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THE INTERNAL DEMOCRACY INDEX

OF MONGOLIAN POLITICAL PARTIES **2020**

The bottom right portion of the cover features a large, abstract graphic composed of several overlapping, diagonal stripes. The stripes are primarily in two colors: a dark teal and a light orange. The stripes are separated by thin white lines and create a sense of movement and depth, extending from the bottom left towards the top right.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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THE INTERNAL DEMOCRACY INDEX

OF MONGOLIAN POLITICAL PARTIES **2020**

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ABBREVIATIONS

DP	Democratic Party
IPD	Intra-Party Democracy
IRI	International Republican Institute
LoE	Law on Elections
LPP	Law on Political Parties
MPP	Mongolian People’s Party
MPRP	Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party
NLP	National Labour Party
SCM	Supreme Court of Mongolia
SWYEEPPM	Strengthening Women and Youth Engagement in the Electoral and Political Processes in Mongolia
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

INTRODUCTION

Political parties are unquestionably the main players of democratic politics as Schattschneider (Schattschneider, 1942) noted that “the political parties created democracy and that modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the parties.” Mongolia has been a stable multi-party democracy since 1990. In the Mongolian context, political parties have played a crucial role in achieving the democratic transition.

However, there has been a growing concern about the openness and transparency of political parties in recent years. Political parties are recognized by the public as the most unfavorable political institution according to the recent national survey of Mongolian youth (IRI, 2020). As public organizations, parties are obliged to operate in a transparent manner to the public, not only to their members. Yet, Mongolian political parties generally regard transparency and accountability as an internal matter and therefore continue to insist that such measures of openness and transparency apply only to their members.

According to the Law of Political Parties (LPP) of Mongolia (2005), parties should “adhere to democratic principles in their

internal activities” (LPP, article 5.1.4). Therefore, parties must follow principles such as openness, transparency, participation, accountability, and competition in their internal procedures, including but not limited to candidate selection, policy development, and party leadership appointments. In fact, Article 13 (LPP, 2005) stipulates that this ranges of internal procedures should be inclusive and decided by party assemblies. It includes the party’s key decisions ranging from approval of party platform and party statutes and selection of members in the central representative body. Thus, the legal requirement for intra-party democracy is an assembly-based rather than a plebiscitary-based intra-party democracy (IPD) standard in Mongolia.

In recent years, the importance of internal democracy within parties has been emphasized in Mongolia not only by international organizations, civil society organizations, and citizens but also by party leaders and a cross section of party members. It is also evident that the establishment of internal democracy practices within political parties significantly contributes to the promotion

of democratic values and culture in a society.

In 2018, the DeFacto Institute initiated the Intra-Party Democracy in Mongolia Project, with the collaborative effort of independent researchers and with the partnership of the Mongolian Center for Social and Political Education. The main goal of this project was to encourage the inclusiveness, transparency, accountability, and responsiveness of political parties in Mongolia. This study, the Internal Democracy Index of Mongolian Political Parties 2020, builds off of past efforts and is made possible with the support of the Strengthening Women and Youth Engagement in the Electoral and Political Processes in Mongolia (SWYEPPM) program implemented by the International Republican Institute (IRI) and funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The SWYEPPM program is a democracy and governance initiative designed to foster citizen engagement and promote constituent-responsive governance and political accountability in Mongolia. An added focus for this year's index was therefore youth and women member participation in political parties' decision-making processes.

Today, as of November 2020, women account for only 25.1 percent of the world's parliamentary seats and 20.7 percent of ministerial posts (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2020). In 2020, 13 of the 76 members elected to the State Great Hural (parliament) in Mongolia were women. In other words, women made up only 17.1 percent of parliament seats, placing Mongolia below global and even regional averages (see Appendix).

Similarly, since the turn of the 21st century, there has been growing discussions of youth participation and representation in political decision-making worldwide. Young people are the largest segment in society after women, and are often regarded as agents for change and a representation of the future. Furthermore, it is self evident that youth issues cannot be solved without the political participation of young people. Unfortunately, according to the 2016 UN World Youth Report, young people between the ages of 18 and 29 make up only 4.1 percent of active members of parties (ACE, 2018). It is also noteworthy that young people's participation in the Parliament of the International Parliamentary Union in 2018 had been only 2.2 percent since

2016 (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2018).

In Mongolia's 2020 parliamentary elections, voters elected only 6 candidates under the age of 40 and no one younger than 30. Members up to 40 years of age make up only 7.9 percent of the parliament. Despite pervasive underrepresentation, political parties have untapped potential to serve as an effective structure for more broadbased engagement of young people and women during non-election periods. Conversely, political parties have opportunities to further support youth entry into politics, including running for elected office. In other words, political parties constitute a core institution for effectively

increasing the political participation and representation of young people and women directly through their activities, policies, and values.

