

Intra-Party Democracy in Mongolia

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Intra-party democracy?

The term “internal democracy” or “intra-party democracy” can be defined as the participation of the members in decision-making, such as the appointment of party leaders, approval of a budget, or selection of candidates for the election.

(Rahat & Shapira 2016)

- Participation
- Representation
- Competition
- Responsiveness
- Transparency

Questionnaire of the Democracy Institute

Participation (30%)

1.1 Who chooses the party leader? (5%)

- A group of elected representatives (central committee, convention, council) or all members of the party (5 points)
- A small group (e.g. an appointed committee) or a single leader (0 points)

1.2 Who chooses the party leader? (5%)

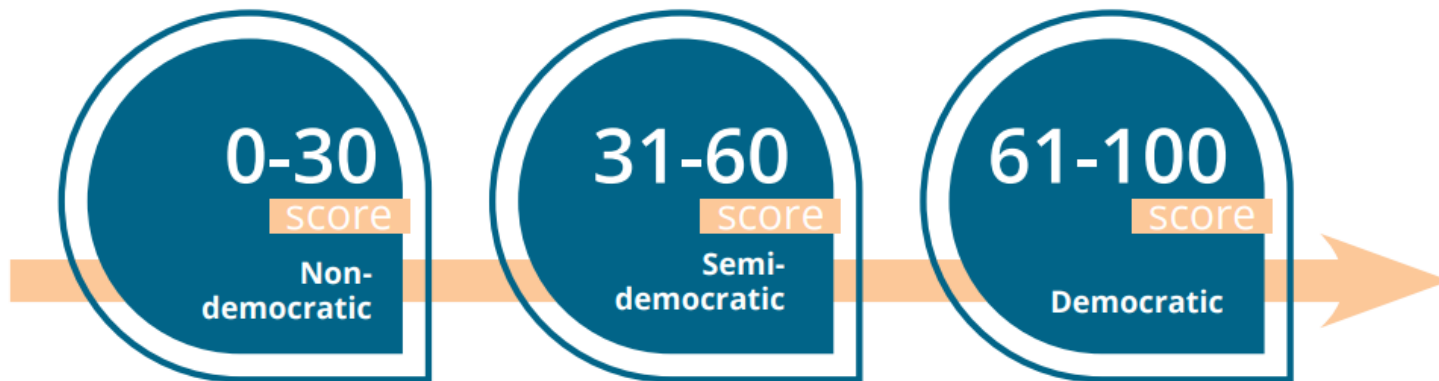
- A single leader (0 points)
- A small group (1 point)
- Elected representatives (3 points)
- All members of the party (4 points)
- All citizens of voting age (5 points)

1.3 Who selects the candidates for inclusion in the party's Knesset list? (5%)

- A group of elected representatives (central committee, convention, council)
- all members of the party (5 points)
- A small inner circle of the party elite or an elected leader (0 points)

