative	Difference positive & negative (N = 186)	For personal life	Difference with outcome (N = 170)	For society	Difference with outcome (N = 168)
Frequently mentioned outcomes											
Positive outcomes		Freedom		44%	43%	2%	41%	29%	15%	38%	6% ^{ns}
		Foreign contacts		26%	25%	2%	23%	12%	13%	10%	17%
		Economy		35%	32%	4%	28%	33%	-1% ^{ns}	28%	5% ^{ns}
		Private property		27%	24%	4%	20%	27%	-2% ^{ns}	18%	6% ^{ns}
Mixed outcomes											
<i>Slightly positive</i>			State and politics	46%	31%	21%	10%	24%	8% ^{ns}	39%	-6% ^{ns}
Below expectations											
		Work	Society	38%	17%	23%	-5% ^{ns}	11%	5% ^{ns}	20%	-3% ^{ns}
		Education		16%	11%	5%	5% ^{ns}	31%	-19%	8%	4% ^{ns}
		Private finance		20%	12%	9%	4% ^{ns}	41%	-28%	39%	-27%
Slightly negative											
			Justice	27%	10%	18%	-9%	7%	2% ^{ns}	17%	-8%
Negative outcome											
		General finance		38%	5%	34%	-29%	4%	1% ^{ns}	10%	-4% ^{ns}
Seldom mentioned outcomes											
<i>Slightly positive</i>			Choice	8%	8%	-	8%	2%	6%	1%	8%
		Merchandise		6%	6%	-	6%	1%	6%	4%	3% ^{ns}
			Technology and information	8%	6%	1%	5%	5%	2% ^{ns}	2%	5%
		Privatisation		9%	8%	1%	7%	5%	4% ^{ns}	4%	4% ^{ns}
		Private life		8%	6%	2%	5%	15%	-8%	20%	-13%
Mixed outcomes											
<i>No change</i>			Transparency	2%	2%	-	2%	4%	-2% ^{ns}	4%	-2% ^{ns}
			Support	3%	3%	-	3%	1%	2% ^{ns}	2%	1% ^{ns}
			Order	7%	1%	6%	-6%	-	1% ^{ns}	2%	-1% ^{ns}
Below expectations											
		Food		3%	1%	2%	-1% ^{ns}	4%	-4%	5%	-4% ^{ns}
		Family		0%	0%	-	0% ^{ns}	4%	-4%	2%	-2% ^{ns}
		Children		2%	1%	1%	-1% ^{ns}	9%	-9%	2%	-2% ^{ns}
		Security		4%	3%	2%	1% ^{ns}	12%	-9%	11%	-8%
			Stability	1%	1%	1%	0% ^{ns}	2%	-2%	10%	-9%
Slightly negative											
		Health		9%	1%	9%	-8%	4%	-3% ^{ns}	2%	-1% ^{ns}

Note: ^{ns} Non-significant difference.

5.6.3 Infrequently mentioned outcomes

Regarding the remaining 14 issues fewer respondents (less than 10%) mentioned outcomes. Therefore, those outcomes cannot be considered as important as the outcomes mentioned above.

Slightly more positive

For five issues the outcome was overall more positive than negative, as more respondents mentioned positive outcomes than respondents who mentioned negative outcomes: choice, merchandise, technology and information, privatization, and private life. For choice, the positive outcome (8%) exceeded the positive expectations for personal life (2%) and for society (1%). For merchandise, the positive outcome (6%) exceeded the expectations for personal life (1%), and for technology and information the positive outcome (6%) exceeded the positive expectations for society (2%). For privatization, the positive outcomes (8%) were similar to the expectations for their personal life (5%) and for society (4%). Finally, for private life the positive outcomes (6%) were clearly less than the expectations for private life (15%), and for society (20%).

Nothing changed

For three social issues positive and negative outcomes were hardly mentioned, i.e. the expectations: transparency, order, support. As the respondents expected, the transition did not seem to have any effect on those issues.

Below expectations

For another five issues both negative and positive outcomes were hardly mentioned, even though some respondents had held positive expectations: food, children, family, security, and stability. Despite positive expectations, the transition did not seem to have an important effect on those five issues.

Slightly negative

Regarding one issue, health, more negative outcomes (9%) were mentioned than positive outcomes (1%). Only few respondents had held any expectations regarding health (4% for their personal life and 2% for society), the outcome regarding health is therefore slightly negative.

