

(ポスト・) ポスト社会主義モンゴル国における人々のナショナリズム

－アジアン・バロメータ調査の動向分析からの検討－

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People's Nationalism in (Post-)Post-Socialist Mongolia A Discussion from Trend Analyses of the Asian Barometer Survey Data

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Abstract: This study examined nationalism harbored by Mongolian citizens over more than a dozen years, based on the analyses of social survey data. Specifically, the study used four waves of the Asian Barometer Survey data and analyzed the answers to four questions regarding national pride and nationalistic opinions. The questions were about loyalty to the respondent's own country, national pride, willingness to emigrate to other countries, and whether sacrificing individual interest for the nation could be justified. The main findings were consistent with those of a previous study: majority of the respondents appealed a strong attachment to Mongolia and there was lack of stable relationship between dependent variables and other factors. While the result implies Mongolians' tendency to have a positive attitude toward nationalistic opinions, regardless of their social background, it also shows the potential for such a tendency to change, given the decline in stronger national pride and refusal to emigrate to other countries.

Keywords: Mongolia, nationalism, Asian Barometer, post-socialism

1. Introduction

Nationalism has been one of the keywords that represents a variety of social phenomena in contemporary Mongolia. For the past decade, in particular, Mongolia witnessed the rise of far-right groups (Branigan, 2010; Hogg, 2010; Wang and Giang, 2010; Graaf, 2012) and their tactical change into environmentalists (Ghosh, 2013; Barria, 2014). More recently, these groups were known to have obstructed anti-war demonstrations in Ulaanbaatar (Sosorburam, 2022; Tögöldör, 2022). Besides, Mongolia has been a country of concern for “resource nationalism,” resenting foreign-affiliated natural resource development and demanding an increased share (Misheelt and Ali, 2017).

However, the nationalism of the citizens in Mongolia leaves plenty of room for study. As the aforementioned phenomena have gained attention, whether they reflect Mongolian public opinion remains unclear. Minato (2015) is one of the few efforts, but its findings need to be tested over the years. This study analyzed recent social survey data and explored Mongolians’ attitude toward their nation and nationalistic opinions.

2. Method

2.1. Data

This study used data from the Asian Barometer Survey (ABS) for the analyses. ABS is a cross-national survey that mainly focuses on politics and democracy in East and Southeast Asia. Five waves of surveys have been conducted so far; the data are open to those who wish to analyze them upon request (Asian Barometer Project, n.d.a.).

Four waves of the survey, from the second to the fifth, incorporated the variables central to this study and were analyzed. In Mongolia, respondents were chosen from across the country using a multi-stage random sampling method and underwent face-to-face interviews. Table 1 presents an outline of the four survey waves.

Table 1. Outline of the four waves of ABS in Mongolia

Wave	Year	Responses	Wave	Year	Responses
ABS2	2006	1211 (4 invalid)	ABS4	2014	1228
ABS3	2010	1210	ABS5	2018	1284

Source: Asian Barometer Project. (n.d.b; n.d.c; n.d.d; n.d.e).

2.2. Variables and Analyses

This study used four question items as dependent variables. Respondents were asked about their attitudes toward their own country using a four-point Likert scale. Exploring the answers of the Mongolian respondents offered an understanding of nationalism harbored by “ordinary” Mongolians.

The first variable was based on the question asking respondents whether they agree or disagree to the statement “A citizen should always remain loyal only to his country, no matter how imperfect it is or what wrong it has done.” In this study, the variable is called “loyalty to the country.” The second variable, “national pride,” was derived from the question asking respondents how proud they were to be citizens of their own country. The third variable was “willingness of emigration,” showing how willing the respondents would be to go and live in another country if they were given the chance. These three questions have been asked since ABS2. The fourth variable, “sacrificing individual interest for nation,” was added to ABS3 and assessed the pros and cons of sacrificing individual interest for the sake of national interest.

A four-point Likert scale was used for all the four variables. In the first and the last questions, respondents were to choose their answer from “strongly agree,” “somewhat agree,” “somewhat disagree,” and “strongly disagree.” The alternatives in the second question were “very proud,” “somewhat proud,” “not very proud,” and “not proud at all”; and

“very willing,” “willing,” “not willing,” and “not willing at all,” in the third question.

3. Result

3.1. Trend of Answers

The changes in the distribution of answers are shown in Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4. The figures revealed the “nationalistic” tendency of majority of the Mongolian respondents. They agreed that citizens should be loyal to their own country regardless of its deficits, and they were proud to be a Mongolian. They were not willing to emigrate to another country and believed in sacrificing their individual interests for the sake of their country.

At the same time, some changes among the survey periods were observed in the results. The percentage of “nationalistic” answers were the highest in Figure 2, followed by Figure 1. The numbers were relatively low in Figures 3 and 4, ranging from 80% to less than 60%. Moreover, the trends in the answers to the four questions differed from each other. The percentage of respondents loyal to their mother country seemed relatively steady, as well as that of those who prioritized national interests over individual interests. Conversely, respondents with strong national pride decreased sharply in the latest wave, and those who chose “somewhat proud” made up for the loss. The number of those who had no intention of going and living abroad was decreasing.

