CHAPTER 3
A PATH TO RECOVERY: 2001–2010

Country at a Glance

The fallout from the Asian and Russian financial crises, a slump in commodity prices, and severe dzuds between 1999 and 2001, which killed large numbers of livestock, left the economy precariously placed at the start of the decade.

However, after posting growth of just 1.1% in 2001, the economy began a rapid recovery as international gold and copper prices rebounded and herds began to be restocked. By 2004, annual GDP growth had climbed to 10.6% and per capita GDP more than doubled from $582 in 2003 to $1,489 in 2007.14 Along with these economic gains, the country made positive progress in reducing poverty and maternal and infant mortality rates, while primary and secondary school gross enrollments exceeded 90% and there was near universal literacy.15

With a more stable economy, the government took steps to deepen economic reforms in the first half of the decade. It focused on private sector-led growth to improve living standards and reduce income disparities, and emphasized improving governance and institutional capacity. An accommodative monetary policy was adopted, while procyclical fiscal spending resulted in a large increase in civil servants’

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Zaamar gold mine in Tuv aimag. Mongolia has rich deposits of coal, copper, gold, iron ore, and other minerals (photo by Mongol Content).
wages and social welfare spending in 2007. By 2008, the IMF reported signs of overheating in the economy as a result of the rising wage bill, capital expenditure, and growth of private credit.

The onset of the global financial crisis in 2008 saw a collapse in mineral prices, abruptly ending Mongolia’s commodity-based economic revival, with GDP growth going from 8.9% in 2008 to a contraction of 1.3% within just 12 months.\(^\text{16}\)

The economy soon saw large fiscal and balance of payments deficits, a sharp rise in inflation, the collapse of the construction industry, and the loss of thousands of jobs. Two commercial banks went into receivership and the ratio of nonperforming loans rose steeply.

Another extreme dzud in the winter of 2009–2010 compounded these difficulties, killing over 10 million animals and forcing more rural herder families to migrate to already overstretched urban areas to find work.\(^\text{17}\)

To respond to these shocks, Mongolia entered into an 18-month standby financing agreement with the IMF in 2009, as well as securing additional program assistance from ADB, the World Bank, and bilateral partners. Steps were also taken to tighten monetary policy and establish greater exchange rate flexibility to limit damage from the crisis.

With a recovery in commodity prices and the signing of a $10 billion investment agreement between the government and Rio Tinto for the development of the giant Oyu Tolgoi copper and gold mine in 2009, the economy began a gradual recovery by the end of the year.

In 2010, the Parliament passed the Fiscal Stability Law with the goal of increasing fiscal discipline by establishing limits for the structural deficit, budget spending, and public debt.

However, implementing the new law has proved to be difficult. As Mongolia moved into the next decade, it again saw a surge in procyclical spending on social transfers, wages, and cash transfers, leaving it with rising debt and continued vulnerability to further external shocks.

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\(^16\) Footnote 1, p. 50.


*On the move.* A nomadic family moving to new pasture land in Zavkhan aimag (photo by Oktyabri Dash).
Winners. Horse racing is one of the three main competitions of the Naadam festival (photo by Mongol Content).

Strength and agility. There are no time and weight limits in traditional Mongolian wrestling and bouts finish when one of the wrestlers touches the ground (photo by Mongol Content).

Archery. Women and men compete in archery, one of the three games of the Naadam festival (photo by Mongol Content).
Emerging from Transition: ADB Operations

After helping Mongolia stabilize its finances, begin governance reforms, and repair degraded infrastructure, ADB’s next phase of operations focused on further improvements to the banking system, putting agriculture on a more commercial footing, and strengthening basic education. Assistance was also given to upgrade services in secondary towns and cities, expand social protection, and boost primary health care.

Over the course of the decade, ADB approved 18 sovereign loans totaling around $290 million, 32 grants totaling around $209 million, and nearly $38 million for 62 technical assistance projects.

With the establishment of its Mongolia Resident Mission in 2001, ADB was able to work more closely and effectively with government agencies, and other development partners and stakeholders. The decade also saw a shift away from program-based assistance to investment-based projects, as the economy gradually recovered.

