ELECTIONS IN MONGOLIA

(1992-2021)

EDITED VOLUME

Ulaanbaatar 2023
The Asia Foundation

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List of abbreviations

AV	Alternative Voting
BC	Borda Count
BV	Block Voting
CC	Citizens Coalition
CMP	Citizens Movement Party
CRKh	Citizens Representatives Khural
CWGP	Civic Will, Green Party
DP	Democratic Party
DP (MLDC)	Democratic Party (Motherland Democracy Coalition)
DRP	Democratic Reform Party
DUC	Democratic Union Coalition
FPTP	First-Past-The-Post
GEC	General Elections Committee
IAAC	Independent Agency for Anti-Corruption
IIDEA	(International) Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IRI	International Republication Institute
JCUCP	Just Citizens United Coalition Party
LEADAA	LEAD Allumni Association
LV	Limited Voting
LP	Labor Party (HUN Party since 2022)
MGP	Mongolian Green Party
MGP-CMP-CC	Mongolian Green Party, Citizen's Movement Party, Civic Coalition
MLATUG	Mongolian Law on Administrative and Territorial Units and their Governance
MLDC	Motherland Democracy coalition
ML-MDNSP	Motherland-Mongolian Democratic New Socialist Party
MLP	Motherland Party
MNB	Mongolian National Broadcaster
MNDP	Mongolian National Democratic Party
MNDP-MSDP-DUC	Mongolian National Democratic Party, Mongolian Social Democratic Party, Democratic Union Coalition
MNPP	Mongolian National Progress Party

MoDP-MNPP-GPC	Mongolian Democratic Party, Mongolian National Progress Party, Green Party's coalition
MP	Member of Parliament
MPP	Mongolian People's Party
MPRP	Mongolian People's Republican Party
MPRP-MNDP-JC	Mongolian People's Republican Party, Mongolian National Democratic Party, Justice Coalition
MSDP	Mongolian Social and Democratic Party
MSDP-MoDP-DUC	Mongolian Social Democratic Party, Mongolian Democratic Party, Democratic Union Coalition
MTUP	Mongolian Traditional United Party
NCCD	National Center for Comprehensive Development
OC	Our Coalition
PBV	Party Block Voting
PS	Parallel System
RP	Republican Party
RPEC	Right Person Electorate Coalition
SCL19C	Sahigtun Constitutional Law 19 Coalition
SGKh	State Great Khural
SNTV	Single Non-Transferable Voting
STV	Single Transferable Voting
TRP	Truth and Right Party
TRS	Two-Round System
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USC	Urgun Selenge Coalition
WMP	World Mongolians Party

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FOREWORD

USAID has funded the "Strengthening Women and Youth Engagement in the Electoral and Political Processes in Mongolia" a.k.a. SWYEEPPM project since 2020. This project, implemented through the Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening and International Republican Institute (CEPPS/IRI) in partnership with the Asia Foundation, has fostered citizen engagement in Mongolian elections and political processes, with an emphasis on reaching out to and empowering women and youth. Over the course of this three-year initiative, a significant emphasis has been placed on research and analysis to inform and plan activities, but also to contribute to civic education efforts. This body of research, generated by Mongolian civil society organizations, academics, individual researchers, and other experts has covered a wide range of topics including electoral systems, presidential powers, election turnout, barriers to youth and women candidates in politics, intra-party democracy, nationally representative public opinion polling and youth perspectives on political participation among others.

This edited volume aggregates and adds to the project funded research on Mongolian elections. Significant effort was expended to compile, review and present elections data in a clear manner that would be simple to use and built on by academics, civil society actors, and policy makers. In this way the volume hopes to contribute to future discussions on elections, as well as critical civic education efforts. There remains more work to be done to make sure that elections-related data is made accessible and presented in user-friendly formats, so we are hopeful that this research will contribute to future debates, discussions, and analysis relating to Mongolia's elections. The quality and impact of this discourse, and citizen access to information is critical for the continued health of Mongolia's democracy, indeed as it is for any democracy.

My thanks to all those who were involved in the production of this publication and all the contributing research.

Thomas P. Crehan
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

By:
Mark Koenig, Badamdash D

Mongolia's transition to democracy more than 30 years ago has been cemented by eight democratic election cycles. While not without flaws, each of these elections has featured multi-party competition, led to peaceful transitions of power, and been deemed free and fair by most observers. These achievements are reminders that Mongolia remains a strong, albeit young, democracy that has shown resilience.

Despite a positive overarching narrative, Mongolia's democracy and its elections do face challenges. Declining voter turnout is occurring at all three levels of elections (parliamentary, local, and presidential), a trend that corresponds with growing mistrust in the government and elected officials that can be observed in public opinion data. These issues certainly mirror challenges faced by many democracies around the world, but they are also likely driven by challenges unique to Mongolian elections. Contributing factors include instability in Mongolia's electoral system that has created unpredictability, confusion and the appearance of manipulation by the political class, and the use of electoral systems (such as block voting) that have resulted in dominant political positioning for parties that win elections with relatively narrow advantages in vote share.

Some of the challenges with civic education and a general understanding of elections in Mongolia may emanate from the frequent changes to Mongolia's electoral system and the weak overall quality of available data on elections, especially local elections. These factors limit some of the analysis on Mongolia's elections that can be done, and the burden of gathering and organizing election data limits the research that is possible. These challenges to sustaining high-quality discourse on elections and electoral systems contribute to a gap in civic education that may also be affecting the level of interest in elections among the general public.

This edited volume has made an effort to organize and present some basic data and analysis on elections in Mongolia. The papers aim to capture and make available election data accessible to researchers, enumerate some research areas that require further inquiry, and identify how the Mongolian electoral system's design is impacting the country's politics and governance. Papers on each level of elections, parliamentary, presidential, and local, present the historical development of the electoral systems used for each election and discuss what the election results tell us about the system and political competition that has emerged within them. Looking at the analysis of each type of election, we can observe some common trends or factors for discussion.

Voter Turnout

The energy from the democratic movement carried through to Mongolia's first democratic elections in 1992 and the first presidential election. Turnout was over 90 percent for the parliamentary and presidential elections in 1993 and more than 70 percent for local elections. Since that high-water mark, Mongolia has seen a steady decline in voter turnout for all three types of elections. Parliamentary elections, the first elections held in each electoral cycle, consistently have the highest turnout, with presidential elections usually lagging 4-5 percent in voter turnout. Local elections see, by far, the least enthusiasm, with turnout 10-15 percent lower than parliamentary elections. Each chapter explores the trend of declining participation for each type of election. Chapter III on parliamentary elections outlines how declining turnout may link to eroding public trust in parliament, significant levels of disproportionality in parliamentary elections, meaning that there are notable discrepancies between the vote share for a given party and the number of seats they are allocated in parliament, and confusion or frustration with the frequent changes in the electoral system. Chapter IV on presidential elections notes that voter fatigue may have affected turnout as they are the third election to be held within each one-year election cycle. However, in any given year, participation may be driven by the popularity of specific candidates and expectations if the election is going to be competitive. Chapter V posits that the most significant challenge for local election turnout is the public perception of the importance of local governments, which are perceived to be less influential in a centralized system and may demotivate voters from finding the time to vote. In addition, however, registration issues for voters and the lack of remote voting options also indicate that seasonal migration patterns for work or education may also impact local election turnout.

Figure 1. Comparison of turnouts in parliamentary, presidential, and local elections (presidential election years are in brackets)
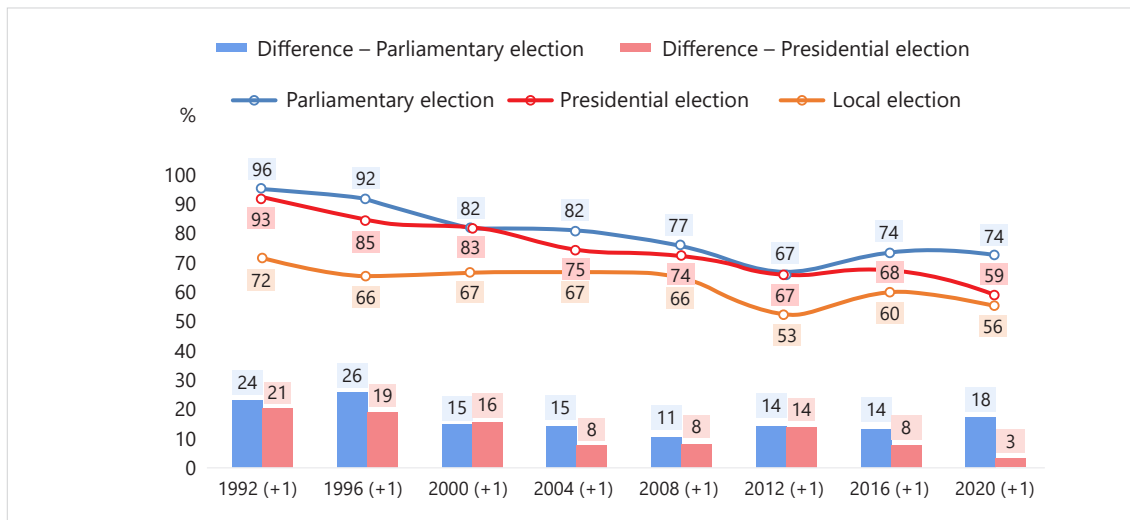
Source: National Statistics Office, 2021

Across all types of elections, common themes such as weak civic education, confusion and frustration with changing electoral systems and the rules of the game, poor perceptions of the major political parties, short campaign periods, and other factors may all be impacting voter turnout. Declining voter participation is correctly seen as both a cause and effect of declining trust in government and public perceptions of elected officials, creating challenges for the level of legitimacy elections are able to deliver to those selected to govern.

Electoral System Instability

One of the significant conclusions emerging from Chapter III is that a key feature of the parliamentary election is the instability of the relevant laws and regulations, which has meant constant changes to the electoral system. Over the past three decades, Mongolia has changed its parliamentary election law five times and made three amendments, using four quite different electoral systems. Chapter V explains that these changes also impact the local elections, which tend to adopt whatever system was used in the most recent parliamentary election. These changes to the system can have a negative impact on civic education, political party development and strategy, and create confusion and unpredictability in the system. Without consistent rules, it is also difficult to analyze and compare results across election cycles. The relative stability and simplicity of presidential elections over this period may, in part, be contributing to the increases in influence and power that the Office of the President has accumulated over the years discussed in Chapter IV.

As changes have tended to happen before each parliamentary election (sometimes only months before) and are actually made by the majority party or coalition planning for their reelection campaigns, there is a clear incursion of conflict of interest and short-term thinking involved in each adjustment that has been made, rather than an approach based on clear values and goals for the electoral system. Overall, this instability is another factor contributing to perceived decreases in the legitimacy of governing institutions.

Elections Results and the Nature of Political Parties

A historical review of election results shows a system dominated by two major parties and their respective coalitions: the Mongolian People's Party (formerly the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party before a split occurred) and the Democratic Party (which was formed as a union of multiple smaller parties) at each level of elections. The MPP has had far more success than its main rival. The MPP/MPRP has won five out of eight parliamentary elections, joined one unity government in 2004, has always won control of most provinces in local elections, and won four out of eight presidential elections.

The strength of the MPP/MPRP has generally been viewed as a result of their strong party structure and organization, the country's largest membership base, and stronger positioning in rural areas. The geographic success is illustrated in Table 1 below, which shows that the MPP has a significant number of "safe" provinces where they consistently win elections. This can be observed in provinces such as Bulgan, Gobi-Altai, Tuv and Uvs where MPP/MPRP candidates have won more than 75% of the total parliamentary seats contested over eight elections and have also won at least 6 of the 8 Presidential elections. The DP does not have a similar advantage in any of the provinces or districts of Ulaanbaatar. This geographic strength is less of an advantage in presidential elections, which are based on the national vote count, a fact which can partially explain some of the relative success of the DP in securing presidential victories.

Table 1. Parliamentary and presidential election results by province[1]

Province/District	Presidential Election Victories			Parliamentary Seats Won		
	MPP/MPRP	DP	Other	MPP/MPRP	DP	Other
Arkhangai	3	4	1	13	10	0
Bayan-Ulgii	7	1	0	17	6	0
Bayankhongor	6	2	0	12	11	0
Bulgan	7	0	1	13	2	0
Gobi-Altai	7	1	0	13	0	1
Gobisumber	7	0	1	7	0	0
Darkhan-Uul	4	3	1	15	7	1
Dornogobi	6	1	1	7	1	0
Dornod	5	2	1	13	6	2
Dundgobi	7	0	1	6	6	0
Zavkhan	6	2	0	13	7	1
Orkhon	4	3	1	10	3	5
Uvurkhangai	7	1	0	18	10	0
Umnugobi	6	1	1	8	7	0
Sukhbaatar	8	0	0	10	3	1
Selenge	6	2	0	15	8	0
Tuv	8	0	0	25	3	0
Uvs	6	2	0	22	1	0
Khovd	5	3	0	18	5	0
Khuvsgul	6	2	0	17	9	2
Khentii	7	0	1	17	5	3
Bayanzurkh	4	4	0	17	10	2
Khan-Uul	4	4	0	11	5	2
Sukhbaatar	4	4	0	19	8	0
Songinokhairkhan	4	4	0	23	7	2
Chingeltei	4	4	0	13	8	1
Bayangol	4	4	0	13	11	2
Nalaikh	5	2	1	4	2	0
Baganuur	5	3	0	4	0	0
Bagakhangai	6	2	0	3	1	0

While the overarching story of Mongolian electoral results seems to be a competition between the two major parties, perceptions data actually shows that the percentage of Mongolian voters that associate with one particular party is declining. Chapter III also demonstrates that the average vote share for the two major parties in parliamentary elections has declined

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[1] There are some complications with this data presentation due to changes in electoral districts, and some combinations that make comparison across Presidential and Parliamentary elections complicated. For example in parliamentary elections Dornogobi and Gobisumber are combined into a single electoral district, and the electoral districts in Ulaanbaatar have undergone several changes over the years with different combinations being used to integrate the "outer districts" such as Nalaikh, Baganuur and Bagakhangai into results due to their lower population numbers.

slightly over time and that third parties have increased their vote share over the last decade. This increasing vote share has not resulted in major outcomes in terms of parliamentary seats or control of local governments, perhaps largely because of the choice of electoral systems. When Mongolia uses the block voting system, which it has done multiple times, the data suggests a clear advantage for the larger parties as there are a significant number of lost votes in such a system-which means votes for candidates that ultimately lose. Chapter III looks at the last two parliamentary elections and how the total number of votes received by losing candidates has exceeded the votes received by winning candidates.

A review of election results has also demonstrated the importance of coalition building between the two major parties and smaller parties in determining results. DP electoral successes have often been the result of effective coalition building, and the split of the MPP and MPRP was one of the most significant factors impacting elections results for several cycles; their reunification leading into the 2021 presidential election contributed to one of the most dominant political victories in Mongolia's democratic history. Political party unification, coalition building, and splits all tend to be based more on negotiation and personalities than clear policy negotiations or common ideological platforms. This "transactional" approach to political coalition building has arguably negatively impacted political party development and the growth of parties with clear policy objectives.

Chapter IV also posits that presidential elections have had other negative impacts on political party formation, as the position is consistently sought out by Mongolia's leading political figures. The significant powers granted to the Mongolian president, in contrast to many other parliamentary systems, mean that influential politicians at the peak of their influence are vying for their party's nomination for presidential elections. This intra-party competition, which is conducted in a closed manner without a formal primary process, has been observed to damage party unity at times and impacts the strength and durability of political coalitions.

Looking Forward

Change has been constant across Mongolia's election experience, with frequent adjustments to the electoral system, but looking ahead, there is more change to come. The 2019 amendments to the Mongolian Constitution have limited the presidency to a single six-year term, which will alter the elections calendar significantly going forward, changing the period between parliamentary and presidential elections. Going into 2023, there will also likely be another round of changes to the electoral system under discussion, which could be made through a new elections law or constitutional amendment. This edited volume has focused on reviewing what we know about past elections rather than preparing recommendations for the future. It is important that a clear understanding of dynamics that have affected past elections and perceptions of legitimacy are taken into consideration to determine the future design of elections. Most importantly, however, is that whatever changes that are made are done so with enough ownership across the political spectrum that they might be allowed to stay in place. More stability in the system will allow for greater maturation of political parties and political strategies, improvements to civic education, an understanding of how the system works over time, and-hopefully-the continued strengthening of Mongolia's democracy.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND ON ELECTION TERMS AND USEFUL ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORKS

By:
Badamdash D, Gerelt-Od E, Bat-Orgil A

Election

Election refers to the process of making a political decision by casting votes. In a democratic society, elections serve as mechanisms for managing the participation of voters by selecting their representation in public office and building societal consensus.[2]

Electoral system

Electoral system refers to the formal process of selecting a person for public office or of accepting or rejecting a political proposition by voting[3]. Electoral systems play the following three important roles. First, an electoral system sets the seats for political parties and candidates based on the total votes received. Second, an electoral system serves as an accountability mechanism for citizens to hold their elected representatives accountable, and third, the system serves as leverage for opponents to have the power to interact with voters. Most researchers assert that an electoral system provides a "general framework explaining how the election must be organized, and contains multiple issues such as district size, political party campaign strategy, candidates, political party policy, how to attract voters, and how to allocate the votes to seats". Therefore, an electoral system is broad-based and impacts the political system in a variety of ways.[4]

According to Reilly[5], electoral systems are "the rules and procedures via which votes cast in an election are translated into seats won in the parliament or some other office." Electoral systems play three key institutional roles, as outlined by Reilly[6]:

1. They translate votes cast into seats won in a legislative chamber.

2. They hold the elected representatives accountable.

3. They give incentives for those competing for power to couch their appeals to the electorate in distinct ways.

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[2] Gerelt-Od.E, 2021. Retrospective Political and Legal Study on the State Great Khural Election Systems (1992-2020) working paper, p. 2.

[3] Electoral system. Britannica Encyclopedia https://www.britannica.com/topic/electoral-system [22/12/2022]

[4] Gerelt-Od.E, 2021. Retrospective Political and Legal Study on the State Great Khural Election Systems (1992-2020) working paper, p. 2-3.

[5] Reilly.B, 2012. Electoral system options for Mongolia. UNDP consultancy report.

[6] Reilly.B, 2004. The global spread of preferential voting: Australian institutional imperialism? Australian Journal of Political Science, 39(2), p. 253-266.

Electoral system classification

In political science, there are two major categories for approaches to democratic elections; majoritarian, which is based on winner-takes-all regardless of the margin of victory, and proportional, in which parties are assigned seats pro rata according to the support received. Within these broad distinctions, however, electoral systems can be further classified into majoritarian systems (plurality/majority), proportional systems (proportional representation [PR]), mixed systems, and others depending on the way a system allocates votes for the seats in the legislature.[7] A list of common electoral systems and some variations might include:

1. Majoritarian system: This electoral system includes at least five common types, including a plurality system in which the candidate who receives the highest number of votes wins (first-past-the-post [FPTP]); block voting (BV); majoritarian, which requires a candidate to win 50 percent + 1 of the votes (two-round system [TRS]), alternative voting (AV); and party block voting (PBV).

2. Proportional system: Proportional systems aim to convert the votes for political parties to public office pro rata. It has two main variations, list PR and single transferable voting (STV). In both variations, a country becomes a single electoral district.

3. Mixed system: Systems in this category can be understood as incorporating the characteristics of majoritarian and proportional systems. Mixed systems can have many potential variations, but generally, these can be categorized into parallel systems (PS), in which voters cast two or more votes that are separately applied to the majoritarian or proportional part of the election taking place. Alternatively, mixed-member proportional (MMP) systems ask voters to vote just once for their representatives, who are individually elected from single-seat districts, while the percentage of votes for the political party affiliated with candidates receiving votes is also used to assign legislative seats.

4. Other: Other electoral systems include single non-transferable voting (SNTV), limited voting (LV), and Borda count (BC).[8]

According to the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance[9] in Stockholm, the electoral system used determines the legitimacy of democratic institutions. In general, an electoral system is considered a tool for replacing governments and managing social consensus[10]. Today, there are four main electoral systems in the world, which Reilly[11] broadly and similarly classifies as 1) plurality-majority systems, 2) semi-proportional systems, 3) proportional representation systems and 4) mixed systems.

