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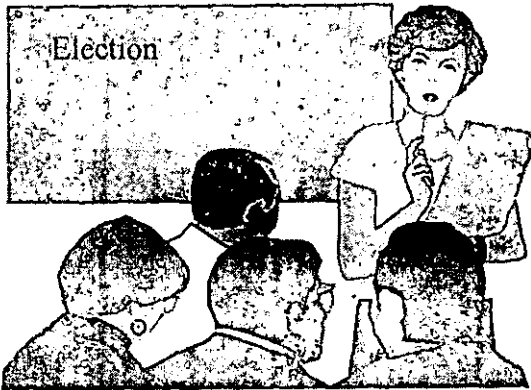
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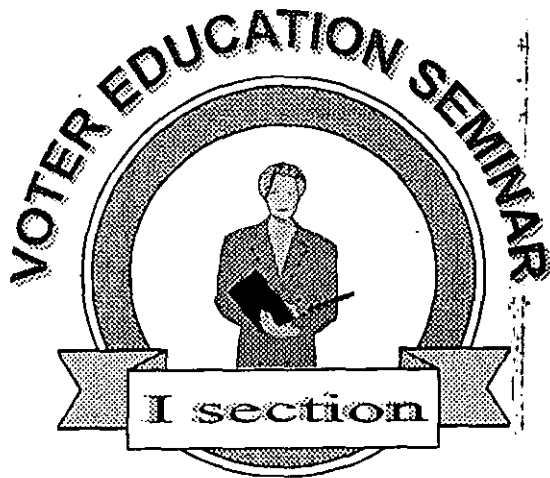


WSP



VOTER EDUCATION SEMINAR

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Electors Rights and Responsibilities in Mongolia

Report presented at the Workshop

R. Burmaa

Nowadays there are 12 officially registered political parties in Mongolia, 3 of them are represented in the Parliament.

In 1990 for the first time, Mongolia had the experience of multi-party elections during which..... parties were involved. At the SIK elections of 1992, 13 political parties participated, (11 of them were coalition) in 1993 the first democratic presidential election occurred.

Consequently, several elections held in the last years are of historical importance, introducing new procedure of the democratic election system, where multi-parties were involved, at the same time election platforms have been presented by candidates. I should point out in this connection, that the elections prior to 1992 did not facilitate voters full rights to make choices by their own interests with competition among candidates due to the fact that a single party regime dominated in Mongolia.

According to the new changes in political system of the society, we carried out the survey on how voters enjoy their rights and responsibilities, how candidates put women related issues into their campaign promises and their actual voting records.

The objective of this paper is to attempt to highlight some of results of the present survey.

New Constitution, adopted in 1992 stipulated the following articles proclaiming a sustainable democratic and civil society.

Article 3 of the 1992 Constitution says that: " State power shall be vested in the people of Mongolia. The people shall exercise through their direct participation in State affairs as well as through the representative bodies of State power elected by them.

Article 16 States that, The citizens of Mongolia are guaranteed to enjoy the following rights and freedoms:

9. The right to take part in the government of the country directly or

through representative bodies. The Right to elect and to be elected to State Bodies. The right to elect shall be enjoyed from the age of 18 years and the age eligible for being elected shall be determined by law according to the requirements in respect of the bodies or posts concerned.

12. The right to submit a petition or a complaint to State bodies and officials. The State Bodies and officials shall be obliged to respond to the petitions or complaints of citizens in conformity with law.

17. The right to seek and receive information except that which the state and its bodies are legally bound to protect as secret.

Article 14 says "All persons lawfully residing within Mongolia are equal before the law and the courts".

Article 21, chapter 3 says "Citizens shall vote on the basis of universal, free, direct suffrage by secret ballot".

Article 31, At the primary stage of the Elections citizens eligible to vote shall participate in electing the President on the basis of universal, free and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Firstly, I would like to highlight briefly how the voters enjoy the above stipulated rights through their representative bodies.

As stated in Article 21 of the Constitution that 76 MPs shall be elected by the voters of Mongolia qualified to vote through the free and fair election procedure by secret ballot, once every 4 years.

Elected officials are accountable to their voters

Thus the new Constitution proclaims voters right for free election. But the election law adopted in 1992 does not facilitate voters free election, enabling their views to be properly represented. For example: each electoral circle has 2-4 mandates. This leads to a difference in a number of MP elected from each circle. Each candidate's share of vote is also different. And also there is a regulation that if voter chooses not to vote for any of the nominees, his ballot paper is

considered null and void.

As stipulated in the Constitution the job of an elected member of SIK (Parliament) is to represent people. However the present majoritar system that is being approved by the Parliament suitable, if we elect 1 candidate from each 76 electoral circles?

Meanwhile the Parliamentary Election of 1992 was a National Party List System causing electors to vote for parties rather than individuals. But in fact, all member of SIK were elected by the magoritarian principle.

So that our sureey deals with how representatives in the Parliament serve their own electors of an electoral circle. The Observations show that MSIKs do not have their own office and stuff in local areas. The analysis of documentation and reports of business trips by the MSIKs prove their lack of accountability of their action plans with regard to the aimags that have elected them into office. It seems they travel everywhere, they want instead of meeting the promises they have made.

So we can conclude that there is no mechanism for partnership enabling to cooperate MSIKs with their electors.

At the same time participants of the survey were asked if they knew the name of MSIK for whom they have voted. 47,8 % of all surveyed expressed that they know, who they voted for and 30,2 % did not respond. However many incorrectly wrote the name of a member and some of them named another member that was supposed to be elected in another electoral circle. All of these facts show that MPs do not realize close partnership with their electors.

In a specific situation of Mongolia which is a unitary state with one House in the Parliament, a Proporitoral Representation system, where MSIKs are to Parliament in proportion to the share of the votes cast for their Party, is most acceptable one.

In such situation the present territorial representation system should be replaced by representation of main political forces.

2. Right of Voters to be provided with sufficient flow of information

One of the main factors for voting smart is availability of necessary information provided. Similarly, voters exercise a right to require related information from political subjects.

The results of our survey show, radio and television are the main information sources that help to our voters to decide whom to elect. However radio and TV are in the power of the Government under its direction. There is no law on free mass media. So the Government has a power to press the public, misleading them by the single-source information which affects the election results.

The mass media can not ensure equal opportunity to all political forces to be presented.

3. Voters' Right to supervise elected officials accountability and reporting

Democracy must grow with abroad publicity and accountability before electors. In other countries with democratic Government, electors cast a vote in a form of secret ballot to avoid any repression of ordinary citizens. Meanwhile elected officials are accountable to their electors and are to report.