In this report, we will cover the methodology and main conceptualization of the international democracy index of political parties. Then, we will present findings on the main index and four dimensions assessing the Democratic Party (DP), Mongolian People's Party (MPP), Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), and National Labor Party (NLP), and end with the study's conclusions.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this report, we evaluated the internal democracy of Mongolian political parties according to the methods used for the intra-party index (2015) by the Democracy Institute in Israel. We revised and updated our questionnaire in 2019 to modify the study toward the institutional environment in Mongolia. We used this questionnaire for the 2020 index and will keep using the same questionnaire in the future unless there are significant changes in the legal environment. We conducted interviews with a total of 18 party members (5-7 members per party). We used a targeted sampling method to select our participants to include an equal number of representatives from local and central party branches, with seven of them being women and five of them categorized as young (i.e., ages 18-40). As mentioned earlier, because this research took place under IRI's USAID-funded SWYEEPPM program, an additional focus of this year's index was to shed a light on youth and women's participation in the decision-making of political parties. Our central aim during participant selection was to interview party insiders who could provide insights on operations and decision making freely and honestly.

In addition to our in-depth interviews with political party stakeholders, we investigated cases related to intra-party democracy within parties vis-à-vis party rules and regulations, open information sources at the Supreme Court of Mongolia (SCM), the Law on Political Parties (LPP), and the Law on Elections (LoE). Moreover, this study monitored official party websites and social media pages to further examine and assess the public-facing transparency of political parties. From October to November 2020, the research team collected data from the official websites and social media pages of these parties. Meanwhile, in this index, we only selected certain parties (Sartori 1976, Mainwaring & Scully 1995, Dix 1992, Casal Bertoa 2011), which is limited to parties that hold parliamentary seats or received at least ten percent of the popular vote in elections. Therefore, this study examines four political parties, namely the ruling MPP, and opposition DP, MPRP, and NLP. However, other parties and coalitions running in the 2020 parliamentary elections failed to get enough votes and seats to represent the electorate.

Lastly, based on our in-depth interviews and desk reviews, our team of party experts scored each party on a scale from 0 to 100 (0 meaning no democracy and 100 a maximum ranking for internal democracy). The points were given by four experts who have been studying political parties for 5-10 years

each and who were also chosen because of their neutral views toward all parties (non-partisanship). Where appropriate, this study also presents the previous year's rankings for further context and comparison.

What is intra-party democracy?

“Internal democracy within a political party” or “intra-party democracy (IPD)” can be determined by the degree to which party members and supporters are involved in all levels of decision-making within political parties. Therefore, this concept is wide-ranging and multidimensional. Inclusiveness is the most important factor in determining a party's internal democracy. In inclusive parties, the key decisions, such as party platform development, party leadership selection, and candidate selection, are made by a broad cross-section of party members. On the contrary, in parties with low internal democracy, only a small number of party executives are involved in these decisions.

While the conceptualization of intra-party democracy has been contested, several scholars have put an effort into

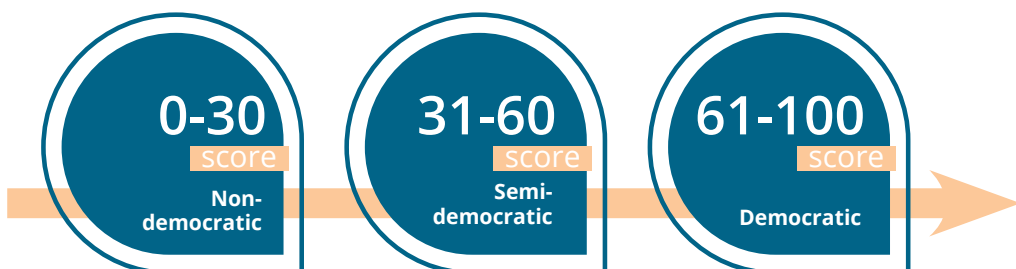
developing operational dimensions to measure intra-party democracy in the last decade. Two different indices have been developed to examine the internal democracy within parties and both are relevant for cross-national parties and cases. The first index was constructed to measure assembly-based and plebiscitary variants of intra-party democracy. It was developed by von dem Berge and Poguntke (2017) and consists of two different indices: the “Assembly-based Intra-party Democracy Index” and the “Plebiscitary Intra-Party Democracy Index.” Here, plebiscitary intra-party democracy means internal decisions—such as choosing leaders—are made by all members of the party. In contrast, assembly-based intra-party democracy means internal decisions within the party are made by party conventions, which

consist of certain elected representatives from party members . Berge and Poguntke's (2017) indices were based on formal rules, examining the three main components of intra-party democracy: program-writing (party platform development), personnel-selection, and organizational structure (von dem Berge and Poguntke 2017).

The other index which we used here is a more comprehensive index that examines not only political parties' formal rules but also their actual practices. Based on our experience conducting this study every year since 2018, we came to the conclusion that in the context of Mongolia, evaluating the intra-party democracy of political parties based solely on formal rules is insufficient because political parties often violate their very own rules in practice. For example, during

the 2020 elections, various members of the Democratic Party complained about their leadership's violation of party statutes during the candidate selection process ahead of the general elections. Therefore, this latter index, which was developed by Gideon Rahat and Assaf Shapira (2013), is more suitable to the context of Mongolia as it examines formal rules and practical adherence to rules. In accordance with the index methodology, parties are graded on a scale of 0 to 100 points. In this sense, parties are classified into three categories: parties with scores ranging from 61 to 100 points are defined as "democratic," while those scored 31 to 60 are "semi-democratic," and 0 to 30 are considered "non-democratic" (Rahat and Shapira, 2016).