According to Reilly[12], there are five types of plurality-majority systems that separate into two groups. The first group comprises the two plurality systems: first-past-the-post and block voting. The second group of majoritarian systems includes two-round, alternative, and supplementary voting. Furthermore, a proportional system includes open list, closed list, and single transferable voting. A mixed system comprises both mixed-member proportional and mixed-member majoritarian systems.

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7   Electoral system (ACE project), https://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/es/esd/esd01/esd01c/default [22/12/2022]
8   Gerelt-Od.E, 2021. Retrospective Political and Legal Study on the State Great Khural Election Systems (1992-2020) working paper, p. 3.
9   IIDEA (Stockholm) 2005. Electoral System Design: the New International IDEA Handbook. International Idea.
10 Ibid.
11 Reilly.B, 2012. Electoral system options for Mongolia. UNDP consultancy report.
12 Ibid.

Figure 2. Classification of electoral systems
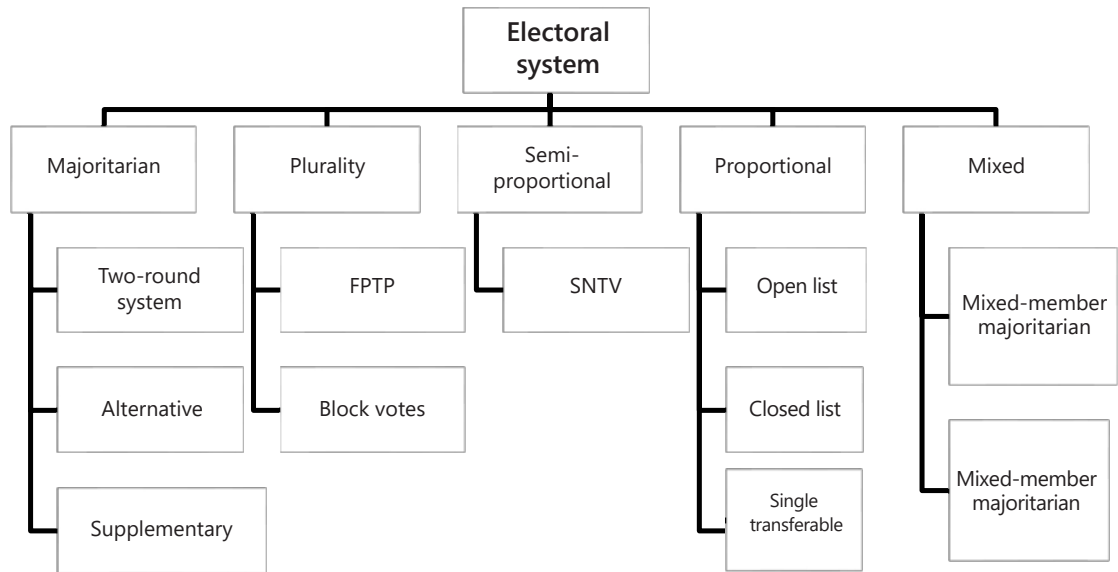
Source: Classification by Reilly[13] and IIDEA[14]

Globally, countries use more than 200 systems consistent with their political and social conditions.[15] Figure 3 below shows that 46 percent of countries have majoritarian systems, 36 percent proportional systems, 15 percent mixed systems, and three percent have systems that would be categorized as "other". Another analysis of 197 jurisdictions surveyed around the world showed that 70 countries (35 percent) use a proportional system, while 47 countries (24 percent) use a first-past-the-post (FPTP) system[16], including Canada, the UK, India, and the United States. Block voting is used by 15 countries, and only nine countries use a mixed system.[17]

Figure 3. Electoral systems of different countries[18]

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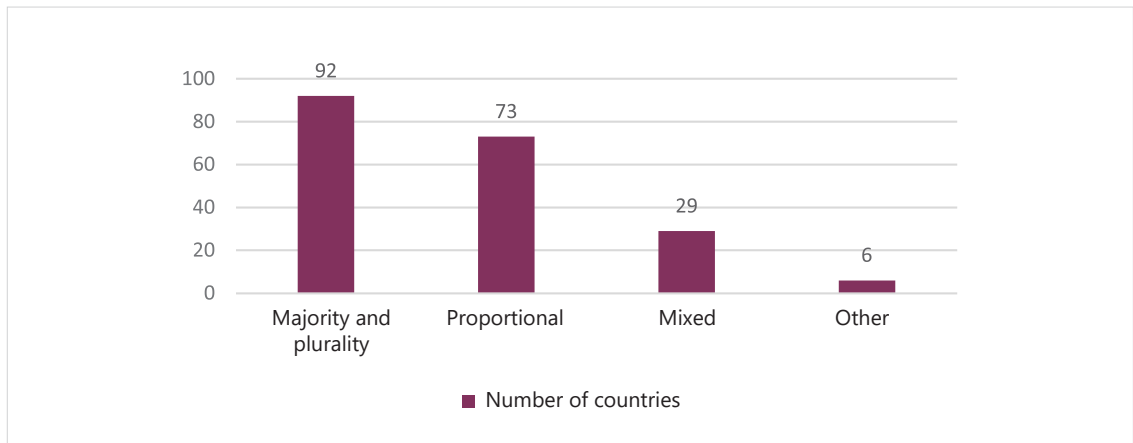
[13] Ibid.

[14] IIDEA (Stockholm) 2005. Electoral System Design: the New International IDEA Handbook. International Idea.

[15] Byambadorj.J 1998. Right to Elect and Reforming the Mongolian Electoral System. Shine Toli Journal. № 28,

[16] IIDEA (Stockholm) 2005, Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook. International Idea.

[17] Bat-Orgil.A, 2021, Electoral Systems in Mongolia: A Comparative Study working paper, p. 7.

[18] Electoral Systems. ACE Project, https://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/es/esd/default

Each electoral system interacts with the particular country or context; there is no perfect electoral system. Each comes with potential pros and cons that impact election outcomes and various elements of political competition in a country. The design of an electoral system for a country has to carefully weigh the studied tendencies that different systems have, which must then be weighed against the country's unique context and political culture. A survey of the research suggests that majoritarian and proportional systems generally offer the following pros and cons.

Table 2. Pros and cons of the majoritarian system

Pros	Cons
• Simple and understandable • Stable cabinet • Direct election • Responsibilities before the district's voters • Reduces the number of political parties	• Loss of votes • Majority of seats are won by small votes/representation • Deviation in vote weight • Boosts populism • Parliamentarian dependent on the district constituency • Narrow-mindedness for the district (tendency to support locally-known candidates) • Weak party discipline and accountability

Table 3. Pros and cons of proportional system

Pros	Cons
• No loss of votes • No deviation in vote representation • Ensures appropriate ratio of political parties • Helps parliamentarism • Good impact on political party institutional development • Clear party accountability • High level of political culture and education	• Creation of too many small parties • Enables small parties to have seats in the parliament • Unstable cabinet • Detrimental to independent/nonpartisan candidates • Increase in politicization • Weak capacity to represent local constituencies and their interests • Poor opportunities for voters to oversee elected members

Researchers often suggest considering a range of principles for a political system when selecting an election system. For instance, Reilly highlighted some of the most common criteria for electoral system design, such as providing fair representation; making elections accessible and meaningful; providing incentives for conciliation; facilitating a stable and efficient government; holding the government accountable; holding individual representatives accountable; encouraging political parties; promoting legislative opposition and oversight; making the election process sustainable; and taking into account "international standards"[19]. Horowitz identified six main goals to be taken into account, including the proportionality of seats to votes; accountability to constituents; durable governments; victories of Condorcet winners; interethnic and interreligious conciliation; and minority officeholding.[20]

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[19] Reynolds. Andrew. Reilly. Benjamin and Ellis. Andrew. 2005. Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook. Stockholm: International IDEA
[20] Donald L. Horowitz. Electoral Systems: A Primer for Decision Makers. 2003. https://aceproject.org/ero-en/topics/electoral-systems/E6ElectoralSystemsHorowitz.pdf

A country must carefully study its political system, economy, institutional development, and voter education to select the electoral system that is most suited to it. The development of democracy depends on whether the country has selected an appropriate electoral system, developed a good election law, and organized elections in compliance with the law. The development and democratic status of political parties, their institutional development, parliament, cabinet, and voters will be determined by which system is chosen.[21]

Selecting an electoral system requires making important decisions about the fundamentals of a country's politics and economy. When making such decisions, it is important to prioritize seemingly contradictory goals so that the most appropriate decision is made[22]. For instance, if a country wants a parliament that correctly represents the votes cast, a proportional system may be appropriate. However, this system may contradict the principle of stable governments, as proportional systems often yield situations where none of the parties in parliament win a majority and, as a result, governments can change often. Therefore, countries select their election system by first prioritizing the principles the systems should uphold.

Common Frameworks for the Analysis of Electoral Systems

A wide range of scholars have studied the impact and effectiveness of various electoral systems in countries around the world. Through that effort, there are analytical frameworks, trends, and useful concepts that might be brought into our review of Mongolia's electoral experience in the next chapter. Several analytical frameworks or established trends based on scholarship are presented below to help inform the discussion in later chapters.

Duverger's law: According to Duverger[23], majority/plurality systems help create two-party systems, which is known as Duverger's law. Because this system enables the winner of an election to assume the power of governing, it is sometimes called a winner-takes-all system. Proportional systems, on the other hand, tend to produce smaller shares of seats spread amongst many parties. Consequently, parties sometimes fail to win enough seats to establish coalition/consensus cabinets, which can cause instability. Over time, it could even weaken democratic accountability[24]. In a proportional system, the threshold percentage decides whether to limit the number of parties in the parliament. According to Bjork[25], when the threshold remains high, at five to eight percent, the number of parties represented in parliament stays limited. Finally, the impact of mixed majoritarian systems on political party representation is situated in the middle, between majoritarian and proportional systems[26].

Effective number of parties (ENP), effective number of electoral parties (ENEP), and effective number of parliamentary parties (ENPP): The effective number of parties index developed by Laakso and Taagepera[27] is a tool that has helped illustrate Duverger's law and other dynamics within an electoral system. Political scientists have applied the effective number of parties index to demonstrate how many political players realistically compete in the entire political party system. The effective number of parties index can be further split into two sub-indices: the effective number of electoral parties (ENEP) and the effective number

[21] Gerelt-Od.E, 2021. Retrospective Political and Legal Study on the State Great Khural Election Systems (1992-2020) working paper, p. 5.
[22] IIDEA (Stockholm) 2005, Electoral System Design: the New International IDEA Handbook. International Idea.
[23] Duverger.M, 1954. Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State. Methuen & Company.
[24] Reynolds. Andrew. Reilly. Benjamin. 1997. The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design (vol.1), International Idea.
[25] Ceci,S.J., Bjork.R.A. 2003. Editorial: Science, Politics and Violence in the Media. Psychological Science in the Public Interest, 4, i-iii.
[26] Reynolds. Andrew. Reilly. Benjamin. 1997. The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design (vol.1), International Idea
[27] Laakso, M. & Taagepera, R. 1979. Effective Number of Parties: A measure with Application to Western Europe, Comparative Political Studies, 12, p. 3-27

of parliamentary parties (ENPP). The ENEP index measures how many political parties are realistically competing in an election. For example, ten or more parties may be on the ballot, but the election effectively takes place among only a select few.

The effective number of parties index is measured as follows[28].

Effective number of parties:

$$N_v = \frac{1}{\sum (Pv)^2}$$ where Pv represents the percentage of votes that a party gain:

Parliamentary effective number of parties:

$$N_s = \frac{1}{\sum (Ps)^2}$$ where Ps expresses a political party's percentage of seats.

Measures of disproportionality[29] in electoral systems: The political scientist Michael Gallagher[30] proposed considering the issue of disproportionality-that is, the proportional imbalance between seats allocated to a party in parliament and the number of votes cast for that party-to be fundamental to analysis and understanding of elections systems. His work led to the development of Gallagher's least squares index of disproportionality. If we accept that the goal of an election is to translate votes into parliamentary seats and, ideally, to be as representative as possible[31], this index can help us understand how well a system actually accomplishes that goal. Gallagher's[32] electoral disproportionality index calculates how votes are converted into seats and to what extent votes are lost due to the electoral system itself. So, for example, a party may receive a relatively small percentage of votes, but if disproportionality is high, those votes translate into an outsized allotment of seats and, thus, control in parliament.

The following formula is used for calculating the disproportionality index:

$$LS_q = \sqrt{\left(\left(\sum_i (s_i - v_i)^2 / 2 \right)\right.}$$

where $S_i - V_i$ is the discrepancy between seats and the percentage of votes.

When scoring the electoral disproportionality index, the higher the index percentage, the higher the electoral disproportionality.

Comparative analysis of Mongolian electoral systems with similar cases

Before engaging in a more detailed analysis of Mongolian elections, it is useful to place Mongolia within a comparative framework. Table 3 shows the current electoral systems of 25 countries with political and economic contexts similar to Mongolia. We can see in this presentation that 13 countries currently use a proportional system, seven countries use a mixed system, three countries use FPTP, and one country, Australia, uses an alternative voting

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[28] Laakso, M. & Taagepera, R. 1979. Effective Number of Parties: A measure with Application to Western Europe, Comparative Political Studies, 12, p. 3-27

[29] The term 'disproportionality' does not have an official translation in Mongolian language, and different versions of its translation are noted in the Mongolian version of this volume.

[30] Gallagher, M. 1991. Proportionality, Disproportionality and Electoral Systems, Electoral Studies, 10(1), p. 33-51

[31] Reilly, B. 2007. Electoral and Political Party Reform. In: McLeod, R.H. and MacIntyre, A.,(eds.) Indonesia: Democracy and the Promise of Good Governance. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, p. 41-54

[32] Gallagher, M. 1991. Proportionality, Disproportionality and Electoral Systems, Electoral Studies, 10(1), p. 33-51

system. Most of the Eastern European countries that transitioned to democracy in the 1990s opted for either proportional or mixed-proportional systems. The Asia-Pacific democracies have generally favored mixed systems. Mongolia stands alone in its current use of block voting in recent elections. The specific majoritarian system used by Mongolia in 2012 does not have any clear comparisons in this list.

Table 4. Survey of countries' electoral systems

Countries (dual chamber = x)	Electoral system	Vote threshold (%)	Average number of seats per district	Parliament seats	If open list is used	Gender quota (%)
Albania	Mixed proportional	3	11.7	140		30
Armenia	Proportional	5	10.2	132	+	25
Azerbaijan	FPTP	-	1	125		
Belorussia (x)	FPTP	-	1	110		
Bosnia and Herzegovina (x)	Proportional	3	21	42	+	40
Bulgaria	Proportional	4	7.7	240		
Croatia	Proportional	5	14	150	+	40
Czech (x)	Proportional	5	14.3	200	+	
Estonia	Proportional	5	8.4	101	+	
Hungary	Mixed FPTP-DH	5	1-93	199		
Kyrgyzstan	Proportional	7	120	120		
Latvia	Proportional	5	25	100	+	
Lithuania	Mixed - Two-round, proportional	5	1-70	141	+	
Moldova	Mixed FPTP-LR	5	1-50	101		40
Mongolia	Block voting	-	2.6	76		20
Poland (x)	Proportional	5	21.9	460	+	35
Romania (x)	Proportional	5	7.3	329		
Serbia	Proportional	3	250	250		30
Slovakia	Proportional	5	150	150	+	
Slovenia (x)	Proportional	4	8	90	+	35
Ukraine	Mixed FPTP - Largest remainder	5	1-225	450		
South Korea	Mixed (Proportional largest remainder+ FPTP)	3		300		Voluntary
Malaysia	Mixed (FPTP)	-	1	222	+	-
Australia (x)	Alternative voting	-		151		Voluntary
New Zealand	Mixed (MMP =FTPT)	5	1	120		Voluntary

Source: Bormann and Golder (2013); IIDEA (2020); Casal Bertoa (2020)

Another comparative analysis can use the qualitative comparative analysis methodology developed by Mintrom[33] to identify similarities or differences among different electoral systems. The number of cases for comparison has been limited to Mongolia and four other representative countries. These include post-communist Hungary (mixed) and Poland (proportional), as well as Asia-Pacific Australia (alternative voting) and Malaysia (FPTP). Country selection was based on electoral and geographic diversity.

Table 5. Comparative institutional analysis

Countries	Relevant institutional design features	Relevant observed practices	Relevant observed outcomes
Mongolia	Block voting	• Mongolian Parliament has one chamber and 76 MPs; the 2020 election was held using block voting (plurality system). • Four different types of electoral systems have been used since 1992 (FPTP, TRS, MMM, block voting) • Eight parliamentary elections held since 1992, of which the MPP won the majority six times (absolute majority in four elections) and DP won one (with a simple majority). • Coalition governments formed after the 2004, 2008, and 2012 elections.	• Effective number of parliamentary parties is 1.8, and the effective number of electoral parties is 2.9 • Disproportionality index (average) has been 18.6 since 1992 • Party system institutionalization index of 89.1 between 1990 and 2019[34] • Dominant party system
Hungary	Mixed member proportional	• In 2012, 386 National Assembly members were elected as follows: 176 members were elected from single member districts through two-round elections; 146 members were elected through an MMP system with a five percent threshold. • In 2012, the two-round elections changed to an FPTP system. • Since 1990, Hungary has held eight elections. In all but one election, coalition government was formed. The Fidesz Party, Hungarian Socialist Party, and Democratic Forum Party are the main opponents.	• Effective number of parliamentary parties (1990- 2020) was 2.6, and the effective number of electoral parties was 4.1[35] • Disproportionality index (average) was 12.2 during the above-mentioned period[36] • In terms of party systems, the two-bloc system is institutionalized and the index has been 88.6 since 1990.

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33 Mintrom, M. 2011. Contemporary Policy Analysis. Oxford University Press.
34 Bertoa.F.C, 2020. Party System Closure: Party Alliances, Government Alternatives, Democracy in Europe. Oxford University Press
35 Who Governs Europe, 2020. https://whogoverns.eu/ [22/12/2022]
36 Ibid

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Poland	Proportional	• Two chambers: 460 members of the lower chamber are elected by proportional-open list system (five percent threshold, d'Hondt method), and the upper chamber is elected by FPTP. • Eight parliamentary elections were held between 1991-2019; in seven elections, none of the parties won a majority, resulting in coalition governments.	• Effective number of parliamentary parties (average) was 4.1, effective number of electoral parties (average) was 5.9 (1991-2019)[37] • Electoral disproportionality index 8.3[38] • Party system institutionalization average was 82.3 (1991-2019) • Multipolar party system
Malaysia	FPTP	• 222 house representatives are elected by an FPTP system. • The National Front Party (Barisan) ruled the country until 2018 when the Pakatan Harapan coalition (DAP, PKR, Amanah, Barisan, UPKO) won the election.	• Effective number of electoral parties since 2008 is six, and the effective number of parliamentarian parties is • 5.4.[39] Disproportionality index 9.3 in 2008-2018 (Gallagher, 2019)[40]
Australia	Alternative voting [41]	• Australian Parliament has two chambers, of which 151 lower chamber representatives are elected through alternative voting, and 76 upper chamber members are elected through single transferable voting. • Since 1990, the Australian Labor Party, Liberal Party, and National Party Coalition have formed cabinets (Labor Party: four times; Coalition: seven times). In 2010, Labor formed a cabinet with three independent MPs and one Green Party MP	• Effective number of electoral parties was 3.6 between 1990-2020, while the effective number of parliamentary parties was 2.7[42] • Average disproportionality index 10 percent[43]1x1+1 party system established

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[37] Ibid

[38] Ibid

[39] Gallagher 2019 Gallagher, M. (2019) Election indices dataset at http://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/people/michael_gallagher/ElSystems/index.php, [22/12/2022].

[40] Ibid

[41] Alternative voting is one kind of majoritarian system. As candidates are elected with a 50 percent + 1 vote, the system greatly enhances the electorate and MP's legitimacy. In this system, voters cast their votes as first, second, and third choices. If none of the candidates gain a 50 percent + 1 vote, the second and third votes are counted until one gains a majority. In doing so, those with the least votes are dropped. An alternative electoral system, as determined by Renwick (2011), increases alternatives for votes but reduces tactical choices. Aside from Australia, Papua New Guinea and Fiji also use this system. In 2000, Bosnia used an alternative voting system in its local assembly elections. Also, several U.S. locations started using this system, attracting greater attention (Reilly, 2004). For instance, San Francisco used this system in 2002.

