

**EFFICIENCY OF QUOTAS FOR ENHANCING WOMEN'S
DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION IN NATIONAL
PARLIAMENT AND INTRA-PARTY FACTORS AFFECT
FEMALE CANDIDACY IN MONGOLIA**

By

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Author's Declaration

I, the undersigned, UYANGA CHIMGEE, candidate for MA in PUBLIC POLICY, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research.

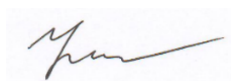
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Abstract

Despite having 25% of reserved-seat quotas for women in the parliament for 70 years during one-party regime soviet period, even afterwards legislating equal rights to political participation and representation in the Constitution and other respective laws, there have been a significant disparity between men and women both in descriptive and substantive representation in Mongolia. While countless factors may influence this inequality I hypothesize political institutes – parties have significant roles to impact women’s representation and female candidacy in national parliament. Therefore, I aim to explore 1) current legislations and its effective implementing mechanism to ensure women’s political participation, specifically female candidacy; 2) how intra-party factors including party power dynamics, networking, parties willingness, commitment and enforcement to implement the quotas, formal and informal rules for candidacy selection and selectorates, and funding mechanism affect female politicians. Doing so, I choose to analyze relevant laws and party charters as core documents to review, and to interview key women politicians including female candidates, who are familiar with party activities and have an experience of political engagement in higher positions to identify unwritten rules and intra-party dynamics.

This thesis findings conclude that inconclusive to assess electoral rule importance to enhance women’s descriptive representation, therefore non-transparent candidacy selection, over-centralized party leadership decision making practice, weak enforcement of quotas, lack of willingness, and funding mechanism, informal intra-party politics and culture put women in great disadvantages, and systematically exclude women from politics.

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List of Abbreviations

CUP	Civic Unity Party
DP	Democratic Party
HUN	HUN Party
MPP	Mongolian People's Party
NCGE	National Committee on Gender Equality of Mongolia

Introduction

Currently, as of April 2023, women's representation at decision-making level in Mongolia (17.1% in national parliament) remains lower than the global (26.8%) and regional averages (21.3%) (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2022), and ranked at 134th out of 185 countries (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2023). Similarly, it is generally ranked at 70th out of 146 countries for Global Gender Gap Index 2022, but in terms of its sub-index for political empowerment which include indicators of women in parliament, women in ministerial positions, years with female/male head of state for last 50 years, it is rated at 113th (World Economic Forum 2022). Therefore, there have been no women serving as president, parliament speaker or municipal governor in Mongolia.

Table 1: Women's representation in political and governmental higher positions in 2021 (National Human Rights Commission of Mongolia 2022)

<i>Positions:</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Female</i>
President	1	0
Speaker of the National Parliament ¹	1	0
Deputy Speaker of the National Parliament	2	1
Prime Minister	1	0
Members of the Parliament	76	13
Members/ministers of the Cabinet	16	4
State Secretaries	14	1

¹ Note: State Great Khural

Governors of provinces and municipality	22	0
Ambassadors	31	1

The overall representation of women in governmental positions and decision-making is significantly low, and falling even below the levels stipulated in the Mongolian Law on Promotion of Gender Equality (2011).

In consideration aforementioned, I aim to examine not only how women's political participation of candidacy to national parliamentary election in national legislations, and also to explore the mechanisms implemented to ensure the actual participation of women as candidates and examine the impact of intra-party power dynamics on women's candidacy and their subsequent political careers. To delve into these aspects thoroughly, the following sub-questions will be investigated in detail:

- To what extent are opportunities for women to participate in the national parliamentary election transparent and accessible? Is there equal opportunity for women and men to run for office? This inquiry involves analyzing the nomination and selection process, examining the extent of political and legal support for female candidates, evaluating the efficacy of implementation mechanism of national laws, and assessing how electoral systems impact women's candidacy.
- How are quotas implemented by political parties? How does the legal framework reflect the mechanisms for quota implementation (such as placement mandates and enforcement)? How is the effective implementation of quotas ensured, including systematic training of women to meet the legally mandated quotas and monitoring efforts?

- Assess the internal culture and democratic practices within political parties to determine their accessibility and hostility towards women members and candidates. Key criteria for party membership and candidacy, the candidate selection process, and the explicit inclusion of these criteria in party rules will be examined. Furthermore, an analysis of the party's role in implementing these criteria (such as who selects the candidates, selectorates have any female members etc.) and how male-dominated networks and factions affect male and female politicians differently.
- Investigate other intra-party related factors that affect women's political participation, such as how women are appointed to party positions and the opportunities and conditions for their appointment to high-level government positions.

Women's inadequate representation and participation in politics and policy results many systematic inequalities in society although women demonstrate active participation in various aspects of the economy, society, education, and family life. For instance, the gender ratio of men and women in Mongolia is nearly equal, approximately 49.2% of the population being female and 50.8% being male, and the employment rate for women aged 15 years and older is 50.7%, while the same for men in that age group is 69.3%. Despite this obvious lower engagement in the labor force compared to men, women bear a disproportionate burden of non-paid work, for instance, 76% of non-paid work in family-owned businesses are employed by women, and women tend to take all responsibilities for unpaid care work within the families and households such as caring for children and the elders, as well as managing household chores (National Statistics Office of Mongolia 2022). Therefore, women in Mongolia often find themselves in low-paid jobs, positions and also sectors including education organizations

in below executive management level, social services, food productions and health care services, also tend to work in unsecure informal labor market in inappropriate and unsafe working conditions without any employment agreement which women are more active in informal employment sector, and other social activities compared to men. On the other hand, women are less demandable in higher-paid sectors such as manufacturing, information and communication technology, construction and mining. They have an obstacle to an access to high-paying jobs and industries due to gender bias in hiring practices – due to reproductivity, and limited availability of affordable early childhood care facilities.

In terms of education, the gross enrollment ratio for tertiary education (college and university) is higher for women (58.6%) than for men (43.6%) (National Statistics Office of Mongolia 2022). However, women have higher levels of education in Mongolia, they show lower levels of labor market participation compared to men, in other words, Mongolian women are less likely to apply their education in employment.

These inequalities can be attributed to various factors, including gender stereotypes, patriarchal culture and tradition, I also believe that the absence of effective mechanisms to promote women's participation, deficiencies in internal democracy and organization within political parties, and other socio-economic factors that hinder women's progression to leadership positions greatly.

Chapter 1: Literature review

The objective of this literature review is to comprehensively analyze the existing research pertaining to the systematic factors that serve as barriers and challenges for women in politics. Specifically, this review will investigate the impact of political willingness, political regimes, election rules, societal norms, historical aspects, and labor structures on women's active engagement in political life. Additionally, it will explore the effects of quota systems, including their rates, enforcement mechanisms, and the circumstances under which they have effectively ensured women's representation in parliament and leadership positions.

1.1 Women's Political participation barriers and challenges:

.Women in politics in some Asian countries such as China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Cambodia, Thailand, the Philippines, Bangladesh, or Sri Lanka, challenge similar obstacles of exclusion of women from political life mostly due to widespread assumptions of female physical and social inferiority to male and weaknesses to be in decision making positions, as having similar social, cultural and economic situations (Iwanaga 2008). The author argues that women are believed to lack of strength and have little interests in public affairs and political matters, instead they must focus mainly on domestic responsibilities such as household chores, caring children and elders, and they are considered as morally subordinate in Buddhist countries. Thus, women are perceived as naturally not suitable and indecisive in competitive and challenging environment, which is nature of politics, and women being involved in politics actively looked as 'unfeminine' and criticized often, especially if they deviate from any expectation from the peer politicians and public.

Similarly, women often tend to think of themselves as less qualified for running political office compared to men. This context may arise from gendered socialization processes, a lack of

encouragement (J. L. Lawless and R. L. Fox 2005), or limited opportunities to learn from the experiences of their peers (Holman and Schneider 2018). The presence of lower levels of ambition and a diminished self-perception of competence among women have been widely acknowledged as potential explanations for this phenomenon (Ohmura and Bailer 2023). Moreover, the fundamental and notable obstacle that persists is the profound influence of deeply ingrained cultural, religious, and traditional stereotypes pertaining to the societal roles still assigned to women. This is exemplified by the enduring notion of the public and private dichotomy (Freidenvall 2015). In other words, deeply ingrained beliefs frequently assign women to certain roles and limit their access to decision-making processes regardless of various cultural, societal and traditional norms. Scholars argue that patriarchal norms and gendered expectations feed such stereotypes, reinforcing the notion that women are primarily responsible for domestic and caregiving, more feminine duties.

Consequently, such stereotypes create substantial obstacles that prevent women from actively participating in political spheres and to make a career in this field in the long run. Dugarova (2019) argued that enduring inequality in post-soviet countries including Kazakhstan, Mongolia and Russia is rooted to enforcement of current neo-liberal approach to prevalence of conservative social norms, welfare provision, and also limited role of civil societies to advocate in policy making. Although laws and policies exist to support women's employment, their effectiveness is compromised by the lack of comprehensive mechanisms to implement. This limitation persists even in countries where women demonstrate high levels of economic and political engagements. The disconnect between societal expectations and the limited opportunities available to women reflects a broader issue of gender inequality in employment.

