

ГРАЖДАНСКОЕ ОБЩЕСТВО И МЕСТНОЕ САМОУПРАВЛЕНИЕ: СПЕЦИФИКА ВНУТРЕННЕЙ АЗИИ

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THE EFFECTS AND FACTORS OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MONGOLIAN DEMOCRACY

This study investigates the multifaceted role of civil society organizations (CSOs) in the development of Mongolian democracy, set against the backdrop of the nation's unique historical and institutional evolution. Though a comprehensive sociological lens, the research critically assesses the impact of CSOs, acknowledging their foundational role in democratic process while addressing the limitations imposed by legal, financial, and human resource constraints. Employing quantitative surveys, expert interviews, and statistical analysis, the study identifies key challenges, including structural and operational impediments, evolving public perceptions of democracy shifting from "freedom" to "justice," and complex state-civil society dynamics. Regional disparities in democratic consolidation and age-differentiated perspectives on democratic influences further complicate the landscape.

Analysis reveals a nuanced relationship between CSO participation and democratic indicators, with positive correlations observed for national sovereignty and security, yet limited measurable effects on political development and governance quality. This research underscores the critical need to enhance CSO capacity through improved financing, human resource development, and regulatory stability, coupled with transparent governance and balanced state oversight. Addressing entrenched institutional weaknesses and socio-political complexities is paramount to unlocking the full potential of civil society in Mongolia. Findings call for systemic reforms, inclusive civic engagement strategies, and tailored regional policies to promote a resilient and equitable democracy. By accounting for the historical context and contemporary conditions, this study offers a comprehensive assessment of civil society's participation in Mongolia, providing valuable insights for advancing democratic consolidation and ensuring a more inclusive and participatory society.

In essence, the study underscores that while civil society is indispensable for Mongolia's democratic consolidation, entrenched institutional weaknesses and socio-political complexities constrain its full potential. Addressing these challenges through systemic reforms and inclusive civic engagement is vital for advancing a resilient and equitable democracy. By accounting for the historical and contemporary conditions of democratic development in Mongolia, this research provides an in-depth sociological assessment of civil society participation, employing multifaceted methods to identify the diverse factors shaping its role as the foundation of the nation's democracy today.

Keywords: Mongolia, civil society organizations, democracy, freedoms, citizens.

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ЭФФЕКТЫ И ФАКТОРЫ ГРАЖДАНСКОГО ОБЩЕСТВА В РАЗВИТИИ МОНГОЛЬСКОЙ ДЕМОКРАТИИ

В исследовании рассматривается многогранная роль организаций гражданского общества (ОГО) в развитии монгольской демократии на фоне уникальной исторической и институциональной эволюции страны. Несмотря на всесторонний социологический подход, в исследовании критически оценивается влияние организаций гражданского общества, признается их основополагающая роль в демократическом процессе, а также рассматриваются ограничения, налагаемые правовыми, финансовыми и кадровыми ресурсами. Используя количественные опросы, интервью с экспертами и статистический анализ, исследование выявляет ключевые проблемы, включая структурные и операционные препятствия, меняющееся общественное восприятие демократии, переходящее от «свободы» к «справедливости», и сложную динамику взаимодействия государства и гражданского общества. Региональные различия в укреплении демократии и возрастные различия во взглядах на демо-

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кратические влияния еще больше усложняют ситуацию. Анализ выявил тонкую взаимосвязь между участием общественных организаций и показателями демократии, при этом наблюдалась положительная корреляция с национальным суверенитетом и безопасностью, но ограниченное поддающееся измерению влияние на политическое развитие и качество управления. Это исследование подчеркивает острую необходимость укрепления потенциала ОГО за счет улучшения финансирования, развития людских ресурсов и стабильности регулирования в сочетании с прозрачным управлением и сбалансированным государственным надзором. Устранение укоренившихся институциональных недостатков и социально-политических сложностей имеет первостепенное значение для раскрытия всего потенциала гражданского общества в Монголии. Результаты исследования призывают к системным реформам, стратегиям инклюзивного участия гражданского общества и целенаправленной региональной политике для продвижения устойчивой и справедливой демократии. Учитывая исторический контекст и современные условия, исследование предлагает всестороннюю оценку участия гражданского общества в Монголии, предоставляя ценную информацию для продвижения демократической консолидации и создания более инклюзивного общества, основанного на широком участии. По сути, в исследовании подчеркивается, что, хотя гражданское общество необходимо для укрепления демократии в Монголии, укоренившиеся институциональные недостатки и социально-политические сложности ограничивают его потенциал. Решение этих проблем посредством системных реформ и инклюзивного участия гражданского общества имеет жизненно важное значение для продвижения устойчивой и справедливой демократии. Учитывая исторические и современные условия демократического развития в Монголии, это исследование дает углубленную социологическую оценку участия гражданского общества, используя многогранные методы для выявления различных факторов, определяющих его роль в качестве основы национальной демократии сегодня.

