



**FOLLOW-UP TO THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE OF NEW AND RESTORED DEMOCRACIES
PROJECT
MON/02/101**



**DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE INDICATORS:
ASSESSING THE STATE OF GOVERNANCE
IN MONGOLIA**

Ulaanbaatar 2006

DDC
321.8'517
x - 891

© UNDP Mongolia, 2006
All rights reserved.
ISBN 978-99929-1-014-3

This survey is conducted within the scope of the Follow-up to the Fifth International Conference of New or Restored Democracies (ICNRD-5) project, MON/02/101, jointly implemented by the Government of Mongolia and United Nations Development Programme.

For more information of the ICNRD-5 follow-up activities, please visit www.icnrd5-mongolia.mn.

Prepared by: G. Chuluunbaatar, Team Leader
P. Dorjsuren, Researcher
Ts. Tsetsenbileg, Researcher
D. Ganbat, Researcher
Kh. Temuujin, Researcher
N. Bayar, Researcher
Ch. Gan-Ulzii, Researcher
D. Gankhuyag, Researcher
O. Khatanbold, Research Assistant

Translated by: T. Erdenebileg

Edited by: H. Hulan, National Adviser, MON/02/101
V. Ulziibayar, National Project Manager, MON/02/101

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD

TERMS AND ACRONYMS

INTRODUCTION

1. STATE OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

1.1. Citizenship, Law and Rights

Nationhood and Citizenship

The Rule of Law and Access to Justice

Civil and Political Rights

Economic and Social Rights

1.2. Representative and Accountable Government

Political Competition and Electoral Process

Democratic Role of Political Parties

Government Effectiveness and Accountability

Civilian Control of Police and Military

Minimizing Corruption

1.3. Civil Society and Popular Participation

Media in a Democratic Society

Political Participation

Government Responsiveness

Decentralization

1.4. Democracy beyond the State

International Dimensions of Democracy

2. DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE INDICATORS CHART

3. DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE INDICATORS

4. COUNTRY INFORMATION NOTE

5. NATIONAL PLAN OF ACTION

6. CIVIL SOCIETY INDEX

7. URBAN GOVERNANCE INDEX

8. APPENDICES

8.1. DGIs Technical Note

8.2. DGIs Public Opinion Survey Results

8.3. DGIs MPs Opinion Survey Results

8.4. DGIs Development Steps

8.5. Sample of Focus Group Interview: the “Ninjas”

8.6. An Expert’s View: Building a Democratic Future (by Dr. Todd Landman)

9. SELECTED REFERENCES

FOREWORD



Dear Reader,

The Follow-up to ICNRD-5 Project has been established by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia and the UNDP Mongolia in the wake of the Fifth International Conference of New or Restored Democracies held in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia in 2003. The Follow-up to ICNRD-5 Project aims at facilitating the implementation of the ICNRD-5 recommendations contained in Conference outcome documents, the Ulaanbaatar Declaration and the Plan of Action.

The recommendations mention a specific commitment to “draw up a national plan for strengthening democracy consistent with the spirit of the Ulaanbaatar Declaration; prepare country information notes outlining the prospects of advancing and deepening democracy and steps needed to address the principles and recommendations of the Declaration, and develop nationally-owned democratic governance indicators’ databases to be better able to monitor progress in democratic and social development over time. The exercise should be an inclusive and dynamic process with the participation of policy-makers, academia, and civil society. The process should lead to further national consolidation of democracy”.

The Democratic Governance Indicators, the Country Information Note, and the National Plan of Action mentioned above have been developed by Mongolia’s leading experts on democracy and governance in 2005-2006. The drafts of the above documents have been assessed at two multi-stakeholder national conferences aimed at taking stock of the state of democracy in Mongolia: “Democracy Development in Mongolia: Challenges and Opportunities” held in May 2005 and “Democratic Governance Indicators: Assessment and Challenges” held in early June 2006. They were also the subject of discussion at the “Follow-up to ICNRD-5 International Conference” convened by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia on 1-2 June 2006 in Ulaanbaatar as the first ever follow-up conference in between ICNRDs.

The Follow-up to ICNRD-5 International Conference gave an opportunity to scrutinize the development of the DGIs, the CIN, and the NPA from the point of view of leading international experts on democracy measurements as well as government representatives and civil society experts. Significantly, the Conference was unanimous in recognizing the success of Mongolia’s pilot exercises in terms of their methodology, results, and the all-inclusive participatory process.

The review process of the three pilot documents contributed to refining some of the conclusions of the democracy assessment and advocacy techniques. The importance of the pilot documents was stressed in particular relation to Mongolia’s national Millennium Development Goal 9 that refers to consolidation of human rights, democratic governance and zero-tolerance of corruption. The current volume contains all pilot documents developed within the framework of the Follow-up to ICNRD-5 Project. The documents reflect the process and assessments of the democratic governance indicators produced for the first time in international democracy research under the aegis of a governmental institution on the basis of multistakeholder participation. The documents are nationally-owned both in the sense of having been produced by Mongolians and also as a result of a multistakeholder national discussion. The process of DGIs, CIN, and NPA has been supported by the UNDP through advice, review, and financial assistance. The International IDEA’s methodological support was a serious contribution to the success of this

exercise. Future assessments of the state of democracy in Mongolia will certainly be built upon the findings in DGIs methodology, process, and conclusions. Without doubt, Mongolia's policy-makers are to benefit the most in basing their decision-making on the evidence and conclusions provided by this pilot exercise. In the end, it is the Mongolian people dedicated and committed to democracy that will gain from better democracy and better life for all. And finally, the Mongolia pilot exercise will inform similar processes and programmes in other new or restored democracies.

The current volume has been compiled as part of Mongolia's preparation for ICNRD-6 to be held in October-November 2006 in Doha, Qatar.

It has been prepared by the national team of researchers, the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, and the Follow-up to ICNRD-5 Project.

Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia
September 2006

TERMS AND ACRONYMS

TERMS

State Great Hural	Parliament of Mongolia
Ardyn Ih Hural	People's Great Hural
Ulsyn Baga Hural	State Small Hural
Undsen Huuliin Tsets	Constitutional Court
Aimag	Territorial and administrative unit of Mongolia. Mongolia is administratively divided into 21 aimags. Aimags are divided into soums which are further divided into bags.
Soum	Smaller administrative rural unit, of which there are 340 in Mongolia.
Bagh	Smallest administrative rural unit, of which there are 1541 ¹ in Mongolia.
District	Smaller urban administrative unit, of which there are 9 districts in Ulaanbaatar.
Horoo	Smallest urban administrative unit, of which there are over 121 in Ulaanbaatar.
Citizens Representatives Hural	Local council
Tugrug	National currency of Mongolia. The average exchange rate against the US dollar was 1 US\$ = 1176:1 (as January 3, 2006)
Ger	Traditional felt dwelling of Mongolians
Ninja	Illegal gold-digger

ACRONYMS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CHRD	Center for Human Rights and Development
CIN	Country Information Note
CIVICUS	World Alliance for Citizen Participation
CSI	Civil Society Index
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DEMO	Democracy Education Center
DGI	Democratic Governance Indicator
DP	Democratic Party
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEC	General Election Committee
GNI	Gross National Index
HDI	Human Development Index
HIES	Household Income and Expenditure Survey
ICNRD-5	5 th International Conference of New and Restored Democracies
ICNRD-6	6 th International Conference of New and Restored Democracies
ICSF	International Civil Society Forum
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

¹ National Statistical Office of Mongolia-2004, Ulaanbaatar, 2005, page 17.

IPSL	Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law
LSMS	Living Standards Measurement Survey
MA	Management Academy
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MAS	Mongolian Academy of Sciences
MCIC	Mongolian Chamber of Industry and Commerce
MDGR	Millennium Development Goals Report
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MDNSP	Mongolian Democratic New Socialist Party
MECS	Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences
MJHA	Ministry of Justice and Home Affairs
MNE	Ministry of Nature and Environment
MNPP	Mongolian National Progress Party
MNTUP	Mongolian National Traditional United Party
MONES	Mongolian Women's Fund
MOSF	Mongolian Open Society Forum
MPI	Mongolian Press Institute
MPRP	Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party
MRP	Mongolian Republican Party
MSDP	Mongolian Social-Democratic Party
MTUF	Mongolian Trade Union's Federation
MWF	Mongolian Women's Federation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NHRC	National Human Rights Commission
NPA	National Plan of Action
NPO	Non-Profit Organization
NSO	National Statistical Office
NUM	National University of Mongolia
OSI	Open Society Institute
OWC	Open Web Center–Network for Non-Governmental Organizations
PEA	Political Education Academy
UB	Ulaanbaatar
UGI	Urban Governance Index
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organization
WIRC	Women's Information and Research Center

INTRODUCTION

The Follow-up to ICNRD-5 Project was established at the end of 2004 by the Government of Mongolia and the UNDP to support the organization of the follow-up activities and contribute to the implementation of the UN General Assembly Resolution 58/13 on ICNRD-5. The project was aimed at implementing the recommendations of the ICNRD-5 in Mongolia and facilitating Mongolia's leadership to ensure an effective follow-up in the run up to the ICNRD-6 scheduled for November, 2006 in Doha, Qatar. In particular, the project supported the development of nationally-owned democratic governance indicators (DGIs) in Mongolia, the formulation of a national plan of action (NPA), and the preparation of a Country Information Note (CIN). These activities were aimed at facilitating the design and piloting of methodologies which other new or restored democracies could use for preparation of their national action plans, country information notes and democracy indicators' databases as agreed under the Ulaanbaatar Plan of Action.

As the number of new and restored democracies increases, the subject of democratic governance indicators has become more complex. Several concepts of assessment and comparison of democratic governance have been developed and research data based on such concepts are becoming available to the public. The end result of these in essence is directed at assessing the quality of democracy. Although these concepts concentrate on separate issues such as human rights, assessment of governance, correlation between democracy and economic activity, state of democracy and public opinion, social and economic assessment², they are all aimed at measuring the quality of democratic governance.

In the process of developing the democratic governance indicators for Mongolia, the national research team compared methodologies used by organizations such as the UNDP, the World Bank, USAID and Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), which carry out comparative research in this field.

The national research team decided to use IDEA's State of Democracy Assessment framework as it was deemed to be the most appropriate method for developing democratic governance indicators for Mongolia:

1. Assessment method utilizing participation and public support is most practical in defining the reality of the situation.
2. Assessment criteria derived from democratic principles and assessment carried out with participation of NGOs and citizens.
3. Flexibility of the assessment method, which provides opportunity for define indicators reflecting national characteristics.

The following are specific and important features of the IDEA methodology:

- The primary objective of the assessment of democracy is to help advance public discussions, knowledge and understanding of people, determine priority steps for reforms and monitor progress of implementation
- Individuals conducting the assessment are citizens of the country being assessed
- Criteria for assessment must cover broad democracy subjects to allow selection
- Assessment evaluates the quality of advantages and weaknesses of each field and is supported by evidence data, where necessary

² Handbook on Democracy Assessment. 2002. IDEA, p. 12.

- Assessment and standards are chosen at the discretion of assessors of the country
- The findings of the assessment are widely discussed and consulted at national level seminars and reflect public opinion

The Mongolia research methodology has the following particularities as compared to the IDEA methodology:

1. The state of democratic governance was at first evaluated by the democracy experts' survey, and then based on the public survey that was additionally supported and verified by other data collected by the national research team. Also for comparison Members of Parliament
2. Satellite indicators reflecting Mongolia's specificities along with core indicators reflecting democracy's general attributes have become an important methodological novelty.
3. The research findings produced during the process of assessment and at its completion were made under the aegis of a governmental institution with a multi-stakeholder participation and were directly addressed to policy-makers to assist in their evidence-based decision-making.
4. The adoption of Mongolia's Millennium Development Goals including Goal 9 on human rights and freedoms, democratic governance, and zero-tolerance of corruption by the Parliament of Mongolia in April 2005 will facilitate the continuation and institutionalization of democratic governance assessments in Mongolia.

In the process of selecting a methodology applicable to Mongolia, time and effort have also been exhausted in selecting methods of developing Mongolia specific satellite indicators. As a result of a preliminary study and several rounds of detailed discussion of the issue, a conclusion was made that in developing the satellite indicators specific to Mongolia the following factors need to be considered:

- Mongolia is a new democracy, which is implementing political and economic transition reforms simultaneously;
- Although per its Constitution Mongolia is a parliamentary state, the political transition process retained many elements of a Semi-Presidential government;
- Mongolia is an underdeveloped country with a large territory, small and unevenly dispersed population, small-sized economy dependent on external factors, which in many ways affects the development of democratic governance;
- Unfavorable living conditions in rural areas and the magnetic force of markets cause increasing migration of population to urban areas;
- The traditional mentality of population to worship the state as well as the passive recipient mentality of people, who expect everything from above (central government) of the totalitarian past is still a widespread phenomenon;
- The inertia of centuries old nomadic lifestyle and philosophy, the Marxist ideological understanding of politics is still strong while knowledge of values of democracy is fairly general and superficial;
- The abrupt transition process triggered collapse of the economy, followed by a fast pace of segregation in the society, increasing unemployment, poverty and corruption;
- Deepening negative gender correlation in education, employment and appointment to public positions;

- The small population is the key factor to relationships such as acquaintances, friends, compatriots, former colleagues, former classmates as well as traditions and customs still being stronger in social relations than the law.

The research team has made conscious effort to take into consideration these factors in developing the satellite indicators, which reflect the national characteristics. At the same time, the team made effort to derive indicators from the public and grassroots opinion, using bottom-up approach in the development of those indicators.

The main purpose of the research was to develop **core** and **satellite** democratic governance indicators for Mongolia and compile comprehensive data for that purpose. The core indicators represent common values of democratic governance and satellite indicators mainly express national characteristics of democratic governance in Mongolia.

Developing satellite indicators reflected the following principles:

- National characteristics of democratic governance
- They had to be contextually specific and grounded.
- Promote local ownership among key stakeholders
- Strengthen the appeal for applying the framework to other countries
- Bridge the divide between universality and particularity.

The following quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis were employed:

- Each researcher was assigned an area of responsibility to analyze relevant international and national research documents, official reports and information data published by organizations as part of their responsibilities.
- Over 100 participants of the national conference on “Democracy in Mongolia – Challenges and Opportunities” held in Ulaanbaatar in June of 2005, were interviewed for a test-expert survey to clarify key issues related to research.
- Over 1000 citizens in 6 aimags and 6 districts of Ulaanbaatar were given a 76-item questionnaire with 400 optional answers, with results collected, processed and reflected in the final report.



- Also, 36 focus group discussions, 12 free dialogues for data collection were organized in 6 aimags and 6 districts.
- The questionnaire form used for surveying public opinion was also used to study and compare the opinion of parliament members.

The “Democracy Development in Mongolia – Challenges and Opportunities” (June 2005), “Democratic Governance Indicators: Assessment and Challenges” (May 2006), and “International Follow-Up Conference to ICNRD-5” (June 2006) national and international conferences organized by the Follow-up to the 5th International Conference of New and Restored Democracies project, consultative meetings with international experts and analysts organized during this period, meetings of international observers and experts, the desk studies on the State of Democracy in Mongolia and Central Asia³ prepared by the Human Rights Centre at the Essex University, UK, played an important role in refining research theory and practical techniques during the course of developing democratic governance indicators.

This investigation is the first comprehensive study carried out in Mongolia for the purpose of developing democratic governance indicators. The fact that Mongolia has announced the parliament-approved 9th national Millennium Development Goal – democratic governance, freedom of press and media, human rights and zero tolerance of corruption – further alleviates the significance of this work. The “Democratic Governance Indicators: Assessing the State of Governance in Mongolia” research report will become an important reference material for government organizations, all level decision-makers, universities and research institutions, political parties and the civil society. In addition, it will become a resource for exchange of experience for developing democracies, especially the new and restored democracies.

Box 1.

The research method:

Quantitative:

- Administrative statistics
- Elite surveys
- Mass surveys
- Expert judgments

Qualitative:

- Dialogues
- Focus groups
- Narratives

The specific feature of this report lies in the fact that significant effort was made to sum up the state of democratic governance in Mongolia based on real data, keeping out subjective views of the researchers.

The **CIN** is another democracy assessment tool developed in accordance with the Ulaanbaatar Plan of Action. The CIN builds on the findings and structure of the DGIs research and provides a quantitative evaluation framework for new or restored democracies. The tool engages independent experts to assess the state of democratic governance and relies both on DGIs research and independent sources of information.

The Mongolia CIN invites for more international testing and discussion, especially at the next ICNRD-6 to be held in Doha, Qatar in October-November 2006.

The development and application process of the CIN were as follows:

- Completion of the DGIs and the assessment of the state of democratic governance
- Identify performance DGIs from the assessment
- Develop the CIN framework and methodology
- Apply DGIs to the CIN framework
- Presentation of the CIN
- Public promotion and advocacy
- Use of the CIN for policy-making

According to the CIN methodology, the national experts have set the overall assessment of democratic governance for Mongolia at 3.02 points of the 1-5 points’ scale. This corresponds

³ Landman T. The State of Democracy in Mongolia - A Desk Study, 2005 and Landman T. The State of Democracy in Central Asia - A Desk Study, 2006, Human Rights Centre, Essex University and Follow-up to ICNRD-5 Project, Ulaanbaatar.

with the following assessment: “Democratic and non-democratic characteristics are fairly proportional and situation could turn either way”.

The Draft NPA to Consolidate Democracy in Mongolia is a document that has absorbed the findings of both the DGIs research and the CIN and has defined the most urgent tasks that Mongolia needs to undertake to address the challenges to its democratic governance. This Plan of Action is evidence-based and proposes reforms in relevant policy areas and government action plans and legislation. Along with the DGIs and the CIN, it has been the subject of discussions at two national conferences of stakeholders in 2005 and 2006.

The national research team also developed the working draft of the NPA. The team reflected the overall spectrum of political concepts and practical views on the state of democracy in Mongolia, the fundamental challenges it faced, and the reforms needed to overcome them in line with the principles and commitments reflected in the ICNRD-5 outcome documents. The group also incorporated the three-tier structure and involvement of ICNRD-5 (government, parliamentarians, and civil society). The main phases of stakeholder consultation over the draft NPA were:

1. Review and discussion of the draft NPA by the National Steering Committee composed of key stakeholders
2. Review and discussion of the draft NPA at national and international democracy conferences in 2005, 2006.
3. Mongolian legal and political experts reviewed the draft NPA to meet the standards of a national policy document.

The draft NPA will be reviewed and recommended for adoption by the State Great Hural (the Parliament) of Mongolia to make it a mandatory legislative document.

The DGIs pilot exercise along with the CIN and the NPA have received extensive international support especially during the Follow-up to ICNRD-5 International Conference held in Ulaanbaatar in June 2006. As a reflection of global learning experiences that can be drawn from Mongolia’s pilot exercises, this volume includes an article by Dr. Todd Landman of the Human Rights Centre at the Essex University.

The DGIs methodology allows for multiple data-generating exercises to take place, which can be inputted to the larger assessment. In addition to the DGIs, the CIN and the NPA studies, several complimentary assessment initiatives were undertaken for Mongolia’s follow-up activities, including an Urban Governance Index for Ulaanbaatar.

With the support of UN-Habitat, the Follow-up to ICNRD-5 Project, and the Ulaanbaatar City Administration organized a workshop in January 2006 for national stakeholders to develop an index to measure the quality of urban governance in Mongolia's capital. The Urban Governance Index (UGI) helps policymakers, civil society and citizens identify strengths, weaknesses and opportunities for governance reform in Ulaanbaatar with a particular focus on the urban poor. The index can be used to test for correlation between the quality of urban governance and issues such as urban poverty reduction, quality of life, city competitiveness and inclusiveness. In general, the UN-Habitat exercise allows for disaggregating the DGIs at the urban (Ulaanbaatar) level. Urban governance has been identified by the national research team as a satellite issue and therefore required extra attention as the research showed that there had been very little urban governance data, hence another reason to focus on generating indicators for this area.

The Civil Society Index produced as a follow-up to the International Civil Society Forum, a component of the ICNRD-5, uses 74 indicators for its civil society assessment, each of them measuring an important aspect of the state of civil society. The indicators and their

dimensions are represented graphically in the form of a Civil Society Diamond. The indicators were scored by a National Advisory Group (NAG) using a “citizen jury” approach.

The DGIs research report was prepared by a national research team composed of Geleg CHULUUNBAATAR (team leader), Damba GANBAT, Chimedtseren GAN-ULZII, Tseven TSETSENBILEG, Perenlei DORJSUREN, Namsrai BAYAR, Dashzeveg GANKHUYAG, Khishigdemberel TEMUJIN and Oidov KHATANBOLD. The public opinion surveys were carried out by the team with the assistance of the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences.

The draft National Plan of Action to Consolidate Democracy in Mongolia was developed by the national research team and independent experts Luvsan ERDENECHULUUN, Ulziisaikhan ENKHTUVSHIN, Sorogjoo TUMUR, and Byaraa CHIMED.

The Follow-up to ICNRD-5 Project staff Joachim NAHEM, Hashbat HULAN, Vangansuren ULZIIBAYAR, Bayarsaikhan BAYASGALAN, and Ganbat KHURELBAATAR have extended their full support and have worked in close cooperation in the course of implementation of this research project.

Ms. Ochir ENKHTSETSEG, Director General, and the staff of the Department of Multilateral Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have also provided their full support and assistance in implementing the three pilot exercises of the follow-up activities in Mongolia.

The research benefited considerably from the advice and support of the UNDP Country Office in Mongolia, Ms. Pratibha MEHTA, Resident Representative and other staff. Ms. Ingrid WETTERQVIST of the International IDEA, Dr. Todd LANDMAN of the Human Rights Centre, Essex University, Mr. Peter DE SOUZA and many other friends and colleagues engaged in developing democracy assessment tools.

The Urban Governance Index for Ulaanbaatar was produced with the help of Ms. Shipra NARANG, UN-Habitat, and the staff of the Ulaanbaatar City Administration.

The Civil Society Index was produced by the CEDAW Watch team (now Citizens’ Alliance Center) in Ulaanbaatar that acted as Interim Secretariat of the ICSFD, a civil society component of ICNRD-5.

The final outcomes of the Mongolia Democracy Assessment have been presented in a 400-page publication in Mongolian, a 170-page summary in English (the current volume), and a pocket size publication in English. The results have been presented in numerous press releases, interviews and newspaper articles in the Mongolian language.

The key findings of the “Democratic Governance Indicators: Assessing the State of Mongolia’s Governance” research project are summarized in the below section of this report.

I. STATE OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

1. 1. Citizenship, Law and Rights

Nationhood and Citizenship

Mongolia's Law on Citizenship defines four justifications for Mongolia's citizenship: by birth, by granting citizenship, by reviving citizenship, and as prescribed by international legal instruments that Mongolia has joined. Double citizenship is not allowed.

To become Mongolia's citizen, a person holding other citizenship or no citizenship at all should fulfill the following criteria: to have appropriate living standard and income, to be familiar with Mongolian traditions and customs, and the official language as well as the country's constitutional system, to have lived in Mongolia at least five years permanently prior to submitting an official citizenship request, to have not committed any pre-conceived violation of law, and to have met other criteria as established by state legislation and other policy acts. Another requirement is to ensure that granting citizenship to that person will not harm Mongolia's bilateral relations with a country of a person's origin as well as Mongolia's interests and integrity. The Law sets a period of no more than six months to review requests for citizenship.

Up to now, there have been no officially registered controversies on Mongolia's legal grounds regarding the political and economic rights such as the right to elect or be elected into government office or any other discrimination of persons who have terminated Mongolia's citizenship or have been granted citizenship. In 2004, there were 70 persons who had abrogated Mongolia's citizenship and 23 persons who had entered it. During the first half of 2005, there were 47 persons who had left Mongolia's citizenship and 10 persons who had been granted citizenship according to the official data provided by the Citizenship Agency. During the past two years, Mongolians have received the citizenships of the following foreign countries: Austria-8, ROK-44, the Czech Republic-1, Poland-1, Singapore-1, Slovakia-3, Germany-56, and Japan-2.⁴

Today, there are 20 616 persons from 95 countries residing officially in Mongolia for private or official business purposes as long-term residents, permanent residents, immigrants, and temporary residents. The above number includes 2 268 immigrants from 15 countries. However, this is the number of officially residing foreigners only. There is no accurate number of illegal residents including Chinese citizens among them.

Outbound migration has been on the increase since 1990s and as per informal data: over 113 thousand Mongolian citizens reside today in foreign countries. There is an estimation that over 40 000 of these migrants lives and work in over 20 foreign countries illegally (for example, out of 19 000 Mongolian citizens residing in the Republic of Korea, 9500 are illegal residents).⁵ Mongolia lacks the economic, technological and human capacity to keep track and count of its immigrants.⁶

⁴ Official letter dated 2005.10.14. №4/716, 102518 received from the Agency on Foreign Citizens

⁵ Munkh-Orgil Ts. 2005, National Meeting on "Migration to Foreign Countries, Problems and Solutions", Standing Committee on Social Policy of the State Great Hural, Forum of Asian Parliamentarians on Population Development, UNFPA, Ulaanbaatar, p. 22

⁶ "Incoming and Outgoing Migrants", the Ardyn Erh. 2005.09.07 # 175(196)

Mongolia is a country with one dominant national language and culture with Mongols as a larger ethnic group comprising 92.2 percent of the population.⁷ The rest are mostly the Kazakhs (4.3 percent) inhabiting the Bayan-Ulgii province in the Western part of the country and comprising 85 percent of the local population there. Conditions for ethnic minorities to maintain, practice and develop their language and culture are fully secured in Mongolia and there were no cases of discrimination of Kazak ethnic minority reported during the interviews of this research project. However, there have been cases of non-recognition of the Tsaatans, who live in high mountain forests in the far West, as an ethnic minority, and disregard of their culture, language and lifestyle.

Mongolia has no territorial or border claims or controversies with its neighbors.

The current Constitution of Mongolia was adopted in 1992. The fundamental concept and principles of the Constitution are recognized by all major political forces and by citizens at large. Sometimes, there are discussions on changing the form of government.

There is a separate chapter in the Constitution that gives general guidelines on its amendment. However, there is no legislation that regulates the process of introducing amendments to the Constitution, no legalized protection of its foundation, standard or composition, nor a legal document that establishes its immunity.

The 1999-2000 amendments to the Constitution have proven to have had a negative impact on parliamentary development and separation of powers, have reduced presidential powers to demand adherence to the Constitution by state and government bodies, and have increased the influence of party politics on the government, as attested to by political developments of recent years and expert analysis by foreign and national experts.⁸

Rule of Law and Access to Justice

Minimal participation of the public in the legislative process, disregard of the results of research and surveys creates difficulties in developing efficient and quality policy, leading to a negative impact on enforcement and implementation of legislation, as well as major inconsistencies in the application of approved legislation in social, political and economic areas⁹ of government mandate.

Ambiguity of law provisions, inconsistency of such provisions, absence of detailed legal stipulations and their weakness make laws open to wide interpretations thus providing opportunity for arbitrary interpretation, create conditions conducive to corrosion of law, inequitable use of legislation by officials and corruption.

When asked what the major obstacles to enforcing the law were, 43.1 percent of citizens replied that control mechanisms were weak, 31 percent viewed that accountability was unsatisfactory, and 37.8 percent believed that officials themselves violated the law.¹⁰

The long-established mentality of the Mongols to “respect the state”, and immaturity of the notion that government provides services to the public, continues the tradition that discards legality, creating favorable conditions for public officials to put themselves above the citizens, enjoy special perks and reputation.

Formation of the new administrative court system triggered some positive movement but the un-established functions of the newly formed court system and insufficient experience and

⁷ Population of Mongolia - 2000 Census, 2004, NSO, UB

⁸ Official request to the Constitutional Court by a group of citizens (S. Narangerel, N. Haidav, N. Baasanjav, D. Chuluunjav, O. Jambaldorj, N. Otgon), the official conclusion by the Constitutional Court of 15 March 2000

⁹ Chimid B. Surprised to see silence when constitution is violated, Unuudur 2005.09.05. №208 (2557)

¹⁰ The Public Opinion Survey carried out under the DGI Project. 2005

knowledge of judges, reluctance of citizens to seek protection of their rights through courts are all obstructions to full implementation of the rule of law. Of all the obstacles mentioned, the most destructive factor was the ruling of the Constitutional Court of Mongolia, which left the decisions issued by the General Election Committee and the Government outside the jurisdiction of administrative courts thus creating conditions for government activity that is above and beyond the law¹¹.

Extensive involvement of high-level officials from police, prosecution and courts in law making processes puts these officials in “conflict of interest” situations as they strive to preserve the current authority of respective organizations and their own positions, traditional practices (as envisioned for law enforcement in the socialist legal system), putting forward the importance of old and narrow experiences as opposed to supporting healthy reform policies and goals, thus obstructing reform policy in this sector.

Insufficient enforcement of rules regulating independence of the judiciary, under-developed culture of rule of law in the political system, appointment of higher ranking justices based on political criteria, allocation of the budget for the judiciary at less than 0.45% of the state budget over the last 3 year period¹² that has proven to have been insufficient for court expenditures, salaries and housing for judges, official appointments and travel, communication and administration of justice - all have led to dependence of the judiciary on politics.

The fact that the agency in charge of intelligence in Mongolia is endowed with powers that are a direct mandate of the judiciary encourages actions of infringement upon human rights outside the court system.

The fact that the General Council of Courts, professional and disciplinary committees of courts find themselves in “conflict of interest” situations as they fall under the influence of their Chief Justice or political dependence leads to assessing them as unable to perform their duties due to this vertical administration format.¹³

Existence of criminal law system in Mongolia, which mainly focuses on guilty plea from suspects and accused, not only facilitates a practice of torture, but it also seriously limits the right of individuals to legal aid.¹⁴ There were several cases of extraordinary court sessions held for certain individuals at temporary detention center facilities (e.g. the Gants Hudag Prison).

Poverty of citizens while impeding access to justice also creates inequality in the right to receive legal aid before the court. The sociological survey carried out under the Democratic Governance Indicators (DGIs) project revealed that the court was still viewed by the people as an old socialist mechanism of compulsion, or law enforcement agency rather than a mechanism to ensure legitimate rights of the people. Over 64.5% of participants in the survey responded that “Courts protect the interests of the state rather than private individuals in resolving disputes between the state and citizens (24.3% in all cases and 40.2% to some extent).”

50.8% of respondents agreed that court decisions could be manipulated and therefore many citizens viewed the process of resolving disputes through the court system as time consuming and expensive process which failed to bring results (30%).¹⁵

¹¹ Comparisons of 2000-2003 data 0.40-0.45%, Supreme Court of Mongolia, Annual Report, 2003, p. 19

¹² Comparisons of 2000-2003 data 0.40-0.45%, Supreme Court of Mongolia, Annual Report, 2003, p. 19

¹³ Dandgaasuren B. The Supreme Court Has Become Ganbat’s Private Company, The Daily News, 2005.07.25, №176 (1997)

¹⁴ Novak M. 2005. Report of the Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. UNHCHR, 005.E/CN.4/2006/6/Add.4, available on http://ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?c=122&su=126.

¹⁵ The Public Opinion Survey carried out under the DGIs Project. 2005



Civil and Political Rights

International survey results show that if in the first ten years of Mongolia's democratic development political rights and freedoms have been relatively well protected, while protection of civil rights has come down in the recent few years.¹⁶ Surveys carried out by our team have confirmed this conclusion. The fact that 27.1% of participants in the survey have experienced physical harassment speaks for the fact that there is abundant illegal infringement upon citizens' right to physical security.¹⁷

In 1990-2000, 259 individuals were sentenced to capital punishment (death sentence), and a comparison of the second five years of the decade (1996-2000) with its first five years (1990-1995) shows a 60% reduction in the use of capital punishment sentence¹⁸. However, information on the use of capital punishment is classified, official data are not released, prison conditions for those sentenced with capital punishment are atrocious, and family members are never notified.

Incidents involving the use of torture, force and duress in interrogation of suspects, attainment of guilty pleas by use of compulsion and repression still take place. Conditions at pre-trial detention centers and prisons create favorable environment for the use of torture. There is no maximum limit set on the time for investigating an individual in connection with a case, and the time for investigation under detention was set at up to 2 years, which may be extended through use of options such as case returned for further investigation by courts or ambiguously stipulated justification that "there is likelihood that suspect placed under the custody may escape". All of the above provide an opportunity for detaining any person (men, women and children) for an unlimited period of time.

Crime and political violence. In the past three years 1067 precious human lives had been lost. In 2004, 18905 criminal cases were registered.¹⁹

Around 54.000 individuals report new injuries most of which are injuries resulting from one or other form of physical assault.²⁰ The Human Rights Survey reports that the actual number of criminal offences is 6 times higher than the number registered with the police. Behind this number, there are numerous victims whose human rights have been violated.

63.6 percent of those surveyed by the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law believed that their right to live in safety and security was not fully guaranteed while only 18.1 percent replied that the above right was fully secured. This reflected a deep concern that the

¹⁶ State of Democracy in Mongolia - A Desk Study, 2005, Human Rights Centre, University of Essex, p.23

¹⁷ The Public Opinion Survey carried out under the DGIs Project. 2005

¹⁸ Report on Human Rights and Freedoms in Mongolia, 2002. National Human Rights Commission. Ulaanbaatar.

¹⁹ Mongolian Statistical Yearbook- 2004. 2005. NSO. UB. p.369.

²⁰ Information of the Central Casualties and Rehabilitation Hospital.2005.Ulaanbaatar

public had regarding crime and violence.²¹ 40.2 percent could not live peacefully without fear of violence.



There have been no instances of violence among citizens stemming from social or religious differences. However, extreme polarization might have led to physical attacks or violence. One of the examples is the murder of S. Zorig, one of the first leaders of the democratic movement, that was announced to have been political in nature and that still remains unresolved seven years after.

Violence against women. Despite detailed reflection in the legislation, domestic violence remains a serious problem. The National Human Rights center reported that every third woman was subjected to a form of domestic violence, every tenth woman was regularly subjected to physical violence.²² Over the recent years, mostly poor women have been subjected to prostitution and human trafficking across border that have had a tendency to become more organized. The first case of human trafficking of women was established in 2001. However, a criminal case was not prosecuted as the complainants had did not bring any official charges. The research established that Mongolian women were illegally transferred to China, Macao, Singapore, ROK, and Yugoslavia.²³ Regretfully, there are no available data on how many women are illegally transferred from the country and how many are forced to engage in prostitution.

Violence against children. More than 80 percent of children surveyed by the National Human Rights Commission in 2003 were subjected to a form of violence against them.²⁴



There were 63 calls made to the hotline against violence against children (number 464060) with the majority of them having been complaints against parents and teachers.²⁵

According to statistics from the judiciary, there were 990 juveniles sentenced by courts in 2000, 1034 in 2001, 983 in 2002, 1097 in 2003, and 1121 in 2004.²⁶ Juvenile crime has been on the increase following the general crime rate increase in the country accounting for approximately 9 percent of all crimes.²⁷ Hooliganism has had a tendency to increase in particular in places frequented by young people such as schools, shops, bars and others with 16-18 year olds having been the prime offenders.

²¹The Public Opinion Survey carried out under the DGI Project. 2005

²² Report on Human Rights and Freedoms in Mongolia. 2002. National Human Rights Commission. Ulaanbaatar, p.15

²³ The State of the Crime of Trafficking of Women and Children in Mongolia, 2002. Ulaanbaatar, 2002

²⁴ Report on Human Rights and Freedoms in Mongolia. 2003. National Human Rights Commission. Ulaanbaatar.

²⁵ Is violence against children none of children's organizations' business? 2005.12.16. www.olloo.mn

²⁶ Mongolian Statistical Yearbook - 2004.2005, NSO, Ulaanbaatar, p.369

²⁷ The issue of children violating the law, 2004, Ulaanbaatar, p.10

There are a number of NGOs that are actively engaged in defending human rights and freedoms. The following are the difficulties faced by human rights non-governmental organizations:

- The National Human Rights Commission of Mongolia notes that the rigid regime of registration with the Ministry of Justice and Home Affairs, inconsistencies between the Law on Non-Governmental Organizations and other laws impede the activities of some non-governmental organizations working in human rights field and provide opportunity for determination of such activities by individuals as illegal²⁸;
- Creation of bureaucratic obstacles to obtaining information, materials and data relevant to their activity, disregard of research results;
- Citizens lacks and/or have insufficient knowledge of their civil rights;
- Involvement of charity organizations in protecting the rights of prison convicts entail suspicions of political nature of such activity;
- There have been cases of basing criminal investigation and trials on political grounds and condemning defense attorney's actions;
- Lack of understanding and immaturity of human rights and freedoms as values of democracy among the rural population creates difficulties especially in the process of protecting the autonomy of individuals.

Economic and Social Rights

According to the results of a survey on implementation of human rights, Mongolia's Labour Code has been in compliance with the country's Constitution, the UN Conventions on Human Rights, and international legal instruments approved by the International Labour Organization.²⁹

Mongolia is ranked 114th in the 2005 Human Development Report, with an HDI value of 0.679. The Human Poverty Index -1 value for Mongolia, 18.5%, ranks 44th among 103 developing countries for which the index has been calculated.³⁰

According to FAO, Mongolia is now the most food insecure country in Asia apart from Cambodia. More than a third of the populations are undernourished, with 38 per cent of Mongolians unable to guarantee enough food for themselves and their families each day.³¹ UNDP human development statistics show that undernourishment increased from 34 per cent to 38 per cent of the population between 1990 and 2000. The daily calorie intake per person in poor households is only 1,784 kcals.³²

²⁸ Dalajamts G. 2002. Activities of Civil Right, Freedom and Human Rights NGOs, Open Forum on Civil Rights and Freedoms, Ulaanbaatar

²⁹ Report on Human Rights and Freedoms in Mongolia. 2002. National Human Rights Commission, Ulaanbaatar, p.63

³⁰ Human Development Report. 2005. http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/data/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs_MNG.html

³¹ <http://www.fao.org/countryprofiles/index.asp?lang=en&ISO3=MNG>

³² Ziegler J. 2005. Report on the Special Rapporteur on the right to food - Mission to Mongolia. p.7.

E/CN.4/2005/47/Add.2, available at the following site:

http://ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?c=122&su=126,



Per the right to appropriate housing, the half of Mongolia's population lives in traditional felt dwellings (gers) with the other half living in modern apartments. There considerable differences between these two modes of living with regard to sanitary and hygiene conditions, provision of electricity, heating, and water supply as well as garbage collection.

According to the 2000 national census, approximately 18000 families were living in shared premises with other families.³³ 55 percent of urban households lacked central heating connection, shower and toilet facilities.³⁴ All soum or bag centers lacked the above as well. Access to fresh drinking water is extremely unequal and about 40 per cent of the population do not have access to an improved drinking water source.³⁵



Migration of citizens, due to loss of their herds, to urban centers on the one hand, and well off households, individuals and professional cadres to aimag and city centers on the other hand is leading to reduction of population numbers in rural areas thus becoming the core cause for deepening poverty in rural areas. Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES) and Living Standard Measurement Survey (LSMS) results show that 27.3% of city, 33.9% of aimag and 42.7% of soum center residents live below the poverty line. This testifies to the fact that the level of soum center poverty is higher than the city level by 17.2 points or 8.4 points higher than the national average.

³³ Population and Housing Census-2000, 2004, NSO, Ulaanbaatar

³⁴ Ziegler J. 2005. Report on the Special Rapporteur on the right to food - Mission to Mongolia, p.7

³⁵ Ibid. p.8

As for educational services, higher school enrollment resulting in overcrowded classrooms in schools leads to a negative impact on the health of pupils and the quality of teaching. As of the end of the last year, 5.700 pupils (166 groups of 32 schools) were forced to attend school as the 3rd shift; most of these children were residents of the capital city. Opportunity for teachers to concentrate on pupils is limited, leading to increasing incidence of juvenile crime and number of children subjected to such offence.



There are limited opportunities for the rural population to exercise fully the right to medical service. This is related to the lack of modern diagnostic and treatment equipment and technologies in rural hospitals, the use of outmoded equipment and technologies there, and the lack of testing materials in laboratories and technical capacity to conduct fact testing and trials for diagnostic purposes leading to red tape and failure of emergency services. The majority of hospitals in peripheral soums lack qualified medical staff thus forcing the patients to seek medical help in aimag centers.



Rural to urban migration creates a variety of problems such as overburdened social protection and welfare services, reduction of their accessibility and increasing number of recipients of these services.

Affiliation with political party continues to be a decisive factor in getting new employment, especially with government agencies and state-owned enterprises. It has become a widespread practice to violate and restrict the rights of people by adopting new rules and procedures, while laws do not restrict such rights. Open or hidden discrimination of those disliked by leadership for their views, use of threat or harassment by taking to court for alleged disclosure of state secrets or alleged slander against others have taken ground in Mongolia.

Officials deny citizens their right to suspect, they strive to add to the privileges of their official positions the additional protection by appealing to their own citizen's rights, and courts in most cases tend to protect such officials thus causing inequality before the court and the law.

In rural areas, political party leadership, government administrative bodies and employers discriminate and persecute civil society movement activists on political grounds, authorize surveillance of civil society meetings and condone other illegal activities.³⁶

The “Law on Relations between the State and Church” provides that Buddhism is the major religion in Mongolia. In 2004, there were altogether 225 religious organizations including 137 Buddhist monasteries, 63 Christian organizations and churches, 22 Islamic organizations and mosks, and other organizations (Bahai, shamanic, etc.).



Compared to the 2003 data, the number of persons in Buddhist organizations has gone down whereas the number of Christian organizations and churches has increased twice with the number of those working there having gone up by three times, the number of priests there – by four times, and the number of Christian students - by 365 persons.

Table 1. Number of Buddhist and Christian temples, employees, monks and students (2003-2004)

Years	Number of temples	Number of employees	Number of monks	Number of students	
Buddhist	2003	150	3173	1928	1045
	2004	137	3008	1718	1261
Christian	2003	39	311	40	937
	2004	63	971	154	1566

Pursuant to the above mentioned law, Aimag and Capital City Citizen’s Representative Hural issue licenses to religious organizations.

Satellite Indicator: How equal is the provision of civil and socio-economic rights for migrants?

The inadequate provision of rights of migrants is mostly related to their poverty. The large-scale migration of impoverished rural population to cities has created the second wave of migration from rural areas to urban centers. The new migrants tend to live in ger districts in the

³⁶ State of Civil Society in Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, 2005

outskirts of the city and are removed from social services, and their children have difficulties in accessing schools on an equal footing with others. The migrants have difficulties finding employment, they are more frequently unemployed and when employed tend to work in hard labor conditions for lower salaries.

Satellite Indicator: How do social traditions affect the implementation of human rights?

The traditional social values that have been rooted in ethical norms rather than legal norms and cherished by Mongolians for many centuries, fail in many ways to meet the standards of modern democracy based on respect for human rights. The “Mongolian habit” of not complaining in legal terms and not resorting to legal mechanisms is still deeply rooted in the social psyche. The Law on Procedure to Seek Compensation for Damages Incurred by Unlawful Actions by Officials of the Judiciary, the Procurator’s Office, and the Police has been invoked only once or twice during the past 16 years. There have been few complaints to the UN Human Rights Commission and other international bodies.

1.2. Representative and Accountable Government

Political Competition and Process of Election. Mongolia has held four elections to the State Great Hural (Parliament) and the same number of Presidential and local government elections since the adoption of the new Constitution of Mongolia in 1992. In 1996 and 2000, there was alternation of political majority in the State Great Hural, whereas in the 2004 elections none of the political parties gained the majority of seats in the parliament.

Three different electoral systems were used in local government elections in 1992, 1996, and 2000.

The electoral turnover in Mongolia was high until mid-1990s with a dominant trend for it to decrease since then. In the parliamentary elections in 1992, the turnover was 92.5 percent of registered voters, in 1996 the turnover was 92.15 percent, in 2000 it was 82.43 percent, and in 2004 it stood at 82.2 percent. In the Presidential elections in 1993, the turnover rate was 92.7 percent of all voters, in 1997 it was 85.06 percent, in 2001 the turnover was 82.94 percent, and finally in 2004 it stood at 80.3 percent. The voter participation in local government elections has always been relatively low. In 1996, the turnover at local elections was 72.1 percent of all voters, in 2000, it decreased by 6.2 percent to 65.9, and in 2004, the turnover went further down by 4.5 percent to 61.51 percent.³⁷

³⁷ Report on Monitoring of Funding for the 2004 Parliamentary Election Campaign. 2004. Ulaanbaatar, p.32



Overall, the elections are free. However, there exist incidences of breaching the principles of fair elections such as:

- Inadequacy of voter registration lists is one of the causes of irregularities in the elections;
- In the most recent elections, the principle of secret ballot was often violated;
- There is insufficient popular participation in the selection of candidates to compete in parliamentary and local government elections;
- Inequality in the election campaigning opportunities is a widespread phenomenon;
- Extensive use of public resources in election campaigns by those in power, and a growing tendency of the state to guide and control the election process.

Although there is a transfer of state power through elections, one can observe a peculiar tendency created by a combination of Mongolia's traditional social relations. There is a clearly established practice by high ranking politicians to nominate election candidates and make political appointments after elections on the basis of campaign contributions to parties and candidates, personal loyalty to individual politicians, and personal relationships such as relatives, friends, classmates, and local tribal ties and other unofficial criteria rather than education, professionalism, experience, qualification and other work qualities.

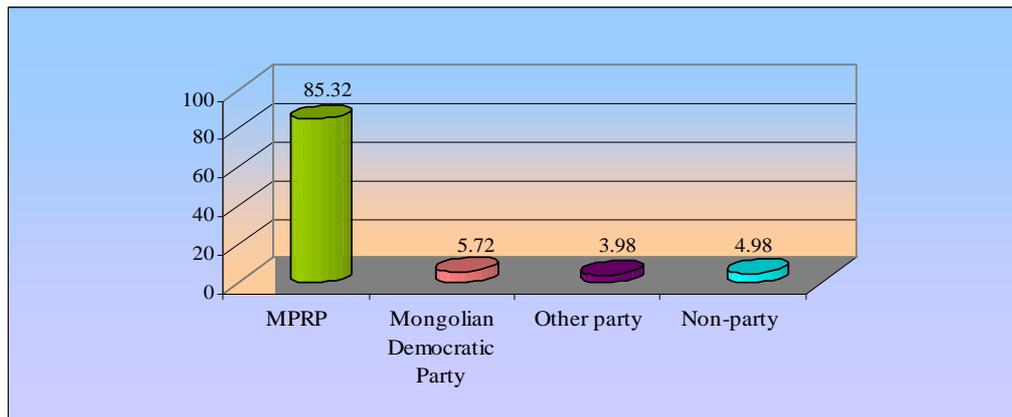
Democratic Role of Political Parties. A multi-party system emerged as a result of the 1990 events in Mongolia and continues to develop and mature. Article 16.10 of the Chapter on Human rights and Freedoms of the Constitution of Mongolia guarantees the right of citizens to voluntary associations and establish parties and other voluntary organizations to express their interests and views. The same article prohibits any discrimination of citizens on the basis of party or any other organization's affiliation.

It has become an established practice that political parties compete in elections, the transition of state power is guaranteed by election results, and that alteration of power is done via peaceful means. Although there is a multitude of political parties in Mongolia, the majority system of elections and the political system resulting from it have led to the emergence of the two major political parties, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) and Democratic Party (DP) as main competitors. The winning political party or coalition forms its government and creates legal environment for implementation of its platform, and there have been five such parliamentary elections since 1990.