For example, in the USA House of Congress and House of Representative publish a periodical to inform the public what is going on the Parliament (except secret information). MPs give their vote openly using their names to cast their vote during the Final Adoption of a law. And a periodical is published revealing the result of law discussion including who cast for, who was against. Similarly mass media in the USA gives a great deal of publicity to parliamentary sessions during discussion or adoption of law. (There is a special channel for it)

As stated in Article 511 of the Law on SIK says that elected members of SIK shall vote openly except in stipulated legislations where they vote by secret ballot.

Calculation of votes during open procedure deals with raising of hands or using of computers to record votes. If more than 5 members or demand to vote, knowing how each member cast his vote,

calculation of votes by members names should be allowed.

In this connection we requested SIK Administration Office to observe protocols of SIK sessions whether calculation of votes by names of members was held. Unfortunately, the calculation did not happen in all sessions of SIK.

Meanwhile we studied the situation of how elected officials implement their promises presented during election campaign.

A "policy statement" or platform set out by parties and candidates on which they should concentrate during post - election period, is facilitated to give them a right to function in the office (Parliament).

We paid attention how either electors or parties supervise and evaluate the results of implementing platforms by their elected officials.

Why are electors unable to know about how their elected officials participate in making a decision which affects the adoption of laws and how elected officials put forward their views and opinions?

Can the electors appreciate the elected officials position and activity? What will be the criteria for the next election?

For example, As reached earlier by the consensus of 3 main political parties represented in the Parliament in consultation with the Mongolian President, amendments to the Election Law of Mongolia will have been adopted by October 20, 1995. This agreement was requested to turn down the "52+24" or mixed formula for election system which would replace the presently effective majoritary election principle by a combined one with 52 seats distributed by direct vote and remaining 24 seats on a proportional principle or voters party preferences.

But as of today, October 20, 1990 the Parliament have been refusing to settle this issue. Even the draft version of the amendment proposal agreed upon earlier by the main political parties has not been approved by the standing Committee in charge of State Bodies.

The Parliament has promised in its Autumn session to discuss Election Law as scheduled, as the number 6 topic of the Agenda.

A delay in adopting of the Election Law, only a few months before the elections, can have very negative consequences causing insufficient preparation of Residing Officers who will have responsibility for Election campaign.

SIK sessions protocols ought to have been placed at State, local and school libraries to ensure access to supervision and evaluation of elected officials performance by their electors. But any library do not have any protocol of SIK sessions, they have only the final version of laws.

Meanwhile, electors are not allowed to attend Parliamentary session.

As says Article 28 of SIK Law, an open session of SIK is to be attended by electors, domestic and international correspondents.

According to an regulation approved by Secretary General, SIK Administration Office, electors can observe a session just for 15 minute period. It is obvious that 15 minutes is quite limited period for a good observation of a session.

Process of a parliamentary session when it is discussing and adopting laws should be informed and demonstrated to the public for their better encouragement in implementing laws in reality.

So that SIK should be aware of the principle of an open information system which plays a significant role in enhancing the Parliamentarian authority among the community. In practice, the country does not have appropriate mechanism to enable the views to be represented in making laws.

4. Assessment of electors' votes

Giving preference to electors' votes, the parties represented in the Parliament should be financed by the Government.

The Present Law does not allow the parties, except the party formed the Government take any financial assistance. However the public is unable to know about its financial sources.

Most of the parties without membership dues are not allowed to take profit making activities according to the legislations. Conse-

quently, we could not find related data on financial sources of parties. This uncertainty in financial problems leads to the fact that the main political force will be affected seriously by corruption, attempting to give preferences to a certain political group over the interests of the nation.

To avoid this negative phenomenon the parties should be subsidized by the Government on account of electors votes, consequently it will influence to an increased awareness of the public about what the parties represented in the Government do.

In the countries with strengthened democracy, great attention is paid to law parties and candidates election campaign are financed, what were their financial resources. Electors are able to know detailed information on this matter to avoid corruption and bribe. For example, in the USA a candidate for a President does not allowed to put more than 30 mln dollars for election campaign. This year political parties in the USA received 4,5 mln-dollars allocated by the Government.

Alongside 5 mln were allocated from other sources. Legally, a contribution for election campaign shall not exceed 1000 from an individual, 25,000 from an establishments. After elections the voters shall be provided with a financial report how money was spent.

5. Electors' Rights to participate in State affairs

As stated in Article 26 of the Constitution "The President, members of SIK and the Government shall have the right to legislative initiative.

Citizens and other organizations shall forward their suggestions on draft laws to those entitled to initiate a law.

According to the law on "Considering the petitions and complaints from citizens" adopted on April 17, 1995, the State bodies and officials shall be obliged to respond to the petitions or complaints of citizens in conformity with law.

The State bodies and officials shall be obliged to respond to the petitions made by the citizens after 1 month since the day of submission.

sion, detail clarification is not needed.

If the petition requires further clarification, it should be made within 1 month.

Last year within 8 month, SIK had received 994 proposals made by 1608 citizens through letters, meetings and by telephone. 926 of which were responded. 35,1 % of letters received contains different proposals, 55,4 % tend to be requests.

The Report concerned the issue of the responses to public addresses is prepared and handled by 6 Standing Committees of SIK and 3 Chairman. But there have not been any survey carried out on how the ideas and views of the proposals can be put into law.

The Correspondence Office does not have the responsibility to solve the problem concerned in the people's proposals, it just transmits them to related officials.

To introduce better mechanism for putting forward the public views into draft laws, citizen Munkhdalai Khan-uul (district), proposed that SIK should take into account views, if they were supposed and signed at least by 1000 citizens.

At the same time, citizens make their addresses to the President in writing and orally. Although he does not have any special research centre, proposals are viewed and are reflected in the laws exercising a veto.

The President had put forward views of citizens addressed to him into 12 versions of laws by April 1994. As of April 1995, one year after, the SIK had solved only one proposal of those presented. 2 issues are being discussed at Standing Committees and the other 9 have not been discussed yet.

Although the President has a right to legislative initiative, taking account of citizens proposals, there is no strict time regulation for accepting and solving the proposal presented for discussion at the SIK.

How election campaign is organised?

SIK's and President's election campaign is to be organized by the General Committee of Election (GCE) The President Committee founded on April 10, 1992 is nominated by SIK and functions under its direction. A Committee composed of 15 persons including Chairman, secretary and members. (2 full time chairman, secretary).

Cedeals with planning and monitoring of election committees activities, formulating of electoral documentations, developing manuals and recommendations, on implementing of election law and legislations nationwide and announcing of voting results.

The Committee is in charge of making amendment proposals to the Election Law submitting them to the Supreme Courts, if needed to SIK.

