

FINDINGS FROM A NATIONWIDE SURVEY ON MONGOLIA'S SOCIAL COHESION

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1. Introduction

Despite the extensive use of the concept of 'social cohesion' in recent years, little attention has been paid to its use and conditions in developing and transitional societies. In this respect, the case of Mongolia appears particularly interesting. With its 'most remarkable political transformations... in light of most social-science theories' (Fish, 1998, p. 127), rapid economic growth 'faster than any other in the next decade' (the Economist 2012), deteriorating social conditions and far-from-complete modernisation process (Oleinik, 2012, p. 3), Mongolia serves as a natural laboratory for social scientists.

There is little agreement on the definition of social cohesion. Most scholars (e.g. Jenson 1998, Bernard 1999 and Chan et. al. 2006) have argued that the definitions of social cohesion are too 'broad in scope, and that much of the analytical value with the concept is lost'. Nonetheless, Chan et. al.'s definition of social cohesion appears to include the core elements and explains the relationships between these factors. They defined social cohesion as follows:

'Social cohesion is a state of affairs concerning both the vertical and horizontal interactions among members of society as characterized by a set of attitudes and norms that includes trust, a sense of belonging and a willingness to participate and help, as well as their behavioural manifestations' (Chan et. al., 2006).

Therefore in this paper we define social cohesion as containing the following core elements:

1. **Recognition and rejection**—this refers to the existence or absence of shared values and a sense of identity and belonging.
2. **Trust**—members of the society can trust their fellow members and political institutions.
3. **Cooperation**—people can help and cooperate with their fellow members of society.

As such, we largely rely on Emile Durkheim's theoretical foundation, Jen Jenson's (1999) social cohesion framework and Chan et. al.'s (2006) methodology for measuring social cohesion.

In this paper we present our preliminary findings from our on-going research on social cohesion in Mongolia. This is part of the Independent Research Institute of Mongolia's (IRIM) initiative to establish

general social studies in Mongolia¹. We are aiming to continue undertaking these surveys on large samples periodically to allow for comparisons across different nations and over time. Through these surveys, we hope to address the lack of general social studies in Mongolia that try to explain society as a whole and answer questions such as:

- how individuals and society are changing
- what their characteristics are
- what measures are appropriate to address these social issues.

Eventually, we hope that the data gathered through our surveys will be able to be used in the long term to monitor and evaluate policies' impacts on fostering social cohesion in practice (OECD, 2011).

Our main objective in this paper is to describe the current state and key characteristics of social cohesion in Mongolia. As such we hope to contribute to the existing literature on social cohesion using empirical evidence gathered in Mongolia—a post-communist transitional society. Where the data allows, we also compare social cohesion in Mongolia with that in other countries.

The paper is structured as follows: following this introduction (section one), section two gives some brief contextual information about social cohesion in Mongolia. Section three then describes the data and methodology used in the survey. Section four presents the findings of the research, focusing on the two key themes: trust and willingness to cooperate. Section five contains the conclusions of this paper.

2. Context of social cohesion in Mongolia

In 1924, Mongolia followed Russia and became only the second communist regime in the world. As a satellite socialist country, the Mongolian government sought to develop the country through planned industrialisation and collectivisation. Rapid urbanisation and rural-to-urban migration commenced in the 1950s. By the 1980s, Mongolia had made remarkable advances in terms of citizen prosperity and well-being compared with other less-developed countries.²

¹ This series of surveys also includes other topics such as 'subjective well-being'.

² (Bradsher 1971-1972)

During this communist period, the main aim of the government was to create a new structure within society that relied on the social cohesion of the Mongolian population. This aim was advanced through many official institutions such as pioneer organizations and youth, women's, elders' and professional associations. Additionally, many unofficial groups also worked to increase social cohesion during that time. For example, neighbourhood initiatives tried to help families and to protect them from natural disasters and other dangers. However, these attempts relied mostly on coercive measures³ rather than the 'willingness' of people to cooperate (Jeannotte et. al., 2002, 3).

In the 1990s, along with other post-communist countries, Mongolia then transformed into a democracy with a free-market economy. This transition period is characterized by deterioration in terms of unemployment, income distribution and poverty compared with 1989. Mongolia's socio-economic and political environment had many problems typical of a post-communist transition, including increasing corruption, lack of trust and confidence among citizens, widening inequalities and poverty (Nixson, Suvd, Luvsandorj, & Walters, 2000). The government paid attention primarily to economic goals and social issues, and therefore social cohesion was often outside the political parties' agendas.