The ratio of seats in the Parliament of Mongolia by political parties and the composition of the Government:

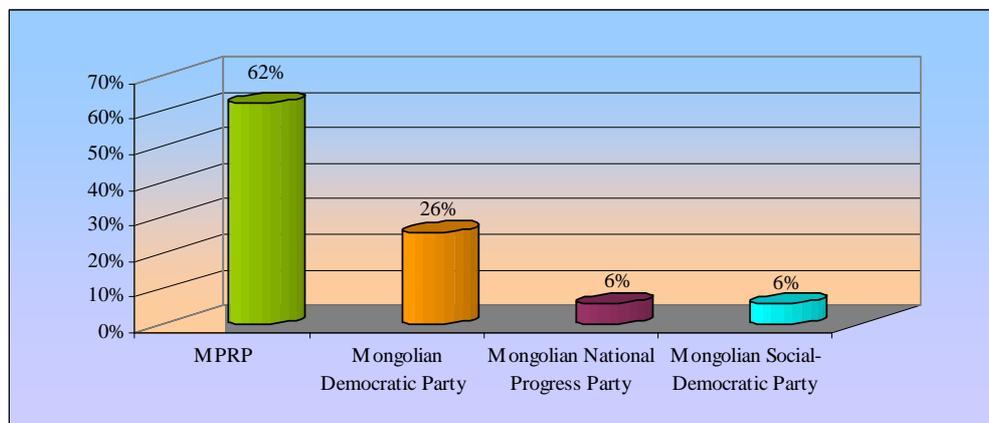
- The People’s Great Hural and the State Small Hural in 1990-1992. Although the MPRP had the majority of seats in the People’s Great Hural and the State Small Hural, representatives of other political parties were appointed to high government positions. Members of the Presidium of the People’s Great Hural were from opposition parties, the Chairman of the State Small Hural represented the Social Democratic Party (MSDP), three chairs of the five Standing Committees of the State Small Hural were from opposition parties, and First Deputy Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister represented the National Progress Party (MNPP) and the Democratic Party (MDP) respectively.

Graph 1. Distribution of seats in the People’s Great Hural



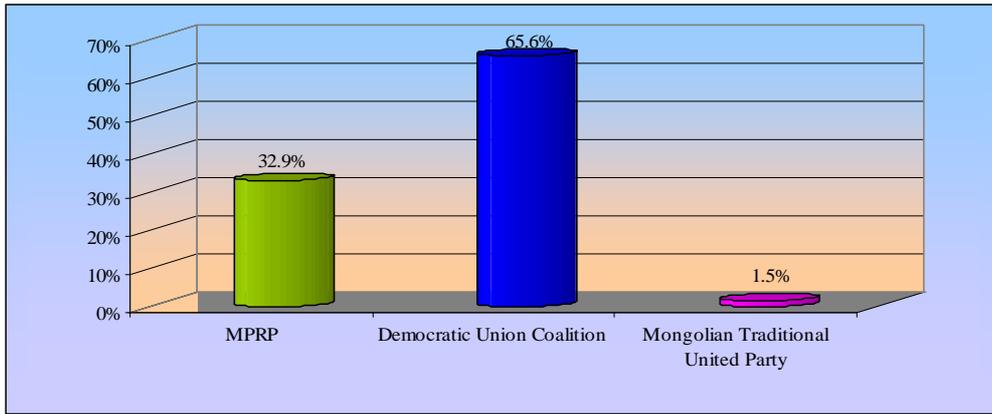
- The State Great Hural in 1992-1996. The MPRP won the overwhelming majority of seats in 1992 elections and created a one-party Government.

Graph 2. Distribution of seats in the State Small Hural



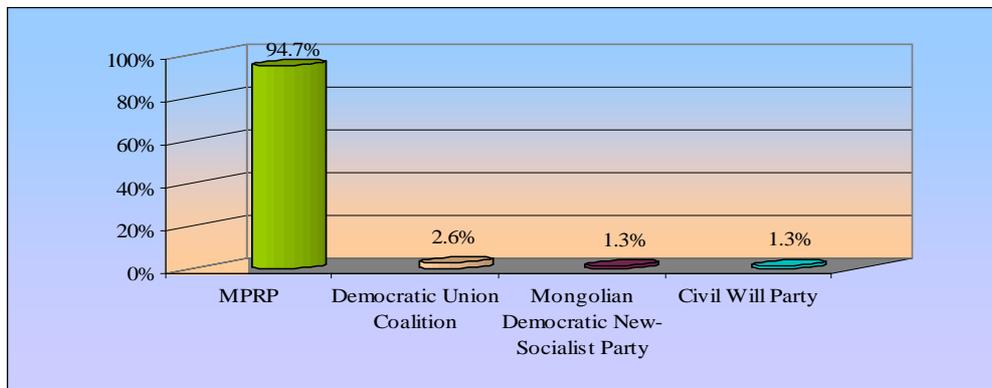
- The State Great Hural in 1996-2000. The Democratic Union Coalition became the majority in the Parliament at the 1996 elections and created a coalition Government composed of members of National Democratic Party and Social Democratic Party.

Graph 3. Distribution of seats in the State Great Hural in 1996-2000



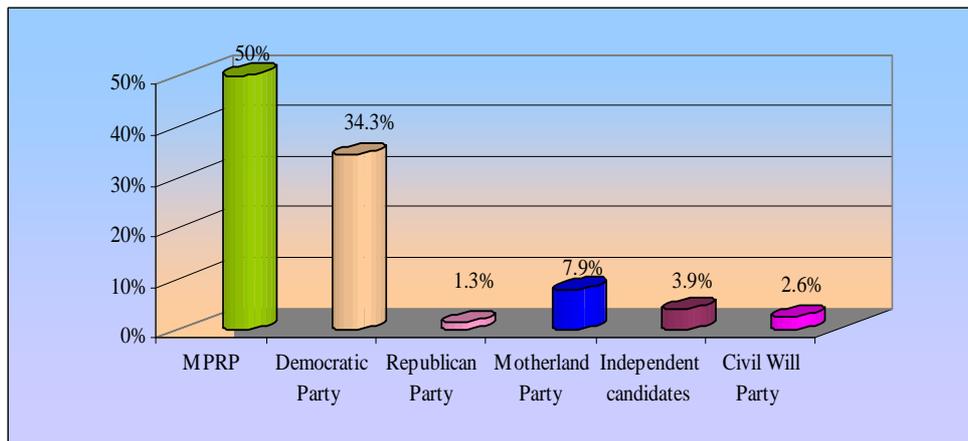
- The State Great Hural in 2000-2004. The MPRP won the overwhelming majority in 2000 and formed a one-party Government.

Graph 4. Distribution of seats in the State Great Hural in 2000-2004



- The State Great Hural in 2004. None of the political parties was able to win a majority of seats in the parliament in 2004.

Graph 5. Distribution of seats in the State Great Hural in 2004-2008



The opposition or a political party with more than eight seats in the parliament may establish a party caucus and as such is entitled to express its official position with respect to drafts of laws, and other decisions of the parliament. However, such a political party has limited

Box 2.

“Appointment of public servants on the basis of political selection criteria leaves no opportunity to control and monitor whether their performance conforms to the policy and decisions made by higher ranking officials. These public servants have no distinction from political appointees. This leads to blurring the border between the functions and responsibility of political appointees on the one hand and professional public servants on the other.”

Source: National Integrity System and Its Indicator. 2003. UNDP, Toonot Print, Ulaanbaatar, p.68.

opportunity to exercise oversight or exert constructive influence on the policies and activities of the executive government. There are no substantive studies on the internal democracy within political parties and therefore no grounds for comparisons and conclusions to be made at this moment. Although all political parties included

provisions for increasing participation of grass-root members and women, and openness and transparency in the decision making process in their charters, none of these promises has materialized in practice so far.

Although steps were taken to improve the legal environment for political activities by adoption of the revised Law on Political Parties in 2005, mechanisms to monitor internal practices such as membership registration, financing/fundraising and expenditure oversight, and legal actions, where necessary, have not found development in Mongolia. It is difficult to obtain information on fulfillment of legal obligations and responsibilities in the internal affairs of a political party. Specifically, it is impossible to draw any conclusions as to what safeguards are put in place by political parties to ensure that resources of political parties are not spent for personal or other inappropriate needs. At present, only the total amounts of funds raised and expended for an election campaign are disclosed to the public.

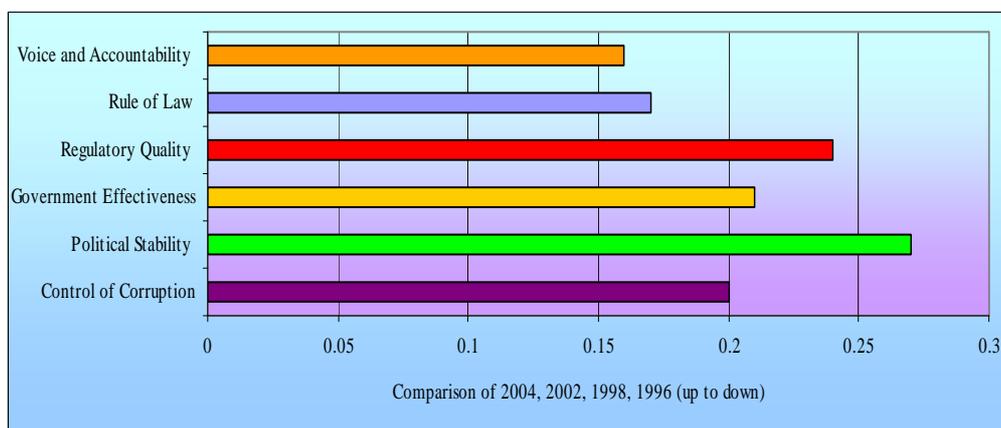
As a whole, although a multi-party system exists and is maturing as a pillar institution of democracy, the role of political parties in consolidating, further developing and protecting democracy can be defined as fairly weak. There are many factors contributing to such passiveness such as level of internal democracy within a political party, participation of members, status of women, and fair competition for power within the party, campaigning practices during elections, financial oversight mechanism, accountability and transparency. These factors, in turn, affect functional capacities such the ability of political parties to compete for political power, capacity to develop social policy and win public support, and may potentially negatively affect democratic values in Mongolia, as evidenced by public opinion surveys.

Government Effectiveness and Accountability. The government of Mongolia lacks the resources required to resolve major problems faced by the country. As of 2004, Mongolia’s external debt amounted to 1.360 million US dollars, which constitutes 90.9% of its GDP³⁸. The GDP and the state budget revenue have increased over the last few years. However, the state budget expenditure has increased along with that. The effect and impact of actions taken by the government to solve existing problems is insignificant. The level of poverty has not decreased over the last decade. “36.1 percent of the population (43 percent in rural areas and 30 percent in cities) is considered poor based on the lowest living standard measurement, and thus poverty is a wide-spread phenomenon”³⁹.

Graph 6. Mongolia. Governance Matters IV

³⁸ Mongolia: Key Indicators - www.worldbank.org

³⁹ Main Report for Sampling Survey on the Household Income and Expenditure and Its Living Standards-2002, 2003, 2004, Ulaanbaatar. p.2



Source: D. Kaufmann, A. Kraay, and M. Mastruzzi /2005/. Governance Matters IV: Governance Indicators for 1996–2004. <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pubs/govmatters4.html>

The East Asia Barometer study has revealed that although Mongolians in their majority support the democratic system, they grant lesser support to democracy as a process.⁴⁰ Mongolians fail to show trust in the political institutions, and the most recent tendency is for the trust to slide further down.

The public survey conducted by the national research team also reveals the public's evaluation of the effectiveness of state and some non-governmental organizations. Based on a five-score scale, 36.3 percent of the respondents believed that local assemblies had little or no effectiveness, 33.5 of the respondents had the same opinion about the effectiveness of the police, 33.0 percent scored local governors and their administrations as having little or no effectiveness with 29.8 percent having the same low opinion about the work of the courts. 28.5 percent gave low or no scores to effectiveness of political parties.⁴¹

A legal environment for professional and permanent public service is being formed. However, in reality, incidences of lack of enforcement and/or violation of provisions of the Public Service Law continue to exist. There is extensive application of the principle of political affiliation in appointing and releasing government officials from official duties.

Performance-results-based contracts that chief budget managers of government agencies enter into with the Chief General Manager, launched in 2003 under the new Law on Public Administration Management and Finance, are aimed at refining responsibility and accountability of executive administration before elected officials such as ministers and aimag governors. There are a high percentage of women in the public service taken as a whole. However, gender balance is not secured in the government leadership echelons.

Table 2. Percentage of women in state administrative positions (by service category)

	Leading Officer	Executive Officer	Senior Officer	Junior Officer	Assistant Officer
1996.01.01	1.9%	10.4%	20.8%	41.6%	51.2%
2005.01.01	7.7%	20.4%	40.8%	58.5%	51.4%

Note: Service categories were introduced in 1996.

Source: 1996 and 2004 Reports on Composition and Dynamics of Mongolia's Public Service

The parliamentary system in Mongolia is in its development stage. Capacity to conduct policy analysis on drafts of legislation and other decisions of the State Great Hural is weak, legislative drafting and law-making processes are not open and transparent, and participation of

⁴⁰ "The East Asian Barometer. A Comparative Study of democratic development", 2005. Ulaanbaatar. pp.58-64

⁴¹ The Public Opinion Survey carried out under the DGIs Project. 2005

citizens in these processes is low. Minority rights in the State Great Hural are limited and the latter's oversight of the executive Government is weak. The amendments introduced to the Constitution and other factors observed earlier evidence a tendency of undermining the institutions designed to limit the executive power.

A horizontal system of accountability and almost all organizations responsible for independent oversight have been established in Mongolia. But the independence of these organizations has not been ensured and therefore their activities have had little impact.

Box 3.

Although the SGH is at the center of Mongolia's democracy, it is hindered by its poor capacity for analyzing policy issues. The SGH has virtually no ability to consider the potential costs and benefits of alternative policy proposals, little capacity for developing legislative initiatives, and plays a minimal oversight role over the budget.

Source: Ginsburg T. Strengthening Legislative Research and Analysis Capacity of Mongolia's State Great Khural. Ulaanbaatar, 2005.

According to Article 15.3 of the Law on Consolidated State Budget, the State Great Hural controls the implementation of the state budget whereas local assemblies control the implementation of local budgets. The Law on Public Financing and Management has specific provisions on budget monitoring and audits. The Ministry of Finance is responsible for reporting the implementation of the consolidated state budget and also for the Government's annual financial report that meet

international financial auditing standards. The spring session of the State Great Hural reviews the consolidated budget report following its audit by the State Audit Agency and then proceeds to adopt the budget implementation resolution. The State Audit Agency conducts audits of state budget reports and also annual financial reports of budgetary organizations, state property companies and organizations as well as legal entities with government participation.

The principal concept of the budget reform implemented since 2003 has been aimed at introducing mid-term budget planning, making budget expenditure transparent, raising accountability of budget managers, introducing a system of accountability and strengthening budget oversight. The tax system of Mongolia and the percentage of taxes in the budget revenue are sufficient compared to countries of comparable level of development. The percentage of taxes, especially VAT, is close to that of developing countries as a result of actions taken to expand the tax base and strengthen tax-collecting authorities, but the impact is higher in other countries. The budget expenditure percentage in GDP has not diminished and continues to stay at a very high rate.

Graph 7. State budget expenditures as percentage of the GDP



Source: Statistical Bulletin, 1995-2004. December 2005. National Statistical Office, Ulaanbaatar.

All expenditures are reflected in the state budget. There is no budget category that does not require approval of the legislature. Despite the positive changes such as annual audits of the budget report of the Cabinet by the National Audit and Inspection Agency, discussion and

approval of the budget expenditure report by the State Great Hural, major shortcomings continue to exist such as lack of information related to the state budget, poor coherence between main development guidelines and budget, budget expenditure increases by the parliament that are approved single-handedly, lack of openness and transparency in the budget development process, insufficient involvement of the public in the budget development and discussion process.

The right of citizens to seek and obtain information is limited due to several factors. There is no law on freedom of information and the Law on State Secrets limits the freedom of information, transparency and accountability. The fact that the process of policy development and decision-making in government agencies as a whole is a closed process becomes a negative indicator. Asked a question whether citizens were able to receive information about policy decisions by state organizations when needed, 25.9 percent of the respondents replied positively, while 23.5 percent replied that they had to search for the information. 27.4 percent were not able to get the information they needed with the remaining 22.5 percent saying that the information was not necessary. 0.7 percent did not know the answer.⁴²

The ability of the government of Mongolia to develop and maintain an effective system of government responsibility and accountability is a major, possibly the greatest challenge it faces.

Satellite Indicator: Do the structure and the capacity of the real economy have the potential to resolve the problems that have accumulated in the society?

The mining sector plays an important role in forming Mongolia's budget, and this role will continue to increase in the future. In particular, the increase in the production of gold and molybdenum and the world price hike on the above products have led to an average 6.8 percent increase in the budget's direct income in 2001-2004, and a 11 percent increase in 2004.⁴³



The production in the mining sector may in some cases lead to environmental degradation. The use of modern technologies in this sector has a limited effect on employment opportunities. A high dependence on the mining sector also produces a high dependence on fluctuation of world prices. The budgetary income generated by the mining sector may also produce political risks through increased corruption (licenses, trading of permits, bribery and others) and economic risks of wasting the new income for ineffective expenditures. This has

⁴² The Public Opinion Survey carried out under the DGIs Project, 2005

⁴³ Mongolia: Selected Issues and Statistical Appendix. 2005. IMF Country Report No.05/400, www.imf.org

been the reason for a recent heightened attention paid to pros and cons of the mining sector development by the Mongolian public.

Satellite Indicator: Is the professional public service able to function in a stable manner after elections take place? How immune are professional public servants from politics?

Although there have been numerous publications on professional public servants having been dismissed after elections on political grounds, there have been no official statements regarding the above. If there are official data on dismissals after elections, they are not open to the public. Some statistical data and surveys reveal that the number of professional public servants discharged on in competency grounds dramatically increases at election years compared to non-election years. For example, in 1996, 1128 public officials were dismissed as “having failed to meet the evaluation of professionalism and performance”, in 1997-1999, there were 158 public officials discharged annually, in 2000, 2151 public officials were fired. In 1996, 1368 public officials were fired from their jobs on “other grounds”, in 1997-1999, there were 231 officials dismissed on the above “other grounds”, while in 2000, 1608 public officials were dismissed from their positions.⁴⁴

Satellite Indicator: How much opportunity is there to exercise checks and balances in relations between the Parliament and the executive Government, and local assemblies and local executive administrations?

The disproportionately high number of Cabinet members in the State Great Hural and a high number of state administrative officers among representatives of local self-governing bodies create an environment conducive to undermining the oversight over the executive government by these institutions.

By allowing a minimum of 39 members of parliament to attend the parliamentary voting session to make it valid and by letting only 20 votes to pass legislation, and with many MPs serving as members of the Cabinet, there is a danger of sliding into the old practice of a parliament being dominated by the executive government.⁴⁵

There has been a common practice of local administrative officers serving in local assemblies thus dominating local self-governing bodies. For instance, 44 percent of members of the local assembly of the Umnugobi aimag are the local governor, chief of his administration, its officials and directors of local governmental agencies and budgetary organizations (not taking into account administrators of schools, kindergartens and some other budgetary organizations) while in the Arhangai aimag the same type of officials constitute 60 percent of the local assembly.⁴⁶

Civilian Control of the Military and the Police. The role of the military is to protect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity from foreign military invasion, and it is prohibited by law to use military force in any form against foundations of the state and social order established by the Constitution, citizens’ rights and lawful interests as well as to establish illegal military or militarized organizations on the territory of Mongolia. Mongolia is a country where the legal foundation for civilian control of the military is established but information required for exercising such a control is not available to the wide public.

⁴⁴ Information provided by the Public Service Council, 2005

⁴⁵ Chimed B. 2004. Concept of the Constitution: Common Issues, Ulaanbaatar. pp.131-132

⁴⁶ Study carried out under the DGIs project. 2005

Table 3. Defense expenditures in 1999–2004 (in billion tugrugs)

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Total budget expenditures	364.6	422.6	489.7	550.5	615.8	753.7
Defense expenditures	18.4	26.1	25.4	28.1	27.9	32.9
Percentage of budget expenditures	5.1	6.2	5.2	5.1	4.5	4.4
Percentage of the GDP	2.0	2.6	2.3	2.3	1.9	1.8

Source: IMF Country Report No. 05/400, www.imf.org

The armed forces of Mongolia are fulfilling their peacekeeping duties by participating in international peacekeeping activities. The police are making relatively good progress in tackling serious criminal situations. There are no illegal, armed or militarized groups using force and violence. At the moment, there has been no officially registered case of an existence of sophisticated organized groups that could be characterized as mafia-like.

However, little progress has been achieved in resolving complaints and eliminating violations pertaining to activities of the police and its special units, specifically those related to accountability, including use of force, improper handling of suspects, and unsanctioned incursion into private property. Policemen, other officers of the police and its special units understand accountability as reporting to higher-level institutions or relevant authorities.

Mechanisms for civilian control of military and police are at the embryonic stage of development.

Minimizing corruption. There is a general legal environment that allows for distinction between official functions and personal interests provided for by the Constitution, the Law on Public Service, the Law on Political Parties, the Criminal Code and other legislation. The National Program to Combat Corruption and the Anti-corruption Law and other legal instruments are the main tools of anti-corruption policy.

Box 4.

Opportunities for corruption are increasing in Mongolia at both the “petty” or administrative and “grand” or elite levels. Several inter-related factors contribute to the growing corruption problem in Mongolia, the most significant of which are:

- A profound blurring of the lines between the public and private sector brought about by endemic and systemic conflict of interest (COI) at nearly all levels;
- A lack of transparency and access to information;
- An inadequate civil service system that gives rise to a highly politicized public administration and the existence of a “spoils system;”
- Limited political will and leadership to actually implement required reforms in accordance with the law, complicated by conflictive and overlapping laws that further inhibit effective policy implementation; and
- Weak government control institutions, including the Central Bank, National Audit Office, and Parliamentary standing committees, Prosecutor General, State Professional Inspection Agency, State Property Committee, and departments within the Ministry of Finance.

⁴⁷ Public business and National Foundation, La MONT K. 2002. Some means of Addressing Judicial Corruption in Mongolia; Governance Matters III: Governance Indicators for 1996-2002, 2003; Study on Economic Cost of Corruption. 2001. Mongolian Lawyer’s Association; Assessment of Corruption in Mongolia. 2005, USAID.

According to numerous sources, corruption is blooming and has become a widespread phenomenon in Mongolia today, and actions taken to combat corruption have not been successful. ⁴⁷ The reasons for growing corruption are bureaucracy and red tape, insufficient transparency, weak law enforcement discipline, and widespread practice of conflict of interest.

According to the results of a 2004 survey to monitor the implementation of the National Program to Combat Corruption,

search Report. 1999. MA; Corruption in the Corruption Index. 2002. MCIC; Mongolian Corruption and public servants.2001. Zorig Foundation, La MONT K. 2002. Some means of Addressing Judicial Corruption in Mongolia; Governance Matters III: Governance Indicators for 1996-2002, 2003; Study on Economic Cost of Corruption. 2001. Mongolian Lawyer’s Association; Assessment of Corruption in Mongolia. 2005, USAID.

the overwhelming majority of respondents or 88.9 percent believed that corruption had become a widespread phenomenon in Mongolia.⁴⁸

The Control of Corruption score for Mongolia as established by the World Bank Institute has gone down from +0.11 in 2002 to -0.51 in 2004 with the highest score for control of corruption being +2.5 and the lowest score being -2.5.

In 2006, Mongolia's Corruption Perception Index of 3.0 ("almost uncontrolled corruption") out of 10 produced by Transparency International placed the country at 85th place in the list of 145 countries.⁴⁹

In June and July of 2005, the USAID and the Asia Foundation conducted a study that reported the following conclusion: "In general, Mongolia as a priority should take effective measures to curb corruption that exists at both administrative and political levels."⁵⁰

The public opinion survey conducted in September-October 2005 by the DGI Project team identified that general public viewed Members of Parliament, Government and state officials as the most corrupt group.⁵¹ According to the public's evaluation, the courts were considered the most corrupt institution (79.0 percent), followed by the customs (78.5-79.6 percent), the Procurator's Office (76.9 percent) while the President's Office (42.6 percent), the private sector, educational and health organizations (44.9-48.6 percent) were considered the lesser corruption infected institutions.⁵²

There is no clearly determined policy aimed at preventing influence of large companies and businesses on state organizations and their officers. In the recent years, the linkages between politics and private business have strengthened, and there is a tendency of increased influence of interests of narrow political-business groups.

The policy of Mongolia on combating corruption is defined by "The National Program to Combat Corruption" (2002), "The Anti-corruption Law" (1996), the Criminal Code and other legislative acts. In 2005, Mongolia joined the UN Convention against Corruption. But the implementation of the above laws and policies and the control over their implementation is very poor.

Box 5.

There is a web of corruption in Mongolia. 500.000 tugrugs need to be paid to a school director to become a teacher in a secondary school. A lot of people are telling that there is a price tag on official appointments such as 2 million tugrugs to become employed by district or city authorities, 500 million to become a deputy minister. Newspapers also report this. Smaller bribes are given in hospitals to get in-patient medical service.

From a focus group interview of intelligentsia at the Suhbaatar District, Ulaanbaatar, carried out under the DGIs project, 2005.

There are legal provisions ensuring separation of some positions of public office from membership in a political party. Implementation and enforcement of these provisions are insufficient. The relationship between public service and private interests (business or family) has been left outside legal regulation, and the few existing provisions are not enforced. The 1996 Anti-Corruption Law provides for income and property disclosure by public officials but so far, this has been deemed as a voluntary responsibility.

In July 2006, the Parliament of Mongolia adopted an amended Anti-Corruption Law. The Law provides for an anti-corruption agency aimed at investigating corruption cases, preventing corruption, and educating the public. While investigating, the agency has the powers to conduct intelligence gathering, interrogations, and monitor income declarations submitted by officials.

⁴⁸ Survey to monitor implementation of National Program to Combat Corruption, Ulaanbaatar, 2004

⁴⁹ www.transparency.org/surveys/index.html#cpi, 2006.

⁵⁰ Assessment of Corruption in Mongolia. 2005. USAID, Asia Foundation, Ulaanbaatar, p.3, http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADE136.pdf

⁵¹ The Public Opinion Survey carried out under the DGIs Project. 2005, (question 38)

⁵² Political Corruption Index, Corruption Index. 2002. MCIC

The agency is an independent body with a vertical structure legally required to follow the principles of respecting the law, autonomy, transparency, and respecting the confidentiality of information.

1.3. Civil Society and Popular Participation

Media in a Democratic Society. In Mongolia, the Constitution and other laws guarantee freedom of press and other media, their independence from government. In the last 15 years, many (mostly private) media means have been established and are conducting vigorous activities.

Today, there are 1905 regular press publications and 250 other press publications registered with the Ministry of Justice and Home Affairs⁵³.

Table 4. Affiliation of media instruments in 2004

<i>Nº</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>	<i>%</i>		<i>Nº</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>	<i>%</i>
Newspapers				Journals, Bulletins		
1	Private	63		1	Private	12
2	State organization owned	10		2	State organization owned	27
3	NGO owned	21		3	NGO owned	14
4	Political party	1		4	Political party	-
5	Other	5		5	Other	4
Radio				TV		
1	Private	19		1	Private	16
2	State organization owned	13		2	State organization owned	19
3	NGO owned	12		3	NGO owned	-
4	Other	-		4	Other	2

Source: Mongolian Media, Ulaanbaatar, 2004; Monitoring of Mongolia's Media in 2004, Ulaanbaatar, 2005, pp. 4-5

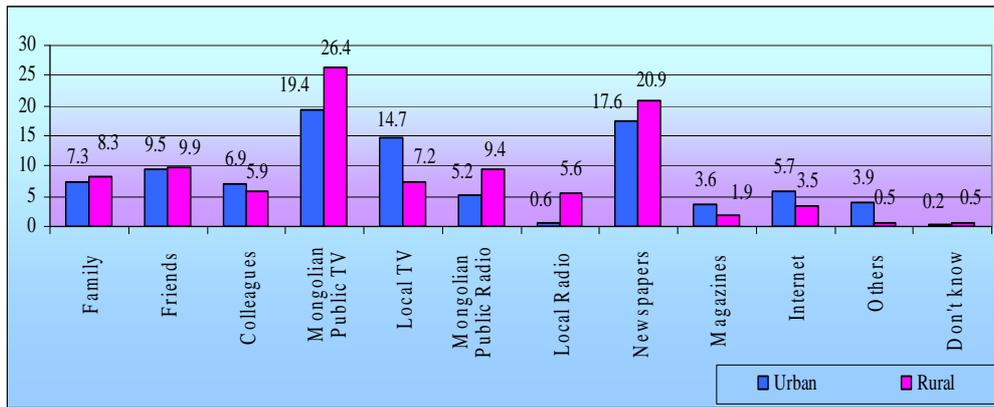
Note: This table was compiled before the passage of the Law on Public Radio and Television that changed the status of the state-owned Mongolian Radio and Television as well as locally owned radio and TV stations.

The Law on Public Radio and Television has transformed the state-owned radio and television stations into publicly owned entities.

Today, Mongolia's citizens refer to 12 major sources of information about the developments inside the country, one half of those being mass media instruments.

Graph 8. Major sources of information (urban and rural areas)

⁵³ Information of Registrations Department. Ministry of Justice and Home Affairs (Archive), 2005



Source: Mongolian Media, 2004. Ulaanbaatar, Monitoring Mongolia's Media in 2004, Ulaanbaatar, p.59, 2005; Freedom of Press in Mongolia – Public opinion survey report”, 2004; Report on the user survey of Ulaanbaatar media, March, 2004.

There have been changes in the attitudes of the population to media instruments with regard to subscription, purchase, program selection, etc. In recent years, the numbers of subscriptions, the volume of publications as well as their geographical coverage have increased substantially as evidence of increased access to information.⁵⁴

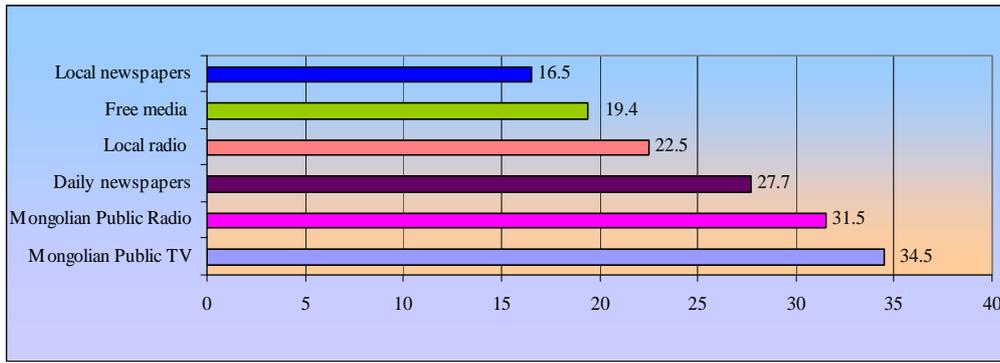
The national countrywide TV coverage is conducted by the Mongolian National Public Television and by four private commercial TV companies since 2005. There are more than 30 local TV stations with an overall 340-hour programming for a 7-day period. There are 1-2 local media instruments on the average in provincial and soum centers. In 2004, 34 newspapers, 27 radios stations with 19 being FM stations, 36 TV stations with 5 being cable stations were operating outside Ulaanbaatar. The local radio and TV stations have irregular broadcasts and a very narrow information base.⁵⁵

There have been some positive developments in the urban media sector such as diversification of information sources and forms of presentation in print media, more pluralism and more balanced journalism. One quarter of the rural population still has a seriously limited access to information. This is explained by the underdevelopment of information infrastructure as well as specifics of labor and living conditions of the rural population, herders in particular. There is a considerable gap in pluralistic journalism between the media instruments in Ulaanbaatar and the rural areas.

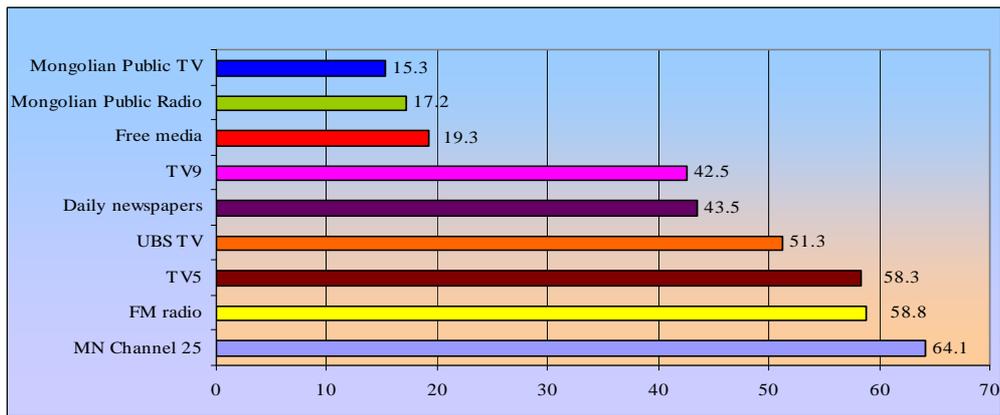
Graph 9. Media pluralism (as evaluated by local users, %)

⁵⁴Mongolian Media. 2004. Ulaanbaatar; Monitoring Mongolia's Media in 2004, Ulaanbaatar, p.24, 2005.

⁵⁵ Ibidem, p.47



Graph 10. Media pluralism (as evaluated by users in Ulaanbaatar, %)



Source: Public evaluation of Mongolia's media, a survey conducted by the Mongolia Press Institute. 2004. Ulaanbaatar. p.18.

There is tendency of gradual improvement of freedom of press. As viewed by experts, approximately 90 percent of the media are operating independently of the government.⁵⁶ Mongolia has reached the level of developed countries with regard to number of newspapers and their diversity per 1000 persons.⁵⁷

According to a comparative survey of 167 countries, Mongolia was rated at 53-55th place in 2005⁵⁸ that can be considered a relatively positive development for a transition country.

⁵⁶ Zulkafil M. 2005. Trends in Developing Journalism, Priority Issues (a paper from the National Symposium of Journalism Researchers), Ulaanbaatar, p.7

⁵⁷ Information of Registrations Department, 2005, Ministry of Justice and Home Affairs (Archive)

⁵⁸ Reporters Without Borders, Worldwide Press Freedom Index 2005. <http://www.rsf.org>



The Freedom House rating viewed Mongolia's press as free in 1994-1999 and 1999-2002, and as partially free since then. In 2005, the Freedom House's rating of Mongolia's press as partially free has not changed.⁵⁹

Law regulates the freedom of media but there is a need for a national law on freedom of information. An expert study has revealed that more than 90 different laws apart from the Law on Press Instruments have regulated the media sector.⁶⁰ Measures are needed to coordinate and eliminate inconsistency of provisions in other legislation, termination of invalid provisions where necessary.

The freedom of citizens to handle information, and the freedom of subjects which possess information sources such as citizens, public organizations, NGOs, private enterprises to disseminate that information and the freedom of citizens to receive this information are not fully guaranteed by law.

There are areas of dependency of mass media that are not regulated by legislation. The majority of media instruments in Mongolia are private. And most of these private media instruments are dependant on their owners. The owners are affiliated with one or the other political force, protect their interests and receive financial or other support directly and indirectly from that political force. This phenomenon is due to politics having penetrated deeply into all spheres of life and society, and the generally low political culture and education of the population.

Almost every level of state organization has a press office or press officer. These positions were created to inform the public and media and keep transparent the activities of their relevant organizations. However, in reality it is common practice to use them to shield state organizations and their officials from public and media scrutiny.

There are no surveys, estimation and registration of violations, shortcomings, acts of corruption, criminal offences as reported in mass media, nor have we found information on whether measures are taken to examine such information, to eliminate shortcomings or violations and report back to the public on actions taken.

⁵⁹ <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=16&year=2005&country=6794>

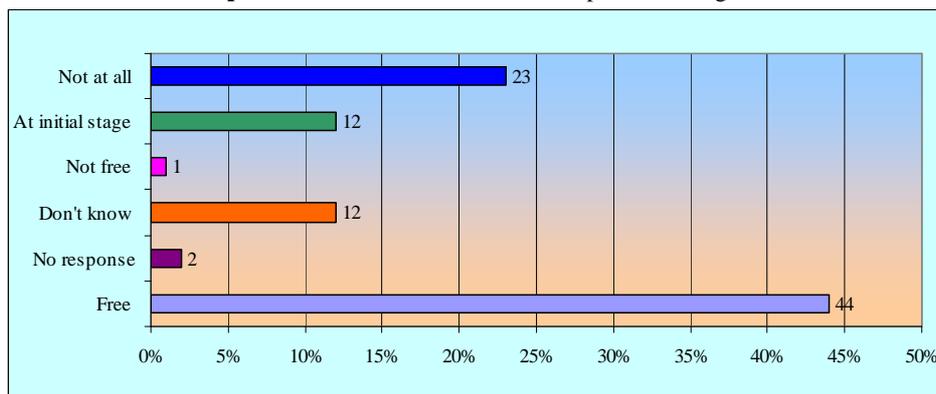
⁶⁰ Zulkafil M. 2005. Trends in Developing Journalism, Priority Issues (a paper from the National Symposium of Journalism Researchers), Ulaanbaatar, p.66

On paper, local media is under the mandate of the Citizens' Representatives Hural, but they still serve as a propaganda mechanism for the activities of governors and their offices. Some state organizations have their own newspapers or other publications. The MONTSAME news agency was transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the moment, these have not been transferred to public ownership yet.

In 2002, the Ministry of Justice and Home Affairs conducted an inspection of mass media instruments to ensure that their activities conformed to relevant legislation, and as a result closed down three newspapers. The new Criminal Code approved in 2002 by the State Great Hural, sets more restrictions in its provisions related to public slander, which specifically underline "if such information is disseminated through mass media instruments" – thus exerting unfavorable effect on freedom of media.

There is general public opinion that the media are fairly free.

Graph 11. The status of the freedom of press in Mongolia



Source: Public evaluation of Mongolia's media, a survey conducted by the Mongolian Press Institute. 2004. Ulaanbaatar, p.21.

In forming this opinion the major influence has been applied by political forces, especially by the ruling force.

The majority of people who responded that the media freedom had increased in the past 3-4 years supported the governing MPRP, while the majority of those who perceived that the media freedom had diminished were supporters of the "Motherland-Democracy Coalition" and those who thought it had not changed or had no opinion were non partisan or did not support any party.

There have been attempts by organizations, state officials, and private citizens to use media instruments to blackmail, settle scores or act in revenge against other organizations or individuals on the basis of business or personal interests.⁶¹

Box 6.

"Media need to become more open and transparent themselves. The media have to announce publicly their owners; it is such a simple act. When media ownership and funding are transparent, then the staff will become more independent. Then they will stop being secretive, having double standards, and engaging in covert advertising.

From the interview of a TV program editor during the dialogue conducted with Ulaanbaatar journalist, carried out under the DGIs project. 2005.

There have also been cases of the above behavior among journalists and other media workers who used their professional positions for personal gains. The experts note that "...the most influential media instruments and the most influential journalists have long been engaged by one

⁶¹ Norovsuren L. "The Issue of Social responsibility in Mongolia's Journalism", - The National Symposium of Journalism Researchers, 2005, Ulaanbaatar, p.25.

of the two big political forces and have long become partisan.”⁶²

Journalists and other media professionals have become more outspoken regarding the need for the media instruments to become more open.

Satellite Indicator: Are media instruments and journalists subjected to outside pressure?

Political forces and politicians are strongly interested in having an influence over media during election campaigns.

In 2002, the Ministry of Justice and Home Affairs conducted an inspection of mass media instruments to ensure that their activities conformed to relevant legislation, and as a result closed down three newspapers. In 2005, the Mongol Times newspaper was closed due to political and other reasons. There has been a general trend to sue journalists for their publications on various aspects of activities by organizations or official persons. This can be viewed as attempts to put pressure on journalists and restrict their activities. The new Criminal Code approved in 2002 by the State Great Hural, sets more restrictions in its provisions related to public slander, which specifically underline “if such information is disseminated through mass media instruments” – thus exerting unfavorable effect on freedom of media.

Political participation. NGOs are mostly established in larger urban areas with higher population density, while there are fewer NGOs in rural and remote areas. 80% of all NGOs or 3,374 NGOs are based in Ulaanbaatar.⁶³ There are many NGOs focusing on issues of youth and children, gender, family, human rights, social welfare, and international cooperation, with a few of them working on regional or local development issues⁶⁴. A survey of 188 NGOs conducted in 2003 gives a picture of NGO activities.⁶⁵

Table 5. NGOs by sector

No	Sector	%
1	Children and youth	13.83
2	Gender and family	12.23
3	Human rights, civil society, democracy	10.64
4	Social care, the poor and the handicapped	9.57
5	Economy, agriculture, production, services	9.04
6	Sports, tourism, leisure	7.45
7	Education, science, technology, research	7.45
8	Information, media	5.32
9	International cooperation and friendship	5.32
10	Health	4.79
11	Professions, interest groups	4.79
12	Law	3.19
13	Environment, natural calamities	2.66
14	Culture and the arts, historical monuments	2.13
15	Veterans	1.06
16	Regions, local development	0.53

Source: <http://www.owc.org.mn>

⁶² Choisamba Ch. “Journalists’ Ethics: Current situation” - The National Symposium of Journalism Researchers. 2005, Ulaanbaatar, p.50

⁶³ Information of NSO from 20.VI.2005

⁶⁴ The list of most active NGOs available on the site: <http://www.demo.org.mn> and <http://www.owc.org.mn>

⁶⁵ The Report on NGOs’ Need in Online Information Survey, 2003, Open Information Center, MFOS, www.owc.org.mn

During the past two years, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of new movements, unions, and other NGOs and their activities. The new movements may be classified into the following groups: (1) politically motivated movements that aim to bring pressure on the government: Healthy Society – Citizens’ Movement, Radical Reform Movement, and Citizens’ Movement for Development; (2) movements to defend Mongolia’s soil, nature and resources: Ongi River Movement, the Zaamar Movement, My Mongolia’s Land, Movement for a Fair Privatization of Land and others; (3) interest groups such as the Veterans’ Free Union fighting for increased pensions, against corruption, for social justice, student protest groups, business associations for less taxation and others.

There are NGOs with direct political affiliation or actively supporting a political party. Some NGOs, in particular those that relate to women, veterans, and youth and are called “public” NGOs, function along old socialist models. Political parties use the top-down vertical structure of such organizations to create party-based associations or unions of various social or professional groups (women, youth, etc).

Box 7.

E: “NGOs are strange. In particular, the Mongolian Women’s Organization has become the MPRP women’s organization. We are also Mongolian women. But we don’t participate. When the Congress of Mongolian Women was held, there were no delegates from our aimag. Why? Why didn’t they inform us? Shuree did go there. But she is from the MPRP. We also want to be heard there.

O: There aren’t a lot of activities anyway. Not a lot of organizational work. This year there was only a party during March 8 (Women’s Day – ed.) when we put on our medals, and nothing more”

From a focus group interview with women in Undurkhaan, Hentii Aimag, carried out under the DGIs project , 2005

Only 10.2 percent of respondents in the public survey on DGIs believed that NGOs were active in their local areas whereas one quarter could not answer, and 28.9 percent replied that there were no NGO activities local.⁶⁶ 64.1 percent of respondents including those who viewed the local activities of NGOs as average were not satisfied with NGOs.

There is prevailing public opinion that the capacity of NGOs to express public opinion and influence decisions of central and local governments is weak, and that the focus of their activities is on receiving funding from foreign donor organizations to implement

their projects or programs with benefits, in most cases, being out of reach for the majority of the population.⁶⁷

The NGOs funding and operations are heavily dependent on foreign funding and projects.⁶⁸

Women’s political participation. The state policy of ensuring equality of men and women could be traced as far back as the 1924 Constitution, Mongolia’s first modern Constitution. Today, the policy continuation is reflected in the 1992 Constitution, the Laws on Political Parties, Public Service, Labor, and other legislation as well as the National Programs on Gender Equality, Women’s Development, and Support to Family, the National Program to Fight Violence and other policy acts and documents.

Political parties are now legally bound to nominate female candidates in elections of all levels to constitute at least 30 percent of the total number of candidates. This measure is aimed at increasing the representation of women at decision-making levels.

⁶⁶ The Public Opinion Survey carried out under the DGIs Project. 2005, (question 45)

⁶⁷ The Public Opinion Survey carried out under the DGIs Project. 2005

⁶⁸ Report on Projects and Programs Implemented by NGOs in the Social Sector. 2000. UNDP, Ulaanbaatar. p.10 www.forum.mn/res_mat/NGO_final_report_mongolian.pdf

Although there is a strategic objective to support women, the implementing and monitoring mechanisms have not been clearly defined thus making it difficult to evaluate the policy effects.

In a survey of 188 countries, Mongolia was rated the 115th on women’s political participation as it was evaluated on the basis of women’s representation in the parliament.⁶⁹ Women held 6.7 percent of seats or 5 seats out of 76 in 2004. In 1990, women held 23 percent of seats, in 1992, the figure decreased dramatically to 3.9 percent, in 1996, it went up to 10.5 percent, and in 2000, it reached the highest ratio of 11.8 percent.⁷⁰ In the 2004 parliamentary elections, the two main political competitors, the MPRP and the Motherland-Democracy Coalition nominated 7 and 6 female candidates respectively.⁷¹

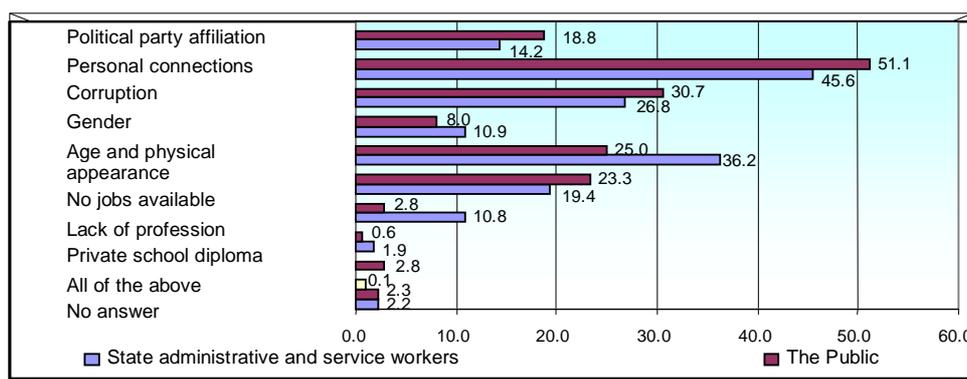
Participation of women in political life and government varies depending on an organization’s level. The data show that women’s representation is low at higher levels of decision-making whereas it is very high at medium and lower levels.⁷² Women still have limited opportunities to be promoted to decision-making positions. Women’s participation is most active through NGOs and political parties. Ordinary women rarely get involved in politics of their own accord and are not specifically interested in politics.

In the year following the elections, an extensive process of new appointments to leading government positions takes place. Appointment to such positions without appropriate civil service selection process is a widespread phenomenon. Most of the newly appointed leadership comes to their positions through a non-competitive arrangement or the so-called “back door” way, or through political appointment. A third of these appointments belong to “temporary” appointments as an essential necessity provided for in provision 17.12 of the Public Service Law. This provision has become a “sophisticated” tool for justifying cronyism and political appointment in government selection and employment practices.

There is an opportunity to appoint persons that have not passed the civil service examination to temporary positions as emergency. This opens up a chance to make appointments on the basis of party affiliation or personal connections.

The DGIs public survey revealed that the power-vested officials were viewed as selecting their employees on the basis of personal connections (45.6 percent), age and physical appearance (36.2 percent), and corruption (26.8 percent).