Among ADB’s key operational achievements were consolidation of the country’s primary school system, which led to a steady improvement in the quality and relevance of basic educational services; the transformation of the country’s


Mongolia: Sectors of ADB operations, 2001–2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>34.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health and Social Protection</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Water and Other Urban Infrastructure and Services</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agriculture, Natural Resources and Rural Development</td>
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<td>Public Sector Management</td>
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<td>Multisector</td>
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<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
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<td>Industry and Trade</td>
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<td>Information and Communication Technology</td>
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Total sovereign assistance $537 million.

[Cutting the ribbon. Finance Minister Ulaan Chultem, ADB staff Tsolmongerel Galsanchoimbol, and ADB President Tadao Chino at the ribbon cutting ceremony for ADB’s first office in Ulaanbaatar (photo by ADB).]

[Resident mission opened. ADB President Tadao Chino and Finance Minister Ulaan Chultem at the opening of the Mongolia Resident Mission in 2001 (photo by ADB).]
Hermen Tsav. Red mud rock canyon in the Gobi desert, Gurvantes soum, Umnugovi aimag (photo by Oktyabri Dash).

Sunset at Khyargas lake. The Khyargas lake is a salt water lake located in the Great Lakes Depression in Uvs aimag (photo by Mookiah Thiruchelvam).
banking system; and the introduction of a housing mortgage market. Operations also supported the introduction of a network of primary health care providers, along with a social insurance and multitiered pension system.

Financial — Banking on the Future

The Mongolian financial system has undergone deep reforms since the 1990s, when the country began the complex transition from a centrally-planned to modern market economy.

ADB, together with other development partners, helped Mongolia to stabilize its financial system, reorganize the monobank-style financial market into a two-tiered banking sector, privatize state banks, improve legal systems, and strengthen bank supervision and regulation.

By 2000, the financial sector was starting to recover from the previous turbulent decade marked by bold government action to restructure banks that saw eight financially distressed and undercapitalized banks closed down between June 1998 and December 1999.

As the decade progressed, ADB focused its assistance on strengthening governance and increasing diversification of the financial sector and financial services. The establishment of the Financial Regulatory Commission in 2006 helped improve oversight and stability of the sector, including nonbank financial institutions. In addition, protections for depositors were improved and an anti-money laundering regime was introduced with support from ADB’s Financial Regulation and Governance Program.

As a result of these interventions, the financial system has become better managed and more market-oriented, and the Bank of Mongolia is now an independent and effective regulator. Confidence in the system has grown and there is broad access to banking services for households, with the number of accounts high compared to other middle-income countries.

Support for the sector has also resulted in expanded access to finance for small and medium-sized enterprises, which make up over 90% of all registered businesses in Mongolia. ADB plays an important role in this area through a sovereign project that is providing new loan guarantees, making it easier for smaller businesses to source long-term funds from banks.

“We tried reaching out to banks to get loans in the past, but we lacked collateral. It was a constant problem,” said Gantuya Buddorj, director of Bayandelger Khuns Limited Liability Company (LLC), whose meat products company was able to source a guaranteed loan. The guaranteed loans of up to 10 years tenor are made available through the Credit Guarantee Fund of Mongolia and over 180 firms had taken advantage by the end of 2018.

“After obtaining the loan, we purchased new equipment, increased our capacity, and launched new products,” said Zoljargal Batbaatar, director of Veg Art Naturals LLC, a vegan-based baked goods company.
More than 40% of the guaranteed loans have gone to companies owned by women. These loans are helping businesses to secure and create thousands of jobs.18

While the financial sector has seen a major overhaul, so too has the country’s housing market. Around half of Mongolia’s population lives in Ulaanbaatar, with many in informal ger settlements. Prior to the early 2000s, commercial banks were unable to provide mortgage loans to buy new homes due to a lack of available long-term financing, unclear legal treatment of collateral, and inexperience with mortgage finance.

In 2002, the Land Privatization Law clarified the possession of collateral for loans. Soon after the law was adopted, banks that were supported by ADB’s Housing Finance Sector Loan Project came together to formulate common mortgage procedures, paving the way for the extension of long-term mortgage funding.

The project has had a strong demonstration impact. In 2006, commercial banks and the Bank of Mongolia established the private housing finance company, Mongolian Mortgage Corporation, with the goal of creating a long-term housing finance funding system by issuing and selling mortgage-backed securities on the capital markets.