Measuring Intra-party Democracy

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



Source: The Defacto Institute 2020

Research method

2018 index

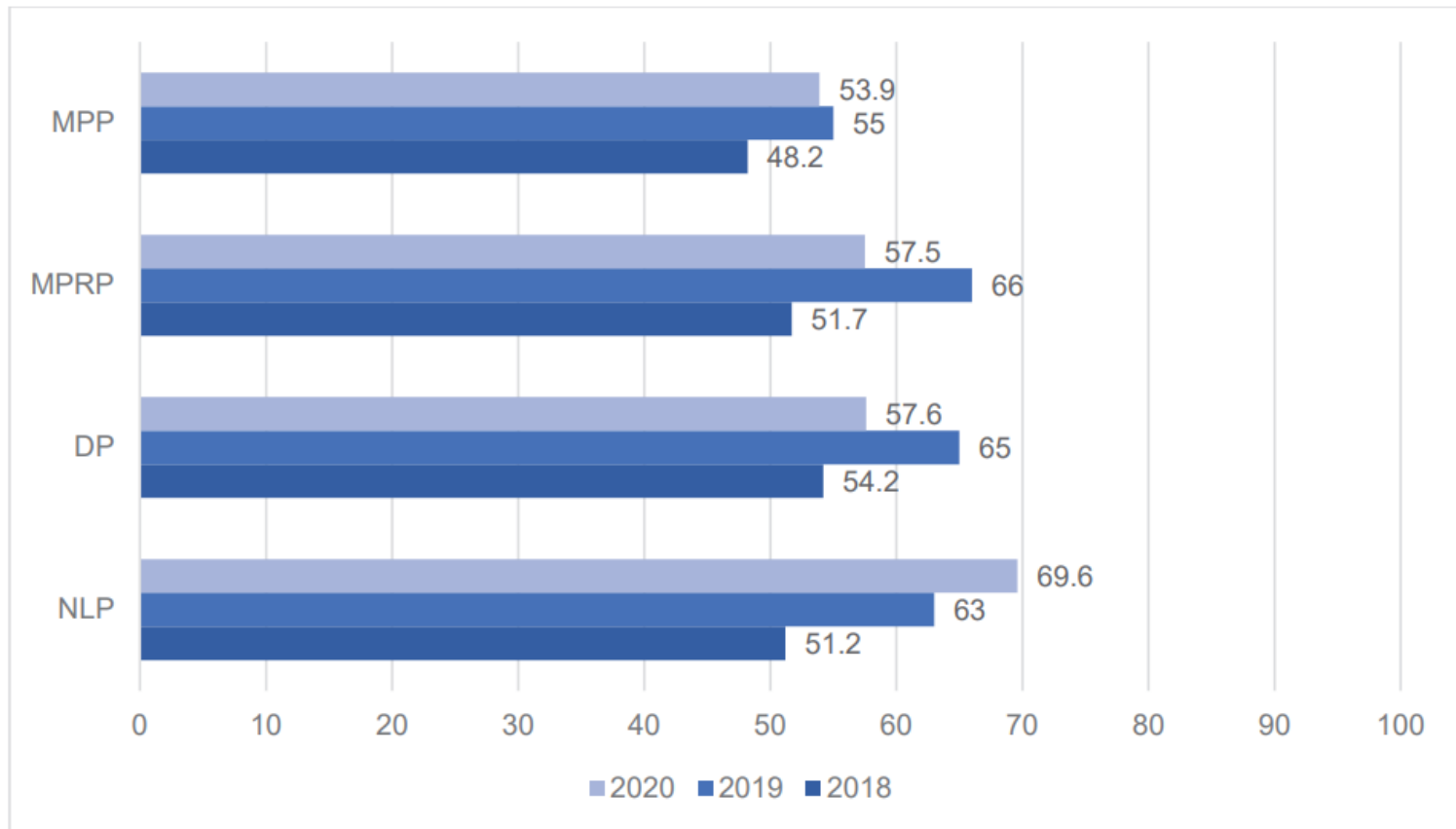
- Survey from members of political party members
- Hard to find information on members
- Low response rate

2019, 2020 index

- Interviews with political party focus groups and political experts.
- Some cases related to intra-party democracy within political parties vis-à-vis party rules and regulations, open information sources at the LPP, and the LoE.
- Monitored political party official websites in order to determine the transparency of political parties

Internal democracy index of political parties, 2018-2020

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



Source: The Defacto Institute 2020

Political party database project

- Political party database project
 - Assembly-based Intra-party Democracy Index
 - Internal decisions within the party are made by party conventions
 - Plebiscitary Intra-Party Democracy Index
 - Internal decisions are made by all members of the party.

Membership myth

- The Supreme Court – Registration (Fail?)
 - 801 members?
- The number of Parties
- Membership myth – Soft or Hard?

Party platforms

- Top-down



- Clientelist vs programmatic parties

If you do not have clients, you often cannot create a party (Fukuyama).