[42] Gallagher, M. 2019. Election indices dataset at http://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/people/michael_gallagher/ElSystems/index.php, [22/12/2022].

[43] Ibid.

Looking at the consequences for the countries selected for comparison, and the five electoral systems they have used, leads us to the following conclusions:

- Poland's proportional system has led to party fragmentation; having too many parties often results in coalition governments. As a proportional system, the loss of votes tends to be low.

- With Hungary's mixed proportional system, the number of effective parliamentary parties was 2.6, and the number of effective electoral parties was 4.1, which suggests relatively healthy party competition. However, Hungary's disproportionality index was found to be relatively high.

- Malaysia uses the same FPTP system that Mongolia used in 2016. As a result, one party dominates, although other parties get multiple seats. Like Mongolia, this report considers Malaysia to have a dominant party system. Unlike Mongolia, however, a relatively high number of parties are represented in the Malaysian Parliament.

- The Australian alternative electoral system limits party competition to between three to four parties, of which two-to-three-win seats in parliament. The average disproportionality rate was 10, which was an average score among the countries being compared.

Electoral systems must allow party fragmentation while simultaneously supporting political party development and institutionalization. However, too much fragmentation creates extreme politics and unstable governments[44]. While the specific rules and values included in an electoral system must also mingle with a countries unique history and political culture, we can start to understand how different electoral systems lead to different political and governance climates.

The frameworks and comparative analysis provided in this chapter provide some background for reference as the next chapter moves more specifically into an analysis of Mongolia's parliamentary elections.

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[44] Bertoa. F.C., 2020, Party System Closure: Party Alliances, Government Alternatives, Democracy in Europe. Oxford University Press

CHAPTER III

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN MONGOLIA

By:
Badamdash D, Mark Koenig, Gerelt-Od E, Bat-Orgil A, Altanzul A

Since 1990, when Mongolia shifted from a single-party authoritarian system to a multi-party-political system that respects human rights and free and democratic elections, more than 30 years have elapsed. During these three decades, Mongolia organized eight parliamentary elections, which have generally been deemed free and fair by most observers. Since ratifying the new Constitution in 1992, the State Great Khural (SGKh), Mongolia's unicameral parliament, has been established eight times, according to election results. These elections have been won by the MPRP/MPP five times, by DP-led coalitions twice, and resulted in a unity government once in 2004. Mongolia has had success in administering these elections, and all parliaments formed to date have completed their four-year terms and smooth transitions to new parliaments. Simultaneously, there have been steady declines in voter turnout and eroding public trust in parliament, which signifies growing challenges for the institution's legitimacy. The source of these challenges is partly related to the choices and instability of the electoral system. Mongolia has changed its election laws almost every election cycle. While most elections have been organized using a majoritarian/plurality system (excluding 2012), the details of the system have frequently changed, which leads to significant unpredictability and challenges for citizens to understand and trust the process. We also see significant disproportionality in the system, with notable discrepancies between the vote share for a given party and the number of seats they are allocated in Parliament. Careful reflection on past electoral approaches used in Mongolia and the impacts they have had on political party development, the nature of political competition, and governance is critical for preparing to make future electoral system decisions.

Analysis within an unstable electoral system

An analysis of Mongolian parliamentary elections is complicated by the system's instability. Mongolia has changed its parliamentary election system seven times, specifically in 1992, 1996, 2005, 2011, 2015, 2016, and 2019, with each change happening prior to a parliamentary election. Five of these changes were made through entirely new legislation (sometimes linked to constitutional ratification or amendment), and two were made through amendments. All changes were made prior to scheduled elections and justified by the ruling political party by referencing the need to "improve election laws".[45] In each case, Parliament was making rules

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[45] These various election laws and amendments include the following:
    1. The SGKh adopted the first Law on Elections on April 4, 1992. Paragraph 8.1 sets forth, "76 MPs shall be elected from multi-member electoral districts." It was a block-voting version of the majoritarian system. Later, in 1996, just before the parliamentary election, Article 8.1 was amended to state, "elections shall be organized in single-seat districts," making the election districts smaller and shifting to an FPTP system. This system was used in the 1996, 2000, and 2004 elections.
    2. The SGKh adopted the second version of the law on December 29, 2005. Article 4.2 sets forth, "76 members of the State Great Khural shall be elected from districts with multiple seats". Article 28.1 states, "Political parties and coalitions shall nominate candidates not exceeding the allocated seats for the district." This was a system similar to the system used in 1992, which was a block voting system, but this was a regression in electoral system reform.

that related to the elections most members were planning to participate in. This linked these legislative processes to the ruling party's particular political moment and calculations, depending on what kind of approach would benefit them, rather than to broader and more established values or principles guiding the design of the Mongolian electoral system. Figure 4 shows the timeline for the election law's ratification and amendment as it transitioned between various block voting, FPTP, and mixed-parallel systems.

Figure 4. Changes to the Parliamentary Election Law and electoral systems
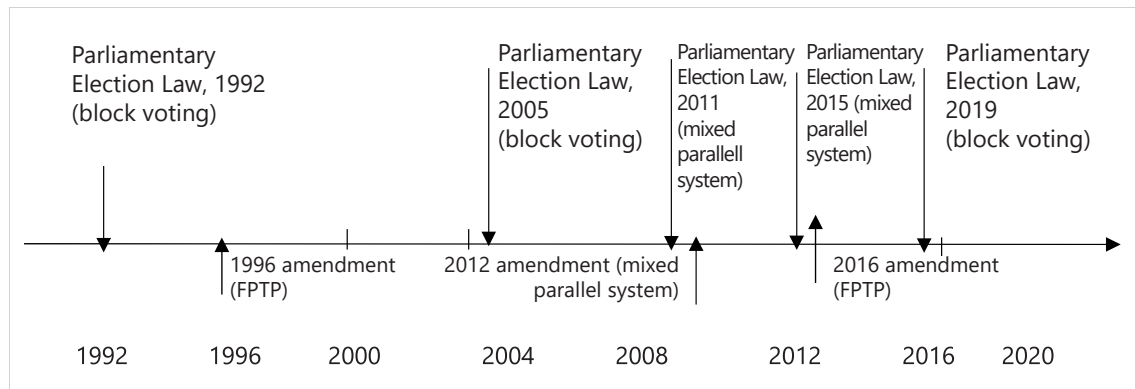
Source: Gerelt-Od E, Retrospective political and legal study on the SGKh election systems (1992-2020) working paper

Looking at these changes to the election law and electoral systems, we can observe that Mongolia used an FPTP system four times (single-member districts), in 1996, 2000, 2004, and 2016; a block voting system three times (small multi-member districts), in 1992, 2008, and 2020; and a mixed parallel system in 2012. There have been discussions around classification in certain years, with some suggesting that the system used has been majoritarian with the exception of 2012.[46] However, by most standard definitions, only the systems used in 1996, 2000, and 2004 can be classified as majoritarian. These were the years in which candidates had to receive a 50 percent + 1 vote to be declared the winner, a feature of majoritarian systems. In other years the election laws indicated that candidates did not have to go into a second round of voting if the leading candidate did not achieve a 50 percent + 1 vote, which is more accurately classified as an FPTP system.[47] This classification does not necessarily reflect a consensus view as the definitions can be complex.

The 2012 elections are a clear outlier in Mongolia's parliamentary election history. In this year, Mongolia applied a mixed system in which 48 MPs out of 76 were elected from 26 large majoritarian districts; 28 MPs were elected from party candidate lists, which tallied the

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3. A third version of the law was endorsed on December 15, 2011. Article 4.8 sets forth, "76 MPS shall be elected to the State Great Khural as specified in paragraph 1, Article 21 of the Constitution of Mongolia". Paragraph 4.9 states, "No more than 48 candidates on the list, as stated in this law, shall be elected from 26 electoral districts, and no more than 28 candidates shall be elected from the list of candidates from political parties". This electoral system was the first and last case of Mongolia using a parallel system, majoritarian and proportional.

4. A fourth version of the law was adopted on December 25, 2015. This version attempted to regulate parliamentary, presidential, and local assembly elections through one law and applied the mixed system of 48/28, like the previous version of the law. However, the Constitutional Court ruled that the amended Election Law was unconstitutional and issued Decree No. 05 on April 22, 2016. Based on the Constitutional Court ruling, the SGKh amended the law on May 5, 2016, two months before the election, stating that "the election shall use a majoritarian (plurality) system".

5. The SGKh approved a fifth version of the law on December 20, 2019. Article 4.3 sets forth, "Members of the State Great Khural shall be elected from districts with multiple seats," re-legalizing the block voting system used in the 1992 and 2008 elections.

46 Bat-Orgil.A, 2021. Electoral Systems in Mongolia: A Comparative Study working paper.

47 Ibid.

votes for a given party from the entire country as a single electoral district. This mixed system combined majoritarian and proportional systems, with 63 percent of seats allocated to the majoritarian districts and 37 percent through the proportional party list system. The result of this election shows an increased representation of smaller parties and low to moderate levels of disproportionality (but higher than in 2004 and 2008),[48] but also resulted in a relatively unstable cabinet. In these aspects, the election showed results that appeared more akin to a proportional system than a balanced mixed system, failing to strike a balance between the two systems' pros and cons.[49] We should be cautious not to overstate conclusions from an election system that was only used once. There is insufficient data to establish clear trends or to distinguish the impact of the electoral system from the impact of the country's particular political moment.

One reason for the selection of the mixed electoral system was the government's response to the public riots (commonly known as the "July 1st event") that occurred after the 2008 parliamentary election, with violence following the announcement of election results.[50] The 2008 Parliament tried to move beyond this division by building a coalition or "unity" government. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (now the Mongolian People's Party) formed a "non-standard" Cabinet that included members of the Democratic Party (DP). Subsequently, the two major parties agreed on a mixed electoral system. The stated logic behind this shift included: moving away from the block voting system, avoiding a "loss" of votes, improving political party institutions, separating elections from the impact of campaign financing, and increasing women's participation and representation.[51] This system did lead to significant progress in women's representation, with 11 female MPs being elected, and it was also possible for Mongolian nationals living abroad to cast votes.

This system was only used once, as Parliament changed the electoral system shortly before the 2016 elections, a decision that did not have a clear policy rationale and has been characterized as a politically motivated decision.[52] Mongolia did not repeat the experiment with a mixed system, used an FPTP system in 2016, and saw a return to block voting in 2020. Both elections produced MPP supermajorities and significant increases in disproportionality.

This instability is, in many ways, the defining feature of Mongolian parliamentary elections, and has led to unpredictability and frustration for political parties and voters. A second clear trend in Mongolian parliamentary elections is an overall decrease in voter representation. Specifically, we see lower voter turnout, greater disproportionality, and the total number of votes cast for those not elected to Parliament exceeds those received by winning candidates. Collectively, this seems to be contributing to a legitimacy crisis for Parliament. This can be seen in public polling data, including a 2022 survey that showed 62 percent of respondents had a negative or very negative view of the State Great Khural, and 67 percent had a negative or very negative view of political parties. The offices of the President and Cabinet fared slightly better in terms of negative viewpoints.[53]

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[48] Bat-Orgil.A, 2021. Electoral Systems in Mongolia: A Comparative Study, working paper p. 12-13.

[49] Maskarinec, P, 2019. "Ticket Splitting, Strategic Voting and Personal Vote in the 2012 Mongolian Elections." Communist and Post-communist Studies 52(3): 235-245. ISSN0967-067X

[50] Oleinik.A, 2012. "Institutional Exclusion as a Destabilizing Factor: The Mass Unrest of 1 July 2008 in Mongolia." Central Asian Survey 31(2): p.153-174.

[51] Maskarinec.P, 2019, The Palgrave Handbook of Women's Political Rights, p. 209.

[52] Radchenko.S and Jargalsaikhan.M. 2017. Mongolia in the 2016-2017 Electoral Cycle: The blessings of Patronage. Asian Survey, 57(6), p. 1032-1057.

[53] Center for Insights in Survey Research (International Republican Institute), "Public Opinion Poll: Residents of Mongolia", March-April 2022. Public Opinion Poll: Residents of Mongolia March | April 2022 | International Republican Institute (iri.org) [22/12/2022]

Voter turnout: The decline in voter turnout has been a clear trend from initial participation rates following the transition to democracy, which was over 90 percent for the first two parliamentary elections (1992 and 1996), to a range of 67-74 percent over the course of the last three parliamentary elections. Table 6 below shows those detailed numbers. It is worth noting that voter turnout in the parliamentary elections remains higher than the turnout for presidential and local elections, but the basic trend of a steady decline can be observed across all three types of elections.[54]

Table 6. Voter turnout[55]

#	Election	Number of voting age citizens	Number of voters included In the voter list	Attendance
1.	1992	1,202,704	1,085,129	95.6%
2.	1996	1,218,549	1,147,260	92.1%
3.	2000	1,364,862	1,247,033	82.4%
4.	2004	1,472,372	1,279,516	82.2%
5.	2008	1,607,825	1,542,617	76.46%
6.	2012	1,882,035	1,840,824	67.28%
7.	2016	1,998,823	1,911,047	73.58%
8	2020		2,003,969	73,6%

Explanations for declining voter turnout potentially include the frustration of voters with the electoral systems and the constant changes that can limit public engagement and interest.[56] It must also be acknowledged that these declines are consistent with global trends. International IDEA found that voter turnout has declined globally, falling from close to 80 percent in the 1990s to 66 percent from 2011-2015.[57] Mongolia has undergone a sharper decline given its recent transition to democracy, which certainly boosted enthusiasm among voters in the early years, but is now more or less in line with global trends.

Another factor likely affecting voter turnout numbers relates to the voter list and voter registration; increasing disputes have arisen around how the lists are generated. A new voter list is created for every election, and there is inadequate data and transparency around the number of voters excluded from the list and the number of voters living abroad.[58] Mongolian nationals abroad have been frequently cited as a group that is excluded from voting. These voters were only included in parliamentary elections in 2012, resulting in 2,779 voters casting their votes from 39 different countries.[59] From Table 6 we can observe that the percentage of potential voters excluded from the voter list has only increased by about 10 percent once, in 2004, when only 87 percent of voting age citizens were included. This does not mean, however, that registration has no impact on voter turnout. Increasing rural-to-urban migration rates have seen many potential voters see their voter registration maintained in

[54] The Asia Foundation, 2023. Mongolian Elections edited volume, Chapter I
[55] Parliamentary Election Results (1992-2016), 2017. General Election Committee, p. 6. https://gec.gov.mn/uploads/ih_huraliin_songuu-li-2022.03.22.pdf [22/12/2022]
[56] Gerelt-Od.E, 2021 Retrospective Political and Legal Study on the State Great Khural Election Systems (1992-2020) working paper, p. 12
[57] Abdurashid Solijonov, 2016. International IDEA, https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/voter-turnout-trends-around-the-world.pdf [22/12/2022]
[58] Gerelt-Od.E, 2021 Retrospective Political and Legal Study on the State Great Khural Election Systems (1992-2020), working paper, p. 12.
[59] Parliamentary Election Results (1992-2016), 2017. General Election Committee, https://gec.gov.mn/

the provinces, even when they are living in a larger city. Many of these citizens are not able to, or choose not to, travel back to their registered place of residence to vote.[60]

Demographic factors also contribute to voter turnout trends. Mongolia is experiencing a "youth bulge" with the average age declining. Younger age segments (under 40) have lower participation rates.[61] A young voters survey conducted by the Zorig Foundation found that 227 respondents out of 480 did not participate in the 2016 Parliamentary elections, and listed the reasons given by young voters for abstaining from voting. In all, 36 percent stated that they were too busy to vote, 31 percent thought candidates were not trustworthy, and 28 percent believed that it did not matter who was elected[62].

Disproportionality and lost votes: Trends in Mongolia's parliamentary elections also show an increase in "lost" votes (votes that do not go toward an elected candidate) and divergence between the share of votes received by political parties and their eventual representation in parliament (disproportionality). These are both features that can emerge over time in majoritarian systems.

Figure 5 below illustrates the growth of lost votes in the system, as 2012 started a trend of four elections in which the votes for non-elected candidates exceeded those cast for elected candidates. In elections held between 1992 and 2004, the State Great Khural was formed on the basis of an average of 54.79 percent of all voters who cast votes for winning candidates. In the four elections since, however, the average percentage of votes cast for winning candidates has declined to 45.74 percent.[63] This reflects the use of majoritarian systems in Mongolia, where the candidate that receives the highest number of votes in a district is the winner and the votes received by other candidates are "lost". This trend also likely reflects rural-to-urban migration and the under-representation of urban areas (per capita) in the State Great Khural. The high absolute number of votes in urban areas means that even losing candidates receive more votes than winning candidates in many less populated electoral districts around the country.

Figure 5. Reflection of votes in the State Great Khural

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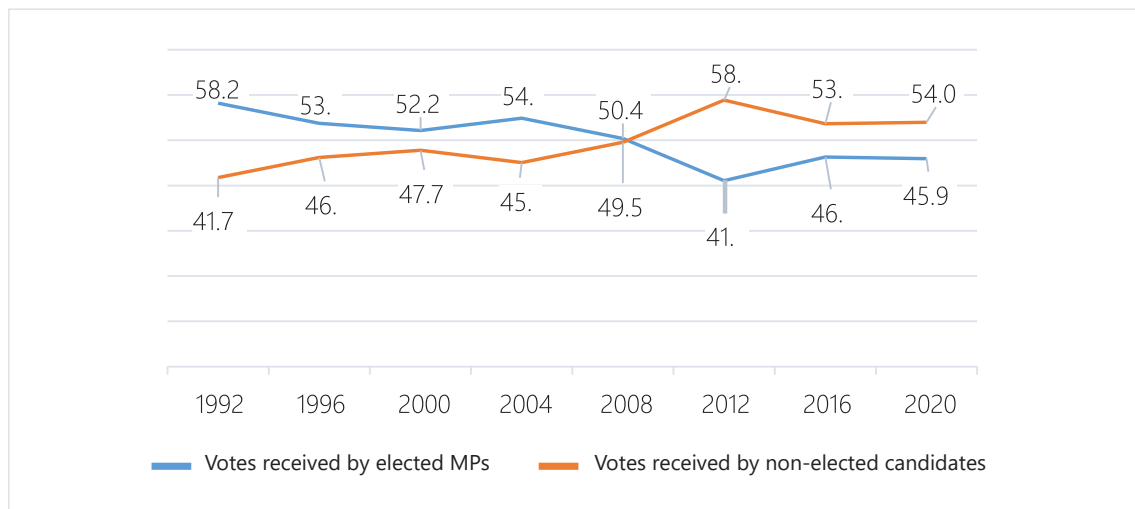
[60] Tamir.Ch, 2004. Mongolian voters behavior, habit and migration report
[61] National Statistics Office, 2016. Analyses of Voting in the SGKh Election, http://1212.mn/ [22/12/2022]
[62] Zorig Foundation, 2020. Young voters survey, p24-25
[63] Gerelt-Od.E, 2021. Retrospective Political and Legal Study on the State Great Khural Election Systems (1992-2020) working paper

This potentially delegitimizing trend has been matched by significant disproportionality in the election system. This phenomenon is not necessarily recent, but it has been a strong feature of the last two elections (2016 and 2020), raising it to the fore. Table 7 below shows that disproportionality tends to be higher for years of electoral success for the MPP, leading to several supermajorities in parliament despite the MPP's overall share of votes never exceeding 58 percent. In recent years, these supermajorities have been based on winning a minority of the total votes cast (46.5 percent in 2016 and 46.6 percent in 2020).

Some disproportionality has been exhibited in years with DP majorities as well, but the margin of difference between vote share and number of seats is far lower. Across all election years, the MPP has gained an average of 20.36 percent more seats in parliament than their vote share; the DP has received 6.65 percent fewer seats, and other parties and independents have received almost 14 percent fewer seats in parliament compared to their vote share. These figures are consistent with expectations for majoritarian systems, typified by challenges for smaller parties and a higher frequency of lost votes.