Graph 12. Obstacles to Employment (as viewed by the public and civil servants)



Source: The Public Opinion Survey carried out under the DGIs Project. 2005

⁶⁹ Women in National Parliaments, Inter-parliamentary Union, 2006; www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm

⁷⁰ Women in Mongolia: Mapping Progress under Transition. 2001. UNIFEM, New York

⁷¹ Ichinnorov M. Women’s participation in politics and the 2004 elections, 2005, www.forum.mn/contents

⁷² Notes from a Discussion on the Law on Parliamentary Elections and Gender Equality, 5 March 2005

The public servants believed that that there were two main obstacles such as reliance on personal connections (relatives and friends) (51.1 percent) and corruption (30.7 percent). The surveyed men emphasized such difficulties as personal connections and party affiliation while the women emphasized age and physical appearance, gender, corruption, unavailability of jobs and lack of professional qualification as the major reasons.



There are different obstacles to employment depending on the age of job seekers. Also, the urban group focused more on such obstacles as personal connections, corruption, age and gender, and physical looks while the rural citizens stressed party affiliation and unavailability of jobs as the main challenges to employment. The migrants had the most difficult time seeking employment as they tended to have no personal connections and were discriminated on the basis of their age and physical appearance.⁷³

Satellite Indicator: How much support do government organizations, NGOs, and government officials provide to better relations between the state and citizens, and better participation of citizens? How much effective support do governmental and non-governmental organizations provide to citizens' participation in the democratic process?

Today, NGOs have become the most important tool for citizens' participation. The Mongolian tradition of respect of the state and state officials has a serious impact on citizens' participation and effectiveness of NGOs. NGOs are most numerous and active in urban centers whereas they have limited effect in the countryside. The capacity of NGOs to have an impact on central and local state institutions and express public views has been weak. There is a prevailing opinion that NGOs focus their activities on securing funding from foreign sources to implement projects that have little effect on the lives of the majority of the people. This explains also the fact that NGOs are mostly viewed as humanitarian project-based organizations rather than instruments to defend the rights and interests of the people.

Government Responsiveness. According to the Constitution, the Mongolian people have the right to participate directly in political decisions. This right is implemented through election of state institutions.

⁷³ The Public Opinion Survey carried out under the DGIs Project. 2005

Box 8.

N: Our leaders talk nicely but do little to implement what they say. Once they win the elections, they disappear.

S: It is very difficult to get to see them. If there are meetings with voters, they are not business-like, more like shows.

J: It may look transparent on the outside, but all the activities are really behind the curtain. Nobody knows how aid and loans have been used and how the local budget has been spent.

From a focus group discussion in the Umnugobi aimag, Dalanzagdad, carried out under the DGIs project, 2005

Decision-making process on law and policy-making is semi-open and consultations with citizens and the public are not conducted properly. There is no research capacity and sufficient information to feed the legislative drafting process, and laws are drafted driven by practice and/or copying laws of foreign countries.

Citizens' participation is limited to submission of their ideas to initiators of legislation and working groups. Some

drafts of legislation are put out for discussion by the public, but there is no reporting on how or whether public opinion was reflected in the final draft or law. On very few occasions, draft laws were open for public discussion through print media or through seminars and meetings.

The legal requirements for responsiveness and accountability of parliament members and aimag, city and soum Citizens Representatives' Hural members before the citizens are ambiguous, and there are no formats or mechanisms to enforce them.

Members of parliament and citizens' representatives display little initiative to contact or establish communication lines with their constituents, meet with them only at citizens' demand or if at their own discretion, then only to discuss issues of their own interest.

Performance of public service providers is not uniform everywhere, red tape and unresponsive attitude are widespread at lower and mid-levels of public service.

Citizens frequently complain about public service but the government has no capability and capacity to resolve these complaints. There is no mechanism of consultation with citizens on such issues. The Open Society Institute has been conducting public TV discussions of draft laws and other important policy issues current problems in order to create a channel for citizens to have an impact on government decision-making.⁷⁴ The Institute also has a website with documents related to the Parliament's agenda that is open for citizens' discussion.⁷⁵

The Government-sponsored programs such as "E-Mongolia" and "Open Government" are becoming increasingly important instruments for the public's participation in decision-making".⁷⁶

The public administration system is considered to be acceptable in terms of institutional organization. However, its effectiveness, methods of implementation and results of its performance are unsatisfactory.

Decentralization. Functions of officials of local self-governing bodies are governed by the provision of the Constitution, which stipulates that "A governor shall implement the decisions of the Hural, and as a representative of the state shall take responsibility for the implementation of the Government and the higher level governor's decisions and laws in territories under its jurisdiction."⁷⁷

Decentralization is a constitutional principle that is to be implemented through taxation, economic management, and administrative structure of the country. The following policy documents determine the decentralization framework: the Government's Management

⁷⁴ On December 10, 2005, The OSI's website ran a discussion of three draft laws

⁷⁵ <http://www.forum.mn>

⁷⁶ <http://www.open-government.mn>

⁷⁷ Constitution of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, 1992, p. 26

Development Program (1992), the Law on Public Service (1994), the parliamentary resolution on “The Policy to Reform the Governments Operations and General Structure” (1996). The decentralization framework includes the structural reform of national administrative institutions, development of local self-government and local administrations, and support to NGOs and their participation in public service delivery.

The Law on Public Management and Financing was passed in 2002 and has been in force since 2003. As part of preparations to its enforcement, a system of a consolidated state fund was put in place,⁷⁸ and international accounting standards were introduced in 2003⁷⁹.

The most recent trend to increase budgetary transfers to local budgets from the state budget, and increased transfers from local budgets to the state budget reflect the tendency to centralize rather than decentralize. The situation has changed before and after the passage of the Law on Public Management and Financing. The 2003 shift to the consolidated state fund forced state organizations to use their budget through the above fund. In 2004, both the budgetary transfers and budgetary income have substantially increased.

Table 6. Budgetary transfers from the state budget to local budgets and income consolidated from local budgets into the state budget⁸⁰

№	Aimag	Budgetary transfers from the state budget to local budgets		Aimag	Income consolidated from local budgets into the state budget	
		2003	2004		2003	2004
Western zone		1 255.0	2 961.8			
1	Bayan-Ulgii	173.9	356.4	Dornogobi	-	111.7
2	Gobi-Altai	433.8	766.0	Dornod	66.9	-
3	Zavhan	344.4	629.2	Darhan-Uul	302.1	170.9
4	Uvs	224.7	648.5	Ulaanbaatar	11 529.1	9 963.3
5	Hovd	78.2	561.7	Orhon	2729.1	6 531.1
Hangai zone		970.8	2 179.0			
6	Arhangai	71.2	340.1			
7	Bayanhongor	380.7	619.1			
8	Bulgan	73.7	382.5			
9	Orhon/Erdenet	-	-			
10	Uvurhangai	315.6	542.0			
11	Huvs gul	129.6	295.3			
Central zone		554.5	2 327.7			
12	Gobi-Sumber	81.7	173.7			
13	Darhan-Uul	-	-			
14	Dornogobi	-	-			
16	Dundgobi	207.8	450.6			
17	Umnugobi	157.9	470.0			
18	Selenge	-	423.4			
19	Tuv	107.1	810.1			
Eastern zone		310.5	933.4			
20	Eastern	-	164.4			
21	Suhbaatar	248.5	383.1			
22	Hentii	62.0	385.9			
Total		3 090.8	8 401.9		14 627.2	16 776.9

All laws on administrative territorial units and their administrative management have ambiguous definitions and dual meaning in stipulating the authority and responsibilities of the Citizens' Representative Hurals and Citizens Common Hurals. This fails to create a positive

⁷⁸Government Resolution 101 of 2002 on “Shifting to the Consolidated State Fund System”

⁷⁹Order 253 of 2002 of the Minister of Finance on “Shifting to International Accounting Standards”

⁸⁰Statistical Bulletin, NSO, Ulaanbaatar, 2005, pp. 181, 182

environment and an effective influence on further development of Hurals, as institutions created by the Constitution⁸¹.

The legal regulation supporting proper development of principles of self-government is poor, and there is insufficient policy and organizational support.

The Law on Regional Development provides for an ad hoc “National Committee”, led by the Prime Minister and mainly consisting of members of the Cabinet, State secretaries of ministries and governors of aimags and the capital city, to implement the management of regional development. The same principle is applied in establishing “Regional Councils” led by aimag governors, to take charge of the management of regional development. The regional councils may include representatives of NGOs, foreign and domestic investors and companies. The composition of members of the National Committee and regional councils and the authority⁸² assigned to these institutions suggest that they have been designed to delegate authority back to the centre rather than to decentralize⁸³. Almost two thirds of leaders and delegates to local assemblies are mostly members of local executive administrations and local budgetary organizations with the remaining third being party, NGOs and business representation. The decision-making process in local assemblies is thus dependent on members of executive and budgetary organizations.

The objectives to transfer powers to from central to local authorities, reflect local specificities in decision-making, and engage NGOs in service delivery are insufficiently implemented.

The limitation of the number of meetings of Citizens Representatives’ Hurals to 1-2 times per year and the restrictions to the work of bag, horoo, soum, district, aimag and capital city Hurals have resulted in discouraging a pro-active stance of the above local self-governing institutions⁸⁴.

The principle of independence in establishing local legal norms is not followed to the letter: the lack of organizational and human resource capacity, management, and planning and financial arrangements does not provide for local independence.

Table 7. The public’s evaluation of opportunities for autonomy of local governments

Category label	No answer	Good	Average	Poor	Don’t know
Budget, finance	1.7	8.7	35.1	26.2	28.3
Human resources	1.4	11.2	38.5	22.5	26.4
Decision making on local issues	1.4	9.0	37.3	24.5	27.8
Management of local resources	1.2	8.6	31.5	32.4	26.3
Public service capacity	1.4	6.0	35.3	33.5	23.8
Provision of information to citizens	1.3	8.0	33.9	34.1	22.7

Source: The Public Opinion Survey carried out under the DGI Project. 2005

Satellite Indicator: Is there an appropriate balance in the relationships between the central government, local assemblies, and local administrations? How much does it contribute to decentralization?

⁸¹ Manaljav G., Mandakh M. 2004. Association of Local Governments of Mongolia, “Local Government in Mongolia and its Management”, Ulaanbaatar. p. 80

⁸² The Law on Administration and Regulation of Regional Development, 2003, Article 3

⁸³ Manaljav G., Mandakh M. 2004, Association of Local Governments of Mongolia, “Local Government in Mongolia and its Management”, Ulaanbaatar, p. 81

⁸⁴ Local Government –Theory and Practice, Methodology Bulletin, 2005/3/33, “Development Starts at the Local Level”, p. 21



The policy of decentralization as pronounced by the State Great Hural and the Cabinet is a declaration on paper but in reality, it is a policy and actions aimed to centralize and recentralize the power. This leads to limiting the initiatives from local organizations to develop independently, weakening citizens' participation, and instead of consolidating - the tendency of reintroducing a vertically run governance policy.⁸⁵

Elections to local hurals of aimags, soums, the capital city and districts have been too politicized lately, and as a result, these hurals have become the institutions for political appointments rather than self-governing institutions, leading to their estrangement from the interests and needs of citizens.

1.4. Democracy beyond the State

International Dimensions of Democracy. The State Great Hural has approved the Concept of National Security and the Concept of Foreign Policy, developed in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution of Mongolia of 1992, the two guiding documents of Mongolia's foreign relations. The purpose of these documents is to ensure provision of favorable international and domestic environment to protect Mongolia's national interests.

Consistent political, economic and international measures have been taken to break away from the narrow relationships of the previous socialist era. International guarantees and conditions have been formed to allow Mongolia to conduct independent and sovereign state policy.

The geographic location of Mongolia - landlocked and sandwiched between the two economically and militarily powerful neighbors, the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China - defines the goals, principles and directions of the country's foreign policy. The above-mentioned documents determine that Mongolia follows the policy of openness, non-alignment and avoids reliance or dependence from any other country⁸⁶.

Foreign policy of Mongolia, including its international activities in the field of human rights and freedoms, is conducted in conformity with general principles and norms of international law as established by the Charter of the United Nations.

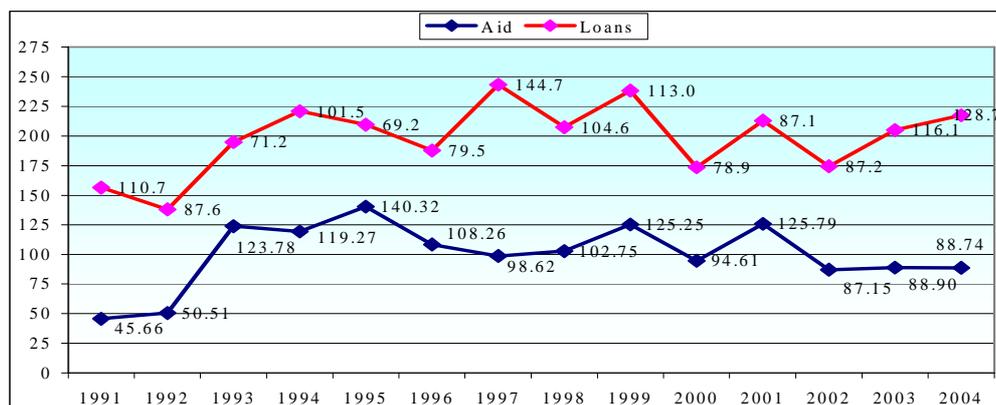
There are no grounds to pronounce that Mongolia is politically dependent upon any other country. However, there are issues to consider in terms of its economy. Since 1990s, when the country started its transition to democracy and market economy, Mongolia has received development assistance amounting to 2.4 billion USD, and the foreign debt has reached 89.5% of the GDP by the end of 2004⁸⁷.

Graph 13. Foreign loans and aid (in USD mln)

⁸⁵ Local Government –Theory and Practice, Methodology Bulletin, 2005/3/33, “Development Starts at the Local Level”, p. 21

⁸⁶ The Concept of Foreign Policy of Mongolia, Chapter 1

⁸⁷ www.imf.org/mongoliareport



Source: Information by Department of Aid and Loans Policy Coordination, Ministry of Finance, 2005.

The Human Development Report of Mongolia determined that by the year 2009, Mongolia was likely to become one of the poorest countries in terms of correlation of foreign debt and debt interest to its GDP⁸⁸.

The public has little information about foreign credit, assistance, its management and spending, and the government keeps sealed the information on what and how the foreign aid and credit assistance are utilized. There is strong perception among the wider public that there must be a high level of corruption in this field.

Mongolia has joined and ratified most of the UN and other international agreements, conventions and pacts on human rights. Mongolia is a party to the major United Nations human rights treaties prohibiting torture and ill-treatment: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. It has recognized the competence of the Human Rights Committee to consider complaints by individuals of violations of the Covenant by ratifying the Optional Protocol; however it has not done the same with the Committee against Torture, not having made the declaration under article 22 of the Covenant. Mongolia is also a party to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. Mongolia is not party to the Second Optional Protocol to the Covenant.⁸⁹

There are issues to be considered with regard to Mongolia's implementation of its obligations before the international community arising from the human rights treaties and conventions. Reports on the implementation of its obligations under the agreements and conventions it joined and ratified, are usually not issued on scheduled time, and the State Great Hural has yet to consider the report of the National Human Rights Commission.

The Human Rights Ombudsman of Mongolia noted in his interview that the Government had failed to implement some measures on a number of serious issues that had been identified in the Report by the Human Rights Commission, and had failed in the past few years to provide timely reporting on implementation of international instruments on human rights and freedoms.⁹⁰

The Constitution of Mongolia is based on the principle of respect of universal human rights and freedoms thus providing a general conceptual background to Mongolia's support of

⁸⁸ The Human Development Report of Mongolia, 2003, p. 58

⁸⁹ Novak M. 2005. Report of the Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, UNHCHR, 005.E/CN.4/2006/6/Add.4, <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G05/167/32/PDF/>

⁹⁰ Interview by S. Tserendorj, 9 December 2005, the Ardyn Erh, №242

the cause of democracy, and human rights and freedoms across the world. The same philosophy is contained in the major policy documents on the country's foreign policy.

The above direction of Mongolia's foreign policy is testified to by Mongolia's participation in the International Conferences of New or Restored Democracies since 1997. Mongolia had become active in the ICNRD since its Bucharest Conference and successfully hosted the ICNRD-5 in 2003. Currently, Mongolia as Chair of the Conference is completing its follow-up to ICNRD-5 activities.

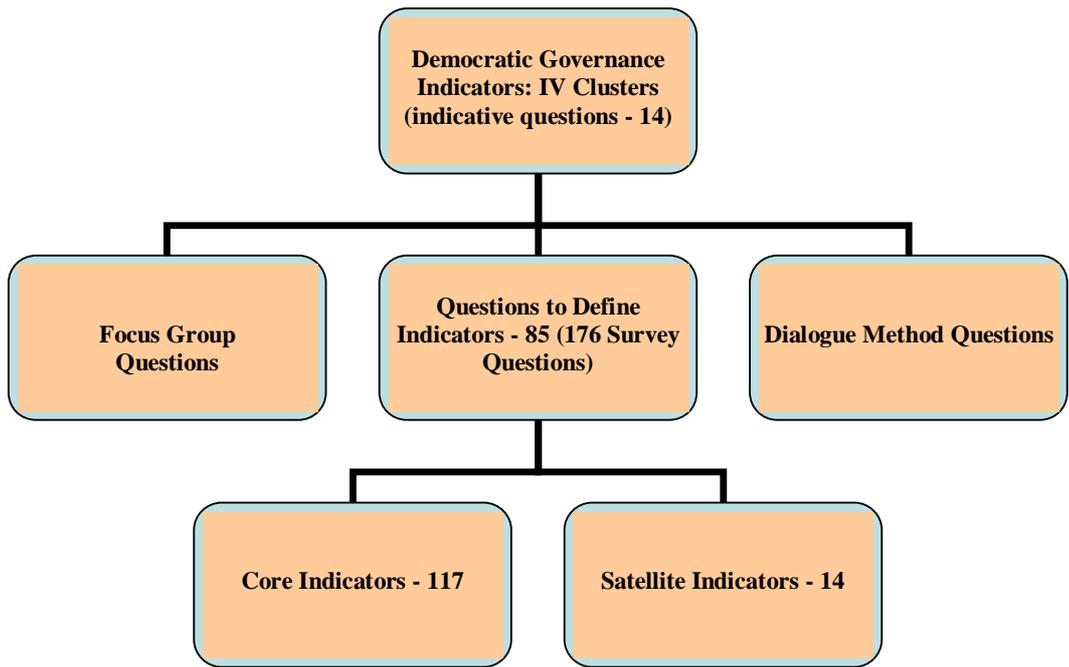


In 2002, Mongolia passed a law to permit the country's participation in UN peacekeeping operations and other international peacekeeping operations. By December 2005, Mongolia has sent 250 soldiers to take part in the UN peacekeeping operation in Sierra Leone and its military personnel as observers to UN operations in Congo, Western Sahara, and Sudan. Mongolia has alone expressed its interest in sending its military personnel to Kosovo as part of the Belgian military contingent.

Since 2003, Mongolia has been participating in the US-led coalition in Iraq. Currently, there have been six shifts of more than 840 personnel in Iraq. There has been no public protest over Mongolia's participation in the war in Iraq. Apart from this, Mongolia's military personnel have been taking part in the program to strengthen the national army in Afghanistan.

Mongolia's NGOs have been engaged independently of the government in many different actions to support democracy and human rights and freedoms at the international level that have been reported by the media. However, there is no systematic data that is available for analysis.

2. DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE INDICATORS CHART



3. DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE INDICATORS

I. CITIZENSHIP, LAW AND RIGHTS

Nationhood and Citizenship

#	Indicators	Content (value) of Indicators	Sources
1.	Number of persons granted citizenship	23 persons (2004) 10 persons (1 st half of 2005)	Agency for Immigration and Naturalization, official letter #4/716 dated 10.14.2005
2.	Number of persons leaving Mongolian citizenship	70 persons (2004) 47 persons (1 st half of 2005)	Agency for Immigration and Naturalization, official letter #4/716 dated 10.14.2005
3.	Time required to deliver decision on citizenship applications	Within 6 months of receipt of the application	Provisions 14,15,18 of the Constitution of Mongolia, Law on Citizenship
4.	Is their legislation providing for protection of minority?	Legal provisions exist	Provisions 14.2, 8.2 of the Constitution, National Program to Ensure Human Rights in Mongolia approved by the SGH Resolution 41 dated 10.24.2003
5.	Ethnic composition of Mongolia's population	92.2% of population are of ethnic Mongol origin, 4.3% Kazaks, 3.5% other nationalities	2000 Population Census: Key Results, 2001, NSO, UB, page 50.
6.	Are minorities free to practice their own language and religion?	There are 19 public secondary and 9 private schools with Kazak language as medium of instruction and 36 Muslim mosques.	Study carried out under the DGIs project: Interview with the head of the Islam Association, 10.14. 2005.
7.	Number of amendments to the Constitution, whether they were discussed by the public	Amendments were made once on 1999-2000, no public discussion held.	List of Mongolia's Laws,
8.	Whether the amendments to the Constitution violated the Constitution	Violation of Article 1.2, Article 68.1 and Article 70.1 of the Constitution	Conclusion of the Constitutional Court of Mongolia, #3, 03.15.2000

Rule of Law and Accessibility of Justice

#	Indicators	Content (value) of Indicator	Sources
9.	Expert opinion on the status of implementation of legislation	Law implementation: Good - 8%, Satisfactory - 42.5%, Unsatisfactory - 32.7%, Very poor - 16.8%	Expert survey among 118 experts (Expert survey carried out by the DGIs project during June 30-July 1, 2005).
10.	Expert opinion regarding law abiding culture of citizens	Very good - 0.9%, Good - 9.6%, Satisfactory - 58.3%, Poor - 25.2% and Very poor - 6.1%	Expert survey carried out by the DGIs project during June 30-July 1, 2005.
11.	Level of legal knowledge of citizens (citizens' opinion)	Good - 25.7%, Satisfactory - 41.3%, Poor or lack knowledge - 24%	Public opinion survey carried out under the DGIs project
12.	Are there legal provisions imposing adherence to law, ethics and transparency on state officials?	Yes. Legal provisions exist	Article 1.2 of the Constitution, Article 4.2 of the Law on Public Service
13.	Is there legislation providing for independence of the judiciary?	Legal provisions exist: Constitutional provisions, resolutions and programs exist.	SGH Resolution 39 approving the Strategic Plan for the Judiciary of Mongolia
14.	What is the status of judicial expenditure within the state budget?	Unstable. There are no regulations on concrete percentage of judicial expenditure, numbers are changes and matter of discussion	The Supreme Court of Mongolia. Annual Reports. Annual Government expenditures.
15.	Public perception of fairness and effectiveness of the judiciary.	45% of respondents see the judiciary as serving those with money and power; 40% consider judges prone to cronyism and nepotism.	Public opinion survey carried out under the DGIs project, 2005.

16.	How transparent is the judiciary?	70% of respondents consider it difficult to understand how the judiciary operates.	Judicial Reform Program Survey, USAID, Sant Maral Foundation, 2001
-----	-----------------------------------	--	--

Civil and Political Rights.

#	Indicators	Content (value) of Indicators	Sources
17.	Is there legislation providing for protection of the right to personal liberty and safety?	Yes. Legal provisions exist	Article 16.13 of the Constitution; Criminal Code and Criminal Procedure Code; Law on Administrative Liability and Law on Police; legislation pertaining to arrest, detention and imprisonment of suspects and convicts. Six UN conventions were ratified.
18.	Number of legal clauses providing for application of death penalty and changes over time.	The 1993 Criminal Code had 5 clauses for application of death penalty; 2002 Criminal Code allows application of death penalty under 6 clauses.	Criminal Code and Criminal Procedure Code of 1993 and 2002.
19.	Number of organizations that do not require court permission to arrest and detain.	5	Special Rapporteur on Torture Mr. Manfred Novak "Civil and Political Rights: Torture, brutality, atrocity and disregard of human dignity as forms of penalty" report, 10.24.2005. 2005.10.24 E/CN.4/2005/X/Add.X/;
20.	Number of persons arrested and detained as a result of undue process.	In 2000 and 1 st half of 2001 a total of 980 persons were arrested and detained as a result of undue process.	NHRC of Mongolia, Report on Human Rights and Freedoms in Mongolia, 2002.
21.	Maximum length of time allotted for investigation of a case	There is no limitation. Criminal investigation under detention is set at 2 years by legislation. Rejection of cases by courts for further investigation and "suspect may escape" clause are used to get unlimited time for investigation.	NHRC of Mongolia, Report on Human Rights and Freedoms in Mongolia, 2003.
22.	Expert opinion regarding protection of human rights in Mongolia.	Well protected - 10.7%; Satisfactory - 55.4%, Poor - 26.8% and Very poor - 7.1%.	Expert survey carried out by the DGIs project during June 30-July 1, 2005.
23.	Expert opinion regarding protection of political rights and freedoms	Well protected - 0.9%; Good- 23.9%; Satisfactory - 51.3%, Poor - 15.9% and Very poor - 8.0%	Expert survey carried out by the DGIs project during June 30-July 1, 2005.
24.	Political Rights Index	2 (1-full freedom, 7 -no freedom) 2006 rating	http://www.freedomhouse.org/
25.	Civil Rights and Freedoms Index	2 (1-full freedom, 7 -no freedom) 2006 rating	http://www.freedomhouse.org/
26.	Crime statistics	Number of registered crimes 17411 for 2005.	NSO Statistical Bulletin, December 2005.
27.	Internal migration statistics	As of 2000, 25.7% of urban population of Mongolia migrated, of which 29.7 in the last 5 years, 12.9% in the past year.	Micro level research on internal migration in Mongolia, UB, 2000.
28.	Flow of migration	Out of 62.291 relocations registered, 57.919 were relocations to Ulaanbaatar.	Population Migration Data, 2004.
29.	Number of churches and mosques.	There exist 270 Buddhist, Christian, Muslim, Bahai and Yazu centers.	Current archive materials of the Office of the President, January 2005.

Economic and Social Rights

#	Indicators	Content (value) of Indicator	Sources
30.	Expert opinion regarding protection of economic rights.	Well protected – 12.4%, Satisfactory – 53.1%, Unsatisfactory- 27.4%, Very poor – 7.1%	Expert survey carried out by the DGIs project during June 30-July 1, 2005.
31.	Expert opinion regarding protection of social rights	Very well protected – 0.9%, Well protected – 9.6%, Satisfactory – 52.6%, Unsatisfactory – 27.2%, Very poor – 9.6%.	Expert survey carried out by the DGIs project during June 30-July 1, 2005.
32.	Number of cases of unwarranted lay offs from jobs, status of their resolution.	In the 1 st half of 2001, 239 complaints were filed with courts, of which 153 were resolved by court with the majority of them confirmed as unwarranted lay offs by court decision.	NHRC of Mongolia, Report on Human Rights and Freedoms in Mongolia, 2002.
33.	Number of cases of violation of labor and social rights.	2000 inspection of labor and social protection rights implementation carried out at 982 organizations/companies revealed 2,599 violations of these rights.	NHRC of Mongolia, Report on Human Rights and Freedoms in Mongolia, 2002.
34.	Minimum subsistence per month, per capita	42,800 MNT in urban and 34,800-39,000 MNT in rural areas	NSO Statistical Bulletin, 2006. http://www.nso.mn
35.	Employment rate	58.3%	“Mongolia in a Market Economy” Statistical Bulletin, 2004, NSO.
36.	Unemployment rate	3.3%	“Mongolia in a Market Economy” Statistical Bulletin, 2004, N.
37.	Human Development Index	Mongolia was rated 114th out of 177 countries. HDIndex 0.679	Human Development Report, 2005, UNDP, http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/data/
38.	Economic Freedom Index	Mongolia was rated 60th out of 157 countries. Index 2.83 (1 – fully free, 5- not free).	http://www.heritage.org/research/ 2006.
	Satellite Indicator 1. Civil, social and economic rights by migrants (access to health care service).	There is a higher rate of unemployment and poverty among migrant population.	Public opinion survey carried out under the DGIs project: Focus group interview with migrants, 2005.
	Satellite Indicator 2. Registration of migrants, number of migrants not registered.	2004 inspection of citizen registration documents revealed that in Ulaanbaatar 11,529 individuals or 4,385 households; and 18,970 individuals or 5,683 households have migrated without proper relocation/transfer registration process.	Ts. Nyamdorj, Current Status of Legal Issues of Migration and Ways to Improvement, National Summit Meeting organized by the SGH Social Policy Standing Committee, Forum of Asian Parliamentarians on Demographic Development, UN Population Fund, UB, 2005.

II. REPRESENTATIVE AND ACCOUNTABLE GOVERNMENT

Political and Election Process

#	Indicators	Content (value) of Indicator	Sources
39.	Number and type of elections held since 1992	Parliamentary, local government, presidential elections held every 4	Constitution of Mongolia, Law on Presidential Election,

		years	Law on Parliamentary Election,
40.	Do elections lead to change of political force in power?	1992- MPRP, 1996 – DP, 2000 MPRP, 2004 - coalition	Report on Democratic Government Elections, General Election Committee. 2005.
41.	Are there legal provisions providing for registration, voting and filing complaints?	Legal provisions exist.	Law on Parliamentary Election, Articles 20, 21.
42.	Voter Turnout	Voter turnout in 2005 Presidential election – 80.3% 2004 Parliamentary Election – 82.2% 2004 Local Government Election – 61.5%	Monitoring of 2004 Election Campaign Financing, 2004. Joint survey by the Open Society Forum, Voter Education Center, Globe International, page 32.
43.	Participation of citizens in selection of candidates.	Participate – 17.4%; do not want to participate -16.4%; such opportunity does not exist – 40.7%; Do not know – 25.5%.	Status of the Right to Elect and to be Elected, 2004. NHRCM, NUM, Social Studies Institute, UB, page 20.
44.	Extent of political party campaigning.	83.2% of 2004 election campaign events were by MPRP or its candidates.	Monitoring of 2004 Election Campaign Financing, 2004. Open Society Forum, Voter Education Center, Globe International.
45.	Social composition of the legislature	36% of SGH members were public sector officials, 19% from political, academia or non-governmental organizations, and 19% from the business sector. 73 members have a university degree and one has a secondary school certificate. Five out of 76 members or 6.7% are women.	www.parl.gov.mn , 2005.
46.	Have the elections an international recognition since 1990?	Yes.	Report on Democratic Government Elections, General Election Committee. 2005.
Satellite indicator 3.	Political affiliation of members of election organization	Out of total of 551 individuals 202 were MPRP members; 166 – DP; 77 – other parties; 106 non-parties, of which 26.3% were officers of public administration.	Sampling estimation of electoral district committee composition of the 2005 Presidential election carried out under the DGIs project, 2005.
Satellite indicator 4.	Public opinion and Parliament members' opinion regarding fairness of election committees and subcommittees.	Public opinion: 50.4% - yes and 49.6% - no. Parliament members: 30% - yes and 70% responded – no.	Public opinion and parliament members' opinion surveys carried out under the DGIs project, 2005.

The Role of Political Parties in a Democracy

#	Indicators	Content (value) of Indicators	Sources
47.	Number of political parties	18 on the end of 2005.	Supreme Court Registration, 2005
48.	Public confidence in political parties	No confidence – 60.7% Confident – 37.9%	East Asia Barometer, Political Education Academy, 2005
49.	Change in public confidence in political parties	Confidence decrease – 35.4% No change – 55.2% Increased confidence – 9.4%	Public opinion survey carried out under the DGIs project, 2005.
50.	Number of political parties represented in the SGH.	5 parties represented in the SGH in 2004.	http://www.parl.gov.mn/
51.	Distribution of seats among parliamentary parties.	MPRP-38, DP-29, Motherland -6, CWP-2, RP- 1 seat (after elections)	http://www.parl.gov.mn/

52.	Are there legal provisions regulating financing of political parties?	in 2004) Legal provisions exist.	The Law on SGH, The Law on Political parties, Articles 16, 18.
53.	Are there legal provisions on representation of women in elections?	Legal provisions exist.	The Law on SGH.
Satellite indicator 5.	Is there legislation providing for party discipline of parliamentary parties?	Legal provisions are insufficient.	Rules of Party Groups in the Parliament
Satellite indicator 6.	Public perception of internal democracy within parties (the mean of responses, given by scale: 1- high internal democracy, 5 - very low internal democracy)	MPRP-2.93, DP-2.95, CWP-2.84, MP-2.63	Public opinion survey carried out under the DGIs project, 2005.

Government Effectiveness and Accountability

	<i>Indicators</i>	<i>Content (value) of Indicators</i>	<i>Sources</i>
54.	Poverty rate	36.1%	Household Income, Expenditure & Living Standards Measurement Survey, UB, 2004, NSO
55.	The urban and rural difference in poverty rate	Rural population poverty rate- 43%, Urban population poverty rate - 30%	Household Income, Expenditure & Living Standards Measurement Survey, UB, 2004, NSO
56.	The GINI coefficient	Average for country- 0.329, in capital- 0.332, in rural areas- 0.309	Statistical Yearbook. 2005.
57.	Poverty Depth	11	Household Income, Expenditure & Living Standards Measurement Survey, UB, 2004, NSO
58.	Poverty sensitivity	4.7	Household Income, Expenditure & Living Standards Measurement Survey, UB, 2004, NSO
59.	Foreign credit/loan, size	1360.0 (mln. USD), 2004	Mongolia: Key Indicators, www.worldbank.org
60.	Percentage of foreign debt compared to GDP.	90.9 (mln. USD) 2004	Mongolia: Key Indicators, www.worldbank.org
61.	Foreign grant aid, size	1399.6 mln. USD received in 1991-2003.	Foreign Aid and Credit Policy www.mof.pmis.gov.mn/zeelt.htm
62.	Political Stability (1 to 100 rating scale, 100 - good)	Rated at 61.2, which is a 5.5-point fall compared to 1998 rating.	Kaufmann D., A. Kraay, and M. Mastruzzi 2005: Governance Matters IV: Governance Indicators for 1996-2004. http://info.worldbank.org/governance
63.	Rule of Law (1 to 100 rating scale, 100 - good)	Rated 56.5 in 2004, which is a 5.1-point fall compared to 61.6 rating in 1998.	http://info.worldbank.org/governance
64.	Government Efficiency (1 to 100 rating scale, 100 - good)	Rated 36.5 in 2004, which is 24.2 point fall compared to 60.7 rating in 1998	http://info.worldbank.org/governance
65.	Quality of Regulation (1 to 100 rating scale, 100 - good)	Rated 57.6 in 2004, which is a 1.6 point improvement	http://info.worldbank.org/governance

66.	Responsiveness and Accountability	Rated 59.7 in 2004, which is a 6.3-point fall compared to 66.0 rating of 1998.	http://info.worldbank.org/governance
67.	Public perception of government effectiveness	Very effective – 5%; Effective – 29.5%; Satisfactory – 36.1%; Unsatisfactory – 13.5%; Not effective – 4.3%; Don't know – 11.6%.	Public opinion survey carried out under the DGIs project, 2005
68.	Whether all expenditures are reflected in the state budget?	Yes. There is no expenditure categories not included in the state budget.	Law on Integrated State Budget, Law on Public Administration Management and Finance
69.	Is there an annual mandatory audit of the budget implementation	The State Audit Agency performs audits of the state budget implementation and the financial report of the Government.	Law on Public Administration Management and Finance
Satellite indicator 7.	Can the growth of mining industry make a real contribution in country development?	The growth is insufficient, and division of dividends causes conflicts in society.	Study carried out under the DGIs project, 2005
Satellite indicator 8.	Are public servants protected from politics?	Number of dismissals after elections	Survey carried out by the staff of Public Service Council

Civilian Control of Police and Military

#	Indicators	Content (value) of Indicator	Sources
70.	Is there legislation providing for civilian control over the military?	Yes. Legal provisions exist.	Constitution of Mongolia, Article 11.2; Law on Armed Forces, Article 5.2.
71.	Percentage of military expenditure in the state budget expenditure.	4.4%	IMF Country Report No. 05/400, www.imf.org
72.	Participation of women in the military	31.4%	Involvement of women in the armed forces, Press review #1, 2005.
73.	Is there legislation providing for control over police and special organizations?	Yes. Legal provisions exist.	Law on Police, Article 3.1; Law on Intelligence Agency, Article 6.1-3.
74.	Public perceptions regarding efficiency of police	Very efficient – 3.5%; Efficient – 17.1%; Satisfactory- 34.6%; Unsatisfactory – 20.2%; Not efficient 11.6%; Don't know - 12.6%.	Public opinion survey carried out under the DGIs project, 2005.

Minimizing Corruption

#	Indicators	Content (value) of Indicator	Sources
75.	Is there anti-corruption legislation?	Yes. Legal provisions exist.	Law on Public Service, Law on Political Parties, Criminal Code and relevant legislation; Anti-corruption Law.
76.	Corruption Index	Fall from +0.11 in 2002 to -0.51 in 2004 (on +2.5 to -2.5 scale of rating)	Kaufmann D., A. Kraay, and M. Mastruzzi 2005: Governance Matters IV. http://info.worldbank.org/governance
77.	Corruption Perception Index	In 2005, Mongolia placed 85th among 158 rated countries with 3.0 rating (10 point scale) defined as almost "uncontrolled" corruption	http://www.transparency.org
78.	Where corruption is the highest in Mongolia?	In administrative and political positions	Report of the Corruption Survey. 2005, USAID/TAF,

79.	Public perception of the extent of corruption in the society	Mean of responses given on the following scale: 1- very high, 2-high, 3-medium, 4-low, 5-almost on-existent: Parliament, Cabinet 2.01; Ministries and agencies 2.18; Local government 2.34; NGOs 2.59; Culture, sport 2.81	UB. http://www2.usaid.gov/mn/ Public opinion survey carried out under the DGIs project, 2005.
-----	--	---	---

III. CIVIL SOCIETY AND POPULAR PARTICIPATION

Media in a Democracy

#	Indicators	Content (value) of Indicator	Sources
80.	Is there legislation providing for the principle of media independence from government?	Yes. Legal provisions exist.	Constitution of Mongolia, Law on Freedom of Press, Law on Advertising, Law on Radio and Television, Articles 7-9, 33
81.	Freedom of Press Index 2005	35 – partially free. . (0-100 scale: 0-30 free, 31-60 partially free)	http://freedomhouse.org
82.	Legal environment	11 (0-30 scale of rating)	http://freedomhouse.org
83.	Political influence	12 (0-40 scale of rating)	http://freedomhouse.org
84.	Economic pressure	12 (0-30 scale of rating)	http://freedomhouse.org
85.	Number of newspapers	161 in total/34 in local areas	Mongolian Press and Media in 2004, UB, 2005.
86.	Number of magazines and journals	69	Mongolian Press and Media in 2004, UB, 2005.
87.	Number of radio stations	43 in total/27 in local areas	Mongolian Press and Media in 2004, UB, 2005.
88.	Number of TV studios	37 in total/31 in local areas	Mongolian Press and Media in 2004, UB, 2005.
89.	Number of medias registered with MoJHA	1905 permanent publications, 250 other media instruments	Information database of Information Dept., MoJHA
90.	Perception of Freedom of Press	Freedom of press fully implemented – 42.5%; Not fully implemented-46.5%; No freedom -0.9%; Don't know -10%	“Being Free and Fair” survey of public and journalist opinion, Globe International NGO, UB, 2004, page 15.
Satellite indicator 9.	How well media instruments and journalists are protected from dependency through hidden influence?	Not fully protected. Most of media instruments in Mongolia are privately owned. There are some cases of hidden influences.	Study carried out under the DGI project, 2005.
Satellite indicator 10.	Have there been cases of closing down newspapers?	MoJHA closed down 3 newspapers in 2002. In 2005, obstruction of access to printing for the Mongol Times newspaper.	Study carried out under the DGI project, 2005.

Political Participation

#	Indicators	Content (value) of Indicator	Sources
91.	Number of NGOs	As of 1 st Quarter of 2005, approximately 4700 NGOs were registered with the MoJHA.	MoJHA Introduction, 2005. http://www.forum.mn/policyissue/
92.	Allocation of NGOs (urban, rural)	80% of NGOs are in urban areas. 20% in rural areas.	NSO Information dated 06.20.1005.
93.	Number of civic protest associations and movements	As of 1 st Quarter of 2005 there were 12 protest associations and movements.	Study carried out under the DGI project, 2005.
94.	Main directions of NGO	Children/Youth – 13.83%;	http://www.owc.org.mn

	activities	Gender/Family – 12.23%; Human rights, civil society, democracy – 10.64%; Social protection, vulnerable and disabled – 9.57%, economic, agricultural, industry and services – 9.04%.	
95.	Sources of NGO financing	90% of activities are financed by foreign funding sources.	Governance Assessment, ADB, 2004. http://www.adb.org/Documents/Reports/Others/Mon-CGA-final.PDF
96.	Public perception of pro-activeness of NGO activities	Very pro-active – 3.3%; Pro-active – 7.9%; Satisfactory – 35.2%; Unsatisfactory – 11.3%, Don't know – 24.7%	Public opinion survey of carried out under the DGIs project, 2005.
97.	Ratio of the number of men and women in decision-making positions	Men's number twice as high	2000 Population Census: Key Results, NSO.2002.
98.	Ratio of the number of men and women in mid-level executive positions	Women's number twice as high	2000 Population Census: Key Results, NSO.2002.
99.	Women representation in Parliament	With 6.7% representation, Mongolia rated 115 out of 187 countries by number of seats occupied by women in parliament.	Women in National Parliaments Statistical Archive. 2004. http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm
100.	Representation of women in public political office	Advisor to PM – 1; Ambassador -1; State Secretary -1; 15% of ministry head/deputy head of departments; 24.6% of aimag, city, soum and district members in Citizen Representative Hural	SGH Draft Law on Election: Gender Equality in Parliamentary Election-discussion notes. 05.25.2005.

Government Responsiveness and Accountability

#	Indicators	Content (value) of Indicator	Sources
101.	Number of letters received by SGH during its 3rd term (2000-2004)	12340 letters were received by Parliament and its Secretariat	Parliament Information Bulletin.2005: http://www.parl.gov.mn/
102.	Content of letters	95.3% requests (of which 11% were suggestions, 84% requests); 4.7%-complaints. Majority of these pertained to personal matters.	Parliament Information Bulletin.2005: http://www.parl.gov.mn/
103.	Expert evaluation on responsiveness of government to Citizens opinion	High-1.7%, medium-32.5%, low-47.9%, very low-17.9%	Expert survey carried out by the DGIs project during June 30-July 1, 2005
104.	Expert evaluation on accountability of the state	High-1.7%, medium-29.3%, low-42.3%, very low-26.7%	Expert survey carried out by the DGIs project during June 30-July 1, 2005
105.	Expert evaluation on transparency of the government	High-7%, medium-33.9%, low-43.5%, very low-17.3%	Expert survey carried out by the DGIs project during June 30-July 1, 2005
106.	Public opinion on the government's responsiveness	Very good-8%, good-6.8%, medium-33.1%, low-29.8%, very low-17.2%, do not know-12.3%	Public opinion survey carried out under the DGIs project, 2005.
Satellite indicator 11.	Public opinion on the ability of NGOs to express people's views	NGOs reflect people's views-25%, NGOs influence government decisions-17.1%, and the rest of the polled had negative opinions or did not answer.	Public opinion survey carried out under the DGIs project, 2005.
Satellite indicator 12.	Expert evaluation on civil participation in government	High-7.2%, medium-52.3%, low-36.9%, very low-3.6%	Expert survey carried out by the DGIs project during June 30-July 1, 2005

Decentralization

#	Indicators	Content (value) of Indicator	Sources
107.	Number of self-financed provinces, cities and its changes	5 in 1990, 2 in 1992, 0 in 2000, 5 in 2003, 4 in 2004, 4 in 2005	“Mongolia in a Market Economy” Statistical Bulletin, 2004, NSO. Statistical Bulletin, December 2005, NSO.
108.	Financial support from central budget to the local budget	2003: 3090.8 mln tugrugs 2004: 8401.9 2005: 6357.1	Statistical Bulletin, December 2005, NSO; Statistical Compilation, NSO, UB, 2005.
109.	Amount of revenue levied from local governments to the central budget	2003: 14627.2 mln tugrugs 2004: 16776.9 2005: 23856.9	Statistical Bulletin, December 2005, NSO; Statistical Compilation, NSO, UB, 2005.
110.	Public opinion and SGH members’ opinion regarding local government’s independency in finances, budget matters	Mean of responses on scale: 1-good; 2-medium; 3-low Public opinion: 2.2 SGH members’ opinion: 2.8	Sociological surveys on public and SGH members’ opinions carried out under the DGIs project, 2005
111.	Public opinion and SGH members’ opinion regarding local government’s ability to decide on local matters	Mean of responses on scale: 1-good; 2-medium; 3-low Public opinion: 2.2 Parliament members’ opinion: 2.4	Sociological surveys on public and SGH members’ opinions carried out under the DGIs project, 2005
Satellite indicator 13.	Public opinion and SGH members’ opinion regarding local government’s ability to provide services to citizens	Mean of responses on scale: 1-good; 2-medium; 3-low Public opinion: 2.2 Parliament members’ opinion: 2.6	Sociological surveys on public and SGH members’ opinions carried out under the DGIs project, 2005
Satellite indicator 14.	Expert evaluation on responsiveness of local government	High-5.1%, medium-37.6%, low-32.5%, very low-24.8%	Expert survey carried out by the DGIs project during June 30-July 1, 2005

IV. DEMOCRACY BEYOND THE STATE

#	Indicators	Content (value) of Indicator	Sources
12.	Total amount of loans and grants received by Mongolia since 1990	Around 2.4 billion USD	www.adb.org/documents/CSPs/MON
13.	Direct foreign investment	2000: 53.7 mln USD 2004: 132 mln USD	www.mof.pmis.gov.mn
14.	Participation in ICNRD movement	Started to participate since III conference in Bucharest in 1997. Mongolia was hosting country of ICNRD-5	www.icnrd5-mongolia.mn
15.	Initiatives of Mongolia regarding democratic governance	MDG-9	The resolution of SGH No 25 on 21.04.2005.
16.	Ratification of UN conventions	21 conventions and declarations	International Treaties of Mongolia. Government Information Bulletin. Two volumes. 2004, 2005.
17.	Participation in the UN peacekeeping forces and the US led coalition	In 7 countries	Study carried out under the DGIs project, 2005.



**FOLLOW-UP TO THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE OF NEW AND RESTORED
DEMOCRACIES PROJECT**
MON/02/101



COUNTRY INFORMATION NOTE

(MONGOLIA)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION
2. BRIEF PRESENTATION
3. METHODOLOGY
4. EXPERTS' ASSESSMENT
5. PRIORITY ISSUES OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE AND TASKS

1. INTRODUCTION

The Plan of Action approved by the 5th International Conference of New and Restored Democracies includes preparation of a Country Information Note before the 6th ICNRD, which should contain goals for strengthening and deepening democracy within the country, as well as measures taken and those planned for implementation of principles and recommendations of the 5th ICNRD⁹¹.

Mongolia has organized a coordinated and inter-connected development of the National Plan of Action to Consolidate Democracy, the Democratic Governance Indicators, the Country Information Note and the Civil Society Index documents within the framework of the Follow up to the 5th ICNRD Project.

The Country Information Note will reflect the information data collected in the process of developing Democratic Governance Indicators, as well as measures and goals included in the National Plan of Action.

In terms of methodology, the methodology used in developing democratic governance indicators and based on the State of Democracy of the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) and the concept of the National Plan of Action are interconnected but also have differing aspects. Therefore, the IDEA methodology was chosen as the base methodology to develop the Country Information Note, enriched by the recommendations in the National Plan of Action.