As stated in the Election Law, members of General Committee of Election shall not be candidates, but there is not any article concerning their party membership.

Because of this disregard of party membership, it was noted that 19 out of a total 20 electoral circles visited by international observers Chairman, the secretaries all belong to MPRP.

So Residing Officers at an Electoral Circle who belong to one party affect to the result of election. They give preferences to their party, influencing voters when explaining how to recort a vote on a ballot paper. International Human Rights Low Gtoop. (Int. Fou . for El. Systems)

Several conclusions made by International observers during the last Elections are as follows:

1. General Committee of Election should function independently outside the SIK having a status of Governmental Organization. (State Body).
2. The Composition of GCG should be determined by proposals made from political parties or from the President, Supreme Court and SIK. (Each can propose 5 candidates). For example, in the South Korea GCE has an equal right as the Parliament, Government, Constitution Judge? President, SC and Parliament propose 3 members and be

adopted by the Parliament.

3. GCE should offer training courses for Residing Officers who will perform duties at Electoral Circles, developing a working plan of EC.

4. A Chairman and secretary of any particular electoral circle should not belong to the same party.

5. When party workers visit homes to collect votes during elections day, representatives from 2 different political parties should go together.

6. A Policeman should not be Residing Officer of Electoral Circles.

If the public is provided with a vast wealth of information about the global problems from which the society is suffering they will have a smart vote.

It is time to be aware of owing the government, not only respect the government and demand care from it.

Democracy is based on a principle of serving the public by the Government, not the public serving the Government.

The public is made up of citizens of democratic Government, not its employees. Elected officials are employees of the public.

Government should care of the interests of the citizens and citizens should have faith in the Government. In a democracy people have a right to vote for their representatives. An American philosopher Sydney Hook said that Electors own their freedom. Diana Rabich said: "Freedom is an accountability".

Democracy does not demand people to be in harmony, but requires people to be accountable.

Electors rights in a democracy prescribed in the legal acts and legislations of Mongolia should be changed.

Formal and non-formal training activities to provide vote education for the public should be promoted to encourage them to vote smart.

I hope you, the participants of the Workshop will contribute a lot to our activities under the project "Vote Education".

Women's Issues in the 1990, 1992, 1993 Parliamentary and Presidential Election Platforms

M.Natsagbadam, P.Dorjsuren.

Before 1992, we stated that the women's equality was provided basically in our country, but naturally, there were many undecided issues. And one can understand that there have been appearing many new difficulties and complex problems in connection with today's economic crisis, instability and transitional barriers in Mongolia. So you can see the establishments of more than 24 women's organizations, which are aimed to protect women's rights to be involved in social life and support it actively with certain directions, as a result of the new situation.

Although a new political system is becoming stable today, the government democratic mechanism hasn't got accustomed, NGO operations haven't legislated, and also we had no more previous tradition of democracy. Because of these reasons, the influence on politics, exerted by interest groups, haven't reached to the level of democratic society.

An important channel, by which can put forward issues in the level of politics, is to relate with political parties. So it's useful for women's organizations to define their proposals and claims, then submit to political party leaders, who are preparing and working out their election platforms and national development conceptions. Now, women's organizations have begun to make every effort on this aspect too. "Women for Social Progress" Movement has aimed to research on how Mongolian political parties considered women's issues before the 1990, 1992 parliament elections, and how candidates did it during the 1993 presidential election, then to analyse their significance and to conclude them, in framework of project "Voter education".

Political parties can't succeed in election, without addressing

women related issues and defining their position on that issues as they are a half part of all electorate. Therefore, they have been trying to include women's issues in their election platforms.

1990 election was an opportunity to elect people with a real election purpose.

1. Women's issues and election platforms of political parties during 1990 election

There were some features in 1990 election and electorate took part in election to pick the bests of different candidates from multiple parties, for the first time. But you can conclude that it was an election, in which people voted mostly regarding the candidates' personalities and their promises in their platforms, rather than their alternative political orientation and platforms. But virtually, a voter should vote properly comparing proposed political party platforms and their policy of future national development prospects and development strategies as a primary criteria.

Nevertheless it was soon after the emerging new political parties, they had stated some forms of election platforms at all events.

MPRP (Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party) had proclaimed its political attitude to take part in the election on the basis of its extraordinary session resolutions and had worked out a document named "MPRP Manifesto, made in connection with People's Hural Deputies of all stages". The content of this Manifesto confirms that when MPRP was considering its conception and platform they took the Marxist outlook as a basis (took reformative ideas of Soviet Communist Party (SCP), which were pursued by SCP that time and tried to use in Mongolian context): There was no certain paragraph, regardless that the party would keep a direction to provide independent operations of mass organisations, like trade unions, youth, elder, student, pioneer, pupil, women, art worker, herdsmen, peasant, worker, and cooperators organizations and to support the right reso-

lutions of their social, economic, political, and cultural urgent matters as more as possible, cooperating effectively with them.

MDP(Mongolian Democratic Party) had thought over no special program for the election and acquainted that they would participate in election with their objectives, which had been stated before in documents of First Session of MDP.

When took part in the 1990 election, MSDP(Mongolian Social Democratic Party) had issued its election platform, based on their party platform, which was adopted a few months before. In the platform they have attempted to consider policy featured issues of a short-term national development of Mongolia. It's notable that they followed previous tradition, by considering issues and objectives for women only in sphere of social policy. But it's not mean that there where no innovations. Having stated that will provide working conditions for mothers, who have many children they directed their attention to give more opportunity to care for and to bring up their children and help them to live on market economy transition period. To carry out this objective is still important today while the number of unemployed women are growing. It should be addressed that their propose to grant allowances for mothers, who has low standart of living, was heard unusual that time.

In the election platform proposed by MNDP(Mongolian National Development Party) They considered women's issues under a view to respect human rights as a basis of democracy. And they put forward an objective to establish an government organization in charge of mother and children, children and youth problems. It can be concluded that the weakness of the women's issues proposed in MNDP platform is that they had paid more attention on women as mother or housewives rather than their other roles and had ignored other issues.

Perhaps, most of new born parties were attentive mainly forward to consider and put in order their general conceptions and to give ex-

planations to public, so there were no time to express their detailed positions on certain issues, and to make related policies, namely on the women's issues. Finally we can conclude on the basis of that there were very few special resolutions with respect to women in political party platforms, they couldn't change the reality of treating women only on a part of social welfare, like granting various remission for women, and hardly ever put forward policy featured issues except for some certain objectives and measures.