Ключевые слова: Монголия, организации гражданского общества, демократия, свободы, граждане.

Defining the problematic background

Democracy refers to the legalization of actions, procedures, and freedoms that have developed through historical difficulties and challenges. In this sense, all of the most important issues in the development of modern states and societies are directly related to democracy and democratic principles. Therefore, democracy is the establishment of universal control over collective decision-making at any time of its existence. This collective control involves the dual principle of equal participation by all. The more correct and fair decisions are implemented in practice, the more democratic we can consider them. Because democracy is based on open debate, persuasion, and compromise, it should be a fair practice with democratic principles in our daily lives. So, although there are differences of opinion and interests in most of the democratically responsible policy questions of debate, any of the debating parties has the right to express and listen to these differences. In a democracy, there should be a presupposition of diversity, pluralism and equality of citizens in social relations. When this is expressed in various ways, the democratic way to resolve any differences should be through persuasion and compromise, rather than through force or the demonstration of power. It is appropriate to view democracy not as a complex of liars and empty talkers, but as a field of public debate that promotes and promotes the acceptance of correct and just policies.

Democracy is never unchangeable or stagnant, but it is reasonable to see it as a mechanism of pluralism that strives for the honest truth, even though it is not refined through the competing opinions and compromises of each person and various organizations. Only this can be the democracy we believe in, hope for, and imagine, and anyone who has a democratic mind for its creation will not only feel the real value, but also feel that it is a fragile and precious honor to see its benefits by implementing it in real life in the most efficient way, rather than testing an ideology as a priority to solve problems. In this context, democracy not only leads to social reform, but also enables the democratic system to implement social and intergenerational reforms by enabling the regular and peaceful removal of flawed or obsolete policies and politicians. In this sense, accepting and proclaiming the ideal of democracy does not create democracy, and according to some researchers, when a country actually implements a democratic process: it requires comprehensive activities such as accepting and implementing democratic ideals, creating a new democratic political structure, creating favorable economic conditions for the development of democracy, ensuring citizen participation and the proper development of civil society, and developing citizens' political education and social awareness [Fukuyama 1992]. Pro-democracy supporters believe that economic freedom is the vital tissue of any democratic society, and the combination of private industry and civil society participation and control in a way that limits the government's participation can strengthen democracy, achieve social justice in all spheres, and create equal distribution of income [Friedrich 2005: 86] have been recommending that it leads to risk.

At the level of social life, however, different and sometimes conflicting interests of social groups can become driving factors. In other words, political concepts are formed based on the multi-faceted interests of social groups expressed in socio-economic, social and political complexities. Citizens' initiatives should be promoted by actively involving civil society, local self-governing organizations, non-governmental organizations, mass media, and the private sector. Creating the environment for this initiative [Enkhbold et al. 2013: 18] by providing optimal legal regulation and support and actively participating in its implementation can be an important leadership in improving democracy and democratic governance.

For Mongolians, over the past thirty years, the idea of democracy has gone beyond public sentiment and has become part of their daily lives and practices. A concrete example of this is the results of research and analysis that show that the democratic paradigms that have served Mongolian social relations in the twentieth century were first shaped by the Marxist theory of “proletarian or socialist democracy” and then by the non-Marxist theory of “liberal or free democracy” [Khatabold 2017: 30–33]. However, the attempt to implement socialist democracy stalled and was interrupted in the 1990s, and the process of implementing liberal democracy has continued for over thirty years, but in recent years it has encountered difficulties, slowed down, and in some cases regressed [Institute of Philosophy, MAS, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2013].

As the question of how to proceed with all of this requires a search for creative ideas, the tradition of democratic ideals of Mongolians should be searched from the heritage of social thinking, especially state thinking, and cultivated in the national soil. The democratic tradition in Mongolian statehood and thought may be able to find a new outlet through modern political terminology and conceptual categories derived from the West. When the understanding and imagination of Mongolians about democracy is clarified based on the main indicators and measures of democracy evaluation, the majority of the participants, almost half of them, have a general idea of freedom and free expression of opinions, and the situation may continue stably for many years.

Based on the basis of the above-mentioned problems, the authors of this research article aimed to clarify the sociological analysis of its participation through the following two main parts: the current state of civil society participation and the effects and factors of civil society participation in the development of democracy.

The current state of civil society in Mongolia

As of 2023, there are 31,307 registered non-governmental organizations in Mongolia. Of these, 7,739 are active, 5,792 are inactive, 17,479 have temporarily suspended their activities, 267 have completely suspended their activities, and 30 are missing. According to statistics, the number of non-governmental organizations decreased by 4,005 in 2023 from the previous year (2022), while the number of active non-governmental organizations increased by 1,359.