In terms of structure, the Country Information Note consists of the following:

1. INTRODUCTION
2. BRIEF PRESENTATION
3. METHODOLOGY
4. EXPERTS' ASSESSMENT
5. PRIORITY ISSUES OF DEMOCRACY, DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE AND TASKS

The section on “Priority Issues of Democracy and Democratic Governance and Objectives” provides a model for other countries to determine their democracy goals in conjunction with political goals as formulated in existing national strategic policy documents. In doing so, the following are issues that may need to be considered:

1. The key objectives of the Plan of Action approved by the 5th ICNRD held in 2003 in Ulaanbaatar Mongolia to be considered as guidance;
2. Each particular country, if it has developed a National Plan of Action to implement the decisions of the 5th ICNRD, could concentrate on the key objectives chosen;
3. If a country has not developed a separate program or plan for strengthening democracy then it may consider using objectives defined in other plans.

Because the objectives of the Plan of Action to Consolidate Democracy reflect the goals set in official policy documents of each particular country, it provides opportunity for a national team of researchers and analysts to work on the development of relevant indicators. It may be appropriate for the research team to consist of 5-7 members representing recognized politicians and researchers specializing in democracy and policy areas.

⁹¹ National Plan of Action

The summary list of Democratic Governance Indicators is the information that reflects the current state of democratic governance in Mongolia. At the end of each group of core indicators, we have included satellite indicators to reflect Mongolia's specific condition.

2. COUNTRY INFORMATION DATA



Contextual Facts on Mongolia

Geography

Geographic location	East Asia, situated between the Russian Federation and PRC, landlocked
Size of territory, sq. km	1,564,116
Climate	Continental

Demography, Society

Settled population, thousand people	2533.1 (as of the end of 2004)
<i>Urban</i>	1498.2
<i>Rural</i>	1034.9
Average life expectancy	64.6 (2004)
<i>Men</i>	61.6
<i>Women</i>	67.8
Economically active population (thousands)	986.1
Unemployment level (%)	3.6
Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live born)	22.3
Literacy rate of population beyond age 15 (%)	97.6 (2000 Population Census data)
Poverty rate	36.1 (2004)
Ginny coefficient	0.329 (2002-2003)
Human development index	0.679

Government

Date of current Constitution	01.13.1992
Form of governance	Parliamentary Republic
State structure	Unified
Right to elect, age	Universal, 18
Capital	Ulaanbaatar
Administrative territorial structure	21 aimags, capital city
Legislature	State Great Hural, 76 members, unicameral
<i>Term of office</i>	4 years
<i>Election results</i>	SGH elections held in 1992, 1996, 2000, and 2004. 2004 election resulted in MPRP-36, Motherland Coalition 34, MRP 1, and independent-3 seats.
<i>Number of women in parliament (%)</i>	5 women, 6.7%

Head of state	President Nambaryn Enkhbayar (from June 2005)
<i>Election</i>	Candidacy nomination by parliamentary parties, election by popular vote. Term of office - 4 years
Head of government	Prime Minister Miegombyn Enkhbold (from January 2006), PM appointed by SGH in consultation with the President
Judiciary	The judiciary system composed of the Supreme Court, aimag, capital city, soum or inter-soum, district courts. The General Council of Courts appoints members of Supreme Court in consultation with the President. Judges nominated by GCC, appointed by President.
Parliamentary parties	Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), Democratic Party (DP), Republican Party (RP), Motherland Party (MP), Citizen's Will Party (CWP)

Economy

GDP, million Tugrug	1808.0 (2004)
<i>Agriculture</i>	21.3
<i>Production Industry</i>	28.2
<i>Services</i>	50.5
Per capita GDP, thousand Tugrug in 2004 price	717.3
State budget revenue/expenditure in 2004 price	
<i>Total revenue+ assistance</i>	697378.9
<i>Total expenditure + net loan total</i>	672425.1
National monetary unit (code)	Tugrug (MNT)
Fiscal year	Calendar year

Democratic Governance (Experts' Assessment)

	AVERAGE SCORE BY MONGOLIAN EXPERTS
1. Citizenship, Law and Rights	2,8
2. Representative and Accountable Government	2,64
3. Civil Society and Popular Participation	2,84
4. Democracy beyond the State	3,8
<i>Overall assessment of democratic governance</i>	3,02

3. METHODOLOGY

The Democratic Governance Indicators provide opportunity for each country to assess the state of democratic governance within the country. For this purpose:

A. The results are likely to turn out better if countries develop the Democratic Governance Indicators and prepare a final report on the process. In the case where such process and report already exist, national experts informed by this report in addition to their own experience may carry out the assessment. The overall assessment may be arrived at by applying 1,2,3,4,5 points to each category, which are summed up to achieve the end result. In such a case, the national team of experts may consist of 5-7 members.

B. If a country has not developed its own Democratic Governance Indicators with a final report, then an experienced national team of experts could directly apply the same 1,2,3,4,5 evaluation points to each category to achieve an overall assessment result. In such a case, it is recommended that the team include a broader spectrum of team members. In other words, it is considered important to have at least 3 experts for evaluating one same indicator included in the list to ensure a more realistic assessment of the situation. For example, if Country X were assessing the democratic governance indicators using 14 indicators then the expert team would include 52 experts.

In calculating both **A** and **B** versions of overall assessment:

1. Calculate an average for each indicator:

$$Ae = \frac{e1 + e2 + e3 + \dots + en}{Esn}$$

Ae – Assessment of expert

E1n - Assessment of each expert

Esn - Sum of the number of experts

2. The overall assessment result is arrived at by summing up average assessment (**Ae**) of all experts per each category divided by the number of indicators.

$$Ae = \frac{1Ie + 2Ie + 3Ie + \dots + N Ie}{Isn}$$

Ae – Overall assessment of democratic governance

1Ie - N Ie - Expert's assessment of each indicator

Isn - Total number of indicators

The 1,2,3,4,5 system of points for assessing the democratic governance indicators reflects the following:

- **1 point** – Situation characterized as Most Undemocratic. Far-reaching alienation from democracy, close to anti-democratic condition.

- **2 points** – Non-democratic characteristics prevail, alienation from democracy is evident but opportunity to reinstate democracy is not lost.
- **3 points** – Democratic and non-democratic characteristics are fairly proportional and situation could turn either way.
- **4 points** – Democratic characteristics prevail but not fully guaranteed.
- **5 points** – Democratic characteristics are apparent and democracy fully guaranteed.

Assessment criteria as this example can be developed for each indicator and as well be utilized in assessing the overall state of democratic governance.

Because the democratic governance indicators express multifaceted and intricate manifestations of social life, it is difficult to assess these using only quantitative or qualitative indicators. To date there has not been a country that has assessed the state of democratic governance using only quantitative indicators. However, quantitative indicators and indices have been developed for assessing democratic governance indicators for human development, corruption, freedom of media and human rights. We propose that quantitative expression may be derived from research, which utilizes quantitative and qualitative survey methods of internationally tested methodologies. Therefore, we have carried out the first attempt to experiment measurement of democratic governance indicators in quantitative format using the example of Mongolia.

We consider that quantitative indicators of democratic governance have the following specifics:

- Because the assessment of researchers and experts is key the overall assessment they may have characteristics of subjectivity
- The assessment to have highly relative characteristics
- Development of quantitative indicators requires multiple preliminary research
- Assessment is of experimental character, designed for discussion purposes and subject to change resulting from discussions
- Quantitative indicators are more accessible to customers (decision-makers, researchers, public)
- Provide opportunity for further periodic/recurring updates
- Provide ideas for developing statistical program format
- Provide opportunity for international and national comparative research, utilization in creating unified information database.

We consider that the Country Information Note is an important document, which provides valuable source of information about state of democracy and democratic governance in the country, which also may become a key to exchange of such information by countries. We, however, do not express a hard-line position that countries must develop and provide a Country Information Note.

The research team within the framework of developing Democratic Governance Indicators project has produced the draft of the Country Information Note.

In Mongolia's case, the national team has also carried out assessment of the Priority Issues of Democracy contained in the explanatory section of the Plan of Action.

The national team of researchers has developed the Democratic Governance Indicators and the final report. The process of developing the final report has been the team's first experience and therefore it is experimental and is proposed as one possible format.

4. EXPERTS' ASSESSMENT

The democratic governance assessment was made by national experts. The five experts were selected on the basis of the following criteria:

- Profession, specialization
- Research/academic experience
- Party and non-partisan representation.

Based on the above criteria, the national team selected the experts upon their consent. The following personalities have been included in the experts' group:

1. A prominent scholar, expert on human development and public administration, Ph.D., professor, political adviser to the President of Mongolia.
2. President of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, former MP, academician, professor of nuclear physics.
3. Director of the School of Social Sciences of the Mongolian National University, Ph.D., professor of political science.
4. Chairman of Mongolia's National Human Rights Commission, Ph.D., lawyer.
5. Former Prime Minister, currently Member of Parliament, economist.

Prior to evaluating the state of Mongolia's democratic governance, the national experts had been presented with the Democratic Governance Indicators Report and its Summary as reading material for their information.

The overall assessment of democratic governance for Mongolia has been set at **3.02 points. This corresponds with the following assessment: "Democratic and non-democratic characteristics are fairly proportional and situation could turn either way"**. The following table expresses the assessments of each democratic governance area (cluster) as evaluated by the national experts.

1. Citizenship, Law and Rights

Indicator	Average score by Mongolian experts
1. Nationhood and Citizenship <i>Is there public agreement on a common citizenship without discrimination?</i>	4.0
2. Rule of Law and Access to Justice <i>Are state and society consistently subject to the law?</i>	3.0
3. Civil and Political Rights <i>Are civil and political rights equally guaranteed for all?</i>	2.2
4. Economic and Social Rights <i>Are economic and social rights equally guaranteed for all?</i>	2.6
Average Score for Core Indicators	2.95
Satellite indicators	
To what extent equality in civil and socio-economic rights is secured for migrants.	2.6
To what extent do effects of social traditions and personal interests support the process of ensuring equality of rights?	2.4
Average Score For Core and Satellite Indicators	2.8

2. Representative and Accountable Government

Indicator	Average score by Mongolian experts
5. Free and fair election <i>Do elections give the people control over governments and their policies?</i>	3.2
Democratic role of political parties <i>Does the party system assist the working of democracy?</i>	2.6
Government effectiveness and accountability <i>Is government accountable to the people and their representatives?</i>	2.8
Civilian control of the military and police <i>Are the military and police forces under civilian control?</i>	2.4
Minimizing corruption <i>Are public officials free from corruption?</i>	2.8
Average Score for Core Indicators	2.76
To what extent does the composition of the election authority have effect on its independence? To what extent citizens have opportunity to monitor election process?	3.0
How is discipline of parliamentary parties legally regulated? How far internal democracy within parties is open to the public?	2.2
To what extent the capacity of the real economy can serve as resource for resolving problems accumulated in the society?	2.4
How stable is public service after elections? To what extent are the true public servants protected from politics?	2.8
Are there mechanisms established for reciprocated oversight of activities between the Parliament and Cabinet, local government self-governing bodies and local administration?	2.2
Average Score For Core and Satellite Indicators	2.64

3. Civil Society and Popular Participation

Indicator	Average score by Mongolian experts
10. The media in a democratic society <i>Do the media operate in a way that sustains democratic values?</i>	3.0
11. Political participation <i>Is there full citizen participation in the public life?</i>	2.8
12. Government responsiveness <i>Is government responsive to the concerns of its citizens?</i>	3.3
13. Decentralization <i>Are decisions taken at the level of government, which is most appropriate for the people affected?</i>	2.8
Average Score for Core Indicators	2.98
How far media instruments, journalists are protected from falling under hidden influence?	2.4
Relationship of the government and citizens, and how far do government, public officials and NGOs provide meaningful support to popular participation?	3.0
Are there appropriate relations established between the government, local self-government bodies and local administrations? What is its role in decentralization?	2.6
Average Score For Core and Satellite Indicators	2.84

4. Democracy beyond the State

Indicator	Average score by Mongolian experts
14. International dimensions of democracy <i>Are the country's external relations conducted in accordance with democratic norms, and is it itself free from external subordination?</i>	3.8
OVERALL SCORE FOR DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE	3.02

5. PRIORITY ISSUES OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

5.1. Challenges to Democracy and Democratic Governance

The current problems and challenges confronting Mongolia's democracy are due to multi-faceted reasons including the country's low level of development when the democratic process was launched as well as outright policy errors. The following sections highlight some of these problems and challenges:

- There are inadequate policies and legal regulations to enforce the Constitutional provision that places state power in the hands of the people. The principle of “governance for the people and by people” seems to have only symbolic meaning in some existing laws.
- There is a lack of a new professional approach, openness and transparency, and inadequate public participation in the law making process. The drafting process does not usually invite research institutions and experts and sufficiently reflect their recommendations and conclusions, thus resulting in ineffective and poor quality legislation. In some cases, legislative provisions are poorly defined leaving an opportunity for confusion and misinterpretation, duplications of legal authority and responsibilities, and legal lacunae. There is no systemization and close correlation of laws and some of them tend to be a direct copy of foreign law with little variation.
- Citizens still encounter numerous obstacles in exercising their right to elect and be elected. Such problems include voter registration, disputes due to voter transfer movement, ballot fraud, and multiple voting, unrealistic promises and attempts to purchase votes. These practices clearly undermine the idea of free and fair elections.
- The existing laws and legislation do not properly regulate the role that political parties should play in the democratic society and provide no opportunity for the public to exert scrutiny over party activities. The Law on Political Parties has such deficiencies as insufficient focus on internal democracy, openness to their members and the public, ideological competition in the society and formulation of democratic value. It attaches importance to the structure and internal organization of parties.
- A comprehensive state policy at the decision making level and sound systematic actions lack on the part of State to promote knowledge and education of democracy among voters. This is further evidenced by reviewing the current curriculum, content, standards and practices followed in the formal educational system. Despite salient efforts of non-governmental organizations there is currently no sound mechanism for providing and disseminating democratic knowledge and education.
- Because of a strong tendency in public offices to discriminate on the basis of political ideology, the principle of recruiting civil servants based on their merit is failing enforcement in practice.
- With respect to the indicators measuring the right to information, it is clear that people living in the central region and urban centers of Mongolia have better access to information than those in the aimag centers where there is very limited level of access. Moreover, most people living in the soums centers and other remote areas have almost no means to obtain information and their only source of information is national radio and television.
- The formation of the independent judicial power has been slow, and injustice has often been observed in court proceedings. Freedom and independence from external influence lacks in court operations and ethical misdemeanors continue to persist in the judiciary.
- Currently there is no enacted legislation requiring the main representative institutions (State Great Hural and Citizen's Representatives Councils) to be responsive to opinions and demands of their voters. The Mongolian State lacks channels through which different social groups can express their interests and concerns.

- The principle of local self-government is not implemented in accordance with the Constitution, and local administrations are highly dependent from the center and are influenced by political parties.
- It is almost impossible to monitor activities of representative institutions at other periods except for elections and their decision making process is not open and transparent to public. Besides, there is no positive change in the formation of democratic values and beliefs among the people.
- If one compares the total number of registered civil society organizations (CSO) in the country to the population size, civil society appears to be well represented and offer an important check on state power. *However, a recent civil society index for Mongolia reveals that less than 20% of the registered CSOs are operational and committed to their stated cause.*⁹² However, when it comes to roles they play in the democratic development, they are at the basic level.

5.2. Democracy Consolidation Tasks

- Legalize and ensure implementation of legislation regulating direct participation and increased oversight by its citizens of legislative and executive decision-making process,
- Election organization – improve legal environment, fully guarantee the right of citizens to elect and be elected,
- Strengthen national capacity to protect human rights and freedoms,
- Ensure freedom of information, improve legal environment and guarantees of freedom of press and media,
- Ensure effective and systematic education of the population in democratic values, create mechanisms for their implementation,
- Ascertain fair competition and provide equal participation opportunities in political and socio-economic spheres.

⁹² http://www.icnrd5-mongolia.mn/pdf/CSI_Executive_Summary.pdf



**FOLLOW-UP TO THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE OF NEW AND RESTORED
DEMOCRACIES PROJECT
MON/02/101**



Улс төрийн тогтолцоог өөрчлөн шинэчлэхийн талаар тэмцэл, 1990 он

**NATIONAL PLAN OF ACTION
TO CONSOLIDATE DEMOCRACY**

Ulaanbaatar 2006

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION
2. ASSESSMENT OF PRESENT SITUATION AND CONCLUSIONS
3. OBJECTIVES OF THE NATIONAL PLAN OF ACTION TO CONSOLIDATE DEMOCRACY IN MONGOLIA

1. INTRODUCTION

The 5th International Conference of New or Restored Democracies (ICNRD-5) was held in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, on 10-12 September 2003 bringing together 600 delegates from 119 countries. The Conference adopted the Ulaanbaatar Declaration and Plan of Action that call on countries to consolidate democracy and build fair, accountable, inclusive, and transparent societies that respect human rights and the rule of law. The outcome documents of ICNRD-5 propose that countries develop concrete tools to consolidate democracy including the development of democratic governance indicators (DGI), national plans of action (NPA), and country information notes (CIN). Mongolia has consequently prepared DGI and a CIN as well as a National Plan of Action. The next step in implementing these tools is to have the NPA approved by the State Great Hural (Parliament) of Mongolia.

The National Plan of Action has been prepared on the basis of integrating in a comprehensive way the findings and the data of the DGIs Assessment, and the CIN. The findings of the Civil Society Index exercise and the Urban Governance Index have been taken into consideration.

The National Plan of Action will facilitate and support the implementation of MDG-9 adopted by Mongolia and will help ensure human rights and freedoms, democratic governance, and zero-tolerance of corruption.

2. THE PRESENT SITUATION

1. The assessment of Mongolia's democratic governance and its various evaluations demonstrate that although the process of consolidating the rule of law, ensuring human rights and freedoms is underway, the success of this process is fully guaranteed as undemocratic tendencies still prove to be strong. The principle of fair political competition provided for in the Constitution and other legislation has not been fully implemented in practice; there is a widespread tendency to violate the principles of democracy. The development of a representative and accountable government has been slow, with the democratic mechanism of accountability at the initial stage and a multitude of unresolved issues in this area. Although there are numerous NGOs in Mongolia, they are still far from being able to ensure citizens' participation and monitor government activities. The freedom of media instruments has been legislated and institutionally protected. However, there are serious challenges stemming from the lack of legislation on freedom of information. Mongolia has been actively supporting democracy beyond the state. Mongolia has not been complying with reporting requirements contained in the international conventions it has ratified. The 3.02 evaluation of the state of Mongolia's democratic governance reveals that democratic and undemocratic features have become family proportional and that consolidation of democracy is the fundamental priority for the country.

2. A multiparty system whereby political parties propose alternative development programs, exert mutual control and reach decisions on controversial issues through discussion and compromise has been established in Mongolia. All of these are new phenomena in the country's the social relations. However, the maturity level of political parties remains low. Political parties are still unable to appeal to wide public support and implement actions to have an impact on areas of social life. Internal democracy and the understanding of consensus building is lacking in most political parties. In some cases, parties tend to be overly politicized and have intra-party conflict and factional strife that further weakens representative and executive institutions of the state and leads to political instability.

3. The government's economic policy and management, and unequal distribution of social wealth explain the deepening disparity between the wealthy and the poor and a high poverty rate.

Slow economic growth and economic weaknesses in general negatively affect the development of democracy and are reflected in inconsistency of election results.

4. As observed during the past elections, the “dirty election technology” of fraudulent campaigning and voting such as making unrealistic and reckless promises, deception of voters, and other means is used repeatedly by election candidates. There is a need to improve election legislation by amending the Law on Elections to eliminate problems in the existing electoral process.

5. Infringements of human rights, the social injustice, the growing epidemic of corruption and red tape in state bureaucracy are closely linked to irresponsibility and lack of ethics in state officials, along with limited access to information and lack of transparency in the government. Hence, it is important to strengthen the accountability system and inform the public on policy outcomes, changes and reforms in areas of government action as well as on shortcomings and deviations. The public should also be informed about activities and personal incomes of MPs.

6. The epidemic of corruption that has taken deep root in the society is ultimately the main cause and source of poverty. Corruption is associated with red tape at every level of bureaucracy, professional incompetence of public officials, prioritization of personal or group interests, partisanship and cliquishness in the conduct of state affairs.

7. Serious deficiencies in public institutions such as courts, police, custom and tax agencies that are most vulnerable to corruption include cronyism, unfair treatment, pursuit of personal interests and bribery. They are mainly the result of deteriorating morality, professional competence, and increased focus on personal interests by public officials. Internal audits as well as external oversight systems are missing in the abovementioned institutions.

8. There has been ongoing strong criticism by the Mongolian public of the domination of personal or group interests over the privatization process, the usage and ownership of land, the use of natural resources, and the expenditure of foreign investment and foreign aid as well as of deficiencies in government policies. These are explicit manifestations of the failures in the democratic process, which may eventually alter the economic foundations of the society. In fact, democracy will succeed in all areas of social life only when democracy in economic relations is consolidated.

3. OBJECTIVES OF THE NATIONAL PLAN OF ACTION TO CONSOLIDATE DEMOCRACY IN MONGOLIA

By undertaking the following closely interrelated set of actions, the National Plan of Action is aimed at

1. Improving and broadening public participation and oversight in the legislative and administrative decision-making process by enacting relevant legislation and organizing its enforcement;
2. Improving organization and legislative framework of elections and fully guaranteeing citizen’s right to elect and be elected;
3. Strengthening national capacity to promote and protect human rights and freedoms;
4. Ensuring the freedom of information, improving legal environment and guarantees for media independence;
5. Establishing a sound delivery mechanism for civil democracy education for all and creating a regular and effective system of civic democracy education;
6. Creating fair competition in the political and socio-economic arenas and providing equal opportunity to participate for everyone;

The Plan of Action will be implemented until 2016 in two stages.

I. Plan of Action for 2006-2011 (short-term outcomes)

- a. A favorable environment for comprehensive public participation shall be created.
- b. Efforts to advance civil political culture shall involve every citizen, and progress shall be made in the development of the citizen's democratic value.
- c. Relationship between the state and its citizens shall be strengthened.
- d. A fair electoral system shall be created and electoral management reforms shall be carried out.
- e. Operations of state institutions, morality and work ethics, professional competence, and work methods of public officers shall be improved.

II. Plan of Action for 2011-2016 (Long-term outcomes)

- a. All achievements gained to date in consolidation of democracy shall be strengthened and maintained.
- b. State policy and activities shall be opening, transparent, and accountable to and be monitored by public.
- c. Democratic values shall be instilled and citizens' democratic beliefs and trust shall be strengthened.
- d. Effective separation of state power based on control and restraint shall be precisely developed at the central and local level, and bureaucracy hurdles and corruption shall be minimized.
- e. Political parties shall be strengthened by creating a healthy political environment and introducing stronger internal democracy in political parties.

Special attention shall be given to the following directions:

1. Rule of law and protection of human rights;
2. Free and fair elections and functioning of political parties;
3. Transparent and accountable governance;
4. Development of civil society and public media.

The national mechanism to consolidate democracy development comprises the legislative and executive institutions of all levels; state and non governmental organizations engaged in the protection of human rights; local self-governing institutions along with all civil society organizations and movements and mass media; private businesses and international organizations. Within their mandate these institutions will be responsible for and will duly contribute to the consolidation of democratic development in the country.

The State Great Hural of Mongolia will formulate state policy to strengthen democracy and coordinate its implementation by encouraging a build-up of initiatives and responsibilities of state institutions and officials; supporting participation of civil society, most importantly local self-governing institutions, non governmental organizations, mass media and private businesses in government decision-making, and by providing support assistance the provision of support and rational legal coordination for establishing a suitable environment to motivate public

initiative. The State Great Hural will serve as the leading institution in the implementation of the Plan of Action.

I. Rule of Law and Protection of Human Rights

1. Protection of Human Rights

In order to provide and protect human rights, specific policy shall be pursued to implement objectives defined in the “National Programme on Human Rights” adopted by the State Great Hural in its resolution 11 in 2003. In addition, the following objectives shall be realized:

The relevant state institutions

1.1. Shall empower the subcommittee on human rights with the right to review all the draft bills pending for enactment and issue conclusions on whether they align with the human rights principles. Furthermore, improvement of functioning environment and guarantees for the subcommittee shall be ensured. A mechanism to collaborate with human rights specialized institutions within this framework shall be established.

1.2. Shall enact regulations to create favorable conditions for the National Human Rights Commission to monitor and examine the Government’s decisions and actions on a regular basis with regard to protection of human rights.

1.3. Shall undertake measures to register officially the citizens who haven’t registered previously or have encountered problems related to civic registration and provide them with access to social services.

1.4. Shall amend relevant laws to strengthen legal protection for provision of private property rights for individuals and legal entities and inflict stricter penalty in case of infringement of such rights.

1.5. Shall vest power in members of Citizen’s Representative Council to issue independently official demands and recommendations to relevant authorities on issues related to fostering and protecting rights of citizens that they represent, to use official letter headed notes to that end, and shall enact a procedure requiring relevant authorities to respond accordingly to such demands and recommendations.

1.6. Shall create a legal environment to hold referenda at bag, soum and district levels respectively when taking a decision on a specific local issue.

2. Strengthening internal organization and operation of the State Great Hural of Mongolia

In order to ensure democratic organizational form and operations of State Great Hural of Mongolia following objectives shall be realized:

2.1 Strengthening oversight by the State Great Hural over the Government

The relevant state institutions

2.1.1. Shall undertake measures aimed at restricting concurrent membership in the Parliament and the Cabinet by members of the Parliament.

2.1.2. Shall improve the format of hearing the Government’s report by the State Great Hural at its plenary sessions.

2.1.3. Shall undertake efforts to strengthen the State Great Hural's control over the state budget and its performance in all areas and ensure the involvement of the minority parties in this process.

2.2. Improving internal organization of the State Great Hural

2.2.1. Shall provide a guarantee for effective functioning of smaller parties or party groups in parliament by allowing them to form a party group upon holding a legitimate number of seats in the State Great Hural.

2.2.2. Shall establish voting through secret ballot when deciding upon issues related to management and organizational arrangement in the Parliament.

2.2.3. Shall strengthen professional capacity of the Secretariat of the State Great Hural.

2.2.4. Shall improve structure and improve working conditions for Standing Committees of the Parliament.

3. Independent and fair court system

In order to ensure the independence of and fairness in the court system, the policy to implement the "Strategic Plan of Mongolia's Judiciary" which was adopted by the State Great Hural by resolution 39 in 2000 shall be pursued. In addition, the following specific objectives shall be achieved:

The relevant state institutions

3.1. Shall enhance the legal status of the General Council of Courts conforming to the rights and duties prescribed in the Constitution and set legal grounds and procedures of it functioning with respect to the State Great Hural, the Government, and local self-governing or administrative institutions.

3.2. According to the Law on Public Administration Management and Finances, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court as the Head of the General Council of Courts, in addition to being the General Budget Manager of the overall Supreme Court budget, has authority over budget expenditures of the General Council of Courts, aimag, capital, soum, inter-soum, district and specialized courts. The above system shall be changed and the Chief Justice shall only be assigned authority over the overall Supreme Court budget.

3.3. Shall set an ethical norm regulating issues of related to personal relationships between judges and attorneys.

3.4. Shall support and create a favorable legal environment for non-governmental organizations to monitor and examine activities of courts.

3.5. Shall initiate a procedure for the General Council of Courts to conduct annual study on the number of judges who have been taken to disciplinary action for their criminal acts and misdeeds and on the number of court officials who have familial ties with other court officials. The General Council of Courts shall report the results of these studies to the public.

3.6. Shall form a Legal Experts Council from prominent experts in the field under the Supreme Court to provide theoretical and methodological recommendations and suggestions on implementing of duties by the Supreme Court.

3.7. Shall transit to a system that trains and retrains judges in a systematic manner.

II. Free and Fair Election and Development of Political Parties

A. Free and fair election

Following objectives shall be achieved in order to hold free and fair election:

1. Providing for the right to elect and be elected

1.1. In order to guarantee every citizen's right to elect and be elected and ensure development of representative democracy, laws and legislation including Parliamentary Elections Law, Presidential Election Law as well as laws concerning the city, aimag, soum, district hurals of citizen representatives shall be revised and amended.

1.2. A polling day for each election shall be determined by legislation.

1.3. In accordance with the concept of the Constitution, every Mongolian citizen residing overseas shall be enabled to exercise one's right to participate in the elections. The General Election Committee shall formulate voting procedures to that effect.

1.4. Grounds and procedure of redrawing the borders of constituencies of the Parliamentary elections shall be improved.

1.5. The existing grounds and procedures for voter registration shall be revised and procedures to print out voter's identification document with a uniform index and number for each constituency as well as records of both the issuer and the recipient of the ID shall be determined by legislation. Regulate of transfers and relocation of voters shall also be revised and determined by legislation.

1.6. A provision to reflect important initiatives conducive to the development of the country proposed by other parties in their election platforms during parliamentary elections by the party – winner of elections in formulation of its Government Program of Action shall be introduced in respective legislation.

1.7. Use of state assets and property, and engagement of children less than 18 years of age in election campaigns shall be prohibited. Measures aimed at providing balanced publicity through the establishment of independent media council under the General Election Committee bringing together equal number of representatives of media, non governmental organizations along with representatives from contesting parties and coalition shall be undertaken.

1.8. Mandate and responsibilities of election observers shall be determined by legislation.

1.9. Grounds and procedure of collecting ballots through a mobile box shall be revised and amended.

1.10. A requirement for the General Election Committee to prepare a nationwide report on voter identification documents and ballot usage and make it available to the public after elections shall be legislated.

1.11. Procedure and court jurisdiction under which election disputes are settled shall be revised and amended.

1.12. Parliamentary Election Law shall only be amended with the approval of the Parliament majority, and such amendment shall be prohibited within the 60 days prior to the election date.

1.13. Election campaigns shall be restricted in areas identified by legislation. In particular, restrictions shall apply to state and local self-governing institutions, charity organizations, religious institutions, and election committees.

1.14. Requirements shall be established by law parliamentary candidates not to have a standing balance of tax payment, loan or payment overdue debts; and a record of felony charges. A requirement shall be introduced to restrict individuals with records described above to become eligible for a Parliamentary election candidate.

1.15. Decision issued by the central election institution on organizational arrangements and preparatory work prior and during the election process shall be officially communicated to the public, and voters shall be empowered by law with the right to obtain all the necessary information on elections from election committees.

2. Capacity building of election administrative organizations

2.1 Internal organization of election administrative institutions and legal environment in which they operate shall be improved, representational dominance by any contesting party or coalition in the composition of election committees shall be restricted, heads and secretaries of election committees shall be prohibited to hold membership in any party. State officials holding political positions shall be restricted to be member of election committees. Economic and legal security of election committee members in shall be specifically guaranteed by legislation.

2.2. Mandate and composition of local temporary election institutions as well as organizations with the right to propose candidates for election committee membership shall be determined by law.

2.3. Measures to enhance the level of effectiveness of professional and methodological management and organizational arrangement of elections shall be taken, and improved methods of conducting systematic election training shall be identified and implemented.

2.4 Legal environment, organizational arrangement, and activities of the central election organization shall be improved through legislation aimed at ensuring its independence.

2.5. Professional and competency requirements for members of the General Election Committee shall be raised, and independent status of the Committee and its members shall be ensured.

3. Monitoring election financing

The relevant state institutions

3.1. Shall establish financial oversight office with permanent staff under the General Election Committee jurisdiction for the purpose of conducting oversight over electoral financing and creating opportunities to form non permanent sub offices under the higher level of election committees with the right to delegate mandate.

3.2. Shall reflect in the law establishment of two separate expenditure funds - one for election candidate and another for a party or coalition and shall identify legal and illegal sources of funding, and set ceiling on campaign funds as well as on private and business contributions to campaign funds.

3.3. General Election Committee in consultation with the Central Bank shall develop a reporting format for election campaign fund-raising activities and expenditure along with procedures for opening and closing specific campaign accounts and their record-keeping. Within 30 days after the election date, the General Election Committee shall report to the public the result of campaign fund statements and publicly announce individuals and organizations that have exceeded campaign contribution ceiling.

3.4. Shall examine the effectiveness of oversight system over election financing, take stricter disciplinary actions in the case of violating financial regulation, and undertake preventive measures against such conducts.

3.5. Shall put in place a procedure requiring parliamentary candidates to issue statements of private assets and personal income following the approved form and submit it to relevant election committee.

B. Development of political parties

The following objectives shall be reached to nurture political parties and strengthen their internal democracy:

The relevant state institutions

1. Shall reflect in law the power of central representative and monitoring institutions of a political party and add a provision in the Law on Political Parties to prohibit a Party Congress and its highest representative organization to transfer its legal authority to the party's executive body.
2. Shall enact a procedure to elect delegates to a Party Congress and provide opportunities to file a complaint to the court if party membership right is infringed.
3. Shall halt the practice of forming parties on the basis of sex and age.
4. Shall ban establishment of non-governmental organizations under political parties.
5. Shall enact legislation requiring civil servants to suspend membership in a political party.

Open and Accountable State

1. Open state information

The following objectives shall be implemented in order to ensure openness of state information:

The relevant state institutions

1. Shall guarantee the right to access to state information
 - 1.1. Shall reflect in law the procedure for public institutions to disclose and publish the list of information relevant to their activities.
 - 1.2. Shall review all relevant laws that contain provisions restricting access to state information including law on state secrets, law on institutional secrets and individual privacy law and disqualify unnecessary restrictions.
 - 1.3. Shall create a legal ground for open state information and incorporate in the law the responsibility of public officials to disclose information through, inter alia, enabling citizens and media agents to access related documents and other information of state institutions, limiting as much as possible state control over information related to its activities, and providing the right to lodge complaints with a court for review if such access was denied, and shall enact a procedure to obtain, disclose information and establish its restricted use.
 - 1.4. Shall create a list of documents and decisions of state institutions that are mandatory for publication on web sites.

2. Accountable, open and transparent government activity, and its oversight

In order to make government activities accountable, open and transparent, the following objectives shall be implemented:

The relevant state institutions

- 2.1. Shall reflect specifically in law a procedure for administrative institutions and officials to make decisions, create and enforce norms for consultations with interested individuals and organizations in the formulation and implementation process of administrative decisions.
- 2.2. Shall enact regulation to make open to public facts and data related to inspections conducted in state institutions along with reports on issuance of licenses.
- 2.3. Shall amend the law on State Great Hural and the law on the Government with the provisions requiring the involvement of all stakeholders and inclusion of their views and recommendations in draft bills, and their submission for public discussion.
- 2.4. Shall set a condition and a procedure for all tender activities to be transparent and open to public scrutiny and shall put in place a procedure to announce publicly tender winners annually.

3. Minimizing Corruption

The National Program to Combat Corruption adopted by State Great Hural in 2002 in its resolution 41 shall be effectively implemented and the following objectives shall be attained:

The relevant state institutions

- 3.1 Shall amend national laws to comply with the United Nations Convention against Corruption.
- 3.2. In the case of bribery of foreign political officials, punishment shall be established in accordance with the anti-corruption legislation.
- 3.3. Shall develop a procedure for protecting and rewarding crime witnesses including corruption cases.
- 3.4. Shall reflect in the law a procedure for recording and disclosing assets and income statements by public officials and shall set an accountability norm of removing from office if an official cannot provide a just and sound explanation about assets not included in his/her statement.
- 3.5. Shall strengthen state and public control over decisions and activities of state institutions that are deemed to be most prone to corruption and shall implement the principle of replacing high-level officials of such institutions on a regular basis.
- 3.6. Shall carry out education activities in order to build public awareness against corruption and annually award media organizations and journalists who have contributed to fighting corruption by preparing investigative news, documentary articles, and other relevant programs.
- 3.7. Shall develop motivating instruments to create an environment in which public officials are recruited and promoted only on the merit base and are paid reasonable salaries reflecting the amount and quality of performed work, and furthermore, shall strengthen internal and external control mechanisms in this regard and undertake multifaceted actions to increase state discipline.

4. Civil service reform

In order to advance further reform of the civil service, the policy and directions set forth in the “Medium term strategy of civil service reform” shall be implemented to achieve effective results. In addition, the following specific objectives shall be implemented:

The relevant state institutions

- 4.1. Shall undertake measures to develop a specific procedure of handing over and assuming state positions.
- 4.2. Shall reflect in the law grounds and procedure for temporary and ad interim appointment of officials, and shall ban the appointment of individual not having passed relevant state examination in capacity of temporary or ad interim official.
- 4.3. Shall strengthen political, legal and economic independence of the Civil Service Council and transform the above council into an executive institution with a mandate and responsibility to provide human resource management for civil service and protect permanent civil servants as well as the merit-based promotion system. The Council shall be ensured an independent status.
- 4.4. Shall create a single state information network and build a system that records all legal acts, besides laws and legislation, pertinent to every state service and state standard.
- 4.5. Shall boost public oversight by having soum and district local administrations estimate all monetary and non monetary assistance given to households through government and state channels and making that information available to those who are interested through print media or electronically?
- 4.6. Shall set and enforce a ceiling on the number of state employees and a budgetary limitation to restrict state bureaucracy apparatus.
- 4.7. Shall review the Law on Civil Service and the Law on Public Administration Management and Finances and shall make amendments, if deemed necessary, aimed at expanding authorities and opportunities of general managers as well as strengthen their discipline and responsibility.
- 4.8. Shall encourage fair competition in civil service sector, promote and support the efforts of state institutions to organize training and lectures through programs and projects aimed at further advancing knowledge and skills of its personnel.
- 4.9. Shall establish mechanism to examine red tape, duplication and ineffectiveness in organizational arrangement and operations of the Government of Mongolia, its ministries and their subordinate institutions on a regular basis, and shall undertake necessary measures to correct problems in this regard.

Civil Society and Public Media Development

1. Independent media organizations

The following objectives shall be reached in order to ensure the independence of the media:

The relevant state institutions

- 1.1. Shall provide legal guarantees for media organizations and journalists.
 - 1.1.1 Shall lift restrictions and minimize burdens in media registration process and streamline the registration process through the law.
- 1.2. Shall take more rigorous actions against infringement of rights of media instruments and journalists and against all forms of pressure on them.
- 1.3. Shall restrict concentration of management and ownership of media organizations and prohibit external pressure on professional activities of journalists by media owners.
- 1.4. Shall guarantee journalists' right to protect their source of information.

2. Local governance

In order to ensure decentralization and strengthen local governance, the following objectives shall be implemented:

The relevant state institutions

- 2.1. Shall enact specific laws on aimag, soum, local property, as well as local administration in compliance with the concept of the Constitution.
- 2.2. Shall amend election laws on aimag, city, and soum and district Citizens' Representative Councils and undertake measures aimed at transforming the Citizens' Representative Councils into civic institutions by releasing them from the influence and representation of political parties.
- 2.3. Shall empower local administrations with the right to protect their right and power through the Constitutional Court and the Administrative Court if a central administrative body has violated their rights.

3. Non-Governmental Organizations

To strengthen the capacity of non-governmental organizations, the following objectives shall be realized:

The relevant state institutions

- 3.1. Shall amend the Law on Non Governmental Organizations in accordance with the newly adopted Civil Code.
- 3.2. Categorize NGOs as national and local according to their operational scope and define their legal status.
- 3.3. Shall expand opportunities to cooperate with NGOs and to perform certain state functions with help and support from NGOs.
- 3.4. Shall improve external oversight mechanism over financial activities of non-government organizations and provide for their transparency.
- 3.5. Shall introduce provisions in relevant legislation to empower NGOs with the right to exert public control over operations of state institutions.
- 3.6. Shall provide appropriate state support to NGOs in expanding their foreign relations and international cooperation.
- 3.7. Shall lend support to NGOs using state taxation policy.
- 3.8. Shall encourage establishment of network of NGOs and collaboration with them by the state.

4. Private Sector

The following objectives shall be implemented to increase significantly contribution of the private sector in the democratic and socio-economic development:

The relevant state institutions

- 4.1. Shall implement a policy to minimize corruption, red tape, bureaucracy and constraints in the system of the custom, tax and license issuance in order to create and strengthen favorable environment for private sector operations.
- 4.2. Shall refine a legal guarantee to protect rights and lawful interests of those working in the private sector.

4.3. Shall undertake step-by-step actions to reduce the size of levied tax per taxpayer by decreasing the highest rate of tax and minimizing tiers of taxation along with enlargement of the base and source of taxation.

4.4. Shall promote humanitarian actions by the private sector through the tax policy.

4.5. Shall set an indicator for assessment of public institutions and personnel dealing with the private sector by their private sector clients.

5. Civic Education

The following objectives shall be achieved to instill democratic values as citizens' beliefs:

The relevant state institutions

5.1. Shall study feasibility of establishing specific public radio and TV channel with the purpose of providing civic education for all and if deemed feasible conduct activities to this end.

5.2. Shall change existing standards of schooling and method of teaching social sciences in the current general education field and enrich the content of textbooks with materials on the essence and significance of the democracy.

5.3. Shall conduct nation-wide training utilizing participation and experience of media instruments and NGOs to enhance citizens' political and legal education.

5.4. Shall carry out substantive efforts to advance education of minority groups and those living in isolated areas.

Implementation of the Plan of Action:

1. The Government shall implement the National Plan of Action.

2. Every two years the Government shall prepare an implementation report based on democratic governance indicators and submit the report to consideration by the State Great Hural.



**FOLLOW-UP TO THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE OF NEW AND RESTORED
DEMOCRACIES PROJECT
MON/02/101**



**CIVIL SOCIETY INDEX
REPORT FOR MONGOLIA
2004-2005**

(SUMMARY)

CIVIL SOCIETY INDEX COUNTRY REPORT 2004-2005

In 2004, the Center for Citizens' Alliance (former National CEDAW Watch Network Center), a Mongolian NGO that functioned as the ICSFD1 Secretariat, undertook the assessment of the state of civil society in Mongolia using the Civil Society Index (CSI) methodology developed by CIVICUS.

The CSI exercise was conducted with guidance from CIVICUS and broad participation of national civil society stakeholders as part of a broader, long-term effort to institutionalize a democracy watch system in Mongolia based on the development of appropriate methodology and nationally owned indicators. The need for the development of nationally-owned democracy indicators and the institutionalization of a national democracy watch system was stressed by Mongolian civil society leaders at the 2003 Civil Society Review Round Table Discussion and reflected in the outcome documents of the International Civil Society Forum-2003 and the Fifth International Conference of New and Restored Democracies.²

The CSI exercise in Mongolia, conducted between September 2004 and October 2005, produced the first comprehensive study of the state of civil society in the country. Unlike most existing assessments of Mongolian civil society, the CSI research was initiated and conducted by Mongolian civil society activists, involved a broad range of CSOs and civil society activists, used a variety of methods and data sources with a specific focus on information and analyses produced by Mongolian actors, heavily relied on methods of collective analysis, produced concrete strategic directions and action plans for further strengthening of Mongolia's civil society, and significantly fostered CSO capacity for collective analysis and action.

Furthermore, the CSI research used a broader definition of civil society including trade unions, apartment owners' unions, political parties, chambers of commerce, community groups, etc. In that sense, the current report is more inclusive even though NGOs figure more prominently in it. Within the scope of this action-oriented research, the CSI Mongolia Team systematically collected a wealth of qualitative and quantitative data along 74 indicators. This data was then used by the National Advisory Group, consisting of diverse civil society stakeholders, to score the indicators and reduce an overall assessment of the state of civil society in Mongolia along the CSI's four key dimensions: structure, environment, values and impact. The result of this assessment is represented by the CSI's Civil Society Diamond.

Figure 1: Civil Society Diamond - Mongolia

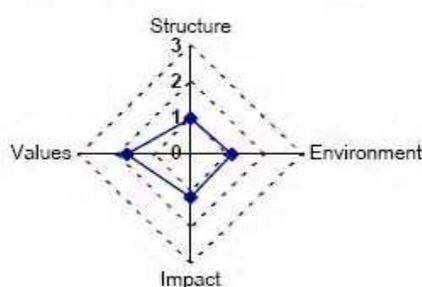


Figure 1: Civil Society Diamond - Mongolia

The CSI exercise showed that the civil society arena in Mongolia is increasingly diverse and vibrant, with an increasing number of non-governmental organizations, grassroots groups and social movements. However, it still bears strong traces of the socialist period manifested primarily through the continued influence of inherited mass organizations³ as well as the widespread state-centered attitude among not only average citizens but also significant numbers of civil society actors. These features and the heterogeneity of the Mongolian civil society have often been obscured, intentionally and unintentionally, by the indiscriminate use of the term 'non-governmental organization' (NGO) with regard to all organizations formally covered by the 1997 NGO Law as well as separate laws for the Trade Unions, Chambers of Commerce, the Red Cross Association, Apartment Owners' Unions, etc., regardless of their de facto relationship to the state and the use of the term 'civil society' interchangeably with the term 'NGOs' without adding conceptual clarity to its boundaries, make-up and the nature of its relationship to the state, market and family. The CSI exercise went a long way towards bringing greater clarity to these issues in evaluating the overall state of civil society in Mongolia.

The examination of civil society's STRUCTURE (the dimension score is 1.0) showed that although the overall levels of people's participation in civil society remain rather low, there are strong signs of increasing grassroots mobilization in both rural and urban areas in response to the harmful social and environmental impact of mining and construction companies' operations. The greater opening of the political space following the 2004 parliamentary elections also spurred numerous public protests and demonstrations organized by mass movements demanding government accountability and social equity. Most civil society activities, however, are concentrated in the capital city where most well-established and professional CSOs, especially NGOs, are located. Rural civil society remains sorely underdeveloped due to the lack of crucial resources, especially financial support and information. Rural citizens, especially herders, poor people and ethnic and religious minorities are generally under-represented at CSO leadership levels while women are not only adequately represented in most types of CSOs but in fact dominate in the leadership of issue-oriented, well established NGOs. There are strong trends for increasing inter- and intra-sectoral cooperation among CSOs but the issue of the effectiveness and legitimacy of umbrella organizations remains a contentious one due to the continued predominance of inherited hierarchical structures in this area. Moreover, while inherited mass organizations are largely financially sustainable as well as able to benefit significantly from state resources at national and local levels, the financial sustainability of independent human rights and pro-democracy NGOs in both urban and rural areas is still extremely fragile as they continue to be almost exclusively dependent on foreign funding.

The study demonstrated that the external ENVIRONMENT of Mongolia's civil society (the dimension score is 1.1) is largely disabling. The rather hostile political context marked by the domination and repression of the society by the state, excessive centralization, wide-spread corruption in the government, and the strong entrenchment of oligarchic power forms the main obstacle to the effective development of civil society in Mongolia. Frequent violations of human rights, widespread poverty, unemployment, absence of a strong middle class, considerable urban-rural development gap, and significant social problems such as alcoholism, crime, and violence further obstruct the development of civil society. On the more positive side, the legal framework for the operation of most CSOs including political parties, human rights NGOs and anti-corruption and pro-democracy mass movements has so far been rather liberal, backed by the democratic Constitution of 1992. However, the Ministry of Justice is advocating for a new law on non-profit organizations that has a high potential of undermining independent citizen action, especially on more political issues such as demanding government accountability, countering oligarchic economic interests, and combating the use of torture by law-enforcement institutions. The nature of state-civil society relations clearly differs by the branch and level of government and by the type of the CSO concerned. Nevertheless, on the whole, both, state-civil society and private sector-civil society relations were assessed as largely unproductive.

The assessment of civil society's VALUES was more positive. It showed that overall CSOs, especially NGOs and social movements, display a higher degree of commitment to promoting democracy, government accountability, non-violence, gender equality, poverty alleviation and environmental protection. However, the research showed there is a general lack of consistent application of democratic and humanitarian values and principles to the internal practice of the organization, especially in terms of ensuring internal democracy, financial transparency, gender equitable hiring and promotion policies, and non-violence. Political parties, apartment owners' unions, inherited mass organizations including trade unions were generally regarded as less democratic and transparent and, in some cases, prone to corruption and intolerance based on political affiliations.