Source: Klima 2020: 115

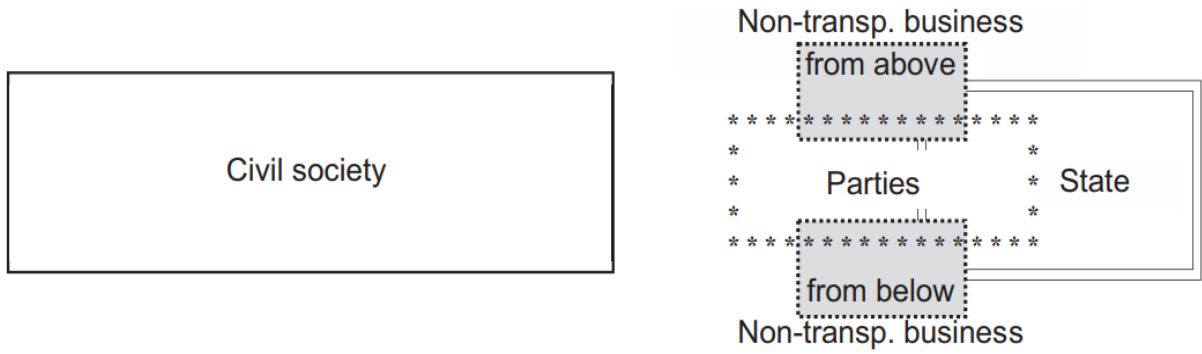


Figure 4.4 Clientelist parties between civil society, non-transparent business and the state

Source: Author of this text.

The Problems in the Candidate Selection

- MPP – Executive Committee to Party conference (*Baga Khural*) based on the survey. (Party chairman and secretary in reality)
- DP – The Pledge Money and Failed Primaries?
- KHUN – Few elites (*Tölөөлөkh зөвлөл*)

Participation

Participation of women

High - low and mid-level party organization

Low - High (Cultural and financial barriers)

Local parties

- Two camps – Red and Blue
- Dependent on a few elites

Party Financing and Transparency

- Beyond transparency
 - Membership fee?
 - State-like behaviors – SOI
 - Shadow economy (For example: Nyambaatar case)

Intra-party Democracy vs Inter-Party Democracy

- Democratic principles demand that leadership at all levels be elective, that it be frequently renewed, collective in character, weak in authority. Organized in this fashion, a party is not well armed for the struggles of politics. (Duverger, 1954: 134)

Mongolian Political system for the last few decades

- Plurality voting system such as the Block voting.
- Constant changes in the rules of the game.
- State funding for parliamentary parties and presidential nominations.
- National party structures.
- High entry barriers (From 801 to 20,000).

Intra-party democracy in Western Democracies

Party primaries for Candidate selection

Cross & Pruyers 2019: 484

- Positive
 - Enhanced legitimacy
 - New members
- Negative
 - More factionalization
 - High cost
 - Less competitive
- 1/3 – Primaries (Western democracies) for candidate selection
- 1/2 - Primaries for Party leaders (Spain, Portugal, Canada etc)