Table 1

Number and status of non-governmental organizations (by year)

Activities and employment status of NGOs	2020	2021	2022	2023
In operation	7755	9552	6380	7739
Not in operation	5446	6461	7296	5792
The operation has been temporarily suspended	13108	16460	20876	17479
The operation has been completely stopped	409	711	692	267
Missing and others	61	70	68	30
Total	26779	33254	35312	31307

Source: Number of enterprises and organizations registered in the Business Registry, by year. //1212.mn //2024.10.25.

From the evidence presented above, it is worth noting that over the past decade or so, civil society organizations and their networks have made significant progress in influencing public policy at the local, national, and international levels. Civil society should be understood as a human-centered society, and through it, citizens' participation in society can be increased. Therefore, the role and participation of civil society in a democratic society has been raised as an urgent problem that should be studied not only theoretically but also practically. In short, as the process of democratic change deepens, the issue of civil society is no longer a theoretical debate, but rather a legitimate need to consider its role from all sides.

For example, it is worth considering the current state of Mongolian civil society, first of all, based on the results of the 2023 International Civil Society Development Report and the projections for the 2024 report published by the Global Alliance for Citizen Participation, and then summarizing the future trends and potential topics in the following comparative overview.

Table 2

Comparative overview of CIVICUS Report for 2023, 2024

Research questions	CIVICUS Report 2023	CIVICUS Report (<i>perception</i>) 2024
Purpose	Assess the current state of the global civic space and civil society activities.	Continue to analyze the dynamics of civic space, updated trends, and emerging issues.
Trends to the world civic space	Identify the stagnation of civil liberties and increasing government restrictions worldwide.	Focus specifically on emerging threats that could perpetuate or deepen restrictions (Example: climate change).
Assessment of the civic space	Highlight the significant decline in comprehensive assessments of freedom of assembly, association, and expression in countries.	Development from 2023, the changes or countries' evaluation of flexible strategies to focus on.
Key conclusions	Deficiency of civil liberties, the impact of COVID-19, and government violence - the rise of authoritarianism and populism.	- The new challenges of the global crisis (climate change, migration, etc.) - The potential resilience of civil society to react to authoritarian tactics.
Case studies and regional specific events/actions	Specific examples showcasing civil society challenges in various regions, including success stories and tangible activism.	New case studies are expected, focusing on civil society's response to critical issues through challenges and innovative strategies.
Recommendation	Recommendations to governments on protecting civil liberties; urging international solidarity and support for civil society.	Recommendations for strategies adapted to the changing world, emphasizing collaboration and digital engagement are expected.
Conclusion	Emphasizing the importance of civil society's active struggle for democracy and human rights; urging stakeholders.	While emphasizing the strategic adaptability, it will reiterate the vital role of civil society while society and the political environment are changing.
Newly emerging topics	The impact of technology is a tool for participation and online harassment that damages reputation.	Digital rights, cyber activism, the importance of data confidentiality in civil engagement.

Sources: CIVICUS; Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, Freedom House, 2023.

Judging from the comparative overview, the CIVICUS 2023 report highlights the challenges facing civil society in Mongolia, focusing on the weakening of freedoms, the impact of COVID 19, and the rise of authoritarianism, which calls for a clear assessment and regional analysis of the civil space landscape. The 2024 report, however, emphasizes building on the results to address emerging challenges, such as the impact of the global crisis and potential innovations in civil society strategies. This requires the development of long-term strategies that are resilient and adaptable in the face of persistent threats to civil society development and civic spaces. This comparative review can be seen as a proposal for a continuous dialogue between the threats to civic engagement and innovative civil society responses around the world. The level of this challenge faced by the countries of the world for our country is summarized as follows. For example, the state of civil society participation in Mongolia's democratic development is dynamic and evolving, and the current state of civil society in Mongolia in relation to the events that have taken place in recent years has led to the following main reasons observed in the study.

Active civil society organizations include organizations working in the fields of human rights, environment, education, health, and governance. Numerous CSOs are working to express the voices of the grassroots, provide services to the disabled, and increase the participation of citizens and the public. Civil society organizations call for monitoring, transparency and accountability of government activities in order to promote democratic ideals and reforms in the areas of democracy promotion and human rights protection. This initiative is common among civil society organizations in Mongolia today, such as campaigning for

electoral reform, independence of the judiciary, and anti-corruption campaigns to strengthen democratic institutions. In addition, the participation of civil society is still important in monitoring the elections. At the same time, the activities of civil society organizations that operate in the field of pre- and post-election evaluation in order to ensure the fair conduct of the election process and the integrity of the election are quite

There are a number of organizations that are actively involved in improving the political and democratic education of citizens and raising awareness of their democratic rights, responsibilities, and the importance of participating in governance, in order to enhance civic education and public awareness. Among them, organizations that engage in targeted activities aimed at empowering young people, involving them in social activities, and increasing their role in the democratic process, have been relatively active recently. With the aim of involving young people in civil society activities, a lot of attention has been paid to empowering them, developing their leadership, and implementing step-by-step measures aimed at empowering young people on social and political issues. In other words, youth non-governmental organizations aimed at ensuring the political participation of young people in the process of social development and their participation are gradually increasing, and youth-led initiatives on issues such as climate change, gender equality, and democracy promotion are relatively increasing.