5.7 Discussion

5.7.1 Perceived outcomes consistent with empirical data

As far as the outcomes of the transition mentioned by the respondents participating in this research can be verified, they are in line with other empirical data.

Freedom

With regard to the non-material positive outcomes of transition, these are confirmed by statistical data, analyses of law and other research. The most important positive outcome, the increase of freedom, is laid down in law, and can be witnessed in practice as well. In

the constitution of Mongolia many fundamental freedoms are laid down¹⁰², such as freedom of thought, opinion, and expression, freedom to join political parties, freedom of the press¹⁰³, and freedom of conscience and religion. That Mongolians are free to demonstrate can often be witnessed in Sukhbaatar Square in Ulaanbaatar, as it is regularly used by a large number of groups – from pensioners to students, workers, and political opponents of the ruling party – to air their opinion¹⁰⁴.

Foreign contacts

With regard to the other often-mentioned non-material gain of the transition, foreign contacts, these have evidently increased greatly since 1990. International contacts expanded not only in terms of trade, but also in terms of, for instance, contacts with foreign universities that have increased, and international tourism that flourishes¹⁰⁵. Furthermore, there are, for example, many international and foreign organizations working in Mongolia, quite a few countries have stationed representatives in Ulaanbaatar, foreign channels – other than the Russian ones – can be seen on television, and many Mongolians study and work in other countries (remittances have increased from US\$ 5,500,000 in 1998 to US\$ 276,500,000 in 2010 in current US\$¹⁰⁶).

Private property, privatization, and private business

With regard to the more material expectations, privatization, private business, and private property ownership have been realized on a large scale as well. Most state-owned firms have been privatized, and individuals can start their own firm if they want¹⁰⁷. Furthermore, most individuals own private property now, and private houses and apartment blocks are being built on a large scale in Ulaanbaatar. And for those who can afford it, food and merchandise are readily available these days.

State and politics

The issues upon which the respondents were divided are also confirmed by statistical data and other research. With regard to the issue of state and politics, the rise of corruption is confirmed by a USAID report ‘*Assessment of corruption in Mongolia*’ (USAID, 2005), and by interviews and unpublished research of M.C. Schouwstra into the survival of private and state-owned enterprises in 2005¹⁰⁸. That opinions on the outcome with regard to state and politics are divided can possibly be attributed to the fact that the democracy is

¹⁰² An English translation of the Constitution of Mongolia of 1992 can be found at: http://dipservice.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&id=4&Itemid=13&lang=en and <http://www.servat.unibe.ch/icl/mg00000.html>.

¹⁰³ For the freedom of press and Mongolian media legislation, see Nielsen (2009). Mongolian media legislation guarantees freedom of expression, freedom of the press, and freedom to seek and receive information. Also see <http://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2011/mongolia> and <http://www.freedomhouse.org/article/mongolian-parliament-passes-freedom-access-law>.

¹⁰⁴ With regard to information about these protests and demonstrations, see the English website of the UBpost: www.ubpost.mongolnews.mn, and the Mongol Messenger: www.mongolmessenger.mn.

¹⁰⁵ For data on international tourism, see World Bank data by country.

¹⁰⁶ For data on remittances, see World Bank data by country.

¹⁰⁷ Starting a firm is subject to the usual constraints that individuals in other capitalist countries also face, such as being able to borrow enough money, or obtain credit from a bank. There are no excess criteria to which newcomers are subject when starting a firm.

¹⁰⁸ Corruption is also confirmed in an article of Fritz (2007).

functioning very well. There are free elections, and political parties can be established freely. In this respect, the outcome of the transition for state and politics is ambiguous. On the positive side there are many encouraging developments such as a functioning democracy, but on the other hand, when one considers corruption and bureaucracy that have both increased since the beginning of the transition, there still is ample room for improvement.

Work: unemployment and informal sector

With regard to the issue of work, the outcome of the transition was below expectations. Many of the respondents had high hopes of an improvement with regard to their work, but the outcome of the transition was rather disappointing, especially for society. Official statistics confirm the disappointing outcome with regard to work. They show that the unemployment has been between 2.8 and 8.7 % since the beginning of the transition¹⁰⁹. Unofficially, those numbers have always been much higher. One of the reasons why the statistics are inaccurate is that only those who are eligible for unemployment benefits will register. As most Mongolians are not eligible for those benefits, or, for only a few months at most, they do not bother to register or to keep registered as unemployed. This causes a serious underreporting of unemployment.