Figure 1: Classifications of intra-party democracy (Rahat and Shapira, 2016)



Rahat and Shapira 2016's index consists of five dimensions: participation (30%), representation (20%), competition (20%), responsiveness (15%), and transparency (15%), with each of the five dimensions having a relative weight value. In 2018, our research team decided to change these weights on our index to increase relevancy to Mongolia's context. For example, political parties in Mongolia tend to conceal their financial reports from the public (Bat-Ulzii, 2015) a practice that can be considered a root cause of democratic deficit for the country. We therefore increased the weight value of transparency, especially transparency of financing. We also

removed the responsiveness part from the index and added its weight value to the representation part because the former dimension had only one question on elected representative institutions. Thus, our index has four dimensions: participation (25%), competition (24%), representation (16%), and transparency (35%). Then we modified our questionnaire according to Mongolia's legal framework, which includes the LPP and LoE. When modifying the dimensions and questionnaire, we consulted with political science professors at the National University of Mongolia following the passage of these relevant laws.

INTERNAL DEMOCRACY INDEX OF MONGOLIAN POLITICAL PARTIES 2020 FINDINGS

2020 marks the eighth parliamentary election of Mongolia since the first free and fair election has been held in 1992. The election year allows us to reveal insights into the level of internal democracy within political parties in practice as they become more active during this period. Our report examines the state of intra-party democracy in Mongolia, based on four dimensions of participation, competition, representation and transparency. The third edition of our index included the four political parties with parliamentary seats, namely MPP, DP, MPRP and NLP. On average, parties scored only 59.7 (on a scale of 0 to 100) points in this year's index. According to our assessment, with the exception of NLP, none of the three major political parties qualified as

“democratic.” Even in the case of NLP, it's worth highlighting that the party itself barely scored into the democratic ranking category. This indicates that the level of internal democracy of Mongolian political parties is insufficient.

The figure below shows the overall score of each political party assessed in the Internal Democracy Index of Mongolian Political Parties 2020. All four parties scored comparatively similar for the dimension of participation, while Mongolia's two major political parties, the MPP and DP, scored significantly lower in the area of competition. The other two younger parties, MPRP and NLP, scored the lowest points in the dimension of representation.

Figure 2. Internal democracy index of political parties in 2020

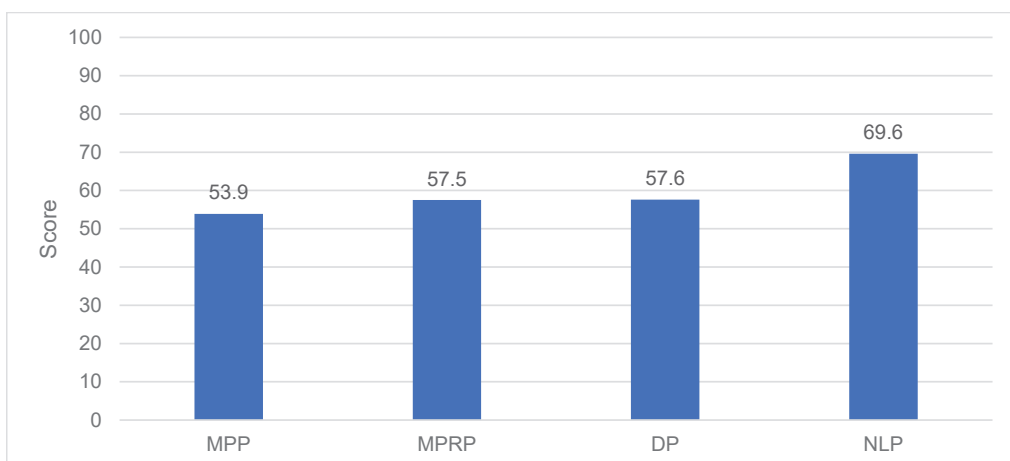
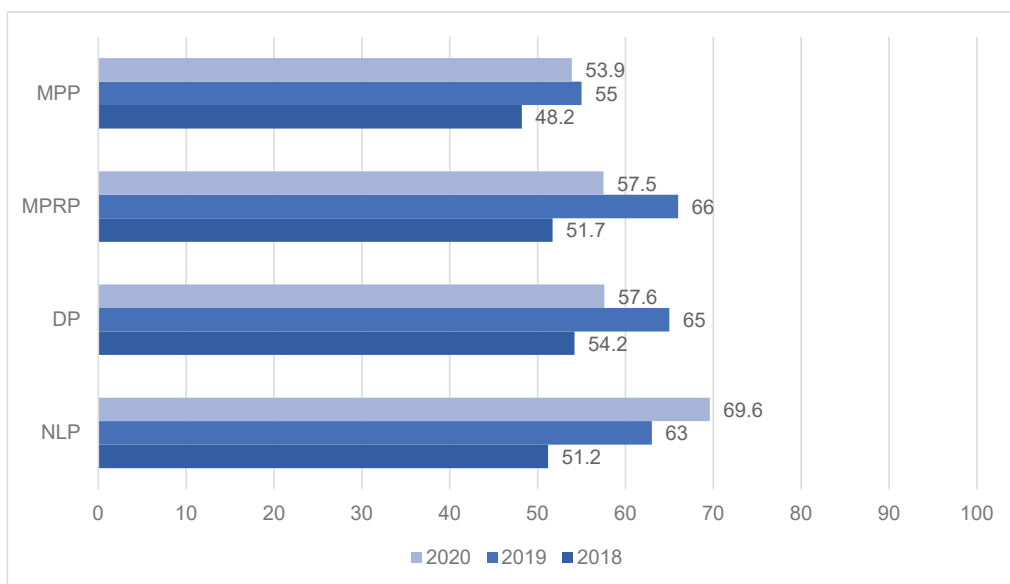