The underrepresentation of women in political decision-making processes is influenced by the insufficient commitment and willingness of political and policy makers to ensure actual

participation of women (Freidenvall 2015). Scholars have expanded upon Hanna Pitkin's influential work from 1967, creating a conceptual framework that distinguishes between *descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation* (Jennifer L. Lawless 2004). Descriptive representation, also known as numerical representation, focuses on the numbers of elected bodies and aims to increase the presence of women in decision-making roles. Substantive representation delves into the actions and initiatives of women in the parliaments, exploring how their involvement can bring about changes in political procedures, agendas, and public policies that promote gender inclusivity, which encompasses a deliberate effort to enhance women's meaningful representation in decision-making positions.

On the other hand, symbolic representation, as discussed by Lawless (2004), places emphasis on the perception of women as political leaders and highlights the importance of achieving gender balance in decision-making bodies using their presence. Symbolic representation does not solely aim to include women with intention of parity and legitimacy in politics and policy making, but rather recognizes the significance of their presence as a symbolic indicator of progress and gender equality. Political parties include provisions of equal representation in their charters but only for presence to align international pacts and protocols with principled way, not for binding. Mufti and Jalalzai (2021) argue that introduction of reserved seat quotas in Pakistan's legislative assemblies and very small number of female candidates, compared to total number, for non-reserved seats does not aim to enhance women representatives but only to responding demands and demonstration by women's rights movements and president's way of showing commitments for gender equality (Krook 2009a). Rashkova and Zankina (2015) reasoned that women in Eastern European countries witnessed a significant increase in their labor force participation in communist time, even surpassing Western levels. The commitment and willingness to women's emancipation appeared superficial, prioritizing symbolic equality over substantive empowerment. Similarly, Dugaravo (2019) criticized that despite the socialist

state's efforts to mobilize women's labor, traditional gender roles persisted within the private sphere, largely unaffected by these changes (Manning and Pascall 2000). Conversely, Maskarinec (2019) argued that the regime promoted women's actual representation and participation in many fields – women were able to attain education, prohibition of arranged marriages was legislated, small to no wage gap between men and women as it was fully controlled by the state, and other social and health care services to improve women's life quality and position overall.

Consequently, the socialist era witnessed notable advancements in women's engagement and presence in decision-making and public spheres. Particularly noteworthy was the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) actively promoting women's political participation through the implementation of a quota system for parliamentary elections in the 1920s, ensuring that at least 25% of seats were reserved for women (Oidov and Burn 2001). In summary, women's participation and representation were observed and regulated across various domains, although predominantly under the control of a centralized state-party dominated by men. However, women's involvement in politics often remained symbolic, while they were still expected to fulfill unpaid household and caregiving responsibilities.

Dugaravo (2019), emphasizes that democratic states tend to have greater gender equality in terms of representation and substantive participation of women compared to authoritarian regimes.

Scholars have observed that regime changes, particularly the process of democratization in Asia, have at times led to a decrease in women's political rights that were previously attained during the socialist era (Priya 2012), which 25% quotas in national parliament had implemented from 1924 to 1990, and female MPs ranged from one-fifth and on-fourth that reaches 24.86% in 1986 in Mongolia (Sanders 1987).

According to Stockemer and Byrne, the type of regime can account for the varying levels of descriptive representation of women. They argue that women's representation is anticipated to be higher under democratic governance, as democracy enables the unrestricted mobilization of all citizens, including women, within a framework of open and transparent rules (2012). They also explained that type of regime can account for the varying levels of descriptive representation of women, and that women's representation is anticipated to be higher under democratic governance, as democracy enables the unrestricted mobilization of all citizens, including women, within a framework of open and transparent rules. Controversially, during the Soviet era, women lacked the necessary political knowledge and skills required for election to parliament and advancement in party positions, thus creating barriers for female politicians. In essence, the regime failed to adequately equip and qualify women for political participation, as decision-making within the party leadership remained predominantly within a small circle of men, effectively excluding women. From the literatures, it can be concluded that regimen is not sufficient to impact women's descriptive nor substantive representatives in policy making, especially without proper instruments and supports.

Many of the researchers agree that electoral system has a crucial role in increasing women's representation in decision making. Nugent (2015) highlighted that aside from the presence of quotas and the partisan makeup of a parliament, numerous other factors within the political system, including the electoral system, play a significant role in shaping women's representation. Studies have indicated that electoral systems based on Proportional Representation (PR) tend to facilitate higher levels of women's election to parliament, a trend evident in Western European context. Therefore, Sadie (2015) argues that the electoral system is a significant determinant of women's political representation. Specifically, the First Past The Post (FPTP) single constituency electoral system poses challenges for women seeking election.

Political parties tend to nominate women less frequently as candidates in constituencies deemed "electable" in such a system.

In addition to that, Matland and Studlar (1998) concur that proportional representation (PR) systems, along with larger district magnitudes and closed party lists, have a positive impact on the proportion of women legislators compared to majority or plurality voting systems used in single-member districts (SMDs), some argue that this finding holds true primarily for Western industrial democracies (Matland and Studlar 1998) or newly established democracies in Central and Eastern Europe (Roselle 2004).

On the other hand, Maskarinec (2019) argues that the impact of the electoral system is limited and insignificant in less developed countries. Analysis of election outcomes in post-communist states that employ mixed electoral systems reveals no statistically significant variations in women's representation between the proportional representation (PR) and single-member district (SMD) components of these systems (Roselle 2004). Additionally, Krook (2009a) demonstrated that in Western countries, PR systems effectively enhance women's representation only when complemented by women's activism. Therefore, while electoral rules remain an important factor in promoting women's representation in many contexts, especially in implementation with quotas, their impact in Mongolia appears to be influenced by various other dynamics like other less development countries with young democracy as many scholars argued.

Tsedevdamba (2022) critically argues that since the inception of Mongolia's first democratic parliamentary election in 1992, the ruling parties and government have consistently manipulated the electoral law to serve their own interests. The evidence suggests that electoral systems are altered just before elections to maximize the advantages for these parties. This practice has become increasingly common over time. For instance, if a particular candidate

possesses a favorable reputation and is likely to succeed in a specific voting district, the single member district system may be favored. On the other hand, if voters tend to support a party as a team rather than individual candidates, the plurality – majority system might be preferred. These manipulations highlight that electoral rules in Mongolia do not have a straightforward and predictable impact on women candidates as envisioned in traditional or theoretical frameworks. Instead, its primary objective seems to be the exclusion of marginalized candidates and smaller parties.

1.2 Quotas

Many countries set electoral gender quotas and its enforcement in their national legislations and constitutions for promoting and ensuring women's political participation. Quotas have been used for the last few decades in many countries with various political regimens and electoral systems (Krook 2009b;) (Ballington, Karam, and International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance 2005).

There are two main categories of national electoral quotas: reserved seats and candidate quotas. Reserved seats allocate a specific number of seats exclusively for women, regardless of the number of women candidates or nominees. On the other hand, candidate quotas mandate that all political parties in a country nominate a certain percentage of female candidates. However, candidate quotas do not always ensure that a proportional number of women will be elected to office (Hughes et al. 2019), it can be very effective if applied in electoral systems that feature closed-list, proportional representation. In these systems, political parties present pre-ordered lists of candidates to voters, who are unable to alter the order. Candidates are then elected from these closed lists in proportion to the party's share of the vote. It is observed that women tend to fare better when parties are able to elect larger numbers of candidates in each district, as this increases the opportunities for women to secure seats.

Apart from binding, mandatory quotas, there are voluntary quotas for internal party positions such as boards and committees (internal party quotas), and that have been embraced by almost all political parties except the populist parties. Political parties have been compelled to reassess their approaches and implement various forms of affirmative action to enhance the representation of women on their party lists, and even there has been a notable shift in internal party nomination practices within the party as a result of sustained advocacy by women's organizations and movements (Freidenvall 2015). It is also notable that different types of quotas apply at different stages of the election – for instance reserved-seat quota applies to women candidates who have been granted, or depending on the election results.

The efficiency of quota laws is contingent upon their design. The most impactful laws encompass provisions that mandate the placement of female candidates in viable positions on electoral lists, thereby enhancing their visibility and electoral prospects. Furthermore, the inclusion of penalties for non-compliance and the elimination of loopholes are crucial components of effective quota legislation (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (Singapore) et al. 2015).