Fig. 1. Distribution of answers: Loyalty to the country

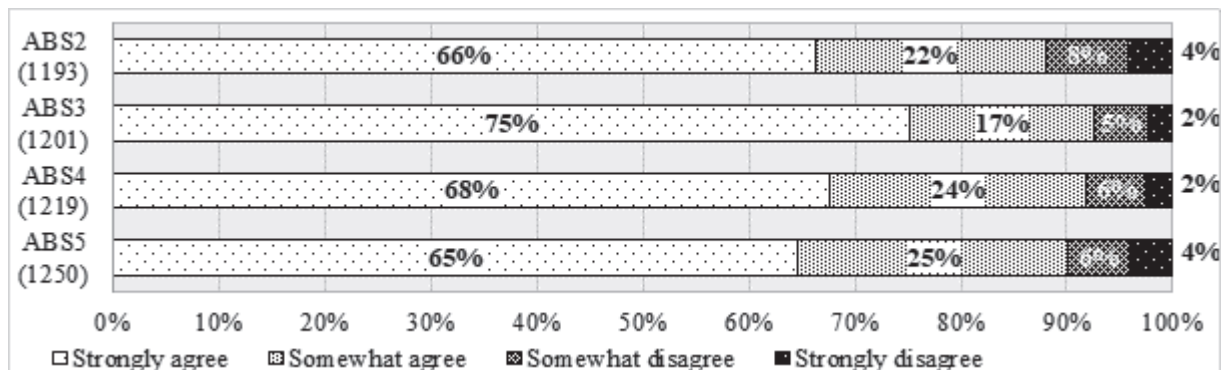


Fig. 2. Distribution of answers: National pride

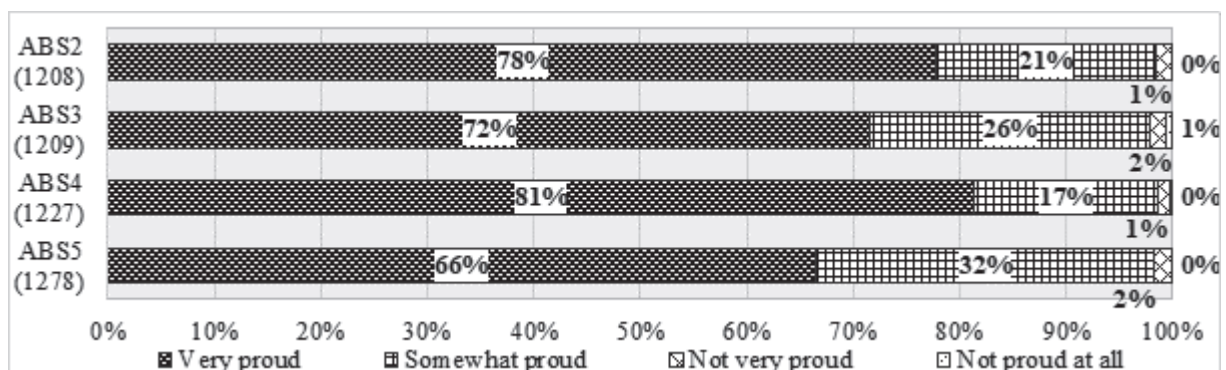


Fig. 3. Distribution of answers: Willingness of emigration

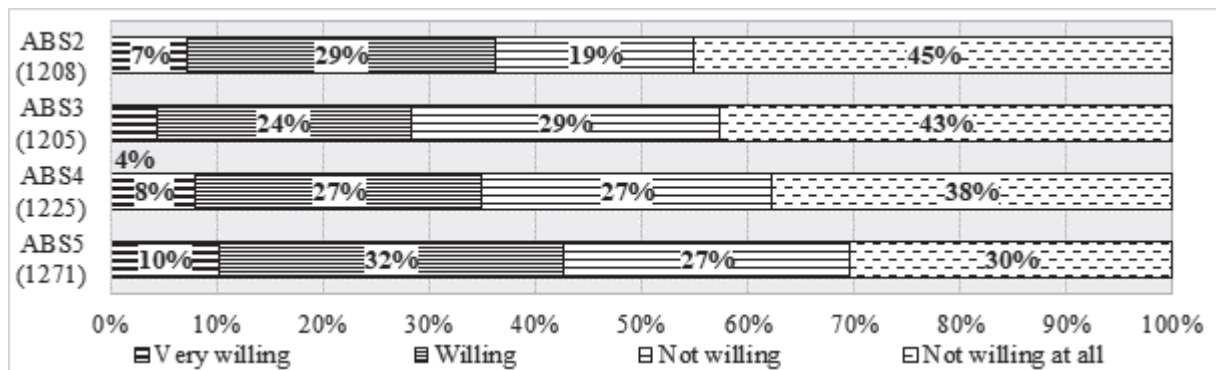
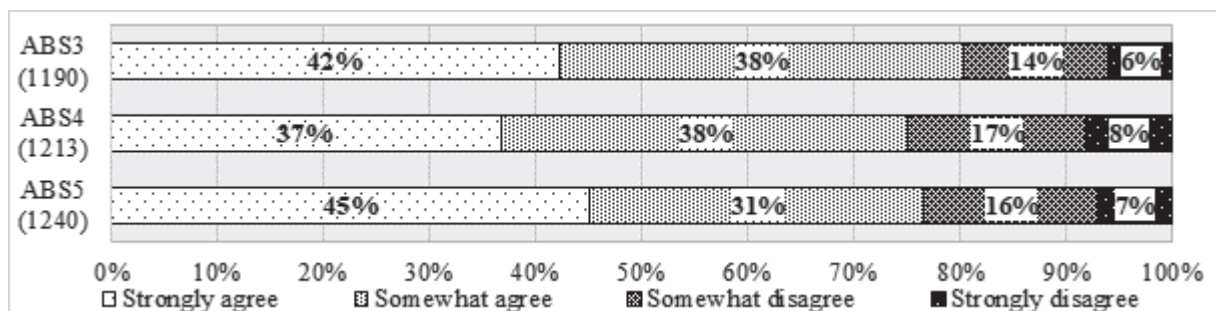


