

Internal migration of Mongols to Ulaanbaatar and the Problem with the City

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Abstract. Ulaanbatar is the capital of Mongolia. Historically Ulaanbatar was formed like industrial business, and science center since 17 century.

Ulaanbatar is the most rapidly growing city in the world- annual increase is 100 thousand people that's because of internal migration from villages to cities. Even if external and internal migrations is a reflection process in modern world, internal migration prevail over external because of flow of emigrants from villages to Ulaanbaatar. The City can't adapt that much new citizens, that's why Mongolian capital have to deal with major problems. The flow of immigration led to change population distraction what caused the economical and social problems. A tiny part of emigrants stay in apartments while other part stay in yurts which is constantly expanding and becoming a place of staying for 20000 to 30000 emigrants every year. In yurts areas are living about 60,2 % of citizens, and it is the main cause of polluting atmosphere contamination of Ulaanbatar. The author is analyzed the problems with what the city Ulaanbatar meets to draw attention of society and researchers for improving Ulaanbaatar situation.

Key words: city; migration; migration influence; behavior of emigrations and forming of suburbs; urbanization; Ulaanbaatar.

Моңғолиядағы Улан-Баторға ішкі миграция және урбанизация мәселелері

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Түйін. Улаанбаатар Моңғолияның астанасы болып табылады. Тарихи тұрғыда Улаанбаатар өнеркәсіп, сауда, ғылыми даму ошағы ретінде 17 ғ. бастап қалыптасты. Улаанбаатар әлемдегі ең жылдам өсіп жатқан қалалардың бірі болып табылады – жылдық өсім – худоннан қалаға ішкі миграция ағыны себебінен 100 мың адамды құрайды. Ішкі және сыртқы миграция қазіргі әлемдегі заңды үрдіс болып табылатындығына қарамастан, село халқының Улаанбаатарға біржақты сыртқа тепкіш миграциялық ағыны туындайды. Және де қала жаңа тұрғындардың мұншалықты ағынына бейімделіп үлгермейді де, Моңғолия астанасында туындайтын жаңа мәселелер түйіні келіп шығады. Астанаға бағытталған миграциялық ағын ел халқының бөлінуін терең өзгерістерге әкелді де, экономикалық және әлеуметтік мәселелерді туындатты. Мигранттардың аз ғана бөлігі пәтерлерде қоныстанған, Улаанбаатардың киіз үйлі аудандары жыл сайын 20000-30000 мигранттармен толысып отырады. Киіз үйлі аудандарда қала халқының 60.2% тұрады және бұл Улаанбаатардың топырағы мен атмосферасының ластануына себепкер болады. Автор Улаанбаатар тап болып отырған мәселелерді зерттеушілер мен қоғам назарын аударту арқылы, үздік Улаанбаатарды тұрғызу мақсатында зерттеген.

Түйін сөздер: қала; миграция; миграцияның ықпалы; мигранттардың қылығы; урбанизация; Улан-Батор.

Внутренняя миграция в Монголии в Улан-Батор и проблемы урбанизации

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Абстракт. Улаанбаатар является столицей Монголии. Исторически Улаанбаатар формировался и как центр промышленного, торгового, научного развития с 17 в. Улаанбаатар является одним из самых быстрорастущих городов на свете. Годовой прирост – 100 тысяч человек из-за притока внутренней миграции из худона в город. Хотя внешняя и внутренняя миграции являются закономерным процессом в современном мире, создается односторонний центробежный миграционный поток сельского населения в Улаанбаатар. И город не успевает приспособиться к такому притоку новых жителей. Отсюда и возникают основные проблемы, с которыми приходится сталкиваться столице Монголии. Миграционный поток, направленный на столицу привел к сильным изменениям распределения населения страны и создал экономические и социальные проблемы. Мизерная часть мигрантов живет в квартирах. Юрточные районы Улаанбаатара расширяются и пополняются каждый год 20000-30000 мигрантов. В юрточных районах живут 60.2% городского населения и это является причиной загрязнения почвы и атмосферы Улаанбаатара. Автор исследовал проблемы, с которыми сталкивается город Улаанбаатар с целью привлечь внимание исследователей и общества для построения лучшего Улаанбаатара.