Table 7. Discrepancies between vote share and seats won

Election Year	MPP			DP			Other Parties and Independents		
	Votes	Seats in the SGKh	Discrep-ancy (%)	Votes	Seats in the SGKh	Discrep-ancy (%)	Votes	Seats in the SGKh	Discrep-ancy
1992	57.10%	70	92.10%	35	31.10%	5	6.60%	-24.5	11.80%	1	1.30%	-10.5
1996	39.90%	25	32.90%	-7	45.70%	50	65.80%	20.1	14.40%	1	1.30%	-13.1
2000	51.50%	72	94.70%	43.2	24.10%	1	1.30%	-22.8	24.40%	3	3.90%	-20.5
2004	48.80%	36	47.40%	-1.4	44.80%	36	47.40%	2.6	6.40%	4	5.30%	-1.1
2008	43.00%	45	59.20%	16.2	39.20%	28	36.80%	-2.4	17.70%	3	3.90%	-13.8
2012	31.30%	26	34.20%	2.9	35.32%	34	44.70%	9.38	33.37%	15	19.70%	-13.67
2016	46.50%	65	85.50%	39	34.20%	9	11.80%	-22.4	19.30%	2	2.60%	-16.7
2020	46.60%	62	81.60%	35	27.70%	11	14.50%	-13.2	25.65%	3	3.90%	-21.75
Average Discrepancy			20.36	Average Discrepancy		-6.65	Average Discrepancy		-13.89

As shown in Figure 5 below, the average electoral disproportionality index score for all eight parliamentary elections between 1992 and 2020 was 18.6 percent. In other post-communist countries, the averages range from 5-7 percent.[64]

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[64] Bat-Orgil.A, 2021, Electoral Systems in Mongolia: A Comparative Study working paper

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Figure 6. Disproportionality Index of Mongolian elections (1992-2020)[65]
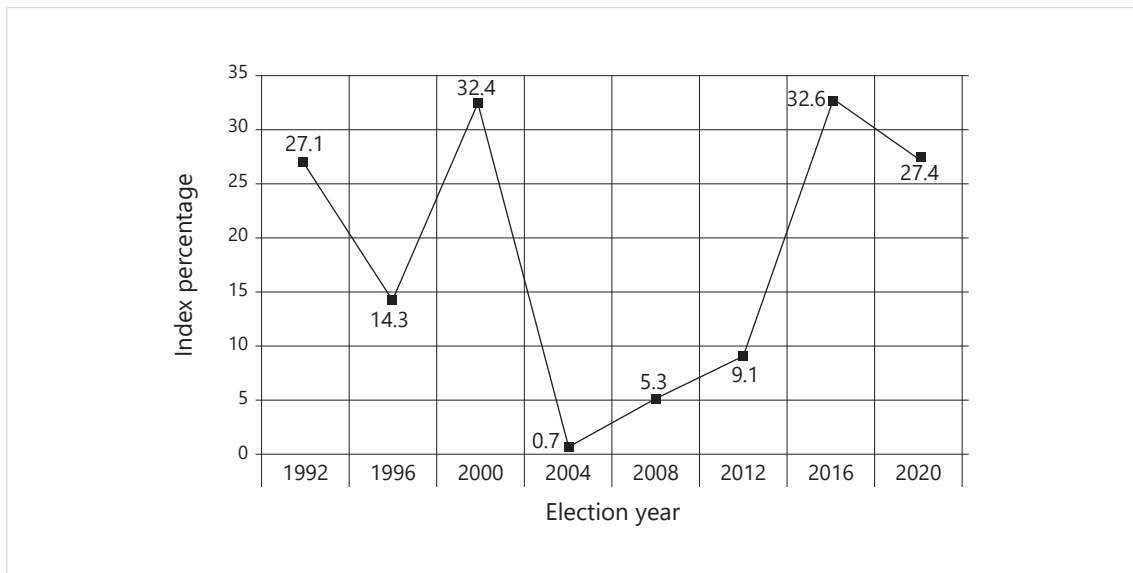
Source: General Election Commission 2020

Mongolia had a two-round majoritarian system in 2000, with a disproportionality index of 32.4 percent (Figure 6). The 2004 election retained the same majoritarian system, but the disproportionality rate that year was 0.7 percent, signaling no loss of votes. The index was low for the 2004, 2008, and 2012 elections. The explanation for this shift could include the influence of the electoral system on the political party system and vice versa. In 2004 and 2008, there was a period of coalition governments (however, it has been argued that this coalition era was less about cooperation and compromise and more akin to inter-party collusion).[66] The consolidation of power within coalitions seems to have reduced support for third parties overall in terms of vote share, not actually in terms of seats. Smaller parties and independents generally account for much of the disproportionality. The results of the 2012 election are particularly interesting because the election system was mixed-member majoritarian. Of the 76 seats available, 28 were allotted based on a proportional party list, which likely contributed to a lower disproportionality percentage.[67] We can also observe the impact on the representation of smaller parties in parliament, as 15 third party/independent candidates won seats. In the other seven elections analyzed (all FPTP or majoritarian), an average of only 2.4 third-party/independent candidates were elected.

Observable trends in parliamentary election results

Over the eight elections that have taken place in democratic Mongolia, five have been won by the MPRP/MPP, one has resulted in an MPP/DP coalition, and three have been won by the DP or DP-linked coalitions. Half of the elections have resulted in supermajorities for the MPRP/MPP (1992, 2000, 2016, and 2020), and in each case, the MPP has held more than 80 percent of seats in the State Great Khural while never enjoying more than 57.1 percent of the total votes.

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[65] Ibid.
[66] Radchenko.S and Jargalsaikhan.M, 2017. Mongolia in the 2016-2017 Electoral Cycle: The blessings of Patronage. Asian Survey. 57(6), 1032-1057
[67] Bat-Orgil.A, 2021. Electoral Systems in Mongolia: A Comparative Study working paper

Table 8. Number of seats in the SGKh by political party and independent candidates[68]

#	Election years	MPP	DP	Other parties	Individual candidates	Total
1	1992	70	4	1	1	76
2	1996	25	50		1	76
3	2000	72	1	2	1	76
4	2004	37	35	1	3	76
5	2008	45	28	2	1	76
6	2012	26	34	13	3	76
7	2016	65	9	2	1	76
8	2020	62	11	2	1	76

This dominance does not, however, look nearly as significant when comparing the votes received by the various parties. The two major parties have been exhibiting some decline in overall support in vote share since 2008, which has led to an increase in the votes going to alternative parties. However, the electoral systems used-with the exception of the mixed system in 2012-have largely prevented smaller parties from accessing the State Great Khural. This is entirely consistent with Duverger's law, which illustrates how majority/plurality systems tend toward creating two-party systems.

Figure 7. Vote share by party affiliation in parliamentary elections (1992-2020)
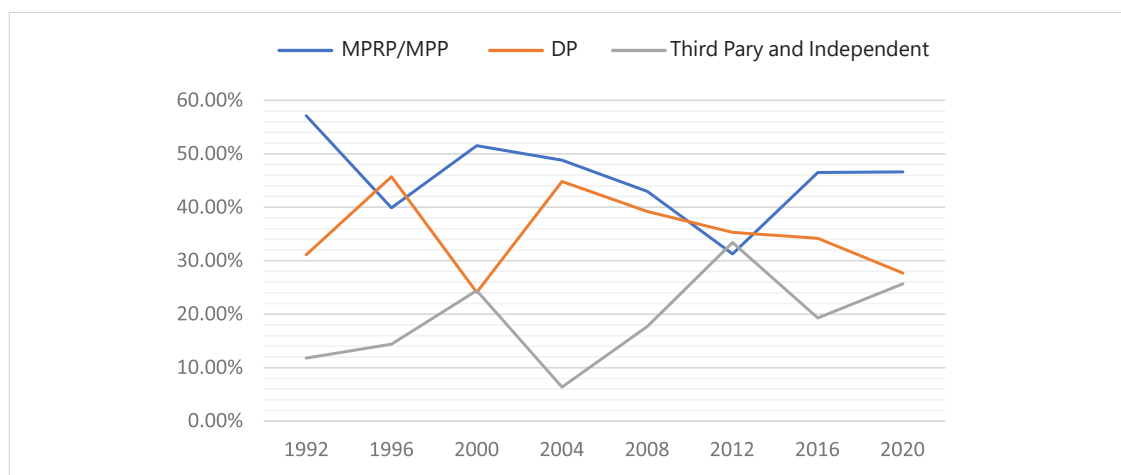
This relative decline in vote share going to Mongolia's two largest political powers has seen the MPP lose more support in parliamentary elections than the DP, with third parties and independent candidates gaining. However, electoral systems have largely prevented these trends in support from translating into clear trends in terms of parliament seats. Looking only at the allocated seats, these dynamics among the Mongolian electorate would be difficult to discern. Public opinion might further illustrate this dynamic. Polling data from Sant Maral Foundation shows that 93.6 percent of respondents chose to affiliate with one party they thought was the "best" in 1998, but by 2016, only 36.9 percent of respondents were willing to state that they "favour" one political party.[69]

[68] Ibid.
[69] Sumati.L, Werner Prohl, Sergelen.Ts, 2018. Voters Voices (Vol. II). p. 46

*Table 9. Vote share by party for Mongolia's first four parliamentary elections
compared to the four most recent parliamentary elections*

Party	Average vote share 1992-2004	Average vote share 2008-2020	Difference
MPRP/MPP	49.33	41.9	-7.43
DP	36.43	34.1	-2.33
Other parties and independents	14.25	24	+9.75

The MPP and DP are parties with different histories and structures, which clearly impacts their results in parliamentary elections. The MPP has a longer history and more even presence across the country, especially outside of urban areas. The DP is a more recently formed party, and it might be seen as a merger of political parties driven by electoral systems; in that sense, it is a perfect illustration of Duverger's law.[70] The DP is a merger of 12 political parties, including the United Party, which was formed as a result of a merging of the Free Labor Party and the Republican Party after the 1990 election. The National Democratic Party was established by merging the Mongolian Democratic Party, United Party, Mongolian Restoration Party, and Mongolian National Progressive Party after the 1992 election. The DP was created after the merging of the Mongolian National Democratic Party, Mongolian Social Democratic Party, Mongolian Religious Party, Mongolian National Restoration Party, Mongolian Democratic Party, and Mongolian United Conservative Party after the 2000 election.[71] Each merger of these political parties was driven by the electoral realities of a system that has systematically favored larger parties, making mergers strong political strategies. The recent experience of the MPP and MPRP, which split prior to the 2012 elections, might also illustrate these trends. That particular split helped contribute to the MPP's worst-ever election performance, and their levels of support have never fully recovered in parliamentary elections. However, the MPRP has not been able to generate significant momentum as an independent party and rejoined the MPP after the 2020 parliamentary elections.

Electoral changes account for almost all the years in which the DP and other parties enjoyed their greatest success. For the DP, 1996, 2004, and 2012 were years of relative success. In each of these years, the electoral system was either FPTP or a mixed system, and the DP built inclusive coalitions with other parties to win a majority of seats.[72]

Of course, candidate selection and reputation can also have an impact on election success. There are examples of popular politicians leaving parties and finding success as independent candidates on the strength of their local or national reputation.[73] Analysis of the impact of candidate selection is not currently well developed, and the frequent shift in electoral systems complicates undertaking such analysis.

[70] Gerelt-Od.E., 2021. Retrospective Political and Legal Study on the State Great Khural Election Systems (1992-2020) working paper
[71] Udo B. Barkmann. 2005. "Political Parties and the Democratic Process in Mongolia". Understanding Modern East Asian Politics. Ed. Christian Schafferer. New York: Nova Science Pub Inc., 2005. p. 37–63.
[72] Bat-Orgil.A., 2021. Electoral Systems in Mongolia: A Comparative Study working paper
[73] For instance, Voters Voices (p. 47) provides the example of three DP members that won as independents in 2004.

Election financing: Ever increasing funding without proper disclosure?

Another factor that is increasingly coming into play in Mongolian elections is rising campaign spending. Political parties and coalitions spent MNT 137 million in 1992, MNT 209 million in 1996, MNT 1.841 million in 2000, MNT 1.558 million in 2004, MNT 7.9 billion in 2008, MNT 36.8 billion in 2012, MNT 34,4 billion in 2016, and MNT 67.2 billion in 2020, totaling MNT 75.4 billion for elections, respectively.[74] Since 2008, the State Great Khural has tried to introduce a ceiling for election spending by district, but this does not seem to have significantly reduced spending. In 1992, 2008, and 2020, when the system was small multi-member districts with multiple seats, election spending rose sharply. It is also widely believed that reported expenditures may not be the actual costs incurred. As political party and campaign financing remains largely undisclosed, it is impossible to evaluate the true costs of elections. We can also observe that spending does seem to impact results, with winning candidates in 2020 spending an average of 3.6 times more than other candidates.[75] This sudden increase from 2012 is likely a combination of factors including improved reporting and disclosure (even if underreporting is still highly likely), an evolution of the political culture and political strategy, but also the choices in electoral systems. The literature on how different electoral systems affect campaign finance present different theories on the subject. One that might be most noteworthy for Mongolia, is that systems with high levels of intra-party competition often result in higher levels of election spending.[76] So the competition between potential candidates within their party to be named as the candidate can prompt spending.

Figure 8. Election campaign financing 1992-2020
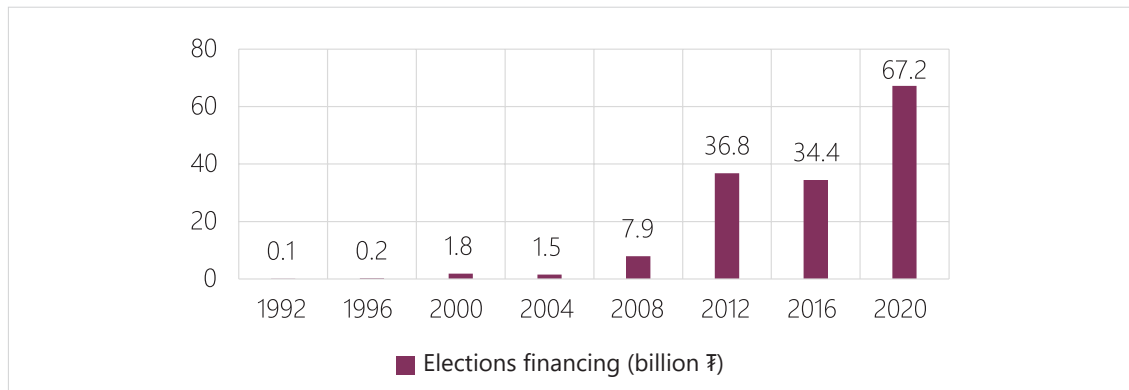
Concluding Note

Over the past three decades, Mongolia changed its parliamentary election laws five times and amended those laws three times. These eight changes have experimented with four different systems and made a range of adjustments each time. This has resulted in an electoral system that remains unstable, which impacts political culture and competition, and has had a negative impact on civic education and public trust in the system. It is also worth noting that ruling political parties have often changed the electoral system only months before elections, and the practice of a parliament adjusting the rules under which it will seek its own reelection can create conflicts of interest in the related discourse.

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[74] Gerelt-Od.E, 2021. Retrospective Political and Legal Study on the State Great Khural Election Systems (1992-2020)
[75] Anu.B, 2020. 75 parliament members spent 3.6 times more money than other candidates. https://ikon.mn/n/1zyx [22/12/2022]
[76] J. Johnson, 2017. "Electoral Systems and Campaign Finance" in "The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems" Erik S. Herron (Ed.) et al. (Oxford Academic 2017)

While the unstable environment for State Great Khural elections undoubtedly complicates trend analysis, we can start to see the impact of the majoritarian/FPTP electoral system on the number of competitive political parties. While there are a number of noteworthy parties, according to the measure of the effective number of parliamentary parties (ENPP), the figure has declined to less than two in recent elections cycles, as shown in Figure 9 below.[77] So while 3-4 parties are competitive, the recent trend is that only one party is consistently competitive for a majority of seats. This trend, if it continues, does so even as the vote share for the winning party has only twice ever exceeded 50 percent (in 1992 and 2000).

Figure 9. Effective number of parties in Mongolia
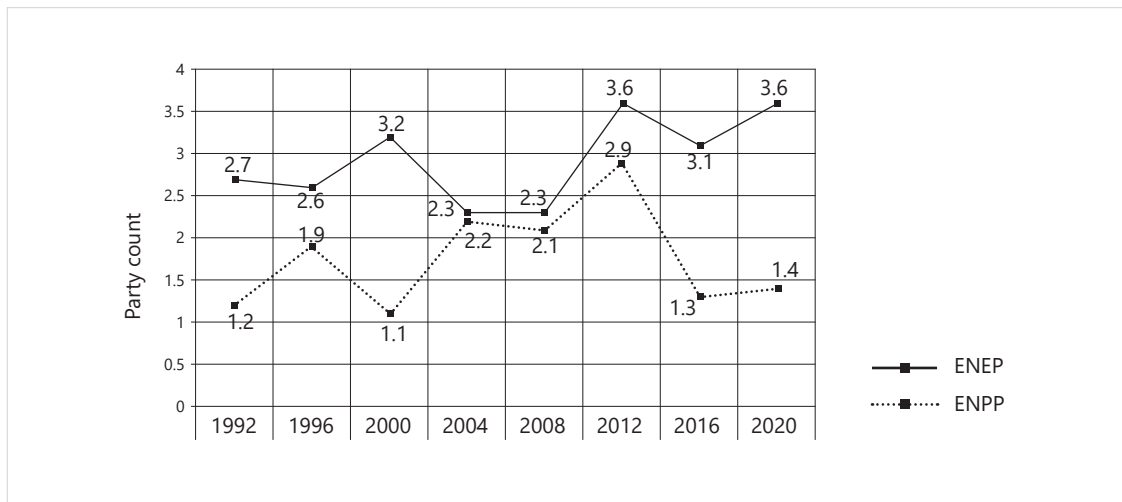
ENEP = Effective number of electoral parties; ENPP = Effective number of parliamentary parties. Source: Based on data from the General Election Commission (2020)

The issue of disproportionality and loss of votes suggests the deterioration of electoral "legitimacy". The block voting system used in Mongolia, which has contributed to these dynamics, does not have comparisons in democratic peer countries, which is perhaps a further indication that the limitations of this electoral approach outweigh the potential benefits. With declining voter turnout and very low public trust in political parties[78], questions about the way election financing being used is increasing.[79] These trends all suggest a need for careful consideration of the appropriate electoral model for Mongolia, and how the stability of that system can be increased. The 2019 constitutional amendments recognized this need by trying to introduce a time limit for changing electoral laws (one year before an election), but it is, at this point, unclear if that is an adequate control.[80]

This is not a new discussion for Mongolia by any stretch. There has been considerable public discourse and academic research on potential reform pathways for Mongolia over the years. The specific idea of introducing more elements of proportional representation has also been discussed for many years. In 1998, Deputy Speaker of the State Great Khural J. Byambadorj (MPP) made public statements to the effect that the "one district- one seat" (FPTP) system

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[77] Bat-Orgil.A, 2021. Electoral Systems in Mongolia: A Comparative Study working paper

[78] Center for Insights in Survey Research (International Republican Institute), "Public Opinion Poll: Residents of Mongolia", March-April 2022. Public Opinion Poll: Residents of Mongolia March | April 2022 | International Republican Institute (iri.org)

[79] Gerelt-Od.E, 2021. Retrospective Political and Legal Study on the State Great Khural Election Systems (1992-2020) working paper

[80] Constitution of Mongolia 1992 http://cli.num.edu.mn/content/pdf/research-1.pdf [22/12/2022] (Paragraph 21.4 was amended on November 14, 2019) https://www.legalinfo.mn/law/details/367 [22/12/2022]

did not reflect the wills of voters, and weakened the role of political parties. He went so far as to directly recommend a proportional electoral system with a single national electoral district.[81] A 2005 State Great Khural-led study also concluded that a system with greater use of proportional principles would perhaps be more appropriate for Mongolia.[82] Their recommendation to include a greater emphasis on elements of proportional[83] electoral systems was not ultimately applied to the 2005 Law on State Great Khural elections.[84] There were also discussions on electoral systems in the lead-up to the 2019 constitutional amendments, with both MPP and DP representatives discussing possible ideas for a mixed system, but this was not ultimately included in the amendments.[85]

Academics have further added to this discourse; for example, in 1999, N. Tsolmontuya[86] suggested a proportional system with candidates nominated in defined electoral districts. In 2009, Professor Dieter Nohlen concluded that Mongolia would benefit from a mixed electoral system that might build broader consensus, potentially using a 50/50 ratio of seats selected by majoritarian and proportional methods and setting a four percent threshold for the proportional system.[87] In 2010, Benjamin Reilly recommended a mixed system with a 26/50 model, including one representative per province/district to account for the geographic diversity of voters' needs with 50 additional seats allocated using a proportional methodology. Recent research on electoral systems also concludes that a mixed-electoral system would be advisable[88], although it would be premature to call this an overarching consensus. There are certainly actors discussing more radical changes, including a move to a fully proportional system, or potentially an approach based on the alternative voting system.[89]

The researchers cited above all suggested improving political party institutional development, increasing voter representation, and using mixed or proportional systems, taking into account the regional context. However it is ultimately parliament, and generally the ruling political parties, that decide what electoral system to use. The expert preference for a mixed system does not necessarily represent at present a national consensus on how to create a new political culture to increase voter turnout and representation, limit chances of vote loss, reduce political financing, and support the institutionalization of political parties through electoral system reform.