Figure 3 presents the score of each political party in the last three years. As we can see, there was no consistent growth for MPP, DP and MPRP whereas NLP's score has been steadily rising for the past three years. Except for MPP, all political parties were classified as "democratic" with more than 60 points in the 2019 index. Whereas in this year's index, only NLP reached the level of being

"democratic" by collecting 69.6 overall points, 6.6 points higher compared to 2019. Mongolia's major opposition parties, DP and MPRP, had moved from the "semi-democratic" category to the "democratic" category in the 2019 edition of our index. However, they suffered considerable loss in their overall score in 2020.

Figure 3. Internal democracy index of political parties, 2018-2020



As mentioned earlier, the main opposition party DP shows a decline in their overall score, by losing 3.7 points for the dimension of participation, 2.7 points for competition and 1 point for

transparency. One of the reasons for this backslide was the party's insufficient level of participation, which was the case for all parties in 2020. Another contributing factor for the decline was the monetary

barrier for party's candidates for parliamentary elections.

In the case of MPP, the party also displayed a decline rather than progress. The ruling party has ranked as "semi-democratic" for the third consecutive year of our index, although it had successfully improved its overall points in 2019.

Mongolia's third major political party MPRP endured the largest decline in the 2020 index, with scores decreasing by 8.5 points. The decline was mainly due to the lack of transparency related to the party's funding. In 2019, the party had demonstrated a considerably high level of transparency by reporting its financial statements to their members. However, this was no longer the practice in 2020. In addition, the party's decision to dissolve its youth and student wings and women's

association led to a significant decline of scoring in the area of representation.

As a newer political party, NLP has a relatively small number of members and the party's structure is in the early stages of development compared to the other three parties. Thus, the fact the party scored well possibly correlates with the assumption that it may be easier to enforce internal democracy in a party with fewer members or less entrenched interests amongst internal powerbrokers, which is a dynamic expected more in older and more established institutions.

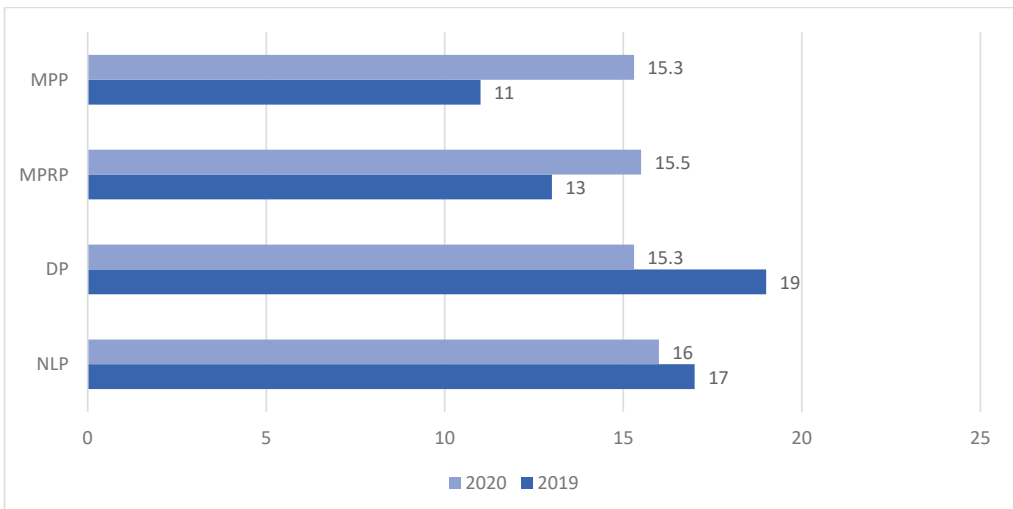
In the next section, we will present the score of each political party in the four dimensions of participation, competition, representation and transparency, which are the main components of our index.

