



**Gauging the Importance of Electoral Reforms in
Evolving Procedural Democracy in Mongolia**

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Abstract

The central theme of the research paper is to analyse the democratic evolution especially the procedural aspect in the context of the electoral reforms in Mongolia. Tracing the trajectory of elections since 1996 till 2020, the research paper tries to highlight as how the electoral reforms in post-communist Mongolia since 1996 have guided the electoral mechanism in such a way that it has strengthen the democratic ideals in the region. The research paper also dealt with the major debates pertaining to the electoral reforms in Mongolia.

The study makes use of both the primary sources like the governmental data and reports and the secondary sources like newspapers, journals and internet sources. Deductive and inductive approaches along with analytical method have been employed so as to make the study more comprehensive.

The research paper concludes by making us understand as how the various burning issues and demands that pushed for subsequent electoral reforms in Mongolia have helped in evolving the procedural democracy in a more natural way.

Keywords: Mongolia, Procedural Democracy, Elections, Electoral Reforms and Electoral Systems.

Introduction

kind of dramatic shift could be seen in the last thirty years *vis-à-vis* the structural and functional dynamics of the countries across the globe. The urge for equality and demand for a kind of government which could ensure people's participation and value their consent, completely transformed the hitherto existing structures and patterns of governance. Most of the countries which were considered as having the military regime or autocratic dictatorship or one-party dictatorship started mending their ways so as to accommodate people's voice in the governance and promote the rule of law. This democratic transition revolutionized the pattern and style of working and brought a kind of paradigm shift. Thus, the most important question which comes to one's mind could be regarding the functional attributes of democracy which brought such kind of changes. In this sense, it would be rather better to define democracy as the very definition of it reflects the functional attributes of the same. Democracy could be defined as a form of government which tries to provide inclusiveness and representation to a wide range of population thereby bringing optimistic inducement for the working of a just and fair society. Pointedly, democracy acted as a medium which is expected to check the manipulation of power by few at the expense of many, thereby making it more accountable and hence legitimate. In a democratic regime the citizens have been provided with the power to choose the policy makers in the public domain and this signifies the functional attributes of a democratic government. Moreover, this kind of institutional set up is facilitated by free and competitive elections which offer them a rational choice between political parties and competing parties. It is this functional attribute of accountability which makes the democratic system legitimate thereby pushing the way for modern nation states to imbibe and preserve it.

Mongolia has set an example of being the most successful democracy among the post-communist states of Inner Asia which points to the fact that optimism towards implementing democratic norms in domestic and foreign policies worked satisfactorily despite varied challenges (Soni 2020:65). During the years 2011-2013, owing to its democratic credentials Mongolia was given the opportunity of holding the Chair of Communities of Democracies, a

global intergovernmental coalition of 130 democratic countries established in 2000, working with an aim to strengthen and deepen the democratic practices and norms within emerging democracies across the world (Batbayar 2014:3-4). The Mongolian President declared ‘Education for Democracy’ to be the priority theme of its Chairmanship of Communities of Democracies during 2011-13 (Soni 2013:30). The democracy in Mongolia got another boost when Hillary Clinton as a Secretary of State, in her official visit to Mongolia as a part of her Asia tour on 9 July 2012 appreciated the democratic set up in the following words, ‘If you want to see democracy in action, if you want to see progress being shaped by leaders who are more concerned about lifting up their people than fattening of their bank accounts, come to Mongolia’ (Taipei Times 2012). Though we have talked a lot about the ‘democratic space, culture, movements and its evolution in Mongolia’, but what really constitutes democracy and what it meant to be democratic, is something that has to be dealt with great objectivity.

The word democracy is derived from the Greek word ‘demos’ meaning people and is defined as the form of government in which the supreme power resides with people. The concept of popular power is the core of all the democratic theories. Over the decades, democracy has evolved and our conceptualization of democracy has undergone a tremendous change. From Pluralist to Participatory and Procedural theories, democracy has been associated with certain basic values and goods, such as equality (at least political) and freedom of expression. The virtues associated with democracy include rights, freedom, political equality, human development, moral autonomy, self-determination. Equality of opportunity, especially political equality becomes all the more important as it ensures inclusion and ascertains that everyone has a voice along with basic political rights. In this entire framework, political institutions become important for the furtherance of democratic goals and this includes, free, fair, frequent elections and an inclusive citizenship in the true sense of terms.