According to Schwindt-Bayer (2009), the magnitude of the quota refers to the minimum number of representatives of female candidates that must be included within a political party's roster. In theory, as the quota size expands, there should be a corresponding increase in the percentage of women elected to the legislative body (Jones and Navia 1999). Secondly, a placement mandate entails a necessity for political parties to ensure women are placed as candidates in positions where their chances of winning an election are genuinely viable, and Placement mandates are inherently restricted to electoral systems characterized by political parties presenting ranked candidate lists, namely closed-list or "flexible list" proportional representation (PR) systems and multimember-district plurality systems. These systems

involve parties submitting ballots that contain lists of candidates in a specific order of preference (Schwindt-Bayer 2009).

Notwithstanding the existence of systematic mechanisms aimed at effectively enforcing quotas, it remains crucial to enhance the comprehension among political parties, party gatekeepers, and leadership regarding the importance of women's roles and representation in parliamentary and high-level government positions. Such an enhanced understanding directly impacts the enforcement and efficacy of both types of quotas (Krook 2009a).

1.3 Political party funding mechanisms

For many female candidates and politicians, financial means and resources become obstacles to exercise their political rights. Dominant and maintaining political parties in Pakistan requires its candidates to finance their election campaigns by themselves and having financial resources is set as a 'qualified' candidate, although it is not written anywhere (Mufti and Jalalzai 2021).

In Mongolia, the DP, one of the maintaining parties in Mongolia, set a bet of 100 million MNT (3 million in 2000, 10 million in 2004, 20 million in 2008, 50 million in 2012 – 2016)² only to be nominated in internal elections of the party to participate in national parliamentary election, which even did not guarantee to get nominated in internal elections to compete in the parliamentary election (Tsedevdamba 2022). This 'bet' amount is not reported for how it is used and/or spent to its members. Therefore, in order to compete with the biggest political party, MPP in Mongolia, DP values everything in the party to raise a fund – from not having transparent accountability to non-transparent selection of candidates regardless of payment of

² 1 USD rate is equal to 2,743.00 Mongolian MNT on 1st of January 2022 in Central Bank of Mongolia at <https://www.mongolbank.mn/mn/currency-rate>

this bet money (Tsedevdamba 2022). This substantial amount of bid also forbids women to participate in politics, but also becomes a tool to attract wealthy people regardless of sex.

For MPP, they use their networks, branches and focal points in remote areas, even in government positions, to raise money by selling governmental high and mid-level managerial positions, and bargaining government bids and projects with businesses for raising the party funding (Tsedevdamba 2022).

1.4 Factors within political parties

1.4.1 Party power dynamics – women's role in the party, positions:

Sadie (2015) reasoned that political parties frequently exhibit a lack of support towards female candidates, characterized by a pervasive absence of confidence in their potential as successful contenders in African politics. Additionally, women are often conspicuously absent from party leadership structures, thereby excluding them from influential decision-making processes within the party. Consequently, the party hierarchies' establishment of ambiguous criteria becomes a screening mechanism that effectively marginalizes and excludes women (Southern African Research and Documentation Centre 2013). According to Butikofer (Giger et al. 2022), women's representation surged at its highest (42%) in the history in Switzerland as a Federal Elections in 2019 was caused by number of factors including nominating great number of female candidates for almost each party and women's positions were better if compare to previous elections and also to other male politicians. Parties have the pool of female candidates to nominate that parties implemented various programs to prepare women for election and politics, and also women were in good positions inside the party.

1.4.2 Nomination process, decision making for selection of candidates, selectorate committees, and requirement for candidacy:

Maskarinec (2019) argues that Mongolian case demonstrates a noteworthy pattern where political parties displayed reluctance in ensuring equal treatment of women during elections. The attitudes held by party leaders played a pivotal role in determining the positioning of women on the electoral list and their opinion of securing election. On one hand, parties adhered to the quota requirements by including women in the list tier which was also crucially decided by party leaders.

Mufti and Jalalzai (2021) explains that in order to be “qualified” for women to run public office, time – for showing commitments and visibility not only to public but also to the party leadership; financial resources – must bear financial responsibilities for participating elections and campaign costs; support network – in this case, women are seen or encouraged if to expand family or extended kinships’ political views, and family becomes invaluable support for all stages elections, and motivation of pursuing political career.

For the candidate selection, parties focus on two criteria: their social standing within the constituency and their effectiveness in delivering services to constituents. The notion of being considered "electable" by politicians is linked to the accumulation of independent wealth through land ownership, business ventures, or involvement in the industrial sector (Mufti and Jalalzai 2021). The existing literature on candidate selection generally reaches a consensus that exclusive and centralized selectorates tend to facilitate the nomination of women. By adopting centralized selectorates, political parties bypass the influence exerted by regional power monopolies and allocate decision-making authority solely to a national elite that may prioritize gender equity considerations (Matland and Studlar 1998).

Bjarnegard and Zetterberg (2016) emphasized the analysis of four key criteria that political parties take into account during the candidate nomination process, which can potentially result in the inadvertent systemic discrimination against women. Applying a gender lens to candidate selection criteria reveals that background and experience criteria tend to favor men, while qualifications and electability criteria are expected to have no gendered consequences. Background criteria, although seemingly gender-neutral, may reinforce male norms within political parties, hindering intersectional thinking. Qualifications, focusing on educational attainment, are unlikely to favor men due to the narrowing gender gap in education globally. Political experience criteria, emphasizing party loyalty and incumbency, often disadvantage women and underrepresented groups. Electability criteria, including incumbency rules and requirements for electoral support, do not typically favor men over women as studies suggest minimal discrimination from the electorate. These findings underscore the importance of examining formal selection criteria and their gendered implications, as well as considering the content of these rules.

1.4.3 Other party factors:

Tsedevidamba (2022) argues that the internal organization and structures of political parties represent a significant deterrent for women's active participation, characterized by various hostile factors. These include scheduling important decision-making meetings outside of regular office hours, failing to provide prior notification of conference or meeting venues, dates and times, intentionally restricting the attendance of certain members having voting rights, excluding women to join and attend their informal clubs and other activities. These practices within party structures create a hostile environment that discourages women from engaging in political activities.

Ohmura and Bailer (2023) explain that networking plays a crucial role in building a successful political career. However, women face certain disadvantages in terms of networking opportunities compared to men. Moral considerations, such as avoiding the utilization of powerful networks and friends for personal gain, can hinder women's access to beneficial networks. Additionally, women may feel that they have less to offer or contribute to these networks due to gendered modesty. Consequently, party recruiters, who are predominantly men, tend to prioritize the recruitment of individuals who possess strong networks, reinforcing the exclusion of women from higher positions either in the party and government. Young men often focus on networking with youth party leaders as well as established figures within their parent parties. In contrast, young women may be less inclined to utilize personal networks with powerful individuals due to moral concerns and reservations (Ohmura and Bailer 2023). Moreover, Meyer (2013) asserts that party leaders primarily rely on strategies such as recruiting and seeking candidates through party networks. These methods involve recommendations from party members and donors, as well as the utilization of mass emails, advertisements, and connections within the network of incumbent officeholders. In essence, these approaches tend to be traditional and predominantly advantageous for male politicians, as they tend to possess more extensive political networks compared to women.

Therefore, Meyer (2013) stated that most party leaders mostly rely on strategies of recruiting and seeking candidate through party networks – recommendations from party members and donors, sending mass emails or posting advertisements and contacting officers holders network, in other words, very traditional and mostly beneficial to men as male politicians gain network in politics rather than women.

Chapter 2: Research Design

Generally, this research aims to identify intra-party factors and facts that are conducive and hostile to women's political participation in Mongolia, along with other external settings such as electoral rules and social norms where applied. In this thesis, women's political participation is regarded specifically as a female candidacy in national parliament for women's descriptive representation which presented with number of female candidates for parliamentary elections rather than substantive representation. Based on the reviewed literatures, internal factors such as gender quotas for female politicians, intra-party power dynamics, democracy and its culture, candidacy qualification, candidacy selection criteria and selectorate committee within the political party, party funding mechanism, and other challenges women in politics face as measurements of variables, that affect to female candidacy and women politicians have been examined with this thesis research questions. Specifically, it aims at examining hypotheses reasoned in the literature on political regimens, electoral rules and quotas implications in Mongolian political regimen and system and contexts, and how political party power dynamics and other intra-party factors affect to women in politics in general.

2.1 Documents analysis

First, for identifying supporting and non-supporting factors for women's political participation, core, most relevant legal documents – The Constitution of Mongolia (1992), Law on Parliamentary Elections of Mongolia (2019), Law on Political Parties (2005), and Law on Promotion of Gender Equality (2011), have been selected as key legal frameworks. Legal documents review and examinations conducted through summarizing the objective of the law where can be relevant to the research questions, analysis of conducive and hostile provisions and specific articles of the laws for practicality, and consistencies/inconsistencies with each other.