Unemployment is closely connected to the issue of poverty, as the unemployed have a high risk of belonging to the poorest section of the population. To prevent poverty, many of the Mongolians who lost their jobs in the formal sector started to work in the informal sector by necessity. They are not registered as unemployed, but many of them would prefer to work in the formal sector and consider themselves as unemployed.

Education

Many respondents expected an improvement of education in their personal life, but expected this much less for society in general. Though the fulfilment of expectations with regard to education was more positive in the respondents' lives than for society, in outcomes the issue of education was below expectations. How can that be explained?

Much has changed in education since the beginning of the transition in 1990, but the new picture unfortunately has two sides. On the positive side, all those who have the means and capacities can study, and they have a free choice with regard to their studies. Also, the curricula of universities and other institutions of higher education have been updated and improved, and quite a few students go to Western countries and to China to study.

On the negative side, literacy was universal before 1990. Since the beginning of the transition the literacy rate has been going down. There are more school dropouts, and, in the outlying areas and, for the poor, possibilities of schooling have decreased. Boarding schools – necessary due to the enormous distances in Mongolia – are too expensive for the poor. In communist times, the state provided the children with meals at (boarding) school, but now parents have to donate money or meat to provide the children with food. As that is more expensive than keeping the children at home, many poor families now

¹⁰⁹ For data on unemployment see IMF, *World Economic Outlook Database*, September 2011. The unemployment data from the World Bank differ from those of the IMF (see World Bank data by country: <http://data.worldbank.org/country/mongolia>).

keep their children at home. Also, herders tend to keep their boys at home, so that they can help with the herds. In the first few years of the transition, there were also practical reasons to keep the children at home: for instance, due to fuel shortages, many schools were not heated well enough in the winter. With temperatures of minus 20°C, or more, parents had good reason not to send their children to school.

Justice

For the issue of justice, the overall outcome was more negative than positive, with 18% of the respondents having a negative opinion on justice, and 1% a positive outcome. This can be explained by the fact that the legal system has been transformed thoroughly since the beginning of transition, but the system is still in the process of development, and there is still ample room for improvement¹¹⁰. There are, for instance, many complaints about the quality of the judicial system, the (un)predictability and quality of the verdicts, and violations of human rights¹¹¹. When interviews were conducted in enterprises, many business owners and managers indicated that they did not have high expectations of the legal system due to favouritism and possibilities of corruption. In particular, in lawsuits against the state and against powerful Mongolians, they do not expect a fair verdict. Between equal parties they do expect a fair verdict. Thus, the legal system has been transformed, but still has a long way to go.

General financial situation: poverty and growing gap between the rich and the poor

Many respondents in this survey were quite content with their own financial situation, but indicated that the general financial situation is a source of worry. Poverty and the growth of the gap between the rich and the poor were mentioned very often as single negative outcomes of the transition. The Household Income and Expenditure Survey / Living Standards Measurement survey (National Statistical Office of Mongolia, World Bank, and UNDP, 2004)(=LSMS 2002-2003), the LSMS 1995, the LSMS 1998, and the Mongolia Participatory Living Standards Assessment (National Statistical Office of Mongolia and World Bank, 2001)(=PLSA 2000) confirm the enormous increase of poverty especially in the first decade after the transition, with a decline of the share of middle-income households, and a corresponding rise in the share of poor and very poor households in the first ten years of the transition, and a more noticeable relative share of rich households between 1995 and 2000 (PLSA 2000, p.14; LSMS 2002-2003).

The observation of many respondents that income inequality has grown since the transition is also supported by both the LSMS 2002-2003, the PLSA 2000 and other publications (World Bank, 2009: Table 5, Inequality and average consumption, 2002/03, 2007/08; PLSA 2000: p.14; Nixon and Walters, 2004). Also a very substantial part of the Mongolian population has been living near or below the poverty line since the transition. In 2006, nearly half the population had to live on the equivalent of 2 US\$

¹¹⁰ See World Bank (2001), and for the first years of legal and judicial reform, Turbileg (1998). With regard to the changes in the legal framework after Mongolia's accession to the WTO, see Tsogtbaatar (2005).