Ключевые слова: город; миграция; влияние миграций; поведение мигрантов; урбанизация; Улан-Батор.

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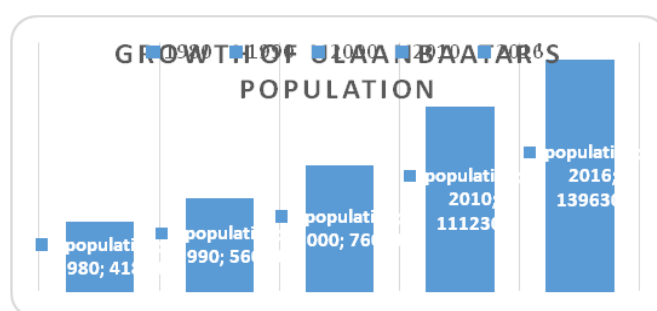
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Briefly about Ulaanbaatar. Mongolia is landlocked country in Central Asia, and the region has been ruled by many nomadic empires over its history, including Genghis Khan who founded the Mongol Empire. In 2016, estimates put the population at 3.010.415 people. Approximately 45% of the country's population reside in the capital city of Ulaanbaatar. This city is the only one in the country that has a population of more than 100,000. Erdenet, Mongolia's second-largest city has a population of just around 95,000.

Ulaanbaatar is positioned in a basin at an elevation of 1.300 m slightly northeast in the central steppe region of Mongolia. Ulaanbaatar is not only the political, economic, religious and cultural center as well as a symbol of political independence. The rapid economic growth from 2000 to 2011 and freedom of choice of living area by Mongolian citizens after Democratic revolution in 1990 have lured hundred thousand from the impoverished Mongolian countryside.

Much of Ulaanbaatar's recent population growth is generally attributed to inward migration from rural areas, as opposed to natural growth from city births, but the data indicates this is not a new phenomenon. In fact, the majority of Ulaanbaatar's population growth since 1926 has been driven by migration rather than births. Only in the three decades between 1963 and 1989, when presumably centralized planning strictly regulated migration, did the city predominantly expand due to natural population growth. There are significant jumps in the city's population in 1963 and 2000 in the graph above when censuses were conducted. Between 1990 and 2014, inflow of migrants to Ulaanbaatar was 560000 person, outflow migrants from Ulaanbaatar to countryside was 110000 (National Statistics Office of Mongolia 2015).

Table 1. Growth of Ulaanbaatar's population¹



This growth made Ulaanbaatar a densely populated urban area. It is stark contrast to the country at-large, which has one of the smallest population densities in the world at 2 people per square kilometres².

The population in August 2016 has reached 1396 million person, on one square km 201 person is necessary. The youth till 35 years makes 65.1 % of all population

¹ Source: Niislelin statistician gazar 2014 (1)

² The migration numbers were calculated using the national net population growth rate for that year and taking the difference between the absolute population growth and the estimated rate of births in Ulaanbaatar using the national growth rate.

of city, of them 31 %- children till 15 years (National Statistics Office of Mongolia, 2015). Ulaanbaatar is divided into seven districts (Duuregs), Bagakhangai, Bayangol, Bayanzürkh, Chingeltei, KhanUul, Nalaikh, Songino hairkhan and Sükhbaatar and 2 satellite cities Baganuur and Nalaikh. Each district is subdivided into khoroos of which there are 121.

As urban economist Edwin Mills has shown, urbanization brought in its wake improved incomes, more employment opportunities, and created conditions that made business investments more lucrative (Mills, Edwin 1972, P.6). Over the next 15 years, all Mongolian population growth will be in cities of Mongolia. Rural populations are declining and expected to decline by 100000.

With a population over one million, Ulaanbaatar is reasonably sized urban area. It is big comparing to whole population of the country. However, by world standards, the size is not small and not particularly big. The city surrounded by hundreds of thousands of square kilometers of open space, so it can also continue to expand in all directions. Could it one day hold the majority of the country's population?