Secondly, party documents (charters) for four selected parties which selected due to consideration of their past experiences of winning majority seats in general and local parliamentary elections – Mongolian People’s Party (MPP) and Democratic Party (DP) which are major political parties with powerful political influence, enormous capacity, substantial number of members, and strong representation in local areas, which demonstrated political and state power. In terms of their achievements out of eight elections, the MPP won five elections, the MPP/DP coalition won one election, and the DP and DP-relation coalition won three elections (The Asia Foundation 2023), HUN party (HUN), and Civic Unity Party (CUP) thoroughly analysed. MPP has been selected as it is the oldest and first political party of Mongolia, and has been a left-wing, dominant, maintaining ruling party since 1992 continuously since the democratic election in 1992, and it won in most elections with an absolute victory. A right-centered DP has been chosen as being in the government, national and local parliament for last 30 years in Mongolia. HUN party documents were reviewed as it has a seat in the parliament first time in 2020 election, as a new party. CUP, although only established in 2022, was selected to be investigated exclusively for its transparency in the party charter, budgeting and funding of candidates, first party with female leadership, and abundant gender quotas in the charter. Therefore, the leader of the party Oyungerel.Ts was a leading and senior member of DP for more than 20 years, a former Minister of Culture, Sports and Tourism for Mongolia, and served as a human rights advisor for former president of Mongolia, who has an extensive experience that can represent women politician in Mongolia. Party documents, especially charters reviewed for recognizing how party support women’s representatives in general and how they ensure women’s participation with formalization – inclusive in the charter to follow etc. Therefore, it was inspected for learning women’s chances to be in the leadership in the party and also in the government leadership positions, candidate selection procedures and selectorate compositions, and the parties’ willingness and commitments to

prepare women in elections and mandatory quotas compliances. Thus, party documents were used to understand how best practices, loopholes and lessons from other countries and theoretical perspectives incorporated into the party policy in Mongolia in general.

Therefore, thirdly, independent, credible, evidence-based reliable research were applied for comprehending spheres in female candidacy for politics, elections, women's participations and other social norms.

2.2 Elite interviews

Elite interview was chosen for collecting data for understanding women's roles in the political parties and power dynamics of parties, especially 'unwritten rules' that apply in the parties, to validate or verify the analysis of documents reviewed on how parties practically ensure women to be in leadership positions in the party and/or party appointed positions in the government in real life, and women to be nominated and get election in local and national elections. Therefore, it aimed to learn atmospheres and dynamics of factors that women in politics needed, and how it can be promoted and ensured *within* the party.

To find out the answers for these detailed question and also for studying thesis question, criteria of *a) Former (or current) member of parliament (MP) OR female candidate who was nominated for national parliamentary election (candidate from Ulaanbaatar and countryside), b) Former (or current) citizen representative council member women (local election) or candidate who had an experience of being nominated in local elections (despite of being elected), c) Civil society representative who works for advocacy on women's participation in decision making OR female candidate who is being prepared to be nominated in national parliamentary election from civil society, d) An academic, researcher or expert who expertized in women's political participation, e) Woman in party leadership position or party appointed high position* for selecting interviewees used, and following persons selected. All of these

selected women were influential who were the members of political parties and held leadership positions to some extent. It is important to note that interviewees are also chosen based on their availability and willingness, not only based on the criteria above mentioned.

Table 2: Interviewees Profiles to elite interviews

	Names	Parties	Experience
1	Kh. Nomingere	DP	A member of DP, joined DP in 2015. She was part of the board of the Youth Union under the party. She was nominated for the party's internal elections and then was selected as a member of the National Policy Committee.
2	Sh. Ariunaa	CUP	Member for CUP on the Governance . Founder and Chairman of the Mongolian Women's Labor Support Federation. Activist and advocate for promoting women's political participation for 20 years; National Gender Expert
3	n. Binderya	HUN	Former Head of the Finance Department of the HUN, Head of the HUN Party Committee of Bayangol District; Nominated Local Citizen Representatives Council
4	Anonymous interviewee	MPP	She became a member of Conference of MPP in 2016. She was a candidate for the parliamentary elections in 2020; The interviewee wants to be an anonymous due to upcoming election.
5	Ts. Oyungerel	CUP	Former Member of the DP for 30 years; Former Member of Parliament, former Minister of Culture, Sports and Tourism for Mongolia; former Human Rights Counselor of former President of Mongolia Founder and Chairman of the Civic Unity Party
6	Sh. Ganchimeg	DPP	Former chairman of the Bayanzurkh District Citizen's Representative Council; Has been a member of DP for 20 years.

2.3 Formal statistical data and information

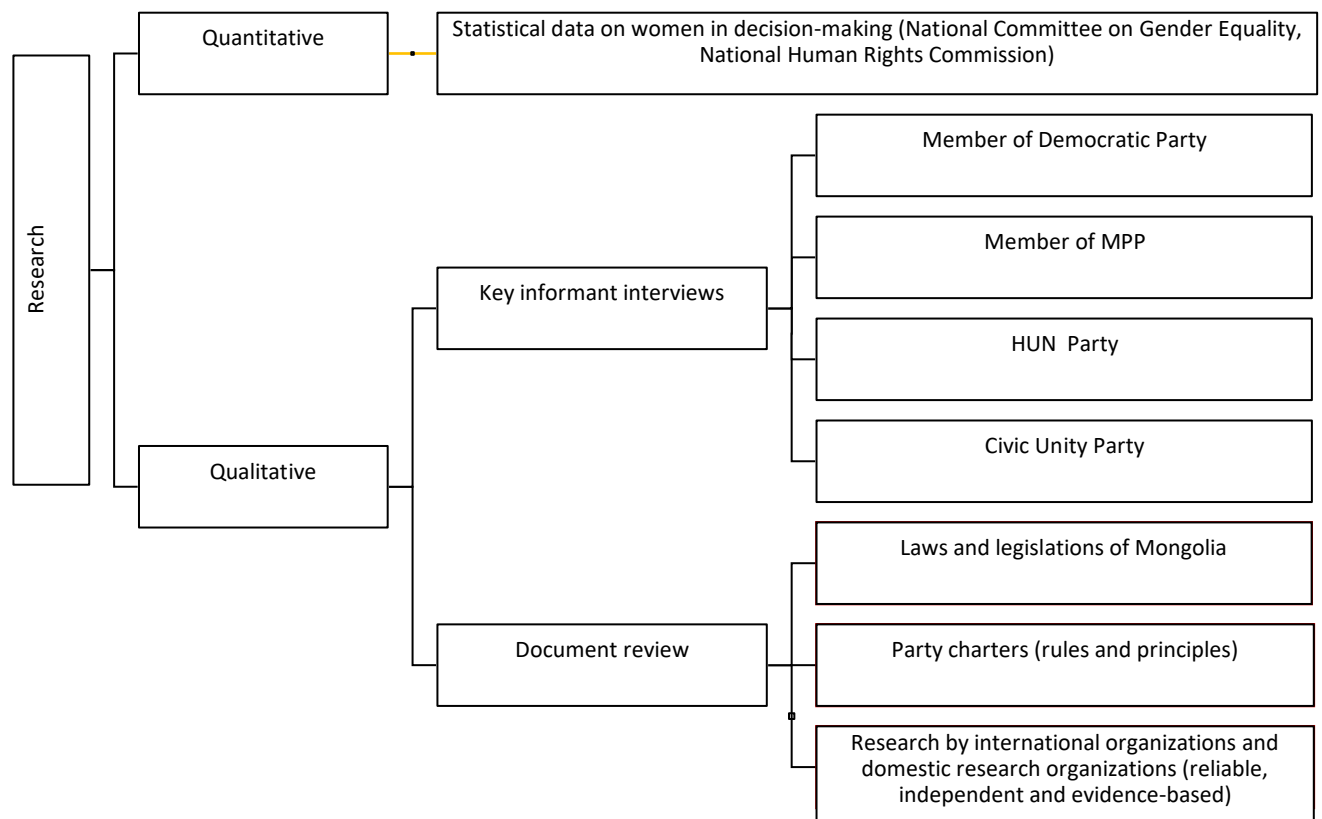
Statistical data and information generated by the National Statistical Office of Mongolia, and secondary data developed by government agencies and international organizations were used for analytical parts for understanding how different regimens, electoral systems, quotas and related legislations impact women's political participation in general. Moreover, data was used

for linking and validating/verifying or opposing statements from empirical data to literature review hypotheses. It is notable that statistical data and information was not used as independent, separate analysis for the thesis, but only applied in parts where relevant and required.

Table 3: Research methods brief for data collection

Questions and issues to examine:	Legal documents	Party documents	Researches	Elite Interviews	Statistical information/ data (quantitative method)
Legal frameworks that ensure women's political participations (both in conducive and hostile perspective)	*				
Party policy for promoting women in politics and female candidacy		*			
Legislative, policy and political spheres for female candidacy		*	*	*	
Intra-party dynamics and factors including power dynamics in the party, unwritten rules application in the party and other important factors for female candidacy			*	*	*
Formal statistical data and information on women's political participation, election results and women's representation in government leadership positions from 1992 to 2020,					*

Figure 1: Data collection mapping



Empirical research findings were used for not only contribution to literacy of women’s political participation, especially factors influence female candidacy in Mongolia, but also to how different factors including regimens, political and governance history of the state, tradition and social norm, how gender quotas would function effectively or ineffectively with various electoral system uniquely in Asia region or post-soviet country.