In terms of the challenges affecting the development of civil society organizations in Mongolia, the following common points can be observed.

Although the civil society environment can be said to have improved since the 1990s, it still faces challenges. For example, the research results of certain organizations revealed that there are a lot of negative phenomena such as financing of civil society organizations, tax reductions and restrictions on freedom of activity, which indicates the urgent need for regulation of the legal environment. In addition, in some cases, political pressure on activists and organizations of civil society organizations by government institutions continues to occur. For example, civil society organizations and activists who raise sensitive topics related to state responsibility and natural resource management continue to face political challenges such as pressure and intimidation.

In terms of funding and sustainability, many civil society organizations continue to depend heavily on international funding. On the one hand, it is a general trend that Mongolian civil society organizations rely on foreign aid and support, which greatly affects their ability to work effectively.

Some CSOs are working in partnership with government bodies and local authorities to support participatory governance, but this is not enough to reflect citizens' voices in the policy-making process. Although government can communicate with CSOs on certain issues, there are many cases where civil society can oppose its powers and oppose certain policies, which can lead to tension.

The above situation can be concluded that the current situation of participation of civil society in Mongolia shows both progress and challenges in the development of democracy. Our civil society organizations, for example, those that work in the fields of human rights protection, increasing the participation of citizens and holding the government accountable, continue to play an important role in this regard, but sometimes they are still facing obstacles. This shows not only the importance of Mongolia's civil society's resilience and adaptability to youth participation and cooperation with government institutions, but also that it is contributing to democratic development in a way. Since the 1990 democratic revolution, where citizens' political participation has been fully functional, political rights and freedoms have been declared, and democratic systems have been transitioned, traditional thinking has been preserved to some extent.

Mongolians accept democracy as a general ideal, but have not yet formed a clear understanding and vision of democracy and civil society, and only criticize democracy with their mouths, rather than with their emotions. For countries such as ours, there is a need for a proper understanding and development of democracy in countries with strong traditional social inertia and with a lack of historical experience and democracy traditions. Mongolians speak of support for democracy, but there is no practical support for action. Ronald Inglehart said this phenomenon "now it's almost common to support democracy only with language service". A real example of this is the research on *«The challenges of democracy and the engagement of civil society»* (2024), which defines democracy as "freedom of expression" (19.2 %), "justice" (13.7 %), "respect for human rights" (15.6 %), "transparency" (9.1 %), "living without fear within the law" (8.2 %), "respecting the law, enjoying rights and fulfilling obligations" (7.9 %), "civil society" (6.0 %), "decision by consensus" (6.2 %), "having private property" (5.6 %), and "being united" (4.5 %) are still the dominant concepts. From

this, it is clearly indicated that how the seeds of democratic ideals are created in Mongolian society and how they are transmitted in relation to the political consciousness and cultural characteristics of citizens is one of the main principles related to the methodology of democratic research. Real examples are research on «The challenges of democracy and the engagement of civil society» (2024), which defines democracy as “free expression” (19.2 %), “justice” (13.7 %), “respect of human rights” (15.6 %), “transparency” (9.1 %), “existence without fear within the law” (8.2 %), “respect of the law, rights and obligations” (7.9 %), “civil society” (6.0 %), “consensus decision” (6.2 %), “private property” (5.6 %) and “unity” (4.5 %) still dominate. From this it is clear that the way in which the seeds of democratic ideals were created and transmitted to the political consciousness and cultural characteristics of the citizens is one of the main principles in terms of democratic research methods.

The above-mentioned survey, conducted among representatives of civil society organizations, shows that the majority of respondents consider democracy to be “freedom of expression” by age groups. Specifically, 18–24 years old (14.15 %), 35–44 years old (15.2 %), 45–54 years old (18.8 %), 55–64 years old (15.7 %), 55–64 years old (15.7 %) and 45–54 years old (14.7 %) view democracy as “respecting human rights”. In terms of determining the type of participation of participants in specific political activities, it was most popular form of political activity, such as online expression of opinions (22.1 %) and participation in online campaigns (18.5 %). However, respondents were more likely to avoid engaging in non-active activities, such as political parties (60.5 %) and members of parliament (57.4 %) [Tsetenbileg, Khatanbold, Purevsuren 2024: 12–18].

In the 2024 study «*The challenges of democracy and the engagement of civil society*», the average evaluation of democracy at national and state/district levels was used to assess the working conditions and opportunities of non-governmental organizations in the residences of representatives of civil society organizations.