PARTICIPATION

Participation encompasses various types of activities that influence political decision-making directly and indirectly within a party. For example, electing leadership and selecting candidates is one of the central ways for members to participate. Participation in these forms is certainly one of the fundamental principles of internal democracy (Rahat & Shapira, 2016). For this reason, in this section, we evaluated how selection of the main decision-makers, including a party leader and the nomination of candidates to the parliament, is carried out. In order to effectively demonstrate intra-party democracy, it is important to

ensure active participation of members not only by formal rules but also in practice, most notably by providing an environment conducive to genuine and meaningful participation in the development of policies. Accordingly, we thoroughly examined party rules on paper, actual practices of policy formulation, and the approval process for party policies by actual members. The study mainly assessed the participation level of political party members in discussions on party rules, electoral campaigns, and debates on policies. The dimension of participation in this study has a maximum score of 25.

Figure 4. Party member participation index, 2019-2020 (max. 25 points)



In the dimension of participation, all four parties scored comparatively similar in 2020. Parties, on average, scored 15.5 out of 25 points in this dimension. Figure 4 presents the score of each political party compared to the previous year's results. As demonstrated in the figure, MPP achieved the highest gain for participation in 2020. DP remains the most inclusive political party in choosing its party leader based on all members voting. This procedure was introduced as a result of the party's internal reform after their electoral defeat in 2016. In this dimension, the party had the highest score in the 2019 index. However, DP's score decreased significantly in 2020

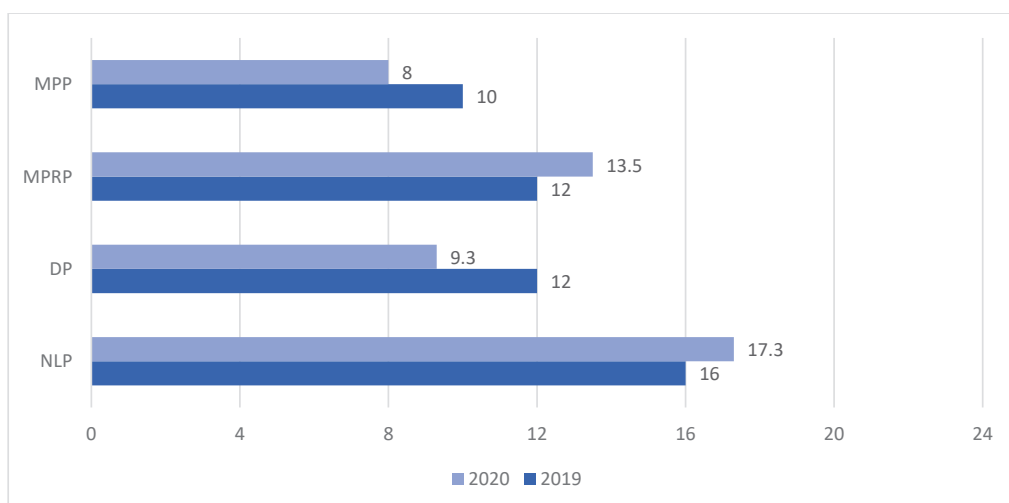
due to the lack of members' involvement in the party's decision-making process, particularly in the candidate selection process. According to the respondents, the central party makes the final decision on candidates, although local party members nominate their candidates for elections. All political parties have small groups of members involved in the process of approving party policies and programs, although their policy formulation processes are relatively inclusive. The interview respondents also noted that their political parties did not conduct any internal policy debates in 2020, despite that being an election year.

COMPETITION

Competition is a basic requirement for an intra-party democracy like participation (Rahat & Shapira, 2016). In this dimension, we assessed whether political parties held any elections for leadership positions and the party council. In addition, we looked at whether

members were given opportunities to change the composition of party's internal organizations or get nominated to general elections and party's internal representative bodies. The dimension of competition has a maximum score of 24.

Figure 5. Index of competition within political parties, 2019-2020 (max. 24 points)



The four political parties, on average, scored 12 (out of 24) points in the dimension of competition in 2020. As it was an election year, parties had to select their candidates for parliamentary elections. The competition within the party was high in MPP and DP as they nominated their candidates in

every electoral district in the general elections. The two major parties had a relatively strong competition with a high number of contestants wanting to run not only for the parliamentary elections but also for decision-making party positions. Despite this, MPP and DP scored lowest in this dimension

because there were monetary and non-monetary barriers for their candidates for the parliamentary elections. Here, it is worth noting that money is the biggest barrier to fair competition. For instance, prospective candidates have to pay pledge money in order to be selected as a party candidate from DP (it was 100 million tugriks in 2020). For MPP, it was more of non-monetary barriers, such as internal research results, that became the basis of candidate selection for the parliament. After the elections, the party