Proceduralist vision is considered as the best normative defence of democracy in the modern world. Since the inception of democracy, one distinguishing feature which forms its core is the quest for ‘equal liberty’. This ‘equal liberty’ can be better defined as the participation by the people in the decision-making process without being discriminated on any grounds and making equal contribution to the establishment of majority view. Procedural aspect considers that the most imperative virtue for which democracy should work is equal political liberty. And the best way of respecting equal liberty in a background of dissent and pluralism is the participation of

every individual in the decision-making process without any discrimination. It is here that we found that the modern democratic exercise of elections provided a fair and competitive platform for selecting political representatives on the basis of every individual's equal participation (Saffon & Urbinati 2013:442). Against this background, this article seeks to assess and analyse the importance of electoral reforms in evolving procedural democracy in Mongolia.

The Interface of Electoral System and Democracy

Now the important question, worth exploring here, is regarding the decisive factor that determines the very nature of the state of democracy in any country. In other words, what is the procedural exercise that ensures the innate nature of democratic trajectory in a given state and time period. Unanimously, there is a near consensus that the best constitutive factor that determines the core of democracy could be seen in terms of electoral output and hence corollary to this the elections are considered as the best innate exercise through which the electorates get the opportunity to exercise their democratic choice (Deep 2021:36). Secondly, two other desirable features in this regard happen to be the freeness and fairness of the elections. All these factors collectively determine the degree of legitimacy that the state enjoys in the eyes of the society by itself.

Looking at the modern history of Mongolia we found that it has been very tumultuous since it first declared its independence in 1911 from China. After the long-sought break from China, Mongolia since 1924 reformed into a Soviet-type of society. The cold war era especially the period of 1966-1986 witnessed intense rivalry between the Soviet Union and China and the status of Mongolia was limited to being a deployment station for Soviet troops. The process of Soviet style reforms was imitated in Mongolia and the Mongolian version of '*glasnost*' and '*perestroika*' termed as '*Iltod*' and '*Orchilan Baigalat*' left a direct impact over the country (Soni 2002). The most important change came in the form of ending MPRP's monopoly by bringing changes in the Constitution. The period between March and May 1990 witnessed a kind of tug of war between the interim government and the opposition, mainly demanding the free election. Elections to the two chambered parliament was fixed at the end of July and subsequent to its legalisation of the registration of other political parties was assured by MPRP.

Political parties were given the legal status by mid-1990 and electoral laws were passed. All these indicated a kind of structural transformation in Mongolian political landscape signalling towards universal and democratic human values. Overall, this could be perceived as a significant shift towards democratization of Mongolian polity gaining momentum owing to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and end of cold war (Soni 2008:33).

Analysing the trajectory or evolution of democratic transition in Mongolia we found that the adoption of new Constitution, the fourth one since 1921, on 13 January 1992, replacing the 1960 Constitution, was the major milestone in the democratic consolidation of the country. It brought considerable changes in Mongolia's political system with greater emphasis on the "establishment of democracy" contrary to the previous Constitutions, which had stressed on 'building the State through socialism' (Soni 2013:33). However, the political landscape began to transform only after the 1996 parliamentary elections which brought with it a kind of paradigm shift in the nature and working of political agencies. The 1996 elections led to the surprise victory of opposition parties who altogether decided to run as one block thereby strategically avoiding the chances of splitting their votes. Moreover, the popular support and the high voter participation in the parliamentary elections seemed to be an encouraging factor for the evolving procedural democracy in the region (Fritz 2008:779).

The 1996 elections were a major turning point as it brought with it a kind of paradigm shift in the nature and pattern of electoral dimensions of the country by bringing a kind of coalition, unique and first of its kind in Mongolia (Soni 2008:34). The election of 2004 was unique and mature in the sense that overall turnout came to be 75 percent which was quite amazing considering the fact that most of the Mongolian people resided in remote areas far from polling stations with very poor transport facilities. Second, important aspect was that the election campaign played an important role in the 2004 elections as the MPRP' manifesto vowed for increasing the agriculture industry productivity, offered a guaranteed annual growth rate of at least seven percent and promised to create 145000 new jobs (Soni 2004:21). Thirdly, as the election mandate was fractured with no party having the majority, a kind of grand coalition was formed between the MPRP and the MDC. Though the coalition did not last for long but the kind of experiment in terms of coalition marked an alternative to the ongoing one-party dominant system. The results of 2012 parliamentary showed that Mongolia was able to overcome the blot of emergency and came out of it in a mature way providing a rainbow