Fig. 4. Distribution of answers: Sacrificing individual interest for nation

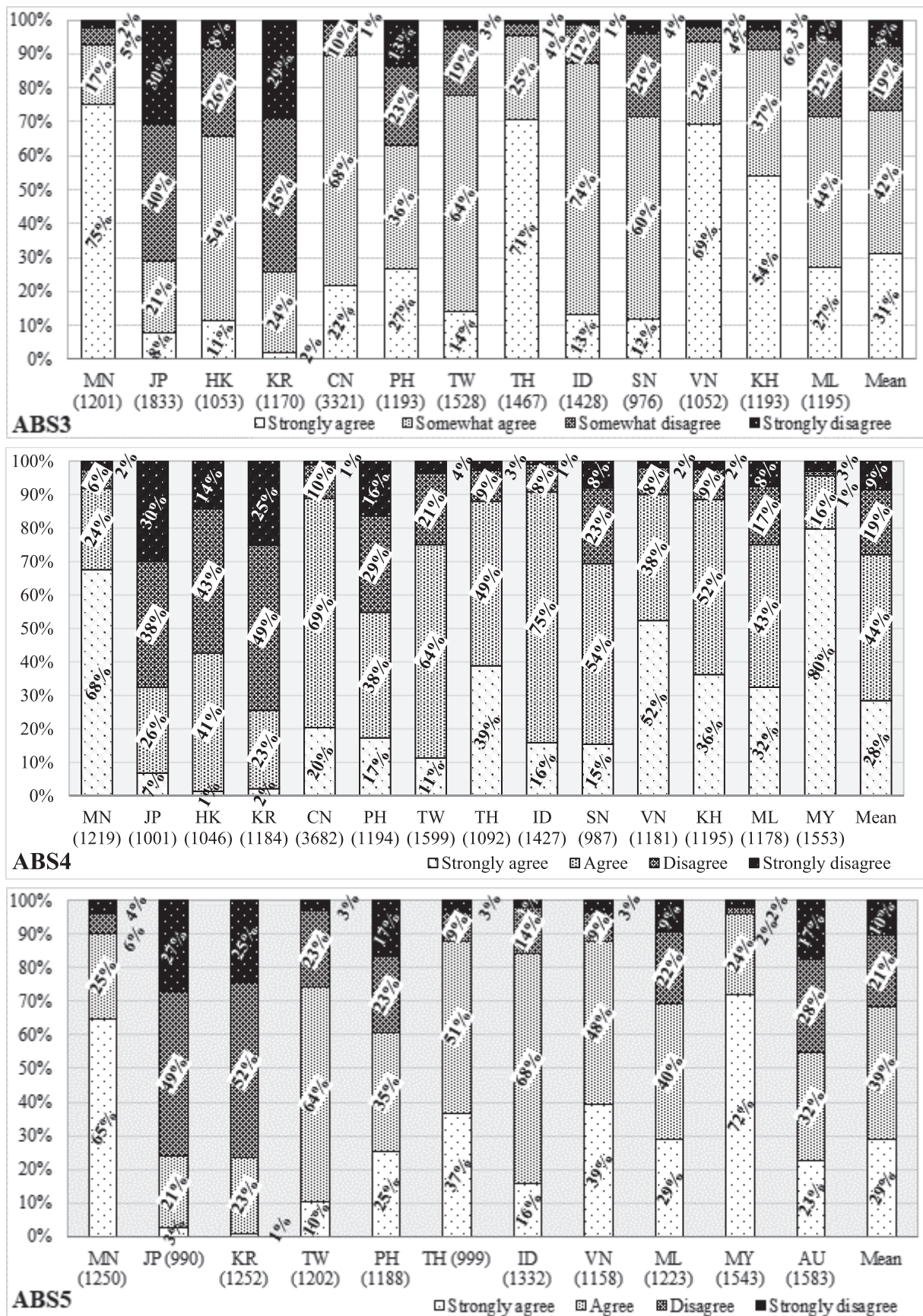


3.2. Cross-national Comparison

Figures 5 through 8 show cross-national comparisons of the results. It should be noted that ABS5 data have not yet been released in some countries and regions surveyed, so the comparison is not complete as far as the survey wave is concerned.

Figure 5 reveals that the respondents strongly agreed to the idea that citizens are loyal to their own country was obviously high in Mongolia. Similarly, Figures 6 through 8 reveal that strong national pride, refusal to emigrate, and self-sacrificing spirit for the nation could be observed in Mongolia, as compared with most East and Southeast Asian societies. These results suggest that nationalism is pervasive and embedded in Mongolian citizens.

Fig. 5 Cross-national comparison of answers: Loyalty to the country



Note: MN: Mongolia; JP: Japan; HK: Hong Kong; KR: South Korea; CN: China; PH: Philippines; TW: Taiwan; TH: Thailand; ID: Indonesia; SN: Singapore; VN: Vietnam; KH: Cambodia; ML: Malaysia; MY: Myanmar; AU: Australia.