Chapter 3: Empirical Research and Findings

3.1 Background information

The Constitution of Mongolia declares that citizens shall enjoy “the right to freedom of association in political parties or other voluntary organizations on the basis of social and personal interests and opinion.”³ The freedom of voluntary association is implemented by forming political parties and community-based organizations; currently, the State Supreme Court has registered 35 political parties,⁴ and about 21,000 community and civil society organizations.⁵ The Law on Political Parties impose certain requirements to be met to establish political parties; this thesis aims to explore and clarify the status of women in politics, especially how women’s participation in decision-making has been enhanced and whether actual support and assistance provided for women in politics are reflected in laws and internal rules and regulations, based on data collection through document analysis and elite interviews.

³ Compilation of State Bulletin, Issue 01, 1992.

⁴ <https://www.parliament.mn/nn/29946/>

⁵ <http://mwf.mn/85>

Table 4: Female candidates and elected female representatives in national parliament since the first democratic election 1992

National Parliamentary Election year	Electoral system	Number of female candidates and ratio: (National Parliament)	Number of elected female representatives and percentage (National Parliament):	Total number of candidates	Elected female representatives percentage in total female candidates:
1992	Plurality votes in 26 districts	23 (7.85%)	3 (3.95%)	293	13.04%
1996	Two-Round system (TRS) (Plurality Majority) in the Single-Member District	8 (2.64%)	7 (9.21%)	302	87.5%
2000	Two-Round system (TRS) (Plurality Majority) in the Single-Member District	9 (1.49%)	8 (10.52%)	602	88.88%
2004	Two-Round system (TRS) (Plurality Majority) in the Single-Member District	33 (13.52%)	5 (6.58%)	244	15.15%
2008	Plurality votes in 26 districts	66 (18.54%)	3 (3.95%)	356	4.54%
2012	Mixed-Member Majoritarian (MMM); 48 seats by plurality in 26 electoral districts and 28 seats via Proportional Representatives (PR)	174 (31.98%)	11 (14.47%)	544	6.32%
2016	The First-Past The-Post (FBTP) system; 76 mandates	129 (25.9%)	13 (17.1%)	498	10.07%
2020	Plurality votes in 26 districts	151 (24.91%)	13 (17.1%)	606	8.60%

Source: The General Election Commission of Mongolia; Compilation of Mongolian Parliamentary Election Results: 1992-2020, 2022

https://gec.gov.mn/uploads/ih_huraliin_songuuli-2022.03.22.pdf

Ratio and percentage calculated by the author.

Since the adoption of the Democratic Constitution in Mongolia, 8 elections have been held, and a total of 63 women have been elected with duplicated numbers. If we compare the number of elected women with electoral systems, in the Plurality votes in 26 districts system in 1992 and 2008 and 2020, in total of 19 women elected. In 1996, 2000, and 2004, the percentage of women elected by the Two-Round system (TRS) (Plurality Majority) in the Single-Member District system increased, with a total of 20 women elected in duplicated numbers. However, while the Two-Round system (TRS) (Plurality Majority) in the Single-Member District system

is considered to be the hostile system for women candidates, the percentage of elected women was higher than TRS for two previous elections. In 2012, Mixed-Member Majoritarian (MMM) with Proportional Representatives (PR), which is considered most conducive for women candidates, system applied, and resulted 11 women parliamentarians with percentage of 14.4 in the parliament, but only 6.32% of candidates elected from total female candidates. On the other hand, when applying First-Past The-Post (FBTP) system in 2016, which is the worst, 13 women elected in with election rate of 10% of total female candidates. Thus, it can be seen that the electoral system has not been a major factor for women to be elected as predicted by some scholars. As the number of women candidates increases with mandatory quotas, so does the number of women nominated, but there is no difference in the probability of being elected.

Regarding most supportive electoral system for female politicians, interviewees highlighted that closed-listed PR system can be the most beneficial for female candidates in case the party applies the “zippered list” model (also known as a zebra system), especially stressed on starting the list with female candidate’s name with alternating the names of male and female candidates on the ballot.

3.2 Women’s Political participation barriers and challenges;

The Constitution of Mongolia declares that both men and women should have equal rights in political, economic, social, and cultural life, as well as family relations (The Constitution of Mongolia, 1992). The following laws stipulate general election regulations and the quotas of candidates in the local and national parliamentary elections:

Table 5: National Laws of Mongolia

Key laws	Laws with provisions about the quota
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Constitution of Mongolia 2. Law on Elections 3. Law on the Election of the State Great Khural (Parliament of Mongolia) 4. Law on the Election of province, capital city, soum, and district Citizens Representative Assembly 5. Law on the Election of the President of Mongolia 6. Law on the Central Election Body 7. Law on Automated Election System 8. Law on Public Referendum 9. Other laws 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Law on Ensuring Gender Equality 2. Law on Political Parties 3. Laws on elections of the State Great Khural and local parliaments have provisions setting percentages.

These major laws regulate relations pertaining to general parliamentary and local elections. Among them, laws regulating the promotion of women in decision-making, temporary, special measures, and quotas are the Law on Ensuring Gender Equality, Law on Political Parties, and laws on the election of the Parliament and local elections.

Mongolia has been working to improve its legal and policy environments towards taking temporary, special measures to increase women's participation in decision-making and one can do it from the following laws. For instance, Article 5.1.3 of the Law on Political Parties states *“to provide for the members to enter in the board of directors, to candidate for election, to provide with equal opportunities without discrimination of nationality, race, age, sex, wealth, and work position to get elected,”* whereas Article 11.2.8 provides for the *“principle to nominate to election, choose the employees and to keep the sex [gender] equity”*; Article 5.2 of the Law on Ensuring Gender Equality⁶ stipulates, *“the state policy on gender equality shall be aimed at ensuring conditions for equal rights, opportunities, and treatment of men and women and, furthermore, at preventing and eliminating gender discrimination,”* whereas

⁶ In 2011, the Parliament of Mongolia adopted the Law on Ensuring Gender Equality to regulate relations pertaining to identifying and implementing legal foundations to create circumstances in which gender equality is ensured in political, legal, economic, social, cultural, and family relations. This law has 6 Chapters and twenty-seven provisions. The law was amended five times (once in 2014 and 2015, and twice in 2017 and 2021).

Article 8 states, “*Representation of any one sex [gender] in any central and local body of a political party shall not be lower than 25 percent*”; Article 30.2 of the Law on the Election of the State Great Khural (parliament) of Mongolia⁷ states that” *...at least 20 percent of candidates from a political party or coalition shall be of either gender*”. Article 29.2 of the law on election of citizens’ representative assembly of province, capital city, soum, and district⁸ states that “*at least 20 percent of candidates from a political party or coalition shall be of either gender.*”

From the above, the conclusion is that laws stipulate temporary, special measures to ensure gender equality in decision-making and political spheres, which are encouraged to be reflected in internal documents of political parties. When the National Committee on Gender Equality⁹ (NCGE) and other civil society organizations organize their advocacy activities to increase women’s political participation, they explain and promote the importance of temporary, special measures and quotas and why separate regulations are necessary. According to a report done by the NCGE, political parties nominated female candidates in line with the Law on the Election of the State Great Khural of Mongolia in 2021, but the number of women elected as parliament members was small and did not reach the quota of 20 percent;¹⁰ whereas the process of candidacy was only to satisfy the quota in a tokenistic manner and the actual political support for women was weak. Researchers view that political parties are reluctant to ensure gender

⁷ On January 20, 2019, the parliament of Mongolia adopted it, which took effect as of December 23 of the same year. It has 12 Chapters and eighty-three provisions. There have been five amendments made since its adoption (twice in 2020, once in 2021, and twice in 2022).

⁸ On January 30, 2020, the parliament of Mongolia adopted it, which took effect as of February 14 of the same year. It has 12 Chapters and eighty-three provisions. There have been four amendments made since its adoption (once in 2020 and 2021 and twice in 2022).

⁹ <https://www.ncge.gov.mn/content/detail/621>, The NCGE is an ad-hoc institution, which guarantees equal participation of communities and sustainable operations to implement policies to ensure gender equality.

¹⁰ It is cited from the report, “Evaluation of consequences of the implementation of the Law to Ensure Gender Equality in Mongolia,” co-conducted by the NCGE, UNDP, and MSCG LLC.

equality in a realistic manner by placing women candidates in least likely constituencies although they appear not to have violated the gender quota (Урибэ Бурчеп and Касал Бэртуя 2018). Even though it is crucial that laws reflect the quotas, the implementation of laws is weak at all levels and attitudes to support women in politics are merely tokenistic.