Table 3

Whether there are working conditions and opportunities for CSOs in the place of residence (by region)

Regions	Very good	Good	Average	Bad	Very bad	Don't know
Western zone		16.0%	44.0%	32.0%	4.0%	4.0%
Khangai zone	3.3%	6.7%	50.0%	23.3%	6.7%	10.0%
Central zone		11.8%	55.9%	17.6%	2.9%	11.8%
Eastern zone		20.0%	44.4%	26.7%	6.7%	2.2%
Ulaanbaatar		20.0%	33.3%	21.7%	6.7%	18.3%

The voluntary association of civil society organizations is one of the most common forms of citizen participation. In this sense, the study assessed the way citizens participated in activities and events organized by civil society organizations and coalitions and assessed the situation in five major areas (Table 4): civil society organizations “completely agree” that they were citizens' voices (57.4 %), influence government decisions (42.6 %), protect public interests (53.3 %) and protect members' interests (52.8 %). On the other hand, they disagreed with the principles of local government decision-making (36.7 %), public interest protection (38.8 %), and methods of receiving foreign aid (31.3 %).

Table 4

Do you agree with the following statements about civil society organizations?

Categories	Completely agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Becomes the voice of citizens	57.4	8.2	27.2	7.2
Influences government decisions	42.6	9.2	37.4	10.2
Influences local government decisions	39	10.8	37.9	12.3
Protects public interests	53.3	6.7	30.8	9.2
Protects the interests of members	52.8	8.7	24.6	13.8
A way to receive money from foreign aid	21	24.6	31.3	23.1

The following figure shows that when respondents assessed working conditions for CSOs in their area of residence, they were either averaged or below (Figure 1). In the residences of representatives of the surveyed civil society organizations, working conditions and opportunities in the above-mentioned areas are moderate, while about 33.5% say they are “fair and very poor”. Ultimately, this reflects the reality that the organisations of civil society in our country are facing limitations in representing citizens, conveying their

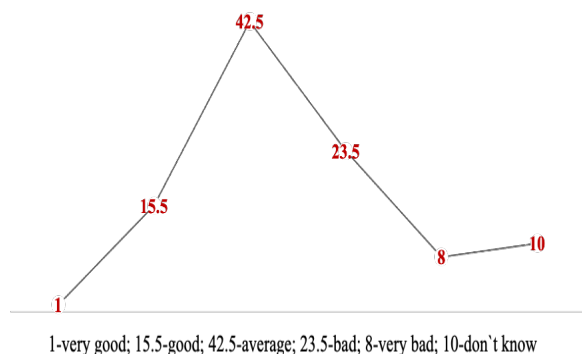


Figure 1. Whether there are working conditions and opportunities for CSOs in your place of residence

in politics and human rights, and a detailed analysis were conducted. The reliability of the subscale of the variables used in this study was evaluated using the Cronbach alpha coefficient. Cronbach's alpha coefficient is a measure of internal coherence and measures the correlation of subscales in a category. A Cronbach alpha value of 0.7 or more indicates "acceptability" or category compatibility (Bryman.A & Cramer. 2011). The following table shows the value intervals of the Cronbach alpha coefficient and the corresponding criteria.

Table 5

Cronbach's alpha coefficient value interval and criteria	
Cronbach's Alpha coefficient	Internal consistency
$\alpha \geq 0.9$	Very good
$0.9 > \alpha \geq 0.8$	Good
$0.8 > \alpha \geq 0.7$	Acceptable
$0.7 > \alpha \geq 0.6$	Doubtfull
$0.6 > \alpha \geq 0.5$	Bad
$0.5 > \alpha$	Not acceptable

The total number of subscales used in the study met all there liability criteria, and the Cronbach Alpha =0.88 indicates that the analysis results of thestudy'ss cope are accurate and reliable.

Table 6

Cronbach`s Alpha reliability statistics	
Reliability Statistics	
Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
0.88	44

According to the results of the 2024 survey «*The challenges of democracy and the engagement of civil society*», Mongolia's understanding and imagination about democracy has changed dramatically over the 35 years sincethe transitionto democracy in Mongolia. Specifically, while the term democracy has always been synonymous with "freedom", the term democracy has now been usedas "fairness". According to a study on the «*The challenges of democracy and the engagement of civil society*» (2024), the understanding and imagination of Mongolians about democracy has changed in a unique way over the 35 years following the transition to democracy in Mongolia. Specifically, while theword "freedom" was the dominant concept ofdemocracy, the word "fairness" was now the dominant concept of democracy.

In accordance with the frequency of evaluation of recent surveys on the evaluation of democracy and governance, Mongolians were not very satisfied with the nature of democratic changes and moderated the evaluation. The fact that the actual assessment of democracy by citizens has not been systematically developed indicates that "Mongolian democracy" has not yet fully formed. It can therefore be concluded thatt he range of evaluations and understandings of democracy is narrow and their basic political education and knowledge are insufficient.

views to decision-makers, and protecting public interests. Inshort, the working conditions of civil society organizations are limited and the lack of civil society understanding among citizens and decision-makers is not only unsustainable, but also an insufficient political education.