There is also a recognized need to consider the representation of women in any electoral system selected. Over the course of eight parliamentary elections, there has never been an adequate level of women's representation in the SGKh, even after the 2011 Law on the SGKh set a 20 percent quota for candidates. Women's representation remains lower than international and Asian regional averages. In terms of the plurality electoral system, all possible support for women's participation in the parliament has been provided. Electoral system reform should promote more women's participation.

[81] Byambadorj.J, 1998. Right to Elect and Reforms in the Electoral System. Shine Toli journal № 28
[82] Improving the Majoritarian Electoral System. Policy recommendations, 2005
[83] United Nations Development Programme, 2005. Which proportional electoral system is more appropriate for Mongolia? Policy recommendations. https://forum.mn/product/151960 [22/12/2022]
[84] Gerelt-Od.E, 2021. Retrospective Political and Legal Study on the State Great Khural Election Systems (1992-2020) working paper
[85] Ibid.
[86] Tsolmontuya.N, 1999. Electoral Systems and Optimization of the System. Shine Toli journal. № 25,
[87] Dieter Nohlen, 2009. "Reforms of Mongolian Electoral System" Policy document. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
[88] Altanzul.A, 2020. Mongolian Parliamentary (State Great Khural) Electoral System: Long-Term Development Policy working paper, Gerelt-Od.E, 2021. Retrospective Political and Legal Study on the State Great Khural Election Systems (1992-2020) working paper
[89] Bat-Orgil.A, 2021. Electoral Systems in Mongolia: A Comparative Study working paper

All stakeholders must understand that there is no perfect electoral system, and each potential system has pros and cons. It is necessary to have reasonable discussions about the values and priorities that Mongolia needs to set as guiding principles for any reform process and debate how best to match them to the actual electoral system design. Mixed systems provide a wide range of potential options and formats that can be used to balance the benefits and disadvantages of any given system, but it is not always easy to understand how that balancing will play out within a given context. Whatever reforms-or a decision to continue with the existing block voting system-emerge from public discourse, it is fundamentally important to introduce greater stability to the system. All other countries explored in Chapter II of this volume have kept their election systems since 1991, while Mongolia has used four different systems and made eight adjustments over the same period. Such frequent shifts from system to system hinder the further strengthening of a county's electoral system as an institution, and adversely impact political party development and institutionalization.

CHAPTER IV

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN MONGOLIA

By:
Mark Koenig, Badamdash D, Gerelt-Od E, Shinebayar G, Erdenedalai B

Following Mongolia's transition to democracy and the ratification of a new Constitution in 1992, popular elections have been held to select a president eight times. During this period, the role and powers of the president have evolved-through political influence, power, and formal legal changes-in ways that many would characterize as a gradual expansion of the power of the presidency. This expanding influence can partially be attributed to the relative stability of the position compared to the relatively short tenure of most prime ministers. It might also be traced back to the types of politicians that have taken the role. The direct elections of the president have been typified by intense intra-party competition over presidential nominations, and results have indicated that party affiliation and candidate quality have both played a significant role in election success. This means most elected presidents have had strong popular appeal and prominent leadership roles within their party. Constitutional reforms enacted in 2019 were, in part, intended to limit some of this expanding influence of the presidency in favor of a stronger parliament and prime minister. It remains too early to tell how effective those changes will be.

The Role of the Presidency

In the first draft of Mongolia's 1992 Constitution, the Mongolian political system was written as a classic parliamentary system. However, over the course of discussion by the people's deputies, the draft evolved to include direct popular elections for the role of president (the first draft proposed indirect election by parliament) and vested considerable powers to the head of state. It was this second draft that was included in the approved Constitution, leading many observers to conclude that the governance system established by the Constitution is a mixed or semi-presidential system.[90] Many of the powers conferred to the president- direct popular election, the right to propose and veto legislation, the power to nominate a prime minister in consultation with political parties and coalitions with a governing majority, serving as commander-in-chief of the armed forces, chairing the National Security Council, and representing the country in foreign relations with full authority-are powers that are similar to countries with a presidential system. Within Mongolia, however, narratives in research and public discourse assert that Mongolia has a parliamentary system due to the primacy of the State Great Khural as the highest body of state power, the ability of parliament to hold the

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[90] In Japanese political scientist Yuko Kasuya's "Comparative Study of Asian Presidents" (粕谷祐子，"アジアにおける大統領の比較政治学", 2010), the powers of the presidents of Afghanistan, Indonesia, South Korea, Kyrgyzstan, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, the Philippines, Timor-Leste, and Mongolia are studied using two measurements, constitutionally vested legislative powers and dependence on political parties, which Mainwaring and Shugart used in their study on presidential systems in Latin America. In this study, it was concluded that Mongolia has a semi-presidential system.

president accountable, and the speaker of parliament's ability to exercise the powers of the president in the absence of a president.[91]

Since the ratification of the 1992 Constitution, the general consensus is that the formal and informal powers of Mongolian presidents have expanded over time.[92] This has taken place through legislative changes that formally added or expanded the presidential powers, as well as expanded influence taking place as political culture and norms shift.

Many formal changes to the president's powers over the years have focused on the judiciary. Between 1992 and 2020, many powers related to judicial power, which were not specified in the Constitution, were vested in the president. Laws passed during this time empowered the president to appoint chief justices, except at the Supreme Court level (effective from 1993); suspend, dismiss, and remove judges (1993); appoint the chair and members of the Judicial Disciplinary Committee (Ethics Committee since 2012) (2002); appoint the chair and other Judicial General Council members (2012); and nominate three of nine members of the Constitutional Court for parliamentary approval. In 2019, legislation was passed that granted the president powers to suspend judges and remove chief justices, the chair and deputy chairs of the Independent Authority Against Corruption (IAAC), the general prosecutor and deputy general prosecutor upon the advice of the National Security Council (which is chaired by the president). This expansion has not been limited to the judiciary. Many other powers that were not reflected in the Constitution have been given to the president through various legislation (starting from the 1993 Law on the President), including the nomination of two of nine members of the GEC, four of 15 members of the National Council of Mongolian National Broadcaster (MNB), one of three members of the National Human Rights Commission, the chair of the Public Service Council, appointing a secretary and experts for the National Security Council, the chair and nine members of the National Council for Language Policy, and all members of the Public Council of the IAAC.[93]

Efforts to resolve this debate on Mongolia's governance system by limiting presidential powers can be observed in the 2000 and 2019 constitutional amendment efforts. The 2000 constitutional amendments marked a clear effort to reign in the ability of the president to limit the prime minister's agenda.[94] These amendments were developed rather quickly during the Fall of 1999 and passed in late December 1999 with support from 58 of the 61 MPs that voted. The contents of the amendments included allowing MPs to serve concurrently in the parliament and cabinet (the so-called "double-deel" provision), eliminating the president's authority over cabinet formation, and reducing the president's negotiating power regarding prime ministerial appointment (requiring the president to designate a prime ministerial candidate nominated by the parliament majority within five working days). Further amendments granted the prime minister the authority to change the structure and composition of the cabinet with parliamentary approval, required open votes in Parliament, and lowered the parliament's quorum requirement to 39 (in response to the frequent use of quorum-busting as a political tactic during the 1990s). The intention of these changes was to

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[91] Chuluunbaatar.Ch, 1999. Mashbat.O, 2015, (Constitution: Political Law, Checks and Balances). p. 141, Academy of Governance, Implementing Agency of the Government of Mongolia, "Opportunities for the Perfection of Mongolian State Structure", 2011. p. 54.
[92] Munkhsaikhan.O, 2021. Legal Assessment of the Status and Power of the President of Mongolia (1992-2021); Ts. Shinebayar, 2021, Retrospective Analysis of the Rights, Responsibilities and Impact of the Presidential Institution (1990-2020).
[93] Munkhsaikhan.O, 2021. Legal Assessment of the Status and Power of the President of Mongolia (1992-2021).
[94] Munkh-Erdene.L, 2010. The Transformation of Mongolia's Political System: From Semi-parliamentary to Parliamentary? Asian Survey - ASIAN SURV. 50. 311-334. 10.1525/as.2010.50.2.311.

increase the power of the parliament and prime minister to form and negotiate government structures and reduce the president's involvement in the creation of a cabinet.[95]

The amendments of 2000 did not significantly alter the growing power of the presidency and relieve the relative instability of prime ministers. This contributed to the decision to undertake another amendment of the Constitution leading up to 2019. The powers of the president were a focus once more, with the intention to tip the balance more toward parliament and the prime minister.[96] Specific changes included amending Article 33.4, which allows laws to specify powers granted to the president, however, these powers cannot exceed the scope of Article 33 on the role of the president.[97] These amendments also changed the term and term limits for the presidency from two four-year terms to a single six-year term. Other measures in the constitutional amendments included restoring some parliamentary powers for judiciary appointments and measures to strengthen the prime minister's control of their cabinet[98], including double-deel limits-a change that was subsequently struck down by the Constitutional Court in 2022, resulting in a further constitutional amendment.[99] The minimum age threshold for presidential candidates was also raised to 50 from 45. A significant body of legislation is still being drafted and approved to bring all these changes into effect, so it remains too early to tell if there has been a significant shift in the roles and influence of the president since these amendments were enacted.

Presidential Elections - Administration and Turnout

The 1992 Constitution set forth that presidents would be elected directly by all citizens of voting age. Since the first election in 1993, eight presidential elections have been held in Mongolia. In each instance, elections have resulted in a peaceful transition of power. While there have been adjustments to presidential elections since 1992, for the most part, it has been a stable system until the 2021 election-which, according to 2019 constitutional amendments, elected a president for a single six-year term for the first time but with no major changes in electoral systems or rules.

It is the responsibility of the SGKh to set and announce a polling date. (Constitution of Mongolia, Article 25.1.3). Political parties with seats in Parliament, alone or with other parties, then nominate a presidential candidate (Article 31.2). All citizens of Mongolia with voting rights participate in the first round of polling and cast votes for a single candidate by secret ballot (Article 31.3). The SGKh will confirm the candidate who has obtained a majority of all votes cast in the first round of voting as elected president and pass a law recognizing their mandate (Article 31.4). If none of the candidates obtain a majority of votes during the first round, a second round of voting is organized among the top two candidates from the first round. The candidate who wins a majority of votes in the second round is considered elected as president, and the SGKh passes a law to recognize their mandate. In the event that no candidate wins a majority of votes in the second round, another election will be organized. According to Article 32.1, the president assumes office by swearing an oath, and

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[95] Ibid.
[96] Munkhsaikhan.O, 2021. Legal Assessment of the Status and Power of the President of Mongolia (1992-2021). p.24.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Zorigt.D, 2020. Mongolia's constitutional amendmnets: An analysis,
https://www.gisreportsonline.com/r/mongolia-constitution-amendments/ [22/12/2022]
[99] Resolution 02 of the Mongolian Constitutional Court, 2022 https://legalinfo.mn/mn/detail?lawId=16530977997941 [22/12/2022]

their term ends on the day a newly elected president is sworn in. The SGKh has the right to pass laws recognizing the president's mandate and to dismiss and remove a president (Article 25.1.5).[100] Most presidents have been elected for four-year terms with the possibility of serving a second term, but since the 2019 constitutional amendments, presidents are now only eligible for a single six-year term.

Presidential elections have generally had slightly lower voter turnout than parliamentary elections (Table 10). A common trend of declining voter participation affecting all Mongolian elections can also be observed.[101] Potential explanations for the gap between election types include voter fatigue, with the presidential elections often being the last of three elections (parliamentary, local, presidential) to take place within one year. Perceptions of the competitiveness of the race may also drive turnout, as well as candidate quality and enthusiasm. A key factor also seems to be the level of participation by third-party voters. The 2021 presidential election was an outlier in terms of the extremely low turnout, which was the lowest recorded turnout at 59 percent. This figure likely resulted from several factors that include the continued overall trend of declining voter participation. The 2021 election turnout was also affected by unique circumstances less relevant to other years including the COVID-19 pandemic, a relatively non-competitive contest with a clear frontrunner, and a very divided main opposition party.

Table 10. Voter turnout comparison between parliamentary and presidential elections

Year	1992/93	1996/97	2000/01	2004/05	2008/09	2012/13	2016/17	2020/21	Average
Parliamentary elections turnout	95.6%	92.1%	82.4%	81.8%	76.5%	67.3%	73.7%	73.7%	80.39%
Presidential elections turnout	92.7%	85.1%	82.9%	75%	73.6%	66.5%	68.3% (first round)	59%	75.39%
Difference	-2.9%	-7%	-0.5%	-6.8%	-2.9%	-0.8%	-5.4%	-14.7%	-5%

Voter turnout does not significantly vary by province. Analysis of elections between 2000-2017 shows that 20 of 22 provinces reported an average turnout between 68 and 73 percent. Dundgobi had the strongest turnout at 73.3 percent, and Dornogobi the lowest at 67.1 percent.[102] Of the top five voting provinces, we see some of the least competitive provinces (Dundgobi, Uvurkhangai, Gobi-Altai, and Bulgan have been reliable electorates for MPP/MPRP support) as well as the most competitive province (Ulaanbaatar).

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[100] Munkhsaikhan.O, 2021. Legal Assessment of the Status and Power of the President of Mongolia (1992-2021). p. 16-17.

[101] Erdenedalai.B, 2021. Analysis of the Results of Mongolian Presidential Elections working paper

[102] Ibid.

Table 11. Voter turnout, ranking of provinces (2000-2017)

Provinces	Voter turnout	Rank	Provinces	Voter turnout	Rank
Dundgobi	73.3%	1	Gobisumber	70.2%	12
Uvurkhangai	72.8%	2	Dornod	70.0%	13
Gobi-Altai	72.6%	3	Bayan-Ulgii	69.8%	14
Ulaanbaatar	72.4%	4	Arkhangai	69.8%	15
Bulgan	72.0%	5	Orkhon	69.7%	16
Bayankhongor	72.0%	6	Zavkhan	69.6%	17
Khovd	71.5%	7	Tuv	69.3%	18
Sukhbaatar	71.4%	8	Darkhan-Uul	69.3%	19
Umnugobi	71.1%	9	Khentii	68.9%	20
Selenge	71.1%	10	Uvs	68.8%	21
Khuvsgul	70.2%	11	Dornogobi	67.1%	22
Total	71.2% (Average 70.1%)				

Presidential Elections – Candidates

Looking back at the past eight presidential elections, all of them have been won by the two largest parties, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP)/Mongolian People's Party (MPP) or the Democratic Party. All elected presidents have been men, and Mongolia has only had one female candidate for the presidency (out of 23 total candidates). Presidential candidates can only be nominated by parties with seats in the State Great Khural, which has limited the number of candidates in any given election. Two of the eight elections have had only two candidates, five have had three, and there were four candidates in 2005.[103]

Mongolia's presidents have been relatively young, and their popularity is high, indicating that these are politicians at the peak of their political influence and public support. Data from the Sant Maral Foundation on the country's most prominent politicians shows that successful presidential candidates are well-known and respected going into their elections.[104] Table 12 indicates that between 1996 and 2016, all successful candidates were among the top three most popular politicians in the year before and of the election. Table 13 indicates that the average age of Mongolia's presidents at the time of their election was 49.8.[105] Both these data points indicate that Mongolian presidents have been prominent figures in Mongolian politics in the prime of their careers when seeking the presidency. This observation, along with the intense competition for nomination within parties that has been observed[106], demonstrates that this is a highly coveted position. This stature of Mongolian presidents further explains their significant influence beyond the formal powers extended to the position.

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103 Gerelt-Od.E, 2021, Mongolia's Presidential Elections and Political Party Competition.
104 Sumati.L, Werner Prohl, Sergelen.Ts, 2018. Voters Voices (Vol. II). p. 424-428.
105 The 2019 constitutional amendments introduced an age limit of 50 for presidential candidates going forward, so this figure will increase in the future.
106 E. Gerelt-Od, 2021. Mongolia's Presidential Elections and Political Party Competition working paper

Table 12. Political prominence of successful presidential candidates[107]

	1996	1997	2000	2001	2004	2005	2008	2009	2012	2013	2016
N.Bagabandi	3rd 21.9%	1st 40.2%	2nd 23.4%	1st 41.9%	31%	15.1%	8%	11.4%	6.7%	8.9%	4.2%
N.Enkhbayar	0.4%	4.5%	22.2%	29.3%	1st 54%	1st 54.3%	4th 13.2%	3rd 27.8%	18.2%	18.3%	21.2%
Ts.Elbegdorj	27.5%	13.1%	4.1%	3.6%	18.1%	31.4%	2nd 20.9%	1st 39.5%	3rd 15%	2nd 20.9%	7.3%
Kh.Battulga	0.9%	1.6%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	1.6%	0.4%	6.5%	3.6%	3rd 11.4%

Table 13. Ages of presidents

№	Presidents	Year of birth	Elected		Sex
			Year	Age	
1	P. Ochirbat	1942	1993	51	Male
2	N. Bagabandi	1950	1997	47	Male
3		1950	2001	51	Male
4	N. Enkhbayar	1958	2005	47	Male
5	Ts. Elbegdorj	1963	2009	46	Male
6		1963	2013	50	Male
7	Kh. Battulga	1963	2017	54	Male
8	U. Khurelsukh	1968	2021	53	Male
	Average age			49.8	

Presidential Elections - Results

Over the course of Mongolia's eight presidential elections (all won by MPP/MPRP and DP/DP-linked coalitions), the average winning vote share has been 56.24 percent, and the winner's average margin of victory over the second-place candidate has been 21.87 percent.[108] We can observe from the overall election results that incumbency has, to date, not been a clear advantage. Only four elections have included incumbents; of those four, only two were reelected. There were no major gains or losses in support of successful incumbent candidates[109], but both incumbents who failed in their reelection bids struggled with party unity going into election years.[110] It is worth noting that with the 2019 constitutional amendments, there will no longer be incumbents running for reelection.[111]

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[107] Sumati.L, Werner.P, Sergelen.Ts, 2018. Voters Voices (Vol. II). p.426-428
[108] These figures were calculated using the second-round results for the 2017 elections.
[109] Annex IV provides detailed results.
[110] Gerelt-Od.E, 2021. Mongolia's Presidential Elections and Political Party Competition working paper
[111] 2019 constitutional amendments, Article 30.2

Table 14. Overview of presidential election results[112]

Year	Winner	Party	Number of candidates	Incumbent	Vote share of winner	Margin of victory (over second-place candidate)
1993	P. Ochirbat	MNDP, MSDP	2	None	57.78%	+19.08%
1997	N. Bagabandi	MPRP	3	P. Ochirbat	60.81%	+32%
2001	N. Bagabandi	MPRP	3	N. Bagabandi	58.13%	+21.6%
2005	N. Enkhbayar	MPRP	4	None	53.44%	+33.39%
2009	Ts. Elbegdorj	DP	2	N. Enkhbayar	51.21%	+3.8%
2013	Ts. Elbegdorj	DP	3	Ts. Elbegdorj	50.23%	+8.26%
2017	Kh. Battulga	DP	3	None	38.11% (Round 1) 50.61% (Round 2)	+7.79% (Round 1) +9.45% (Round 2)
2021	U. Khurelsukh	MPP	3	None	67.69%	+47.38

Importance of Party Affiliation, Party Unity, and Candidate Quality

Presidential elections have been dominated by the two major political blocks in Mongolia, the MPRP/MPP and the DP, and related coalitions. Each political block has won four presidential elections. On the surface, it would seem that the presidency offers strong competition between these two major parties. The DP has had more success in presidential elections than parliamentary; however, a closer analysis of the data shows that the MPP/MPRP has distinct advantages. A study by Professor B. Erdenedalai found that using the least square method, an MPP/MPRP candidate will receive a 17.4 percent higher vote share, a more significant figure than any variation due to demographic factors.[113]

Several data points can help illustrate this conclusion. First, in their victories, the DP candidates received an average vote share of 52.46 percent and had an average margin of victory of 10.15 percent. MPRP/MPP candidates demonstrated a higher average vote share, 60.02 percent, and a stronger average margin of victory at 33.59 percent.[114] The structural advantages of MPRP/MPP candidates can also be illustrated in cycles during which they lose. During losing elections, MPRP/MPP candidates received 42.31 percent of votes, whereas losing DP candidates received only 22.84 percent. This suggests that the MPP/MPRP has a stronger base of support which can reliably be expected to turn out and vote for their candidate.