I aim to find out interviewees' insights through elite interviews regarding regulations stated in the national laws for supporting women's political participation and how those regulations have an effect on women. As a result of the interviews, core laws such the Political Party Act and Law on Parliamentary Election do not specify any accountability mechanism in case of non-compliance of quotas although quotas are indicated as an instrument as temporary special measures for women's representation. It is concluded that core laws can ensure the right of women to run for office and be elected by stipulating regulations on quotas enforcement and accountability mechanism.

There are women's associations attached to political parties, although they often stand for female candidates, but they are not consistent and not persistent for women. Interviewees discussed that after the 2016 election, DP became unpopular with the public, and after the 2020 election, it became known as a money party without internal democracy, and the party leader made all decisions at his own discretion, so the party did not work actively. Even local elections have been defeated.

The literature review discusses the challenges facing Mongolian women in decision-making globally. However, interviewees shared their struggles representing different parties or political views/ideologies, following challenges perceived as common:

- Structural factor;
- Individual skills factor;
- Considered as a social and cultural factor.

Table 6: Challenges women in politics face in Mongolia

Structural factors	Personal qualifications	Social and cultural factors
<p>Factions are powerful.</p> <p>Women are not allowed in it.</p> <p>Where there is power and money, there are men. They make decisions. Party leaders and decision-makers are all men.</p> <p>Since the leaders of the party are men, party election work meetings are always held off-hours. There is constant pressure for regard to this. This becomes a problem for women to blame.</p> <p>There is no protection for the woman who is sexual harassed. The abused woman remain as a victim. The party protects the perpetrator.</p>	<p>They lack courage and confidence.</p> <p>Lack of consistency and determined commitment</p> <p>Financial resources</p> <p>Lack of support from their constituency, not being familiar among the voters</p> <p>Time consuming</p>	<p>Voters don't support women.</p> <p>They ask why women should be supported in particular.</p> <p>The party does not support women and or has lack of support</p> <p>The public feel pity sympathetic towards women.</p> <p>Women attack women.</p> <p>Women are judged by their appearance. They make fun of women by giving nicknames.</p> <p>Women are always seen as someone's lover or puppets.</p>

Against these deterrents, CUP educates their new members for political culture while HUN continuously train its new and old members through Human Academy on political knowledges including gender equality and human rights issues. For MPP and DP, organize sessions on political cultures among members through women's and youth associations under parties. However, there was no information and data (even from interviews) found about its efficiency or if these trainings and education programs met with current needs of female politicians, especially new members.

3.3 Quotas

As reviewed in the literature, there are two types of mandatory quotas: reserved-seat and candidate quota, plus that, party voluntary quota can be set. For Mongolia, although the internal rules and regulations of political parties include quotas for women candidates for its internal elective committees and councils, there are no regulations on quotas to nominate female

candidates in national parliamentary and local elections, nor supporting young people and female politicians.

Even though national laws call upon quotas as temporary, special measures, I have clarified if the elected political parties reflect this in their internal policy documents. Section 1.5.8 of the basic rule of the MPP states, *women should be at least 30 percent represented from the party in elected positions at all levels* (MPP, 2022). Section 5.13.2 of the basic rule of the DP states, unless it is provided in the basic rule by the National Policy Committee, the number of mandates of the constituencies for the general parliamentary election should be four times higher. In other words, *at least 7 should be women and another 76 should be members aged below 39* (DP, 2021). On the other hand, section 4.4 of the basic rule of the HUN states, *When electing representatives to the Party Congress, at least 30 percent should be women members* (HUN, 2022); as for the Civic Unity Party as the newest and youngest political party, the House of Representatives¹¹ shall be its central body representing the party. The House consists of 30 men and 30 women nominated for common seats, 2 males and 2 females nominated from each sector for 3 province and district seats regardless of gender, 5 females and 5 males nominated for seats in the capital, and persons with disabilities in representative seats of social groups. It has been arranged that the representatives of the citizens will consist of 2 males and 2 females, Party Chairman, Registrar, and General Manager appointed to non-vacant seats (CUP, 2022).

¹¹ Article 7.13 of the rules of the Civic Unity Party states the central party representative body (House of Representatives) should have equal to or more than twenty-five members. Section 7.4.8 of the party rules mentions that the House of Representatives shall be convened immediately after the founders' meeting decided to approve the component of the House and the following elections should be held: to elect at least 9 members for the Value Committee, to elect a registrar, and to appoint the general manager. Section 7.4.9 of the same rule also states, "The House of Representatives shall convene and approve guidelines to implement the party rules within one month of the party rules registered by the State Supreme Court.

The party rules stipulate that the quota specified in the Law on Political Parties, the Law on Promoting Gender Equality, and the laws on parliamentary and local elections shall not be less than 30 percent.

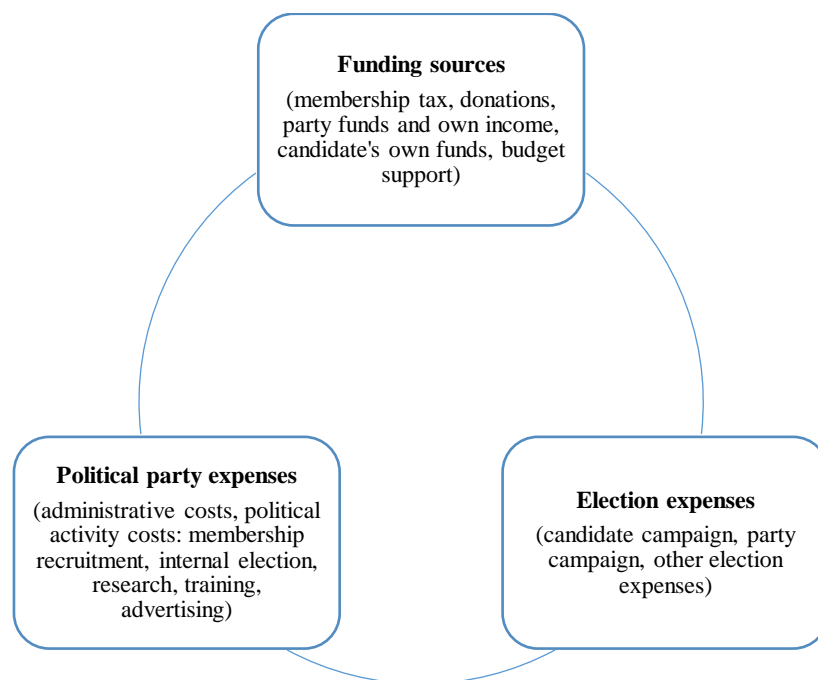
All interviewees participating in the elite interviews discussed that political parties look at 20% of quotas as a hassle, therefore they are reluctant to consider applying this quota, and do not value women as politicians and electable candidates, in other words they have the attitude that they will nominate for only 20%, no matter who they are. Also, interviewees stressed that we are far from reaching at the global average in terms of women's political participation, and the quotas for female candidates stipulated in the law are not effective and sufficient. In order to increase the descriptive representation of women in the future, the interviewees agreed on two aspects, first, to increase the quotas percent in the national parliament, second, to regulate reserved-seat quotas.

3.4 Political party funding mechanisms

In a democratic system, the political party is the organization that has the special right and duty to exercise the right of citizens to organize, vote and be elected. In Mongolia, Articles 16-19 of the Law on Political Parties stipulates the political party assets, income, spending, member taxes, donations to the party, and financial support from the government. There are two concepts in this, firstly, the party members pay taxes and give donations, and secondly, the government provides one-time monetary support to the party that won a seat in the Parliament, based on the principle of comparing the number of votes received by the party to the total number of valid votes, at the rate of 0.50 USD per vote.

According to the rules of the parties (MPP, DP, HUN, and CUP), the following common methods are used for the funding of political parties.

Figure 2: Party funding mechanisms



Source: The author made the figure of political party funding based on the party charters

It was observed during the research and findings of elite interviews that there are insufficient financial and human resources to support women. For example, the Government of Mongolia, in order to meet the Goal 5 of Sustainable Development Goal in 2020-2030, Law on Elections needs to be revised, increasing the quotas of female candidates up to 30%, and even more, there is need to lobby for suggestions on the "reserved-seat quotas" (Mongolian Women's Fund 2020). Plus, women face various challenges and barriers in order to be nominated for parliamentary and local elections and the main one is the lack of financial resources.

In elite interviews, interviewees mentioned that membership tax is also an obstacle for women.

For instance:

- Collection of tax by parties: National Policy Committee member's membership annual tax is 867.00 USD, annual membership tax for Youth Association Board of Directors is 579.88 USD, and annual tax fee for Women's Union is 867.00 USD.

- In addition to membership taxes, members must cover all expenses related to organizing social events. For women whose sole income is her salary, it is not possible to pay all these taxes and operating expenses.
- Ordinary members of the political party have only one major power which is to vote. For political parties, it is common that this power is confiscated. The wrong information of the bank account that tax is collected is provided to the members, and their right to vote is taken away because of accusation of not paying their membership tax (Tsedevedamba, 2022).