coalition of the Democratic Party, the MPRP-MNDP 'Justice' coalition and the Civil Will Green Party (Soni 2013:37). The acceptance of the electoral results and the smooth transition reconfirmed the status of Mongolia as the 'only' post-socialist democracy in Asia. (APPENDIX.1) (General Election Commission of Mongolia 2012). Moreover, the formation of an effective government through a grand coalition with no ideological constrain boosted the trust among political parties and hence contributed to the institutionalization of democracy in Mongolia. Thus, the elections and multiparty system gave people the option of informed choices and facilitated the democratic transition in Mongolia (Soni 2013:37).

Starting from the 1996 parliamentary elections to the 2020 parliamentary elections, one could find that how starting from one-party dominance to a multiparty coalition, the democracy in Mongolia has come a long way. Looking at various electoral outcomes with the evolution of procedural democracy in Mongolia one can find that the elections since 1996 till 2020 have resulted in substantial changes and power reconfiguration of governments making the political agencies and political actors well versed with the nuances of democratic ideals. The factors of volatility which keep the political agencies responsive and reformative by creating a sense of uncertainty vis-à-vis electoral behaviour have also significantly contributed to the growth of procedural democracy in the region (Deep 2021:48).

The Electoral Reform Debates

The existing and relevant literature on electoral reforms could be segmented into three waves of development. The first wave was mainly related with the categorisation of electoral systems and their effects. Classically, the available literatures on the electoral systems have categorised them into either majoritarian or proportional systems and outlines their consequential effects on the choice of party systems. The second wave of electoral reforms tried to broaden the perspective of study of electoral system by outlining that it ought not to be limited to its effects on party system only. Rather other dimensions such as governance, participation, accountability and representation are equally important. The third wave of study tried to discard the institutional inertia theory by negating the hypothesis that electoral system once employed should be perceived as fixed and permanent. This acuity of electoral engagements as unchanging fixtures also got a jolt with systemic changes in a number of countries in 1990's.

Moreover, the third wave of study also raises questions about the origin of electoral reforms i.e., determinants of electoral reforms (Leyenar & Hazan 2011:438-40).

The concept of legitimacy or trust for the existing electoral and political configurations has also acquired a prominent role in setting the agenda for electoral reforms. Even cultural theories are there proposing political legitimacy as the bedrock of stable democratic organizations (Eckstein 1961). The notion of public legitimacy holds that the rules of the game should be accepted by all i.e., even by the electoral losers so that everything happens through consent and not by force. Legitimacy involves the ability of a political system to create an atmosphere of trust and effectiveness in such a manner that the existing political arrangements seem to be the best and most appropriate for the society (Lipset 1983). Once the legitimacy starts being questioned or there is crisis of governability, a kind of pressure started mounting up for reforms and discussions for alternative arrangements. Governments where the public has the freedom to express their opinions and concerns are more inclined to democratic ideals and pushes for the reforms towards democratic movements. Thus, we can say that the opinion of public should never be ignored or discounted and there are ample evidences which suggested that the mass aspirations for the democratic values are indeed one of the most important factors catalysing the agenda for successful reform and legislative actions. Moreover, there are cases which have shown that the public aspirations for democracy are followed by changes in the institutional arrangement even in the non-democratic regimes and hence support the view that the reforms from below can also thrive against the elite interests (Norris 2011).

The major debates regarding electoral reforms in Mongolia could be seen as swinging between the two demands of representation and effectiveness. Modern representative democracy has the novel aim of performing the twin task of representing the diversity of a given society and carrying forward the collective aspirations of its citizens by providing the effective governance for all. The anomaly in these twin tasks lead to the subversion of the very spirit of the democratic discourse and hence any changes or reforms could be seen in terms of balancing these two important dimensions. The concept of legitimate reforms as mentioned above holds very true in the case of emerging democracies like Mongolia and has been one of the major debates regarding electoral reforms. Tracing the trajectory of elections since 1996 till 2020 we found that the electoral reforms in post-communist Mongolia since 1996 have guided the electoral mechanism in such a way that it has strengthened the democratic ideals in the region.