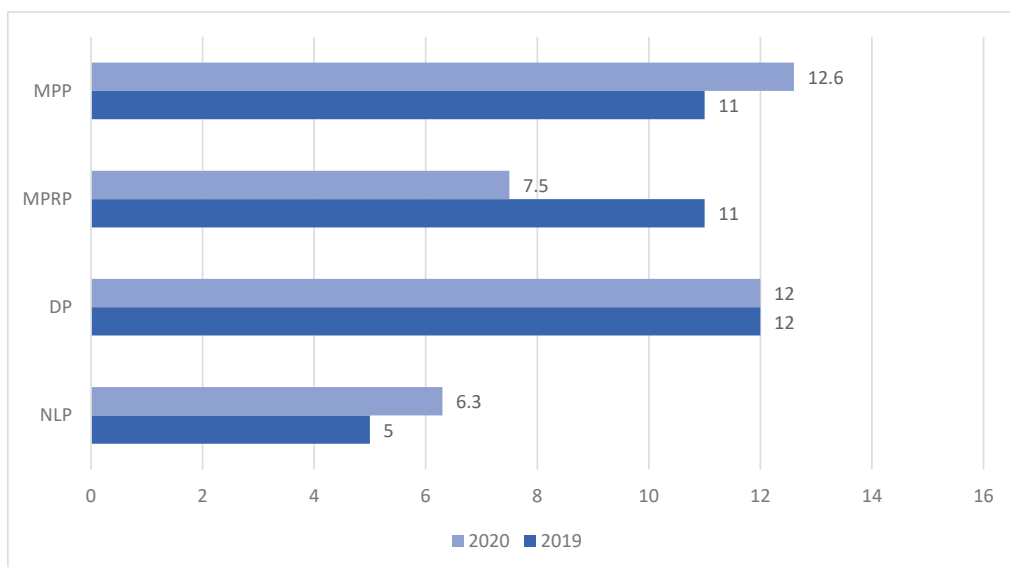
headquarter led the process of selecting the leaders of local party units, thereby restricting internal competition for these positions. In the case of the other two parties, MPRP and NLP were relatively open in their candidate selection process to recruit more candidates to their party. But it should be noted that MPRP has never changed its leader since the party was established in 2011. Moreover, board members of the party were not changed in the last four years.

REPRESENTATION

This dimension indicates how and whether political parties include members that represent different social groups. We measured the representation of women and youth in decision-making positions and in the nomination of candidates for parliamentary elections. For instance, we checked whether

political parties seek to fulfill the gender quota required by the Law on Elections, voluntarily set out higher gender quotas within the party or have active women's and youth associations. The dimension of representation has a maximum score of 16.

Figure 6. Index of representation within political parties, 2019-2020 (max. 16 points)



In the dimension of representation, the average score of the four parties was 9.6 (out of 16) points in 2020. The two major parties, MPP and DP, have higher scores in this dimension, by representing

a wide array of social groups in their representative bodies such as youth and student's wings and senior citizens' and women's associations. It is important to note that despite Mongolia's two

major political parties having formal representative groups for women and youth, the actual agency and influence on the important functions of these parties remains limited. Moreover, parties do not provide their women's associations with sufficient financial resources. According to our respondents, board members of the association finance their operations with their personal money due to the lack of funding from the party. Meanwhile, MPRP has officially dissolved its youth and student's wings and women's association. NLP has a youth association

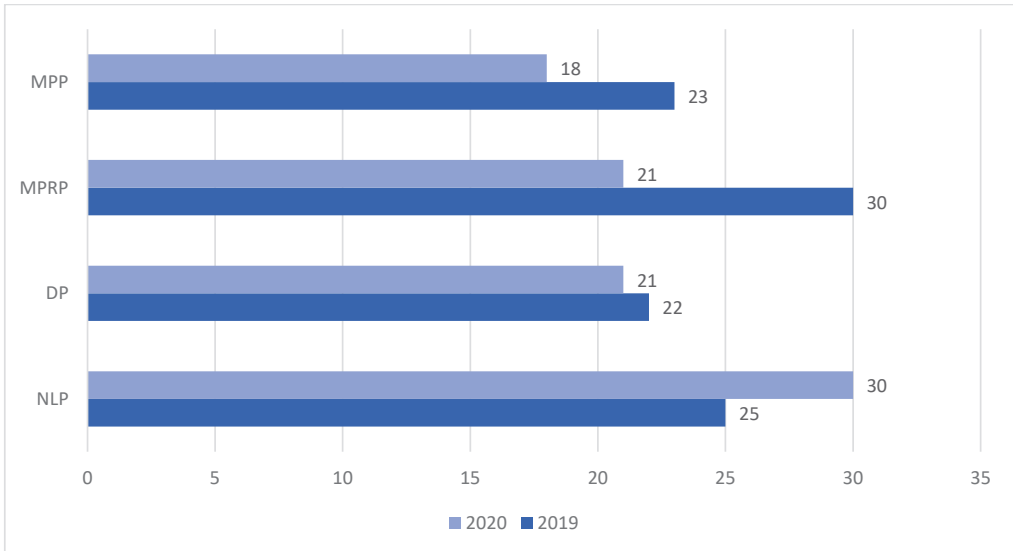
only and its head is appointed by party leaders. MPRP and NLP have voluntarily set a gender quota of 30 percent for their parliamentary candidates, while DP and MPP barely meet their legally required quota of 20 percent. Our respondents noted that youth and women have a relatively high degree of participation in primary and middle levels of their parties, but they do not have proportional representation in the high-level decision-making processes of their parties due to the monetary barriers mentioned above.