2. Women's issues, reflected on political party platforms for 1992 election

In 1992, all parties took part in the election with their election platforms. They had consolidated their conceptions and organizations and also had accumulated appropriate experiences better than 1990. The platforms of these parties looked relatively well arranged and more complex. They got to put forward issues and objectives, in which considerably took account of situation of that time. And also the treatment of the women's issues had been changed. But the idea of objectives, proposed by political parties with regard to women in their platforms, were same and had a general declaration feature.

For a party in power, the platforms of MPRP attracts interest mostly. For example, in the "Mother and women" part of the MPRP election platform took women's issues specially. The whole paragraph is included here: Protecting and taking good care to mothers and children will be considered as a leading objective.

We will provide legal and economic guarantee to expand social welfare for women, which will support their self-education, labor rights, children upbringing and education.

We will give an opportunity to operate establishing funds for women with low income and many children in order to increase their income and employment.

We will increase the supply of small machine and equipments to produce textile, sewing and food products in order for opportunity to work at home.

We will be for re-operation of rest-houses, designed for pregnant country mothers.

We will put proposes to grant allowances to mothers, who is taking care of her infants below 3 years, to increase the allowances to the level more than the standart of living and to carry out them.

It's notable that they had attempted to treat women differently than before and accepted the position of other parties in 1990 election and included them in their platform with clarifications. In addition to this, they proposed some new objectives as-situational requirements. There were some weaknesses, like treatment to women only on the social ground, quite many promissory things etc. We reviewed the accomplishments of these promises, which were proposed in MPRP election platform and concluded it distinctly in our research and report under a topic how women's issues reflected in government platform.

It looks, MDP made first effort to consider women's issues in wide ranges, taking the ideas of UN declaration of women and the experiences of democratic countries as a basis of their position. They made first step to the side of eliminating old concept that the issues of providing women's equality will only be in social framework; setting an objective to increase women's involvement in state governance; considered the real provision of women's equality in connection with economic freedom. Here should be addressed that all of these objectives were fully in accordance with conceptions and objectives of women's movements.

MSDP stated their objectives of women's issues in the social policy part of their platforms. There promised that they will carry out a policy to develop the sourses and structures to raise social welfare

funds, which will be devoted for vulnerable social groups, including mothers and families with many children, in terms of the price growth and inflation of the market economy. We could notice, that they took repeatedly some of their 1990 election platform ideas and also proposed new ideas of the women's issues. For example, there was a paragraph, in which stated that they would run consequent policies to give economic and legal guarantee not to reduce the reached levels of expanding social welfare, like giving the right of education and employment for women and to support their childbirth and children upbringing. Besides that they also expressed their future principle of active women's advancement in state decision making and to give possibility to choose freely whether will they test themselves on their careers or devote their lives to families or coordinate their official and family roles flexibly.

But MNDP, MRDP and MPHUP (Mongolian Peasant and Herds United Party) didn't consider women's issues as a special part of their election platforms. MRDP and MPHUP called that they would provide constant humanitarian aid to vulnerable social groups or low income people, especially to women-heading households and women with many children and improve their social security.

MRP had addressed that they would make maternity and child protection problem as their primary objective and called relatively more attention to women's social issues. In the part, named "Person", of their election platform, the MIP (Mongolian Independent Party) touched upon women's issues like it was presented below.

There have become necessary to reduce abortion drastically and to prohibit it consequently in recent years. At the same time, we consider to release women from social work as much as possible and to give opportunities of their domestic work and children upbringing as it is right.

So it seems that they looked at reduction and prohibition problem of abortions only from the side of population growth. On the other hand, it may seem from the outside view that it's a right idea to release

women from social work , but it is not so, in fact. Because it isn't enough to talk only.

We consider that it must be women's own interest whatever they choose. The idea of sharing responsibilities of conducting households and children upbringing both women and men , have reflected in convention of eliminating all forms of women discriminations. So, it is important to make up legal, economic, cultural and other conditions to protect from any attempts of women right restriction, which is leant upon traditional and typical conceptions of men and women rights and duties.

In connection, it's clear that the political parties had been trying to take the advanced aspects from each other. But the contents of the proposals on women's issues in the election platforms of all parties were similar, general declaration-featured, without any implementation ways, stages, and spheres to be covered, were noted. In general, these whole platform appearances(forms) may have affected to electorate's ballot to vote, relying upon individual candidates, rather than supporting any political party election platform.

Our sociological research result shows that the election campaigns or the popular propoganda of election platform programmes were not adequate due to their less attention to it. The opinion poll showed that only 6.5% of people covered were introduced with election manuals and papers; and 13% of them with platforms before voting. Poor knowledge about making choice and participation in elections, predominance of the passive attitude to elections, inherited over the past years were noted actually. In fact, the opinion poll says each person out of six took part in election without any perlimentary preparation: learnt nothing about Election Law, Platforms and other information distributed. 26.8 % of people didn't know which election system was used in the three election since 1990.

Candidates for the Mongolian President and Women's issues

It's different for Presidential election candidates than political parties, which develop wide range of national development policies then reflect them in their election platforms and popularize to people, suggesting to choose one of them. For a candidate, he should think over his platform on the basis of Presidential authority and responsibilities, which are stated in Mongolian State Constitution. So, it shouldn't include certain issues of policy in their platforms. This time no one of candidates considered women's issues specially in their basic(main) platforms. But the candidate P.Ochirbat had considered a subprogramm, named "Policy and Direction of Mongolian Government for Children and Women" in addition to his basic platform. This document can be a basis of considering the issue further, because it includes the main objectives proposed by political parties. Besides that, it could be distinguished from the related parts of other political party election platforms by its new ideas, its complex form and its many sided attitudes toward women's issues.

Being a householder and mother is nice and women's role in families is great. Also women of Mongolia have been involving in social work actively. Therefore, considering the issue only in family circumstance and from the side of social welfare seem not adequate and one sided. It's important to build up an environment that men and women have same equal rights and responsibilities. To pay special attention to women with low income, with many children or with poor lives, and house-heading old, or unemployed women is also important. But the problem can't be solved only in such scale and scope. We think, this problem can be solved by considering and implementing well arranged policies and programs to protect all vulnerable social groups and to reduce poverty. Furthermore, there were many complex problems concerning all women and they are still emerging.

Women's Issues in the Plan of Action of the Present Government versus Implementation

L. Erdenetuul, Director, Women's
Information and Research Centre

1. Present women's situation
2. Determination of women's issues by the governmental bodies.
3. Implementation of the Governmental Platform.

In the previous social system women's issues were used as propagandistic tool, demonstrating advantages of the socialism. Nowadays women's issues became really truthful.