After almost three decades of transition to a market economy in Mongolia, there have been great changes not only in people's lifestyles, but also in their beliefs. During the transition period, all the above mentioned institutions were dismantled. Similar to other post-communist societies, the previous socialist ideology and value system started to disintegrate and became more pro-individual, entrepreneurial, pro-democratic, pro-religious and pro-nationalist (Musek). Pursuing better job and education opportunities, more and more people started to migrate to cities, leaving their traditional nomadic lifestyle. It can be seen that most Mongolians nowadays have a kind of 'hybrid' lifestyle, with both settled and nomadic elements.

Mongolian sociologists have described the key characteristics of Mongolian society as follows:

- **Country of kinship** (Gankhuyag.D 1995): Mongolians depend on each other much more compared to other countries as the subjects of social interactions live closer not in terms of geographical locations but in terms of kinship, where they were born etc. In other words, Mongolia is a society

³ Social cohesion refers to the property by which whole societies, and the individuals within them, are bound together through the action of specific attitudes, behaviours, rules and institutions which rely on consensus rather than pure coercion (Green, A., Janmaat, J. G. and Han, C. 2009, 19)

based on relationships between relatives, friends and direct social ties rather than official and indirect social ties.

- **Mongolian society has always been a nomadic society** (Gundsambuu.Kh 26): Almost every aspect of Mongolian society has been shaped by pastoral nomadism, an ecological adaptation that makes it possible to support more people in the Mongolian environment than would be true under any other mode of subsistence⁴.
- **One country—two cultures** (Gundsambuu.Kh 2002): As a result of industrialisation and urbanisation, Mongolia’s society is divided into two major spectrums—urban and rural.
- **Vertical relationships between administrative units prevail** (Bulag 1998, 49-50): In modern Mongolia, the primary directions of exchange of information are vertical, not horizontal. For example, rather than exchanges happening between aimags, they are mostly facilitated by the central government and other organizations.
- **Mongolia is a relatively homogenous society** in terms of ethnic group, language and religion. Nearly all Mongolians speak the Mongolian language (90%) and nearly half of the population above 15 years of age is Buddhist (Census, National Statistics Office 2011).

In addition, there is growing public distrust in institutions, a sense of political alienation and discontent in political and economic institutions in Mongolia (Dolgion.A, 2015). With the absence of data and evidence about people’s perceptions regarding their social values, claims such as ‘Mongolians don’t cooperate anymore’ or ‘Mongolians don’t trust each other’ become common justifications for the lack of success for various policies. Based on the fact that not all laws and regulations aimed at improving quality of life have had the desired results, we can conclude that making policies reflecting the different needs of the population and unique lifestyle has been a challenge for policy makers.

It is against this background that our public opinion survey on social cohesion will be presented.

⁴ <http://countrystudies.us/mongolia/43.htm>

3. Data and Methods

3.1. Data

As mentioned in the introduction, the social cohesion framework we have used for this paper is drawn from a combination of Chan et.al. and Jen Jenson’s work. The framework consists of four dimensions divided into subjective and objective components and horizontal and vertical dimensions, as shown below.

Figure 1
Social cohesion framework

| | Subjective component | Objective component |
|---|---|---|
| Horizontal dimension (Cohesion within society) | Willingness to cooperate and help fellow citizens, including those from ‘other’ social groups Particularised trust General trust in fellow citizens | Voluntary work—money and time spent on others and helping strangers Involvement in civil society |
| Vertical dimension (State-citizen cohesion) | Trust in political and other major social institutions | Involvement in political institutions |

In this paper we present our findings regarding the horizontal subjective dimension of social cohesion (highlighted in orange in Figure 1) and will not include the objective and vertical dimensions, as a body of research already exists in Mongolia regarding these components.

In the survey, willingness to cooperate with and help fellow citizens (as perceived by individuals) was measured using four key questions. These questions are outlined below.

Figure 2
Questions used to assess willingness to cooperate with, and help fellow citizens

- Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, as opposed to mostly looking out for themselves?
- Which groups would you be happy to cooperate with (a total of 9 groups were listed⁵)?
- I am willing to take the time to help these groups (a total of 9 groups were listed⁶)?
- They are willing to support and help me (a total of 9 groups were listed⁷)?

⁵ Responses to this question were measured via the Cantril Ladder used in similar Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) surveys. Using this method, questionnaires require people to rate their

Using these questions we were able to identify perceptions relating to which groups are most excluded from or included in society, and regarding reciprocity among Mongolians.