The effects and factors of civil society participation in democratic development

In order to understand the factors influencing the implementation of democracy, a unique analytical approach is required. In order to identify the effects and factors ofthe participation of civil society in democratic development, a quantitative survey of 200 randomly selected civil society representatives, including experts

Table 7

Assessment of how democracy is developing in our country

Levels of democracy development	Very good	Good	Average	Bad	Very bad	Don't know	Average score
Nationwide	0.5	5.6	50.3	41.5	0	2.1	2.77
At the level of your aimag/district	1.0	6.5	51.0	34.9	0	5.1	3.05
At the level of your soum/district	0.5	7.2	51.8	32.8	0	7.7	3.22
At the level of your sector or organization	1.0	28.7	44.1	21.5	0	4.6	3.37

As regards factors that affect the assessment of democratic development in our country, we have considered four indicators of democratic development. For Mongolia's democratic development factor $KMO=0.70$, the Bartlett sphere test $2(4)=235.69$, and $p=0.000$, factors can be analyzed.

KMO and Bartlett's Test		
KMO		.70
Bartlett's Test	Hi quadrat	235.69
	df	6
	Level of significance	.000

The correlation matrix of the variables shows that all indicators corresponding to the factors of democratic development in Mongolia are positively correlated with each other.

Table 8

Correlation matrix of indicators corresponding to democracy development factors in Mongolia

	A1	A2	A3	A4
A1				
A2	0.00			
A3	0.000	0.000		
A4	0.000	0.000	0.000	

According to the analysis of the modifier factor, Mongolia's democratic development factor coefficient ranges from 0.56 to 0.86. These indicators are related to the same factors, or to the F1 category, and each indicator of Mongolia's democratic development is strongly related to F1, so the indicators in one category are appropriate, whereas they show Mongolia's democratic development factor is a single-dimensional factor.

Table 9

Factor indicators corresponding to the factors of democracy development in Mongolia

Variables	Definition of Variables	Factor 1 (F1)
1	Nationwide	0.56
2	At the level of your aimag/district	0.86
3	At the level of your soum/district	0.83
4	At the level of your sector or organization	0.77

Since the above indicators are a factor, the aggregate percentage is 71.6 %. The following results were obtained by analyzing factor correlation analysis to determine whether Mongolia's assessment of democratic development depends on the region.

There is no correlation between the assessment of democracy at the national level and the assessment of democracy at the aim/district where a person lives and the assessment of democracy. The low level of democracy assessment at the national and regional levels can be seen as evidence of the lack of maturity of democracy, regardless of the region or region. However, the results show that, depending on the ag region, democratic development varies, as it is generally considered that democratic development is good in the areas of life and the sectors and organisations in which people work.

Table 10

The factor correlation analysis of whether the evaluation of Mongolia's democratic development depends on the region

Regions (<i>aimags</i>)	Nationwide	At the level of your aimag/district	At the level of your soum/district	At the level of your sector or organization
	P=0.781	P=0.073	P=0.004	P=0.037

When the survey participants assessed Mongolia's development of democratic governance, they classified it as “average” for openness and transparency (41.7 %), citizens' participation (38.5 %), citizens' listening and service (30.3 %) and law enforcement (27.2 %). However, key governance indicators such as fairness (48.2 %), responsibility (42.1 %), citizen participation (36.9 %), reporting to the population (41.5 %), listening to and serving citizens (40.5 %) and law enforcement (38.5 %) were rated as “bad”.

Table 11

Evaluation of civil society representatives on democratic governance characteristics in Mongolia

Characteristics of Governance	Very good	Good	Average	Bad	Very bad	Don't know
Openness and Transparency	1.5	5.6	47.7	30.3	11.8	3.1
Fairness	1.0	1.0	22.1	48.2	25.6	2.1
Responsibility	1.0	—	14.4	42.1	40.5	2.1
Citizens' participation	2.1	6.7	38.5	36.9	13.3	2.6
Listening and Serving to Citizens	1.5	—	30.3	40.5	26.7	1.5
Public accountability	1.0	2.1	20.5	41.5	32.8	2.1
Law enforcement	1.5	1.0	27.2	38.5	29.2	2.6

Participants in the above-mentioned research evaluated Mongolia's democracy's impact on Mongolia's development and government institutions. The assessment gave democracy an average rating of economic, political, public service, independence and security.