Overall, despite clear and important examples of success in legislative advocacy, direct service, public education and empowerment of various social groups especially women; the CSI assessed the IMPACT of CSO activities as rather low. As a prominent NAG member put it, the CSOs are generally unable to effectively convert their efforts and values into comparable direct impact due to the unfavorable political and economic environment. The CSI demonstrated that CSOs work especially actively and with greater impact in areas of empowerment of various groups through non-formal education, information dissemination and awareness-raising activities, particularly with regard to promoting women's rights and gender equality. They are also more successful in policy advocacy on human rights and gender equality but have not been very effective in holding the State and corporations accountable. It is also clear that CSOs provide crucial services to underprivileged and marginalized citizens such as free legal aid, psychological counseling, services for battered women and children, and non-formal education for poor children. Unfortunately, most of these services are limited in scope and are often irregular.

The CSI exercise not only produced the first comprehensive assessment of the state of civil society in Mongolia but also provided a major impetus to the development of civil society in Mongolia by fostering a higher degree of integration and mutual trust among diverse sectors of Mongolia's civil society, and helping develop a common strategic vision for the strengthening of Mongolia's civil society nationally, beyond the boundaries of a few urban centers. Thus, the civil society stakeholders that participated in the CSI exercise agreed to cooperate towards establishing an effective civil society justice system starting with the establishment of an ethical self-governing mechanism for CSOs; developing a national civil society network of information and communication with an emphasis on aimag to aimag sharing of experience and equitable distribution of information from Ulaanbaatar to aimag; working out an innovative, nonhierarchical, partnership-based approach to community empowerment and democracy promotion entitled "Islands of Freedom;" build CSOs' monitoring, research and analytical skills to increase their capacity to hold the State and corporations accountable and combat corruption; remote intuitional, financial, and technical capacity of CSOs with a special emphasis on rural CSOs and relations between local legislatures and local civil society; and mobilize support for rural civil society stakeholders to create and/or strengthen aimag, regional and national civil society councils to improve cohesion, coordination and cooperation among CSOs.

Lastly, the participants deemed it useful to undertake CSI exercises at local level in each of the aimags in order to examine more closely each of the contexts, regional differences, support better coordination and cooperation among local CSOs, increase their capacity for collective action and analysis, and help develop strategies and action plans better suited to the local context. In addition, aimag CSIs shall enable national comparison of aimags by their level of civil society development, which can help spur competition among aimags to score better on this indicator and hold local government more accountable on the issue of promoting democracy, human rights and civil society at local level.

Thus, the CSI project provides Mongolian civil society with a collectively generated and owned roadmap for future actions directed at effectively fostering the development of a civil,

democratic and humane society in Mongolia, which is the prime goal stated in the 1992 democratic Constitution of Mongolia.



**FOLLOW-UP TO THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE OF NEW AND RESTORED
DEMOCRACIES PROJECT**
MON/02/101



URBAN GOVERNANCE INDEX

Ulaanbaatar 2006

TABLE CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION
2. URBAN GOVERNANCE INDEX METHOD
3. WORKSHOP FINDINGS
4. FINAL URBAN GOVERNANCE INDEX FOR ULAANBAATAR -2006
5. ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATION FOR URBAN GOVERNANCE INDEX
6. CONCLUSION

1. INTRODUCTION

A participatory workshop to develop an Urban Governance Index (UGI) for Ulaanbaatar was held on January 24, 2006. The UGI exercise is part of a larger Follow-Up Project on the Fifth International Conference on New and Restored Democracy (ICNRD-5), which is producing democratic governance indicators (DGIs), a country information note (CIN) and a national plan of action (NPA) to consolidate democracy in Mongolia. The tools are being developed for policy-makers, civil society, citizens and other stakeholders to identify how Mongolian democracy functions in practice and what areas of governance need special attention. The UNDP supported ICNRD-5 project is implemented by the Government of Mongolia and civil society partners in the context of the 2003 Ulaanbaatar Declaration and Plan of Action that calls on countries to take concrete steps to strengthen democracy. The Parliament of Mongolia has also passed a resolution on Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), including a Goal 9 that promises to “Uphold Human Rights and Foster Democratic Governance.”

The preliminary DGI study has identified local governance as an area of particular concern to Mongolian democracy. The local and national government is facing serious governance challenges with high levels of poverty and increasing migration from rural areas to aimag (district) centers, secondary cities and the capital Ulaanbaatar. Almost half of the Mongolian population now lives in the capital including an unknown number of unregistered migrants who do not have access to most public services. In this context, it was decided that a special assessment tool that could measure urban governance and identify key urban issues for Ulaanbaatar should be developed. With the assistance of UN-Habitat, the ICNRD-5 Project and the City Government of Ulaanbaatar decided to adapt and pilot the Urban Governance Index (UGI) in the Mongolian capital.

The main objective of developing an Urban Governance Index for Ulaanbaatar is to identify priority areas and subsequent actions that can be taken to strengthen urban governance. Using the UGI as a baseline, the City Government and partners can monitor efforts to improve governance in Ulaanbaatar with regards to effectiveness, equity, participation and accountability. Therefore, it is essential that the UGI be repeated on a regular basis (e.g. every one, two or three years). The index can also be used to test for correlation between the quality of urban governance and issues such as urban poverty reduction, quality of life, city competitiveness and inclusiveness.

The “UGI Method” (section 2) explains the method and process for developing the index. “Findings of the Workshop” (section 3) present the data figures collected for the 25 indicators during the workshop along with comments made by participants. The “Final Urban Governance Index for Ulaanbaatar (section 4) presents the final score of the 25 UGI indicators across the four areas of effectiveness, equity, participation and accountability. The score is also illustrated in a diamond-shaped graph. “UGI Analysis and Recommendations” (section 5) explains the weaknesses and strengths of governance in the Capital City. The Conclusion (section 6) discusses how the UGI can be applied to other urban areas as well as short-term and long-term steps for improving Ulaanbaatar’s governance.

2. URBAN GOVERNANCE METHOD

The UGI method developed by UN-Habitat has been piloted in over 20 cities across the world from North America to Asia and Africa. The UGI is primarily a self-assessment tool for cities, which can help them in identifying areas of weakness and, subsequently, designing

programmes for policy reform and capacity building. The UGI and its constituent indicators focus on the processes, institutions and relationships at the local level. This should be seen as part of a wider range of indicators, focusing on inputs, processes, performance, perception, output, or outcome. The structure of the Index reflects four core principles of good urban governance as the overall organizing framework for the Index: 1) effectiveness, 2) equity, 3) participation and 4) accountability. The UGI uses 25 core indicators to calculate a score for the four principles of good urban governance.

The data used for the UGI was primarily collected during the 1-day participatory workshop. Additional data collected after the workshop were verified by the City Government Statistical Office and other stakeholders. The final calculation score was completed by UN-Habitat using the UGI standard method as set forth in the document "Methodology Guidelines."

3. WORKSHOP FINDINGS

EFFECTIVENESS

Indicator 1 - Local government revenue per capita

The local government revenue per capita is \$36, 9 and total local government revenue is \$32'096'100 (average 2002-2004). Local government revenue per capita 2002: \$55.99, 2003: \$26.46, 2004: \$29.78. Official total city population (January 2006) is 952,410.

Comments:

- Including unregistered migrants in the city population number, workshop participants estimated the actual number of people living in UB at 1, 2 million. However, there is no official data for this and cannot therefore be used for official purposes
- Asian Development Bank Labor Force Survey puts the number of migrants at 172,000

Indicator 2 - Ratio of actual recurrent and capital budget

Total local recurrent budget in \$25'451'060 and local capital budget was 1,898.250\$ in 2004. Thus, the ratio of recurrent and capital budget is 13.41\$. At present, the actual recurrent budget is \$27'261'050 and capital budget \$1'907'360, which puts the ratio at \$14.29. Total local budget is taken from budget revenue plan of 2004. The actual budget is actually budget performance and investment budget is capital budget.

For more information on the UN-Habitat Urban Governance Campaign and UGI please refer to www.unhabitat.org/campaigns/governance/ 4 www.icnrd5-mongolia.

2004 result shows that the budget plan was 2,249.804.5 thousand Tugrug and actual budget spent was 2'260'604.2 thousand Tugrug.

Comments:

- By estimating the above indicator, one can estimate future revenue and expenditure. For example, regular source of revenue might be only 10 percent of the revenue and the rest could be transfers from central government. It would be difficult to plan at the local level if the sources of revenue keep varying depending on the Government behavior. These variations will impact on service quality, because there is not guaranteed revenue (difficult to predict).

Indicator 3 - Local government revenue transfers

Total local government revenue is \$32'096'100 on average for 2002-2004 and transfer to local government is \$3'925'678. Thus, the share of transfer in the local revenue is 12.2%.

Comments:

- The actual transfer was reduced in 2003-2004 as some public entities now receive their budget from their respective ministries, according to the effectiveness of law on Public service management and finance in 2003.

Indicator 4 - Ratio of mandated to actual tax collection

As of 2004, mandated revenue is 67.8% and the actual tax collection is at 68%, where the mandated tax revenue is taken as planned revenue and the actual tax is taken as end year actual collection.

Planned tax revenue comprises of 67.8% tax for collection, 20.7% fees and other sources of revenue are at 7.5%. In the actual tax revenue, share of tax collection is 68%, fees 19.9%; other sources 5.1% and miscellaneous 7.0%.

Indicator 5 - Predictability of transfers in local government budget

The capital city does not receive subsidy from state budget, therefore no transfers.

Indicator 6: Published performance delivery standards

Respective ministries and agencies develop their service standards and are in charge of approving the standards used by specialized agency. These standards are complied at the local levels. Brochures of standards are sold to citizens and business entities.

The standards involve water provision, electricity, hygiene, waste removal, health, and education service among others.

Comments:

- City Government agreed to post what constitutes basic services on website

Indicator 7: Consumer satisfaction Survey

Consumer satisfaction survey is conducted once a year at the capital city level. A rating survey carried out in 2006 to investigate the quality of capital city public services for citizens in Ulaanbaatar is available from the Chamber of Commerce.

Comments:

- Several participants were not aware of the consumer satisfaction surveys and claimed there was no such thing.
- The Chamber of Commerce Survey on public service agencies (600 employers completed questionnaire) was not widely distributed

- There is relevant data available from other surveys including living standard surveys conducted by World Bank.

Indicator 8: Existence of a vision statement

A general plan for the development of Ulaanbaatar up to 2020 was prepared by professionals and a public consultation has been organized. A development strategy for Ulaanbaatar city has also been formulated using public participation methods.

Comments:

- Most participants were not familiar with the master plan or development strategy for Ulaanbaatar
- It was noted that the local Citizens Hural have held consultation to formulate four years objective and priority areas. The Citizens Hural report to district and khoroo (sub-districts) levels. This enables citizens to claim/suggest/complaint to the khural and informs the public about its performance and activity. Some of these activities are carried out through NGOs.

EQUITY

Indicator 9: Citizens' Charter: right of access to basic services

At the capital city level, there is no published citizen’s charter that informs on the rights of citizens (e.g. right to basic services).

The agreements between residents of apartments and apartment service entities include some terms of basic services, but which are obviously only relevant apartment residents. The total population living in apartments is approximately 50% of the city population.

Indicator 10 and 11: Women councilors

Local election takes place once every four years. As of the last elections in 2004 six women councilors were elected and one appointed to the Capital City Citizens Representatives Hural. There is one female district governor out of nine districts governors. Two women work as heads of district citizen’s representatives. In the Administration Office there are 34 heads of which 9 are women. In the Mayor’s Operation Office there are 42 heads of which 9 are women.

Comments:

- On the issue of why there are so few women councilors and, in general, several reasons were provided. Unlike many other countries there is no quota system for women in Mongolia. Women generally over represented in higher education and well represented at mid-senior management levels but severely underrepresented in higher political office.
- Participants also pointed out those women did not usually have the necessary financial resources to run for public office (therefore few female candidates at both national and local levels).

Indicator 12: Pro-poor policies for water

There is no pro-poor policy at the capital city level. The water provision system is run by the state.

Apartment residents or those connected with central water supply pay 160 Tugrug per 1000 liters, whereas ger district residents pay 1000 Tugrug per 1000 liters from truck delivery and/or 500 Tugrug per 1000 liters from wells. According to population and housing survey of 2000, 95.8% of households in Ulaanbaatar have access to drinking water through central system, truck, water wells (384) and water points. The rest of households collect their water from rivers and springs.

Average price of 1m³ water in both informal (poor households) and other settlement areas is \$0.466 and \$0.265 for businesses. The only difference is in transportation. Businesses pay value added tax of 315 Tugrug per 1000-liter drinking water. The average price of 1000 liter drinking water is (160+1000+500): 3=553.3 Tugrug. It is then \$0.466 converting Tugrug into US\$ with 2004 exchange rate.

Comments

- Participants pointed out that it is difficult to identify the poor in Ger areas as some residents are relatively wealthy and may have private water pumps. The issue of registration also complicates matters, as non-registered migrants are not included in official statistics.
- In general, however, the price of water is far more expensive for people living in Ger area (where a majority of the poor live) than residents living in city apartments.

Indicator 13: Incentives for informal businesses

The city has particular areas in the central areas, where small scale informal street vending is allowed and submitted to particular restrictions. The city supports informal activities of providing information on markets and fairs by citizens. According to statistics, 79,000 people are actively seeking employment and 110,000 people work in the informal sector.

PARTICIPATION

Indicator 14: Elected Municipal Council

All municipal council members are elected locally. The members of Capital City Citizens' Representatives are elected in accordance with the Aimag, capital city, soum and district Citizens Representatives Hural Law.

Comments:

- Members of the Citizens Representatives Hural are not necessarily full-time jobs as members often hold senior positions in the city government or private sector. For example, heads of divisions and departments are often Hural representatives.
- Participants noted that there was potentially a clear conflict of interest in these cases including instances where representatives were also employed by private sector companies.

Indicator 15 - Selection of Mayor

Capital City Citizens Representatives Hural nominates the City Governor candidates (who automatically become City Mayor) and submits the proposal to Government for approval. The Prime minister approves the Governor/Mayor appointment.

Indicator 16: Voter turnout

There were 604,965 people eligible to vote in the last local election and 55.79 % (337532 people) of them voted in 2004 election. 286566 of registered voters are male and 318399 are female.

Indicator 17: Public forum

Administratively, the capital city is divided into districts, the districts into horoos. Meeting of the Citizens Representatives Hural is held quarterly at capital and district levels. Additional meetings can be held if it is needed with the resolution of the Capital City Representatives Hural's leaders and with the request of Governors. The city leaders hold official meeting every two weeks. At the horoo level, the horoo representatives organize periodic meetings with citizens to discuss issues. Meetings of apartment residents also take place at their respective service associations.

Indicator 18: Civic Associations per 10,000 people

There are 2973 civil and non-governmental organizations registered as of 2004. Population in 2004 was 915'53, therefore civic associations per 10'000 people is 32.47.

Comments:

- NGOs need to register at the Ministry of Justice; some participants believed it would be difficult to disaggregate these numbers by cities while City Administration claimed the figures were accurate
- The DGIs report shows that less than 20% of registered NGOs are actually operational (many use the registration for tax or other purposes)

ACCOUNTABILITY

Indicator 19: Formal publication of contracts/tenders, budgets and accounts

Formal information about contracts, tenders, budget and accounts is disseminated through newspapers, radio, internet and notice boards.

Comments:

- NGO participants noticed that although information is technically made public most citizens, especially Ger district residents, have no idea about the above. Therefore, more information should be made available at Khoroo levels.

Indicator 20: Control by higher levels of government

Higher levels of government can terminate local government operations and dismiss members of city council.

In accordance with the Public Service Law and in some cases, members of city council or representatives of Capital City Citizens Representatives Hural are released from their post if they are appointed at public service posts.

Local government does not set tax levels without permission of higher levels of government. In some instances, it can set service fee/charge levels and borrow funds. It can also choose contractors for services without permission from national authority.

Comments

- Workshop participants disagreed on the extent that higher levels of government can control local government but there was general agreement that party politics influence this process.

Indicator 21: Codes of conduct

There are no published codes of conduct that citizens are entitled to from their elected officials and local government staff at the capital city level. Currently, codes of conducts for public servants, specified in Public Service Law, have been in applied.

Indicator 22: Facility for citizen complaints

Complaints are received from citizens in written form, by telephone (tel: 310005, 122), and by electronic mail as well. Also Public relation unit at the Governor's office of capital city registers and responds to complaints.

The officer in charge of receiving complaints about public authorities is public administrative officer that work independently from the local government.

29'799 complaints were registered as of 2005 and 99.76% out of them resolved and 73 complaints are in the process of being resolved.

Indicator 23: Anti-corruption commission

There is no agency in charge of investigation and reporting about corruption at the local level. The Police are responsible for handling corruption matters.

Indicator 24: Disclosure of income/assets

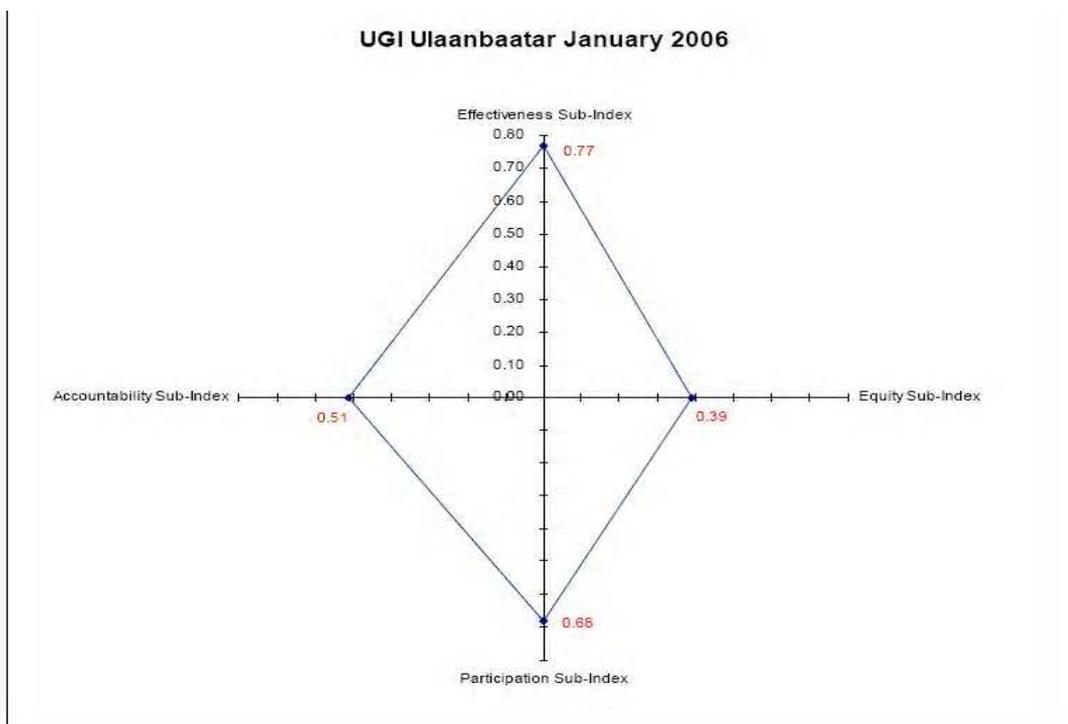
Locally elected officials are not required by law to publicly disclose their personal income, assets, immediate family income and assets. However, candidates for local elections have to provide evidence about having no over term bank loans/debt, any criminal convictions. Their income and assets are not monitored regularly.

Indicator 25: Independent audit

A regular independent audit of municipal accounts is being conducted. It is not an external audit; however, as the Capital City Audit Office conducts the audit.

4. FINAL URBAN GOVERNANCE INDEX FOR ULAANBAATAR-2006

No.	Indicator	Value
Effectiveness Sub-Index		
1	Local government revenue per-capita (LGR)	0.11
2	Ratio of recurrent and capital budget (RRC), Recurrent Budget = R, Capital Budget = C; R = 27261050 , C = 1907360	0.11
3	Local Government revenue transfer (LGT)	0.10
4	Ratio of Mandated to Actual Tax collected (TC)	0.10
5	Predictability of transfers (PoT)	0.00
6	Published performance delivery standards (PPDS)	0.15
7	Consumer Satisfaction Survey (CSS)	0.10
8	Vision Statement effective (VSE)	0.10
	<i>Effectiveness Sub-Index</i>	0.77
Equity Sub-Index		
9	Citizens' Charter for Basic Services (CCS)	0.00
10	Percentage of women councilors (WC)	0.06
11	Percentage of women councilors in key positions (WK)	0.03
12	a. Existence of pro-poor water policy (PPC)	0.00
	b. Percentage households with water connection (HH wat)	0.14
	c. Is water price cheaper for poor settlements? (WP)	0.00
13	Incentives for informal market (IM)	0.15
	<i>Equity Sub-Index</i>	0.39
Participation Sub-Index		
14	Elected Council (EC)	0.15
15	Locally Elected Mayor (LEM)	0.00
16	Voter Turnout (VT)	0.17
17	People's Forum (PF)	0.15
18	Civic Associations per 10,000 population (CA)	0.21
	<i>Participation Sub-Index</i>	0.68
Accountability Sub-Index		
19	Formal publication (FP)	0.20
20	1. Control by higher level of govt (CG)	0.00
	2. Local Government Authorities (LGA)	0.06
21	Codes of Conduct (CoC)	0.00
22	Facilities to receive complaints (FRC)	0.10
23	Anti corruption commission or agency at the local level (ACC)	0.00
24	Personal income and Assets (PIA)	0.00
25	Regular independent audit (RIA)	0.15
	<i>Accountability Sub-Index</i>	0.51
	Urban Governance Index	0.59



UGI Websites

www.ub.gov.mn

www.citycouncil.mn

www.mayor.mn

www.unhabitat.org/governance

www.icnrd5-mongolia.mn

www.undp.org/mn

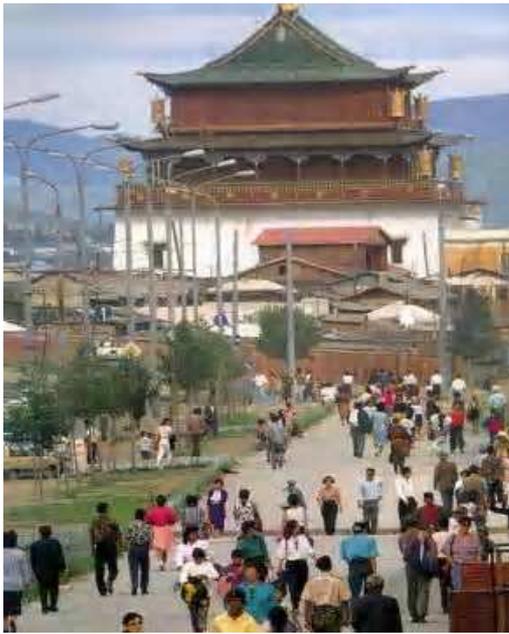
5. ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR URBAN GOVERNANCE INDEX

Looking at the overall UGI score (0.59) and the four sub-indices, several areas of weakness and strength emerge with regards to governance in Ulaanbaatar.

The Effectiveness Sub-Index score 0.77 (out of 1.0) is relatively high due to the existence of most criteria for the corresponding indicators (e.g. healthy ratio of recurrent and capital budgets, performance delivery standards, and vision statement for the city). It is important to note, however, that if the total population of UB is higher than the official number (which is almost certain) than local revenue per capita is indeed much lower and will affect the overall score for this sub-index. Although UB scores well on the Effectiveness Sub-Index there is substantial scope for improvements. The following actions from the City Government do not require much human or financial investment and can help strengthen urban governance in this regard:

1. Publish service delivery standards (e.g. water, sanitation and electricity) on City Government website, aimag centre bulletins and through other channels where UB citizens, specially the urban poor from the Ger districts, receive information;
2. City Government should cooperate with the Chamber of Commerce to create periodic consumer satisfaction surveys especially targeting the Ger districts where half of city the population lives.
3. The existing city master or development plan for 2020 needs to be more widely disseminated

The Equity Sub-Index for Ulaanbaatar has the lowest score in the UGI. The main reason for this is the absence of a Citizen's Charter for Basic Services and pro-poor measures regarding water supply and informal businesses.



Although the city is responsible for delivering basic services such as electricity, water and sanitation, citizens do not have a document guaranteeing their access to such services. Taking into consideration the high incidence of poverty in Ulaanbaatar (over 30% of the city population is estimated to be living under the national poverty line and half the population lives in the Ger districts) one would expect the city to facilitate pro-poor services. The workshop report discovered that most of the basic services are actually more expensive in the Ger districts (e.g. Ger district residents pay up to 6 times as much for water supply than apartment residents, see indicator 12). Another reason for the poor equity score is the under representation of women in the City Council (6 out of 40 or 15%).

Although the index does not measure female representation throughout the City Government, related data revealed that women are equally under-represented in key administrative positions. The one positive area in this sub-index is that the City appears to be making some efforts in facilitating informal businesses, e.g. providing vendors with licenses for participating at informal markets. The City Government should take the following steps to strengthen aspects of equity in Ulaanbaatar:

1. Create a Citizen Charter (this could be done in combination with publishing the performance delivery standards, see indicator 6).
2. Establish gender quotas for City Presidium and City Administration. The responsibility of gender balance with regards to the City Council lies with the political parties who should also adopt gender quotas for candidate lists at the local level.
3. Guarantee equal pricing on basic services for all UB citizens. In the long term the City Government should establish pro-poor pricing but immediate attention should be focused on quarantining citizens in the Ger district equal pricing on water and electricity; The Participation Sub-Index for Ulaanbaatar is relatively high with a score of 0.68. The reason for the strong participation dimension in Ulaanbaatar governance is due to the direct election of City Councilors, high number of civic associations and strong voter turnout in municipal elections (although significantly less than the 80% plus turn-out in national elections). Citizens also appear to have a wide range of public forums (ranging from neighborhood meetings to local Hural consultations) to participate in.

Weaknesses with regards to participation in Ulaanbaatar include the fact that the Mayor is not directly elected by citizens (the process of appointing the Mayor does not appear to be very transparent and accountable). Related data from the DGI study shows that most civic associations are not active, hence the value for Indicator 8 maybe lower than what it appears. The following steps will help to further strengthen governance participation in Ulaanbaatar:

1. The selection process for Mayor should be made more transparent and accountable; policy-makers may want to consider direct elections
2. Efforts should be taken to strengthen the quality of civic associations in Ulaanbaatar.

The Accountability Sub-Index is average with a score of 0.51. The City does well with regards to publishing contracts, budgets and accounts (although these documents are not widely disseminated). The City also seems to have an effective way of registering and processing complaints from citizens. The city does not appear to have much financial autonomy with regards to spending and generating revenue. The City does get a positive score for having a regular audit and municipal accounts but they are not carried out independently. The lack of an anti-corruption authority at the local level and the fact that there is no law or practice requiring locally elected officials to declare income and assets are major weaknesses with regards to accountability. The national and local government should consider taking the following actions:

1. Submit all city accounts to independent audit
2. Create codes of conduct for elected government officials and staff
3. Establish law or voluntary practice to make all elected officials declare Personal/family income and assets
4. Strengthen anti-corruption measures at local level

6. CONCLUSION

The Urban Governance Index for Ulaanbaatar has revealed weaknesses, strengths and opportunities for reform in the Capital City. The recommended actions in section 5 are for the most part short-term initiatives that the City can undertake at no or little cost (e.g. making more information public and establishing a code of conduct for elected representatives and administrative staff). There are other aspects of the city governance that will obviously require far more attention and resources such as reforming local election process and creating a more equitable system for delivering basic services. The highlighted recommendations will need to be elaborated on with regards to institutionalization, capacity building and political responsibility (both at national and local levels). In this regard, it is essential that the UGI be integrated into the larger local governance monitoring system as well as national plans on decentralization.

Although the UGI was only carried out in Ulaanbaatar at this stage, other Mongolian cities and urban centers should be encouraged to implement the UGI as well. The World Bank supported Strategy Development Project for Secondary Cities, which is being implemented by the Mongolian Association of Urban Centers, is well positioned to help facilitate a 'localization' of the UGI. Urban Governance Indexes in multiple Mongolian cities would allow for intra-country comparisons and could highlight which cities are making progress with regards to governance.

Annex 1

THE ORGANIZATION OF ULAANBAATAR CITY GOVERNMENT

Ulaanbaatar City Council

Presidium

Office of the City Council

Governor of the Capital City and Mayor of Ulaanbaatar

Deputy Governor

Chief of the Governor's Office

**General Manager and
Chief of the Mayor's Office**

Divisions of the Office of the Governor

Divisions of the Mayor's Office

- Public Administration Management:
 - Monitoring and Evaluation Section
 - Public Relations and Media Section
- City Development Policy Planning
- Finance, Economy and Treasury
- Social Development
- International Relations & Cooperation
- Legal Affairs
- Military Affairs

- Engineering Facilities
- City Maintenance and Public Utilities
- Production & Services
- Tourism

Implementing agencies of the Capital City Governor

Agencies under the Mayor

- Archives Department
- Art & Culture Department
- Civil Registration & Information Department
- Communal Service Department
- Children's & Youth Department
- Court Decisions Enforcement Department
- Disaster Management Department
- Education & Science Department
- Environmental Protection Department
- Food & Agriculture Department
- Health Department
- Investment Department
- Information Technology Department
- Labor & Social Welfare Department
- Land Department
- Police Department
- Property Relations Department
- Professional Supervision Department
- Road Department
- Sports' Committee
- Social Insurance Department
- Statistics Department
- Taxation Department
- Urban Planning Scientific Research Institute
- Veterinary service Department

- Water supply & Canalization Authority
- Housing & Communal Service Authority
- Public Transportation Department
- Heating Stoves' Utilization Department
- "Illumination" Company
- "Horticulture" Company
- "UB-road Maintenance" Company
- "Water Facility" Company
- "Reserve" Company
- National Cultural & Recreational Park
- Water Sports and Training Center

The Ulaanbaatar City Council, with 40 elected members, is the decision making body for the City's budgetary and legal issues. The Council members are elected every four years.

8. APPENDICES

8.1. DGIs TECHNICAL NOTE

PROCESS AND COMPONENTS OF RESEARCH

The process of developing democratic governance indicators (DGIs) was a result of multi-faceted research and information data processing activities,⁹³ such as:

- Interviews of 118 experts carried out during the national conference on “Democracy Development in Mongolia: Challenges and Opportunities” held on June 30-July 1, 2005;
- Technical Workshop on DGIs for Mongolian Research Team on July 2, 2005 by experts of the International IDEA
- Public opinion survey, based on the analysis of the experts’ survey, September-October 2005;
- Focus group discussions, September-October 2005;
- Dialogues, September-October 2005;
- Case study conducted by Research Team members from July 2005;
- DGIs survey of Parliament members, December 2005, the same questionnaire as in public opinion survey was used in order to reflect opinions of legislators.
- Urban Governance Index for Ulaanbaatar, January 2006⁹⁴
- DGIs national review conference: “Democratic Governance Indicators: Assessment and Challenges” held May 2, 2006
- DGIs international review at the Follow-up to ICNRD-5 International Conference held on June 1-2, 2006
- 18 Working meetings of the National Research Team, June 2005-December 2005

OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

Objectives:

- To assess the state of democratic governance in Mongolia.
- To gather information and develop sets of core and satellite democratic governance indicators reflecting peculiarities of democratic governance in Mongolia.
- Fill the dearth of available information and the gaps identified in the desk study on the state of democracy in Mongolia⁹⁵.

Methodology:

⁹³ The DGIs study was also informed by the parallel exercise of developing a Mongolian Civil Society Index (www.icnrd5-mongolia.mn).

⁹⁴ A technical note for the Urban Governance Index is available at http://www.icnrd5-mongolia.mn/news.htm#Urban_Governance_Index

⁹⁵ State of Democracy in Mongolia: a Desk Study, 2005 http://www.icnrd5-mongolia.mn/pdf/desk_study.pdf

The three surveys were based on the methodology developed by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). A bottom-up approach was used to develop nationally owned core and satellite indicators.

A mixture of quantitative and qualitative research methods was used: questionnaires were filled during face to face interviews conducted by interviewers, focus-groups discussions (FGD), case studies, and dialogues. Quantitative methods reflected the general context and settings. Qualitative methods illuminate variations in DGIs among different social groups and in different contexts.

Primary sources

- Legal acts
- Official documents and information, statistics
- Three surveys, transcripts of FGDs, dialogues and interviews

Secondary sources

- Individual research based on individual sources
- Different international and national surveys and studies

Design of the Survey:

The national research team designed the public opinion survey using the IDEA methodology along with several consultations with foreign and local advisers. In total, there were one two-day workshop and 18 meetings to discuss survey and questionnaire designs during the second half of 2005. Researchers of the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law, Mongolian Academy of Sciences organized the fieldwork.

Target Population

The target population of the survey is defined as citizens of Mongolia who are aged 18 and above and has the right to vote.

Sample

Table 7.1 Total sample by areas

Areas	Survey	Focus Group Discussion	Dialogue
Ulaanbaatar	621	11	5
Orhon /Erdenet/	101	7	1
Bulgan	50	2	1
Umnugobi	100	3	1
Uvurhangai	101	3	1
Uvs	113	4	1
Hentii	102	3	1
Total	1188	36	12

Sample of Focus Group Discussion

The following target groups were chosen to reflect the views of major stakeholders, diversity of social groups with special consideration of marginal and vulnerable people, disparity of urban and rural population.

Table 7.2 Sample of Focus Group Discussion

	Target Group for Focus Group Discussion	Total
1	Herders	2
2	General (in each area mixed people were involved for local overview)	8
3	Poor (in city and rural areas)	2
4	Workers (at state and private companies)	2
5	Public servants	3
6	Gold diggers (wild diggers, “ninjas”)	2
7	Migrants (in the capital and urban centers)	2
8	Small business owners (in city and rural areas)	2
9	Unemployed (in city and rural areas)	2
10	Journalists	1
11	Retired (in city and rural areas)	2
12	Women (in city and rural areas)	2
13	Law enforcement (in city and rural areas: police, judges, attorneys, etc.)	6

The final version of the questionnaire was completed and validated by the research group and key partners. The research method and questionnaire were also discussed and informed by an international DGIs technical workshop held in Ulaanbaatar in July 2005.

Survey Topics

The questionnaire consisted of the following six sections:

a. Perception and Evaluation of Democracy

What is the understanding of democracy, evaluation of democracy in the country and locally, obstacles to democracy, the quality of democratic governance in the country, effect of democracy on daily life.

b. Citizenship, Law, and Rights

Knowledge of Constitution and laws, legal rules, accessibility of legal consultations, perception and evaluation of the operation of the legal systems; Human rights: protection of civil rights, social and economic rights; incidence, type and spheres of social discrimination.

c. Representative and Accountable Government

Political activity, involvement, voting pattern, party allegiance, perception and evaluation of parties, political relations, evaluation of public institutions, including government branches, the media, the police, Election and Human Rights Commissions; access to government information, perception and spread of corruption;

d. Civil Society and Popular Participation

Interest in politics, political participation; membership in private and public groups, frequency of group participation, activeness of civil society institutions locally, impact of local government on daily life, effectiveness and ability of the people to influence the government, performance of local government, access to information and information channels, social capital.

e. Democracy beyond the State

Perception of donors' assistance and foreign aid, access to information about foreign assistance, evaluation of Mongolia's democracy beyond the state.

f. Social-Economic Background Variables

Migration experience, gender, age, place of residence and distance to settled places in rural areas, location in the capital, marital status, number of household members and children, employment, education level, literacy, religion and religiosity, income, and ethnicity.

Sample Size of Public Opinion Survey and Confidence Interval

Stratified random sampling method was applied to sample selection. Five aimags, the capital city of Ulaanbaatar, and another industrial city (Erdenet) were selected on the basis of regional distribution. Within each regional stratum, a simple random sample method was applied.

The size of the sample was 1200 respondents. The expected results of the national sample survey were representative. It is possible to prove it by the following equation of confidence interval for P parameter:

Where p is probability of event, q=1-p/
$$n = \frac{t^2 S^2 N}{t^2 S^2 + \Delta^2 N}$$

n – size of sample

S² – dispersion of parameters

N –general population

t - coefficient of confidence

Δ – sample error /could not exceed 5%/

X – arithmetic mean of parameters

V – coefficient of dispersion

On the basis of calculation, the values for level of confidence 95% and sample size over 1000 are shown in the following table:

Table 7.3 The values for level of confidence 95% and sample size over 1000

<i>p</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>E</i>	
		<i>t</i> +2, 95.5%	<i>t</i> +3, 99.7%
0.1	0.9	1.9	2.8
0.2	0.8	2.5	3.8
0.3	0.7	2.9	4.3
0.4	0.6	2.9	4.6
0.5	0.5	3.2	4.7

Upon assumption that 40 percent of respondents /p=0.4/ answered that they agreed that democracy was a real phenomenon in Mongolia, the size of estimation error would lay within confidence interval of 40%*2.9%. The confidence interval has been calculated for the main variables of the survey.

Sampling by Aimags



Each region and city is representing an area with geo-climatic, economic and voting specifics. Sampling strata for survey in aimags have been distributed evenly. For Ulaanbaatar, the sample quota was higher due to fact that almost half of population lives there.

Within each regional stratum, *random sample* method has been applied.

After weighting data, the effective size of sample was 1000 respondents.

Sampling strata for survey in aimags were distributed evenly except Bulgan aimag because Erdenet city belongs to the same geographical area (Hangai area). Regions were selected on the basis of geographical belonging: Umnugobi aimag from Central region, Uvs aimag from Western region, Bulgan and Uvurhangai aimags from Hangai region, and Hentii aimag from Eastern region respectively. The research team selected on the basis of proportional quota.

Table 7.4 Sample after weighting

Aimags	Respondents	Percent	Sample Units- soum/district
Umnugobi	101	10.1%	3
Uvs	104	10.4%	5
Erdenet	76	7.6%	2
Bulgan	48	4.8%	2
Hentii	87	8.7%	3
Uvurhangai	90	9.0%	4
Ulaanbaatar	494	49.4%	6
Total	1000	100.0%	25

In each aimag, the center and 2-3 soums/administrative units were included in the survey sample. The selection of soums depended on economic situation, voting behavior, distance from the aimag center, etc.

Goodness of Sample Fit

The research team used a Chi-square test in order to contest goodness of fit for the main parameters of the survey sample. The initial sample was weighted in order to restrain the impact of high proportion of university graduates in collected data (33.2%).

The Chi-square test was calculated for main variables of the survey: age, gender, and education. Age and gender of the surveyed passed the Chi-square test (Tables 7.5 and 7.6).

Table 7.5 Goodness of fit for age

<i>Age groups</i>	<i>2004 year statistics</i>	<i>Survey</i>
Up to 24	19.1%	18.6%
25-29	16.6%	14.7%
30-34	14.3%	12.0%
35-39	13.0%	14.1%
40-44	10.7%	13.6%
45-49	7.3%	9.1%
50-54	5.0%	6.4%
55+	14.0%	11.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-square=1.308, df=7; Asymp. Sig.=0.988

Table 7.6 Goodness of fit for gender

<i>Gender composition</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>Survey</i>
Male	49.5%	49.5%
Female	50.5%	50.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0

Chi-square= 5.478, df 1; Asymp. Sig. 019

Education failed the Chi-square test confidence interval test. The number of university graduates was still higher compared to official statistics despite the sample raking procedures (Table 7.7).

Table 7.7 Education before and after weighting

<i>Education</i>	<i>Before weighting</i>	<i>After weighting</i>
University	33.5	20.0
College	14.3	16.6
Secondary	31.3	38.0
Elementary	14.5	22.5
Illiterate	6.4	2.9
	100.0	100.0

The Chi-square test for education did not pass for weighted data; indeed, the distribution of sample data for education did not fit education statistics for the general population (Table 7.8). However, Pearson correlation coefficient showed existence of substantial correlation between them ($r=0.75$, $sig.>0.05$).

Table 7.8 Education before and after weighting

<i>Education</i>	<i>Weighted sample</i>	<i>Population in 2002</i>
university	20.0	18.3%
college	16.6	29.7%
secondary	38.0	30.1%
elementary	22.5	16.4%
illiterate	2.9	5.4%
	100.0	100%

Chi-square=112.182, df=4; Asymp. Sig.=.000

Recruiting and Training Interviewers

All prospective interviewers were recruited by face-to-face interview. During the training, interviewers were acquainted with the whole structure and framework of the

questionnaire. The meaning of each question and the scales of measurement were explained. Training was done in Ulaanbaatar. Pilot questionnaire filling interviews were conducted during the training.

Fieldwork Proceeding and Survey Quality Control

The quality control of fieldwork was done by the IPSL staff that has mobilized a division of local supervisors responsible for pretesting the questionnaire, assisting interviewers when confronted with difficulties, replacing suitable samples, i.e. one with the same gender and similar age, checking questionnaires and coding for accuracy at first step, retesting, etc. Three meetings for supervisor training and checking of pretest results had been held before fieldwork started.

Data Quality Control

The IPSL staff processed the original survey data. The first step of data cleaning involved checking for illegal values, outliers, and wild codes. The second step was logical check for logically inconsistent values.

8.2. DGIs PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY RESULTS

PERCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY

1. According to you what does democracy mean (register up to 3 responses)? /Multiple responses/

Nº	Category label	Count	Pct of Res.	Pct of Cases
0	Don't Know (DK)	127	7.0	12.7
1	Freedom, freedom of speech and expression	343	19.7	34.3
2	Justice	195	11.2	19.5
3	Market economy	27	1.7	2.7
4	International respect, openness to international community	32	1.8	3.2
5	Fair society, fulfillment of wishes	4	0.2	0.4
6	Civil society, healthy society, public participation	26	1.5	2.6
7	Safe life in a legally enforced environment	50	2.9	5.0
8	Awareness of rights and duties	9	0.5	0.9
9	Humane and charitable society	21	1.2	2.1
10	Respect of human rights	47	2.7	4.7
11	Transparency	66	3.8	6.6
12	Open society, healthy political leadership	131	7.5	13.1
13	Respect of law, implementation of rights	72	4.1	7.2
14	Equality and non-discrimination	22	1.3	2.2
15	Private property, privatization	100	5.7	10.0
16	Solidarity, consensus	42	2.4	4.2
17	Implementation of principles	12	0.7	1.2
18	Peaceful life	10	0.6	1.0
19	Responsiveness and public participation	15	0.9	1.5
20	Responsibility	22	1.3	2.2
21	Happiness	11	0.6	1.1
22	Democratic Party	12	0.7	1.2
23	Prosperous life, live according to your desires	11	0.6	1.1
24	To live without crime and without fear	24	1.4	2.4
25	Civil service without red tape	6	0.3	0.6
26	Life assurance, provision of opportunities	3	0.2	0.3
27	Living without pressure	9	0.5	0.9
28	Legal enforcement	1	0.1	0.1
29	USA	12	0.7	1.2
30	The country's image	2	0.1	0.2
31	Competition	5	0.3	0.5

32	Free election	24	1.4	2.4
33	Consensus	30	1.7	3.0
34	Rule of people and rule of law	3	0.2	0.3
35	Flexibility	19	1.1	1.9
36	Equal distribution of public goods	5	0.3	0.5
37	Society without corruption	2	0.1	0.2
38	Common goal	3	0.2	0.3
39	Right beliefs and ideas	7	0.7	0.7
40	The pinnacle of social development	2	0.1	0.2
41	Rule of law	7	0.4	0.7
42	Those who can will live better	7	0.4	0.7
43	Mutual respect and understanding	1	0.1	0.1
44	Fair labor, fair income	1	0.1	0.1
45	Multiparty system	2	0.1	0.2
99	No answer	161	8.9	16.1
Total responses		1743	100.0	174.3

2. How satisfied are you with the development of democracy in our country?	- Very satisfied	4.4
	- Satisfied	28.4
	- Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	52.9
	- Dissatisfied	10.9
	- Very dissatisfied	3.4

3. How satisfied are you with the way democracy works where you live?	- Very satisfied	2.8
	- Satisfied	22.1
	- Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	48.1
	- Dissatisfied	21.8
	- Very dissatisfied	5.2

4. According to you what are the main obstacles to democracy in our country? (Register up to 3 responses)

Category label	Count	Pct of Cases	Pct of Responses
1 Don't know	124	6.4	12.4
2 Unemployment, lack of job vacancies	60	3.1	6.0
3 Alcoholism	34	1.8	3.4
4 Inflation, price growth	12	0.6	1.2
5 Poverty, differences between rich and poor people	115	6.0	11.5
6 To be restricted by ideology	4	0.2	0.4
7 Conflicts of ideologies	19	1.0	1.9
8 Pluralism	1	0.1	0.1
9 Injustice	70	3.6	7.0
10 Public participation	26	1.4	2.6
11 Non-transparent situation	12	0.6	1.2
12 Struggle for power	52	2.7	5.2
13 Political trade-offs	27	1.4	2.7
14 Corruption	362	18.8	36.2
15 Bad morality of leadership	18	0.9	1.8
16 Weakness of education and health services	13	0.7	1.3
17 Rich peoples are beyond law	8	0.4	0.8
18 Violation of human rights	3	0.2	0.3
19 Fanaticism	14	0.7	1.4
20 Poor political education and culture	56	2.9	5.6
21 No respect to democracy	8	0.4	0.8
22 Misunderstanding of democracy	29	1.5	2.9
23 Lack of freedom	3	0.2	0.3
24 Public consciousness	12	0.6	1.2
25 Bureaucracy, red tape	159	8.3	15.9
26 Old communist ideology, one party domination	68	3.5	6.8
27 Pressures	40	2.1	4.0
28 Lack of order	39	2.0	3.9

29 No accountability	21	1.1	2.1
30 Party membership, party biases	26	1.4	2.6
31 Cronyism, localism	25	1.3	2.5
32 Biased elections and electoral system	18	0.9	1.8
33 Opposition	20	1.0	2.0
34 Lack of information, incorrect information	47	2.4	4.7
35 Imperfect implementation of law, violation of law	3	0.2	0.3
36 Absence of democracy	9	0.5	0.9
37 Intellectual backwardness	23	1.2	2.3
38 Deviation in implementing law	10	0.5	1.0
39 Unjust activity	21	1.1	2.1
40 Lack of mutual trust	2	0.1	0.2
41 Electoral system	9	0.5	0.9
42 Betrayal	6	0.3	0.6
43 Lack of duty and responsibility awareness	14	0.7	1.4
44 Crime and hooliganism	14	0.7	1.4
45 Economic crisis	8	0.4	0.8
46 Unstable politic situation	4	0.2	0.4
47 Tendency to rely on others and the state	15	0.8	1.5
48 Party competition	21	1.1	2.1
49 Internal democracy within party	8	0.4	0.8
50 False promises, exaggerated expectations	13	0.7	1.3
51 Ignoring the people's voice	4	0.2	0.4
52 Lack of transparency of the government	1	0.1	0.1
53 Weak government leadership	2	0.1	0.2
54 Many layered bureaucracy	7	0.4	0.7
55 Discrimination based on material status	2	0.1	0.2
56 Defamation	3	0.2	0.3
57 Pornography and sexual freedom	2	0.1	0.2
58 Discrimination	1	0.1	0.1
59 Wrong system	1	0.1	0.1
60 Socio-economic instability	12	0.6	1.2
61 Lack of national goal	2	0.1	0.2
62 Lack of understanding	4	0.2	0.4
63 Laziness	1	0.1	0.1
64 Financial problems	3	0.2	0.3
65 Mongolian mentality	2	0.1	0.2
66 School drop outs	1	0.1	0.1
67 Current political situation	1	0.1	0.1
68 Multiparty system	1	0.1	0.1
69 People who ruin democracy	4	0.2	0.4
70 Insufficient wages and pensions	2	0.1	0.2
71 The fact that democrats have become minority in Parliament	1	0.1	0.1
72 No answer	141	7.0	14.1
Total responses	1923	100.0	192.3

5. How do you evaluate the following characteristics of democratic governance in our country?

Category label	Very good	Good	Average	Poor	Very poor	No answer	DK
1. Transparency	6.2	17.5	39.2	19.4	7.2	1.6	8.9
2. Just and fair process	2.1	8.3	30.0	32.5	15.4	1.4	10.3
3. Responsibility	0.9	6.6	25.6	35.5	19.8	1.3	10.3
4. Public participation	1.8	14.3	38.0	24.4	11.0	1.4	9.1
5. Responsiveness	0.8	6.8	33.1	29.8	17.2	1.6	10.7
6. Accountability to people	1.7	8.6	32.6	27.4	18.2	1.3	10.2

6. How has your life changed in over the past 15 years?	- Very improved	3.5
	- Generally improved	37.6
	- No change	33.4
	- Worsened	18.6
	- Severely worsened	3.5

	- Do not know	3.4
7. How has democracy in Mongolia influenced your life?	- Positively	6.3
	- Relatively positively	26.7
	- Both positively and negatively	56.5
	- Relatively negatively	7.9
	- Negatively	2.6

A. CITIZENSHIP, LAW AND RIGHTS

8. How good is your knowledge about the following laws and legal documents?

Category label	Very good	Good	Average	Poor	Very poor	DK
1. Constitution	4.9	20.8	41.3	17.2	5.2	10.6
2. Human rights	3.8	19.5	43.4	17.9	5.9	9.5
3. Electoral law	4.1	21.9	34.0	19.6	7.5	12.9

9. Have you at any time voiced your constitutional rights to a public official?

- Yes	29.6
- No	70.4

10. If yes, what was their reaction?

- Respected your opinion	5.1
- They were surprised	5.4
- They were reluctant	7.6
- They did not understand	6.3
- They were negative	4.1
- Red tape	1.1
- Not applicable	70.4

11. In the case of legal problems whom do you turn for advice?

Category label	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Do not know	119	10.8	11.9
Friends	361	32.4	36.1
Colleagues	50	4.5	5.0
Local community group, relatives	72	6.5	7.2
MPs and high-ranking officials	64	5.7	6.4
Representatives of legal institutions	8	0.7	0.8
Acquaintances in legal institutions	235	21.1	23.5
Other /specify/	143	12.8	14.3
Local hurals	37	3.3	3.7
Will not turn to anyone	6	0.5	0.6
Help/support telephone line	2	0.2	0.2
Internet	1	0.1	0.1
No answer	16	1.4	1.6
Total responses	1114	100.0	111.4

12. What are the main obstacles to resolving matters at legal and judicial institutions?

Category label	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Do not know	198	13.8	19.8
Red tape	300	20.9	30.0
Nepotism	404	28.0	40.4
Inefficiency	190	13.2	19.0
Difficulty in understanding legal process	84	5.8	8.4
Lack of trust in fair decision-making	14	1.0	1.4
Unfriendly attitude	176	12.2	17.6
Many various obstacles	31	2.1	3.1
None	28	1.9	2.8
Corruption	1	0.1	0.1
No answer	15	1.0	1.5
Total responses	1441	100.0	144.1

13. Do you agree with the following public attitudes?

Category label	No answer	Completely agree	Partly agree	Disagree completely	DK
1. Judiciary gives priority to state interests	1.3	24.3	40.2	9.3	24.9
2. Judiciary serves more those who have money and authority	0.7	53.2	30.4	4.0	11.7
3. Judiciary may not follow legal rules in order to sentence a person	1.1	12.0	24.5	29.1	33.3
4. An official can influence the decision-making of the judiciary	0.6	30.7	37.6	7.5	23.6
5. Enforcement of legal verdicts can be manipulated	0.7	20.4	30.4	20.7	27.8

14. According to you what are the main obstacles to implementing laws in Mongolia?

Category label	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Do not know	0	55	2.9	5.5
Poor monitoring and control of implementation	1	431	22.5	43.1
Lack of accountability	2	310	16.2	31.0
Traditions and customs	3	59	3.1	5.9
Lack of civic education	4	238	12.4	23.8
Big territory	5	30	1.6	3.0
Nomadic way of life	6	36	1.9	3.6
Violation of law by officials and state institutions	7	378	19.7	37.8
Impact of personal connections	8	341	17.8	34.1
No obstacles	9	14	0.7	1.4
Many various obstacles	10	11	0.6	1.1
Corruption	11	3	0.2	0.3
Laws are not realistic	12	1	0.1	0.1
Lacunae in laws	13	1	0.1	0.1
No answer	14	3	0.2	0.3
Total responses		1911	100.0	191.1

15. There is an opinion that human rights protection in Mongolia is insufficient. According to you what are the main reasons for this?