All social constraints directly affect women's life and open new problems. The following conclusions on the present situation of mongolian women should be made:

1a. Women's workload has been significantly increased. Taking into account that in 1994 number of children per woman was 6, sharp increase of unemployment (8.4% by January, 1995), number of retired, disabled, imprisoned, military and police workers, the mean number of dependants per one economically-active person is 4.5. Since women's workload is more than men's by 0.7 time, each woman, having income, has 5-6 dependants.

1b. Increase of women's poverty. In 1995 20% of total population lived at officialy minimal level of income (4200 tugrigs in Ulaanbaatar) and out of the total extremely poor households 24.8% are female-headed families. Actually 50-60% of all families belong to poor, because official statistics does not take into account rate of inflation and does not make comparisons of income level of population with an indexed costs of commodities. Moreover, women and mothers in general have more consumery needs and that's why they suffer from the economic crisis in higher extent. According to the prelimi-

nary results of the sociological survey, conducted by WIRC, total family income of 49% of women interrogated is 13000-25000 tug., 12.5% -36000-40000 tugrigrs, 14.6 percent refused to indicate their incomes. Structure of month incomes is:

- 1) salary - 19997 tugrigrs (by May, 1995)
 - 2) pensions and social payments - 3035 tugrigrs
 - 3) private business (trade, service) - 6119 tugrigrs
 - 4) compensations and social - 205.6 tugrigrs
 - 5) other - 3224 tugrigrs
- total: 32581.5 tugrigrs

(source: State Statistical office). The official data includes credits taken as one of income sources, but it can not be considered as income input. The structure of expenditures is:

- 1) food - 20012.5 tugrigrs
- 2) other goods - 6332
- 3) non-material expenditures - 8232.9
- 4) bank savings - 647.6

Consumer basket of a 5 member's family was estimated as 89000 tugrigrs by 1995 September (Baasandash), expenditures of the family with 4 members was 56960 tugrigrs (WIRC). The difference in incomes and expenditures is varies from 23379 to 56419. In general, salaries, pensions, compensations and other governmental allowances constitute only 45 % in an income composition. In other words, only 45% of an average basic consumer needs of families were covered by state budget, and rest 55% was not reflected at all in the governmental policy

Complex long-term governmental policy on all social groups should solve growing poverty problem. Vulnerable groups as women, children and elderly suffer from poverty first of all and their problems also should be solved together.

1c. Women's health status became an important problem. The mortality rates of women of 25-45 years age has been declined in last 5 years. But mortality of 40-59 old women increased and it is explained by their increased workload and lack of spare time, which limits their access to health care facilities. 20.7% of all women, covered by sociological survey by WIRC, indicated themselves as chronically ill. 64.5% of such women are 25-45 years old.

1d. Violence against women became important. Social crisis and dissatisfaction by life has led to increase of domestic violence against wives and children. Wrong understanding of the legislation on non-testify against family members by law workers and by citizens affects situations. Sexual harassment at work—because of higher job positions and financial prevalence of men also increases.

1g. Hidden restriction (glass cellar) is still acute in Mongolia. In 1995 only 12.5% of senior workers and 7.9% of executive workers employed in the most prestigious in this country job as foreign relation's service were female. In 1994 only 1 women worked as local governor and only 10% of deputy heads of central administrative organs and heads of departments were women. Despite the fact that majority of executive workers are women (secretaries, typists, assistants, clerks) their advancement to higher positions is 9 times less in compare with men's.

1e. Women are not represented also at high levels of decision-making. Among 76 Members of Parliament only 3 are women. 9% of deputies in local representative bodies are women.

II:

Governmental bodies, responsible for women's issues, are:

- in SGH - Standing Committee on Social Policy
- in the Government - Women's division of the Population and Social

Policy of the Ministry of Population Policy and Labor:

- at local level - Social Policy Departments of the local governments.
State institutions determine women's issues as following:

2a. Women are social group for protection. Platform of the Government, National Reports and other documents consider women as subject for social protection and importance is given to establishment of the social security mechanism. The main idea of the policy is to keep living standards of unemployed women, women-heads of households and women with many children at least as at minimal level.

2b. The priority in the policy is given to reproductive role of women, so importance is attached to support giving birth, to increase social security payments for child-rearing and problems, related to children's upbringing and care.

2c. Participation of women in development is just declared, but implementation programs and projects are not defined.

III.

Economic constraints affected in great extent the implementation of the Governmental Platform and negative evaluation of the Government's activities was given at the SIH 1994 autumn session:

1. Women's poverty alleviation Program was fulfilled unsatisfactorily:

- a) Special centralized Fund was not established
- b) Credit's source was scarce and credits provided were not used properly
- c) women's job generation project stopped due to general economic constraints.

2. The child care payment was not indexed according to inflation

rate, so present payment is equal to 1360 tugrigs, e.g. 2 kg of meat.

3. Reimbursements for difference in cost of textbooks and school utilities, cost of meals in kindergartens, and cost of summer camping place for children from families with minimal incomes, promised, were not implemented.

4. Infant's and maternity mortality was not decreased. Health insurance of unemployed women and women, working in private sector, is not resolved.

General conclusion: The complex governmental policy on women doesn't exist in Mongolia. Few and mutually unlinked measures declared, "sink" due to economic constraints and absence of legal structure. Women's NGOs activities concordant to governmental economic policy are also inefficient due to legal structure and non-accessable information system.

The main reason for poor implementation of the governmental policy is due to wrong placement of aims, causes, ways and outputs during determination of the policy. Provision of development for women will lead to increase of population and upbringing of citizens. Processing and analysis of women-related statistics and all other information would facilitate state policy with right determination of the purposes, aims and ways of implementation.

Women's Issues in the Platforms of Present SGH Members and Implementation

Ts. Ariunaa, WSP Member

The election of the SGH(State Great Hural) in 1995 was by majority election. Although the candidates in a majority election are promoted by their own parties, in addition to party platforms each must have his or her own private positions, as each is the representative of particular voters from particular constituencies. Unlike previous SGH deputies, they ought not to make false campaign pledges; however, they are obliged to be under close observation of the voters and to act on the responsibilities and duties assigned them by their constituents. A survey designed to explore legislator positions disclosed the following

1. In response to an inquiring letter appealing to parties with seats in parliament such as the MPRP(Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party), the MNDP(Mongolian National Development Party), and the MSDP(Mongolian Social Democratic Party), only MPRP sent a reply; neither MNDP nor MSDP has responded. (Appendix 1,2,3)
2. The policy positions of the Members of Parliament(MPs) have not yet been received from the parties they represent. All but three replies to the official letter delivered to the 76 presently functioning members of the SGH have been delayed. H. Volodya, J. Gombojav, and Ch. Bayanjargal all have given prompt replies. (Appendix 4,5,6,7)
3. In relation to the above mentioned situation, an inquiry was sent to the attention of the Chairman of the Central Election Committee(CEC) S. Lhagvasuren, and the Director of the Survey Center D. Ganhuyag. The inquiry has been acknowledged. (Appendix 8,9)
4. The policy positions of the MPs couldn't be determined by the survey. Documents and materials relevant to Law definition were researched in SGH Archive in order to become discerned with their positions through their commentaries and debates in SGH Membership Laws.