We can also look at the competition from a geographic perspective and see clear advantages for the MPRP/MPP. The table below shows that there are six provinces/districts that the DP has never won, five they have only won once, eight only won twice, four won three times, and seven they have won four times (in half of the presidential elections to date). Of the seven provinces/districts they have won half of the time, six are districts in Ulaanbaatar (the other is in Arkhangai). Of course, the presidential election is national, so it is not fundamentally important how many locations are won but rather the number of votes collected in a given location. However, this geographic distribution illustrates that the relative comfort of the MPP/MPRP in many provinces might shape election strategies and allow more resources

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[112] Detailed results can be found in Annex IV.
[113] Erdenedalai.B, 2021. Analysis of the Results of the Mongolian Presidential Elections working paper. p. 15.
[114] Figures use only the data for the second round of voting in 2017

and effort to be focused on gaining votes in the most competitive locations. The table also illustrates the well-known fact that the performance of the DP in urban areas (including Ulaanbaatar and Darkhan) is critical to their electoral success.

Table 15. Winning party in each presidential election by province/district

	Province/District	1993	1997	2001	2005	2009	2013	2017	2021
PROVINCE	Arkhangai	DP	MPRP	DP	MPRP	DP	DP	MPRP	MPP
	Bayan-Ulgii	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	MPP	MPP
	Bayankhongor	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	DP	MPP
	Bulgan	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPP	MPRP	MPP
	Gobi-Altai	DP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPP	MPP	MPP
	Gobisumber	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPP	MPRP	MPP
	Darkhan-Uul	DP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	DP	MPRP	MPP
	Dornogobi	DP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPP	MPRP	MPP
	Dornod	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	DP	MPRP	MPP
	Dundgobi	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPP	MPRP	MPP
	Zavkhan	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	DP	MPP	MPP
	Orkhon	DP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	DP	MPRP	MPP
	Uvurkhangai	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	MPP	MPP
	Umnugobi	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	MPRP	MPP
	Sukhbaatar	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPP	MPP	MPP
	Selenge	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	DP	MPP	MPP
	Tuv	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPP	MPP	MPP
	Uvs	DP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	MPP	MPP
	Khovd	DP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	DP	MPP	MPP
	Khuvsgul	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	DP	MPP	MPP
	Khentii	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPP	MPRP	MPP
DISTRICT	Bayanzurkh	DP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	DP	DP	MPP
	Khan-Uul	DP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	DP	DP	MPP
	Sukhbaatar	DP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	DP	DP	MPP
	Songinokhairkhan	DP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	DP	DP	MPP
	Chingeltei	DP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	DP	DP	MPP
	Bayangol	DP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	DP	DP	MPP
	Nalaikh	DP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	MPRP	MPP
	Baganuur	DP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	MPP	DP	MPP
	Bagakhangai	DP	MPRP	MPRP	MPRP	DP	MPP	MPP	MPP

Party unity has also been a critical indicator in determining election success. The DP had its worst political showings during periods of party fracture (1997 and 2021 both stand out), and the split of the MPP and MPRP clearly contributed to the string of DP election successes from 2009-2017. While the MPP and MPRP were united in 2009, incumbent President Enkhbayar publicly complained about the lack of party support leading into the 2009 elections, and a formal separation into two parties took place following that fracture.[115]

There is debate about whether Mongolian voters have shown a tendency to seek balance in politics by moving to support the party in the minority following parliamentary elections (which take place one year before presidential elections). In fact, Mongolia has experienced fewer years with different parties controlling parliament and the presidency (14 years) compared to years of single-party control of both branches of government (15.5 years), as illustrated in Table 16.

Table 16. Years of single-party control of both the presidency and Parliament (total 29.5 years)

Parliament and presidential party control	Total years	
DP president and DP parliament (including DP-led coalitions such as the Democratic Union Coalition and DP-MPRP Justice Coalition June 1996 - June 2000)	5	15.5 years unified
MPP/MPRP president and MPP/MPRP parliament	10.5	
MPP/MPRP president and DP Parliament	3	14 years split
DP president and MPP/MPRP parliament	11	
	29.5	

*Note: A unity government was established after the 2004 Parliamentary election. As the MPP/MPRP won 37 seats and the DP 35 seats this period was counted towards MPP/MPRP president and MPP/MPRP parliament category.

Furthermore, a review of vote share data across presidential and parliamentary election cycles does not establish a clear trend of voters exhibiting reduced support for the winner of the parliamentary elections during the presidential elections. In fact, in only three of eight presidential elections did the party that won the most seats in parliament see a reduction in vote share during the presidential elections (in 1993, 1997, and 2016). Table 17 demonstrates this, and that the major shift in support between parliamentary and presidential elections takes place with regard to votes for third parties. Generally, third parties see significantly reduced support during presidential elections, as observed in six out of eight elections. The reasons behind this vary depending on the election, but they include elections where coalitions are formed with larger parties, third-party supporters do not have a candidate from their party (as only parties with a seat in Parliament can nominate candidates), and some voters realizing that third-party candidates have never been successful in Mongolian elections and decide to choose between major party candidates. Viewed in this way, political coalition building and competition for third-party support is a key element of presidential election success for the two major parties.

[115] Gerelt-Od.E, 2021. Mongolia's Presidential Elections and Political Party Competition working paper. p. 11-12.

Table 17. Vote share in parliamentary and presidential elections by party

Он	Party	Parliamentary	Presidential	Difference
1992/1993	MPRP/MPP	57.1	38.7	-18.4
	DP	31.1	57.78	26.68
	Other	11.8	0	-11.8
1996/1997	MPRP/MPP	45.7	60.81	15.11
	DP	39.9	29.81	-10.09
	Other	14.4	6.64	-7.76
2000/2001	MPRP/MPP	51.5	58.13	6.63
	DP	24.1	36.65	12.55
	Other	241.4	3.54	-21.06
2004/2005	MPRP/MPP	48.8	53.44	4.64
	DP	44.8	20.05	-24.75
	Other	6.4	25.16	18.76
2008/2009	MPRP/MPP	43	47.41	4.41
	DP	39.2	51.21	12.01
	Other	17.7	0	-17.7
2012/2013	MPRP/MPP	31.3	42.52	11.22
	DP	35.32	50.89	15.57
	Other	33.37	5.58	-27.79
2016/2017	MPRP/MPP	46.5	30.32	-16.18
	DP	34.2	38.11	3.91
	Other	19.3	30.19	10.89
2020/2011	MPRP/MPP	46.6	67.69	21.09
	DP	27.7	5.99	-21.71
	Other	25.6	20.31	-5.29

Clearly, party politics are critical to the outcome of presidential elections, but there is also evidence that candidate quality is a factor. As previously mentioned, according to Sant Maral Foundation data, successful presidential candidates were all within the top three most popular politicians at the time of their election. We can also start to explain some outlier election results through the lens of candidate quality. The strong performance of third parties in the 2016 elections (the MPRP after the split with the MPP), for example, might be linked to the selection of a very popular candidate (S. Ganbaatar) who has consistently featured as one of the country's most well-known politicians, and was the most popular politician in 2015 and 2016.[116] The 2005 election also saw a strong performance by third parties when two parties (the Motherland Party and Republican Party) both choose candidates that were well-known figures who had both previously been among the top five most popular politicians in the country.[117] Underperformance of major parties can also be identified when they have put forward candidates with less popular support in recent elections, something that can be observed with the MPP in 2017 and DP in 2021, both of which saw supporters shift to

[116] Sumati.L, Werner Prohl, Sergelen.Ts, 2018. Voters Voices (Vol. II).
[117] Ibid.

third-party support (MPRP and Khun [Labor], respectively). These elections also featured the highest level of invalid votes, which is a growing trend expressing dissatisfaction with the choices available. From Table 18 below, we can observe this trend in round two of the 2017 elections, with many voters who were likely supporters of the MPRP candidate-who narrowly missed joining the second round of voting, and the 2021 elections, which featured a very split DP.

*Table 18. Invalid votes in presidential elections*

	Type of vote	Number	Percentage
1997	Blank vote/protest vote	-	-
	Number of invalid votes	26,970	2.74
2001	Blank vote/protest vote	545	0.05
	Number of invalid votes	17,411	1.74
2005	Blank vote/protest vote	466	0.05
	Number of invalid votes	12,092	1.30
2009	Blank vote/protest vote	938	0.09
	Ballots for which all candidates are marked / Protest vote	749	0.07
	Number of invalid votes	13,522	1.23
2013	Blank vote/protest vote	13,688	1.10
	Number of invalid votes	-	-
2017	Blank vote/protest vote	18,663	1.37
	Ballots for which all candidates are marked / Protest vote	99,494	8.23
	Number of invalid votes	-	-
2021	Blank vote/protest vote	71,937	5.92
	Number of invalid votes	-	-

Research on how campaign strategies, media appearances, and appearances in forums such as debates impact election results do not yield clear data trends. An analysis of Globe International's media monitoring data from 2009, 2013, and 2017 shows some positive correlation between media appearances (largely through advertising) and votes received (Figure 10 below).[118] But the data set is too limited to develop a clear causal relationship between media appearances and election success. We also have a very limited analysis of the relevance of presidential debates. Every presidential campaign in Mongolia has featured at least one debate except for 2021, which was canceled a few days before a potential date when one candidate tested positive for COVID-19. Data from the 2013 and 2017 elections demonstrates very high audience levels; the 2013 debate is estimated to have attracted 50 percent of all TV viewers when it aired, and the 2017 debate attracted 70 percent. However, Mongolia limits public polling during presidential campaigns (polling by researchers is allowed, but the results cannot be shared during the campaign period, also media is not allowed to conduct surveys), and there is no data that might help articulate how debate performances have impacted voter opinions and election outcomes.[119]

[118] Erdenedalai B, 2021. Analysis of the Results of Mongolian Presidential Elections working paper
[119] Badamdash D, Bat-Orgil A, 2021. Debates in the Presidential Elections of Mongolia (1993-2017) working paper

Figure 10. Correlation between votes obtained and the duration of media appearances[120]
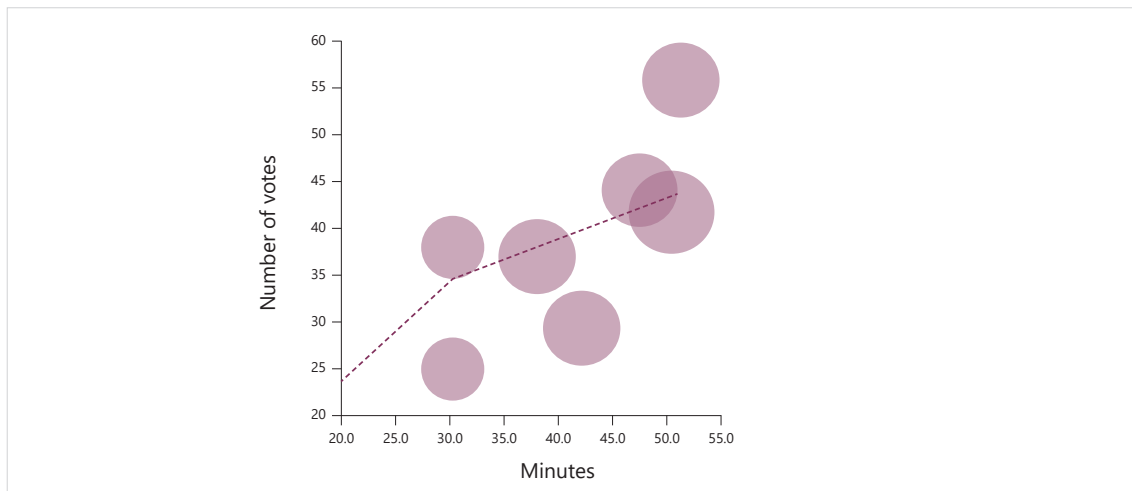
Source: Globe International

Trends related to campaign financing and the amounts spent on election campaigns by candidates show significant increases in recent election cycles[121], but the impact and effectiveness of that spending are uncertain. Most reported election financing is provided by donations from individuals or corporations, with a lesser amount provided by the political parties. Analysis shows that of the campaign financing that is reported (there are some questions about how much is being disclosed accurately)[122], there may be some correlation between spending and vote shares, but there is inadequate quality data with which to conduct an analysis.[123] This limited analysis needs further follow-up research, as well as improvements in the campaign finance information available.

Figure 11. Breakdown of candidate financing: 2009-2017[124]
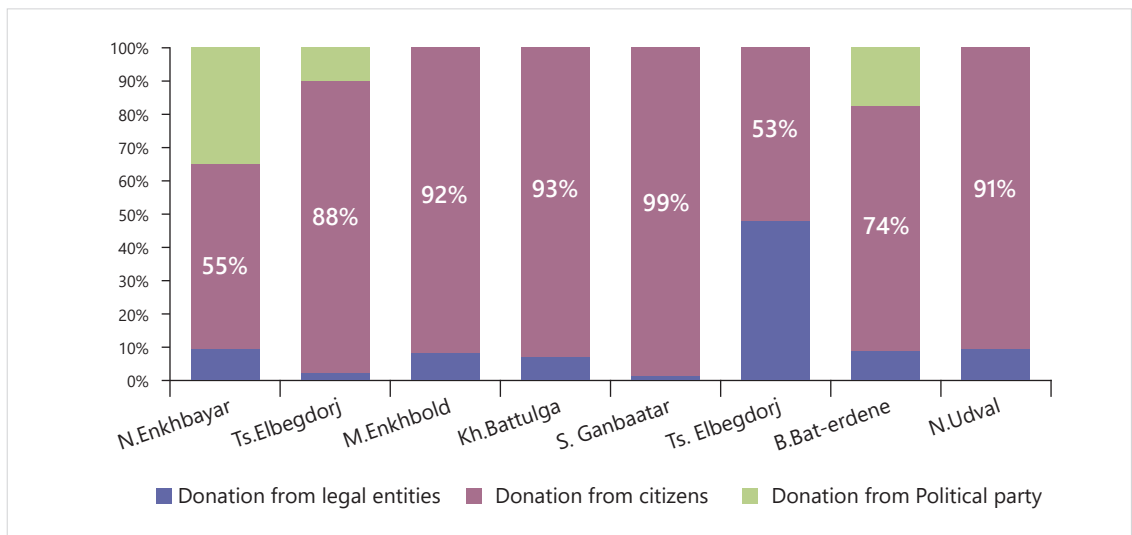
Source: General Election Committee

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[120] B. Erdenedalai, 2021. Analysis of the Results of Mongolian Presidential Elections working paper

[121] Namuun.A, 2021. History: Candidates who run for president since 1993. https://ikon.mn/n/28se [22/12/2022]

[122] Transparent party anti-corruption cooperation, 2018. Transparency of political financing, corruption risk assessment research report https://www.uih.mn/upload/sudalgaa/files/96_2509657.pdf

[123] B. Erdenedalai, 2021. Analysis of the Results of Mongolian Presidential Elections working paper

[124] Ibid., p. 14.

Conclusion

A review of presidential powers and elections since 1993 demonstrates that the position has increased in both formal power and influence, and is being filled by some of Mongolia's leading political figures. These two developments have intensified internal party competition over candidacy, which may be having a negative impact on political party formation and stability.[125] We can also see that the success of candidates is highly dependent on party unity and organization, but also that coalition building and efforts to recruit support from smaller third parties can be a decisive factor. Other factors, such as candidate quality and popularity prior to campaigns, media engagement, and potentially campaign finance, may impact outcomes, but further research is clearly needed on these issues. We can also observe a trend of declining voter turnout for presidential elections, and lower participation rates than in parliamentary elections as a norm. Since 2013, a phenomenon of white ballots, where voters vote but choose to leave the selection blank, has also been increasing. The combination of these trends may suggest a somewhat diminished mandate for recent presidents despite the increasing level of influence.

The 2019 amendments to the Mongolian Constitution introduced potentially significant changes to the role of the presidency. This amendment clearly aimed to curb the expansion of presidential powers, and fundamentally alter the existing Mongolian election cycle. After eight cycles of holding the presidential election one year after the parliamentary elections, the system is shifting to presidential elections alternating between being held one year after parliamentary elections, and one year before parliamentary elections.

Table 19. Planned parliamentary and presidential elections calendar.

Parliamentary Election	Presidential Election	Timing
2020	2021	1 year after/3 years before
2024	2027	3 years after/1 year before
2028		
2032	2033	1 year after/3 years before
2036	2039	3 years after/1 year before
2040		

This change in the elections calendar will have a number of potential impacts. It is possible that voter turnout will vary depending on the time between elections. We may also see increased advantages or disadvantages emerge for the party holding parliament, depending on the timing of the election cycle. All of these new dynamics will require careful study going forward, something that will benefit from continued analysis and consideration of the conduct and results of presidential elections to date.

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[125] Gerelt-Od.E, 2021. Mongolia's Presidential Elections and Political Party Competition working paper

CHAPTER V

LOCAL ELECTIONS IN MONGOLIA

By:
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Each Mongolian election cycle held to date included parliamentary, local, and presidential elections, all administered within approximately one year.[126] Local elections have generally been held between the parliamentary and presidential elections and have consistently had the lowest voter turnout among the three. This limited attention has expanded to administration and academia, as the quality of data and research available on local elections is far more limited than what can be accessed for parliamentary and presidential elections. Researchers involved in this paper were ultimately only able to access and organize enough local election data from 2000, 2004, 2016, and 2020 to use in the brief analysis provided here. Only data from the province-level elections have been included in those years. This limits the quality of analysis that can be presented on the results of local elections and highlights the need for a dedicated effort to compile comprehensive historical local election data for future research and analysis.

The same instability exhibited in parliamentary elections can also be observed at the local level. Over the years, a block voting system, single-member plurality system, and mixed-member majoritarian system have been used. There have also been frequent changes to mandates in terms of the number of mandates in a province and the electoral districts used, which can further complicate any analysis of election results over time. Low voter turnout is linked to perceptions of local elections being somehow less important.[127] These dynamics persist even as the Mongolian government, while maintaining its unitary structure, has actually been progressively empowering local governments through legislation to increase decision-making, planning, and financial management at the local level.

Local Elections – Electoral systems and administration

Local elections in Mongolia have, similar to parliamentary elections, been administered according to a series of laws that have adjusted the approach over time. The legal basis for holding local elections has been a series of five laws passed in the 30 years since Mongolia's transition to democracy. These have included:

- The 1996 Law on Elections for Province, Metropolitan, Soum, and District People's Representative Khurals;
- The 2007 Law on Local Citizens' Representative Khural Elections;
- The 2012 Capital City Citizen's Representative Khural Election Law and Law on Province, Soum, and District Citizens' Representative Khural Elections;

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[126] This will change going forward as the 2019 Constitutional amendments created a six-year presidential term, meaning the election calendar will diverge for parliamentary/local and presidential elections going forward.
[127] Center for Democracy Studies, SAS NUM, 2022. Local elections - voter behavior survey

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- The 2015 Law on Elections (developed as a single law covering presidential, province, capital, soum, and district-level elections).

- The 2020 Law on the Elections of the People's Representative Khurals of Provinces, the Capital, Soums, and Districts.

In each case, local elections used electoral systems consistent with those used in the same year's parliamentary elections. Block voting was used in 1992, 2008, and 2020; a single-member plurality system was used in 1996, 2000, 2004, and 2016; and in 2012, a mixed-member majoritarian system was used. In addition to changing electoral systems, these laws made adjustments to issues such as the length of the campaign period, candidate requirements, and various rules related to administering the vote, such as early ballot management and closing times for polling stations.