The survey also collected information on trust in others using the following questions.

Figure 3
Questions used to assess trust in others

- Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?
- Do you think most people try to exploit you whenever there is a chance, or do they try to be fair?
- Which group of people do you trust the most?
- How often do you trust people?⁸

These questions measure particularised trust—the type of trust we develop within our in-groups: family members, relatives, friends and co-workers. That is, they measure trust in situations where the collective conscience is still quite dominant. This type of trust highly depends on similarity with the trustee. They also measure general trust. This is characterized by trust in the 'unknown other'. Generalised trust appears to be a valid proxy variable for assessing social cohesion in contemporary societies. For the sake of international comparison, we used the World Values Survey and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) questionnaire where appropriate.

In addition to these key questions, we asked general socio-economic and household questions in order to be able to identify the perceptions of different groups of the population and to disaggregate data.

For this paper, statistical significance was tested at the 5% level.

response from 0–10, with '10' meaning 'most positive' and '0' meaning 'most negative'. The score for each question is calculated as the mean value of responses for that question (OECD 2011). Note that because the scale includes '0', there are 11 steps in total.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ The Cantril Ladder was also used for these four questions.

1.1.1 Respondents’ characteristics

The distributions of the sample in terms of key characteristics including gender, age, education level and marital status were not significantly different to those in the general population.

The distributions of other general individual and household characteristics within the sample were similar to those in the general population.

3.2. Methods

The data collection method employed in this survey was face-to-face interviews using an electronic-tablet based questionnaire. The data was collected in June 2016 from 825 respondents in six provinces (out of 21) and in Ulaanbaatar, the capital city of Mongolia. We used descriptive and comparative statistics in our analysis.

4. Status of social cohesion in Mongolia: preliminary findings

4.1. Willingness to cooperate

The results for questions regarding ‘willingness to cooperate with others’ are shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4
Willingness to cooperate with other groups

| Question | N | Mean |
|--|-----|------|
| s1-5_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she was homosexual? | 752 | 3.76 |
| s1-8_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she had different political views? | 766 | 5.25 |
| s1-6_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she was a foreigner? | 770 | 5.39 |
| s1-7_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she lived on social welfare? | 771 | 6.36 |
| s1-1_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she was from a lower social class than yours? | 776 | 6.82 |
| s1-4_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she came from Ulaanbaatar? | 771 | 7.04 |
| s1-3_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she came from the provinces or lived in the countryside? | 780 | 7.12 |
| s1-2_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she was from a higher social class than yours? | 777 | 7.21 |
| Valid N | 702 | |

Note: ‘Don’t know’ responses were counted as missing values.

As can be seen from the results, two of the groups Mongolians are least likely to cooperate with are minorities in Mongolia—those who are gay, and those who are from other countries. This suggests that traditional attitudes remain strong in the country. This is in spite of the fact that there have been a number of measures undertaken to try to promote human rights and reduce discrimination in recent years.

It is also interesting that the survey respondents identified people with different political views to their own as being one of the groups they would be least likely to cooperate with. This may be because Mongolia only became a democracy 26 years ago, and as a result, much of the population still strongly identifies either with the socialist or the new democratic parties.

T-test results found no significant differences between male and female respondents. There were, however, some differences between rural and urban respondents, as Figure 5 shows.

Figure 5
Differences between urban and rural respondents

| | Urban or rural | Mean | t-test by rural/urban |
|--|----------------|------|-----------------------|
| s1-3_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she came from the provinces or lived in the countryside? | Urban | 6.82 | t=-3.598, p=.000 |
| | Rural | 7.58 | |
| s1-5_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she was gay? | Urban | 3.98 | t=1.956, p=.051 |
| | Rural | 3.40 | |

Note: Orange coloured cells indicate statistical significance.

Unsurprisingly, people from rural areas are more likely than people from urban areas to cooperate with others from rural areas. This difference was statistically significant. In the sample, people from urban areas were more likely than those from rural areas to cooperate with people who are gay, however this result was not statistically significant.