5. Through results of survey coordinated within SGH law, the opinions were offered.

Conclusions

The members of the SGH elected in 1992 have no independent policy positions. In addition, there's no mechanism to make elected officials accountable to their voters(their constituents). To elaborate:

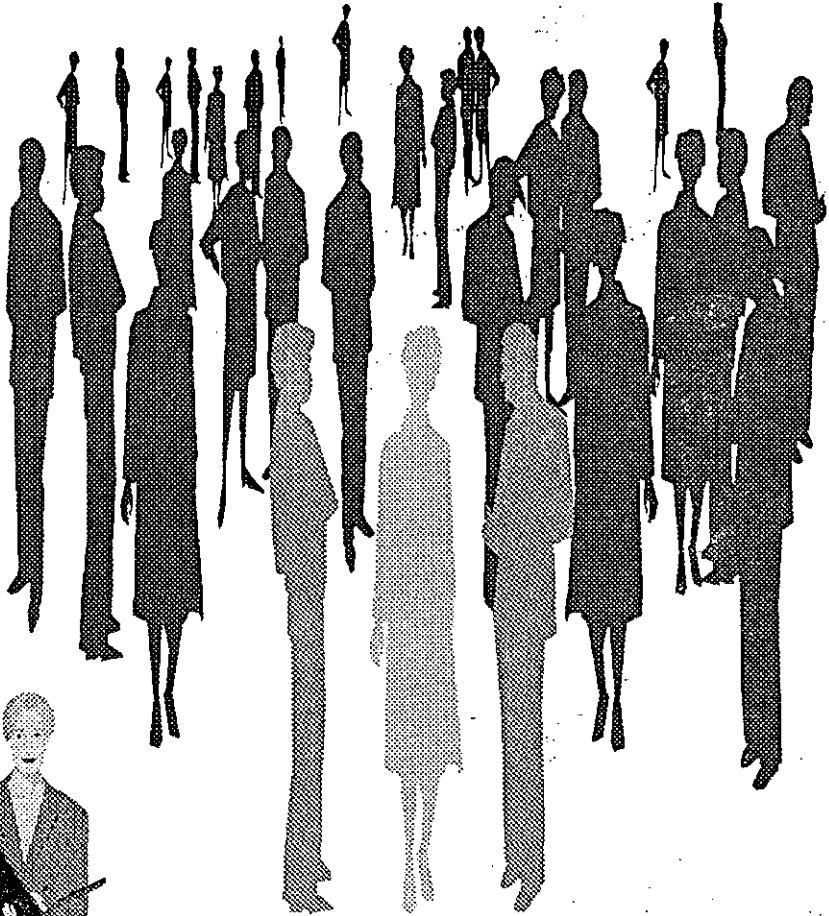
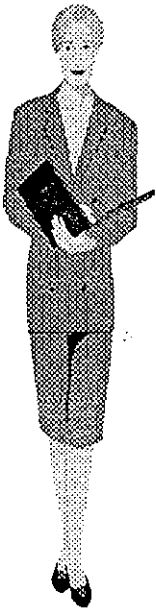
1. Materials, compendiums, and records on SGH Assemblies and debates are in essence unavailable. It is virtually impossible to determine from the archives, materials alone who spoke and what opinions were expressed during the drafting and procession of a particular law.

2. It's difficult to define the points of view of the members of the SGH, because laws are adopted by secret ballot. It's impossible to observe or control the present situation of polling in which only the percentage of agreement and disagreement is relevant.

3. The political parties are being deprived of the opportunity to appraise and subsequently control and monitor the allegiance of their representatives to party/platforms.

4. Moreover, through the familiarization and analysis of the reports on SGH proceedings, it was discovered that the limited female participation caused by the low number of woman representatives in the SGH creates obstacles to women's influence in parliament and prevents women's and maternity issues from being addressed.

In 1990 election was free election in the entire history of Mongolia. Delegates and candidates seem therefore not to have realized the depth of their responsibility, broad and careless campaign pledges. Thus they were labeled the "Pledge deputies", as a consequence of this inappropriate action. This has affected the 1992 situation by the candidates in the majority election to be wavy of independent policy positions, now they're likely to proclaim their own opinions. They are simply conforming to the mandates of their own parties and the policies of their platforms, as party official are insisting upon the 100% allegiance to the party apparatus.



*PUBLIC OPINION
evaluation*

VOTER EDUCATION QUESTIONNAIRE

S. Oyundelger, S. Togsdelger, N. Tuya.

One of the main parts of Voter Education Project is sociologic research aimed at studying public opinion. In the framework of the research 2000 specially designed questionnaires were distributed among the population of Ulaanbaatar, Darhan, Erdenet, Baganuur and 18 aimags in June - July, 1995. One thousand four hundred and fifty out of 2000 questionnaires were carefully analysed.

Women and men account for 49,6 % and 50,4 % respectively. Among the interviewed, 29,2 % live in Ulaanbaatar; 59,3 % - at aimag centers; 4,3 % - at somon centers; 1,4 % - in the vicinity of aimag centers and 6,5 % - are rural herdsmen. According to these data the research has covered urban and rural people equally.

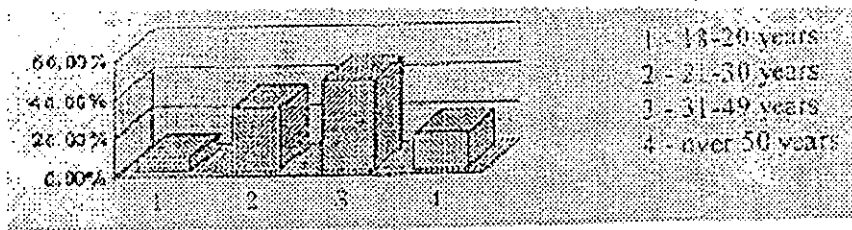
Under the so called totalitarian socialism elections were a pure formality, because they were uncontested. The elections were not designed to offer choice of leadership or to influence policy formation. Only one team of candidates was presented, and the voter has only the choice of voting for the official candidate. The election mechanism was manipulated to produce almost universal turnout and unanimous support of the regime. They were intended to demonstrate the unity of the people. Although nonparticipation was not a legal offence, it might be socially punished. That's why electoral participation was usually about 100 %, but effective dissent was minimal. The voters had not need of learning about political system, decision rules and the Election Law; they had not need of knowing how the system works, how elections are conducted and why elections are held the society importance.