In addition to various taxes, the matter of "down payment" arises in the case of nomination for candidacy.

1. In order to be elected to the election of a political party's sub-district, district, province, or higher organization, a minimum of 34.79 - 8,698.17 USD is paid as a deposit payment.
2. 14,496 - 28,993.91 USD was paid as deposit payment for all parties in the parliamentary elections.
3. Annual tax of 867.00 USD and registration fee of 867.00 USD, total of 1,739 USD must be paid to the party.
4. The district party committee annual tax is 144.97 USD, the annual tax fee for the municipal party committee is 434.91 USD, the registration fee for the district is 72.48 USD and for the municipal, it is 434.91 USD.
5. The deposit payment of the DP candidate in the Parliament was 28,993.91 USD in 2020. This is a deposit payment that is paid to the centralized leadership of DP, and the members in the constituency must pay an additional deposit of 2,899.39 - 14,496.96 USD to the Democratic People's Party of the province and district. Thus, members buy the right to be nominated for candidacy for approximately 28,993.91 - 43,490.87 USD, and it was mentioned that the stake for running for party chairman cost 376,920.85 USD, and the stake for running for the chairman of municipal party cost 289,939.11 USD (Tsedevedamba, 2022).

The fight for big money of taxes, deposits, and donations to get these nominations is unfair for women, and women can't afford to pay that much money. There is also no information on the expenditure of deposit. It is not known where the deposit paid to the political party goes. Since 2008, political parties have turned the election system and nomination process into a political business, and it has been reported that candidates are paying 14,496.96 - 28,993.91 USD or more as a deposit to their party (Mongolian Women's Fund and Women's NGOs coalition in Mongolia 2020).

It can be seen from this that in most cases, the system is friendly to the person who can afford making cash donations and deposits. Therefore, it is recommended to improve the internal democracy of the party principles and make it open and transparent competition from the lower level or the primary unit. However, the newly formed Civic Unity Party has regulated the issue of deposits by its rules. Article 17 of the Party's Rules restricts the request of party and management team members for money other than the annual membership fee and savings account fees.

The flow of money flowing in and out of politics from unknown sources poses a serious risk to Mongolia's democracy. At the same time, the initiative to reform the political financing system has been active since 2012 (Open Society Forum 2018). In 2016, in the "National Action Plan" of the Open Government Partnership of Mongolia, a specific goal was set to make the financing of political parties transparent by changing the Law on Political Parties (Open Society Forum 2018). Article 20.3 of the Law on Political Parties stipulates that "the party shall conduct an annual audit of its financial activities and make public announcements", but political parties have not complied with it.

The below table shows amounts from 2005 to 2012 that the government of Mongolia disbursed to the political parties in Mongolian:

Table 7: Amount¹² of money disbursed by Mongolian government to the political parties
(USD by the rate of January 2012)

	Names of political parties	Total Amount of government funding
1	Mongolian People's Party	4,392,027,915.00 (or 3,146,151.80 USD)
2	Democratic Party	3,102,398,977.00 (2,222,348.83 USD)
3	Civil Will-Green Party	222,952,497.00 (159,708.09 USD)

¹² USD by the rate of January 2012

4	Motherland Party	11,625,000.00 (8,327.36 USD)
5	Mongolian Republican Party	22,500,000.00 (16,117.47 USD)
6	Independent candidates	15,000,000.00 (10,744.98 USD)

Source: (Globe International and Zorig Foundation 2014)

Regarding the financial support received from the government, political parties did not report their funding in any way, and the National Audit Office did not audit the funding of the parties. Despite the lack of monitoring mechanisms, government funding continued to be provided to political parties. This also shows that there is a necessity to legislate regulations for open and transparent reporting of expenditure. As such, interviewees agreed the biggest challenge for female candidates and party members is the financial obstacles, especially if they do not have any businesses or extra/passive incomes. They say that, on the other hand, their male counterparts raise funding through their professional and personal networks and factions, especially as men often be leaders and members of various ‘ambitious’ associations and federations such as Nutgiin Zuvlul, professional and interest groups associations. Men in politics tend to resolve money related problems much easier than women with his positions and numerous networks.

3.5 Intra-parties factors

3.5.1 Party power dynamics: women’s role and positions in the party

Gender representation is reflected in the structure and composition of the party with the central executive body of the MPP having the Board of Directors of the MPP with 29 members (19 men and 10 women). The MPP Secretariat has 9 members, one of them is women. There were no criteria set for the selection of board members in the party charter. As for the DP, the new leadership was recently registered by the Supreme Court in May 2023, so the internal political environment of the party is in full swing. When searching for information online and the charter

of the party, there was no information on the percentage of women represented in the board of directors.

However, although there is no information on how to ensure gender representation in the governing board and party structure for the HUN, this policy of striving to maintain a 50:50 gender ratio of candidates in all levels of elections in the 2024 elections is an initiative and a practical action for an equal, inclusive and good society. This is seen as a practical step to increase the quota of women in other political parties when determining the percentage of candidates for parliamentary and local elections.

There are women's associations under the MPP and DP, to engage and support their members in the implementation of the party's mission and program, to publicize the party's concepts and activities, and to participate in public works that benefit the citizens. However, there is no information about how these associations affect the candidacy, and they are only more involved in the implementation of the party's goals and objectives, even interviewees agreed that there were no concrete outcomes for promoting their party female members in the politics.

Nevertheless, the Law on Political Parties, Party Rules, and internal policy documents lack a comprehensive, long-term program to support women's political participation, and there is a notable absence of regulations specifying the implementation, protection, and actual support for these temporary special measures (quotas). Instead, they primarily contain provisions that declare temporary special measures, such as quotas, as mandated by national laws and party rules.

The voters perception on gender, it was observed that the results show that women are in favor of setting quotas by an average of 39.14 percent and men by 34.09 percent (Social Policy and Development Research Institute 2022).

In document review, the public concerns that temporary special measures to increase women's participation in decision-making levels are included in laws and party rules; however, increasing the percentage of the quota is crucial. At the decision-making level, it is important to nominate women in parliamentary and local elections, to compete equally with men, to make it possible for everyone to start from the same starting point, and to keep the party's nomination process transparent and open.

For MPP and DP, decision-making power is reserved for men. So, for these two major political parties, having quotas for nominating women is challenging. The majority of the women who participated in the interview believed that it is not clear how to overcome this and there is a lack of female leadership.

Interviewees from DP stressed that there is no internal quota system in DP, we have the principle of you can win if you can, there should not be any privilege for anybody, everyone must have the same starting points. A member of MPP stated that *"our party does not have such a good policy. They say that those who can, should win regardless of presence of quotas. Although there is a quota internally (not for nomination though), the right to be nominated is decided by the leaders"*. It can be concluded that there is an absence of policy, commitment and political willingness for promoting women in both of the dominant maintaining parties, therefore women's roles and perspectives are enforced to be perceived as inactive/passive and 'lifeless'.

It can be seen that the regulation and implementation of the temporary special measures or quotas included in the documents of the above two politically influential parties are insufficient. There is no real support for women, and there are no programs or plans to prepare women for politics.

3.5.2 Nomination process, decision making for selection of candidates, selectorate committee, and requirement for candidacy

When nominating candidates for parliamentary and local elections, political parties have stated that they will adhere to at least 20 percent within the framework of the national law and the charters of the parties. The charters of all parties include requirements and criteria for nominations as provisions for parliamentary and local elections.

Table 8: Party requirements for candidates in local and national parliamentary elections

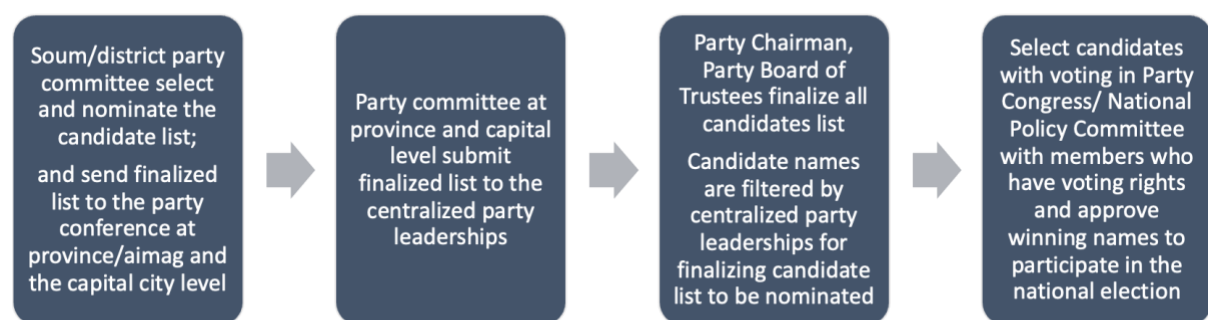
MPP	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Candidates for the parliamentary and local elections must not violate the ethical standards of the member to be nominated and appointed by the MPP for government and political party leadership positions. 2. Meet the requirements for candidates approved by the Conference
DP	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Candidates for internal party elections and parliamentary elections must have joined the party at least 6 months ago. 2. Approval of the candidate for the election of the Citizen's Representative Council with the requirement of "At least 20 percent of all candidates are candidates of one gender."
HUN Party	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A candidate for the parliamentary and local elections must meet the criteria specified in the party's internal election procedure approved by the Board of Directors.
CUP	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Among the party's candidates for parliamentary elections, the representation of either gender, male or female, shall not be less than 30 percent, 2. The candidate to be nominated for the parliament elections, has initiated and developed at least one bill related to the rule of the party participating in the parliamentary elections alone or jointly with other candidates, which is supported by the House of Representatives.