One issue that has often come up in election administration is whether local elections should be scheduled with the parliamentary elections—in part, to help boost turnout. Many countries combine local and parliamentary elections, which can reduce costs and potentially prevent low voter turnout for local elections. There are also potential disadvantages to concurrent elections, including national elections dominating voter choices rather than the evaluation of local candidates or a lack of attention paid to the local races or candidates on the ballot, with the national races dominating the media and public attention. The 2012 and 2016 elections combined the province and Capital City citizens' representative khural elections with parliamentary elections, but separate local elections were still held in the Fall for the other levels of local government representation. Data quality is not adequate to come up with significant conclusions about the effectiveness of this combined election approach, but there is research that demonstrates that voters pay less attention to local elections and struggle to distinguish between the many candidates and differentiate between local and national party platforms.[128]

The main rationale for local and parliamentary elections usually being held on separate dates seems to relate more to political and practical necessities rather than a clear vision related to the effectiveness of the elections. On the political side, local elections provide an opportunity for candidates who do not succeed in parliamentary elections to have another opportunity to stay politically active by running in local elections. The 2020 rules for local elections also allowed candidates to run in multiple elections (soum and province, for example) at the same time, creating more ways for political candidates to have backup plans. There is also a sense that the complexities of administering parliamentary and local elections simultaneously could potentially cause confusion and give space for fraud. Issues such as local electoral districts not being the same as those for parliamentary elections might cause confusion or uncertainty if those elections are combined. Some are also of the opinion that tabulating and aggregating election results are also complicated if elections are held concurrently.

Despite these arguments, the current level of participation in local elections and the overall trends are concerning. In Figure 12 below, it is clear that the turnout for local elections is significantly lower than other elections with a declining trajectory.

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[128] Center for Democratic Studies, SAS NUM, 2022. Analysis on the Mongolian local elections results since 2000 working paper

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Figure 12. Comparison of turnouts in parliamentary, presidential, and local elections (presidential election years in brackets)
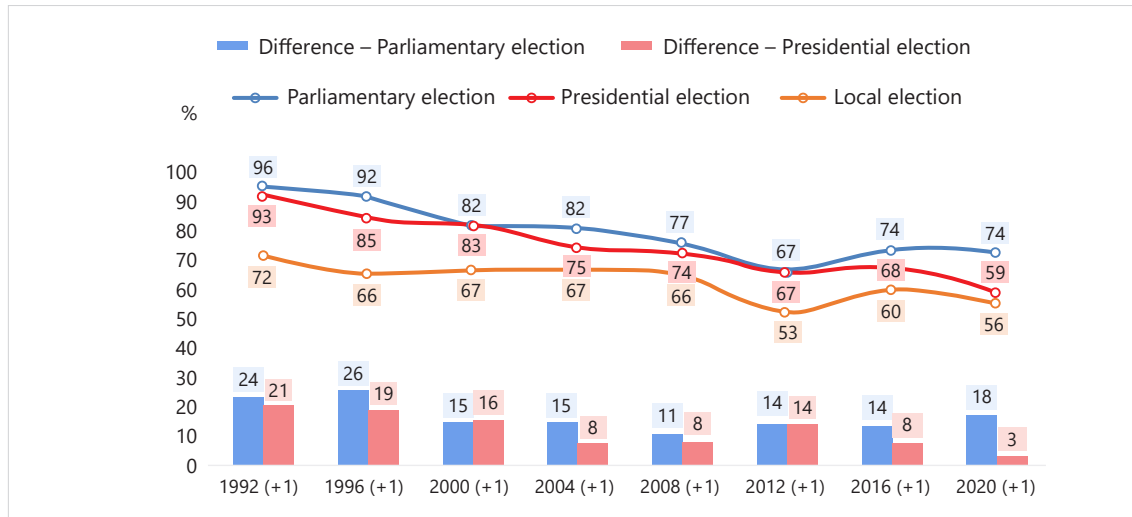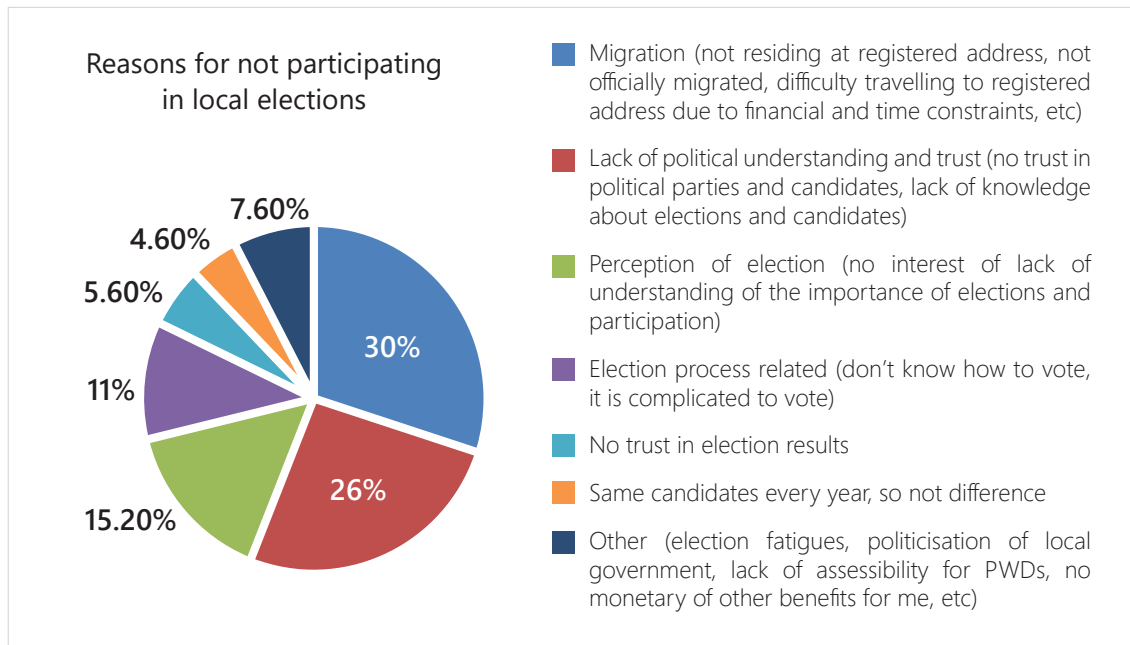

Source: National Statistics Office, 2021

Note: In June 2016, the parliamentary election was held on the same day as the provincial and Capital City citizens' representative khural elections. In October 2016, citizens' Representative khural elections for soums and districts were held simultaneously.

This low turnout for local elections may be caused by various factors, including lack of voters understanding of local elections, election fatigue only a few months following parliamentary elections and with the focus already turning to the upcoming presidential elections. There is also potentially less focus from the General Election Commission (GEC) and other institutions, such as media and NGOs, that often work to raise awareness and carry out civic education activities around elections. Generally, it is observed that such actors are more engaged in parliamentary and presidential elections. Some perceived lack of relative importance placed on local governance is also a likely factor due to limited civic education on the importance of local government and the correct understanding that Mongolia remains a centralized decision-making structure on many key policy issues. However, the timing of elections in the fall is also clearly playing a role due to migration issues, which tend to accelerate with the start of the school year. Voters who are not physically present in the electoral district where they are registered to vote have no way to participate. A 2022 survey of voter behavior found that among voters who did not participate in local elections, 30 percent of those surveyed said migration was the major factor that prevented them from voting (see Figure 13 below), the highest percentage among all responses.[129]

[129] Center for Democracy Studies, SAS NUM, 2022. Local elections – voter behavior survey

Figure 13. Reasons for not participating in local election[130]

Reasons for not participating in local elections

- 30%
- 26%
- 15.20%
- 11%
- 5.60%
- 4.60%
- 7.60%

■ Migration (not residing at registered address, not officially migrated, difficulty travelling to registered address due to financial and time constraints, etc)

■ Lack of political understanding and trust (no trust in political parties and candidates, lack of knowledge about elections and candidates)

■ Perception of election (no interest of lack of understanding of the importance of elections and participation)

■ Election process related (don't know how to vote, it is complicated to vote)

■ No trust in election results

■ Same candidates every year, so not difference

■ Other (election fatigues, politicisation of local government, lack of assessibility for PWDs, no monetary of other benefits for me, etc)

Another factor that may be contributing to lower voter turnout, and impacting political strategies, is the tendency for local election laws to designate very short periods for campaigning. Between 1996 and 2020, the shortest period allocated for campaigning was 12 days (in 1996), and the longest was 17 (in 2016), with most campaign periods being set for 14 days. This brief campaign period is likely to create advantages for incumbent candidates but also suggests that party affiliation or views may impact voting behavior more than the level of support for any given candidate. This very short period likely creates challenges for smaller parties to make gains in local elections and maintains advantages for well-known national parties.

Local Election Results

As introduced earlier, the analysis of local election results is greatly limited by the insufficient, poorly integrated data on local elections. Data that is available has been found to often be lacking in uniformity and is sometimes contradictory. This is a clear contributing factor to the insufficient study of local elections in Mongolia. A careful review of the data that can be accessed has concluded that only the local election data for 2000, 2004, 2016, and 2020 is of a sufficient quality to include in the analysis. Other than these years, the complete data for local elections for other years is not available at the GEC.[131] The process of finding and aggregating the data for other years will be a major undertaking with a high probability of error due to the large-scale manual data entry that will be needed to complete that process.

A review of the data available for the four election cycles is insufficient to establish clear trends in local election results. We can, however, try to draw conclusions from each year for which data is available. Table 20 below clearly indicates that the MPP has, consistent with parliamentary elections, had strong performances in the four election years studied. The performance of the opposition parties, as is the case with other types of elections, seems

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[130] Center for Democracy Studies, SAS NUM, 2022. Local elections - voter behavior survey

[131] The GEC was a supportive partner in trying to find the best data available. Their mandate to manage local election data has only been clarified in recent years, and limited investment has been dedicated to archiving past results.

to relate closely to the building of coalitions to contest elections, which is an explanatory factor for the strong performance of the DP and its coalition in the 2020 local elections. The split of the MPP and MPRP once again played a significant role in reducing the MPP's vote share, but the MPRP delegates generally supported MPP candidates for governor positions, which maintained results in which the MPP held executive power in almost all provinces. DP alliances in 2020, which included the MPRP, yielded control of eight provinces—by far their best showing in local elections.

Looking at these results, one interesting factor is the number of parties that contested the elections. The figure did increase significantly in 2020, but it is too early to state this is a trend. In 2000, there were seven parties that participated, five in 2004, five in 2016, and 11 in 2020. Independent candidates had limited success in local elections during this time, with a maximum of 20 independents (non-party candidates) winning seats in any given election year: 12 in 2004, 20 in 2016, and 16 in 2020. 2004 saw a surge in total delegates elected from among the independents and smaller parties (185). This is a story of coalition building, the DP built a coalition of opposition parties to contest the 2004 parliamentary elections, which was a successful national strategy, but each party then contested the local elections independently. This led to a fracturing of votes from the block that had supported the DP-led coalition in the parliamentary elections.

Table 20. Summary of local election results in 2000, 2004, 2016, and 2020[132]

	2000				2004				2008
	MPP	DP	Other	Total	MPP	DP	Other	Total	
Total delegate wins (nationwide)	573	54	63	690	442	67	181	690	Insufficient Data
% of delegates (nationwide)	83%	8%	9%	100%	64%	9.7%	26%	100%	
# of provinces (including the Capital City) with a majority	22	0	0	22	21	1	0	22	
% of provinces with a majority	100%	0%	0%	100%	95%*	5%	0%	100%	

	2012	2016				2020			
		MPP	DP	Other	Total	MPP	DP	Other	Total
Total delegate wins (nationwide)	Insufficient Data	533	229	48	810	469	321	30	820
% of delegates (nationwide)		66%	28%	6%	100%	57%	39%	4%	100%
# of provinces (including the Capital City) with a majority		20	2	0	22	14	8	0	22
% of provinces with a majority		91%**	9%	0%	100%	64%	36%	0%	100%

*In 2004, the MPP did not have a majority of delegates in Khuvsgul and Sukhbaatar; if combined, smaller parties actually had the largest number of seats, but the MPP was the largest party in each province.

**In 2016, the MPP did not have an outright majority in Dornod and Dundgovi and had equal seats to the DP and other parties when combined, but they were able to gather support to control the governor's office.

[132] Please refer to Annex IV

Issues with Local Election Data

The most significant challenge for studying local elections in Mongolia is the quality of statistics and data available. This data is presumably available in each locality that administered the data, but the data aggregated by the GEC is incomplete for most local elections. This is largely because the GEC was not formally mandated to compile and integrate local election data until the 2020 elections. Each local election committee was responsible for tabulation, and their data was not integrated in a user-friendly or consistent manner. Thus, the quality of data available for the 2020 local elections is quite good, but earlier years were not similar. For some years, access to various paper and electronic files was adequate for creating a strong (but likely not perfect) data set, but for many years, this would require a much larger effort. The earliest local election results (1992 and 1996) do not, however, seem to be kept in any GEC records at present, even in paper format.

The exception seems to be the data on voter turnout and the total number of voters, which can be found for 1992-2020, but for many years, this data was not disaggregated by province or district. There are conflicting figures in different voter turnout files, which would be difficult to formally resolve without a comprehensive underlying data file. For many years only winners are recorded, and there is no data on the number of candidates who contested or the specific vote share for each. There is also limited data on the percentage of invalid ballots or protest ballots ("white ballots") that were cast.

Finding demographic information on candidates, even those elected, is also challenging. There is no aggregate dataset for 1992, 1996, 2008, 2016, and 2020 to determine the total number of candidates. The names of elected representatives are not available in aggregated data for 1992, 1996, and 2008, but some local administration websites have that information. There is also no aggregated and confirmed list of all the winners by mandate in the elections system. The research team had to review a combination of digital and paper-based data, cross-check the figures, and aggregate the data manually.

There are also significant data challenges with the mandates (seats in each khural), and these figures have sometimes been inconsistent when looking at different data sources. Since each mandate is often not drawn with the same boundaries each year, meaning the electoral districts are changed, comparisons over time are a significant challenge.

Even when data is available, there are likely errors in the transcription of the data that make the data quality questionable. For example, a review of available data for 2004 and 2008 found that several provinces repeated the exact same results for both years (Govi-Altai, Selenge, and Sukhbaatar). This outcome likely suggests an error and that one of the data sets was incorrectly transcribed at some point. We also have data presented in different formats in the same election year. For example, some provincial-level data was compiled by soum and others by polling station (without a soum clearly identified), making aggregation and comparison difficult.

The GEC was open to sharing data with researchers and acknowledged that data prior to 2012 was difficult to verify or recommend for use in analysis. This is just a short summary of the data challenges encountered during the research process. It is critical to recognize this as an important problem for future efforts to study local elections in Mongolia.

Concluding Note

The most significant problem is that it is very difficult to combine and integrate local election data for decent analysis and evaluation. It is very important that this data is combined and organized with integrated standards for analysis going forward. This will likely require the collection of information from each local election committee, and the retrieval of historical records and archives will require a substantial effort. It is critical to ensure that the GEC's data collection is well planned and fully implemented, but significant investment is needed if historical data is to be preserved and used for future analysis and research.

With limited data sets, analyzing the results of local elections is challenging. Like other elections, we see strong performances from the MPP/MPRP. Strong MPP/MPRP membership in the provinces is a particular advantage in local elections. It has resulted in races that see the MPP/MPRP controlling the most provinces in each election cycle. We see the opposition's success tightly linked to the formation of coalitions and the level of unity within the MPP/MPRP block. The MPRP's split from the MPP does seem to have impacted local election results, and the 2020 success of the DP was generated in part through coalition building.

The low voter turnout for local elections is a concern, but it is understandable given citizen's perception that national elections are more important, the voter fatigue of having three elections within one year, and the limited investment in campaigning and generating support for and interest in local politics. Once elected, local khurals also exhibit far less transparency and visibility to help citizens understand their work; overwhelmingly, local government visibility is dominated by governors[133]. Since governors are indirectly elected, it creates a disconnect in terms of possible engagement and activation of citizens around local elections. There is insufficient research conducted on elections finances or media monitoring to bring to bear on local elections, and even the demographic information on candidates is inadequate to conduct meaningful analysis. However, a recent NCCD study report determined that working for the local government, joining the political party youth or women's wings, and running for local elections are important pathways for young politicians, it is especially the case for the MPP rather than other political parties[134]. This can also be observed from Annex III and VII - as earlier elected CRKhs are in among the Parliamentarians[135]. This indicates that local election candidates are on the whole a group more diverse in terms of age and political experience.

All of these facts lead to the conclusion that it is important to invest in local elections data and research going forward, especially given the legislative changes such as the Mongolian law on Administrative and Territorial Units and their Governance (MLATUG) of 2020 and Law on legal status of the Capital City Ulaanbaatar of 2021 that continued a trend of increasing the power (especially in financial terms) of local governments, meaning they will only have a greater role in impacting citizen lives going forward.

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[133] Center for Democracy Studies, SAS NUM, 2022. Local elections: Voter behavior survey, p14
[134] NCCD, 2021. Challenges to youth and women in politics, p40-42
[135] Please refer to Annex III and VII

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№	General information	1992				1996		
1	Election system	Block voting 1 election district - multiple mandates				Two round system 1 election district - 1 mandate		
2	Election district and mandate	26 election districts, 2-4 mandates each district				76 election districts, 1 mandate each district		
3	Parties and coalitions participated in election	8 parties, 2 coalitions				5 parties, 2 coalitions		
4	Total candidates	293				302		
5	Candidates from party of coalition	275				267		
6	Independent candidate	18				35		
7	Number of population of voting age	1,202,704				1,218,549		
8	Number of voters registered in the voters list	1,085,129				1,147,260		
9	Number of voters voted (%)	1,037,392				1,057,182		
10		95.60%				92.1%)		
11	Election office of election district, province, capital city	26 offices				76		
12	Election offices of branch, soum, district	357				332		
13	Election date	1992.6.28				1996.6.30		
	Political parties	Party in power (MPRP)	Opposition party (MoDP-MNPP-GPC)	Third party		Party in power (MNDP-MSDP-DUC)	Opposition party (MPRP)	Third party
	Number of seats	70 seats	4 seats	MSDP 1 seat	Independent candidate 1 seats	50 seats	25 seats	MTUP 1 seat
	Percentage of votes received in nationwide	55.19%	29.47%	25.74%	7.08%	47.67%	38.83%	3.65%
	Capital city results	50.15%	30.94%	25.51%	7.67%	48.13%	33.99%	2.09%
	Provincewide results	60.23%	28.01%	25.97%	6.49%	47.22%	43.68%	5.20%
1	Arkhangai					54.01%	47.50%	1.31%
2	Bayan-Olgii	60.84%	17.60%	40.93%	0%	36.69%	54.08%	4.18%
3	Bayankhongor	56.83%	24.85%	16.12%	0%	61.36%	31.93%	3.16%
4	Bulgan	64.94%	23.76%	26.93%	0%	48.34%	37.97%	0%
5	Gobi-Altai	50.37%	25.39%	33.10%	40.78%	24.63%	63.80%	12.59%
6	Gobisumber, Dornogobi	67.85.%	23.04%	23.21%	0%	37.50%	61.72%	0%
7	Darkhan-uul	54.73%	39.12%	32.92%	9.41%	55.42%	29.47%	0%
8	Dornod	57.62%	33.83%	20.32%	6.76%	60.80%	37.19%	0%
9	Dundgobi	48.64%	26.42%	26.30%	4.27%	42.00%	36.44%	18.27%
10	Zavkhan	66.84%	22.48%	17.43%	24.81%	51.11%	46.97%	1.94%
11	Orkhon	54.25%	38.17%	36.01%	0%	58.26%	35.06%	0%
12	Selenge	61.54%	24.71%	29.68%	0%	52.52%	39.84%	0%
13	Sukhbaatar	61.94%	25.54%	18.45%	5.60%	34.44%	41.19%	37.41%
14	Tuv	68.04%	24.08%	16.60%	7.65%	45.20%	47.65%	0%
15	Uvs	78.11%	14.73%	19.95%	0%	30.31%	61.65%	2.51%
16	Khovd	77.31%	14.90%	9.10%	0%	37.10%	55.16%	3.35%
17	Khentii	55.97%	46.40%	33.04%	8.17%	62.70%	28.32%	0%
18	Khuvsgul	48.60%	47.90%	38.52%	0%	52.07%	39.17%	3.16%
19	Uvurkhangai	57.35%	27.58%	35.05%	15.83%	47.10%	41.56%	3.59%
20	Umnugobi	60.17%	31.61%	19.83%	0%	52.77%	36.96%	12.56%