But since 1990 Mongolia is undergoing the process of democra-

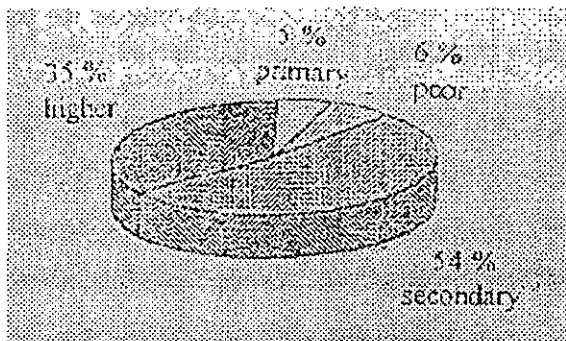
tization. At present in Mongolia there are a number of political parties, and pluralism is the reality. In 1992 the Parliament adopted a new Constitution. In the following years legislation (including the Election Law) is being revised to bring in conformity with the provisions of the new Constitution.

The study based on the analyse of the 1990, 1992 and 1993 election platforms of political parties and individual candidates.

The survey interviewed people aged 18-50 and over. Of them, 82,9 % are people at the active voting age (21 - 49 years):



The authors also included the educational level of the interrogatees:



In order to explain the association between voter education and their social status we carried out a study, representing respondents' occupation:

State Ministry	1,7 %
Local Government	15,1 %
Domain of Science, Culture and Education	12,0 %
Domain of Medicine	1,8 %
Legislature, Police and Army	24,0 %
Private Sector	12,8 %
Tradesman	2,0 %
Political Party and Public Organization Member	3,7 %
Herdsmen	17,5 %
Retired	2,0 %
Unemployed	7,4 %

Undoubtedly, the research was conducted on a high-professional level, because it covered people of all strata of society.

As is known one of the main responsibilities of voters in a democracy is making an informed choice after they carefully consider all the information about candidate and party platforms and their positions on significant issues available to them. That's why we were interested in sources from which citizens got information about political parties and candidates since 1990.

How did you prepare yourself for the elections?

* acquainted with the Election Law	17,8 %
* acquainted with articles of the Constitution respecting election	11,2 %
* acquainted with election platforms	13,0 %
* got information through the radio, TV and periodical press	35,0 %
* got information from the manuals and leaflets	6,5 %
* did not prepare	16,5 %

Aforesaid facts confirm that the public spirit and activity are increased. But one person in six was not prepared to vote. This fact shows that there is a need to educate the public in general about the essence of informed participation.

The Mongolians' knowledge in respect of decision rules is poor. A table below is showing how did the voters answer the question: "What kind of decision rules were used during 1990, 1992 and 1993 elections?"

decision rules	1990	1992	1993
majority	7,5%	7,1%	7,1%
proportional	8,3%	8,8%	6,9%
mixed	13,8%	12,9%	12,7%
unknowing	26,8%	20,9%	21,7%

The following table is showing the principles of making election of candidates:

	1990	1992	1993
election platform	23,0%	11,4%	27,8%
party membership	22,5%	10,7%	26,6%
candidate's personality	20,0%	8,2%	31,5%

So the candidate's personality played the decisive part in 1990. It is significant that the voters drew their attention to all the 3 signs equally during 1993 election. Aforesaid data also shows that the role of election platform in making choice is decreased during 2 years (from 1990 to 1992). Probably it is connected with distrust in candidates' promises, because a lot of them were given during 1990 election, but nobody carried into effect his election platform. How did the voters acquaint themselves with election platforms of

political parties and individual candidates? You can find the answer below:

• read up	20,8%
• from electioneers	9,2%
• from newspapers	45,3%
• from NGO and party executive committees	3,3%
• others	2,0%

Nearly 80 % of the voters had no clear idea of election platforms and heard it from the other people. Therefore the interviewees could not answer the question: "What do you think about election platform of your representatives in terms of addressing women's issues?" "So the overwhelming majority of voters would not be able to hold elected officials accountable for their performance in office."

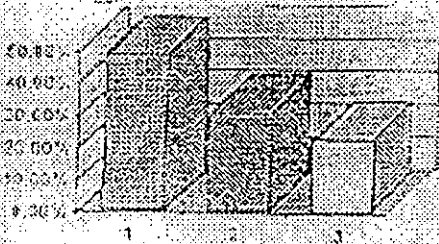
The main reasons of making election:

◆ pre - election company, advertising	14,0%
◆ friends' advice	9,4%
◆ the candidate is voter's fellow - countryman	8,8%
◆ hope of candidate's ability for changing the life	57,0%
◆ others	10,8%

People, who answered that the main reason of making choice was the hope of candidate's ability for changing the life, are in the majority.

So that leaves space for optimism, because our voters began to deliver from the narrow opinions and realize that elected officials represent not only local and occupational but national interests. We would like to lay special emphasis on the fact that only 8,8 % of the interrogatees elected their fellow countryman.

The voters answered the question: "Do you know the name of the official elected from your electoral district?" in the following way:

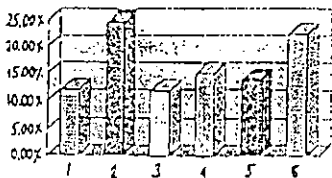


- 1 - the voter named the elected official
- 2 - the voter answered that he knows the name, but did not write it
- 3 - the voter did not know it

55,7 % of the interrogatees do not know addresses and telephone numbers of their representatives; 10,4 % wish they had such information, but 27,2 % - do not wish. And only 6,7 % of them know how to contact the elected officials.

You can see that our voters are not aware of their responsibility to watch how the officials are doing their job, to make them aware of what they want and to hold the representatives accountable for their actions.

Now we would like to draw your attention to public valuation of the elected officials' work:



- 1 - high valuation
- 2 - low valuation
- 3 - the elected officials are unfit for such office
- 4 - could not value
- 5 - unable to value
- 6 - were not interested

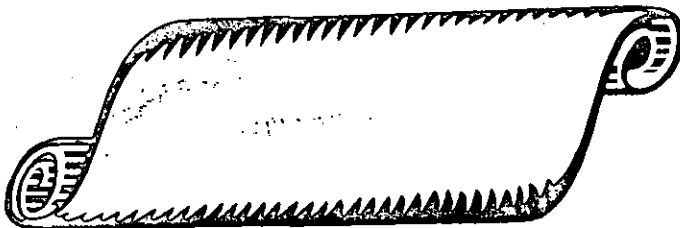
Their valuation based on following sources of information:

TV broadcasting	50,2 %
Press	33,0 %
Party Executive Committees	8,5 %
Person to person meetings	6,7 %
Central Election - Committee	1,6 %

The survey confirms that there is a great need to renovate the mechanism of connection between the voter and elected official.