TRANSPARENCY (FUNDING)

This dimension measures the transparency of political party operations and financial activities. As a public organization, a political party must provide transparent operational and financial reports to both its members and the public. We examined whether political parties differentiated financial reports produced for the general public and their members. Furthermore, we

carefully reviewed information on official party websites and social media accounts to further measure the transparency of political parties. The review consisted of nine indicators including political party rules, principles, programs, and members' information. The dimension of transparency has a maximum score of 35.

Figure 7. Index of political party transparency, 2019-2020 (max. 35 points)



In the dimension of transparency, the average score of the four parties was 22.5 (out of 35) points in 2020. NLP has continuously reported its financial

statements to the public for the past three years. Meanwhile, MPP, DP, and MPRP report financial statements only to their members once a year, according to the

respondents. However, the parties still do not fulfill their obligation as required by the LPP, and the lack of transparency on party funding remains a root problem for intra-party democracy overall. Compared to the previous years' index, MPRP's score declined significantly. The main reason for this backslide in scoring was a nearly complete lack of financial

reporting to its members. All four parties have their own official websites and varying degrees of social media presence. Monitoring of these websites and social media accounts revealed that MPP, MPRP and DP did not publish their financial reports publicly, and that this type of information was especially missing from their websites.

CONCLUSION

The index of internal democracy of political parties was evaluated according to these four main indicators: participation, competition, representation, and transparency (funding). As explained earlier, this study categorizes political parties into the following three groups based on their aggregated evaluations: 1) Democratic for scores of 61 – 100; 2) Semi-democratic for scores of 31 – 60; 3) Non-democratic for scores 30 and below. Of the four political parties studied in 2020, DP, MPRP and MPP were assessed as “semi-democratic” and NLP alone as “democratic.” Based on the study, the parties respectively scored the following points:

1. NLP – 69.6 points
2. DP – 57.6 points
3. MPRP – 57.5 points
4. MPP – 53.9 points

The differences between the scores of political parties are minimal, and the level of internal democracy across parties remains insufficient. It should also be noted that each party's scores on the four indicators (i.e., participation, competition, representation, and transparency)

are varied. Compared to 2019, MPP, DP, and MPRP scores decreased by 1-8.5 points while NLP's increased by 6.6. This has direct links with the political parties' election candidate nomination processes, competition, participation of members, and transparency. In all parties, the party leaders playing a key role in decision-making, such as the selection of candidates for office, was seen as a deficiency for internal democracy. DP's drop in internal democracy scores was due to party rule violations and unfair competition that harmed its internal democracy. Even though local party members had the right to nominate their candidates for the general elections, the decision-making power rested with the central party. This was also the case in MPP.

A similar process was observed in the area of policy development and programs. Parties tended to involve a considerably higher number of members in the process of policy formulation, while the final decision on approval was limited to a small number of people. In fact, despite 2020 being an election year, none of the political parties held any policy debate or discussion within their parties. It should be noted that DP still pioneers Mongolian

political parties in terms of inclusiveness in choosing their party leader. On the one member-one vote basis, the party leader is to be selected by all members of the party. Whereas in MPRP, the party leader has never changed in the party's history.

Furthermore, respondents from MPP and DP acknowledged that their parties barely met the legally required gender quota of 20 percent for parliamentary election candidates. DP candidates, in particular, were prevented from the nomination process due to the barrier of "pledge money." Although the party set gender-specific amounts – 100 million tugriks for men and 60 million tugriks for women – "pledge money" remains to be an obstacle in increasing the number of women's representation in parliament. In MPP's case, the candidate selection process was based on an expensive party-funded scheme that relied on public ratings research for potential candidates, which had significant intra-party democracy shortcomings due to a near complete lack of transparency in the process—which was run exclusively out of the central party headquarters with very limited involvement of the party's expansive network of branches through-

out the countryside. The study finds that competition within Mongolia's major parties is closed and party leaders are highly influential in this process. In general, respondents noted that women play an enormous role in primary and middle levels of political parties, especially of MPP and DP. However, to participate at the highest levels, they face major financial and other barriers. MPRP and NLP have voluntary gender quota of 30 percent for parliamentary election candidates, but due to these parties' highly limited share of seats in elected bodies, progress for women's representation remains limited. In MPRP, the party leader also had much influence in the process of selecting candidates for the 2020 parliamentary elections.

In regard to financial reporting, NLP has published its financial statements to the public on its website for the past three years. This allowed them to score more points than others in the dimension of transparency. However, both MPRP and NLP scored the lowest points in the dimension of representation. MPRP's decision to dissolve its youth and student's wings and women's association resulted in a significant decline in this dimension.

NLP, on the other hand, has a youth association only and its head is appointed by party leaders. In the meantime, MPP and DP present a higher level of representation and have dedicated wings and associations for youth, students, women, and senior citizens as they are an integral part of party members and supporters.