The various burning issues and demands that pushed for subsequent electoral reforms have helped in evolving the procedural democracy in a more natural way. The procedural democracy in Mongolia have evolved maturely with time and has successfully consolidated the democratic ideals as the multiparty system and regular shift of power bears a testimony to this fact (Deep 2016:93). The most important socio-political issues around which the debates concerning electoral reforms in Mongolia have revolved could be outlined as follows:

1. Making Representation More Representative: This called for eliminating the undue structural advantage to the parties; ensuring better representation of women, ensuring the representation of Kazakh minorities, and making the electoral exercise a fair game for smaller parties; and
2. Reforming Financial System for Parliamentary Elections

Demand for Representation

After the first parliamentary election of 1992 which was based on the Block Voting system, the democratic parties realized that the Block Voting system requiring a multi-member constituency-based election in the 26 districts of Mongolia had been unduly favourable to the MPRP and detrimental to the opposition parties. Hence there were passionate debates about the changes in the electoral systems in the ensuing period. The electoral rules were revised and amended for the second time in 1996 by the Mongolian parliament. The electoral system was changed from the multi-member constituency plurality system to First Past the Post system that provides single member constituencies. Here, the number of electoral constituencies was demarcated into separate 76 units rather than the previously 26 districts with multi-member constituencies (Brick et al. 1992). The parliamentary elections of 2000 and 2004 were held on the basis of the FPTP system that was passed in 1996.

The Electoral System before 2008 parliamentary election changed from single-member constituency based FPTP system to multi-member electoral constituency-based Block Voting System. Besides, the changes were marred with constitution and no proper deliberation over the proposed changes in the electoral system was held. Hence, along with political leaders the general public was also in a state of confusion as to what would be the exact modalities of the changed electoral system for 2008 parliamentary elections. Consequently, the electoral

outcomes of the 2008 parliamentary elections led to massive violence in Mongolia (Avirmed 2011).

In the aftermath of massive violence after 2008 parliamentary election, it was realized that there was an urgent need of an effective reform in the existing electoral system. Besides, it was also realized that the process of reform in the existing electoral system must be transparent and fair. Keeping these factors in mind, a parliamentary committee consisting of members from all the parties elected for SGH in 2008 election was constituted with the mandate to propose a comprehensive and effective reform measures in the electoral system in Mongolia. Besides, the issue was extensively debated within the parliament as well as among the civil society organizations.

The atmosphere was so charged and the contending interests w.r.t the desirability of different electoral system by different political parties dependent upon the former's suitability or non-suitability for them made the emergence of a consensus w.r.t the desired electoral system among the parliamentary committee members extremely difficult (Raffos 2011). However, to the credit of the democratic commitment of the political leadership of Mongolia, the parliamentary committee after a mammoth consultation of three years finally submitted the reform proposals in December 2011. Finally, Mongolia, on December 14, 2011, adopted and operationalised the new revised electoral laws that stipulated a transition from the existing majoritarian (FPTP or Block Voting System) system to a Mixed-Member Majoritarian cum Proportional Representative System (Library of Congress 2012). The main features of the revised Electoral laws can be understood through the following:

1. Out of a total 76 members of SGH, 28 members will be elected according to PR voting system by votes being casted for political parties. The other 48 members would be chosen according to FPTP system applied to single member electoral constituencies which would be application of majoritarian system. Here, an electorate has two ballots wherein one is cast for candidate in a multi-member or single member electoral constituency and other for the party list. Further, a candidate cannot stand for pluralist single or multi-member constituency election and for PR based party's list at the same time. It was historical in the sense that the country after a hiatus of 20 years since 1990 moved from majoritarian system to a mixed electoral system and tried to combine the positive attributes of both the systems.

2. In order to provide better representation for women after looking at their continuous fall from 11.8% in 2000 to 3.9% in 2008, a new electoral law proposing a quota of 30% for women candidates was introduced. This resulted in a threefold rise in the representation of women parliamentarians in the 2012 parliamentary elections (BTI 2014).

3. The Kazakh minority populations who constitute four percent of the total population of Mongolia are concentrated in the western province of Bayan- Olgiy where they constitute 85 percent of the provincial population (Todd 2006). Thus, while having all the legal and other citizenship rights the Kazakh minority have been non-represented in the parliament due to their meagre population and existing majority-plural system. It was only after the substantial change in the electoral laws in 2012 which led to the electoral success and better representation of the Kazakh minority in Mongolia.

4. Mongolians who reside in other countries could vote 15 days in advance of the actual voting day and they can submit their vote via Mongolian embassies.