¹¹¹ See amongst others Munkhзориг (2008-2009). With regard to human rights, Mongolia has been a member of the United Nations since 1961, and since 2009, has been party to almost all basic human rights conventions, including the international Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its Optional Protocol. There are, however, still violations of human rights.

(PPP) a day¹¹². The Mongolian average income passed the magical 1000 US\$ per year only in 2006 (Baljmaa, 2009). Inflation increased after the transition began, and reached an absolute highpoint in 1993 (over 300%), but has fallen since 1996 to a level of between 10 and 20% in most of the years until 2011 (with the exception of the years 1998 and 2002¹¹³).

5.7.2 Discussion

Almost all expectations of the transition in 1990 of all Mongolian respondents were positive, making it very likely that expectations were overstrained. In 2005 it was obvious that the transition had brought many positive and less positive changes. Many of those changes had not been expected in 1990. Negative outcomes of the transition had not been expected at all, neither had extensive changes in the social sphere been expected. On the other hand, it is remarkable that, despite the already high expectations, there were outcomes that even significantly exceeded the expectations.

Freedom and foreign contacts exceed expectations

For the non-material issues ‘freedom’ and ‘foreign contacts’ the expectations were high, yet the outcomes significantly exceeded the expectations. Nearly half of all respondents mentioned a positive outcome of ‘freedom’ and a quarter of the respondents mentioned ‘foreign contacts’ as a positive outcome. Obviously, these two issues are important to the respondents and may be interpreted as highly valued gains of the transition. Also mentioned often and obviously valued are the material gains of the transition: ‘private property’ and ‘economy’. For both these issues, the high expectations were actually more or less fulfilled.

Transition evaluated less positive for societal issues

Most respondents evaluate the influence and outcome of the transition for their personal lives in general as more positive than negative. However, for matters that touch upon society, the outcomes of the transition are experienced as less positive. From the answers of the respondents, it is obvious that the changes due to the transition in the social sphere touch them, and that they find the outcomes worrisome.

The one real negative outcome of transition according to the survey concerns general finance. The single most-often given answer with respect to the (negative) outcomes of the transition relates to the increase in poverty. Whether one traces it back to the egalitarian legacy of communism or to the pre-communist legacy of Tibetan Buddhism, or one does not trace it back at all, it is obvious that the disappointing development of

¹¹² For these data see World Bank, *Data by country* and IMF, *World Economic Outlook Database*. In 2006, over 22% of the Mongolian population even had to live of the equivalent (PPP) on US\$ 1.25 a day. Data on GDP also confirm the image of a general financial situation that is not flourishing: GDP was US\$ 2,713 billion in 1991 and plummeted to a mere US\$ 0,759 billion two years later. GDP did not recover until 2006 when it surpassed, for the first time since the beginning of the transition, the 1991-level.

¹¹³ For the development of inflation since 1990, see International Monetary Fund, *World Economic Outlook Database*, September 2011, and World Bank, *Data by country*. These provide data on inflation, as measured by the annual growth rate of the GDP implicit deflator, which shows the rate of price change in the economy as a whole. The GDP implicit deflator is the ratio of GDP in current local currency to GDP in constant local currency.

general finance touches upon the fundamental values of the Mongolian respondents of this research. The huge increase in poverty since the beginning of the transition, and the growing difference between the rich and the poor worries entrepreneurs, teachers, scientists and everyone else alike.

The respondents are also worried about the societal issues of ‘justice’ – an issue that scored well below expectations – and ‘state and politics’. With respect to ‘state and politics’ opinions are very divided, which is caused by the fact that democracy receives very positive scores within the class of ‘state and politics’, and that ‘corruption’ and ‘bureaucracy’ score convincingly negative (and both are mentioned equally often by the respondents).

Mitigate the negative outcomes for society of Mongolian capitalism

The biggest gains of the transition are, rather strikingly, experienced in the non-material sphere: namely freedom and foreign contacts. For the issue ‘state and politics’, the biggest gain is ‘democracy’. Other important gains of transition (i.e. the introduction of capitalism) are experienced by the respondents in the personal and material sphere.

Losses due to the transition are experienced particularly in the ‘social’ sphere by the respondents. Whereas freedom and democracy as a corollary to the Mongolian form of capitalism are highly valued, the poverty that has occurred since the beginning of the transition is considered as very worrisome, and is seen as a real negative corollary of capitalism. The respondents are quite outspoken about their worries for society. As a result of this research, it is recommended that Mongolian (and international) policy makers should urgently find ways to mitigate the negative corollaries of the Mongolian form of capitalism for society.