The evolution of Ulaanbaatar. The first information about Ulaanbaatar was marked in the Mongolian sources in 1649 entitled Hordes Ypra. Development of the Mongolian capital is connected with the first chapter Buddhist churches of Mongolia Zanabazar, known under name Undur-gegen (High Holiness). Urga/1639-1651/. In 1639 in honor of the chapter of Buddhism Zanabasar (palace) has been based on lake Shireet-Tsagaan-nuur, (area present Burd сомона Uvurkhangai), approximately in 250 km from modern Ulaanbaatar Hordes Urga. Hordes Urga was the religious center both the main item internal and foreign trade. Urga over 20 times removed from one seat on another however with growth of the rate movement became less often.

In 1778, Urga has finally settled in merge of the rivers Selbe and Tuul, to the north from mountain Bogd Khan Uul on caravan ways from Beijing and Kalgan in Khyakhta. With 1639 up to 1778 within 139 years the capital of 28 times changed the site. But basically, stopped in basin the rivers Orkhons, Tuul, Kharaa. Practically each 5-10 years moved on other territory.

To beginning XX century, Mongolian population Urga reached 25000 people from which 10 thousand was monks, or the persons borrowed in a monastic facilities.

In a year of a white pig, in 1911 when Mongolia has dethroned a Manchurian yoke and became the independent state, on December, 16th Holiness Javzandamba has been proclaimed by the spiritual and secular governor of Mongolia. In this instant our city for the first time for 272 years of the existence has received the status of capital of the independent state, therefore there was a new name – Niislel Khuree. Name Urga was not official and was used basically by foreigners.

In third year after a victory national-democratic revolution 1921 r, on October, 29th, 1924 the first State hural has legislatively fixed the status of capital of the state MNR and it has received the new name -Ulaanbaatar (the Red hero in English and Ulan-Bator in Russian writing). In 1925 at assembly of representatives of workers the city administration has been created.

Since 1940, in city active works on its accomplishment are conducted. In 1954-74 historically developed structure of Ulaanbaatar has been radically modified by ordering a network of streets and the areas, the rational organization of inhabited quarters, industrial regions and zones of rest of the population. In 1975 new general plan Ulaanbaatar calculated on perspective timeframe up to 2000 and providing, in particular, restriction of industrial construction with a view of maintenance of a stable level of the population of city has been made.

For years of people's power Ulaanbaatar has turned to large industrial center where it is created about 44 % of total industrial output MPR. A number of the industrial enterprises of capital is created with economic and technical assistance of Soviet Union and other socialist countries — members Council for mutual Economic Assistance (in Russian СЭВ). In capital the enterprises almost all industries concentrate. Most strongly represented light industry. The important branches — food (a meat-packing plant, a bakery, distillery combine, flourmill) the industry, the industry of building materials (house-building combine, brick, concrete, cement factories), wood processing and metal working (an auto repair factory, etc.).

In the city 70 % of the state budget, 66 % state and private enterprises, 88.5 % of the state and private (Bayanchimeg 2014).

Why do people migrate from rural areas to Ulaanbaatar? The scale and speed of urbanization across the Mongolia today are unprecedented- throwing up a string of cities, from Ulaanbaatar to Erdenet (2nd biggest city, 95000 people) and Darkhan (3d biggest city, 75000 people) and other provincial centers range from 20,000–30,000.

The reasons people move to urban areas of Mongolia vary greatly depending on the person, but they typically revolve around employment. The reasons why people moved to the cities can divided into push or pull factors.

Push factor: something bad about where you are living pushes you away from where you currently live

Full factor: something good about where you are moving to pulls you to live there (Migration trends, 2016).

Since 1991, internal migration level has suddenly increased owing to the beginning of the transition period from centrally planned economy to a market oriented economy. In 1991, the total number of migrants reached to 134.6 thousands, it means 5 times higher than for early 1980s.