Fig. 6 Cross-national comparison of answers: National pride

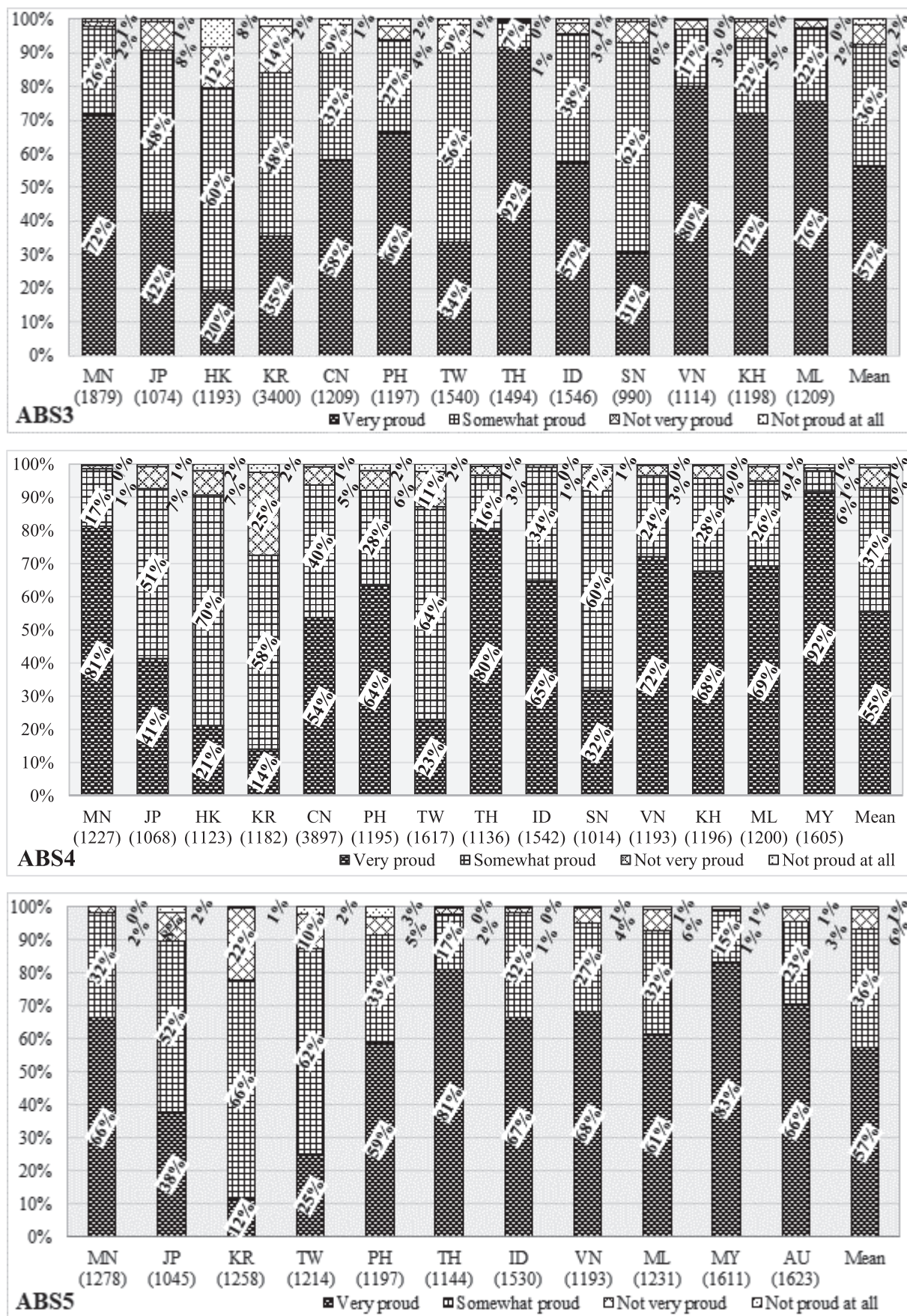


Fig. 7 Cross-national comparison of answers: Willingness of emigration

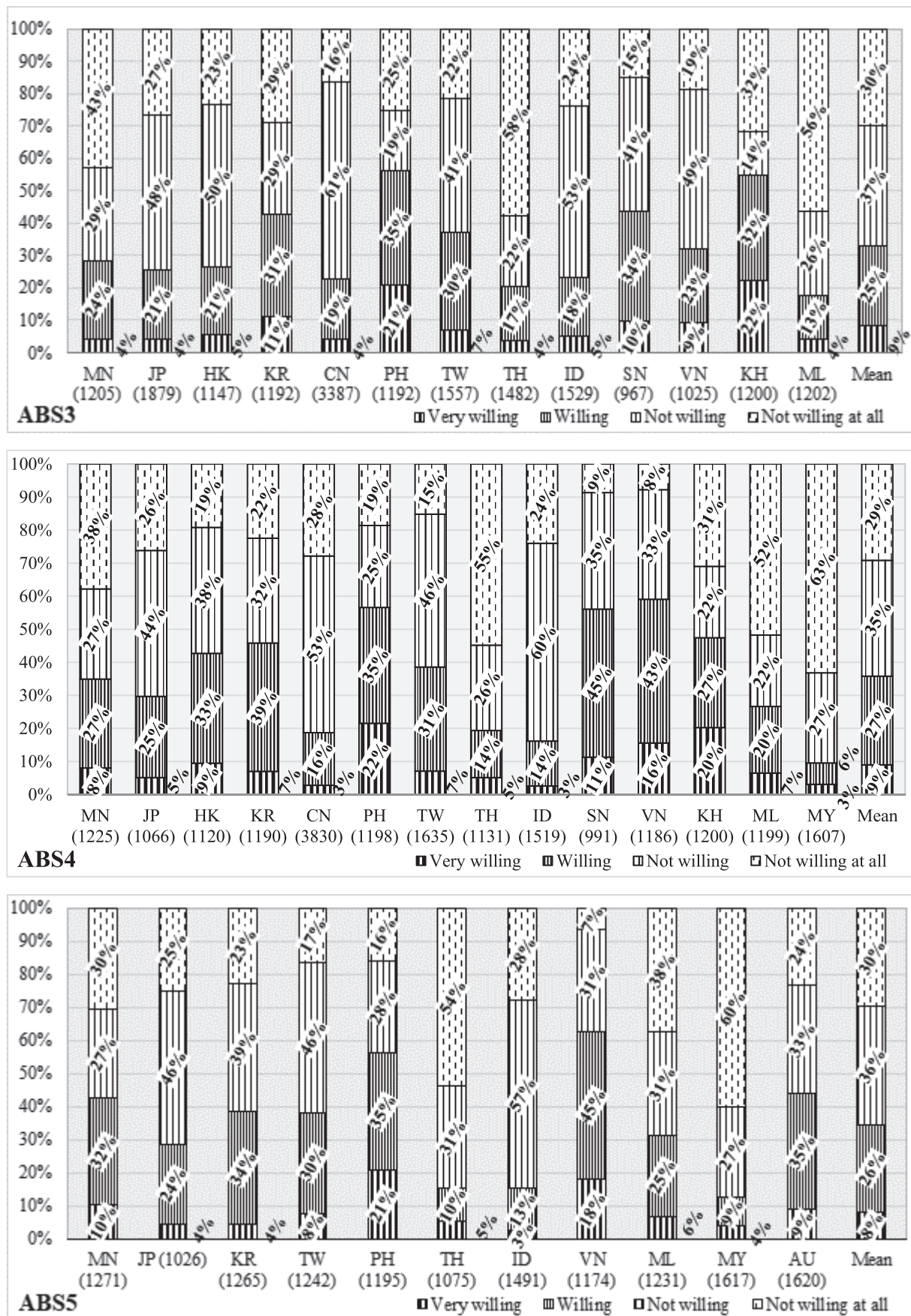
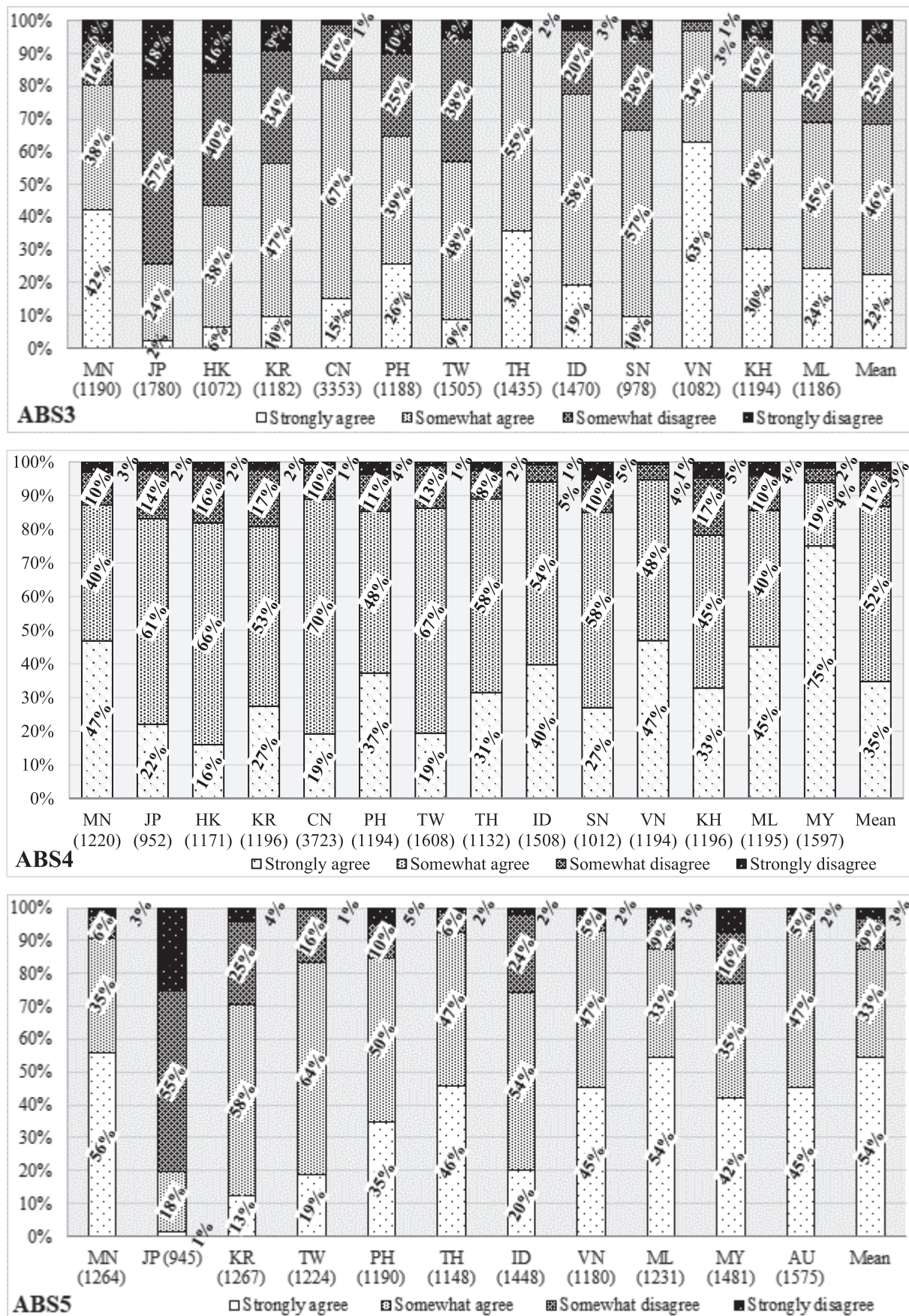


Fig. 8 Cross-national comparison of answers: Sacrificing individual interest for nation



3.3. Result of Multivariate Regression Analyses

Finally, relationships between the variables on nationalism and other factors, as well as correlations among those variables, were examined using a multivariate regression analysis method. This method is used where there are multiple dependent variables, and the correlations between them are in question.