It is to the credit of the respondents of this research that, though they gained personally in the transition, one of the losses of the transition (concerning the issue of general finance, i.e. poverty) is indicated as one of the most important – and worrisome – negative outcomes of the transition. In terms of gains, they value ‘freedom’ most highly of all, followed by ‘foreign contacts’, and – concerning the issue ‘state and politics’ – ‘democracy’ is also highly valued.

5.7.3 An innovative research study

The approach in this research study is innovative as, unlike usual evaluations, we worked only with open questions with regard to the main research questions. Mongolians were asked open questions about what they expected of the transition, whether their expectations were fulfilled, and how they evaluate the outcomes of the transition. Usually, economic, political and social models and indicators are used to evaluate the outcome of a development, and to assess the impact of that development – in this case the transition – on, for instance, society or the economy. In this research, we did not ask questions derived from a theoretical model.

As this research or approach is unusual, a new methodology had to be developed to cope with the enormous amount of data. Even though the definitions of the classes and

keywords may be open to discussion, this methodology makes it possible to quantitatively process large quantities of qualitative data in a meaningful way. As is obvious from the discussion in the Section 5.7 above, this approach has yielded some quite interesting results, and it gives a useful insight into the ideas on the transition of the Mongolian population (i.e. respondents), and what they value most.

With the information derived from this research, policy makers at various governmental levels and at international organizations can target their policies and programmes better towards what the Mongolian people consider important, and diminish the gap between government and politics, on the hand, and the population, on the other. In this particular case, it looks as though capitalism has been introduced in Mongolia in one of its rawest forms, in which the negative sides of capitalism are not mitigated, or not mitigated enough in the opinion of the respondents. It is especially the negative consequences of capitalism in the social sphere that seem to worry many Mongolians, and this concern should be addressed urgently by policy makers at the national (and possibly even international) level.

5.7.4 Further research

For policy makers, it would be interesting to find out whether the conclusions of this research can be generalized to the Mongolian population as a whole, as that would make its findings more valuable and useful in policy making. In this research, a bias may have been introduced because most respondents had a tertiary education. People with only a primary or secondary education may well have a different (and possibly less positive) opinion on the outcome of the transition, and may stress other issues than people with a tertiary education. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to investigate those groups as well. Furthermore, a comparison of the opinion of Mongolians in the formal sector with that of Mongolians in the informal sector might also yield interesting and useful results. Finally, more information on the differences in opinion between urban and rural Mongolians would be welcome, as there are indications that the urban (Ulaanbaatar) mentality is quite different from the rural mentality in Mongolia. This information might be used when deciding upon programmes to mitigate the negative consequences of the present system in rural and urban areas. Possibly, rural Mongolians would prefer a different accent or priority in their programmes than urban Mongolians. Therefore, further research is recommended.

Appendix A5: Univariate analyses and descriptive statistics of the effect of background variables

Table 5-10. Univariate analyses and descriptive statistics of the effect of tertiary education on positive expectations

Tertiary Education Dependent Variable	Univariate analyses							Descriptive statistics								
	Constrast		Error		F	η^2	No			Yes			Total			
	df	MS	df	MS			N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	
Positive expectations for personal life	1	0.18	175	0.03	5.56 *	0.03	28	0.11	0.32	149	0.02	0.14	177	0.03	0.18	
Private life	1	0.55	175	0.14	4.03 *	0.02	28	0.04	0.19	149	0.19	0.39	177	0.16	0.37	
Merchandise	1	0.03	175	0.01	5.46 *	0.03	28	0.04	0.19	149	0.00	0.00	177	0.01	0.08	
General finance	1	0.24	175	0.02	11.33 ***	0.06	28	0.11	0.32	149	0.01	0.08	177	0.02	0.15	
Positive expectations for society	1	1.63	167	0.23	7.07 **	0.04	28	0.08	0.25	149	0.00	0.50	169	0.39	0.49	
Stability	1	0.91	167	0.07	12.77 ***	0.07	22	0.27	0.46	147	0.05	0.23	169	0.08	0.28	

Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 5-11. Univariate analyses and descriptive statistics of the effect of occupational level in 1990 on positive expectations for personal life