Thus, unlike 2008 parliamentary elections, the 2012 election in Mongolia was not only peaceful but has acquired a popular acceptability among the Mongolians. However, the Constitutional Court struck down the election laws in 2015 as the proportional element was in contravention with the provisions of the constitution (Radchenko & Jargalsaikhanis 2017:1042). Consequent to the decision of Constitutional court, the proportional element was declared ultra vires and all the 76 seats were decided to be contested in single seat constituencies. The decision of the Constitutional court for scrapping the proportional element of the electoral law deeply affected the smaller parties.

Legislative elections took place on 29 June 2016. The results led to a massive victory for Mongolian People's Party (MPP) as they bagged 65 of the 76 seats. The incumbent Democratic Party (DP) was able to retain only 9 seats with a total loss of 25 seats from the previous elections. Enkhbayar's MPRP got single seat and the rest one seat was taken by an independent. (APPENDIX.2) (General Election Commission of Mongolia 2016). Hence, one may find that whatever is the electoral manipulation and institutional weakness, the fact that the electoral outcome completely routed DP was a testimony of the resilience of democratic ideals in the country. Even the blatant gerrymandering could not help Altankhuyag and Garamgaibaatar to get elected and highlighted the fact that parties having a legitimacy deficit

could not simply win the elections by employing the tool of gerrymandering. Thus, the emphasis should always be to maintain the neutrality, impartiality, and integrity of these agencies. The belief in the outcome of electoral process very much depends on the authenticity and credibility of these agencies' as they very much add to the legitimacy of the acceptance of outcome (Montsame 2020).

A second set of amendments based on public engagement and deliberation were approved to the 1992 Constitution in November 2019. In order to address the problem of government instability, the amendments provisioned for an absolute majority in case of dismissal of the prime minister, instead of the simple majority as was the case at that time, with an obligation to appoint a new Prime Minister within thirty days. If the appointment could not take place within thirty days, the president would be obliged to dissolve the parliament (Odunkhuu 2020).

In order to maintain a proper check and balance of power, the amendments provisioned that only the Prime Minister and not more than four cabinet ministers can remain parliamentarians i.e., could hold cabinet posts concurrently. This was done to ensure a separation of legislative and executive powers in a small, unicameral parliament composed of only 76 members. Along with this it was provided that the decision of the Prime Minister to appoint/dismiss cabinet members may not be blocked by either the President or Parliament. These reforms not only enhanced the stature of the Prime Minister but even put a check on the executive by forming a constitutional body i.e., the state audit organization which could exercise independent control over state finances and budget (Odunkhuu 2020).

Another important point to reckon with was regarding the last-minute electoral law's manipulation by the parliament. Even in 2016 elections we found that the laws were drastically changed when only less than two months were left. This was done so as to create a kind of unpredictability and in order to suit the nefarious design of the ruling party. However, the amendments prohibited the adoption or alteration of electoral laws within a year of regular election. In order to boost the image of political parties and reduce corruption, the amendments provisioned for a national policy-program to be adopted by the political parties in synchronization with democratic principles and transparent financial arrangements. The law would be deterministic of the structure, operational rules of procedure, financing, and the conditions for public funding of parties. Making the democracy more participatory it has been

provisioned that for the formation of a new party at least one percent of eligible voters should support that party. This clause will enter into force on 1 January 2028 (Odunkhuu 2020).

The 2020 parliamentary elections for the 76 seats Great Hural took place on 24 June 2020. Mixed electoral system was adopted which provisioned for multimember constituencies with 48 seats being elected via simple-majority voting and 28 via proportional representation. The MPP won with a landslide victory acquiring 62 seats and the DP winning 11 seats only. (APPENDIX.3) (General Election Commission of Mongolia 2020). This shows that the element of responsiveness and uncertainty have been constantly shaping the electoral outcomes in a way which has ultimately strengthened the procedural aspect of democracy. One seat each was won by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the National Party (HUN) and an independent. Voter turnout stood at 73.7 percent and was quite encouraging looking at the pandemic situation. Facing corruption trial former Prime Minister and MPP parliamentarian, Erdenbet, was not seated. Moreover, the entry of HUN in the parliament paved way for the new political movements and imbibed a source of hope for parties other than the MPP and DP (Freedom House Report 2021).