This study was conducted after the 2020 parliamentary and local elections, held in June and October respectively. The internal party democracy does not necessarily correlate with election success, as evidenced by Mongolia's ruling party, which dominates the political landscape but scores the lowest in this study. Nevertheless, the internal party democracy remains to be important to the health of the country's democratic system, representation, inclusivity and diversity. It is worth noting that people will better trust political parties if they practice internal democracy. The Sant Maral Foundation's surveys from the past decade indicate that party identification in Mongolia (a close party preference) has been decreasing for the last 10

years. For example, in 2010, 45 percent of Mongolians affiliated with a political party, whereas in 2020, the number decreased to just 26 percent, demonstrating the presence of public dissatisfaction with political parties' activities (Sant Maral Foundation, 2010-2020).

In conclusion, the 2020 IPD index study findings demonstrate that political parties need to significantly improve their practices to develop internal democracy. Below are key recommendations that Mongolian political parties should consider to develop their internal party democracy:

- I) Remove monetary and non-monetary barriers to members' participation in decision-making processes and competition, especially for members running for elected office or party positions ;
- II) Openly report financial statements on a regular basis in accordance with the LPP;
- III) Ensure that party leaders adhere to party statutes, thereby ena-

- bling clear and fair procedures for party members;
- IV) Use voluntary gender quotas to improve the number of women running for general elections and increase their representation in party's decision-making positions and other representative bodies;
 - V) Strengthen party's youth wings and women's associations and provide sufficient financial re-
- sources;
- VI) Increase the number of party members involved in candidate selection and nomination process;
 - VII) Conduct regular policy debates and platforms to increase participation of party members in party's policy development.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Countries with the representation of age 30, 40, and 45 in the parliament, by region

Under age 30			Under age 40			Under age 45		
Region	%	Countries	Region	%	Countries	Region	%	Countries
Europe	3.9	47	Europe	23.5	47	Europe	37.5	47
America	3.8	23	America	19.2	23	America	33.8	23
Africa	1.5	36	Africa	15.0	36	Africa	29.4	36
Oceania	1.2	33	Oceania	12.7	8	Oceania	27.6	8
Asia	0.4	8	Asia	10.8	33	Asia	21.6	33
Total	2.2	147	Total	15.5	147	Total	28.1	147

Table 2. Countries adopted youth quotas in legislative elections

Countries	Quota type	Age group	Quota %	Gender	% under age 30	% under age 40
Rwanda	Reserved	Under 35	7.7	Embedded	1.3	22.5
Morocco	Reserved	Under 40	7.6	Embedded	1.6	14.7
Kenya /Lower chamber/	Reserved	Under 35	3.4	Embedded	No data	No data
Kenya /Upper chamber/	Reserved	Under 35	2.9	Embedded	3.0	26.9
Uganda	Reserved	Under 30	1.3	Embedded	1.1	22.9
Philippines	Candidates	-	50*	Mixed	1.7	15.8
Tunisia	Candidates	Under 35	25**	Separate	6.5	22.6
Gabon	Candidates	Under 40	20	-	0.0	8.6
Kyrgyzstan	Candidates	Under 36	15	Separate	4.2	35.0
Egypt	Candidates	Under 35	Varied****	Separate	1.0	11.8
Nicaragua	Voluntary	-	40, ***15	Mixed	1.1	14.1
Romania	Voluntary	-	30	Separate	6.4	35.3
Mexico	Voluntary	Under 35	30, 20	Separate	7.6	35.7
Montenegro	Voluntary	Under 35	30, 20	Separate	9.9	30.9
Vietnam	Voluntary	Under 40	26.5	Separate	1.8	12.3
El Salvador	Voluntary	Under 31	25	Separate	2.4	14.3

Countries	Quota type	Age group	Quota %	Gender	% under age 30	% under age 40
Sweden	Voluntary	Under 35	25	Separate	12.3	34.1
Mozambique	Voluntary	Under 35	20	Separate	0.0	17.2
Cyprus	Voluntary	Under 35	20	Separate	1.8	12.5
Lithuania	Voluntary	Under 35	0	Separate	2.8	19.2
Hungary	Voluntary	-	20	Separate	2.0	29.4
Senegal	Voluntary	-	20	Separate	0.0	11.0
Angolia	Voluntary	-	15	Separate	0.6	11.1
Turkey	Voluntary	-	10	Separate	0.2	8.8
Croatia	Voluntary	-	-	Separate	2.7	21.9
Ukraine	Voluntary	-	-	Seperate	5.0	41.2

Table 3. Countries adopted youth quotas in local council

Countries	Type of quota	Age restriction	Regulation of quota	Gender ratio
Uganda	Reserved seats	Under 30	4 seats in local assemblies	2 of 4 seats to be filled by women
East Timor	Reserved seats	Under 30	2 seats on each village council	1 male and 1 female
Sri Lanka	Candidates	Under 35	25% quota combined for women and youth	25% quota combined for women and youth
Tunisia	Candidates	Under 35	1 of first 3 candidates; 1 more in every set of 6 candidates	Law mandates gender parity and alternation throughout the list
Peru	Candidates	Under 30	20% of candidates on all party lists	30% gender quota as separate law