Occupational level in 1990 Dependent Variable	Univariate analyses							Descriptive statistics													
	Constrast		Error		F	η^2	Studying			Low			Medium			High			Total		
	df	MS	df	MS			N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
Positive expectations for personal life	3	0.66	186	0.20	3.29 *	0.05	46	0.46	0.50	24	0.33	0.48	94	0.24	0.43	26	0.15	0.37	190	0.29	0.46
Children	3	0.30	186	0.08	3.65 *	0.06	46	0.00	0.00	24	0.21	0.42	94	0.13	0.34	26	0.04	0.20	190	0.09	0.29
Family	3	0.21	186	0.05	4.41 **	0.07	46	0.15	0.36	24	0.04	0.20	94	0.01	0.10	26	0.04	0.20	190	0.05	0.22

Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Expectations of transition and its outcome in Mongolia

Table 5-12. Univariate analyses and descriptive statistics of the effect of occupational level in 2005 on positive expectations for personal life, outcomes, and evaluation

Occupational level in 2005		Univariate analyses						Descriptive statistics											
		Constrast		Error		F	η^2	Low			Medium			High			Total		
Dependent Variable		df	MS	df	MS					N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N
Positive expectations for Economy		2	1.84	188	0.22	8.53 ***	0.08	9	0.56	0.53	82	0.21	0.41	100	0.48	0.50	191	0.37	0.48
personal life	Education	2	0.94	188	0.21	4.61 *	0.05	9	0.11	0.33	82	0.41	0.50	100	0.23	0.42	191	0.30	0.46
	Merchandise	2	0.05	188	0.01	5.13 **	0.05	9	0.11	0.33	82	0.01	0.11	100	0.00	0.00	191	0.01	0.10
	General finance	2	0.45	188	0.03	14.54 ***	0.13	9	0.33	0.50	82	0.00	0.00	100	0.04	0.20	191	0.04	0.19
	Support	2	0.05	188	0.01	5.01 **	0.05	9	0.11	0.33	82	0.00	0.00	100	0.01	0.10	191	0.01	0.10
Positive outcomes	Economy	2	1.21	173	0.21	5.72 **	0.06	9	0.33	0.50	79	0.20	0.40	88	0.44	0.50	176	0.33	0.47
	Food	2	0.05	173	0.01	10.26 ***	0.11	9	0.11	0.33	79	0.00	0.00	88	0.00	0.00	176	0.01	0.08
	General finance	2	0.16	173	0.04	3.70 *	0.04	9	0.22	0.44	79	0.03	0.16	88	0.05	0.21	176	0.05	0.21
	Stability	2	0.05	173	0.01	10.26 ***	0.11	9	0.11	0.33	79	0.00	0.00	88	0.00	0.00	176	0.01	0.08
Negative outcomes	Society	2	0.59	173	0.17	3.45 *	0.04	9	0.22	0.44	79	0.32	0.47	88	0.15	0.36	176	0.23	0.42
	Justice	2	0.51	173	0.15	3.48 *	0.04	9	0.11	0.33	79	0.27	0.45	88	0.11	0.32	176	0.18	0.39
	Stability	2	0.05	173	0.01	10.26 ***	0.11	9	0.11	0.33	79	0.00	0.00	88	0.00	0.00	176	0.01	0.08
	Order	2	0.23	173	0.05	4.52 *	0.05	9	0.00	0.00	79	0.11	0.32	88	0.01	0.11	176	0.06	0.23
Evaluation of the transition	Positive influence	2	3.26	122	0.73	4.47 *	0.07	7	1.43	0.79	74	0.99	0.93	69	1.45	0.78	150	1.22	0.88
	Negative influence	2	6.48	122	0.67	9.65 ***	0.14	7	0.43	0.79	74	0.92	0.93	69	0.35	0.72	150	0.63	0.88

Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 5-13. Univariate analyses and descriptive statistics of the effect of sector of employment in 2005 upon negative outcomes and evaluation