In the analyses, the alternatives of the dependent variables were scored in accordance with approval. Specifically, “strongly agree” was scored 4, “somewhat agree” was 3, “somewhat disagree” was 2, and “strongly disagree” was 1. There were two types of factors analyzed. The former included the respondents’ demographic attributes. The latter was the attitude toward authoritarian views, such as denial of democracy and the rule of law, patriarchy, filial piety, and male superiority, all of which were assumed to be positively related to nationalism. Table 2 lists the variables to be analyzed. These factors were chosen based on the analyses of Minato (2015), but due to changes in the questionnaire, some differences were unavoidable.

Table 2. Basic statistics of the variables in the analyses

	ABS2 (N=901)		ABS3 (N=973)		ABS4 (N=987)		ABS5 (N=915)	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
I. Dependent Variables								
Loyalty to the country	3.500	.820	3.630	.706	3.560	.729	3.540	.729
National pride	3.790	.441	3.680	.542	3.800	.443	3.660	.514
Willingness of emigration	2.040	1.019	1.950	.912	2.080	.992	2.290	.966
Self-sacrifice for national interest	-	-	3.150	.892	3.030	.926	3.150	.934
II. Demographic Variables								
Male dummy	.440	.497	.460	.499	.440	.496	.440	.496
Age	38.120	13.402	39.420	13.908	39.820	14.307	41.430	14.329
Years of formal education	11.690	3.299	11.830	3.421	12.040	3.274	12.200	3.416
Provincial center, other cities dummy	.220	.414	.240	.428	.360	.480	.220	.415
Countryside dummy	.030	.158	.360	.481	.240	.424	.360	.479
Country's economic condition: present	2.940	.702	2.620	.716	2.710	.792	2.490	.793
Country's economic condition: past	3.590	.826	3.110	.949	3.170	1.004	2.840	.993
Country's economic condition: future	3.790	.754	3.670	.849	3.590	.956	3.530	.854
R's economic condition: present	3.000	.655	2.870	.677	3.100	.695	3.040	.665
R's economic condition: past	3.400	.808	3.100	.873	3.420	.851	3.150	.882
R's economic condition: future	3.910	.740	3.850	.790	3.950	.777	3.900	.744
III. Authoritarianism								
Political voice w/o regard to education level	2.560	1.092	3.530	.747	3.330	.815	3.380	.862
Patriarchist view on gov't	2.980	.877	2.620	.955	2.710	.922	2.600	.967
Control by gov't over ideas	3.290	.814	3.060	.889	2.930	.891	3.090	.897
Wariness over freedom of association	3.400	.863	3.000	.962	3.070	.892	2.860	.990
Superiority of executive branch to judiciary	2.540	1.154	2.200	1.067	2.410	1.063	2.000	1.049
Opposition to legislative check on gov't	2.730	.947	2.510	.940	2.520	.917	2.500	.967
Delegating full powers to upright leaders	3.240	.883	3.030	.923	3.030	.875	3.030	.936
Wariness over variety of ways of thinking	3.160	1.014	2.810	1.032	2.950	.936	2.630	1.085
Obedience of children to parents	2.160	1.077	2.470	1.021	2.460	.979	2.500	1.017
Authority of teachers over students	2.450	1.006	2.490	1.000	2.510	.978	2.460	.986
Superiority of male to female in politics	-	-	1.800	.888	2.080	.969	1.910	.998
Respect for religious authority by gov't	-	-	1.780	.905	1.700	.834	1.500	.759

Two models for multivariate regression analyses, Models A and B, were constructed. This was because “Sacrificing individual interest for nation” in Table 2 was not asked in ABS2. Model A was used for analyses of the three dependent variables that had been surveyed since ABS2. Model B incorporated “Sacrificing individual interest for nation” and

analyzed relations to the variable and was used for the analyses of ABS3, ABS4, and ABS5.