Financial Issues in Electoral Reform

The financial disparity as a factor in hampering the electoral misfortunes of majority of the parties except a few has informed the electoral debates since day one of the democratic Mongolia. In fact, the tremendous success of MPRP in the first democratic and multi-party parliamentary election of July 1990 was possible, in part, due to its undue financial advantages over opposition parties that were formed just a couple of months prior to the elections. Thus, demands to bring laws regulating financial aspect in the elections were strongly desired by majority of the political parties. Consequently, parliament passed a law wherein General Election Commission was empowered to audit the accounts of political parties, independent candidates before and after the elections (Burmaa 2003).

Similarly, the law on political parties directs that the sources of funding to the political parties in Mongolia would be membership fees, fund raising activities, donations as well as entrepreneurial activities by them. However, in practice the donation from the big corporate entities has been the exclusive domain of the MPRP and Democratic Party. This has

substantially led to the exponential rise in the corruption in electoral practices affecting the “fairness” of the elections.

In fact, both MPRP and Democratic Party had emerged as the main beneficiary of the business houses who had their agenda of getting the political parties and candidates acting in their interest to be elected. More specifically, the mining companies, who had a deep interest in the precious mineral resources of Mongolia were donating huge amount of money to both the parties. Hence, the issue of democratizing the campaign finance informed the Mongolian debate on electoral reforms.

The issue of political financing has always been a point of discussion among the stakeholders, non-state actors and the citizens of Mongolia. Based on a survey report conducted by Open Society Forum (OSF) in collaboration with International IDEA, about 86 percent of the people in 2014 testified that there has been need for major reforms in political finance system, 79 percent testified of the system favouring vested interests, 74 percent complained about the reduced political competition in elections and 77 percent came out with the notion that the system has limited the social diversity among candidates. Lack of transparency vis-à-vis political financing has also been pointed out by 67 percent of the respondents (Catalina & Bertoa 2018:25-30).

There have been continuous efforts since 2012 for reforming the political financial framework of the country. Working in this direction, Mongolia made a commitment in its National Action Plan under the aegis of Open Government Partnership for enhancing the transparency regarding political party funding by amending the Law on Political Parties (LPP) (OGP 2016). In June 2018, discussions were held for reforming this law. Key recommendations for reforming the political financial framework of Mongolia as suggested by the OSF include the following with regard to specific concerns (Catalina & Bertoa 2018: 25-30):

With regard to the public funding, private donations and spending limits:

- provisioning of public funding for extra-parliamentary parties having considerable electoral support.
- in order to support and promote female and youth candidates a certain portion of the political parties’ public subsidies should be earmarked.

- regulations of in-kind donations based on an objective monetary appraisal criterion both during and outside election periods.
- the ceiling regarding individual donations be increased and that of corporate donations be limited with due consideration of prohibiting the later in the future.
- ‘pledge money’ use shall be strictly banned during the election campaigns or at least accounting it as part of the individual private donation ceiling.
- restricting the expenditure limits for election campaigns and increasing the controls on broadcasting expenditures of private media.

With regard to reporting, control and sanctions:

- a detailed review and clarification regarding the framework on electoral funding reporting should be made. An alignment of the 2015 Law on Election and the 2005 Law on Political Parties should be mooted out so as to bring campaign financing and non-election period party financing under the same strict disclosure and reporting requirements, with their control centralizing into a single authority.
- as the controller of political finance and an oversight agency, the role of National Audit Office (NAO) should be made more refined. It should be provided with proportional advisory, oversight and investigative responsibilities, including auditing of parties’ electoral candidates’ financial reports. The process and procedures meant for regulation should be made transparent and clear.
- a kind of cooperative mechanism should be developed among different oversight authorities like the General Election Commission, the Independent Authority Against Corruption and the Mongolian Tax Administration with the NAO so that the later could proactively play its role as the political finance oversight authority.
- all information regarding finance of parties both electoral and non-electoral should be transparent and easily accessible to the public with the responsibility being fixed through NAO.

- for effective and diligent performance, the NAO should be provided with necessary financial and human resources.
- introduction of new inhibitive punishments like the loss of public subsidies or prison or otherwise increasing the fine in order to strengthen the political financial sanction framework.