There were a few push factors of moving from rural areas to Ulaanbaatar:

- One of push factor of moving herdsmen to Ulaanbaatar was loose of their animals in harsh severe winters by dzud (when too much snows, pasture animals cannot find their food under snow and they die from starving) in 1997, 2001, 2010. More than 20000 herdsmen families became unemployed with lose their animals from 1996 to 2008. Herdsmen families which has more than 500 animals with high productivity are 6% of all herdsmen. 25% of herdsmen are middle class, who has animals between 200 and 500. Poor herdsman families have animals less that 200 animals (Bat 2014, iii). Middle and low classes of herdsman were vulnerable to dzud and lose most of animals;

- After privatization agricultural cooperative animals in 1991 and privatization of agricultural state enterprises in 1991-1994 around 35000 people of rural areas remained within no jobs. Also people who has farming jobs were poorly paid. Despite working hard and long hours farmers received just enough money to survive. In 16 aimags (biggest administrative units in rural area) of 21 aimags of Mongolia decreased number of population in 2004-2010 years from 43.1% to 36.7% (Boldbaatar, Batbayar 2011, P.13). They migrated to find a job in Ulaanbaatar and other cities of Mongolia. 23677 people in 2002, 40760 people in 2003, 68808 people in 2004 years moved from rural areas to Ulaanbaatar (Ger khoroolol 2016);

- Negdel (cooperative of herdsman) and SAA (agricultural state enterprise) were middle and big agricultural units within quite well technics and machines and well organized social services. Negdel and SAA's social services were of a high standard and accessible to all. All negdels and SAAs had an extensive school network and school dormitory system that allowed herders children to attend.

Education and medical services suffered from cuts in the national budget after transition. As a result, the dormitory system, buildings, heating systems, equipment and the quality of teaching have all suffered. Previously high government investment in pre-school education for three to seven-year-olds has fallen. 31.2% of households from 204 interviewed said that one of their main reasons for moving was for their children's schooling or to give to their children a better education (Nyamaa 2006, P.10);

– Other important livelihood-related reasons for many households include to get closer to urban areas for the market, services and information.

Full factors. Ulaanbaatar has more opportunities for employment, especially in competitive industries, such as computers, technology and quite high-level corporations:

– Ulaanbaatar has better quality of living and though cost of living is almost similar and sometimes higher to Russian big cities. Average wage of citizens of Mongolia lower twice than Russian citizens (average wage in Ulaanbaatar 440\$, in Moscow 785\$) (Mongolia wages 2017). In Russia consumers price are 23.28%, rent prices are 41.4%, groceries prices are 37.04% lower, restaurant prices are 38.04%, local purchasing power is 108.56% higher than in Mongolia (Cost Living comparison 2017). However, most of migrants move to Ulaanbaatar, driven by the prospect of greater employment opportunities and the hope of a better life.

– Educational centers are more prevalent and common in Ulaanbaatar, so for people interested in furthering their education, a city has many more opportunities than rural areas. There are 174075 students in 100 universities and institutes and 225388 children in 1288 kindergartens in Mongolia. Just 14% or 31977 children (there are 228407 children of kindergarten ages of herdsman in rural areas in 2015) of herdsman are had possibility to have kindergarten. 43.8% of kindergartens and 93.7% of higher institutes and universities are in Ulaanbaatar (bolovsroliin_uilchilgee 2013).

– Social and personal life are two other commonly quoted reasons for moving. Cities provide more opportunities to get out and meet people, such as social clubs, bars, dance clubs and support groups. As above mentioned, 65% of Ulaanbaatar's population is young from 0 to 35 years. Therefore, youth has huge interest on attractive and amazing service organizations. For people with unique interests, it is easier to find like-minded individuals in urban areas than in isolated rural regions.

Rapidly increasing population density creates severe problems, because Ulaanbaatar was planned by General Plan of the city at least 400.000-500.000 people. In addition, attempts to plan the city is not sufficient to cope with the influx of new inhabitants. In the result of those ineffective attempts, there is widespread poverty in Ulaanbaatar.

Problems of megacities with Ulaanbaatar. As city megacity Ulaanbaatar have huge quantity of problems. Ulaanbaatar's environmental problems are wide-ranging; air pollution, waste management, water pollution, over centralization in the capital, energy issues, water resources, and urban environmental issues are but a few of those plaguing the capital of Ulaanbaatar.