Category label	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Do not know	0	60	4.1	6.0
Poor civic education	1	283	19.2	28.3
State coercion has increased	2	80	5.4	8.0
Social discrimination has increased	3	202	13.6	20.2
Corruption and bribery have increased	4	573	38.7	57.3
Police brutality	5	249	16.8	24.9
Citizens don't know their rights and duties	6	18	1.2	1.8
Weak enforcement of law	7	2	0.1	0.2
All of the above	10	8	0.5	0.8
No answer	11	6	0.4	0.6
Total responses		1481	100.0	148.1

16. There is an opinion that not everyone can be equally protected by the judiciary. Why is it so?

Category label	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Do not know	0	25	2.4	2.5
Prohibitive cost of registering a legal claim	1	101	8.1	10.1
Nepotism of judges	2	502	40.5	50.2
Corruption	3	356	28.5	35.6
Territorial distance	4	76	6.1	7.6
Lack of civic education	5	138	11.2	13.8
Other	6	34	2.6	3.4
All of the above	10	8	0.6	0.8
Total responses		1240	100.0	124

17. There is an opinion that citizens have limited access to legal assistance. What is the reason for this?

Category label	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
----------------	------	-------	------------------	--------------

Do not know	0	166	14.8	16.6
Nomadic lifestyle	1	99	8.8	9.9
Harsh climate	2	70	6.2	7.0
Territorial distance	3	185	16.5	18.5
Insufficient legal aid organizations	4	504	44.9	50.4
Mistakes by the judiciary	5	52	4.6	5.2
Lack of finance	6	2	0.2	0.2
Weak legal education	7	5	0.4	0.5
Need advocacy/ promotion of laws	8	12	1.1	1.2
Weak performance of government institutions	9	1	0.1	0.1
All of the above	10	1	0.1	0.1
Red tape	11	1	0.1	0.1
Weak organization and management	12	1	0.1	0.1
No answer	13	24	2.1	2.4
Total responses		1123	100.0	112.3

18. What are the main difficulties to getting employed?

Category label	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Do not know	0	11	0.7	1.1
Discrimination based on party affiliation	1	142	8.4	14.2
Nepotism	2	456	27.0	45.6
Corruption	3	268	15.7	26.8
Gender discrimination	4	109	6.4	10.9
Discrimination by age and physical appearance	5	362	21.4	36.2
Lack of jobs	6	194	11.5	19.4
Lack of skills	7	108	6.4	10.8
Other	8	10	0.6	1.0
All of the above	10	19	1.1	1.9
Private college diploma	11	1	0.1	0.1
No answer	12	11	0.7	1.1
Total responses		1691	100.0	169.1

19. Do civil servants experience political pressure?

Category label	Pct of Responses
Do not know	30.3
No	31.3
No answer	11.9
Yes	26.5
<i>Where</i>	
Government administration	14.5
Top managerial positions	10.0
Public services	0.2
Middle level	0.4
Everywhere	1.4
Total responses	100.0

20. How much political pressure do you think there is on people's lives?	- Very high	8.0
	- High	14.8
	- Average	31.2
	- Low	14.3
	- Not at all	8.4
	- Do not know	21.6
	-No answer	1.7

21. What are the main reasons for social discrimination?

Category label	No answer	Very high	High	Average	Low	Not at all	DK
1. Ethnicity	0.9	3.0	7.8	15.7	15.7	32.0	24.9
2. Property and money	0.5	25.2	33.7	16.3	8.2	5.5	10.6
3. Social origin	0.8	6.6	17.5	24.3	12.9	19.5	18.4

4. Differences between city and countryside	0.5	7.8	21.0	26.2	13.0	13.2	18.3
5. Gender	0.9	5.3	15.8	23.3	15.4	18.4	20.9
6. Official position	0.6	19.8	32.5	17.6	6.9	6.5	16.1
7. Political party membership	0.8	12.5	21.8	21.9	12.4	10.9	19.7
8. Place of birth (local group)	0.7	6.3	11.1	20.4	16.1	20.5	24.9
9. Poverty	5.2	13.8	13.6	7.9	3.4	3.2	52.9

22. Please evaluate the state of social discrimination in the following social sectors?

Category label	No answer	Very high	High	Average	Low	Not at all	DK
1. Health	1.6	19.0	25.6	23.3	9.7	7.2	13.6
2. Education	1.0	17.7	25.1	27.3	10.1	7.4	11.4
3. Social care	1.2	9.0	16.1	27.1	15.3	10.6	20.7
4. Social insurance	1.1	7.3	13.0	23.9	15.9	15.8	22.9
5. Government administration	1.1	20.6	23.8	21.8	8.4	7.5	16.8

23. Have you or any member of your family been subjected to the following as actions by the state?

Category label	No answer	Common	Rarely	Almost none	DK
1. Physical attack	2.2	5.5	18.3	49.0	25.0
3. Illegal arrest	1.5	3.7	13.0	54.5	27.3
4. Illegal search	1.5	4.9	13.3	53.4	26.9
5. Inviolability of the home	1.6	2.5	10.4	57.0	28.5
6. Inviolability of correspondence	1.5	1.8	11.1	54.9	30.7
7. Insult of personality	1.5	7.3	21.2	44.2	25.7
8. Brutality	1.5	13.5	24.3	39.6	21.1

24. Have you or your family members ever complained to international human rights organizations or courts about violation of your rights?	-Yes	6.2
	-No	89.6
	-Hesitate to answer	4.2

B. REPRESENTATIVE AND ACCOUNTABLE GOVERNMENT

25. Do you vote in elections?	- Regularly	76.1
	- Sometimes	17.7
	- No participation	6.2

26. What are the reasons for your failure to vote?

Category label	Percent
Unfair election	0.6
Lack of proper documents	1.6
Lack of trust in candidates	0.9
Lack of interest	1.2
Was not given a certificate to vote	0.6
Was busy at that time	1.1
Was under age/ not eligible to vote	1.6
Bored of politics	0.2
No answer	10.7
Not applicable	81.5
Total responses	100.0

27. Have the Election Committee and its branches been functioning fairly?	-Yes	50.4
	-No	49.6

28. If not why?

Category label	Percent
Do not know	1.1
Were not independent of political party influence	11.4
Some members of above organizations have been corrupted	8.1
List of voters was falsified	8.1
No mutual control of committee members	7.0
Influence of government officials	6.3
Poor public control	6.5
Others	0.8
Many various reasons	0.3
Not applicable	50.4
Total responses	100.0

29. Which political party you feel close to?

Category label	Percent
Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party	44.0
Democratic Party	33.3
Civil Will Party	4.2
Motherland Party	2.7
Republican Party	1.9
Other	0.3
All are the same	12.9
None-party	0.7
Total responses	100.0

30. How has your trust in political parties changed?	-Increased	33.3
	-Same	44.4
	-Decreased	22.3

31. Which democratic characteristics are common to our political parties?

MPRP	Do not know	Very common	Common	Somewhat common	Uncommon	Very uncommon
	0	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	5.00
Transparency	9.1	27.3	18.2	9.1	0.0	36.3
Rule of law	9.1	9.1	27.3	9.1	27.2	18.2
Competition of ideas	9.1	27.3	27.2	18.2	9.1	9.1
Integrity	9.1	9.1	18.2	27.2	18.2	18.2
Respect to public interest	9.1	9.1	18.2	36.3	9.1	18.2
Political culture	9.1	18.2	18.2	18.2	18.2	18.1
Internal democracy	9.1	27.3	18.2	9.1	9.1	27.2

Democratic Party	Do not know	Very common	Common	Somewhat common	Uncommon	Very uncommon
	0	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	5.00
Transparency	0.0	18.2	18.2	9.1	27.2	27.3
Rule of law	0.0	9.1	36.4	27.2	18.2	9.1
Competition of ideas	0.0	18.2	0.0	9.1	27.2	45.5
Integrity	0.0	9.1	9.1	36.4	18.2	27.2
Respect to public interest	0.0	9.1	18.2	27.3	27.2	18.2
Political culture	0.0	18.2	27.2	18.2	18.2	18.2
Internal democracy	0.0	18.2	18.2	0.0	9.1	54.5

Civil Will Party	Do not know 0	Very common 1.00	Common 2.00	Somewhat common 3.00	Uncommon 4.00	Very uncommon 5.00
Transparency	9.1	18.2	18.1	0.0	36.4	18.2
Rule of law	9.1	18.2	18.1	9.1	36.4	9.1
Competition of ideas	9.1	9.1	27.2	27.3	18.2	9.1
Integrity	9.1	18.2	9.1	18.1	45.5	0.0
Respect to public interest	9.1	18.2	18.1	18.2	36.4	0.0
Political culture	9.1	9.1	27.2	9.1	36.4	9.1
Internal democracy	9.1	9.1	36.3	27.3	9.1	9.1

Motherland Party	Do not know 0	Very common 1.00	Common 2.00	Somewhat common 3.00	Uncommon 4.00	Very uncommon 5.00
Transparency	27.2	27.3	18.2	27.3	0.0	0.0
Rule of law	27.2	18.2	27.3	18.2	9.1	0.0
Competition of ideas	27.2	36.4	9.1	0.0	9.1	18.2
Integrity	27.2	18.2	27.3	27.3	0.0	0.0
Respect to public interest	27.2	27.3	18.2	18.2	9.1	0.0
Political culture	27.2	27.3	27.3	18.2	0.0	0.0
Internal democracy	27.2	36.4	9.1	27.3	0.0	0.0

Republican Party	Do not know 0	Very common 1.00	Common 2.00	Somewhat common 3.00	Uncommon 4.00	Very uncommon 5.00
Transparency	27.2	27.3	9.1	18.2	9.1	9.1
Rule of law	27.2	18.2	27.3	18.2	9.1	0.0
Competition of ideas	27.2	27.3	9.1	9.1	18.2	9.1
Integrity	27.2	18.2	18.2	36.4	0.0	0.0
Respect to public interest	27.2	18.2	27.3	18.2	9.1	0.0
Political culture	27.2	18.2	18.2	18.2	9.1	9.1
Internal democracy	27.2	27.3	18.2	18.2	9.1	0.0

Other	Do not know 0	Very common 1.00	Common 2.00	Somewhat common 3.00	Uncommon 4.00	Very uncommon 5.00
Transparency	81.8	9.1	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rule of law	81.8	9.1	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Competition of ideas	81.8	9.1	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Integrity	81.8	9.1	0.0	9.1	0.0	0.0
Respect to public interest	81.8	9.1	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Political culture	81.8	9.1	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Internal democracy	81.8	9.1	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0

32. Which non-democratic characteristics are common to our political parties?

MPRP	Do not know 0	Very common 1.00	Common 2.00	Somewhat common 3.00	Uncommon 4.00	Very uncommon 5.00
Bribery	0.0	12.5	12.5	12.5	12.5	50.0
Pressure on civil servants	0.0	12.5	12.5	12.5	25.0	37.5
Setting price on government positions	0.0	11.1	22.2	11.1	0.0	55.6
Empty promises	0.0	11.2	22.2	22.2	22.2	22.2
Defamation	0.0	37.5	25.0	12.5	25.0	0.0
Conspiracy	0.0	25.0	0.0	37.5	0.0	37.5
Manipulating information / opinion	0.0	25.0	0.0	25.0	12.5	37.5

Democratic Party	Do not know	Very common	Common	Somewhat common	Un common	Very uncommon
	0	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	5.00
Bribery	0.0	33.3	0.0	11.1	11.1	44.5
Pressure on civil servants	9.1	9.1	36.3	18.2	9.1	18.2
Setting price on government positions	0.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	0.0	70.0
Empty promises	9.1	9.1	9.1	9.1	18.2	45.4
Defamation	0.0	10.0	0.0	60.0	0.0	30.0
Conspiracy	9.1	9.1	9.1	36.4	0.0	36.3
Manipulating information / opinion	0.0	0.0	30.0	20.0	20.0	30.0

Civil Will Party	Do not know	Very common	Common	Somewhat common	Un common	Very uncommon
	0	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	5.00
Bribery	45.4	9.1	0.0	36.4	9.1	0.0
Pressure on civil servants	45.4	0.0	18.2	27.3	9.1	0.0
Setting price on government positions	45.4	0.0	9.1	36.4	9.1	0.0
Empty promises	45.4	0.0	27.3	0.0	9.1	18.2
Defamation	45.4	0.0	18.2	9.1	18.2	9.1
Conspiracy	45.4	18.2	0.0	9.1	9.1	18.2
Manipulating information / opinion	45.4	9.1	9.1	0.0	18.2	18.2

Motherland Party	Do not know	Very common	Common	Somewhat common	Un common	Very uncommon
	0	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	5.00
Bribery	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	16.6	50.0
Pressure on civil servants	45.4	0.0	18.2	18.2	18.2	0.0
Setting price on government positions	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	66.6	16.7
Empty promises	45.5	0.0	0.0	9.1	9.1	36.3
Defamation	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	50.0
Conspiracy	45.5	0.0	0.0	9.1	0.0	45.4
Manipulating information / opinion	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	33.3	33.4

Republican Party	Do not know	Very common	Common	Somewhat common	Un common	Very uncommon
	0	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	5.00
Bribery	0.0	0.0	33.3	33.3	16.7	16.7
Pressure on civil servants	45.5	0.0	27.2	9.1	9.1	9.1
Setting price on government positions	0.0	0.0	33.3	33.3	16.7	16.7
Empty promises	45.5	9.1	9.1	0.0	27.2	9.1
Defamation	0.0	0.0	16.7	16.7	16.6	50.0
Conspiracy	45.4	9.1	9.1	0.0	18.2	18.2
Manipulating information / opinion	0.0	0.0	16.7	16.7	33.3	33.3

Other	Do not know	Very common	Common	Somewhat common	Un common	Very uncommon
	0	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	5.00
Bribery	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Pressure on civil servants	90.9	0.0	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Setting price on government positions	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Empty promises	90.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1

Defamation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Conspiracy	90.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1
Manipulating information / opinion	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

33. What is the impact of the following on the political process?

Category label	Very high	High	Average	Low	Almost not
1 Relatives	27.3	27.3	18.2	27.2	0.0
2 Local groups	27.3	36.4	36.3	0.0	0.0
3 Friends, personal connections	18.2	45.4	27.3	9.1	0.0
4 Official position	54.5	36.4	0.0	0.0	9.1
5 Others	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0

34. Please evaluate the performance of the following institutions? (Present)

Institutions	No answer	Very effective	Effective	Average	Poor effective	Almost not	Do not know
1 Parliament	0.6	5.2	23.9	40.1	15.5	4.4	10.3
2 Government	0.7	5.0	29.5	36.1	13.5	4.3	10.9
3 President	0.7	8.1	27.6	30.1	13.1	5.6	14.8
4 Courts	0.6	2.0	13.2	36.6	21.1	8.1	18.4
5 Ministries & agencies	1.0	2.4	14.8	33.3	18.3	4.7	25.5
6 Local hurals/ assemblies	0.7	2.1	15.0	32.2	22.7	10.6	16.5
7 Local governor, administration	0.7	2.5	15.7	35.1	22.4	9.0	14.5
8 Police	0.6	3.5	17.1	34.6	20.2	11.6	12.4
9 General Election Committee	0.5	3.3	17.9	31.7	17.5	10.2	18.9
10 Human Rights' Commission	0.6	2.0	13.4	29.5	16.8	8.3	29.4
11 Mass media	0.8	9.9	30.2	28.8	10.8	4.9	14.6
12 Political parties	0.6	2.1	14.7	34.9	19.7	8.8	19.2

35. Are you able to get the necessary information on decisions and activities of state institutions when needed?	-Yes without troubles	25.9
	-Yes, but have to search for it	23.5
	-No	27.4
	-Not necessary	22.5
	-No answer	0.7

36. If yes, how do you get the information?	-From official sources	29.6
	-From officials	4.3
	-From friends	6.2
	-Accidentally	9.6
	-From mass media	2.9
-Not applicable	47.4	

37. If you are not able to receive the information, then why?

Category label	Percent
Permission is needed	2.0
Bureaucracy	5.2
Do not know procedures	10.8
No person is responsible for disseminating information	10.5
Multiple referrals	5.8
Information is closed	1.4
No place to receive the information	1.4
No answer	10.3
Not applicable	52.6
Total responses	100.0

38. How much corruption is there in the following areas?

Areas	Very high	High	Average	Low	Very low
1 Parliament, Government	35.7	37.1	20.4	4.4	2.4
2 Ministries, agencies	27.5	38.4	24.9	6.8	2.4
3 Local administration	25.2	33.2	27.3	10.9	3.4
4 NGO	22.0	27.1	26.9	17.4	6.6
5 Arts and sport	18.2	20.7	30.8	22.6	7.7

C. CIVIL SOCIETY AND POPULAR PARTICIPATION

39. How much are you interested in politics?	-Very interested	14.6
	-Interested	35.0
	-Not so much	27.5
	-A little	18.2
	-Not at all	4.1
	- No answer	0.6

40. If not, then why?	-Politics has no relation to me	2.5
	-I have no influence on politics	5.4
	-I have no trust in politicians	12.1
	-I do not understand politics	8.0
	-Other	1.5
	-Not applicable	70.5

41. Have you ever taken part in the following political actions?

Category label	Often	Sometimes	No
Any protest or demonstration	3.0	23.7	73.2
Solving local problems	3.4	28.6	68.0
Appealing to mass media	1.7	10.2	88.1
Appealing to political parties	3.3	13.2	83.5
Appealing to MPs	3.3	15.9	80.8
Campaigning in elections	9.5	30.1	60.4
Others	2.5	11.3	86.2

42. Why in your opinion people participate in politics?

Category label	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Do not know	1.1	1.9
To contribute to national development	24.8	42.5
To make government hear one's opinion	11.3	19.3
To defend one's interest	14.2	24.3
To advance one's career	12.9	22.1
To make money	12.3	21.0
To help one's relatives, friends	4.6	8.0
To increase one's prestige	7.2	12.3
To consolidate one's authority	7.7	13.2
Other	2.5	4.3
Many reasons	0.3	0.4
No answer	1.1	1.8
Total responses	100.0	171.1

43. Are you member of a NGO?	-Yes	17.1
	-No	81.9
	-No answer	1.0

44. If yes, specify number of NGOs you member of?

Number of NGOs	Percent
1.00	11.6
2.00	4.4
3.00	0.8
4.00	0.3

Not applicable	82.9
Total	100.0

45. How can you evaluate activities of NGOs operating in your place of residence?	- Very good	3.3
	- Good	7.9
	- Average	35.2
	- Poor	17.6
	- Very poor	11.3
	- Do not know	23.0
	- No answer	1.7

46. Do you agree with the following statements on NGOs?

Category label	Yes	No	No opinion	Do not know
1 NGO is a public voice	25.0	9.8	35.6	29.6
2 NGOs have influence on state decision-making	17.1	15.4	32.0	35.5
3 NGOs have influence on local decision-making	17.7	13.2	30.5	38.6
4 NGOs protect public interests	19.9	13.3	30.8	36.0
5 NGOs protect interests of limited group of people	31.4	8.0	23.8	36.8
6 NGOs are a means for profit-making from foreign aid	28.0	8.7	20.6	42.7

47. Please specify how much the following people help/support you?

Category label	Very good	Good	Average	Rarely	No support	No answer
1 Friends	21.4	28.0	22.0	11.9	15.8	0.9
2 Colleagues	7.7	20.5	22.3	14.0	34.1	1.4
3 Business partners	3.7	11.1	18.2	12.1	53.2	1.7
4 Relatives	15.4	27.7	21.9	12.5	21.5	1.0
5 Local groups	3.2	11.3	17.7	17.0	49.5	1.3
6 NGOs	1.7	3.0	10.3	12.4	71.3	1.3
8 Persons from non-Buddhist confessions	1.7	2.9	6.3	8.0	79.6	1.5
9 Persons from Buddhist organizations	1.6	4.8	7.6	10.9	73.8	1.3
10 Same political party comrades	0.9	4.0	8.8	8.8	76.2	1.3
11 Government officials	0.8	3.5	9.6	12.2	72.5	1.4
12 Politicians, MPs	1.1	2.2	5.6	8.3	81.4	1.4
13 Others	1.7	1.5	4.9	6.1	79.5	6.3

48. How much local self-government is there in the following areas?

Category label	No answer	Good	Average	Poor	Don't know
Budget, finance	1.7	8.7	35.1	26.2	28.3
Human resources	1.4	11.2	38.5	22.5	26.4
Decision making on local issues	1.4	9.0	37.3	24.5	27.8
Management of local resources	1.2	8.6	31.5	32.4	26.3
Public service capacity	1.4	6.0	35.3	33.5	23.8
Provision of information to citizens	1.3	8.0	33.9	34.1	22.7

49. How do the following social groups influence government decisions?

Category label	No answer	Very good	Effective	Average	Low	Poor effective	Don't know
Women	1.9	4.6	20.1	23.7	22.2	9.8	17.7
Bankers	1.3	12.5	36.1	16.6	8.0	4.9	20.6
Herders	1.8	3.8	12.2	18.5	22.4	20.7	20.6
Businessmen	1.2	14.3	34.1	16.4	10.5	4.8	18.7
Poor	1.8	3.1	6.9	9.5	15.2	41.7	21.8
Foreign aid organizations	1.3	10.3	26.7	16.6	11.9	6.1	27.1
National minority	2.1	2.6	9.5	16.8	17.4	15.4	36.2
Youth	1.3	4.7	23.8	22.9	17.0	8.6	21.7
Veterans/pensioners	1.2	3.4	19.0	23.4	21.1	10.3	21.6
Journalists	1.3	12.1	32.4	20.4	9.3	3.8	20.7
Political party leaders	1.2	26.7	32.0	10.5	5.8	2.2	21.6

50. What sources do you receive information from and how frequently?

Category label	Daily	2-3 times a week	Once a week	Never
Radio	25.0	26.0	17.6	31.4
TV	63.9	24.1	4.2	7.8
Newspapers	20.4	45.9	14.2	19.5
From other people	17.7	32.2	20.0	30.1
Internet	5.7	13.9	13.5	66.9
Others	2.5	7.4	6.5	83.6

51. What sources provide the most reliable information? (Multiple answers)

Category label	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
None	1.3	1.6
Radio	14.8	18.5
TVs	26.3	33.0
Channel 25	2.1	2.6
TV-9	0.8	1.0
TV 5	2.4	3.0
UBS	0.3	0.4
Local channels	0.2	0.2
Unuudur newspaper	1.0	1.3
Periodic press	5.5	6.9
Daily newspapers	1.3	1.6
Internet	1.8	2.2
Zuuny Medee newspaper	1.1	1.4
Udriin Sonin newspaper	1.0	1.3
National Public TV	24.6	30.8
Mongolyn Medee newspaper	0.2	0.3
FM Radio	0.9	1.1
All	0.7	0.9
Unen newspaper	0.5	0.7
Seruuleg newspaper	0.2	0.3
Zindaa newspaper	0.2	0.2
No answer	12.8	16.1
Total responses	100.0	125.4

52. What kind of information do you prefer?

Nº	Category label	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
0	None	2.6	2.9
1	Government information	3.2	3.6
2	Legal information	2.9	3.2
3	Social & political information	12.0	13.4
4	Cultural information	0.9	1.0
5	True information	20.6	23.0
6	Economic information	3.1	3.5
7	Practical information	4.2	4.7
8	About development	0.8	0.9
9	Current information	3.7	4.1
10	News	4.0	4.5
11	Youth	0.4	0.5
12	Health	0.9	1.0
13	Foreign relations, foreign countries	1.9	2.1
14	Sport	1.2	1.3
15	Weather	0.6	0.7
16	Business	0.9	1.0
17	Foreign languages	0.7	0.8
18	Agriculture	1.1	1.2
19	General knowledge	2.1	2.3
20	Various information	1.7	1.9
21	Current challenges in the country	4.5	5.0

22	Environment	0.2	0.2
99	No answer	25.8	28.7
Total responses		100.0	111.5

D. DEMOCRACY BEYOND THE STATE

53. Your opinion about foreign aid?	-Should be increased	37.0
	-Should remain at the same level	21.4
	-Should be reduced	21.5
	-Do not know	19.4
	-No answer	0.7
54. Are you able to get information on how foreign aid is spent?	-Yes	3.8
	-Sometimes	40.3
	-Not at all	54.1
	-Do not know	1.8
55. How effectively is foreign aid spent?	-Very good	1.7
	-Good	4.9
	-Average	26.0
	-Bad	27.5
	-Very bad	14.4
	-Do not know	25.1
-No answer	0.4	
56. Do you agree with the statement that Mongolia has become dependant on foreign aid / loans?	-Yes	30.8
	-No	19.8
	-Do not know	47.5
	-No answer	1.9
57. How actively does Mongolia participate in supporting democracy abroad?	-Very actively	3.6
	-Actively	12.5
	-Medium actively	31.4
	-Passively	12.5
	-Not at all	3.8
	-Do not know	35.3
-No answer	0.9	

E. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

58. What is your opinion about death penalty?	-Should be there	65.5			
	-Should be abolished	14.9			
	-Do not know	19.0			
	-No answer	0.6			
59. How much is your right for individual safety (the right to life) guaranteed?	-Guaranteed	18.1			
	-Not guaranteed	63.6			
	-Do not know	17.5			
	-No answer	0.8			
60. If you have recently relocated, what kind of difficulties have you experienced?	-Registration of documents	29.4			
	-Medical service	9.4			
	-Education of children	9.6			
	-Bureaucracy	15.5			
	-Employment	20.1			
	-Others	16.3			
61. How often have the following happened to your family?					
Category label	Often	Sometimes	Never	No answer	DK
To be without food	5.5	40.4	47.1	1.8	5.2
No access to medical service	8.9	46.8	38.6	1.7	4.0

Cannot send children to school	8.4	25.7	57.6	1.7	6.6
Pollution	29.4	32.4	31.5	1.3	5.4
Unemployment	26.6	36.2	30.5	1.5	5.2

62. Do you or your family members feel secure from hooligans and criminals?	-Yes	30.0
	-In general yes	28.3
	-No	40.2
	-Do not know	1.3
	-No answer	0.2

63. Have you or family members been subjected to criminal offense?	-Once	14.8
	-Few times	12.3
	-No	53.6
	-Do not remember	18.4
	-Do not know	0.3
	-No answer	0.6

64. Have you or family members been subjected to police harassment/brutality?	Constantly	1.4
	Several times	7.0
	Once	22.8
	No	52.9
	Do not remember	13.5
	Do not know	1.9
	No answer	0.5

65. Has your family relocated since 1990?	Yes, more than once	14.9
	Yes, once	29.6
	No	51.1
	Do not know	0.3
	No answer	4.1

F. PERSONAL DATA

1. Age

	Percent
20 –till	7.5
21-30	29.4
31-40	26.1
41-50	21.0
51-60	8.4
60 and above	7.6
Total	100.0

2. Gender

	Percent
Men	49.0
Women	51.0
Total	100.0

3. Education

	Percent
University	20.0
College	16.6
Secondary	38.0
Incomplete secondary	17.6
Primary	4.9
Can read	2.2
Illiterate	0.7

Total	100
--------------	------------

4. Place of residence

	Valid Percent
Capital city	51.9
Aimag center	19.0
Soum center	22.1
Countryside	7.0
Total	100.0

5. Place of residence in Ulaanbaatar

	Valid Percent
Downtown	33.5
Ger district	38.7
Outskirts	27.8
Total	100.0

6. What is your religion?

	Valid Percent
Buddhism	68.4
Islam	2.8
Christianity	4.9
Atheist	21.1
Others	0.4
No answer	2.4
Total	100.0

7. Place yourself in the following social strata?

	Valid Percent
Upper stratum	0.6
Upper middle	6.5
Middle	39.7
Lower middle	12.4
Lower	2.2
Do not know	1.9
No answer	36.7
Total	100.0

8. Your monthly income /thousand tugrugs/

	Valid Percent
Till 10.000	12.3
10-40 thousands	12.7
40-80 thousands	29.6
80-120 thousands	17.2
120-180 thousands	12.5
180 and more	15.7
Total	100.0

9. Your source of income (multiple answers)

Category label	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Salary	43.9	60.6
Rent	3.0	4.1
Business profit	15.1	20.9
Financial support from relatives and other people	3.3	4.6
Welfare	20.1	27.8

Profit from herds	11.5	15.9
Gold digging	0.4	0.5
Labor abroad	0.1	0.1
No answer	2.6	3.5
Total responses	100.0	138.

10. Your monthly income

	Valid Percent
Sufficient	4.8
Enough	21.8
Insufficient	56.3
Not sufficient	17.1
Total	100.0

11. Size of family

Number of people	Valid Percent
1.00	1.8
2.00	7.0
3.00	17.1
4.00	25.4
5.00	20.7
6.00	14.1
7.00	7.4
8.00	3.4
9.00	1.1
10.00	0.8
11.00	0.4
12.00	0.1
13.00	0.1
99.00	0.6
Total	100.0

12. Your occupation

	Valid Percent
Government	3.8
Public services	15.1
Individual business	10.4
Private company	4.8
Herder	7.4
Student	9.9
Worker	18.7
Pensioner	8.8
Unemployed	18.6
Engineer	1.6
Policemen	0.3
NGOs	0.6
Total	100.0

13. Nationality

	Valid Percent
Halh	81.1
Buryat	2.1
Durvud	3.4
Bayad	7.3
Hoton	2.5
Kazakh	0.5
Dzahchin	0.8

Uryanhai	0.3
Darhad	0.2
No answer	1.8
Total	100.0

8.3. DGIs MPs OPINION SURVEY RESULTS

PERCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY

1. According to you what does democracy mean (record up to 3 responses)? /Multiple responses/

No		Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
1	Freedom, freedom of speech and expression	5	21.7	45.5
2	Justice	2	8.7	18.2
7	Safe life in a legally enforced environment	1	4.3	9.1
11	Transparency	2	8.7	18.2
17	Accordinging principles and rules	1	4.3	9.1
32	Free election	1	4.3	9.1
34	Rule of people and rule of law	5	21.7	45.5
46	Progress	1	4.3	9.1
48	Decision making process	1	4.3	9.1
49	Way of Defense of minorities	1	4.3	9.1
99	No answer	3	13.4	27.3
Total responses		23	100.0	209.1

2. How satisfied are you with the development of democracy in our country?	-Very satisfied	0.0
	-Satisfied	36.4
	-Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	45.4
	-Dissatisfied	18.2
	-Very dissatisfied	0.0

3. How satisfied are you with the way democracy works where you live?	-Very satisfied	0.0
	-Satisfied	45.5
	-Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	45.4
	-Dissatisfied	9.1
	-Very dissatisfied	0.0

4. According to you what are the main obstacles to democracy in our country? (Register up to 3 responses)

No*		Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
5	Poverty, differences between rich and poor people	3	11.5	27.3
9	Injustice	1	3.8	9.1
13	Political trade-offs	1	3.8	9.1
14	Corruption	5	19.2	45.5
22	Misunderstanding of democracy	1	3.8	9.1
25	Bureaucracy, red tape	1	3.8	9.1
26	Old communist ideology, one party domination	2	7.7	18.2
28	Lack of order	1	3.8	9.1
30	Party membership, party biases	1	3.8	9.1
34	Lack of information, incorrect information	2	7.7	18.2
75	Politicization	1	3.8	9.1
76	Freedom of media	1	3.8	9.1
77	Mafia or grouping of the parties' finance	2	7.7	18.2
78	Parties 's crisis	1	3.8	9.1
99	No answer	3	12.0	27.3
Total responses		26	100.0	236.4

*The enumeration of responses in this table reflects the response numbers for the same question in the DGIs Public Opinion Survey.

5. How do you evaluate the following characteristics of democratic governance in our country?

	Very good	Good	Average	Poor	Very poor	Do not know
7. Transparency	0.0	27.3	45.4	18.2	9.1	0.0
8. Just and fair process	0.0	10.0	50.0	20.0	20.0	0.0
9. Responsibility	0.0	0.0	36.4	45.4	18.2	0.0
10. Public participation	0.0	20.0	40.0	20.0	20.0	0.0
11. Responsiveness	0.0	20.0	10.0	30.0	40.0	0.0
12. Accountability to people	0.0	0.0	18.2	36.4	45.4	0.0

6. How has your life changed in over the past 15 years?	-Very improved	0.0
	-Generally improved	81.8
	-No change	9.1
	-Worsened	0.0
	-Severely worsened	9.1

7. How has democracy in Mongolia influenced your life?	-Positively	30.0
	-Relatively positively	70.0
	-Both positively and negatively	0.0
	-Relatively negatively	0.0
	-Negatively	0.0

A. CITIZENSHIP, LAW AND RIGHTS

8. How good is your knowledge about the following laws and legal documents?

	Very good	Good	Average	Poor	Very poor	Do not know
1. Constitution	45.4	36.4	18.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
2. Human rights	45.4	18.2	27.3	9.1	0.0	0.0
3. Electoral law	54.3	27.5	18.2	0.0	0.0	0.0

9. Have you at any time voiced your constitutional rights to a public official?	-Yes	81.8
	-No	18.2

10. If yes, what was their reaction?	-Respected your opinion	45.4
	-They were surprised	9.1
	-They were reluctant	9.1
	-They did not understand	9.1
	-They were negative	9.1
	-Red tape	0.0
	-Not applicable	18.2

11. In the case of legal problems whom do you turn for advice?	-Friends	27.3
	-Colleagues	0.0
	- Local community group, relatives	0.0
	-MPs and high-ranking officials	0.0
	-Representatives of legal institutions	36.3
	-Acquaintance in legal institutions	9.1
	-Other /specify: advocate, responsible legal representative/	27.3

12. What are the main obstacles to resolving matters at legal and judicial institutions?	-Red tape	11.8
	-Nepotism	17.6
	-Inefficiency	29.4
	-Difficulty in understanding legal process	11.8
	-Lack of trust in fair decision-making	5.9
-Unfriendly attitude	23.5	

13. Do you agree with the following public attitudes?

	Completely agree	Partly agree	Disagree completely	Don't know
1. Judiciary gives priority to state interests	9.1	54.5	18.2	18.2
2. Judiciary serves more those who have money and authority	45.5	54.5	0.0	0.0
3. Judiciary may not follow legal rules in order to sentence a person	9.1	36.4	45.4	9.1
4. An official can influence the decision-making of the judiciary	9.1	72.7	0.0	18.2
5. Enforcement of legal verdicts can be manipulated	18.2	54.5	18.2	9.1
14. According to you what are the main obstacles to implementing laws in Mongolia?				
		-Poor monitoring and control of implementation		14.8
		-Lack of accountability		14.8
		-Traditions and customs		7.4
		-Lack of civic education		18.5
		-Big territory		0.0
		-Nomadic way of life		0.0
		-Violation of law by officials and state institutions		25.9
		-Cronyism		18.6
15. There is an opinion that human rights protection in Mongolia is insufficient. According to you what are main reasons for this?				
		-Poor civic education		15.0
		-State coercion has increased		5.0
		-Social discrimination has increased		15.0
		-Corruption and bribery have increased		45.0
		-Police brutality		20.0
16. There is an opinion that not everyone can be equally protected by the judiciary. Why is it so?				
		-Prohibitive cost of registering a legal claim		13.3
		-Nepotism of judges		13.3
		-Corruption		40.0
		-Territorial distance		6.7
		-Lack of civic education		6.7
		-All of the above		13.3
		-Others		6.7
		- Do not know		6.7
17. There is an opinion that citizens have limited access to legal assistance. What is the reason for this?				
		-Nomadic lifestyle		0.0
		-Harsh climate		0.0
		-Territorial distance		9.1
		-Insufficient legal aid organizations		18.1
		-Mistakes by the judiciary		18.2
		-Lack of finance		9.1
		-Weak legal education		9.1
		-Lack of advertisement		9.1
		-Weak performance of government institutions		18.2
		-No answer		9.1
18. What are the main difficulties to getting employed?				
		-Discrimination based on party affiliation		22.9
		-Nepotism		31.8
		-Corruption		18.2
		-Gender discrimination		9.1
		-Discrimination by age and physical appearances		4.5
		-Lack of jobs		4.5
		-Lack of skills		4.5
		-All of the above		4.5

19. Do civil servants experience political pressure?	-Yes	36.4
	-No	4.5
	-Do not know	13.6
	-No answer	45.5

20. How much political pressure do you think there is on people's lives?	-Very high	36.4
	-High	18.2
	-Average	27.2
	-Low	9.1
	-Not at all	0.0
	-Do not know...	9.1

21. What are the main reasons for social discrimination?

Category label	Very high	High	Average	Low	Not at all	Don't know
1. Ethnicity	0.0	18.2	18.2	9.1	36.3	18.2
2. Prosperity and money	18.2	63.6	18.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
3. Social origin	18.2	9.1	9.1	18.2	36.3	9.1
4. Differences between city and countryside	9.1	9.1	27.3	9.1	27.2	18.2
5. Gender	0.0	18.2	18.2	18.2	27.2	18.2
6. Official position	18.2	45.4	18.2	9.1	9.1	0.0
7. Political party membership	45.4	27.3	9.1	9.1	9.1	0.0
8. Place of birth (local group)	9.1	27.2	18.2	27.3	0.0	18.2
9. Poverty	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

22. Please evaluate a state of social discrimination in the following social sectors?

Category label	Very high	High	Average	Low	Not at all	Do not know
1. Health	0.0	36.3	27.3	9.1	9.1	18.2
2. Education	0.0	36.3	36.4	9.1	0.0	18.2
3. Social care	0.0	18.2	45.4	18.2	0.0	18.2
4. Social insurance	0.0	9.1	45.4	27.3	0.0	18.2
5. Government administration	54.5	27.3	9.1	9.1	0.0	0.0

23. Have you or any member of your family been subjected to the following as actions by the state?

Category label	Common	Rarely	Almost none	Do not know
1. Physical attack	0.0	0.0	27.3	72.7
3. Illegal arrest	0.0	9.1	36.3	54.6
4. Illegal search	0.0	0.0	36.4	63.6
5. Inviolability of the home	0.0	0.0	36.4	63.6
6. Inviolability of correspondence	0.0	18.2	45.4	36.4
7. Insult of personality	27.3	36.4	9.1	27.2
8. Brutality	9.1	9.1	45.4	36.4

24. Have you or your family members ever complained to international human rights organizations or courts about violation of your rights?	-Yes	0.0
	-No	100.0

B. REPRESENTATIVE AND ACCOUNTABLE GOVERNMENT

25. Do you vote in elections?	-Regularly	72.7
	-Sometimes	27.3
	-No participation	0.0

26. What are the reasons for your failure to vote?

Category label	Frequency	Valid Percent
Was busy at that time	1	9.1

No answer	2	18.2
Not applicable	8	72.7
Total	11	100.0

27. Have the Election Committee and its branches been functioning fairly?	-Yes	30.0
	-No	70.0

28. If not why?	-Were not independent of political party influence	41.2
	-Some members of above organizations have been corrupted	5.7
	-List of voters was falsified	5.7
	-No mutual control of committee members	11.7
	-Influence of government officials	0.0
	-Poor public control	5.7
	-Not applicable	30.0

29. Which political party you feel close to?		
- Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party		27.3
- Democratic Party		36.4
- All are the same		36.3

30. How has your trust in political parties changed?	-Increased	33.3
	-Same	44.4
	-Decreased	22.3

31. Which democratic characteristics are common to our political parties?

MPRP	Do not know	Very common	Common	Somewhat common	Uncommon	Very uncommon
	0	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	5.00
Transparency	9.1	27.3	18.2	9.1	0.0	36.3
Rule of law	9.1	9.1	27.3	9.1	27.2	18.2
Competition of ideas	9.1	27.3	27.2	18.2	9.1	9.1
Integrity	9.1	9.1	18.2	27.2	18.2	18.2
Respect to public interest	9.1	9.1	18.2	36.3	9.1	18.2
Political culture	9.1	18.2	18.2	18.2	18.2	18.1
Internal democracy	9.1	27.3	18.2	9.1	9.1	27.2

Democratic Party	Do not know	Very common	Common	Somewhat common	Uncommon	Very uncommon
	0	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	5.00
Transparency	0.0	18.2	18.2	9.1	27.2	27.3
Rule of law	0.0	9.1	36.4	27.2	18.2	9.1
Competition of ideas	0.0	18.2	0.0	9.1	27.2	45.5
Integrity	0.0	9.1	9.1	36.4	18.2	27.2
Respect to public interest	0.0	9.1	18.2	27.3	27.2	18.2
Political culture	0.0	18.2	27.2	18.2	18.2	18.2
Internal democracy	0.0	18.2	18.2	0.0	9.1	54.5

Civil Will Party	Do not know	Very common	Common	Somewhat common	Uncommon	Very uncommon
	0	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	5.00
Transparency	9.1	18.2	18.1	0.0	36.4	18.2
Rule of law	9.1	18.2	18.1	9.1	36.4	9.1
Competition of ideas	9.1	9.1	27.2	27.3	18.2	9.1
Integrity	9.1	18.2	9.1	18.1	45.5	0.0
Respect to public interest	9.1	18.2	18.1	18.2	36.4	0.0
Political culture	9.1	9.1	27.2	9.1	36.4	9.1
Internal democracy	9.1	9.1	36.3	27.3	9.1	9.1

Motherland Party	Do not know 0	Very common 1.00	Common 2.00	Somewhat common 3.00	Uncommon 4.00	Very uncommon 5.00
Transparency	27.2	27.3	18.2	27.3	0.0	0.0
Rule of law	27.2	18.2	27.3	18.2	9.1	0.0
Competition of ideas	27.2	36.4	9.1	0.0	9.1	18.2
Integrity	27.2	18.2	27.3	27.3	0.0	0.0
Respect to public interest	27.2	27.3	18.2	18.2	9.1	0.0
Political culture	27.2	27.3	27.3	18.2	0.0	0.0
Internal democracy	27.2	36.4	9.1	27.3	0.0	0.0

Republican Party	Do not know 0	Very common 1.00	Common 2.00	Somewhat common 3.00	Uncommon 4.00	Very uncommon 5.00
Transparency	27.2	27.3	9.1	18.2	9.1	9.1
Rule of law	27.2	18.2	27.3	18.2	9.1	0.0
Competition of ideas	27.2	27.3	9.1	9.1	18.2	9.1
Integrity	27.2	18.2	18.2	36.4	0.0	0.0
Respect to public interest	27.2	18.2	27.3	18.2	9.1	0.0
Political culture	27.2	18.2	18.2	18.2	9.1	9.1
Internal democracy	27.2	27.3	18.2	18.2	9.1	0.0

Other	Do not know 0	Very common 1.00	Common 2.00	Somewhat common 3.00	Uncommon 4.00	Very uncommon 5.00
Transparency	81.8	9.1	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rule of law	81.8	9.1	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Competition of ideas	81.8	9.1	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Integrity	81.8	9.1	0.0	9.1	0.0	0.0
Respect to public interest	81.8	9.1	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Political culture	81.8	9.1	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Internal democracy	81.8	9.1	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0