Sector of work in 2005		Univariate analyses						Descriptive statistics																	
		Constrast		Error		F	η^2	Agriculture or industry			Education			Health or science			State			Business or trade			Total		
Dependent Variable		df	MS	df	MS					N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N
Negative outcomes	Education	4	0.27	129	0.03	9.11 ***	0.22	12	0.00	0.00	30	0.00	0.00	18	0.00	0.00	13	0.31	0.48	61	0.02	0.13	134	0.04	0.19
	Health	4	0.25	129	0.07	3.61 **	0.10	12	0.08	0.29	30	0.13	0.35	18	0.06	0.24	13	0.31	0.48	61	0.02	0.13	134	0.08	0.28
	General finance	4	1.21	129	0.19	6.25 ***	0.16	12	0.33	0.49	30	0.40	0.50	18	0.50	0.51	13	0.77	0.44	61	0.16	0.37	134	0.34	0.47
	Society	4	0.74	129	0.16	4.72 ***	0.13	12	0.17	0.39	30	0.43	0.50	18	0.28	0.46	13	0.38	0.51	61	0.08	0.28	134	0.22	0.42
	Stability	4	0.02	129	0.01	2.67 *	0.08	12	0.08	0.29	30	0.00	0.00	18	0.00	0.00	13	0.00	0.00	61	0.00	0.00	134	0.01	0.09
Evaluation of the transition	Positive influence	4	2.41	96	0.68	3.52 **	0.13	12	1.17	0.72	26	1.04	0.96	21	0.90	0.94	11	0.64	0.92	47	1.57	0.72	117	1.21	0.89
	Negative influence	4	5.39	96	0.56	9.66 ***	0.29	12	0.33	0.49	26	1.15	0.93	21	0.90	0.89	11	1.18	0.98	47	0.26	0.68	117	0.67	0.88

Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Appendix: Univariate analyses and descriptive statistics of the effect of background variables

Table 5-14. Univariate analyses and descriptive statistics of the effect of tertiary education on positive expectations

Tertiary Education		Univariate analyses						Descriptive statistics								
		<i>Constrast</i>		<i>Error</i>		<i>F</i>	η^2	No			Yes			Total		
Dependent Variable		<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>					<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>
Positive expectations for	Privatisation	1	0.18	175	0.03	5.56 *	0.03	28	0.11	0.32	149	0.02	0.14	177	0.03	0.18
personal life	Private life	1	0.55	175	0.14	4.03 *	0.02	28	0.04	0.19	149	0.19	0.39	177	0.16	0.37
	Merchandise	1	0.03	175	0.01	5.46 *	0.03	28	0.04	0.19	149	0.00	0.00	177	0.01	0.08
	General finance	1	0.24	175	0.02	11.33 ***	0.06	28	0.11	0.32	149	0.01	0.08	177	0.02	0.15
Positive expectations for	State and politics	1	1.63	167	0.23	7.07 **	0.04	28	0.08	0.25	149	0.00	0.50	169	0.39	0.49
society	Stability	1	0.91	167	0.07	12.77 ***	0.07	22	0.27	0.46	147	0.05	0.23	169	0.08	0.28

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 5-15. Univariate analyses and descriptive statistics of the effect of occupational level in 1990 on positive expectations for personal life

Occupational level in 1990		Univariate analyses						Descriptive statistics														
		<i>Constrast</i>		<i>Error</i>		<i>F</i>	η^2	Studying			Low			Medium			High			Total		
Dependent Variable		<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>					<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>
Positive expectations for	Education	3	0.66	186	0.20	3.29 *	0.05	46	0.46	0.50	24	0.33	0.48	94	0.24	0.43	26	0.15	0.37	190	0.29	0.46
personal life	Children	3	0.30	186	0.08	3.65 *	0.06	46	0.00	0.00	24	0.21	0.42	94	0.13	0.34	26	0.04	0.20	190	0.09	0.29
	Family	3	0.21	186	0.05	4.41 **	0.07	46	0.15	0.36	24	0.04	0.20	94	0.01	0.10	26	0.04	0.20	190	0.05	0.22

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 5-16. Univariate analyses and descriptive statistics of the effect of occupational level in 2005 on positive expectations for personal life, outcomes and evaluation