Table 12

Evaluating the impact of CSO participation on the following democratic indicators

Affected sectors	Positively affected	More posi- tively	Both af- fected	More negatively	Negatively affected	Average rating
1. Economic development	5.1	16.9	37.4	24.6	11.8	3.04
2. Political development	2.1	9.2	32.8	31.8	19.5	2.70
3. Civil Service development	3.1	7.7	38.5	26.2	19.0	2.84
4. Human development	6.7	27.2	33.3	18.5	9.7	3.30
5. National independence & national security	8.2	16.4	33.3	20.0	15.4	3.22
6. Foreign relations	13.8	19.5	33.8	11.3	10.3	3.83

The comparison was carried out by age to see how participation of civil society had an effective impact on the development of Mongolia's democracy and government institutions. It was observed that all representatives of civil society organizations between the ages of 18 and 64 who participated in the research were “positively and negatively affected”.

According to the survey, 18–24 year olds say democracy has a positive and negative impact on their lives. Those aged 45 to 54 (53.3 %), 25 to 34 (50 %) and 55 to 64 (48.8 %) are most likely to say that it has both positive and negative effects.

Conclusions

The following analyses tested the main hypothesis of the study, hypothesis 1- (civil society is unable to contribute significantly to the development of democracy within its involvement and responsibility). The following results are obtained by multivariate regression analysis of how CSO participation affects the development of democratic indicators.

Table 13

What is the impact of democracy on your life? (by age group)

Age group	Positively affected	More positively	Affected positively & negatively	More negatively	Affected negatively	Don't know
18–24	6.1%	12.1%	63.6%	3.0%	3.0%	12.1%
25–34	4.5%	22.7%	50.0%	9.1%	4.5%	9.1%
35–44	11.8%	35.3%	38.2%	5.9%	2.9%	5.9%
45–54	11.1%	20.0%	53.3%	8.9%	4.4%	2.2%
55–64	14.0%	23.3%	48.8%	7.0%	7.0%	
65 +	14.3%	21.4%	42.9%	14.3%		7.1%
No answer		22.2%	22.2%			

Table 14

A multivariate regression analysis of the impact of the participation of CSOs on the indicators of democratic development

ANOVA ^a						
	Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	17.491	6	2.915	15.513	.176 ^b
	Residual	360.266	187	1.927		
	Total	377.758	193			
a. Dependent Variable: Civil Society Engagement						
b. Predictors: (Constant), <i>Foreign relations, Economic development, Political development, National independence & security, Human development, Civil service development</i>						

As shown in the ANOVA table, when assessing whether the development of the pillars of democracy differed depending on the capacity of the CSO to participate, the level of significance was $P=176$, indicating that the regression model was not significant at all. In particular, the participation of civil society is weak in affecting democratic development. The detailed regression analysis table also indicates that the assessment did not change depending on the participation of civil society.

Table 15

The results of a regression analysis of the impact of participation in CSOs on the development of key indicators of democracy

Regression analysis							
Classification	Independent variable	B	SE	β	t	P	R ²
Dependent variable: Civil society engagement	Constant value	3.278	0.256		12.780	.000	21.5
	Economic development	-.050	.081	-.057	-.613	.541	
	Political development	.001	.089	.002	.016	.988	
	Civil service development	-.099	.104	-.128	-.960	.339	
	Human development	.001	.100	.001	.010	.992	
	National independence & security	.245	.090	.336	2.271	.007	
	Foreign relations	-.053	.062	-.082	-.847	.398	

The above table shows that the indicator “*State independence and security*” has a negative impact on democracy development and the significance level $P=.007$. Other indicators show that Mongolia's civil society does not contribute to other aspects of democratic development, which confirms **Hypothesis 1** (*civil society does not make a meaningful contribution to democratic development within the framework of its participation and responsibility*).

The constant values of each indicator are divided into the following formulas:

$Region = 3.278 + (-.050 \text{ (Economic development)} + .001 \text{ (Political development)} + (-.099 \text{ (Civil service development)} + .001 \text{ (Human development)} + .245 \text{ (.245)} + (-.053 \text{ (Foreign relations)})$

Insufficient participation of civil society in economic development, the development of the public service and foreign relations has not contributed to the development of democracy. The increase in civil society's participation in indicators such as political development, human development, sovereignty and security

can contribute to the development of these indicators deviation of .001–.245, or 1–24.5%. This section examines the analysis of qualitative research data using MAXQDA software. Following the results of the research, it is revealed that, when considering the opinions of the researchers in relation to the content.

Table 16

According to the experts interviewed, the content of the challenges facing CSOs in democratic development

A-1	Anti-corruption initiatives	A-9	State oversight protects legitimate interests
A-2	Integrity mechanisms	A-10	Volunteer and member composition
A-3	Public oversight	A-11	Donor dependency
A-4	Accountability	A-12	Financial and human resources
A-5	Transparency	A-13	Involvement in advocacy activities
A-6	Intimidation, coercion, and intimidation	A-14	Tax system
A-7	Self-interest	A-15	Legal framework
A-8	Existence free from external influence	A-16	Registration procedures
		A-17	State-civil society relations

The table above shows that the above-mentioned issues are the most urgent issues and challenges for the NGOs to participate in the democratic development of the surveyed experts. Thus, the correlation between the questions was studied.