32. Which non-democratic characteristics are common to our political parties?

MPRP	Do not know 0	Very common 1.00	Common 2.00	Somewhat common 3.00	Uncommon 4.00	Very uncommon 5.00
Bribery	0.0	12.5	12.5	12.5	12.5	50.0
Pressure on civil servants	0.0	12.5	12.5	12.5	25.0	37.5
Setting price on government positions	0.0	11.1	22.2	11.1	0.0	55.6
Empty promises	0.0	11.2	22.2	22.2	22.2	22.2
Defamation	0.0	37.5	25.0	12.5	25.0	0.0
Conspiracy	0.0	25.0	0.0	37.5	0.0	37.5
Manipulating information / opinion	0.0	25.0	0.0	25.0	12.5	37.5

Democratic Party	Do not know 0	Very common 1.00	Common 2.00	Somewhat common 3.00	Uncommon 4.00	Very uncommon 5.00
Bribery	0.0	33.3	0.0	11.1	11.1	44.5
Pressure on civil servants	9.1	9.1	36.3	18.2	9.1	18.2
Setting price on government positions	0.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	0.0	70.0
Empty promises	9.1	9.1	9.1	9.1	18.2	45.4
Defamation	0.0	10.0	0.0	60.0	0.0	30.0
Conspiracy	9.1	9.1	9.1	36.4	0.0	36.3
Manipulating information / opinion	0.0	0.0	30.0	20.0	20.0	30.0

Civil Will Party	Do not know 0	Very common 1.00	Common 2.00	Somewhat common 3.00	Un common 4.00	Very uncommon 5.00
Bribery	45.4	9.1	0.0	36.4	9.1	0.0
Pressure on civil servants	45.4	0.0	18.2	27.3	9.1	0.0
Setting price on government positions	45.4	0.0	9.1	36.4	9.1	0.0
Empty promises	45.4	0.0	27.3	0.0	9.1	18.2
Defamation	45.4	0.0	18.2	9.1	18.2	9.1
Conspiracy	45.4	18.2	0.0	9.1	9.1	18.2
Manipulating information / opinion	45.4	9.1	9.1	0.0	18.2	18.2

Motherland Party	Do not know 0	Very common 1.00	Common 2.00	Somewhat common 3.00	Un common 4.00	Very uncommon 5.00
Bribery	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	16.6	50.0
Pressure on civil servants	45.4	0.0	18.2	18.2	18.2	0.0
Setting price on government positions	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	66.6	16.7
Empty promises	45.5	0.0	0.0	9.1	9.1	36.3
Defamation	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	50.0
Conspiracy	45.5	0.0	0.0	9.1	0.0	45.4
Manipulating information / opinion	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	33.3	33.4

Republican Party	Do not know 0	Very common 1.00	Common 2.00	Somewhat common 3.00	Un common 4.00	Very uncommon 5.00
Bribery	0.0	0.0	33.3	33.3	16.7	16.7
Pressure on civil servants	45.5	0.0	27.2	9.1	9.1	9.1
Setting price on government positions	0.0	0.0	33.3	33.3	16.7	16.7
Empty promises	45.5	9.1	9.1	0.0	27.2	9.1
Defamation	0.0	0.0	16.7	16.7	16.6	50.0
Conspiracy	45.4	9.1	9.1	0.0	18.2	18.2
Manipulating information / opinion	0.0	0.0	16.7	16.7	33.3	33.3

Other	Do not know 0	Very common 1.00	Common 2.00	Somewhat common 3.00	Un common 4.00	Very uncommon 5.00
Bribery	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Pressure on civil servants	90.9	0.0	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Setting price on government positions	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Empty promises	90.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1
Defamation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Conspiracy	90.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1
Manipulating information / opinion	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

33. What is the impact of the following on the political process?

Category label	Very high	High	Average	Low	Almost not
1 Relatives	27.3	27.3	18.2	27.2	0.0
2 Local groups	27.3	36.4	36.3	0.0	0.0
3 Friends, personal connections	18.2	45.4	27.3	9.1	0.0
4 Official position	54.5	36.4	0.0	0.0	9.1
5 Others	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0

34. Please evaluate the performance of the following institutions? (Present)

Category label	Very effective	Effective	Average	Poor effective	Almost not	Do not know
1 Parliament	0.0	36.4	36.3	18.2	9.1	0.0
2 Government	0.0	9.1	18.1	36.4	36.4	0.0
3 President	0.0	36.4	27.2	18.2	18.2	0.0
4 Courts	0.0	0.0	45.4	45.5	9.1	0.0
5 Ministries & agencies	0.0	0.0	36.3	36.4	27.3	0.0
6 Local hurals/ assemblies	0.0	9.1	9.1	27.3	54.5	0.0
7 Local governor, administration	0.0	0.0	72.7	9.1	18.2	0.0
8 Police	0.0	18.2	36.3	36.4	9.1	0.0
9 General Election Committee	0.0	18.2	18.1	45.5	18.2	0.0
10 Human rights' Commission	0.0	36.4	18.1	27.3	18.2	0.0
11 Mass media	0.0	18.2	36.3	45.5	0.0	0.0
12 Political parties	0.0	9.1	27.2	9.1	27.3	27.3

35. Are you able to get the necessary information on decisions and activities of state institutions when needed?	-Yes, without troubles	18.2
	-Yes, but have to search for it	72.7
	-No	9.1
	-Not necessary	0.0

36. If yes, how do you get the information?	-From official sources	72.7
	-From officials	18.2
	-Not applicable	9.1

37. If you are not able to receive the information, then why?	-Permission needed	7.2
	-Bureaucracy	28.5
	-Do not know procedures	7.2
	-No person is responsible for disseminating information	0.0
	-Multiple referrals	0.0
	-Information is closed	0.0
	-Not applicable	57.1

38. How much corruption is there in the following areas?

Areas	Very high	High	Average	Low	Very low
1 Parliament, Government	27.2	36.4	27.3	9.1	0.0
2 Ministries, agencies	45.4	45.5	9.1	0.0	0.0
3 Local administration	27.2	45.5	9.1	18.2	0.0
4 NGO	10.0	0.0	10.0	80.0	0.0
5 Arts and sport	9.1	36.3	27.3	18.2	9.1

C. CIVIL SOCIETY AND POPULAR PARTICIPATION

39. How much are you interested in politics?	-Very interested	63.6
	-Interested	36.4
	-Not so much	0.0
	-A little	0.0
	-Not at all	0.0

40. If not why?	Not applicable
------------------------	----------------

41. Have you ever taken part in the following political actions?

Category label	Often	Sometimes	No
Any protest or demonstration	10.0	70.0	20.0
Solving local problems	36.4	45.5	18.1
Appealing to mass media	18.2	54.5	27.3
Appealing to political parties	27.3	45.5	27.2
Appealing to MPs	27.3	54.5	18.2

Campaigning in elections	45.5	36.4	18.1
Others	0.0	66.7	33.3

42. Why in your opinion people participate in politics?	-To contribute to national development	30.8
	-To defend one's interest	15.4
	-To make government hear one's opinion	15.4
	-To advance one's career	19.2
	-To make money	7.7
	-To help one's relatives, friends	3.8
	-To increase one's prestige	7.7
	-To consolidate one's authority	0.0

43. Are you member of a NGO?	- Yes	72.7
	-No	27.3

44. If yes, specify number of NGOs you member of?

Number of NGOs	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
1.00	1	9.1	12.5
2.00	1	9.1	12.5
3.00	2	18.15	25.0
4.00	2	18.15	25.0
5.00	1	9.1	12.5
20.00	1	9.1	12.5
Total	8	72.7	100.0
Not applicable	3	27.3	
Mean	5.25		
Std. Deviation	6.089		

45. How can you evaluate activities of NGOs operating in your place of residence?	-Very good	9.1
	-Good	9.1
	-Average	45.5
	-Poor	27.2
	-Very poor	0.0
	-Do not know	9.1

46. Do you agree with the following statements on NGOs?

Category label	Yes	No	No opinion	Do not know
1 NGO is a public voice	45.5	0.0	45.4	9.1
2 NGOs have influence on state decision-making	27.3	9.1	54.5	9.1
3 NGOs have influence on local decision-making	27.3	9.1	54.5	9.1
4 NGOs protect public interests	45.5	0.0	36.3	18.2
5 NGOs protect interests of limited group of people	63.6	0.0	18.2	18.2
6 NGOs are a means for profit-making from foreign aid	54.5	9.1	9.1	27.3

47. Please specify how much the following people help/support you?

Category label	Very good	Good	Sometimes	A few	No support	No answer
1 Friends	36.4	27.3	27.2	0.0	0.0	9.1
2 Colleagues	9.1	27.3	27.3	18.1	9.1	9.1
3 Business partners	0.0	18.2	9.1	18.1	45.5	9.1
4 Relatives	9.1	27.3	0.0	9.1	45.4	9.1
5 Local groups	9.1	27.3	0.0	18.1	36.4	9.1
6 NGOs	0.0	18.2	0.0	27.2	45.5	9.1
8 Persons from non-Buddhist confessions	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1	81.8	9.1
9 Persons from Buddhist organizations	0.0	9.1	27.2	18.2	36.4	9.1
10 Same political party	18.2	27.3	27.2	9.1	9.1	9.1

comrades							
11	Government officials	9.1	0.0	45.4	18.2	18.2	9.1
12	Politicians, MPs	9.1	36.3	18.2	18.2	9.1	9.1
13	Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	18.2	72.7	9.1

48. How much local self-government is there in the following areas?

Category label	Good	Average	Poor	Don't know
Budget, finance	0.0	18.2	72.6	9.1
Human resources	9.1	27.3	54.5	9.1
Decision making on local issues	0.0	54.5	36.4	9.1
Management of local resources	0.0	45.5	45.4	9.1
Public service capacity	0.0	36.4	54.5	9.1
Provision of information to citizens	0.0	27.3	63.6	9.1

49. How do the following social groups influence government decision?

Category label	Very good	Effective	Average	Low	Poor effective	Do not know	No answer
Women	0.0	27.3	63.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1
Bankers	9.1	36.3	36.4	0.0	9.1	0.0	9.1
Herders	0.0	27.2	18.2	36.4	9.1	0.0	9.1
Businessmen	18.2	63.6	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1
Poor	0.0	9.1	9.1	36.3	36.4	0.0	9.1
Foreign aid organizations	18.2	63.6	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1
National minority	0.0	0.0	18.2	18.2	45.4	9.1	9.1
Youth	0.0	36.3	27.3	9.1	9.1	9.1	9.1
Veterans/pensioners	0.0	27.2	45.5	0.0	9.1	9.1	9.1
Journalists	18.2	36.3	18.2	0.0	9.1	9.1	9.1
Political party leaders	63.6	27.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1

50. What sources do you receive information from and how frequently?

Category label	Daily	2-3 times a week	Once a week	Never	No answer
Radio	18.2	27.2	27.3	18.2	9.1
TV	90.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1
Newspapers	90.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1
From other people	45.4	36.4	9.1	0.0	9.1
Internet	63.6	18.2	0.0	9.1	9.1
Others	9.1	9.1	0.0	72.7	9.1

51. What sources provide the most reliable information?

Category label	Count	Pct of responses	Pct of cases
Radio	1	5.6	9.1
TVs	6	33.3	54.5
Channel 25	1	5.6	9.1
Newspapers	4	22.2	36.4
National Public TV	1	5.6	9.1
Eagle Channel	3	16.6	27.3
No answer	2	11.1	18.2
Total responses	18	100.0	163.7

52. What kind of information do you prefer?

Category label	Count	Responses	Cases
True information	3	25.0	27.3
Practical information	1	8.3	9.1
Various, different	3	25.0	27.3
No answer	5	41.7	45.5
Total responses	12	100.0	109.1

D. DEMOCRACY BEYOND THE STATE

53. Your opinion about foreign aid?	-Should be increased	36.4
	-Should remain at the same level	27.3
	-Should be reduced	36.3
54. Are you able to get information on how foreign aid is spent?	-Yes	18.2
	-Sometimes	72.7
	-Not at all	9.1
55. How effectively is foreign aid spent?	-Very good	0.0
	-Good	9.1
	-Average	54.5
	-Bad	27.3
	-Very bad	0.0
	-No answer	9.1
56. Do you agree with the statement that Mongolia has become dependant on foreign aid / loans?	-Yes	36.4
	-No	54.5
	-Do not know	9.1
57. How actively does Mongolia participate in supporting democracy abroad?	-Very actively	9.1
	-Actively	9.1
	-Actively	36.4
	-Passively	18.2
	-Not at all	9.1
	-Do not know	18.1

E. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

58. What is your opinion about death penalty?	-Should be	63.6
	-Should be abolished	36.4
59. How much is your right for individual safety (the right to life) guaranteed?	-Guaranteed	9.1
	-Does not guaranteed	90.9
60. If you have recently relocated, what kind of difficulties have you experienced?	-Registration of documents	23.1
	-Medical service	0.0
	-Education of children	0.0
	-Bureaucracy	23.1
	-Employment	7.7
	-No answer	38.5
	-Do not know	7.6

61. How often have the following happened to your family?

	Often	Sometimes	Never
To be without food	0.0	0.0	100.0
No access to medical service	0.0	27.3	72.7
Cannot send children to school	0.0	9.1	90.9
Pollution	27.2	45.5	27.3
Unemployment	0.0	36.3	63.7

62. Do you or your family members feel secure from hooligans and criminals?	-Yes	36.4
	-In general yes	45.5
	-No	18.1

63. Have you or family members been subjected to criminal offense?	-Once	18.2
	-Few times	9.1

	-No	54.5
	-No remember	9.1
	-Do not know	9.1
64. Have you or family members been subjected to police harassment/brutality?	-Permanently	0.0
	-Several times	18.2
	-Once	36.4
	-No	27.3
	-No remember	18.1
65. Has your family relocated since 1990?	-Yes, more than one time	45.5
	-Yes, one time	27.3
	-No	27.2

F. PERSONAL DATA

1. Age

Age of group	Valid Percent
25-35	27.3
36-40	18.2
41-45	36.4
55	9.1
no answer	9.0
Total	100.0

2. Gender

Gender:	Male	100%
Education:	University	100%
Place of residence:	Capital	100%
Place of residence in Ulaanbaatar:	downtown	100%
What is your religion?	Buddha	100%

3. Place yourself in the following social strata?

	Valid Percent
Upper stratum	9.1
Upper middle	63.6
Middle	27.3

4. Your monthly income

	Percent
Sufficient	9.1
Enough	63.6
Insufficient	18.2
Not at all	9.1

5. Your source of income (multiple answers)

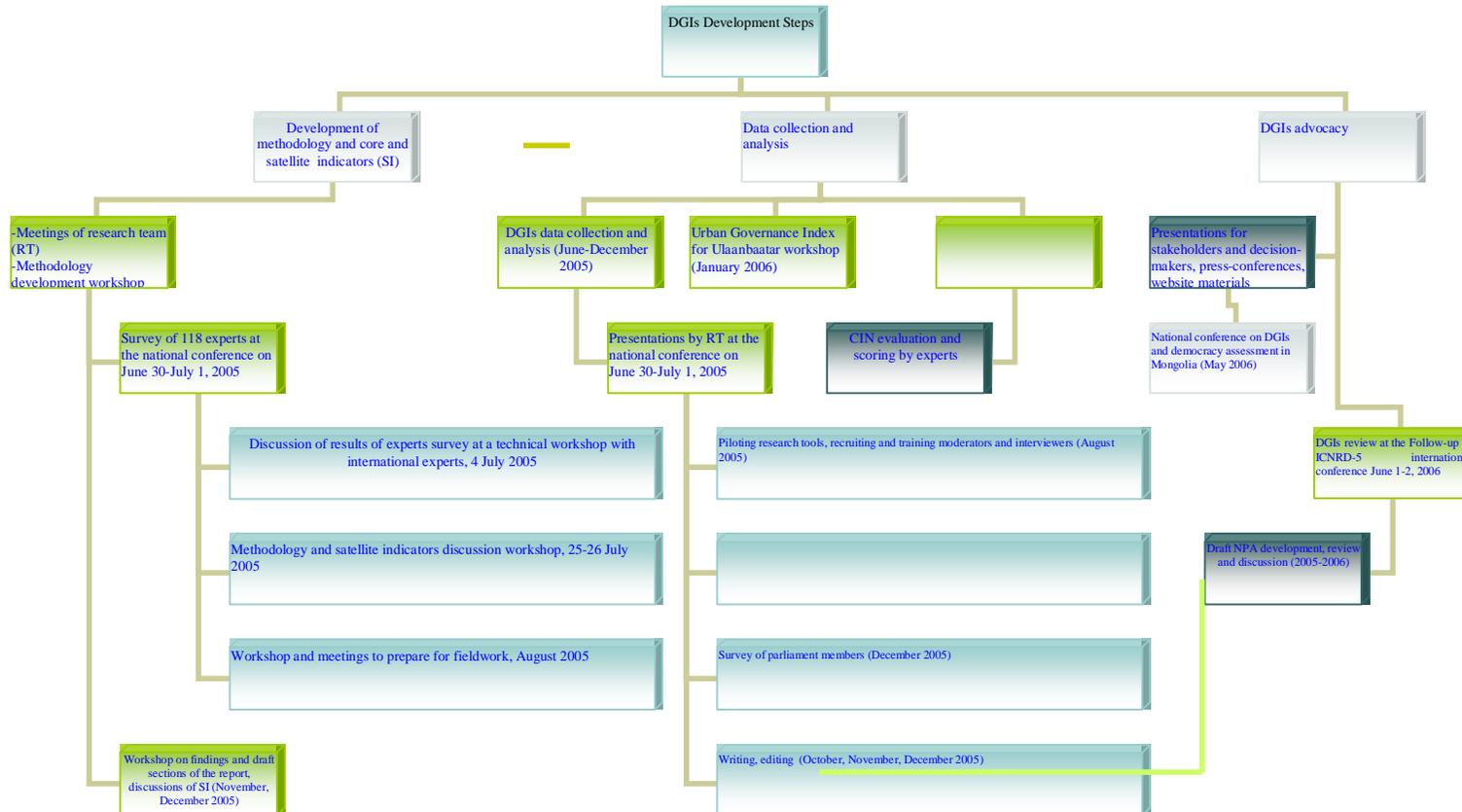
Category label	Pct of Responses
Salary	58.6
Rent	17.6
Business profit	11.8
Pension	11.8

Profit from herds	0.2
-------------------	-----

6. Your monthly income

	Valid Percent
Sufficient	4.8
Enough	21.8
Insufficient	56.3
Not at all	17.1
Total	100.0

8.4. DGIs DEVELOPMENT STEPS



8.5. SAMPLE OF FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW: THE “NINJAS”

The national research team held focus group exercises involving around 40 different social and professional groups. The current sample reflects the focus group exercise involving the so-called “ninjas”, private individual gold-diggers that have become a peculiar social group in Mongolia. Today, Mongolia is experiencing a “gold rush” that the US witnessed in the 19th century with impoverished herders, urban unemployed, ex-criminals and others consumed by the desire for a quick profit camping around gold mines and having formed a new and mixed social group of “ninjas”. The “ninjas” are a group alienated from the society, living outside the state registration system and social protection and social care mechanisms. They are amateur gold prospectors bearing a resemblance to the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles because they carry big green plastic tubs on their backs. The “ninjas” are inclusive of many representatives of the social groups that existed under the old social system

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW

Name of survey	<i>Public survey of democratic governance</i>
Form of interview:	<i>DIALOGUE</i>
Object of survey:	<i>The Ninjas group</i>
Area:	<i>Tsogt Ovoo soum, Umnugobi aimag</i>
Date:	<i>16 September 2005</i>
Interview duration:	<i>11⁴⁰ -18⁵⁰</i>
Anchor:	<i>D. Enhbold</i>

Introduction

1. B. Battur, male, 37 years old
2. Tseesuren, female, 48 years old. Single mother of three children
3. N. Battur, male, 55 years old
4. Shineehuu, female, 53 years old
5. Tsetsegmaa, female, married, has three children
6. Alexander, male, 50 years old, married, has four children

GENERAL INFORMATION

What were you doing before?

B. Battur: I am from Tsogt-Ovoo soum of Umnugobi aimag. I have been here for six months. Before that, I worked as border troops, driver, and lieutenant of a unit. I was in the border troops for 18 years.

Tseesuren: I am also from Tsogt-Ovoo. I have been here for the past three years. Before, I used to run a bar. I am here because I need to pay for the tuition of my children who are students in a college.

N. Battur: I am from Umnugobi. I am a retiree from the armed forces. I am digging gold to pay for my kid’s tuition.

Shinehuu: I worked for many years in a state organization. I am unemployed now and have not yet reached the pension age.

Tsetsegmaa: I come from Tsogt-Ovoo in the Umnugobi aimag. I have a family of 5, my husband and three children. I used to work as a chef. Now I am unemployed.

Alexander: I am from the same place as others. I live with my wife and kids, the six of us.



What are the difficulties you encounter while working here?

Alexander: I work here together with my wife. We are doing this to survive. The tax is 4000 tugrugs per person. It is difficult here. Even for a tap water, we have to pay 2500.

Tsesuren: There is no use in complaining as we are here of our own volition. The conditions are very difficult. The only thing that I would ask from the government is to establish a medical unit here, the rest – different services are here. This is needed because the population here can be compared to a small soum or a big bagh. When you are sick, there is no one to turn to for even a basic medical help. When there is an emergency, we need to transport people. And this takes time.

Shinehuu: There is no equipment here. In winter and in summer, all the year round, we have only these green tubs to wash the gold. Some people have made their own “scrapers” and wash the gold using them. Recently, some people who claim to be owners of the mine have started forcing us out. In fact, we are the owners of our land. We are under a lot of pressure as the aimag Governor, Sumya, came along with 40-50 police to force us out. Also, there is a tax burden. We pay 3000 every week. There are physical dangers such as the mine may collapse. We don't have any security and the right to live. Many people have died when the mine collapses.

Tsetsegmaa: There are many difficulties. The soum gets 4000 every two weeks as a tax. If only we could pay this tax every month instead. They come when we don't have the money.

Every one pays the tax. It would be better if families were taxed. Sometimes the mine that we have been digging will collapse. Sometimes people die under it. This is very dangerous. The local authorities pay no attention to this.

You have been doing this for quite some time now. Have there been any changes in your life?

Tseesuren: I feel that sometimes it is better now, and sometimes that it is still the same. I am able to satisfy only the basic needs. This summer around 500 persons have arrived here. If it were 300, that would be O.K. The remaining 200 are very impoverished. Because it is a temporary job, it really does not bring lasting capital. If the nature is benevolent, we get to have a little more. We have 5 children, three are adults now, and two are college students. We pay 360.000 tugrugs as tuition plus the dorm payments. Altogether we need to pay 2 million tugrugs annually. We earn this by digging here. Our income is not stable. We work because we believe that some day we will find a lot of gold. There are no guarantees of safety and income at all. Last year, one man died under the mine, this year, another person fell from a top, and died. We have no medical help here.

N. Battur: It is O.K. Mother Nature helps a lot to survive. We have food to eat. When there is luck, it is much better. At other times, it is really hard.

Alexander: If taxes are lowered, this will help a lot. Unluckily, taxes are high.

When you experience all of this, have you had any thoughts about quitting your work here because you may die accidentally?

Tseesuren: There is no sense in quitting, as the government is not going to provide jobs. It is O.K. with us; we receive our 34000 as pension. But these young people have no jobs, so they have to stay here to earn some living. Recently, we heard that in Tsetsen Ovoo, they needed 100 drivers. We were glad to hear that. At least some of the younger people will have stable jobs.

B. Battur: We don't have any income. We have 4 kids. My wife is also unemployed. Even here, we have not worked much. Children help to have food for every day. If I had stayed five years longer in the border troops and had retired, I would have gotten compensation according to law. I retired in 2003 and have not received anything as compensation. I filed all the necessary documents and have not yet received any reply.

Who mostly comes here to work?

Tseesuren: There are a lot of people with bank debts. Also, parents who come to earn tuition fees for their children and students come during the summer. Those who have debts; some are able to pay them off, and some are not. The people who are working here are not well off. The people with debts work very hard whereas those with no debts tend to like to have it easy on them and don't earn a lot.

Shinehuu: There are a lot of families coming for the summer only. They come from Dundgobi, Uvurhangai, and Bayanhongor. There is digging all year round because this is the Gobi. Even the soum governor came to dig. Even bosses can't survive on their salaries.

Alexander: Those who come here are mostly jobless and without herds.

Can you compare the previous government service and the current?

Tseesuren: Previously, there were no jobless people. People would get punished for not working. Today, people are doing what they like because of human rights. Those who work survive, and those who don't, stay poor. Here, the nature is rich and lets many survive.

Alexander: During the past 15 years, my life has gone down. I believe that this depends on a person. Recently, I have had no job. I get no pension.



Do you agree that in order to get into government service, you need to have personal connections and give a bribe?

Tseesuren: I agree fully. Without personal connections it is difficult to get your child into a school. We had no opportunity to get a government job, this is why we are here like in a forced dislocation. It is due to our acquaintances that we have been able to come over here.

X: Although it is not open to the public, I agree fully. They look for personal connections, lovers etc. In my personal example, Sumya, the soum governor, fired me. He hired a woman instead of me. I believe that she was his lover. And there must have been other issues. I also feel that my party affiliation played a role. I was chair of a party cell, and even made it to a soum governor. I was on a government position but did not have a chance to send any of my kids to school on a government grant.

B. Battur: I think that there must have been something but I don't know much about this.

What do you know about local appointments as a result of personal connections, party affiliation, and corruption?

Tseesuren: If the higher ups belong to one party, then usually, the lower officials also belong to that party. For example, if they belong to the MPRP, the rest are also MPRP.

What is the level of corruption in Mongolia?

N. Battur: I can't deny that there is corruption. It exists at the medium level and up. Corruption exists between people who have money and give and receive bribes. The fight in Umnugobi aimag over government appointments was related to corruption. I think there must have been some machinations at the top. There is corruption also in law enforcement. The higher up officials have their own network of corruption. Among those who are corrupt, the taxation offices are the first. Then go the courts, the police, and the customs. I don't know whether there is corruption in healthcare. The higher up the ladder, the more corruption is there.

Tseesuren: I don't know much about corruption. When my child was treated in the Third Clinical Hospital, I didn't have to give any bribe.

Are you interested in political life? About elections: why do you think people get involved in politics?

Tseesuren: I am interested in politics and vote in elections. We were educated about politics since childhood, and people of our generation are active in political life. The youth are somewhat passive about this.

Shineehuu: People go into politics to have power and use it. Also they love to travel abroad and this is why they get there.

N. Battur: Compared to earlier years, Mongolians are learning to vote. The participation in elections is going down. Mongolians are getting tired of many parties. They now prefer to vote for individuals. People don't care about the number of parties and membership and vote for a person. I believe that it will be more effective if many parties agreed on one person. Even if parties are good, the person may be bad and will not get elected. I think that consensus is the right way.

B. Battur: Elections are fair.

Alexander: I vote in elections. I believe that elections are conducted fairly. I don't have much trust in parties. I have little knowledge about ministries and government jobs.

What is the level of democracy in your province?

Tseesuren: We are governed by democracy. When democracy came about, I thought it was the right thing to do. Recently, there have been difficulties because of mistakes and the living standard. Today, we have become accustomed to democracy. To me, democracy is transparency. We have a lot of freedom. We say what we want to. Democracy in our country is copied very much from foreign countries. I am afraid that we may lose a lot of money by faulty promises and projects. I am afraid that through democracy we may lose our country to foreigners. We have good and bad things about democracy. What is stalling democracy are red tape, corruption and others. I believe that after democracy, my life has improved. When I became jobless, it has gone down.

N. Battur: I think we have a crisis of democracy. People tend to think in old ways. Today, the MPRP is no longer what it used to be. They are all new people who are exploiting the name of the party. People with qualification and talent are not appointed anymore. They fear that they will be replaced by the more talented. Private organizations are different in this respect than government organizations. Relatives create a company and divide profits. They don't like strangers.

Shinehhuu: Democracy depends on what every person thinks about it. When I think of democracy, it is human rights and justice. Well, democracy is developing in Mongolia. But human rights are still violated and pressure on people is still there. Democracy is only beginning. In the future, it will be better.

X: Democracy is implemented. I understand democracy as freedom. And locally, democracy is developing. Small things are also about democracy. We now have cell phones. The MPRP is the biggest obstacle to democracy. I personally support the Democratic Party.

Alexander: I don't know much about this. Democracy is the fact I am digging soil here.

What do you know about human rights? Do you know your rights?

Tseesuren: The right to life and be healthy. The majority of people doesn't know their basic rights and have them violated. There is no one to tell them and they believe whatever they hear. They don't fight for their rights. And they get hurt a lot.

N. Battur: The situation is bad. The governor doesn't pay any attention. The parliament also pays no attention. They pass a lot of laws that are not enforced. They are more interested in the number of laws than in saying which law is more useful for the people. Because we don't know our rights, we can't apply them.

Alexander: We don't know our rights. There is no rights' education.



How much in your opinion the people are provided with economic rights and the right to live in a safe environment?

Tseesuren: I believe that the level is acceptable. What we as ordinary people lack is sufficient provision of dorm spaces for our children when the school year starts. They usually say that there are no places or the payment is very high. The Government pays no attention to where our college students should live. Under socialism, the Government provided the living spaces. Other people are worried about employment for their children when they graduate. For example, ten students from our soum graduated and only 2-3 were able to find jobs here. Those with personal connections, can get employed at Oyu Tolgoi (the Ivanhoe Mines mining company –ed.), the rest stay unemployed. We, the ordinary people want our children to become educated. What does the Government do to help us? The Government needs to pay attention to employment.

When your rights are violated, whom do you turn to?

B. Battur: I turn to friends and relatives. I don't know how to turn to official people.

Shinehuu: There is someone at the aimag local administration who gives legal advice. I don't know that person. I will turn to the people I know such as relatives and friends.

Tsetsegmaa: I turn to the soum governor. He is very receptive. He solves issues and helps in many ways.

Alexander: When there are difficulties, I turn to relatives and friends. Then I will go and see the bosses. My younger brothers and sisters are the ones that help the most.

Have you ever turned to authorities to defend the rights of gold-diggers?

N. Battur: Many times. Even a member of parliament came. He said that he had heard and then left. Nothing has come out of it. All of this has happened because of unemployment. We are now organizing a movement of local citizens.

How active are NGOs in your local place?

Tseesuren: I know that there is a Gobi Initiative NGO (an USAID funded project-ed.). I don't know of any other.

Tsetsegmaa: I can't say anything. I really don't know.

Where do you get information? Do you believe in that information?

Tseesuren: I get it from the radio, sometimes from newspapers. I get it irregularly, so I take to believe it.

N.Battur. It is becoming better. There are TV5 and TV9 and others. I get information from TV and radio. Some families have nice TV sets. Today, the majority is buying them.

Tsetsegmaa: I have no information. I don't listen to radio or watch TV. I know myself what is to be trusted and what is not. We have little trust. If one person says one thing, there is always another to deny it.

Alexander: I get the information I need from TV and radio. I generally believe it. I get government information regularly.

How much crime is there in your place?

Tseesuren: You have to protect yourself from crime as these are hard times and anything may happen. You have to be vigilant all the time. Today is not a peaceful time. Previously, my relatives deceived me. I didn't take any action against them. If my relatives did this to me, other people will not even hesitate, this is clear. Sometimes, strangers are better than relatives.

N. Battur: Crime is not very high. People understand better now. They know that you may be imprisoned or fined if the law is breached. People have begun to understand now. It is very good that the youth here in Umnugobi are quitting alcohol.

Tsetsegmaa: The authorities are not working against crime. There is also corruption everywhere. My income is not sufficient. My husband's income is not enough to survive on. We protect ourselves from crime. Sometimes there are the police on patrol. People come to pay off their debts. And also students come.

What do you think about accountable government?

Tseesuren: I think that generally the government is accountable. When you switch the radio on, sometimes you can hear them.

Tsetsegmaa: There is no such thing. When an MP comes, then they are accountable.

Alexander: It is very rare when they accountable for what they did.

8.6. AN EXPERT'S VIEW: BUILDING A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

Contributed by Dr. Todd Landman, Director, Human Rights Centre, University of Essex, UK

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. The main aims and objectives of the follow-up activities to ICNRD-5 were successfully achieved through a blend of state-led initiatives that were broadly inclusive of parliamentarians, academia, civil society, and the media.
2. The follow-up activities established a direct link between the assessment of democracy and the consolidation of democracy.
3. The follow-up activities helped build national capacity for democratic assessment and democratic reform.
4. The follow-up activities reflect a common set of challenges faced by all new democracies as well as a set of challenges that are unique to Mongolia.
5. The follow-up activities were carried out in the spirit of international cooperation and set a milestone in the idea of supporting democracy worldwide.
6. The follow-up activities have become institutionalised through the passage of the 9th Millennium Development Goal on human rights, anti-corruption, and democracy.
7. The follow-up activities provide valuable lessons for ICNRD-6, which is chaired by the Government of Qatar.

2. BACKGROUND

The International Conference on New or Restored Democracies (ICNRD) is an intergovernmental process open to all UN member States. Since the first Conference was held with the participation of 13 countries, the ICNRD has grown into a global event bringing together more than 100 countries from the developing and developed world. To date, a total of five International Conferences on New or Restored Democracies have been held in Manila, the Philippines (1988); Managua, Nicaragua (1994); Bucharest, Romania (1997); Cotonou, Benin (2000) and the latest in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia (2003). The next International Conference is to be hosted in Doha, Qatar 29 October- 1 November 2006.

The ICNRD movement recognizes that new or restored democracies face multiple challenges brought about by both national and international forces. Although democracy has advanced rapidly in great parts of the world over the last thirty years, many countries are struggling to consolidate their sovereignty, their democratic achievements, and making democracy itself an irreversible process. New or restored democracies have pledged to ensure that all members of society benefit from the democratization process and are able to participate fully in their new systems of governance. ICNRD represents a forum to discuss and exchange views on democratic governance and developmental issues.

The International Conferences are an all-inclusive intergovernmental mechanism for countries to share knowledge, lessons, and experiences in promoting pluralistic and participatory democracy. The ICNRD enjoys firm support from the United Nations as expressed in a number of UN General Assembly Resolutions and through practical assistance provided by the UN agencies and UN system organizations in the preparation and conduct of the Conferences.

In September 2003, Mongolia hosted the Fifth International Conference of New or Restored Democracies (ICNRD-5), which brought together over 500 participants from 119 States to discuss democracy, good governance and civil society. The record number of countries and high level of participants at the Fifth ICNRD held in Ulaanbaatar demonstrated increasing global support to discuss and promote democratization at the national, regional and global levels. The **Ulaanbaatar Declaration** that resulted from the conference and endorsed by the Fifth ICNRD sets forth six key principles that democratic societies are:

1. *just and responsible*
2. *inclusive and participatory*
3. *promote and protect the rights and freedoms of all their members*
4. *open and transparent*
5. *function under agreed rules of law and accountability regardless of the challenges they may face*
6. *show solidarity toward others*

In addition to the Ulaanbaatar Declaration, the conference adopted the most far reaching **ICNRD Plan of Action** to date that commits participating governments to implement ambitious plans on strengthening democracy along with concrete tools such as democratic governance indicator databases to monitor democratic progress over time.

An innovation of the Fifth ICNRD was to hold a threefold activity comprising the inter-governmental conference, Civil Society Forum, and the Parliamentarians Forum. The findings and recommendations of the Civil Society and Parliamentarian forums were presented to the ICNRD and fed into the final Conference documents. The Parliamentarian and Civil Society members also pledged to institute their own follow-up mechanism to monitor progress. There was broad

consensus at the 2003 Conference for ICNRD to institutionalize the tripartite structure of government, civil society and parliament.

3. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE FOLLOW-UP TO ICNRD-5

As host and chair of ICNRD-5 and with the support of UNDP Mongolia developed an **ICNRD-5 Follow-Up Project** to implement a number of pioneering activities in line with the 2003 Conference recommendations. Since improving the quality of democracy has become a political demand in both new or restored and mature democracies, there is a growing need to assess the progress in democratization and the quality of democracy itself. The ICNRD-5 outcome documents contain an explicit commitment by the governments of new or restored democracies along with their counterparts from mature democracies to develop assessment tools to be better able to monitor progress in democratic and social development over time.

The follow-up project to ICNRD-5 identified the following main aims and objectives:

1. Assess the depth and breadth of democracy
2. Broaden participation in the democratic process through building capacity
3. Engage the government, parliament, and civil society in a national process
4. Develop a set of concrete policies to enhance and consolidate democracy
5. Institutionalize a system for producing annual democratic governance indicators
6. Disseminate findings and share lessons with regional and international partners in ICNRD

4. ACTIVITIES AND OUTPUTS

The Government of Mongolia and the UNDP identified a series of inter-related activities and outputs that would lead to the realization of the main aims and objectives of the follow-up project, including the development of **Democratic Governance Indicators (DGIs)**, a **Country Information Note (CIN)**, and a **National Plan Of Action (NPA)**, as well a series of national and international events and other complementary activities (see Figure 1). It is envisioned that the DGIs, CIN and NPA will help Mongolian stakeholders create a baseline assessment, an ongoing monitoring-mechanism and offer policy guidance to realize its Millennium Development Goals.

In January 2005, a delegation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and UNDP engaged in a series of **international consultations** with The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) in Stockholm and the UNDP's Oslo Governance Centre to learn more about best practices in the areas of democracy assessment and the development of governance indicators. The delegation selected International IDEA's 'State of Democracy' framework and methodology for democracy assessment as the basis for the development of democratic governance indicators in Mongolia.

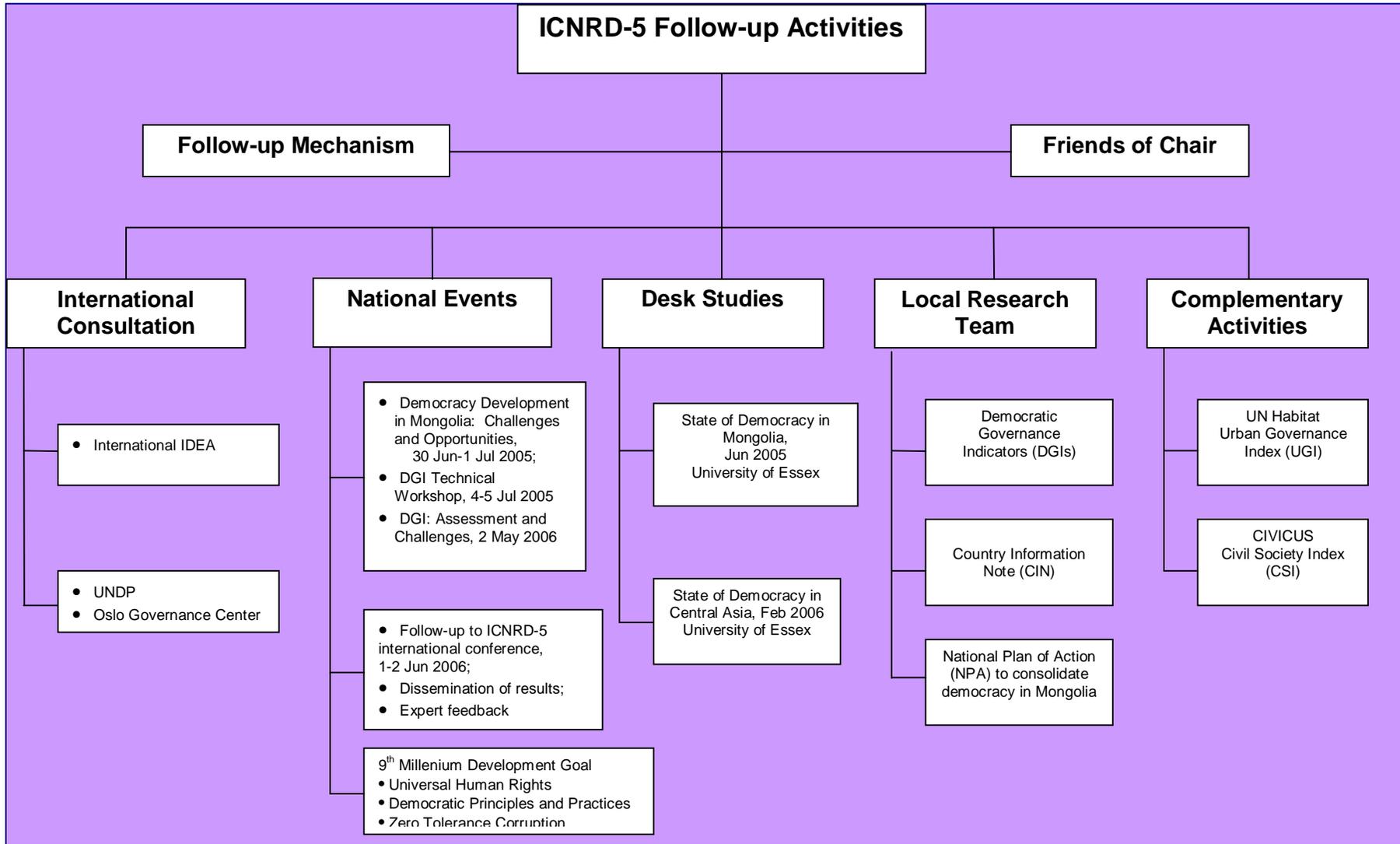
The project sponsored two national events on democracy in Mongolia that included all national stakeholders, country delegations, international guests, and experts. These events have enabled a national all-inclusive forum to discuss the quality of democracy in the country, its opportunities and challenges, and the democratic solutions to crucial developmental issues that Mongolia faces.

The June 2005 conference 'Democracy Development in Mongolia' presented preliminary findings from the work on the development of democratic governance indicators, consulted stakeholders on a variety of issues and challenges confronting Mongolian democracy, and was

followed by a two-day technical workshop with the academic research team, members of civil society, and international experts on democracy assessment.

The June 2006 Follow-Up Conference presented the main final outputs of the project, including the Democratic Governance Indicators (DGIs), the Country Information Note (CIN), and the national plan of action (NPA), as well as two desk studies (see below). Participants included country delegations, representatives from international donor organizations, inter-governmental organizations, international experts on indicators, government ministers, parliamentarians, the national research team, and members of civil society and the media.

As part of the ICNRD-5 follow-up activities, Mongolia adopted a **9th Millennium Development Goal on human rights, anti-corruption and democracy**. Like the other MDGs, the specifically Mongolian MDG has three targets: (1) to uphold the rights found in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, (2) to uphold and inculcate democratic principles and values, and (3) to show zero-tolerance of corruption. At the June 2006 follow-up conference, the Government of Mongolia committed itself to using this MDG to establish a national mechanism for a process of continuous monitoring of democracy as a means for further democratic consolidation and reform.



5. METHODS

The follow up activities, and in particular the work on assessing democracy and developing democratic governance indicators employed a series of mixed methods drawn from mainstream social, legal, and political sciences. This effort to assess the quality, depth, and breadth of the democratic experience drew on multiple sources of information and data in an attempt to ‘triangulate’ the democratic assessment and provide an inclusive process for democratic discussion and reform.

The main data collection and analysis programme of research used the International IDEA ‘state of democracy’ framework founded on the following two fundamental democratic principles:

1. popular control over public decision making and decision makers,
2. equality of respect and voice between citizens in the exercise of that control

These two principles are then expressed through the following seven mediating values:

1. participation
2. authorisation
3. representation
4. accountability
5. transparency
6. responsiveness
7. solidarity

The achievement of these mediating values in turn relies on a series of requirements and institutional means with which to realise them. The combination of principles and values yields four main pillars of assessment each with additional sub-categories of analysis, which were used to orient the entire assessment project.

Main Pillars	Sub-Categories
Citizenship, Law, and Rights	Nationhood and citizenship The rule of law and access to justice Civil and political rights Economic and social rights
Representative and Accountable Government	Free and fair elections Democratic role of political parties Government effectiveness and accountability Civilian control of the military and police Minimizing corruption
Civil Society and Popular Participation	Media in a democratic society Political participation Government responsiveness Decentralisation
Democracy Beyond the State	International dimensions of democracy

The national research team used qualitative and quantitative methods to gather and analyse the data and information within the IDEA framework.

Qualitatively, the research team used dialogues (N = 12), focus groups (N = 36), and narratives about democracy in Mongolia. The research identified concerns about the democratic experience and how that differs across different groups comprising Mongolian society. Quantitatively, the research team collected administrative statistics, elite surveys (N = 118), mass surveys (N = 1000), and expert judgements (N = 5).

In addition to the activities carried out by the national research team, the project carried out an assessment of urban governance in Ulaanbaatar using UN Habitat's methodology for producing an urban governance index (UGI) and an assessment of the quality of civil society using the CIVICUS methodology for producing a civil society index (CSI).

The main objective of developing an Urban Governance Index for Ulaanbaatar is to identify priority areas and subsequent actions that can be taken to strengthen urban governance. The workshop for the assessment was held in January 2006 involving participants from the city government, national government, international organisations, domestic and international civil society, media, consumer organisations, and women's groups. The workshop assessed the quality of urban governance in Ulaanbaatar across the four areas of:

- (1) effectiveness
- (2) equity
- (3) participation
- (4) accountability.

The work on the CSI adopted a broad definition of civil society including NGOs, trade unions, chambers of commerce, apartment owners' unions, political parties, community resistance groups and mass movements, non-profit media, religious organizations, savings and credit cooperatives, informal self-help groups and philanthropic activities of businesses. The main focus of the research was on NGOs due to the greater availability of information in this field, readiness and ability of NGO activists to participate in the CSI process, as well as the growing role NGOs play in Mongolia's civil society. The research assessed the quality of Mongolian civil society across the four dimensions of:

- (1) structure
- (2) values
- (3) environment
- (4) impact

6. MAIN OUTPUTS

There were seven main outputs from the project, including a desk study on the state of democracy in Mongolia, a comparative desk study on the state of democracy in Central Asia and Mongolia, the Democratic Governance Indicators (DGIs), the Country Information Note (CIN), the National Plan of Action (NPA), the Urban Governance Index (UGI), and the Civil Society Index (CSI).

Desk Study on the State of Democracy in Mongolia

The desk study on the state of democracy in Mongolia used the International IDEA framework for democracy assessment and complemented it with extant quantitative indicators on

democratic governance in an effort to establish the trends and patterns in the main features of Mongolian democracy; provide a baseline of quantitative and qualitative democratic indicators; and identify significant gaps in the public record about the quality of Mongolian democracy that need to be addressed by the national research team in developing democratic governance indicators. The study represents a diagnostic tool for domestic institutions, research teams, and local stakeholders from the public and private sector in Mongolia for addressing problems of democratic quality and seeking ways in which to pursue significant democratic reforms (see Box 1 for a summary of the main findings).

Box 1: Findings from the Desk Study

1. Mongolia has consolidated democracy over the last 15 years. By both narrow and quite broad criteria ranging from regular elections to popular attitudes towards democracy, Mongolia appears to have consolidated democracy and it is unlikely that democratic governance itself is under serious threat, but its long-term prospects remain precarious.
2. Mongolia has established a multi-party competitive political system where there has been significant alternation in power between civilian leaders without any interruption to democratic practices.
3. Mongolia has a large number of political parties that serve to represent a broad range of political views and interests, and which have established firm roots in society.
4. Mongolia has a vibrant and lively civil society with strong and large non-governmental organisations, particularly among journalists and women.
5. Mongolian citizens express strong support for the democratic transition and the democratic system even during times of economic adversity, while express less support for the democratic process itself and mixed support for political institutions.
6. Despite the process of democratic consolidation there remain significant areas of concern about the fullness of Mongolian democracy, particularly in areas such as the right to health, problems with corruption, poverty and unemployment, and other social and economic rights limitations that impinge on the full exercise of civil and political rights.
7. There are problems with access to and administration of justice, where patterns of corruption have undermined due process, and unreasonable conditions of pre-trial detention and the use of the death penalty in secret limit the notion of a full protection of civil rights.
8. The semi-presidential institutional design has provided the opportunity for power sharing and political accommodation, but elections have been dominated by the success of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), which has tended to control the parliament and the presidency, while constitutional amendments have undermined horizontal accountability by allowing MPs to serve simultaneously as cabinet members.
9. At the international level, Mongolia has served as a beacon of democracy in a fairly non-democratic part of the world and has shown leadership in the international community of democracies, as well as adopting a ninth Millennium Development Goal specifically on democracy and human rights.
10. Mongolia has ratified most of the international human rights treaties with few reservations, but has had persistent difficulty in implementing their provisions fully.
11. Mongolia remains highly donor-dependent, which has had an impact on its economic policies (particularly privatisation), but it has resisted undue influence from Russia and China.