Table 3. Result of multivariable regression analyses: Model A

Model A	Loyalty to the country								National pride							
	ABS2		ABS3		ABS4		ABS5		ABS2		ABS3		ABS4		ABS5	
	β	p	β	p	β	p	β	p	β	p	β	p	β	p	β	p
Loyalty to the country									.194 ***		.033		.027		.055	
National pride	.204 ***		.033		.027		.052									
Willingness of emigration	-.030		-.041		-.100 **		-.012		-.132 ***		-.208 ***		-.188 ***		-.154 ***	
Male dummy	.000		.016		.013		.063 +		.052		-.013		.015		-.008	
Age	.032		.003		.057 +		.029		.012		-.054		-.012		-.092 *	
Years of formal education	.045		-.001		.028		-.019		-.020		-.058		-.005		-.037	
Provincial center, other cities dummy	-.028		-.069 +		-.013		.107 **		.132 ***		-.013		.107 **		.012	
Countryside dummy	.007		-.105 **		.064 +		.050		.025		.067 +		.107 **		.064	
Country's economic condition: present	-.006		-.068 +		-.099 **		.034		.057		-.007		-.069 +		.068 +	
Country's economic condition: past	-.027		.022		.057		-.018		-.026		.040		.041		.011	
Country's economic condition: future	.028		-.050		-.017		.001		.002		.048		-.015		.070 +	
R's economic condition: present	-.024		.011		-.059 +		-.068 +		-.005		-.025		.101 **		-.053	
R's economic condition: past	.012		.031		.005		-.042		.038		-.072 *		.002		-.062	
R's economic condition: future	.003		.038		.005		.087 *		.012		.105 **		.012		.031	
Political voice w/o regard to education level	.022		.107 ***		.085 **		.166 ***		.012		.058 +		.103 **		-.055	
Patriarchist view on gov't	.112 **		.092 **		.053		-.027		.051		-.021		.022		.013	
Control by gov't over ideas	-.032		.116 ***		.038		.094 **		.071 *		.064 +		-.034		-.035	
Wariness over freedom of association	.063 +		.070 *		.041		.136 ***		-.020		.037		.071 *		.005	
Superiority of executive branch to judiciary	.095 **		.019		-.025		.010		-.019		.024		-.015		.048	
Opposition to legislative check on gov't	-.009		-.070 *		-.048		-.068 *		.050		.047		.007		-.058 +	
Delegating full powers to upright leaders	.019		.043		.053		.020		-.020		.041		-.073 *		-.041	
Wariness over variety of ways of thinking	.034		.080 *		.080 *		.037		.044		.010		.064 +		.033	
Obedience of children to parents	.030		-.001		-.062 +		-.030		-.023		-.003		.030		.052	
Authority of teachers over students	-.007		-.029		.085 **		.062 +		.083 *		.014		-.023		.037	
Adjusted R ²	.069 ***		.076 ***		.069 ***		.102 ***		.112 ***		.082 ***		.071 ***		.056 ***	

	Willingness of emigration							
	ABS2		ABS3		ABS4		ABS5	
	β	p	β	p	β	p	β	p
Loyalty to the country	-.026		-.036		-.091 **		-.011	
National pride	-.121 ***		-.181 ***		-.171 ***		-.130 ***	
Willingness of emigration								
Male dummy	-.090 **		-.038		-.042		-.027	
Age	-.337 ***		-.358 ***		-.217 ***		-.324 ***	
Years of formal education	.086 **		.049		-.020		.058 +	
Provincial center, other cities dummy	.017		-.043		-.023		-.053	
Countryside dummy	-.024		-.083 *		-.135 ***		-.109 **	
Country's economic condition: present	-.086 *		-.001		-.098 **		-.086 *	
Country's economic condition: past	-.010		-.014		.041		.006	
Country's economic condition: future	.021		-.011		-.050		-.036	
R's economic condition: present	-.063 +		.000		.074 *		-.028	
R's economic condition: past	.001		-.037		-.033		-.019	
R's economic condition: future	.053		.042		.039		.021	
Political voice w/o regard to education level	.026		.003		.008		-.036	
Patriarchist view on gov't	-.045		-.016		-.016		-.041	
Control by gov't over ideas	.025		-.023		-.088 **		-.069 *	
Wariness over freedom of association	.011		-.035		.014		-.098 **	
Superiority of executive branch to judiciary	.029		.035		.054 +		-.002	
Opposition to legislative check on gov't	.038		.044		-.075 *		.030	
Delegating full powers to upright leaders	-.011		-.023		-.051		-.020	
Wariness over variety of ways of thinking	.047		-.016		-.012		.010	
Obedience of children to parents	.056 +		-.002		.069 *		-.030	
Authority of teachers over students	-.012		.085 **		.001		.018	
Adjusted R ²	.191 ***		.198 ***		.155 ***		.207 ***	

Note: *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.1 (two-tailed test)