Occupational level in 2005		Univariate analyses						Descriptive statistics														
		<i>Constrast</i>		<i>Error</i>		<i>F</i>	η^2	Low			Medium			High			Total					
Dependent Variable		<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>					<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>
Positive expectations for	Economy	2	1.84	188	0.22	8.53 ***	0.08	9	0.56	0.53	82	0.21	0.41	100	0.48	0.50	191	0.37	0.48			
personal life	Education	2	0.94	188	0.21	4.61 *	0.05	9	0.11	0.33	82	0.41	0.50	100	0.23	0.42	191	0.30	0.46			
	Merchandise	2	0.05	188	0.01	5.13 **	0.05	9	0.11	0.33	82	0.01	0.11	100	0.00	0.00	191	0.01	0.10			
	General finance	2	0.45	188	0.03	14.54 ***	0.13	9	0.33	0.50	82	0.00	0.00	100	0.04	0.20	191	0.04	0.19			
	Support	2	0.05	188	0.01	5.01 **	0.05	9	0.11	0.33	82	0.00	0.00	100	0.01	0.10	191	0.01	0.10			
Positive outcomes	Economy	2	1.21	173	0.21	5.72 **	0.06	9	0.33	0.50	79	0.20	0.40	88	0.44	0.50	176	0.33	0.47			
	Food	2	0.05	173	0.01	10.26 ***	0.11	9	0.11	0.33	79	0.00	0.00	88	0.00	0.00	176	0.01	0.08			
	General finance	2	0.16	173	0.04	3.70 *	0.04	9	0.22	0.44	79	0.03	0.16	88	0.05	0.21	176	0.05	0.21			
	Stability	2	0.05	173	0.01	10.26 ***	0.11	9	0.11	0.33	79	0.00	0.00	88	0.00	0.00	176	0.01	0.08			
Negative outcomes	Society	2	0.59	173	0.17	3.45 *	0.04	9	0.22	0.44	79	0.32	0.47	88	0.15	0.36	176	0.23	0.42			
	Justice	2	0.51	173	0.15	3.48 *	0.04	9	0.11	0.33	79	0.27	0.45	88	0.11	0.32	176	0.18	0.39			
	Stability	2	0.05	173	0.01	10.26 ***	0.11	9	0.11	0.33	79	0.00	0.00	88	0.00	0.00	176	0.01	0.08			
	Order	2	0.23	173	0.05	4.52 *	0.05	9	0.00	0.00	79	0.11	0.32	88	0.01	0.11	176	0.06	0.23			
Evaluation of the	Positive influence	2	3.26	122	0.73	4.47 *	0.07	7	1.43	0.79	74	0.99	0.93	69	1.45	0.78	150	1.22	0.88			
transition	Negative influence	2	6.48	122	0.67	9.65 ***	0.14	7	0.43	0.79	74	0.92	0.93	69	0.35	0.72	150	0.63	0.88			

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 5-17. Univariate analyses and descriptive statistics of the effect of sector of work in 2005 upon negative outcomes and evaluation

Sector of work in 2005		Univariate analyses						Descriptive statistics																	
		Constrast			Error			Agriculture or industry			Education			Health or science			State			Business or trade			Total		
		df	MS	F	df	MS	η^2	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
Negative outcomes	Education	4	0.27	129	0.03	9.11 ***	0.22	12	0.00	0.00	30	0.00	0.00	18	0.00	0.00	13	0.31	0.48	61	0.02	0.13	134	0.04	0.19
	Health	4	0.25	129	0.07	3.61 **	0.10	12	0.08	0.29	30	0.13	0.35	18	0.06	0.24	13	0.31	0.48	61	0.02	0.13	134	0.08	0.28
	General finance	4	1.21	129	0.19	6.25 ***	0.16	12	0.33	0.49	30	0.40	0.50	18	0.50	0.51	13	0.77	0.44	61	0.16	0.37	134	0.34	0.47
	Society	4	0.74	129	0.16	4.72 ***	0.13	12	0.17	0.39	30	0.43	0.50	18	0.28	0.46	13	0.38	0.51	61	0.08	0.28	134	0.22	0.42
Evaluation of the transition	Stability	4	0.02	129	0.01	2.67 *	0.08	12	0.08	0.29	30	0.00	0.00	18	0.00	0.00	13	0.00	0.00	61	0.00	0.00	134	0.01	0.09
	Positive influence	4	2.41	96	0.68	3.52 **	0.13	12	1.17	0.72	26	1.04	0.96	21	0.90	0.94	11	0.64	0.92	47	1.57	0.72	117	1.21	0.89
	Negative influence	4	5.39	96	0.56	9.66 ***	0.29	12	0.33	0.49	26	1.15	0.93	21	0.90	0.89	11	1.18	0.98	47	0.26	0.68	117	0.67	0.88

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$