State of Democracy in Central Asia: A Comparative Study

This comparative study on the state of democracy in Mongolia and the five Central Asian republics also used the International IDEA framework and complemented it with quantitative indicators on democratic governance in an effort to establish the nature, depth, and extent of democracy in the region; provide a baseline of quantitative and qualitative democratic indicators;

Box 2. Main findings from the comparative study on Central Asia and Mongolia

1. The clearest democratic progress has been made in Mongolia, which has promulgated a democratic constitution, had regular competitive elections for all political offices, meaningful alternation in power, and has generally high levels of public support for democracy. Such advances have not been as evident in the other countries, where the least amount of progress toward democracy has been made in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.
2. With the exception of Turkmenistan, all the countries have formally established semi-presidential institutional designs, where the President is the Head of State and the Prime Minister is the Head of Government. In practice, however, there has been the tendency for the concentration of power in the Presidency (less so in Mongolia), which has compromised the democratic value of horizontal accountability. Even in Mongolia, where there is greater cooperation between the President and Prime Minister, sitting MPs serve simultaneously in the cabinet, which in a relatively small Parliament compromises horizontal accountability.
3. All the countries have persistent problems with the full protection of civil and political rights, where everyday forms of human rights violations are common and severe in Uzbekistan, which has had significant problems with arbitrary arrest and detention, torture, extra-judicial killings; and in Turkmenistan, where the political system is governed through the personal whim of the President himself.
4. All the countries have varying degrees of problems in socio-economic development as they have struggled to make a transition from command economies to those that are more based on the market. Large state firms and state-subsidised features of these economies have been dismantled in relatively rapid fashion, which has eroded the social safety net. Coupled with the historical and cultural inexperience with market mechanisms, the new market economies have been plagued with increasing inequality and corruption, which serve to undermine the progressive realisation in economic and social rights, thereby serving to undermine what other democratic advances have been made.
5. Despite the formal trappings of democratic institutions in the Central Asian countries, there remain severe limits on real political participation, real protection of rights to free speech, assembly, and association, and the ability for significant opposition groups to form. There has thus been a process of 'de-democratization' taking place that is coupled with increasing executive power and authority.
6. All the countries have been potentially subject to the international relations and foreign policy strategies of primarily China, Russia, and the United States. The five central Asian republics are strategically located between South Asia, the Middle East, and Russia, where the desire for access to oil and the prosecution of the 'war on terror' has meant that these countries are of great strategic interest. The United States has had air bases in both Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, but after increasing tensions between the international community and Uzbekistan over human rights violations primarily related to the Andijan crisis in May 2005, the Parliament in Uzbekistan voted to ask the US to leave the base. In addition, Mongolia has sent a limited number of troops to the conflict in Iraq, which was rewarded by a visit from President Bush in late 2005.
7. Continued deterioration in the protection of human rights and the absence of real democratic reform in Central Asia has meant that many international donors have either reduced or stopped altogether the extension of loans, grants, and other forms of overseas development assistance.

and identify significant gaps in the public record about the quality of democracy that need to be addressed through activities pursued under the auspices of ICNRD movement. Country delegations

from the Central Asian region took part in the June 2006 Follow-up Conference (see Box 2 for the main findings).

Democratic Governance Indicators

The national research team comprising primarily G. Chuluunbaatar, D. Ganbat, Ch. Gan-Ulzii, Ts. Tsentsenbileg, P. Dorjsuren, N. Bayer, and D. Ganhuyag, Kh. Temuujin developed a set of ‘core’ and ‘satellite’ democratic governance indicators. Core indicators measure common values of democratic governance and satellite indicators measure national characteristics of democratic governance. Core indicators are thus comparable and applicable to all democracies, while satellite indicators are contextually specific and grounded.

The development, collection, and analysis of these indicators were organized within the International IDEA framework for democracy assessment, and assistance was provided through a technical workshop in June 2005, as well as throughout the project. In addition to the ninety-four ‘search questions’ in the framework, the national team developed a series of additional questions that probed aspects of democracy and development that are particular to Mongolian society.

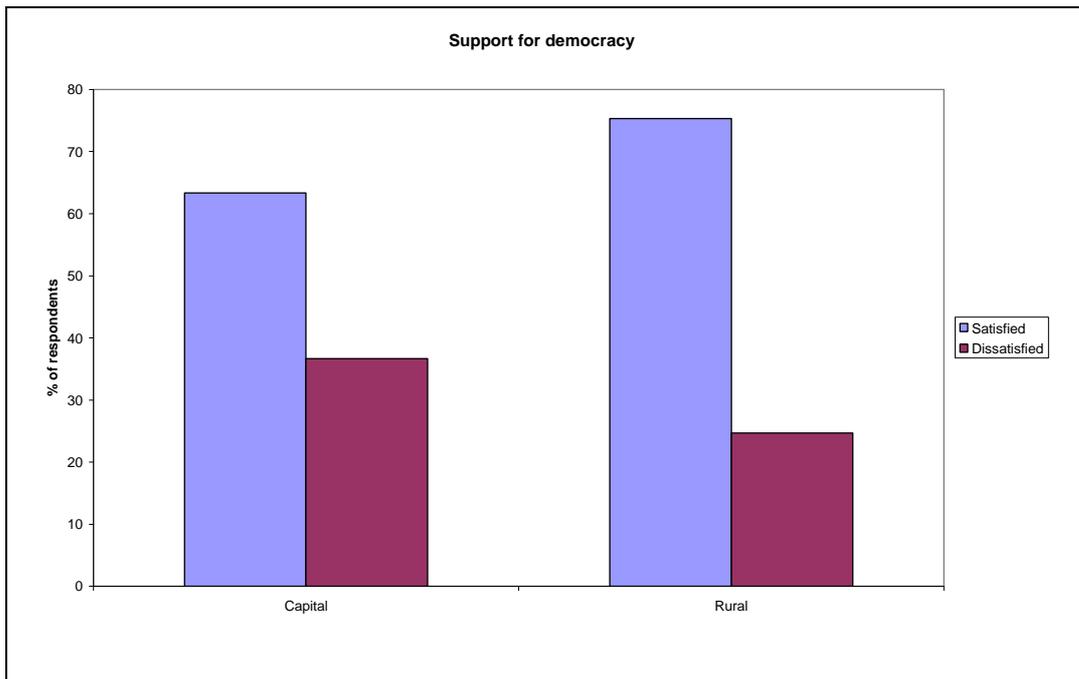
The work on the development of democratic governance indicators used the four pillars from the IDEA framework to identify indicative questions, which were then analysed using focus groups, surveys, and dialogues. Ultimately, there were 117 core indicators and 14 satellite indicators. The work on democratic governance indicators resulted in the following main findings:

- (1) Mongolia is a new democracy, which is undergoing a dual transition from an authoritarian political past and a command economy.
- (2) Despite its Parliamentary constitutional arrangements, Mongolia is in effect a Semi-Presidential system.
- (3) The development of democratic governance in Mongolia is strongly affected by its relative level of underdevelopment, sparse and unevenly distributed population, and small and highly dependent economy.
- (4) Mongolia has experienced increasing population migration from rural areas to Ulaanbaatar.
- (5) Identification with a strong state and attachment to paternalism is still very strong within the populace.
- (6) There is greater identification with nomadic lifestyle, traditional culture and Marxist ideology than with democracy and democratic values.
- (7) The rapid dual transition has led to an economically segregated society, increasing, unemployment, poverty, and corruption.
- (8) There is reverse gender proportionality in education, employment, and appointment to public positions, although top positions in the public and private sector tend to be held by men.
- (9) Personal networks and associations provide a stronger set of social relations than legal-rational and individualistic relations.

Beyond these more general conclusions, the research revealed that the process of making information open and accessible to the public is still incomplete, there are no monitoring mechanisms for the accuracy of information, that government institutions often ‘own’ information and use for political advantage, and that those channels of information that do exist tend to be burdened by bureaucracy, multi-leveled government, internal rules, and regulations.

One output within the general category of democratic governance indicators is the mass survey conducted on a representative sample of over 1000 respondents. The survey questions were derived from the International IDEA framework and the analysis of the results demonstrates popular attitudes toward the democratic transition, the development of democracy in the country, the main problems that Mongolian democracy need to confront.

Figure 1 shows support for democracy and support for the democratic process, divided across urban and rural respondents, where it is clear the general support for democracy is higher than levels of support for the process of democracy in Mongolia today. This result is further differentiated across the urban rural-divide, where rural dwellers are generally more satisfied with democracy than their urban counterparts. Such a result is complicated further when taking into account the different income strata within Mongolian society, where support democracy and the democratic process is higher among those in the higher income strata (see Figure 2).



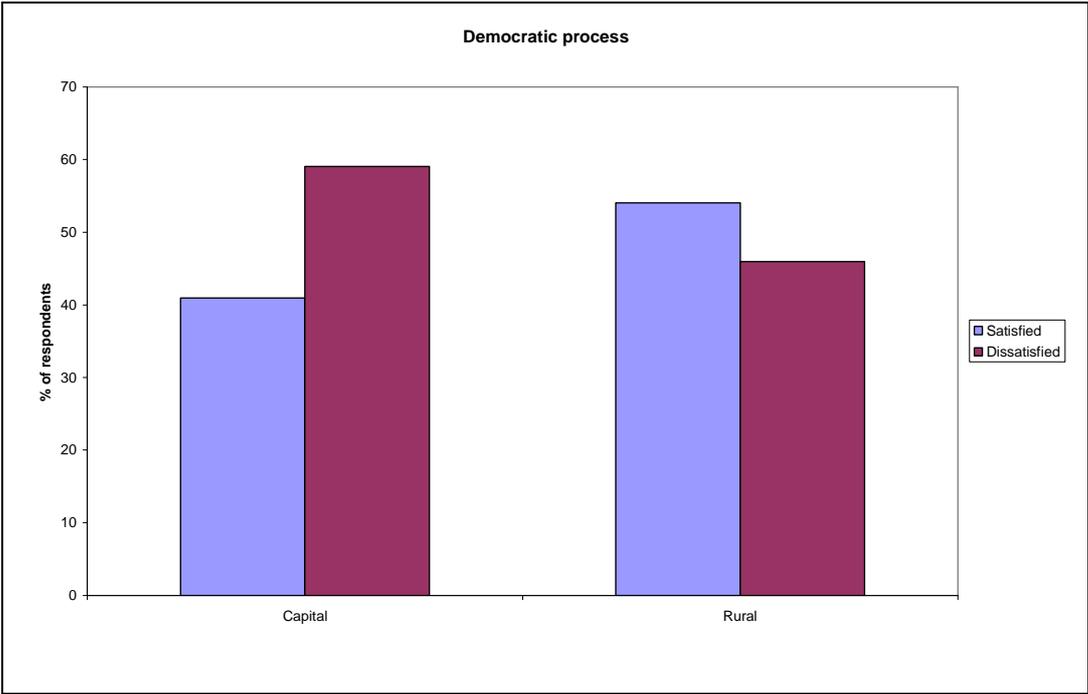
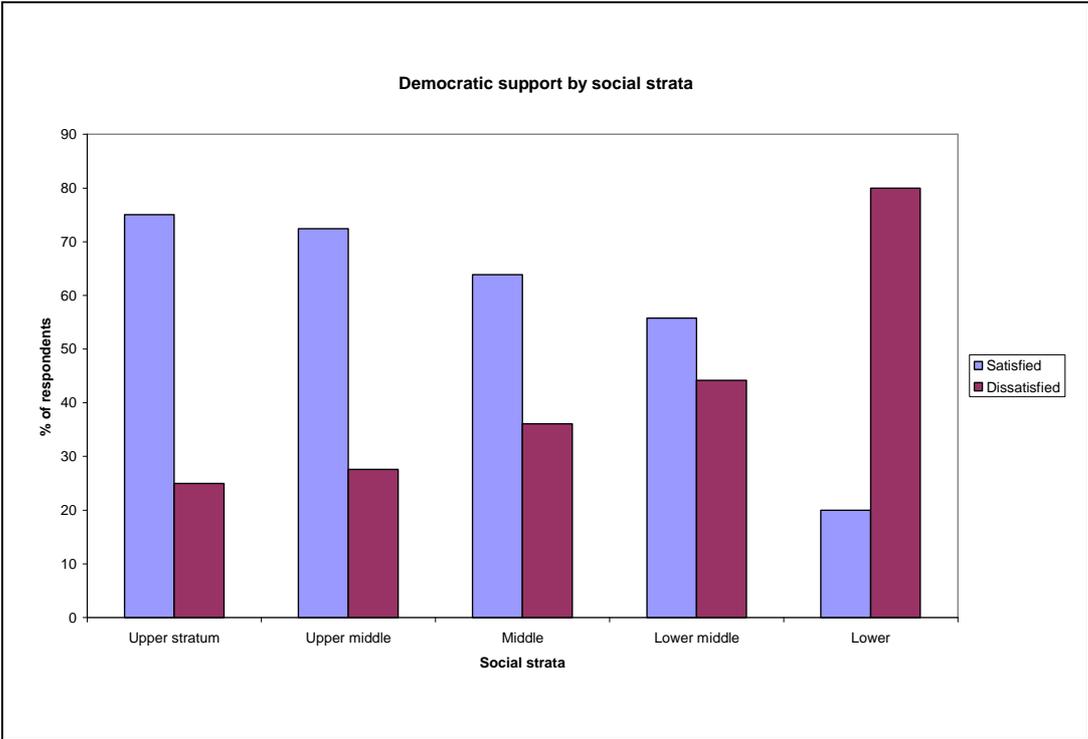


Figure 1. Support for democracy and the democratic process by locality



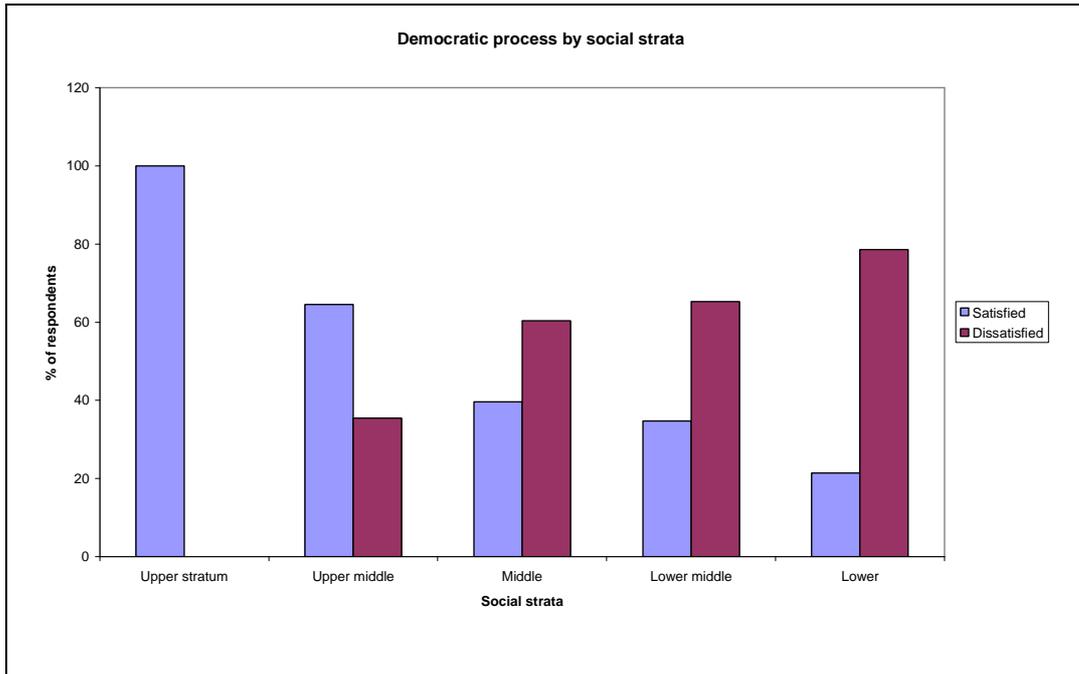


Figure 2. Support for democracy and the democratic process by income strata

Overall, the team collected 117 core indicators and 14 satellite indicators across the various categories of the state of democracy framework. It is envisaged that through the mechanisms of the 9th Millennium Development Goal such indicators will be collected on a regular basis in an effort to monitor the quality of Mongolian democracy, identify areas most in need of attention, and to further the process of democratic consolidation.

Country Information Note

The Country Information Note is a shorter document detailing the links between the development of Democratic Governance Indicators and the National Plan of Action. It also contains the results of an expert judgment exercise, which used the IDEA framework as a basis for judging the quality of Mongolian democracy on a scale ranging from 1 (low rating) to 5 (high rating). The experts gave a rating to a series of core and satellite questions, which were then aggregated across the four main pillars of the framework: (1) Citizenship, Law, and Rights, (2) Responsible and Accountable Government, (3) Civil Society and Popular Participation, and (4) Democracy beyond the State. Figure 3 shows that the experts rated Mongolia overall as a 3.02, which the Country Information Note summarizes as signifying a proportional mix of democratic and non-democratic characteristics, where it is clear that democracy beyond the state has received the highest rating, followed by civil society and popular participation; citizenship, law and rights; and responsible and accountable government.

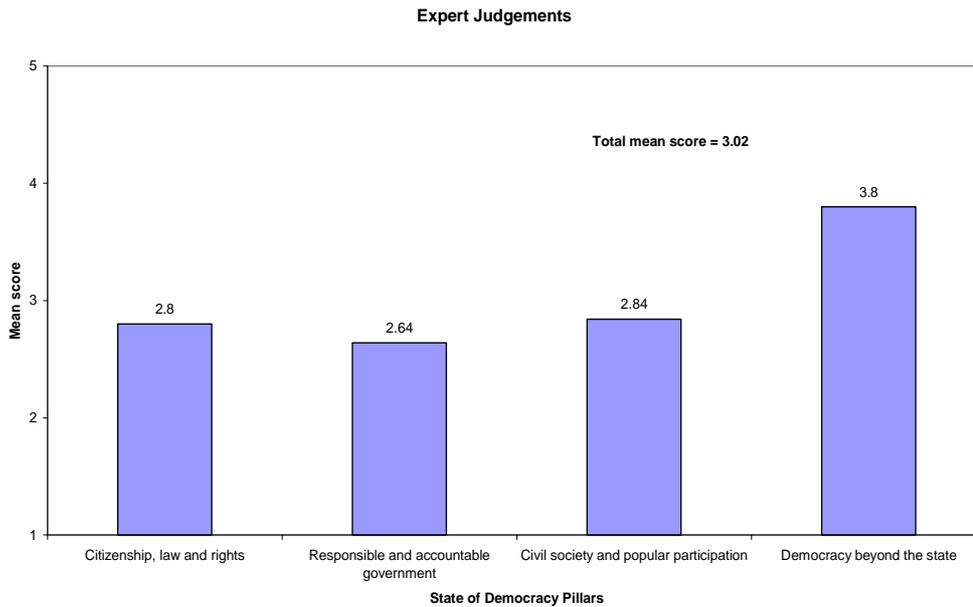


Figure 3. Expert judgements on the quality of Mongolian democracy

Urban Governance Index (UGI) and Civil Society Index (CSI)

As complementary activities, the project team organized two exercises, which produced an Urban Governance Index and a Civil Society Index. Both these indices are based on a large collection of information and data through a broadly inclusive and consultative process. This information and data are then aggregated into quantitative scores across four categories in each index, which are represented on ‘diamonds’. In this way, both indices represent ‘performance profiles’ where the UGI is for Ulaanbaatar and the CSI is for the whole of Mongolian civil society. Figure 4 shows the UGI and Figure 5 shows the CSI. The UGI reveals that Ulaanbaatar scores highest for effectiveness, followed by participation, accountability, and equity. The CSI shows the highest score for values, while equally low scores for structure, environment, and impact. Interestingly, despite the large number of registered civil society organizations, the sector as a whole remains underdeveloped and relatively weak.

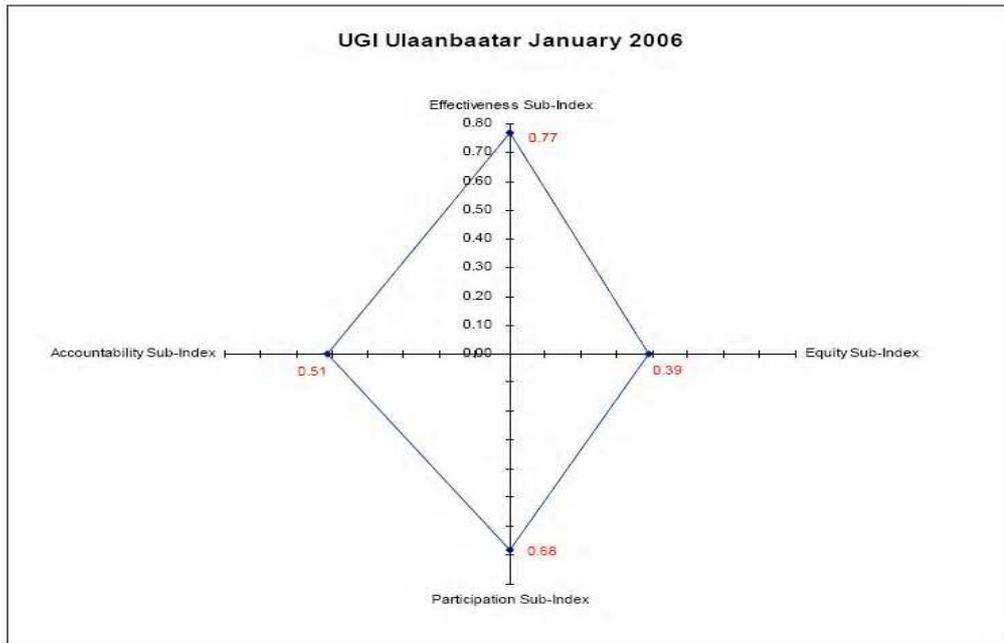


Figure 4. Urban Governance Index for Ulaanbaatar

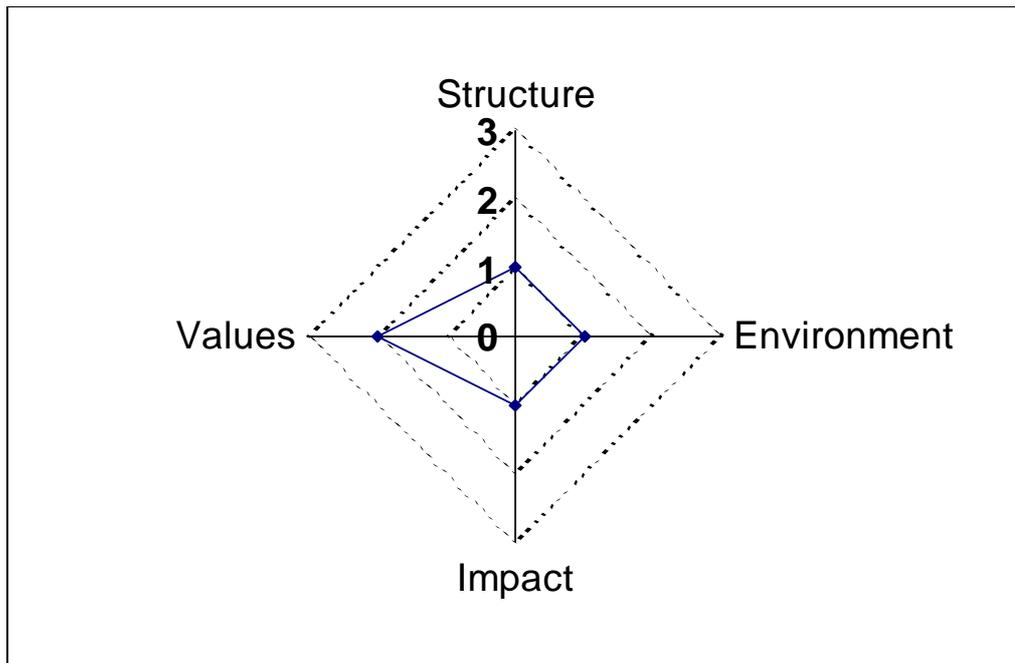


Figure 5. Civil Society Index for Mongolia

National Plan of Action

The National Plan of Action aims to consolidate democracy as a pilot exercise in designing, developing, discussing, and advocating a comprehensive framework to strengthen political democracy with the participation of government, academia, and civil society as major stakeholders. The joint participation of the stakeholders is unique and will hopefully establish a new standard not only within the ICNRD but also in the global democratic process.

The National Plan of Action draws on the results from the entire set of follow-up activities to make recommendations for the continued monitoring of democracy in Mongolia and a set of steps that need to be taken to consolidate further the many democratic achievements that have been made since the transition in 1990. The plan notes that despite citizen support for democracy as the preferred form of government, there continues to be widespread dissatisfaction with the process and implementation of democracy in Mongolia. Such a gap between general levels of support for democracy as form of rule and the de facto democratic experience is not uncommon among old and new democracies, and Mongolia needs to overcome a series of challenges that are typical of new democracies, including access to information, control of corruption, limitations of state power, development of civil society, independence of the judiciary, and strengthening the rule of law more generally.

With these challenges in mind, the National Plan of Action identifies the following six main aims and objectives:

- (1) Improving and broadening public participation and oversight in legislative and administrative decision making processes.
- (2) Improving the organization and legislative framework for elections to uphold the right to elect and be elected.
- (3) Strengthening national capacity to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- (4) Ensuring freedom of information and enhancing protections for media independence.
- (5) Establishing a national system and programme for civil democracy education.
- (6) Creating the conditions for equal opportunity for participation and fair competition in the political and socio-economic arenas.

These main aims and objectives are to be realized by 2016, while the National Plan of Action also identifies a series of short-term and long-term outcomes (see Table 1).

Table 1. Short-term and long-term democratic outcomes

Short-term outcomes	Long-term outcomes
Creation of a favourable environment for comprehensive public participation	Strengthen democratic consolidation
Advancement in civil political culture of all citizens	Guarantee openness, transparency, and accountability for all state policies and activities
Strengthening the relationship between the state and citizens	Instillation of democratic values and democratic beliefs
Creation of a fair electoral system	Constrain state power and reduce corruption
Professionalization of state institutions	Strengthen and democratize political party organizations

7. OUTCOMES AND LESSONS

Democracy assessment

It is clear that the set of follow up activities was successful in carrying out a national assessment of the quality of Mongolian democracy. The activities were state-led but broadly inclusive of Parliament, civil society, academia, and the media. The whole process was also receptive to international assistance in the form of expert advice on technical issues involving assessment criteria and indicators, as well as general advice on support for democratic consolidation.

It is also clear from the activities and outputs, that the whole process established a firm link between the assessment and consolidation of democracy. Developing and collecting democratic governance indicators, carrying out mass and elite surveys, engaging in focus groups and dialogues, and organising national events and public forums have all contributed to identifying concrete challenges and possible solutions to these challenges in an effort for bring about further consolidation of democracy in Mongolia.

The achievements of the follow-up activities thus sit squarely in the main aims and objectives of the ICNRD movement.

Capacity building

The project has built capacity within government, the academy and within civil society. The three pillars of the ICNRD (government, parliament, and civil society) worked well, and there was general cooperation among the three sectors on this project. There was a general consensus that while international assistance was welcomed, this was primarily a domestic project with domestic intellectual and social capital.

(1) Institutionalising democratic assessment

One of the main outcomes is the institutionalisation of the process for producing annual (or at least periodic) monitoring documents on the state of democracy on Mongolia, which is then linked to the short-term and long-term outcomes in the National Plan of Action. Mongolia in this regard stands alongside The UK Democratic Audit and Australian Democratic Audit, which have carried out ongoing democratic assessments. It is a leader in this field, since it has undergone a state-led assessment process that is ultimately more powerfully linked to a democratic reform agenda.

(2) MDG-9

The passage of MDG-9 links Mongolia's desire to consolidate democracy to a larger strategy of poverty reduction and the realisation of the other MDGs. Even though MDG-9 is a nationally owned idea and policy initiative, it can be linked to the larger international development agenda, especially in a country whose experience with democracy is intimately connected to its transition from a command economy to a thus far weakly regulated market economy.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Overall, it is clear from this report that the main aims and objectives of the follow-up activities to ICNRD-5 were successfully achieved through a blend of state-led initiatives that were broadly inclusive of parliamentarians, academia, civil society, and the media. The various activities demonstrated a direct link between the assessment of democracy (DGIs, CIN, UGI, CSI) and the

consolidation of democracy (NPA). Carrying out the activities helped build national capacity for democratic assessment and democratic reform across the different sectors and showed a remarkable degree of cooperation and understanding between state and non-state actors. Despite the many unique features that characterise Mongolia, the follow-up activities reflect a common set of challenges faced by many new democracies, as well as many mature democracies, suggesting Mongolia joins other democracies in the world in struggling to develop long-lasting democratic institutions and to inculcate deeply felt democratic values. In addition to the general sense of cooperation at the domestic level, the follow-up activities were carried out in a spirit of international cooperation, and in many ways set a milestone in the idea of supporting democracy worldwide. National-led democracy assessment processes linked to a sensible and concrete reform agenda provide a grounded method for consolidating democracy that involves key stakeholders and provides a sense of national ownership that is crucial for long-term democratic sustainability. Finally, the institutionalisation of the follow-up activities through the passage of the 9th Millennium Development Goal on human rights, anti-corruption, and democracy adds further weight to government commitment to strengthening democracy and ties the Mongolian process to the larger global agenda represented by the other MDGs.

The follow-up activities provide valuable lessons for ICNRD-6, which is chaired by the Government of Qatar. The following main recommendations are drawn from the Mongolian experience:

1. Democracy assessment provides a useful tool for the process of democratic consolidation.
2. The process of democracy assessment should be inclusive, involving members of governmental institutions, parliament, civil society and the media.
3. The process of democracy assessment should be nationally-based while drawing on international experiences and expertise from around the world.
4. Democracy assessment can pay careful attention to the unique features of a country, while maintaining comparative element.
5. Democracy assessment should adopt a mixed methodology that is multi-disciplinary to yield robust substantive knowledge about the current state of democracy, as well as provide concrete aims and objectives for future democratic development.
6. Democracy assessment and the process of democratic development should be institutionalised through the establishment of national institutions and mechanisms.

9. SELECTED REFERENCES

I. In Mongolian

1. “Implementation of the National Program to Combat Corruption” (monitoring survey). 2004. Ulaanbaatar.
2. Political Education Academy and the University of Taiwan. 2004. Research. Democracy Values, Their Changes. www.forum.mn
3. A seminar paper. “Manual Mining, Participation and Responsibilities of Employers”
4. TAF and ADB. 18 January 2004. Part II.2.2 (a) Capacity of Legal Bodies. Legal Education in Mongolia Survey Report.
5. ADB Governance project. 2003. Governance Achievements and Challenges of Mongolia Report. Ulaanbaatar.
6. IDEA. 2002. Handbook on Democracy Assessment.
7. Compilation of Research Papers. 2005. Quality of Democracy. Ulaanbaatar.
8. General Election Committee. 2005. Elections in a Democratic State. Ulaanbaatar.
9. Batkhuu Sh., Batkhuu B. 2003. Public Service – National Justice System and its Indicators. Ulaanbaatar.
10. Bayaraa S. 2005. Research Paper. Measures against Abuse of State Power. www.forum.mn.
11. Boldbaatar B. 2004. On Issue of Causes of Involvement of Adolescents in Crime. Ulaanbaatar.
12. Burmaa R. 2004. Improving Election Legislation. Ulaanbaatar.
13. Vissun L. 2004. “Self-government in Mongolia II” Project Status and Trends. “Local Government” Brochure#1/27.
14. Globe International NGO and United Association of Journalists. 2004. Being Free and Fair. Public Survey and Journalist Opinion. Ulaanbaatar.
15. Globe International. 2004. Freedom of Information (Handbook for Citizens). Transparency of Public Organizations and the Citizens’ Right to Information. Research. Ulaanbaatar.
16. Ganhuyag G. 1997. Local Government. Brochure #5. Decentralization and Strengthening of Local Government. Ulaanbaatar.
17. Ganhuyag D. 1999. Our Mongolia. Journal #2. Specificity of Social Relations in Mongolia. Ulaanbaatar.
18. Ginsburg T. 2005. Follow-up Report on Strengthening Research and Analysis Capacity Project. Improving the State Great Hural’s Capacity of Research and Analysis of Legislation. Ulaanbaatar.
19. Ginsburg T. 2005. Strengthening Legislation Research and Analysis Capacity. Project Research. Ulaanbaatar.
20. Gundsambuu Kh. 2005. Stability, changes and transfer of public service officials: causes, actual and potential ramifications. Report of Survey Project. Ulaanbaatar.

21. Dalajamts G. 2002. Activities of Human Rights NGOs for Civil Rights and Freedoms, presentation at the Civil Rights and Freedoms Open Forum. Ulaanbaatar.
22. Landman T., Larizza M., McEvoy. 2005. State of Democracy in Mongolia, A Desk Study, University of Essex. www.icnrd5-mongolia.mn.
23. Dolgorjav Ya. 1997. Brochure #5. Views about Local Self-government. Local Government. Ulaanbaatar.
24. Zulkafil M. 2005. National Symposium of Journalism Researchers. Trends in Developing Journalism, Priority Issues. Ulaanbaatar.
25. Involvement of women in the armed forces. Press review #1. <http://www.pmis.gov.mn/gsmaf/>
26. Policy on Loans and Grants. <http://www.mof.pmis.gov.mn/zeelt.htm>
27. University of Essex. 2005. Evaluation indicators of civil and political rights of citizens - in State of Democracy in Mongolia. A Desk Study.
28. Ichinnorov M. 2004. Elections. Women's Participation in Politics. <http://www.foruim.mn/contents>
29. Manaljav G., Mandakh M. 2004. Mongolian Association of Local Governments. Ulaanbaatar.
30. Novak M. 10.24.2005. Special Rapporteur on Torture. Torture, brutality, atrocity and disregard of human dignity as forms of penalty.
31. MFA and UNDP. 2005. Follow-up Project to ICNRD-5. Draft. National Plan of Action to Consolidate Democracy. Ulaanbaatar.
32. National Conference. 2005. Paper. Development of Democracy in Mongolia: Challenges and Opportunities. Ulaanbaatar.
33. National Program to Ensure Human Rights in Mongolia. 2005. Ulaanbaatar.
34. Draft State Budget for 2006. 2005. Ulaanbaatar.
35. General Audit and Inspection Agency of Mongolia. 2005. Financial Audit Report. Ulaanbaatar.
36. Current Socio-economic Situation in Mongolia. 2005. www.mof.pmis.gov.mn.
37. National Statistical Office. 2004. Statistical Yearbook of Mongolia. Ulaanbaatar.
38. Civil Service Composition and Movement Reports for 1996, 2004, 2005. Ulaanbaatar.
39. Internal Migration in Mongolia. 2000. Micro-level research. Ulaanbaatar.
40. State of Human Rights and Freedoms in Mongolia. Report. 2004. National Human Rights Commission of Mongolia. Ulaanbaatar.
41. Current Status of Civil Society in Mongolia. 2005. Ulaanbaatar.
42. The Mongolia Human Development Report. 2000, 2003. Ulaanbaatar.
43. Mongolian Press Institute. 2004. Freedom of Press and Media in Mongolia – an opinion poll report. Ulaanbaatar.
44. Survey of media customers in Ulaanbaatar. 2004. Ulaanbaatar.
45. Mongolian Press Institute. 2005. Mongolian Press and Media in 2004. Monitoring of Press and Media in Mongolia-2004. Ulaanbaatar.
46. Mongolian Press Institute. 2004. Public Opinion on Mongolian Press and Media Report. Research Unit. Ulaanbaatar.

47. Institute of Social Studies. National University of Mongolia. 2005. Survey. State of the Human Right to Elect and to be elected. Ulaanbaatar.
48. Sociology Department. National University of Mongolia. 2005. The State of Politics before the Presidential Election. Ulaanbaatar.
49. National Human Rights Commission of Mongolia. 2000, 2003, 2004. 2005. State of Human Rights and Freedoms in Mongolia Annual Reports. Ulaanbaatar.
50. National Report on the Status of Implementation of the Millennium Development Goals. 2004. Ulaanbaatar. www.undp.mn.
51. Freedom of Press in Mongolia. 2004. Research report. Ulaanbaatar.
52. Namhaijantsan B. 2003. Reform of Public Sector Management and Finance–Theory, Practice and Implementation. Ulaanbaatar.
53. Norovsuren L., Unubayar G. 2005. Reference Book for Psychology Research. Ulaanbaatar.
54. Norovsuren L. 2005. On the Issue of Implementing the Theory of Social Accountability in Mongolian Journalism. Current Status of Journalism, Priority Issues. National Symposium of Journalism Researchers. Ulaanbaatar.
55. UNDP, MSWL and MoF. 2002. A Gender Sensitive Budget. Research.
56. UNDP and MoJHA. Accessibility of Legal Information. Legal Aid. Study. www.forum.nm.
57. Open Society Forum, Voter Education Center, and Globe International. 2004. Monitoring Campaign Financing during 2004 Parliamentary Election. Report. Ulaanbaatar.
58. Results of Local Government Elections. 2004. Zuuny Medee #231, Ulaanbaatar.
59. Local Governance – Theory, Practice and Methodology Journal. 2005/3/33. Development Starts at the Local Level. Ulaanbaatar.
60. Local Government Budget Revenues. 2005. Local Finance Development. Ulaanbaatar.
61. World Bank. 2004. Support to Households Livelihood Capacity Project. Budget decentralization. Research report. Ulaanbaatar.
62. Household Income and Expenditure Survey Reports. 2002-2003. 2004. Ulaanbaatar.
63. Pamela S. 05.03.2005. A conference statement by U.S. Ambassador. Mongolia and the UN Convention against Corruption. Ulaanbaatar.
64. General Election Committee. 2000, 2004. Press Releases. Ulaanbaatar.
65. Matland. 2003. In post-socialist countries women consider that men are fit to become political leaders.
66. National Symposium of Journalism Researchers. 2005. Current Status of Journalism, Priority Issues. Ulaanbaatar.
67. Tamir Ch. From civic movement to revolutionary reform: conditions, factors and forecast. www.forum.mn.
68. Tamir Ch. 2004. Behavior of Mongolian Voters, Characteristics of Constituency Boundaries and Transfer of Voters. “Sociology” journal #4. Ulaanbaatar.
69. Tamir Ch. 2005. Local government election and political parties. www.open-forum.mn.

70. Monitoring of Election Coverage by Television. June 2004. March-April 2005. Ulaanbaatar.
71. Togoo Ts. Changes in the Armed Forces, Reform and Results. <http://www.pmis.gov.mn/gsmaf/>.
72. Ethics Code of Civil Servants.1999. Government Resolution #58. Ulaanbaatar.
73. Soum Research: Theory and Methodology Issues, the Academy of Management. 2004. Ulaanbaatar.
74. UNFPA and Standing Committee on Social Policy of State Great Hural. Forum of Asian Parliamentarians on Population Development Current State of Migration. 2005. Issues and Ways to Solution, National Summit Meeting. Ulaanbaatar.
75. Secretariat of the State Great Hural. 2002. History of the State Great Hural's Archive Fund. Ulaanbaatar.
76. Sant Maral Foundation. Political Barometer. www.forum.mn.
77. Briefing on the 2005 Regular Session of the State Great Hural. www.parl.gov.mn.
78. National Professional Standards Inspection Agency. 2004. Food Inspection Report-2004. Ulaanbaatar.
79. National Statistical Office. 1995-2000. Annual Statistical Data Bulletin. Ulaanbaatar.
80. National Statistical Office. 1995-2003. Annual Statistical Data Bulletin. Ulaanbaatar.
81. Political Education Academy. 2005. East Asia Barometer", a comparative study of democratic development. Ulaanbaatar.
82. National Statistical Office. 2002. Population Census: Gender Status. Ulaanbaatar.
83. National Summit Meeting on Migration of Population. 2005. Ulaanbaatar.
84. Human Rights Journal #1. 2005. Ulaanbaatar.
85. Center for Protection of Human Rights. 2001. Notes on the State of Human Rights in Mongolia. Ulaanbaatar.
86. Human Rights Education Center. Seminar on the Impact of Human Rights Strategy: Experience and Lessons Learned.
87. Participation of NGOs in Protection of Human Rights. 2002. Ulaanbaatar.
88. Human Rights Education Centre (borrowed citation). 2005. Making Transparent the Operations of the Penal System. in "State of Democracy in Mongolia. A Desk Study", Human Rights Centre, University of Essex,
89. The Issue of Children Involved in Crime in Mongolia. 2002. Ulaanbaatar.
90. Research Unit. Mongolian Press Institute. 2004. Public Opinion on Mongolian Press and Media. Ulaanbaatar.
91. NHRC. 2004. Survey. Status of the Human Right to Elect and to be elected. Ulaanbaatar.
92. Causes of Children's Involvement in Crime, Causes and Conditions of Adolescent Criminal Offense. 2004. Report of a Study. Ulaanbaatar.
93. Free Press and Media Today. 1998. A public opinion survey. Ulaanbaatar.
94. Chimed B. 2002. Institutional Reform of the Constitution. Report at an international conference. Public Administration Bulletin, #3-4. Ulaanbaatar.
95. Chimed B. 2004. Concept of the Constitution: Common Issues. Ulaanbaatar.

96. Globe International NGO, United Association of Journalists, Information Fund of the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law. 2004. Being Free and Fair. Public survey and journalist opinion. Ulaanbaatar.
97. State of Judges' Compliance with the Code of Ethics. 2004. Ulaanbaatar.
98. Trafficking of Women and Children Crime in Mongolia. 2002. Ulaanbaatar.
99. Violence against Women in Mongolia and Its Legal Environment. 2002. Ulaanbaatar.
100. Strategic Guidelines for Economic and Social Development and Their Harmonization with the State Budget. 2005. Survey Report. Ulaanbaatar.
101. Rule of Law in Mongolia. April 15. 2005. Report of the Legal Sector Panel. Forum of Young Researchers. Ulaanbaatar.

II. In English

102. USAID. 2005. Assessment of Corruption in Mongolia. Ulaanbaatar.
103. UNICEF. 2000. Children and Women in Mongolia: Situation Analysis Report – 2000. Ulaanbaatar.
104. Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under article 40 of the Covenant [on Civil and Political Rights]. Forth périodique report of States parties dues in 1995. Mongolia / Examen des rapports présents par les Etats parties conformément a l'article 40 du Pacte [international relatif aux droits civils et politiques]. Quatrième rapport périodique que les Etats parties devaient présenter en 1995. Mongolie. Nations Unies. CCPR/United Nations. CCPR, 1999
105. ADB and WB. 2005. Country Gender Assessment. Mongolia. Manila. Philippines. <http://www.worldbank.org/>
106. Emerging Issues in Asia. 1999. Panel II: Strengthening Democracy through Women's Political Participation.
107. Mongolie Nations Unies. CEDAW/United Nations. CEDAW. 1999. Examen des rapports présents par les Etats parties conformément à l'article 18 de la Convention sur l'élimination de toutes les formes de discrimination à l'égard des femmes. Troisième et quatrième rapports périodiques des Etats parties.
108. Fritz V. 2002. Mongolia: Dependent Democratization. Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics. 18(4): 75-100.
109. Huntington S. P. 1991. How Countries Democratize. Political Science Quarterly. Vol.106.
110. IMF. Country Report No. 05/400, <http://www.imf.org>
111. Kaufmann D., Kraay A., and Mastruzzi M. (2005). Governance Matters IV: Governance indicators for 1996–2004. <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pubs/govematters4.html>
112. Lijphart A. 1999. Patterns of Democracy. Government Forms and Performance in 36 Countries. Yale University Press.
113. Ministry of Health & Social Welfare and UNFPA. June. 2000. Reproductive Health, Gender, and Rights in Mongolia. Ulaanbaatar,
114. Ministry of Health. 2002. - Health Indicators 2001. Ulaanbaatar.

115. Ministry of Social Welfare and Labor, Population Teaching & Research Center and UNFPA. 2000. Micro study on Internal Migration. Ulaanbaatar.
116. Mongolia. Gender Analysis for USAID 2004-2008 strategy. 2003.
117. Asian Development Bank. 2000. Mongolia Gender Study. Ulaanbaatar.
118. Ministry of Health and UN agencies. 2000. Mongolian Adolescents Needs Assessment. Ulaanbaatar.
119. Bikales B., Chimed Kh., Karin S. April. 2000. USAID and Economic Policy Support Project. DAI. The Mongolian Informal Sector: Survey Results and Analysis.
120. National Statistical Office. 2002. Mongolian Statistical Yearbook 2001. Ulaanbaatar.
121. Ministry of Social Welfare and Labor and UNDP. The Mongolian Women's Issues in the State.
122. Wright R. 2000 Mongolian Women Typify a New Global Activism.
123. National Statistical Office and UNDP. 1999. Living Standards Measurement Survey 1998. Ulaanbaatar.
124. National Statistical Office and UNFPA. August 1999. Mongolia Reproductive Health Survey 1998. Ulaanbaatar.
125. National Statistical Office and World Bank. [PLSA]. 2001. Mongolia Participatory Living Standards Assessment 2000. Ulaanbaatar.
126. National Statistical Office. 2001. Population and Housing Census 2000: Economic Activity: Analysis Based on the 2000 Census. Ulaanbaatar.
127. National Statistical Office. 2001. Population and Housing Census 2000: Gender in Mongolia: Analysis Based on the 2000 Census, Ulaanbaatar.
128. Tungalag M. 1998. Liberal Women's Brain Pool. The political system and the election law. Women's empowerment and development - Report brochure. The Third East Asian Women's Forum. Ulaanbaatar.
129. Pomfret R. Transition and Democracy in Mongolia. *Europe-Asia Studies* 52 (1): 149-60.
130. Asian Development Bank. 2004. Progress and Challenges in Mongolia.
131. Chantsaldulam J. 1998. Liberal Women's Brain Pool Report on civic education and women's political capacity-building training in Mongolia. Women's empowerment and development - Report brochure. The Third East Asian Women's Forum. Ulaanbaatar.
132. Reporters without Borders. www.rsf.org.
133. Sabloff., Paula L W. 2002. "Why Mongolia? The Political Culture of an Emerging Democracy. *Central Asian Survey*. 21 (1).
134. Soros Foundation. July 2002. Analytic Report on Domestic Violence in Mongolia. This report draws largely on surveys and reports produced by the National Center against Violence.
135. State of Democracy in Mongolia. 2005. A Desk Study. University of Essex.
136. UNIFEM. Workshop for the Commonwealth of Independent States, Turkey & Mongolia, Almaty, 13-15 December 1999. Preparation for the UN General Assembly Special Session on Beijing + 5. United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM).1999.

137. UNIFEM. Women in Mongolia: Mapping Progress under Transition, New York, 2001. http://www.unifem.org/attachments/products/166_chap4.pdf
138. IDEA. Voter turnout since 1945. www.idea.int
139. Bayartsetseg J. 1998. Women at the decision-making level. Women's empowerment and development - Report brochure. The Third East Asian Women's Forum. Liberal Women's Brain Pool.
140. Women's Information and Research Center. 1999. The economic status of Mongolian women during the transition period. Ulaanbaatar.