Today, the subsidized mortgage program is one of the government’s largest economic and social programs, with 74,000 households gaining access to affordable, long-term housing finance. Two-thirds of the total outstanding mortgage

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loans are securitized by the Mongolian Mortgage Corporation, supporting diversification and deepening of the financial sector.\footnote{ADB has also been creative in helping Mongolians learn the importance of financial literacy. It financed a national television drama series called \emph{A Course on How to Become a Millionaire}, which followed six characters from different socioeconomic backgrounds taking a course to learn how to become rich.

While the show aimed to entertain, it also delivered serious financial messages, providing viewers with detailed information about the importance of savings, selective use of credit and borrowing, choosing between services, and what to do when facing financial troubles.}

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The financial sector has made remarkable headway over the past 30 years, but many challenges remain. The concentration of assets in a small number of banks is a cause for concern for regulators in the event of a systemic crisis, and credit to small and medium-sized enterprises needs to be expanded further. Capital markets can be a critical source of funding as an alternative to bank loans in resource-dependent economies and, therefore, need to be further developed and deepened.


\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{new_homes.jpg}
\caption{New homes. Since mortgage loans were introduced under an ADB housing project, thousands of families have been able to move into modern homes through the government’s mortgage program (photo by ADB).}
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Education — Setting the Foundation

In a sparsely populated country with more than a quarter of the population engaged in seminomadic herding, Mongolia faces major challenges delivering quality education to all. That task was made more difficult after the Soviet Union withdrew its funding, sparking a sharp fall in student enrollments, and a decline in facilities and equipment.

The country required policy changes and substantial investments to upgrade buildings, train teachers, and modernize curricula at all levels.

One of the most significant developments the government undertook to strengthen the education system was to switch from a 10-year curriculum cycle to a 12-year cycle between 2004 and 2015. This major shift, putting the country in line with international standards, required revising and updating teachers’ knowledge and skills, providing teaching and learning resources, and upgrading the overall education environment.

“The rewarding aspect of teaching 6-year-olds (under the 12-year curriculum system) is that they are not shy to ask questions or say that they do not understand. Because 6-year-olds are not shy to ask for help, they are remarkably successful in learning to read in the first year, even more so than 8-year-old first graders before them,” recalls Bayarmaa Lkhagvajav, who was a primary school teacher in the Bayangol soum school in Selenge aimag, when the change was made.
ADB has been the largest external supporter of rebuilding Mongolia’s education system, since it began its partnership 30 years ago. Nearly 40% of all primary and secondary schools have been refurbished, and half have been equipped with information and communication technology or natural science laboratories under ADB projects.

One of the most significant interventions helped develop a new national curriculum, updated textbooks, and trained more than 3,000 teachers.

Increasing access to quality education in remote communities has also been addressed through initiatives that have established mobile ger kindergartens; improved conditions at rural school dormitories; and trained school, kindergarten, and dormitory teachers in child-centered learning methods.

As a result of its bold and comprehensive education reforms, Mongolia has been able to restore enrollment levels to that of the pre-transition time, and it now has a 98% primary education completion rate.

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~Bayarmaa Lkhagvajav
Education for all. Following the initial transition period, Mongolia has been able to attain primary and secondary school enrollment rates of over 90% and has achieved near universal literacy (photo by ADB).

Back to school. ADB staff visiting the dormitory of the Ulgii soum primary school in Uvs aimag, rehabilitated under an ADB-funded project (photo by Mookiah Thiruchelvam).
At the same time, the country is continuing to work to improve its tertiary and technical and vocational education and training systems to deliver the skilled labor needed in a modern economy.

“High unemployment and underemployment caused by a mismatch between available skills and what the labor market needs have been a key cause of poverty,” said Bandii Radnaa, a coordinator of ADB-financed projects implemented by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science.20

During the transition period, the country’s technical and vocational education system all but collapsed. In response, ADB loans and grants have supported government reforms in the sector since 2006. One of the most significant initiatives was helping enhance the responsiveness of the technical and vocational education and training system to labor market demand and to develop modern, relevant curricula for vocational training courses in priority sectors of the economy.