There were also significant differences between age-groups regarding willingness to cooperate. When the sample was broken down into two groups—those aged 35 and under and those aged over 35—the younger age-group were significantly more likely to cooperate with almost all sub-groups than their older peers. In particular, they were far more likely to cooperate with people from other countries. The results of this analysis are shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6
Willingness to cooperate by age-group

| | 35 and under age-group | Over 35 age-group | t-test by age-group |
|--|-------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| s1-1_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she was from a lower social class than yours? | 7.07 | 6.55 | t=2.285, p=.023 |
| s1-2_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she was from a higher social class than yours? | 7.47 | 6.91 | t=2.761, p=.006 |
| s1-3_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she came from the provinces or lived in the countryside? | 7.16 | 7.08 | t=.360, p=.719 |
| s1-4_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she came from Ulaanbaatar? | 7.27 | 6.77 | t=2.459, p=.014 |
| s1-5_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she was gay? | 4.10 | 3.34 | t=2.689, p=.007 |
| s1-6_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she was a foreigner? | 6.16 | 4.48 | t=6.407, p=.000 |
| s1-7_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she lived on social welfare? | 6.69 | 5.98 | t=2.966, p= .003 |
| s1-8_ Would you be happy to cooperate with a person if he/she had different political views? | 5.34 | 5.14 | t=.762, p=.446 |

Note: Orange coloured cells indicate statistical significance.

Respondents were asked, in regards to each group, ‘Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, as opposed to mostly looking out for themselves (yes/no question)?’ The results show that people’s willingness levels to help certain groups—family members, friends and relatives—scored higher than others groups, 98%, 95% and 94% respectively. Respondents were least willing to help strangers (42%) and people with different religious beliefs (51%) and of different nationalities (56%). People are therefore generally more willing to help those with whom they have a personal relationship than those within their general society. Relevant results are shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7
Willingness to help and expectations of receiving help from others

| Classifications | I am willing to help people if they are... (%) | I think people are willing to help me if they are... (%) | Difference (%) |
|---|---|---|-----------------------|
| People of different nationalities | 56 | 36 | 20 |
| People from different provinces | 64 | 44 | 20 |
| Strangers | 42 | 23 | 19 |
| People with different religious beliefs | 51 | 33 | 18 |
| My neighbours | 70 | 58 | 12 |
| Co-workers/colleagues | 91 | 83 | 8 |

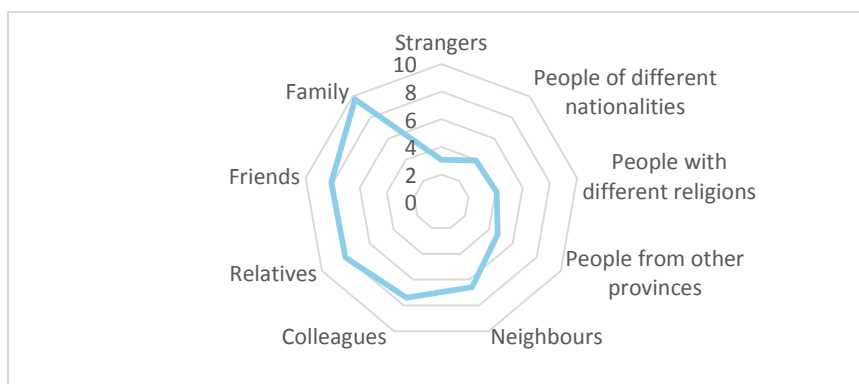
| Classifications | I am willing to help people if they are... (%) | I think people are willing to help me if they are... (%) | Difference (%) |
|-----------------|--|--|----------------|
| Relatives | 94 | 88 | 6 |
| Friends | 95 | 90 | 5 |
| Family members | 98 | 97 | 1 |

It is interesting to note the results from a reciprocity perspective. For all categories people were more willing to help others than expectant of being helped. However, that feeling of reciprocity was significantly less for strangers, people with different religious beliefs, of different nationalities and from different provinces. Conversely, the closer the relationship, the more reciprocity is observed. The reciprocity gaps for families, friends, relatives and colleagues were all below 10%. Notably, only 23% of the respondents stated that they believed that a stranger would help them.

4.2. Interpersonal trust

This section looks at respondents’ levels of trust in others, and perceived trust of others in them. Levels of general trust among the respondents were low. In answer to the question: ‘how often do you trust people?’ the mean score was 6.2.⁹ In addition, more than half of the sample population (65.8%) answered 5 or less in response to the question: ‘Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can’t be too careful in dealing with people?’ Similarly 69% of the respondents also indicated that they believe people try to exploit them. The mean scores for these two questions were both 4.4. Figure 8 shows the mean scores for respondents’ trust in different groups.

Figure 8
Mean levels of trust in different groups



⁹ Note that because the scale includes ‘0’, there are 11 steps in total.