Table 4. Result of multivariable regression analyses Model B

Model B	Loyalty to the country						National pride					
	ABS3		ABS4		ABS5		ABS3		ABS4		ABS5	
	β	p	β	p	β	p	β	p	β	p	β	p
Loyalty to the country							.028		.026		.057	
National pride	.028		.025		.053							
Willingness of emigration	-.029		-.078 *		.004		-.206 ***		-.191 ***		-.157 ***	
Self-sacrifice for national interest	.123 ***		.096 **		.123 ***		.033		-.027		-.037	
Male dummy	.012		.008		.050		-.015		.012		-.006	
Age	-.014		.044		.021		-.058		-.011		-.087 *	
Years of formal education	-.007		.014		-.026		-.063 +		-.006		-.035	
Provincial center, other cities dummy	-.056		-.010		.115 **		-.011		.102 **		.014	
Countryside dummy	-.093 *		.072 +		.062		.067 +		.098 *		.062	
Country's economic condition: present	-.061 +		-.099 **		.040		-.004		-.068 +		.066 +	
Country's economic condition: past	.023		.055		-.030		.041		.038		.013	
Country's economic condition: future	-.057 +		-.037		-.005		.045		-.014		.072 +	
R's economic condition: present	.009		-.051		-.067 +		-.024		.107 **		-.050	
R's economic condition: past	.035		.013		-.031		-.072 *		.001		-.065	
R's economic condition: future	.036		-.004		.088 *		.106 **		.013		.027	
Political voice w/o regard to education level	.105 ***		.063 +		.156 ***		.057 +		.101 **		-.054	
Patriarchist view on gov't	.086 *		.053		-.032		-.021		.025		.016	
Control by gov't over ideas	.116 ***		.037		.094 **		.064 +		-.030		-.032	
Wariness over freedom of association	.065 +		.038		.141 ***		.036		.069 *		.003	
Superiority of executive branch to judiciary	.030		-.004		.030		.031		-.013		.055	
Opposition to legislative check on gov't	-.071 *		-.040		-.062 +		.045		.007		-.057 +	
Delegating full powers to upright leaders	.030		.045		.012		.038		-.069 *		-.039	
Wariness over variety of ways of thinking	.081 *		.081 *		.041		.010		.064 +		.038	
Obedience of children to parents	-.023		-.040		-.016		-.001		.032		.050	
Authority of teachers over students	-.001		.070 *		.054		.016		-.018		.040	
Superiority of executive branch to judiciary	-.043		-.079 *		.029		-.022		.011		.019	
Respect for religious authority by gov't	.047		-.107 ***		-.049		-.011		-.038		-.047	
Adjusted R ²	.092 ***		.092 ***		.115 ***		.081 ***		.070 ***		.057 ***	
	Willingness of emigration						Sacrificing individual interest for nation					
	ABS3		ABS4		ABS5		ABS3		ABS4		ABS5	
	β	p	β	p	β	p	β	p	β	p	β	p
Loyalty to the country	-.026		-.071 *		.004		.121 ***		.093 **		.126 ***	
National pride	-.178 ***		-.170 ***		-.130 ***		.032		-.026		-.035	
Willingness of emigration							-.091 **		-.153 ***		-.123 ***	
Self-sacrifice for national interest	-.081 **		-.145 ***		-.106 ***							
Male dummy	-.032		-.035		-.019		.077 *		.038		.080 *	
Age	-.344 ***		-.204 ***		-.309 ***		.118 ***		.046		.078 *	
Years of formal education	.047		-.013		.068 *		.072 *		.030		.060 +	
Provincial center, other cities dummy	-.051		-.035		-.057 +		-.069 +		-.098 **		-.056	
Countryside dummy	-.098 **		-.155 ***		-.120 ***		-.105 **		-.172 ***		-.091 *	
Country's economic condition: present	-.001		-.091 **		-.095 **		-.056		.037		-.056	
Country's economic condition: past	-.011		.034		.014		-.003		-.047		.086 *	
Country's economic condition: future	-.011		-.027		-.031		.042		.137 ***		.048	
R's economic condition: present	.004		.082 *		-.028		.024		.084 *		.014	
R's economic condition: past	-.041		-.036		-.024		-.026		-.021		-.082 *	
R's economic condition: future	.043		.043		.020		-.026		.023		-.037	
Political voice w/o regard to education level	-.004		.013		-.028		-.039		.014		.050	
Patriarchist view on gov't	-.012		-.009		-.038		.016		.050		.049	
Control by gov't over ideas	-.023		-.083 *		-.067 *		-.012		.031		.007	
Wariness over freedom of association	-.033		.013		-.104 **		.026		-.011		-.064 +	
Superiority of executive branch to judiciary	.036		.038		-.021		-.116 ***		-.082 *		-.091 *	
Opposition to legislative check on gov't	.045		-.079 *		.021		.044		-.034		-.034	
Delegating full powers to upright leaders	-.015		-.037		-.012		.092 **		.092 **		.053	
Wariness over variety of ways of thinking	-.015		-.008		.010		-.001		.031		.001	
Obedience of children to parents	-.006		.057 +		-.045		-.065 *		-.054 +		-.098 **	
Authority of teachers over students	.092 **		.018		.023		.022		.125 ***		.061 +	
Superiority of male to female in politics	-.055 +		.020		.018		-.045		.056 +		-.066 +	
Respect for religious authority by gov't	-.031		.028		.041		.082 *		.031		.051	
Adjusted R ²	.206 ***		.171 ***		.217 ***		.107 ***		.124 ***		.091 ***	

Note: *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.1 (two-tailed test)

The results are presented in Tables 3 and 4, respectively. In both models, the regression analyses were statistically significant, based on the tests of the coefficients of determination. As for the dependent variables, consistently significant and negative correlations between national pride and willingness to emigrate were observed in both models. Such a correlation could also be found in Model B between willingness to emigrate and sacrifice individual interest for the nation. However, significant relationships between independent and dependent variables were observed in both the models. One of the few exceptions was the negative relationship between age and willingness to emigrate. In addition, “sacrificing” was negatively associated with “countryside dummy,” that is, respondent’s residence in the *sum* center or rural area, and with superiority of the executive branch to the judiciary.

The results of the analyses are consistent with those of a previous study by Minato (2015). Strong attachment to one’s mother country was found again, and the relationship between dependent variables and other factors was not stable even in this study. These findings imply that Mongolian citizens tend to have a positive attitude toward nationalistic opinions, regardless of their social background. In particular, the low figure of the adjusted determination coefficient found in “national pride,” compared with the other three dependent variables, manifests a deep-rooted nationalistic sentiment in Mongolia.

4. Conclusion

This study explored the nationalism of ordinary Mongolians by using social survey data. These results were consistent with those of a previous study by Minato (2015). In short, the study reassured strong nationalism shared by the Mongolians. It also found a correlation among the aspects of nationalism. The more the Mongolians are proud of their citizenship, the more loyal they are to their nation.

However, a decline in a strong sense of pride in being Mongolian, as well as in refusal of emigration to other countries, described the potential for such a tendency to change, at least to a little degree. Furthermore, the fluctuation of the relations between the variables on nationalism and the independent variables remains to be examined in future studies. The “ordinary” Mongolians’ attitude toward nationalism, therefore, needs further research.

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