The government has emphasized the value of higher education as a driver of the country’s long-term economic competitiveness. To support that goal, ADB helped 24 state and 19 private higher education institutes to enhance the quality and relevance of their programs through updated curricula, improved teacher training, and strengthened research capacity, with grants and investments in state-of-the-art laboratories.

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As a result, 17 programs provided by project-supported higher education institutes are now internationally accredited, assuring research quality and skill levels of graduates. One of the largest universities, the Mongolian University of Science and Technology, has teamed up with Singapore Polytechnic to introduce and disseminate the Massachusetts Institute of Technology-based Conceive–Design–Implement–Operate teaching standards in Mongolia’s universities.
Kharkhiraa mountains. The Kharkhiraa mountains are part of the Altai mountain range in Uvs aimag in western Mongolia (photo by Mookiah Thiruchelvam).
Birthplace of the Great Khaan. Chinggis Khaan was born in 1162 in Deluun Boldog in the territory of Dadal soum, Khentii aimag (photo by Oktyabri Dash).
Health — Providing Grassroots Services

At the end of the 70-year period of support by the Soviet Union, Mongolia had free universal access to health care. But it was also left with inefficient and costly hospitals, ageing infrastructure and technology, and low-quality services.

Over the course of the past 3 decades, Mongolia has made huge strides in improving and modernizing its health infrastructure and services. ADB has been one of its leading partners along the way.

ADB’s sector operations have helped improve primary health care; developed an effective referral system; rationalized hospital services; and strengthened sector governance and management of financial, human, and other resources. ADB helped Mongolia improve the operations of its national health insurance scheme and supported the establishment of a single-purchaser health-care system.

To reduce the overreliance on hospital-based care, ADB initially financed the establishment of a number of family health centers in selected urban areas. The success of this project saw the government set them up nationwide. Currently, there are over 200 family health centers servicing 100% of the urban population.

In rural areas, the lack of modern medical equipment and trained personnel meant residents often had to travel to Ulaanbaatar to be treated. In response, ADB helped the government restructure soum hospitals, providing them with state-of-the-art equipment and support to improve their clinical capabilities.

Health clinic in Tuv aimag. ADB helped Mongolia establish family health centers, which have now been set up nationwide (photo by ADB).
Being able to readily access quality health services quickly is, in many instances, a matter of life and death.

When Myagmar Javzmaa’s 10-year-old son Azjargal was having trouble breathing, he was rushed to a nearby hospital in Arkhangai aimag, which had been upgraded under the project. Using modern telemedicine links, doctors connected with a specialist in the National Center for Maternal and Child Health in Ulaanbaatar, over 500 kilometers away, who was able to diagnose and stabilize the boy by examining images of his lungs.

“It would have been too risky to transport my son to Ulaanbaatar in that condition. I see how fast and easy it was to receive specialist care locally. My son is fully recovered now, and I know that many other people have also received quality care from this new hospital,” said Myagmar.21

Along with investments in primary health care, ADB has played a major role in the strengthening of national blood safety standards by establishing an internationally accredited blood transfusion center and upgrading 26 blood banks in 21 aimags. This project, which wraps up in 2021, has also improved medical waste management and hospital hygiene and infection prevention and control by fully upgrading sterilization departments in 27 hospitals and microbiology laboratories in 19 hospitals, nationwide.

“There were real emergencies when we did not have enough blood product reserves and had to scramble looking for blood products or a donor. Now with the new equipment, like the –70°C refrigerator, we have built up plasma reserves to cover up to 2 years need and that really saves lives,” said Gankhurel Denzen, a doctor in the Regional Diagnostic and Treatment Center in Dornod aimag.

21 ADB. 2016. High Tech Health Care Comes to Mongolia’s Countryside, Case study. 4 October.
The improvements in blood safety, sterilization, and waste management have come at an important time as the country continues to grapple with the impacts of COVID-19.

During the economic crisis of the transition period, Mongolia experienced severe shortages of essential medicines. In response, the government privatized the pharmaceutical sector. This helped address the shortage issue, but new concerns about the quality and safety of drugs emerged.

The Government of Mongolia, working with ADB, updated national standards for pharmaceutical manufacturing and upgraded the country’s drug control laboratory to ensure Mongolians can access safe drugs nationwide. A national medicines regulatory authority has been established, which has markedly improved both oversight and quality of drugs.