Traffic conditions are one example of an obvious urban environmental problem. Rush hour congestion in Ulaanbaatar is no different than the morning and evening traffic in developed countries. The large amounts of exhaust from cars, along with dust, soot and smoke from power plants, and smoke from burning coal for heat in the winter are all just further spurring on air pollution. Air pollution is a serious problem not limited to Ulaanbaatar that is spreading to local Mongolian cities population. There are living 60% or 225.851 families live in yurt from 376.419 families of

Ulaanbaatar (Niisleliin urkhiin aj baidal 2017). The population of Ulaanbaatar more and more are building their ger homes to live in the suburbs. Life in these gers is causing underfollowing new environmental problems:

- air pollution;
- water pollution;
- flood damage;
- water supply shortages.

These water shortages are ruining the balance of supply and demand for water resources and effect the entire ecosystem, not just human social activity. Approximately 30% of the water is supplied via a central water supply system, 25% by water wheel and 36% by well drainage facilities. The remainder is supplied from small rivers, melted ice and melted water. Almost one third of the Mongolian population—about 31%—obtain their water from the main water resource, groundwater from water service. Another fourth of Mongolians—about 25%—get their water from mobile tanks loaded with groundwater. Another 36% of Mongolians get groundwater directly from wells and 10% or so use rivers (Water Supply Improvement Plan 2010).

The quality of a city's infrastructure is central to the residents' quality of life, social inclusion and economic opportunities. It also determines the city's resilience to a number of global risks, in particular environmental, social and health-related risks, but also economic risks such as unemployment. The availability and quality of infrastructure are at the core of many of the challenges faced by rapidly urbanizing Ulaanbaatar. Clearly, keeping in mind that to travel 3 kilometers in downtown UB one might sit in traffic for up to an hour, Ulaanbaatar infrastructure is obviously not up to pace with economic growth. To give you an idea of how quickly the scene in Ulaanbaatar has changed, reflect on these numbers: according to the Mongolian traffic institute, there were 40.00 vehicles registered in Ulaanbaatar in 1991. In 2010, that number rose to 162.710. Today most estimates average as earlier mentioned, 399.360 vehicles registered in Ulaanbaatar (National Statistic office of Mongolia 2017). By number of cars at 1000 people Mongolia is 63d place in the world in 2015.

Diversity of social aspects of an urbanization evidently has shown itself in Ulaanbaatar. It is shown, first, in sharp distinctions of quality of a life in the city and its marginal peripheral areas, in social contrasts inside of the city, especially in the some people ger areas, where set of migrants of spontaneous settling. According to assessments of experts, average incomes of the population of such mass spontaneous buildings in 2.2 times below, than in other areas Ulaanbaatar. 19.6% of Ulaanbaatar's population lives poverty and 6.5% lives below the poverty line (Poverty line in Ulaanbaatar is 185400 tugric or 76\$) in 2016 (National Statistic Office of Mongolia 2017). Also rapid and unplanned urbanization leads to urban violence and social unrest. Widening inequalities also tend to be more starkly visible in urban than rural areas. The combination of inequality, competition for scarce resources such as land, impunity from the law increases the risk of violence and potential breakdowns in law and order. Level of crime in Ulaanbaatar is high or 68.06. Crime increased 0.9% in 2012-2015 comparing to 2009-2011 (Mongolia 2016).

Set of all spectrum above the designated problems generates a problem of spatial aspect of an urbanization.

What activities have been doing by Government of Mongolia for solving these problems? Dealing with the ramifications of such large settlements in unplanned locations and effectively delivering services to all the city's residents, particularly in Mongolia's extreme weather conditions, is a massive challenge. Given

the fluid nature of the areas, and the very limited data on demographics and availability of services for the neighborhoods, or khoroos (smallest administrative unit of cities of Mongolia), citizens' participation in decision-making and planning has been limited. In addition, those managing the city have faced significant information deficits when making decisions on how to invest their limited public resources.

But Mongolian Government and Governor of Ulaanbaatar have big Plan to reduce over mentioned problems with Ulaanbaatar within extension of the city.