As Figure 8 shows, there is a stark contrast in the levels of trust in different groups, with friends and family scoring much higher than strangers and those who are different from the respondent in some way. This is perhaps not surprising when we consider that during the socialist period, Mongolian international relations were limited to other socialist countries. Furthermore, even these countries were often seen as rivals rather than neighbours, and this message was consistently reinforced through propaganda.

From an international perspective, low levels of trust are not uncommon. According to Larsen’s 2014 analysis of the World Value Survey findings (2010), ‘a high level of social trust is a rare phenomenon. Only in five out of the 52 countries included in the survey do those answering that “most people can be trusted” outnumber those answering that “one needs to be very careful”.’

Figure 9 shows mean levels of trust in different groups, as well as the outcomes of statistical significance tests (t-tests and analysis of variance tests as appropriate) for different respondent characteristics.

Figure 9
Mean levels of trust of different groups, and statistical test results for effects of respondent characteristics

| Question | Mean | t-test by gender | t-test by rural/ urban | One-way ANOVA, factor: education level | | One-way ANOVA, factor: age | | One-way ANOVA, factor: income | |
|---|------|------------------------|---------------------------------|--|------|----------------------------------|------|--|------|
| | | | | F | Sig | F | Sig | F | Sig |
| S5. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? | 4.36 | t=.981, p=.327 | t=1.516, p=.130 | 4.951 | .007 | 1.589 | .191 | 7.662 | .000 |
| S6. Do you think most people try to exploit you whenever there is a chance, or do they try to be fair? | 4.39 | t=.328, p=.743 | t=.290, p=.068 | .393 | .675 | 1.657 | .175 | 7.314 | .000 |
| S7-1_ How much do you trust your family? | 9.74 | t=.771, p=.441 | t=.483, p=.629 | .884 | .414 | 1.359 | .254 | 9.554 | .000 |
| s7-2_ How much do you trust your neighbours? | 6.57 | t=.418, p=.676 | t=.739, p=.247 | 1.271 | .281 | 5.274 | .001 | 3.871 | .004 |
| s7-3_ How much do you trust strangers? | 3.06 | t=.459, p=.646 | t=.310, p=.062 | .179 | .836 | 2.958 | .032 | 1.202 | .308 |
| s7-4_ How much do you trust your friends? | 8.10 | t=-.029, p=.977 | t=-.555, p=.579 | 1.415 | .244 | 3.129 | .025 | 8.896 | .000 |
| s7-5_ How much do you trust people with different religious beliefs? | 4.08 | t=-.086, p=.931 | t=.149, p=.882 | 2.490 | .084 | .796 | .496 | .948 | .435 |

| Question | Mean | t-test by gender | t-test by rural/urban | One-way ANOVA, factor: education level | | One-way ANOVA, factor: age | | One-way ANOVA, factor: income | |
|--|------|------------------|-----------------------|--|------|----------------------------|------|-------------------------------|------|
| | | | | F | Sig | F | Sig | F | Sig |
| s7-6_ How much do you trust people of different nationalities? | 3.93 | t=.811, p=.417 | t=.603, p=.547 | 4.606 | .010 | 1.219 | .302 | 1.451 | .215 |
| s7-7_ How much do you trust your relatives? | 8.03 | t=-.135, p=.892 | t=1.435, p=.152 | 1.013 | .364 | .242 | .867 | 14.097 | .000 |
| s7-8_ How much do you trust your colleagues? | 7.39 | t=-.127, p=.899 | t=3.323, p=.001 | 3.587 | .028 | .330 | .804 | 10.345 | .000 |
| s7-9_ How much do you trust people from different provinces? | 4.72 | t=1.022, p=.307 | t=2.600, p=.010 | 3.680 | .026 | 1.519 | .208 | 2.935 | .020 |
| S8_ How often do you trust people? | 6.20 | t=.211, p=.833 | t=.476, p=.634 | 1.968 | .140 | .322 | .809 | 2.947 | .020 |

Note: Orange coloured cells indicate statistical significance.

When arranged in order, respondents were least likely to trust strangers (3.06), and most likely to trust their family (9.74), as per the results regarding helping and receiving help from others. Following family, people are most likely to trust friends (8.1), relatives (8.03), colleagues (7.39) and neighbours (6.57). That is, they are most likely to trust people they have a personal relationship with. Following strangers, they are most likely to distrust people of different nationalities (3.93), people with different religious beliefs (4.08) and people from different provinces (4.72). That is, they are most likely to distrust people who are significantly different to them.