Among them, the following indicators are dominant to highlight issues that need to be implemented in the future. The following six issues: the A-2 mechanism of justice, the performance of the A-3 public control, the A-5 transparency, the A-12 financial and human resources, the A-15 legal environment, the relationship between the State and civil society organizations, and the A-17 thematic issues aimed at challenging civil society's contribution to the development of democracy.

This confirms that the consequences of the CIVICUS 2024 plan, such as legal framework regulation, funding for civil society organizations, tax incentives, and restrictions on freedom of action, are quite significant. The following is an explanation in this regard.

Table 17

Correlations between the challenges faced by CSOs in democratic development among the experts surveyed

Y\X	A-1	A-2	A-3	A-4	A-5	A-6	A-7	A-8	A-9	A-10	A-11	A-12	A-13	A-14	A-15	A-16	A-17
A-1		0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12
A-2	0.000 N=12		0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12
A-3	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12		0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12
A-4	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12		0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12
A-5	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12		0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12
A-6	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12		0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12
A-7	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12		0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12
A-8	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12		0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12
A-9	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12		0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12
A-10	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12		0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12
A-11	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12		0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12
A-12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12		0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12
A-13	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12		0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12
A-14	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12		0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12
A-15	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12		0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12
A-16	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12		0.000 N=12
A-17	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	0.000 N=12	

Analysis of factors using MAXQDA software on today's negative impact on the participation of civil society organizations and the focus of CSOs in the future revealed six main factors: I – Governance, II – Capacity, III – Roll and Participation.

Table 18

A factor indicator of the challenges facing civil society			
Factor indicators	Codification	Criteria	Proportion to a factor
Governance	A-2	Integrity Mechanism	0.71
	A-5	Transparency and Governance	0.70
Capacity	A-12	Finance and Human Resources	0.81
	A-15	Legal Framework	0.83
Role & participation	A-17	Relationship between State and Civil Society Organizations	0.77
	A-3	State of Public Oversight	0.78

These issues are a challenge to the effective participation of non-governmental organizations in democratic development and the emergence of future issues that need to be addressed, confirming the second hypothesis presented as part of the research: *“Lack of civil society capacity, governance and role participation has a negative impact on the participation of non-governmental organizations in democratic development”*.

According to a confirmed hypothesis, the dynamic mapping of expert opinions on indicators of priority activities of civil society organizations is as follows.

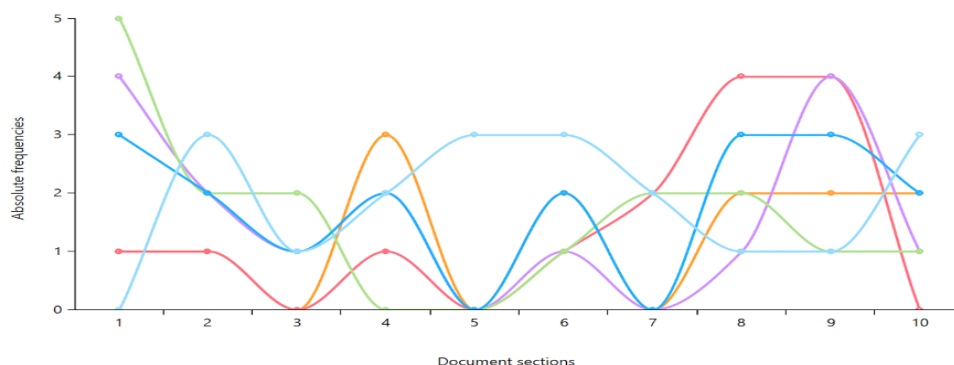


Figure 2. The dynamic indicators of activities are the priority indicators for the challenges facing civil society

The study examines the impact of participation of civil society on Mongolia's strengthening of the democratic system and identifies challenges for civil society organizations (CSOs). The main findings of the study show that, although participation in civil society has a positive impact on national sovereignty and security, it does not significantly affect political development or governance quality. Furthermore, young people, as well as older people, recognize the positive and negative effects of democracy, pointing out a generational divide. The challenges faced by civil society organizations include money, human resources, and the instability of the legal environment. She also stressed that state support should promote governance transparency and balanced monitoring, and recommended the implementation of strategies to reduce regional differences and improve civic education.

Civil society plays an important role in strengthening democracy, but its systemic shortcomings and socio-political complexity limit its full potential. In order to solve these problems, support for systemic reforms and the participation of citizens is important. The research has shown that the involvement of civil society is a factor in the development of the country, but it is not enough to make democracy fully effective. Consequently, it was highlighted the need to take measures such as improving the capacity of civil society organizations, improving the legal framework and ensuring financial stability.

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