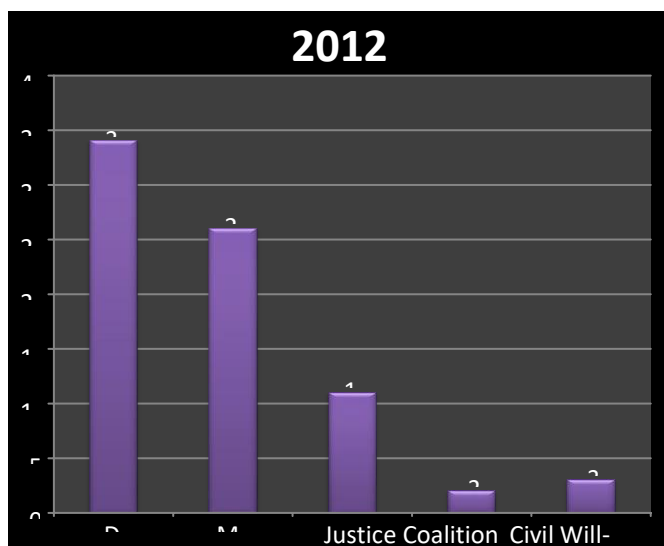
Conclusion

The above outlined issues dealing with the electoral reforms in Mongolia and the concerned debates indicate that there have been a range of issues ranging from the demand for inclusiveness to fair representation along with the financial aspect as making elections more representative. The various electoral reforms have gradually guided the political transformation in a smooth manner and tried to carve out a balance between the twin demands of effectiveness and representation in order to boost the procedural dimension of democracy. In Mongolia, since 1996 almost in every election, different models of electoral systems have been used more or less on an experimental basis, so that a proper representation of people with equal effectiveness of government should be maintained.

Further, looking at the growth of multi-party system and its correlation with the electoral reforms in Mongolia, it has been found that the direction of electoral reforms has led to the emergence of multi-party system in such a way that the representativeness character of democracy has been strengthened along with the effectiveness due to the culmination of various political parties into relatively stable and responsible coalitions. Moreover, owing to the changed political scenario and responsiveness taking the central stage, the political parties in Mongolia have also tried to reform themselves ideologically and structurally. This indeed has contributed to the consolidation of liberal values within the parties, thereby leveraging the overall democratic efforts in Mongolia. While tracing the trajectory of electoral reforms in Mongolia from 1990 till 2020, it has been discovered that engaging pertinent political issues concerning fair representation of various sections of society, conduct of a free and fair election, to financial parity for various political parties have intended to entrench the procedural democracy in this small landlocked country. Conclusively the procedural dimension could be considered as the most apt and practical form of democracy especially in the context of countries like Mongolia which were in the flux and had witnessed transitions which were out of

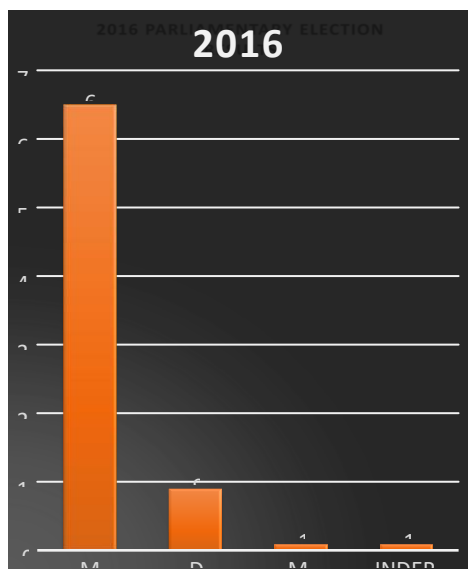
their immediate control. To sum up we can say that the electoral reforms, indeed, provided necessary relief in evolving procedural democracy in Mongolia, though many things are still needed to be done.

APPENDIX.1



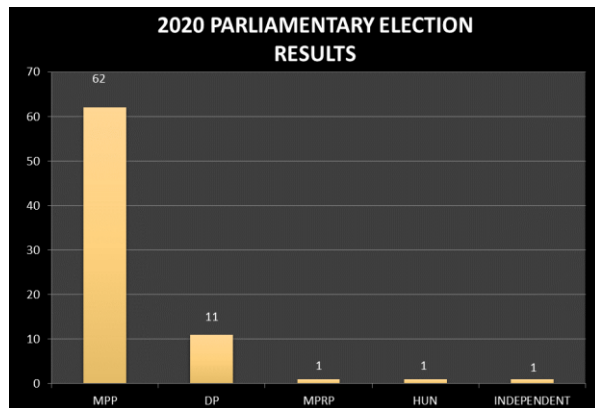
Source: General Election Commission of Mongolia, 2012.

APPENDIX.2



Source: General Election Commission of Mongolia, 2016.

APPENDIX.3



Source: General Election Commission of Mongolia, 2020.

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