Mongolia saw a spike in maternal mortality rates during the transition period. To address this problem, ADB provided outreach and other support to nomadic herder women unable to readily access maternal services, as well as for unregistered and uninsured expectant mothers in underserved communities in Ulaanbaatar. These interventions have helped reduce Mongolia’s maternal mortality rate from 150 per 100,000 live births in 1999 to 48.6 in 2016.

ADB has also been involved in the establishment of Mongolia’s first multifunctional 200-bed district hospital, located in Songinokhairkhan district in Ulaanbaatar. The hospital, serving 150,000 people, provides specialized outpatient and inpatient services, including diagnostics and treatment in obstetrics and gynecology, surgery, traumatology, pediatrics, radiology, and oncology. It incorporates a new concept for district-level hospital care and has design and construction features, which will provide a model for other general hospitals to be built in other districts.

State-of-the-art. The new Songinokhairkhan district hospital built with ADB financing will serve 150,000 residents of Ulaanbaatar’s largest district (photo by ADB).

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~ Gankhurel Denzen

Making aaruul. A girl makes aaruul, a food produced from dried curds which is rich in vitamins and protein (photo by Oktyabri Dash).

Drying aaruul. Aaruul is a popular snack made from cow, yak, camel, or goat milk (photo by Oktyabri Dash).
Social Protection — Supporting the Vulnerable

The global financial crisis in 2009 had immediate and severe consequences for Mongolia, with the poor and vulnerable groups, including small-scale herders and informal workers, hit the hardest. The crisis highlighted gaps in the country’s social protection and welfare programs.

Working with other international donors, ADB provided a range of assistance to help protect social sector spending in the wake of the crisis. This included support to reduce out-of-pocket healthcare, and education spending by poor households and better targeting and consolidation of social welfare transfers.

Mongolia has limited capacity for food production and is prone to natural calamities. During the 2009 crisis, it experienced the highest level of food inflation in Asia. A targeted food stamp program was piloted under an ADB project to protect the most vulnerable, and now the program is fully funded by the government as one of its main social welfare measures.

One of the beneficiaries of the Food and Nutrition Social Welfare Program and Project was Namjilsuren Gombo, who lives with her five daughters in a ger community on the outskirts of Ulaanbaatar and often struggled to provide for her children’s needs.
“Sometimes we did not have notebooks for them to use in school,” she recalls.

After enrolling for food stamp assistance, she was able to buy enough flour, rice, and other basic commodities to cover the family’s monthly needs. Using the stamps to cover food expenses also freed up money to spend on other necessities.

“With full stomachs, the children were much happier going to school and their grades improved,” she said.

ADB also developed and implemented a Medicard program on a pilot basis to improve access to medicines and specialist care for the uninsured poor and vulnerable people during the global financial crisis. Another project focused on chronic malnutrition in children to raise public awareness about this persistent problem.

Along with responding to extreme events, ADB has also supported broader measures to strengthen Mongolia’s social protection services. It assisted the government in establishing the first one-stop centers for all social protection benefits and services, while facilitating improvements to information technology systems to make them more transparent and easier to use. ADB likewise supported a review of existing pension policies to pave the way for a more affordable and effective system. It has been working with the government to develop job opportunities and improve health and social services for persons with disabilities and the elderly.

Hosting the ADB President. ADB President Haruhiko Kuroda, hosted by Finance Minister Bayartsaikhan Nadmid and other senior government officials in 2006. From left to right: Dondog Doltson, Haruhiko Kuroda, Bayartsaikhan Nadmid, Gonchigdorj Radnaasumberel, and Satish Rao (photo by ADB).

Courtesy call. ADB President Haruhiko Kuroda met with the President of Mongolia Enkhbayar Nambar during his visit to Mongolia in 2006 (photo by ADB).
Mongolia’s rapid economic and social transformation has come at a price as the shift to a market-based economic model has been accompanied by a major migration of households from rural areas to Ulaanbaatar and other urban centers. This rural–urban migration has put enormous strain on urban services and the environment.