In terms of the effects of respondent characteristics on levels of trust, the results show the following:

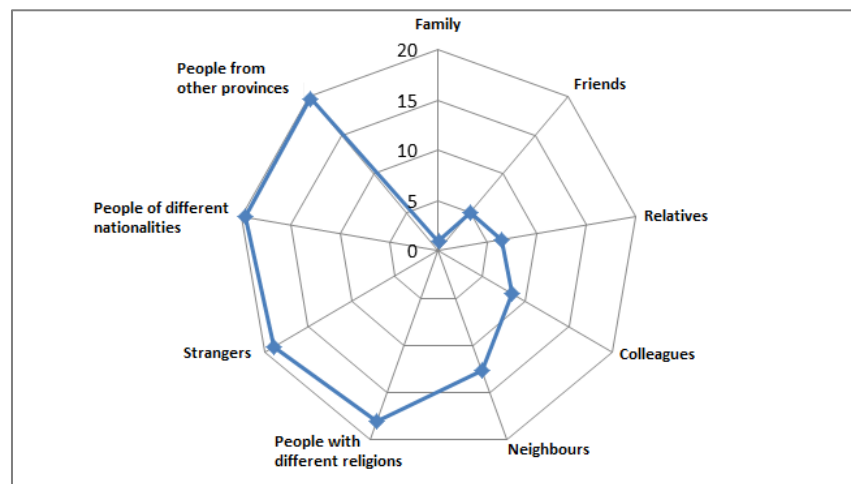
- Rural or urban:** There were some differences between respondents from rural and urban areas, with people from urban areas reporting lower levels of trust than their rural-dwelling counterparts. However, the differences were only statistically significant in regards to trust in two particular groups—colleagues and people from other provinces.
- Educational level:** Education levels were correlated with trust levels. In general, people with more education tend to be more trusting, particularly of colleagues and people from different nationalities and from different provinces. Respondents with doctorates reported higher levels of trust in all groups than people with other levels of education. This suggests that education can be a positive and influential factor in levels of trust.
- Age:** Age was a significant characteristic regarding trust of some groups, and not others. In particular, age was statistically significant for trust in neighbours, strangers and friends. However, unlike regarding willingness to cooperate, people aged 35 and under were not

necessarily more trusting than their older counterparts. **Income:** Income is also a statistically significant characteristic related to respondents' trust in the majority of groups included in the questionnaire. Those who have higher incomes tend to have higher levels of trust in others. Note that income was evaluated subjectively by the respondents in the questionnaire.

- **Gender:** There were no significant differences between genders regarding levels of trust towards any of the groups.

In line with the results regarding helping and expecting help from others, Mongolians have higher levels of trust in others than they have the belief that others trust them. Expectations of reciprocity from people in close relationships such as family, friends, relatives and colleagues were relatively strong (the differences in expectation were less than 10% for all these groups). However, expectations become weaker as social distance increases, as **Error! Reference source not found.** shows. The differences in expectations of reciprocity from strangers and people with different religions, from different provinces, or of different nationalities were all between 15 and 20%.

Figure 10
Differences in expectations of reciprocity for different groups



5. Conclusions

In conclusion, as with many other countries around the world, our survey suggests that levels of trust and willingness to cooperate on a societal level are relatively low. Rather, the social cohesion in Mongolia is family-centred. Mongolians tend to feel more trust towards, and willingness to cooperate with, those who are more similar to them (a 'mechanical' solidarity). Conversely, they tend to feel less

trust towards, and willingness to cooperate with, those within their society who are different (an 'organic' solidarity). This reflects Mongolia's status as a country that is still largely traditional in many ways.

Perceptions of reciprocity of trust and willingness to cooperate are also correlated with social distance. Mongolians generally feel that they are more likely to cooperate with and trust others than others are to cooperate with and trust them. However, the differences in these perceptions diminish with social distance; that is, the socially closer the other person is, the more reciprocal the relationship is perceived to be.

In terms of the effects of characteristics such as age and gender on trust and willingness to cooperate, there were a number of significant differences identified. Age, education level, income level and whether a person lived in a rural or urban area were all statistically significant factors. However, gender was not deemed to be significant.

While our survey yields important information about subjective social cohesion in Mongolia, further research needs to be done to better understand the factors influencing the findings outlined in this paper. Furthermore, as noted earlier, this was the first survey of this type in Mongolia. Therefore there is no longitudinal data available to allow us to determine how perceptions and attitudes have changed over time. We hope that this work is the first step towards a more holistic understanding of social cohesion in Mongolia, comprising both objective and subjective components. Such an understanding would be an invaluable tool in assessing the effectiveness of social policies and their outcomes.

6. References

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