To conclude from the criteria set for candidacy, the CUP had a very clear and open arrangement. It was stipulated that the gender representation should be at least 30, be able to lead others, and be active in the development of the party agenda. On the other hand, the MPP, DP, and HUN Party stipulated that the candidacy process, which is regulated only by declarations (symbolically), will be regulated by special procedures, not rules. Although the MPP and the DP say that the candidacy process will be clarified on the basis of open,

transparent, free, democratic and fair competitive discussions with the participation of citizens, it was revealed in elite key informant interviews that it is very dodgy.

The elite interview participant from DP stressed that the National Policy Committee of Democratic Party consists of about 400 members. There are quotas of 20 percent for women and 20 percent for youth. If there are 5 mandates in the internal electoral district, 3 are free, 1 is for women, and 1 is for youth. It means women compete against women, and young men compete against young men. If there is no quota for women and youth, they compete in freestyle.

Figure 3: Candidate selection process (MPP and DP)



In two dominant parties charters speculate to select and nominate candidates with bottom - up principle but in real life it is only a manifesto and symbolic. Almost all interviewees criticized that whole candidate lists selected and nominated by the bottom level, shown in the first phase of the Figure 3, changed and/or lost in the process due to non-transparency, over-centralized party decision making practice - party leaderships make all decisions, candidates removed from the list under ‘disqualification’ all of sudden, depending on donation, ‘bid’ and ‘bet’ money amount. Finally, it leads that only candidates who are premeditated by the centralized party leaders, are nominated at final internal election.

Therefore, interviewees from DP and MPP talked about the facts that the party's executive board is all male, and the Congress and the National Policy Committee are also dominated by men, so there is very little opportunity for women to turn the wheel. All of them expressed their opinion on the need to increase the representation of women at the leadership level of the party, for women within the party to work together based on the principle of collective management, and to pay attention to the transparency and openness of the party's nomination process.

The Law on Political Parties stipulates that the principles of democratic fairness will be followed when nominating candidates. It is just a statement. For the final decision or conclusion, the parties only concern about who will win the constituency. This is a clear indication of how laws and regulations prevent women from being nominated. Support for highly educated and experienced women has been woefully inadequate in both parties. The 2024 election will clearly show how much support women will receive from the parties, especially in the parliamentary and local elections. The HUN Party has declared that the ratio of candidates in all elections will be 50:50 (National Human Rights Commission of Mongolia 2022).

To conclude from the party's shown above, the necessity has already arisen to overcome the disadvantages faced by women for parties to support women by setting long-term goals through special programs, implementing programs with stages to improve women's participation, and creating special independent programs that clearly show the results. Despite the fact that quotas supporting women are included in the state laws and party rules, there is a need for radical structural reforms to the extent that the quotas are realistic and achievable.

Participants in the elite interviews had different perceptions of party support or factionalism. Some interviewees stated that they don't see factions as wrong. Formation of small groups in a big group with hundreds of people is a common matter. Men all belong to factions. When

women join factions, they find it surprising. They say it is a form of cronyism. In fact, it can be a form of mentoring. However, some interviewees stated that for women, it is impossible to form a network and they cannot afford it. Men can form factions based on their interests and they have money. Women do not need to imitate this. They can use social and online environments to make herself known to others by writing articles and tweeting on Twitter. Plus, women's right is violated in political parties. A recent study found that 60 percent of female candidates nominated in local elections were sexually harassed. Sexual harassment itself is very difficult when it happens in the political environment. When it is revealed in the political environment, what comes next is challenging and when it is turned around, women are blamed for it. The system oppresses women tremendously.

Moreover, female candidates who are nominated from the primary level of the Party are included in the decision-making level through local councils and other factions. A large majority of the local council's is power-centered with men. These men influence the leadership of the party and the decisions related to nominations are made by men. Thus, temporary special measures cannot have an effect on the process of nominating women.

3.5.3 Other party factors

Political parties carry out the nomination process through internal party elections. Internal elections of the party include the election of the party leader, the leader of the primary unit of the party and committee, and the election of candidates for the parliamentary election by the party (Tsedevedamba, 2022).

Although all parties have internal elections and nomination processes in their party rules, they do not specify when the elections will be held. However, only the newly established Civic Unity Party has included it in its rule. However, the HUN Party did not include the date, although the general organization of nominations is included in its rule. Although two

politically influential parties (MPP and DP), when conducting internal elections, nominate candidates based on the principles of democratic fairness and openness, starting from the primary unit of the party, from the bottom up, for these parties, affluent members win the nomination and they are nominated by handing out money. During the party's internal elections, people with money take over the network of the party's primary committee and section leaders (Tsedevdamba 2022). This creates corruption in the party, which does not support women and creates a system that only serves people with money.

Conclusion

Even though there has been progress, achievements and successes in the policy documents issued in the field of increasing the participation of women in the decision-making level of Mongolia, the actual implementation is still unsatisfactory.

Although temporary special measures or quotas are reflected in the legal environment, their implementation is insufficient. Totally, 570 women were nominated and 63 women were elected in the eight elections of the State Great Khural of Mongolia (1992-2020), which does not appear to be sufficient representation of women. Plus, from the finding of the research, despite the implementation of temporary special measures or quota percentage of political parties as a principle, there is no mechanism for implementing the quota within the party due to no existence of monitoring system, systematic preparation of female candidates, voluntary party quota, and on the other hand, there is no integrated plan, program or policy for the inclusion of women in politics. This is not to say that quotas are not beneficial to our system, because the number of women candidates and elected women increased dramatically in the 2012 elections due to the inclusion of quotas in the 2011 Law on Parliamentary and Law on Promoting Gender Equality.

The nomination process for parliamentary and local elections is still closed to the People's Democratic Party and the Democratic Party, which have a majority in the current parliament. It does not favor women because it handles internal party elections in a way that serves the affluent members. In order to raise funds for the party and to raise funds for election campaign, money is being taken from candidates as deposits, which is having negative impact on the nomination of women. Under the principle that all candidate members should start from the same starting point, the party leaders have come up with the so-called "deposit" to limit the opportunity for women to run for election. It completely shuts down the opportunity for women

to run for election before they can exercise their right to be elected, and the requirement that they have to be financially able to run for election and to finance their own election campaign shows gender-blind and insensitive policies and party leadership.

Due to the fact that no significant steps are taken by the party or state policy to encourage women to participate in politics and to support them in their careers in politics, informal systems and relationships such as creating networks, mentoring, sharing experiences, and supporting each other are not established for women. According to the data collected in the research, the first criteria for party membership, appointment to leadership positions within the party, nomination from the party, and appointment to political positions is primarily financial capacity and resources, and other criteria are very hostile to women.

Unfortunately, one of the first issues raised in this research was to study the criteria for selecting candidates from within the party and the activities and information of the selection team and working group. It is believed to be related to the fact that it is not specified in the rules and laws of the party as a principle, but it is also directly related to the centralized system in which candidates for internal elections are selected, presented and approved by the party leaderships. For the MPP, although it is stated that the candidate will be selected bottom-up model or in a decentralized manner, in reality, the candidates list is sent to the party leadership confidentially, which undermines transparency and decreases the possibility of being elected.

Plus, it was not feasible to recognize whether men and women have different goals for entering in politics, working at the decision-making level or joining a party, and if so, what the main differences are. This is because this information was not mentioned anywhere in the document review study and the elite interview participants did not mention it, yet did not consider them as crucial in this topic.

Thus, it can be seen that the electoral system has not been a major factor for women to be elected as predicted by some scholars. As the number of women candidates increases with mandatory quotas, so does the number of women nominated, but there is no difference in the probability of being elected. Regarding most supportive electoral system for female politicians, interviewees highlighted that closed-listed PR system can be the most beneficial for female candidates in case the party applies the “zippered list” model (also known as a zebra system), especially stressed on starting the list with female candidate’s name with alternating the names of male and female candidates on the ballot.

It can be concluded that there is an absence of policy, commitment and political willingness for promoting women in the both of the dominant maintaining parties, therefore women’s roles and perspectives are enforced to be perceived as inactive/passive and ‘lifeless’.

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