Of the 730 interviewed males 20,6 % said it is essential to consider the issue of Maternal Health and Family Planning at the highest level. And 40,2 % reported that they are for creation of system enabling women to eliminate inequality in education.

It is significant that 10,5 % of the interrogatees expressed their will to end inequality in sharing of power and decision-making and ensure women's participation at all levels of government and leadership.





Brief translation of the brochure

Women for Social Progress Movement

Voter Education Project

Dear Voter,

WSP Movement presents to your attention the first manual, which will help voters to make contacts with their elected officials - their employees- and the Parliament elected.

Mongolian Constitution, adopted in 1992, indicates:

Article 3:

- 3.1. State power shall be vested in the People of Mongolia. The people shall exercise State power through direct participation in State affairs and through the elected representative bodies of State power.
- 3.2. Illegal seizure of State power or attempt to do so shall be prohibited

We will appreciate any suggestions and comments for improvement of this manual.

With best regards,

R. Burmaa, Chairperson



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Chapter I State Great Hural of Mongolia

- * Terms of reference: 1992-1996.
- * Number of members: 76, including 71 member of MPRP.
- * 3 members of MNDP.
- * 2 members of MSDP.
- * Speaker of the State Great Hural.....B.Bagabandi (MPRP)
- * Deputy speaker of the State Great Hural.....J.Gombojav (MPRP).
- * Chiefs of the Standing Committees.
 1. Legislation.
 2. Economic Policy.
 3. Social Policy.
 4. Governmental Structure.
 5. Budget and Monetary Policy.
 6. Agricultural Policy and Environment.
- Terms of reference of the State Great Hural - 4 years, budget, annual budget.....
- Salaries: Speaker of the SGH
 - Deputy speaker of the SGH
 - Chief of the Standing Committees.
 - Assistant to Members of SGH in Ulaanbaatar.

Note: Members of SGH have no local offices and assistants.



Advice to Citizens:

I. How to introduce with the SGH's sessions

The 28th Article of the SGH Law says:

Paragraph 7. Citizens, domestic and mass media workers can observe open sessions of the SGH according to regulation, established by General Secretary of the SGH Office.

II. How get information about sessions of the SGH.

The 28th Article of the SGH Law says:

Paragraph 8. Information about sessions of the SGH and decisions should be disseminated through mass media.

According to the 54th Article, use and maintenance of the notes about SGH sessions should be done by SGH Office in correspondance with regulation.

Note: No information about participation of SGH Members in debates and votes appears in any mass media or library except of the SGH Archive.

Names of officials and telephone numbers for request of information: SGH Office and Reception office of the SGH (timetable)

III. How to get answer of the Member of the SGH to request, proposal, information sent, claim or application:

According to the Law on the resolving of the claims and application of citizens and regulation No 100 of the SGH Office's General Secretary you should receive:

-answers for proposals, not requiring special survey and control in 1 month, answers for proposals, which require survey, in 90 days.

-answers for claims and applications, not requiring special survey, in 7 days, answer for claims and applications, requiring

survey, in 1 month.

If additional survey is necessary, date for giving an answer is postponed for 30 days and applicant should be informed.

Election Districts

- SGH has 76 electoral districts, 6 of which are located in Ulaanbaatar
- Map of the Electoral districts is attached

List of SGH Members

- ◆ Election district, names of SGH Members, their affiliation to the Standing Committees, Political Party and telephone numbers for contact are listed
- ◆ Advices about arrangement of the telephone calls or meetings: Wednesday and Saturdays are free of sessions for work at Standing Committees etc

List of the Political Parties Represented in the SGH.

Chapter II President of Mongolia

- Punsalmagiin Ochirbat's candidature was promoted by MSDP and MNDP. Term of power: 1993-1997
- **Office of the President:** names of officials, telephone numbers and reception office's timetable are listed. Presidential office has staff of 34 workers and annual budget of 32 mln tugrigs, including salaries of the President and staff

Chapter III Government

- **The Government.** Names of officials, telephone numbers and reception's timetable are listed.

Chapter IV Elections, General Electoral Committee

- **General Electoral Committee** is the standing body for nation-wide Parliamentary and Presidential elections. Chief, secretary and members are nominated by SIH for 5 years.
- Staff: 2
- Members: 15 extra-staff
- Budget of 1992 Parliamentary elections was approved as 21 mln tugrigs.
- Annual budget of the General Electoral Committee is

Chapter VI Legislative Process

Chapter VII Constitutional Court

- Names of officials, and telephone numbers are listed.

Chapter VIII

Definitions and Explanations of some terms

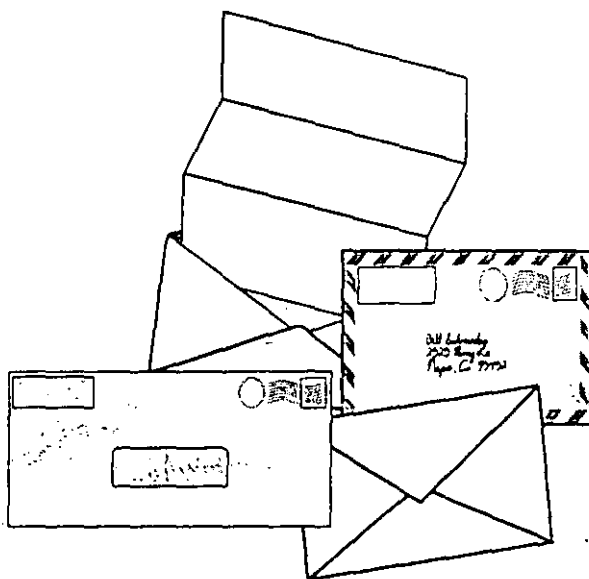
- Opinion Poll
- Claim
- Governing power
- Citizens Conference
- Citizen's Representative's Conference
- Mongolia is unified state
- President of Mongolia
- Citizen of Mongolia
- Search of information and reception of an information
- Application
- Right to elect and to be elected
- Citizen, possessing election right
- Direct participation in governing
- Highest state bodies
- Political activities
- Member of SGH
- Constitution Court
- Governor
- Electoral General Committee



WSP

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WSP



Our address:

**Women for Social Progress Movement
Ulaanbaatar-11, P. O. Box-20a, Mongolia
Building of the State Statistical Office, Room #118
Tel/Fax # (976-1) 322340**