Regulation on intra-party democracy - Germany

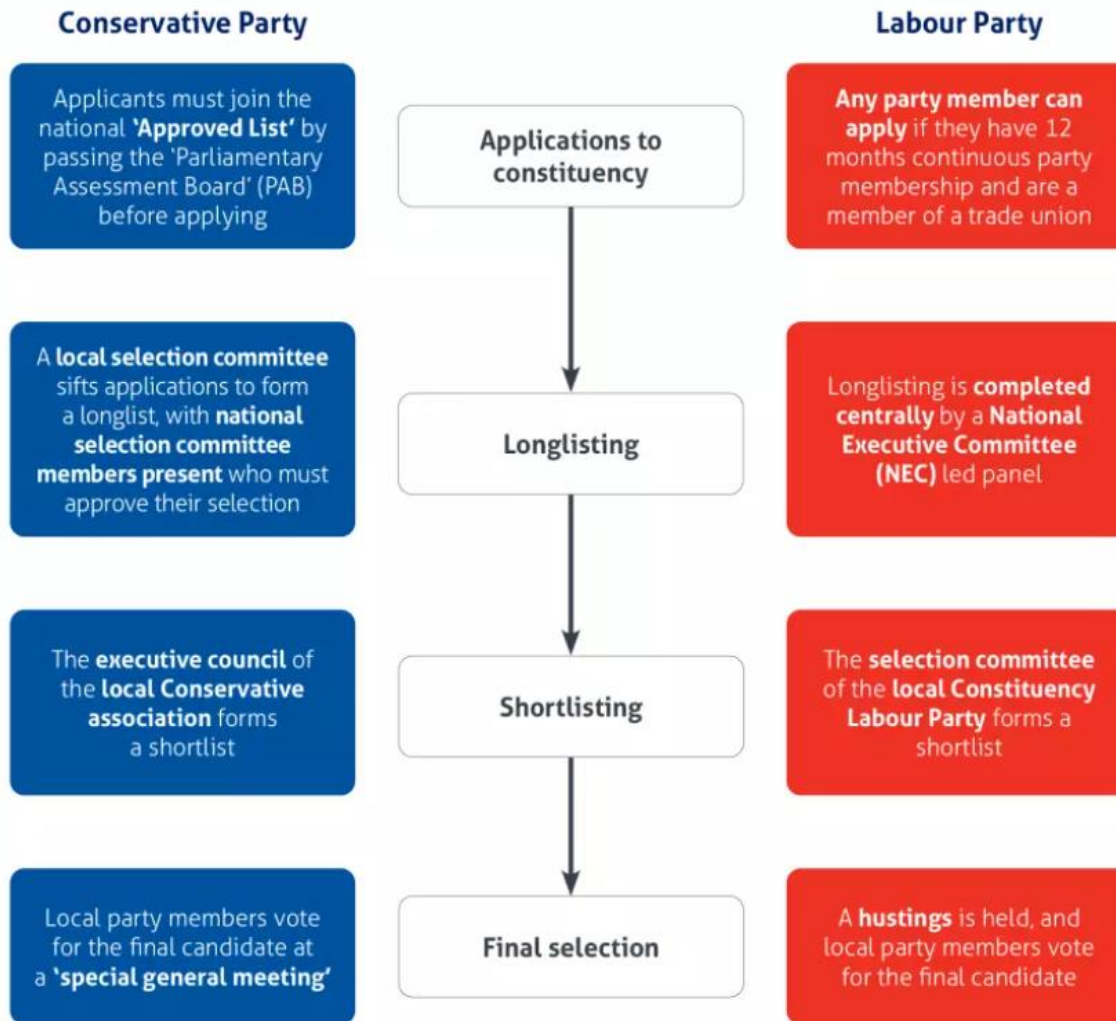
Biezen & Piccio 2013; Detterbeck 2016

- State financing – more regulation
- Local and regional party organization – Candidate selection – Decentralization
 - Party list – Land level
 - Regional party conferences (16 land)
 - Low competition – Gatekeeping
 - Candidate – Party list – Constituencies

Canada – Candidate selection

- Sore losers? The costs of intra-party democracy by Cross and Pruyzers (2019)
- Primaries in Canada
 - Exit
 - Passive
 - Supporting other parties

Regulation on intra-party democracy - UK



Source: Institute for Government 2024

Regulation on intra party democracy

Biezen & Piccio 2013

- 33% - Extra parliamentary party
- 32% - External oversight
- 32% - Party financing

- Low level of regulation – Austria, UK, Finland, Hungary – mostly financing
- High-level regulation – Germany, Latvia, Portugal – 1/3% of the law on internal party organization

Party regulations for Intra-party democracy

- New democracies are usually high
- Candidate selection is for the party in Europe compared to the US and Israel. (Germany, Portugal, Slovenia – Party statute)
- More regulations on Gender equality
- Regulation on Local Arbitrage
- Germany, Latvia, and Portugal – voting procedures- for candidate selection and policy formulation.

Conclusion

- Centralization vs **decentralization**
- Anti – membership discourse (as a form of anti-politics) vs **Membership engagement**
- **Assembly-based** vs Plebiscitary-based Democracy
 - Primaries?
- Intra-party democracy vs **inter-party democracy**

THANK YOU FOR YOUR
ATTENTION.