In 2006, only a little over a half of all Mongolian households had access to clean water and less than 25% were serviced by sewers. Many aimag centers lacked a garbage collection system or a secure landfill for disposing of solid waste. Service delivery in aimag centers was poor and unreliable due to inadequate investment and maintenance. These serious deficiencies not only impacted the environment and people’s health but also constrained economic growth in aimags. Every year, more people, especially the youth, moved from aimags to Ulaanbaatar for better opportunities.

Improving access to services is a priority of the government as it looks to continue to further modernize and broaden its economy and meet development goals. Since 1997, ADB has been an important partner, helping to improve coverage and quality of urban services, particularly in aimag centers, and to develop housing finance.
Water truck. ADB's support to provide piped water in ger areas has ended long waits for water trucks to come and refill communal water kiosks (photo by ADB).
One of the major interventions has been improving water supplies to ger areas, which in the past have relied on kiosks that are not connected to a piped water system and instead have to be replenished by water trucks. This made accessing water difficult and time consuming, with mostly women and children having to make long journeys to fetch water from the kiosks and then trek back through unpaved streets to bring it home.

Under a series of urban projects, ADB expanded and upgraded a centralized water network connecting existing ger area kiosks to piped systems in 17 out of 21 aimags. It has also built new kiosks, rehabilitated wells, and improved the quality of water through chlorination. Today, safe drinking water is available around the clock and much closer to home for many residents of Mongolia’s aimag centers.

Tserenkhorol Dorj-Ochir, a doctor who operated a clinic near a kindergarten in a ger community in Bayankhongor aimag that has benefited from the improvements, recalled how bad conditions were previously and how substantial the changes have been.

“Water was delivered to the kindergarten by horse and cart in the past. It was usually dirty and there was never enough,” said Tserenkhorol. “There used to be a lot of cases of Hepatitis A and stomach infections in the community, and now these diseases have almost disappeared.”

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Helping with chores. The quality of water in ger areas has improved with ADB assistance (photo by ADB).

On tap. A woman draws water in her ger in Umnugovi aimag, where ADB has been working to upgrade water supply and sanitation (photo by ADB).
These urban projects have encouraged aimag governments to scale up their own infrastructure investments and to implement housing development projects through public–private partnership schemes.

“We used to live in a ger area on the other side of the town, which was being redeveloped to build apartment blocks, and we got an offer to trade in our plot to move into this new house,” said Tseesuren Shagdar, a retired teacher in Baruun-Urt, the capital of Sukhbaatar aimag, who lives in one of the new residential housing developments with her daughter and granddaughter.

“We have central heating, running water, and an indoor bathroom, and all for a very affordable price. Some of our neighbors chose to take out a subsidized mortgage loan from the local bank and, all in all, it was a good package deal,” she said.

Another major ADB investment project is helping to develop and provide quality services and infrastructure in Ulaanbaatar’s ger areas. This sweeping initiative is upgrading roads, flood protection channels, electricity cables, and water and sewerage pipelines, along with building public facilities such as kindergartens, business incubators, green parks, sports centers, shelters for victims of domestic violence, and a one-stop center for government services.

Once complete, it is expected to directly benefit around 600,000 people. This initiative is complemented by a large-scale project to transform ger areas into eco-districts, which will provide green, affordable housing to residents. It will leverage private sector investments and incorporate an innovative land-for-apartment swapping mechanism.
Currently, ADB, together with other development partners, is processing a large-scale investment program, which will promote green territorial development and urban–rural linkages, with aimag and soum centers becoming anchors of green agribusiness. This, in turn, will promote sustainable, resilient, and high-carbon sequestration rangeland management. Initially focusing on Mongolia’s western aimags, the program provides a transformative model for development, which is expected to promote climate finance and private sector investment mechanisms that can be replicated countrywide.

Bayankhoshuu subcenter. New energy efficient kindergarten and business incubator built with ADB financing in Songinokhairkhan district, Ulaanbaatar (photo by ADB).

We have central heating, running water, and an indoor bathroom, and all for a very affordable price. Some of our neighbors chose to take out a subsidized mortgage loan from the local bank and, all in all, it was a good package deal.

~Tseesuren Shagdar
Altai mountains. Khuiten Peak in the Altai mountain range, is the highest point in Mongolia at 4,374 meters above sea level (photo by Oktyabri Dash).
Birds of prey. Men go on a hunt with their eagles in Bayan-Ulgii aimag (photo by Oktyabri Dash).