In 2009, the Government of Mongolia has approved the program «Transformation ger quarters in quarters of apartment houses». The program will be carried out in three stages: 2008-2011, 2012 –2015 and 2016-2020 will be involved in it 22 ger quarter in six areas of capital. At the first stage will be performed works on development of the partial general plan and on a concentration of necessary investments on the basis of an establishment of an arrangement ger quarters and their consumption. On the second stage, central ger quarters of capital will be built up by inhabited files. At the third stage on seat ger quarters in an average zone of city territory building modern private houses and complexes inhabited average-sized apartments with full maintenance of an infrastructure, as well as building of private apartment houses with elementary maintenance of an infrastructure on seat ger quarters on suburb of city will begin. Due the Program between 2011-2014 years were transferred 32000 people from ger districts to apartments. The statistics exceeded by number of transferred people, who made his accommodation condition better from 2005 to 2011 (Mongol bank 2014).

There was approved «Ulaanbaatar 2020 Master Plan and Development Approaches for 2030» by Mongolian State Great Khural (Parliament) of Mongolia in 2014. The following seven general strategies are proposed to guide implementation of the Master Plan. The general strategies are the methods the City proposes to achieve a better future for Ulaanbaatar as proposed in the 2030 vision:

- Mitigate the centralized settlements by administrative units restructuring;
- Improve the City's administration of the planning system by introducing land-use zoning codes;
- Improve and extend the road and public transport network. Improve the existing condition of the socio-economic infrastructure;
- Re-develop ger areas in stages incorporating new apartment complexes and continued development of apartment areas;
- Improve the basic infrastructure such as utilities and telecommunications;
- Establish sustainable environmental management.

By the Master Plan 10 regional towns and 3 satellite cities will be developed within the Capital region. The development of the satellite cities and regional towns will focus on the building local industry and agriculture while also providing a pleasant environment to live and work. Each town and city will have a specialized agricultural, manufacturing, industrial or logistics focus, for example Jargalant Village will specialize in agriculture and horticulture and Emeelt - Argalant will be a major logistics and goods storage and distribution center. Baganuur, Bagakhangai and Aerocity will be developed as satellite cities. The cities will be connected to the regional transport and freight network and will be major logistics and distribution centers. In addition, Aerocity will be associated with the new international air terminal to be built in Khushigtiin Khundii (Master Plan 2014, P.6-7).

Conclusion. Growth of city processes in Mongolia by virtue of their specific character renders the big constraining influence on qualitative sides of progress of an urbanization. In fact in Ulaanbaatar an overwhelming part of the city people – yesterday's countrymen who often assist «country style» cities, introducing in it

norms of behaviour and the systems of values which are peculiar to a countryside. Deep structural shifts do not follow automatically change of environment, for example, at crossing from province in city, especially when timeframe is a question of resettlement of the big weight of the population in short.

On the other hand not efficient control municipal economy in Ulaanbaatar brings the increasing contribution to an aggravation of some global environmental problems. It is required to growing economy more and more to the electric power and fuel, however branches of a fuel and energy complex inefficient and polluting an environment, the irrational transport policy and prodigal use of energy conduct to emission in an atmosphere of oversize volume of hotbed gases.

Ulaanbaatar's capacity to generate prosperity already largely determines global growth: just around half the Mongolia's population lives in capital city, but they generate more than 68.1% of Mongolia's GDP. Ultimately, new migrants in cities are expected to create greater economic value than they would have in the countryside. This in turn has the potential to drive greater personal wealth and the desire to protect personal assets and income, offering another role for the insurance industry. But process of absorbing migrants into urban economies is hard. While moving to a city offers individuals more opportunities to improve their living conditions, the high cost of living and competition for livelihoods can also trap people in poverty.

Ultimately, urbanization creates opportunities but also exacerbates risks, and the speed at which it is happening challenges our capacity to plan and adapt. This is particularly true in developing economies like Mongolia. For rapid urbanization to provide opportunities to all, carefully considered urban planning and good governance with effective regulatory frameworks are required.

What is more, as Mongolia continues to urbanize, power will increasingly be concentrated in Ulaanbaatar and other cities. This power – ranging from economic to social – not only makes cities the center of gravity, but offers greater scope to find practical solutions to the most pressing challenges. The strength of city-level institutions in addition to national institutions – their capacity to be flexible, innovative and dynamic, and effectively involve multiple stakeholders in governance – will largely determine whether urbanization makes the world more resilient or more vulnerable in the face of global risks.

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