№	General information	2000	2004
1	Election system	Two round system 1 election district - 1 mandate	Two round system 1 election district - 1 mandate
2	Election district and mandate	76 election districts, 1 mandate each district	76 election districts, 1 mandate each district
3	Parties and coalitions participated in election	13 parties, 3 coalitions	7 parties, 1 coalitions
4	Total candidates	602	244
5	Candidates from party of coalition	575	229
6	Independent candidate	27	15
7	Number of population of voting age	1,364,862	1,472,372
8	Number of voters registered in the voters list	1,247,033	1,279,516
9	Number of voters voted	1,027,985	1,051,812
10	(%)	82.40%	82.20%
11	Election office of election district, province, capital city	76	76
12	Election offices of branch, soum, district	330	338
13	Election date	2000.7.02	2004.6.27

Political parties	Party in power (MPRP)	Opposition party DP (MSDP-DUC-MoDP)	Third party			Party in power (MPRP)	Opposition party (MLDC)	Third party	
			GWGP	MLP	Independent candidate			RP	Independent candidate
Number of seats	72 seats	1 seat	GWGP 1 seat	MLP 1 seat	Independent candidate 1 seat	37 seats	35 seats	RP 1 seat	Independent candidate 3 seats
Percentage of votes received in nationwide	49.81%	6.32%	4.18%	12.10%	4.51%	47.99%	44.32%	1.95%	4.08%
Capital city results	50.24%	5.92%	4.04%	12.75%	1.71%	45.20%	43.24%	3.37%	3.65%
Provincewide results	49.38%	6.72%	4.32%	11.45%	7.31%	50.77%	45.39%	0.53%	4.51%
1 Arkhangai	44.64%	13.09%	2.21%	11.62%	3.37%	42.27%	57.54%	0%	0%
2 Bayan-Olgii	50.22%	13.01%	5.18%	9.86%	0%	45.21%	53.65%	0.77%	1.72%
3 Bayankhongor	43.20%	5.94%	3.48%	13.60%	23.92%	49.61%	49.80%	2.11%	0%
4 Bulgan	70.76.%	8.90%	10.67%	9.47%	0%	65.40%	34.46%	0%	0%
5 Gobi-Altai	51.68%	11.86%	1.01%	9.08%	10.28%	58.40%	41.07%	0%	0%
6 Gobisumber, Dornogobi	56.20%	5.95%	2.46%	12.09%	29.98%	60.24%	37.95%	0.80%	0%
7 Darkhan-uul	49.03%	2.20%	1.70%	8.96%	18.00%	42.87%	56.32%	0.59%	0%
8 Dornod	46.80%	3.70%	20.29%	10.13%	0%	47.46%	47.38%	0.40%	7.44%
9 Dundgobi	38.50%	3.52%	9.71%	14.77%	0%	48.05%	51.62%	0%	0%
10 Zavkhan	60.10%	6.80%	4.06%	12.35%	0%	45.00%	32.54%	1.23%	31.40%
11 Orkhon	46.85%	11.96%	2.55%	15.35%	3.20%	44.84%	26.99%	1.81%	22.42%
12 Selenge	49.90%	11.90%	2.30%	8.06%	6.60%	48.23%	51.07%	0.56%	0%
13 Sukhbaatar	50.00%	1.19%	3.55%	12.00%	6.30%	68.65%	31.00%	0%	0%
14 Tuv	59.60%	3.31%	2.73%	12.50%	0%	56.51%	39.56%	1.92%	7.15%
15 Uvs	61.13%	5.60%	7.50%	9.60%	1.80%	57.66%	39.11%	0%	0%
16 Khovd	33.36%	2.11%	0.95%	12.60%	5.90%	50.41%	41.14%	0%	20.15%
17 Khentii	49.50%	5.94%	1.70%	8.96%	18.00%	51.49%	50.62%	0%	0%
18 Khuvsgul	43.80%	10.68%	1.80%	24.10%	18.90%	40.37%	59.30%	0.35%	0%
19 Uvurkhangai	49.95%	5.38%	1.00%	9.60%	0%	46.77%	52.86%	0%	0%
20 Umnugobi	53.85%	1.40%	1.60%	4.30%	0%	46.04%	53.83%	0%	0%

№	General information	2008					2012			
1	Election system	Block voting 1 election district - multiple mandates					Mixed (MMM)			
2	Election district and mandate	26 election districts, 2-4 mandate per district					48 mandates, 28 party list			
3	Parties and coalitions participated in election	12 parties, 1 coalitions					11 parties, 2 coalitions			
4	Total candidates	356					544			
5	Candidates from party of coalition	311					518			
6	Independent candidate	45					26			
7	Number of population of voting age	1,607,825					1,882,035			
8	Number of voters registered in the voters list	1,542,617					1,840,824			
9	Number of voters	1,179,448					1,238,537			
10	voted (%)	76.50%					67.28%			
11	Election office of election district, province, capital city	26					26			
12	Election offices of branch, soum, district	332					333			
13	Election date	2008.6.29					2012.6.28			

Political parties	Party in power (MPRP)	Opposition party (DP)	Third party			Opposition party (MPP)	Party in power (DP)	Third party	
Number of seats	45 seats	28 seats	CWP 1 seat	MGP-CMP-CC 1 seat	Independent candidate 1 seat	26 seats	34 seats	MPRP-MNDP-JC 11 seats	CWCP 2 seats, Independent candidate 3 seats
Percentage of votes received in nationwide	42%	37.04%	10.11%	5.29%	5.50%	30.43%	35.27%	22.71%	11.60%
Capital city results	35%	36.51%	14.94%	9.26%	4.88%	24.82%	35.05%	25.03%	15.10%
Provincewide results	48.45%	37.57%	5.28%	1.31%	6.12%	36.03%	35.48%	20.39%	8.10%
1 Arkhangai	40.60%	51.00%	5.60%	1.12%	0%	32.70%	40.59%	23.48%	3.23%
2 Bayan-Olgii	54.06%	32.80%	3.87%	0%	30.65%	43.28%	37.34%	16.69%	2.69%
3 Bayankhongor	44.01%	47.14%	14.24%	0%	4.23%	33.14%	51.04%	11.60%	4.22%
4 Bulgan	52.61%	20.69%	10.92%	0%	19.73%	39.84%	28.84%	22.92%	8.40%
5 Gobi-Altai	65.70%	29.40%	0%	2.13%	0%	44.48%	28.32%	22.98%	4.22%
6 Gobisumber, Dornogobi	46.50%	47.46%	1.59%	0%	0%	37.45%	30.82%	24.01%	7.72%
7 Darkhan-uul	37.97%	26.61%	6.16%	7.24%	11.27%	29.84%	25.20%	31.38%	13.58%
8 Dornod	37.87%	35.41%	27.78%	0%	0%	28.92%	32.77%	17.04%	21.27%
9 Dundgobi	51.03%	23.76%	3.51%	0%	0%	33.29%	38.02%	22.90%	5.79%
10 Zavkhan	51.35%	34.32%	4.14%	0.98%	8.33%	41.75%	41.59%	10.28%	6.38%
11 Orkhon	43.61%	36.54%	14.80%	1.45%	4.43%	26.14%	28.76%	33.50%	11.60%
12 Selenge	45.80%	49.83%	1.90%	0%	0%	29.28%	34.77%	28.12%	7.83%
13 Sukhbaatar	57.70%	33.01%	2.42%	0%	0%	34.03%	39.85%	21.65%	4.47%
14 Tuv	54.09%	37.30%	2.62%	7.09%	5.99%	39.03%	29.66%	25.09%	6.22%
15 Uvs	58.29%	40.18%	0%	0%	0%	55.34%	35.46%	7.30%	1.90%
16 Khovd	42.39%	31.30%	0.91%	2.01%	15.56%	35.72%	35.39%	21.99%	6.90%
17 Khentii	47.90%	39.12%	1.07%	2.13%	11.93%	29.98%	35.81%	19.01%	15.20%
18 Khuvsgul	44.13%	46.80%	1.49%	0%	0%	37.81%	33.13%	14.72%	14.34%
19 Uvurkhangai	47.44%	49.50%	1.58%	0.56%	0.79%	43.83%	39.59%	13.10%	3.48%
20 Umnugobi	45.87%	39.32%	0.96%	1.55%	9.46%	22.74%	45.49%	22.41%	9.36%

№	General information	2016	2020
1	Election system	FPTP	Block voting
2	Election district and mandate	26 election districts, 1-6 mandate each district	29 election districts, 2-3 mandates
3	Parties and coalitions participated in election	12 parties, 3 coalitions	13 parties, 3 coalitions
4	Total candidates	498	606
5	Candidates from party of coalition	429	485
6	Independent candidate	69	121
7	Number of population of voting age	1,998,823	2,132,294
8	Number of voters registered in the voters list	1,911,047	2,003,969
9	Number of voters voted (%)	1,406,123	1,475,780
10		73.58%	73.60.%
11	Election office of election district, province, capital city	22	29
12	Election offices of branch, soum, district	339	337
13	Election date	2016.6.29	2020.6.24

Political parties	Party in power (MPP)	Opposition party (DP)	Third party		Party in power (MPP)	Opposition party (DP)	Third party		
Number of seats	65 seats	9 seats	MPRP 1 seat	Inde-pendent candidate 1 seat	62 seats	11 seats	OC 1 seat	RPEC 1 seat	Inde-pendent candidate 1 seat
Percentage of votes received in nationwide	43.55%	32.58%	8.97%	4.85%	45.44%	23.93%	8.15%	6.28%	5.34%
Capital city results	38.51%	28.23%	10.15%	5.71%	43.73%	15.78%	9.32%	9.95%	4.61%
Provincewide results	48.60%	36.92%	7.78%	3.99%	47.15%	32.07%	6.99%	2.61%	6.06%
1 Arkhangai	56.60%	35.02%	4.47%	4.33%	46.60%	27.77%	7.68%	0.69%	9.80%
2 Bayan-Olgii	49.00%	49.80%	6.09%	0%	45.50%	41.26%	8.47%	0%	3.11%
3 Bayankhongor	49.20%	46.99%	4.42%	1.44%	44.80%	43.42%	5.09%	0.57%	3.36%
4 Bulgan	55.04%	34.69%	5.38%	0%	50.75%	28.77%	5.51%	15.81%	2.35%
5 Gobi-Altai	50.79%	34.52%	0.84%	4.42%	51.18%	41.22%	4.43%	3.89%	0%
6 Gobisumber, Dornogobi	62.00%	30.90%	4.13%	0%	43.25%	29.55%	3.90%	1.52%	8.34%
7 Darkhan-uul	43.57%	24.67%	9.10%	17.79%	48.90%	15.40%	6.03%	4.95%	11.45%
8 Dornod	47.82%	32.70%	7.77%	10.61%	45.70%	26.60%	12.35%	1.71%	5.80%
9 Dundgobi	28.61%	29.15%	13.84%	17.37%	61.41%	18.54%	2.61%	1.58%	9.52%
10 Zavkhan	39.78%	41.35%	7.34%	2.29%	43.73%	34.45%	1.72%	1.56%	21.71%
11 Orkhon	29.03%	24.60%	20.13%	9.71%	38.08%	12.03%	21.40%	3.49%	10.24%
12 Selenge	44.10%	36.40%	37.93%	4.41%	44.07%	29.06%	12.41%	1.16%	7.72%
13 Sukhbaatar	51.36%	45.85%	1.38%	0%	39.34%	55.70%	2.23%	0.84%	0%
14 Tuv	52.80%	35.54%	10.96%	0%	37.27%	29.07%	15.76%	3.91%	13.04%
15 Uvs	55.42%	43.20%	1.62%	0%	48.02%	41.76%	3.20%	0.98%	3.52%
16 Khovd	44.30%	41.81%	2.16%	0%	39.35%	41.81%	7.35%	4.04%	4.84%
17 Khentii	51.67%	40.11%	6.06%	0%	65.72%	26.91%	6.03%	0%	0%
18 Khuvsgul	59.02%	35.71%	2.16%	0%	48.59%	21.49%	4.97%	2.25%	3.44%
19 Uvurkhangai	54.04%	30.27%	3.47%	7.44%	54.08%	32.89%	4.74%	2.07%	2.00%
20 Umnugobi	47.78%	45.09%	6.35%	0%	46.70%	43.80%	3.86%	1.27%	1.04%

ANNEX II - MONGOLIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS RESULTS (1992-2020), CAPITAL CITY

By: Sarantuya. B

Source: General Election Commission, "Mongolian Parliamentary elections results 1992-2020" volume. It can be found on the GEC's website: https://gec.gov.mn/uploads/ih_huraliin_songuuli-2022.03.22.pdf

1992					
№	Districts	Party in power (MPRP)	Opposition party (MoDP, MNPP-GPC)	MSDP	Independent candidate
1	Ajilchin, Tuul, Bagakhangai districts	49.40%	32.54%	26.31%	8.52%
2	Sukhbaatar district, Gachuurch village	45.13%	28.32%	28.90%	5.54%
3	Sukhbaatar district, Partisan village	49.07%	26.14%	22.00%	0%
4	Oktyabr district - 1	52.20%	25.47%	13.24%	0%
5	Oktyabr district - 2	52.27%	43.36%	35.98%	22.48%
6	Nairamdal, Nalaikh, Baganuur districts	52.80%	29.79%	26.65%	9.50%
	Capital city results	50.15%	30.94%	25.51%	7.67%

1996				
№	Districts	Party in power (MNDP-MSDP-DUC)	Opposition party (MPRP)	MTUP
1	Bayanzurkh district	51.30%	26.29%	2.25%
2	Baganuur, Nalaikh districts	46.62%	33.79%	12.41%
3	Khan-Uul, Bagakhangai districts	41.96%	35.05%	0%
4	Bayangol district	45.36%	34.47%	0%
5	Songinokhairkhan district	53.96%	35.47%	0%
6	Chingeltei district	46.15%	37.63%	0%
7	Sukhbaatar district, Gachuurt village	51.54%	35.20%	0%
	Capital city results	48.13%	33.99%	2.09%

2000					
№	Districts	Party in power (MPRP)	Opposition party DP (MSDP-MoDP-DUC)	CWGP	MLP	Independent candidate
1	Bayanzurkh district	53.20%	5.46%	5.10%	13.06%	7.50%
2	Baganuur, Nalaikh districts	38.10%	6.60%	0%	4.80%	3.50%
3	Khan-Uul, Bagakhangai districts	43.95%	3.20%	1.20%	34.40%	0.65%
4	Bayangol district	57.57%	7.05%	3.30%	5.75%	0%
5	Songinokhairkhan district	54.00%	5.11%	3.38%	12.10%	0%
6	Chingeltei district	48.80%	8.43%	10.13%	9.90%	0.30%
7	Sukhbaatar district, Gachuurt village	56.03%	5.62%	5.16%	9.26%	0%
	Capital city results	50.24%	5.92%	4.04%	12.75%	1.71%

2004					
№	Districts	Party in power (MPRP)	Opposition party (MLDC)	RP	Independent candidate
1	Baganuur, Nalaikh districts	31.71%	43.52%	0.97%	11.66%
2	Bayanzurkh district	43.57%	45.10%	2.20%	2.01%
3	Sukhbaatar district, Gachuurt village	52.00%	41.33%	1.58%	0%
4	Chingeltei district	39.11%	54.34%	1.80%	0%
5	Bayangol district	46.50%	39.20%	2.01%	11.91%
6	Songinokhairkhan district	51.14%	34.16%	13.62%	0%
7	Khan-Uul, Bagakhangai districts	52.38%	45.03%	1.42%	0%
Capital city results		**45.20%**	**43.24%**	**3.37%**	**3.65%**

2008					
№	Districts	Party in power (MPRP)	Opposition party (DP)	CWP	MGP-CMP-CC	Independent candidate
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1	Khan-Uul, Bagakhangai, Baganuur districts	33.71%	34.41%	0%	17.09%	6.61%
2	Bayanzurkh, Nalaikh districts	30.66%	32.03%	4.73%	10.06%	8.24%
3	Sukhbaatar district	45.71%	35.20%	9.36%	1.35%	5.92%
4	Chingeltei district	32.90%	41.80%	25.44%	7.62%	2.77%
5	Bayangol district	36.41%	35.38%	13.25%	12.30%	2.82%
6	Songinokhairkhan district	32.64%	40.27%	36.83%	7.16%	2.92%
Capital city results		**35.34%**	**36.51%**	**14.94%**	**9.26%**	**4.88%**

2012				
№	Districts	Opposition party (MPP)	Party in power (DP)	MPRP-MoNDP-JC	CWGP, Independent candidate
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1	Khan-Uul, Bagakhangai, Baganuur districts	24.84%	37.85%	23.26%	14.05%
2	Bayanzurkh, Nalaikh districts	25.29%	35.28%	24.23%	15.20%
3	Sukhbaatar district	29.07%	35.24%	19.51%	16.18%
4	Chingeltei district	26.28%	32.69%	26.00%	15.03%
5	Bayangol district	22.56%	38.17%	23.83%	15.44%
6	Songinokhairkhan district	22.86%	32.17%	30.15%	14.82%
Capital city results		**24.82%**	**35.05%**	**25.03%**	**15.10%**

		2016			
№	Districts	Party in power (MPP)	Opposition party (DP)	MPRP	Independent candidate
1	Bayanzurkh districts	36.01%	27.70%	8.21%	6.33%
2	Khan-Uul, Bagakhangai districts	35.07%	29.05%	10.16%	7.90%
3	Sukhbaatar, Baganuur district	43.18%	31.40%	7.30%	4.50%
4	Chingeltei, Nalaikh districts	36.60%	23.66%	12.15%	4.14%
5	Bayangol district	36.72%	31.72%	8.60%	9.39%
6	Songinokhairkhan district	43.48%	25.86%	14.49%	2.02%
	Capital city results	**38.51%**	**28.23%**	**10.15%**	**5.71%**

		2020				
№	Districts	Party in power (MPP)	Opposition party (DP)	OC	RPEC	Independent candidate
1	Baganuur, Bagakhangai, Nalaikh districts	58.67%	14.86%	13.08%	3.01%	3.88%
2	Bayanzurkh district	42.62%	18.08%	4.09%	12.53%	2.56%
3	Sukhbaatar district	37.14%	20.83%	8.90%	16.49%	2.75%
4	Chingeltei district	40.55%	15.11%	7.11%	7.91%	3.03%
5	Bayangol district	40.35%	18.24%	7.00%	9.93%	4.41%
6	Songinokhairkhan district	49.87%	9.86%	16.80%	6.87%	7.45%
7	Khan-Uul district	36.91%	13.50%	8.24%	12.90%	8.20%
	Capital city results	**43.73%**	**15.78%**	**9.32%**	**9.95%**	**4.61%**

ANNEX III - NAMES OF THE PARLIAMENT MEMBERS OF MONGOLIA (1992-2020), BY POLITICAL PARTIES, PROVINCES AND NUMBER OF VOTES WITH PERCENTAGE

Prepared by: Sarantuya B.

Source: General Elections Committee website

Note: The list below presents the names of 76 candidates who won the election, the number of votes they received from their respective constituencies, and the percentage of the total votes cast that they received from their respective constituencies.

№	General information	1992
1	Election system used	Block voting 1 election district - multiple mandates
2	Election district and mandate division	26 election districts, 2-4 mandates each district
3	Party, coalition participated in election	8 parties, 2 coalitions
4	Total candidates	293
5	Candidates from party or coalition	275
6	Independent candidate	18
7	Number of population of voting age	1,202,704
8	Number of voters registered in the voters list	1,085,129
9	Number of voters voted (%)	1,037,392
10		95.60%
11	Election office of election district, province, capital city	26 offices
12	Election offices of branch, soum, district	357
13	Election date	1992.6.28

1992				
№	Name	Province	Political party	Number of votes recieved	% of votes
1	R.Gonchigdorj	Arkhangai	MSDP	30,527	-
2	M.Dalaikhuu		MPRP	19,823	-
3	Ch.Purevdorj		MPRP	23,573	-
4	A.Bolat	Bayan-Olgii	MPRP	26,349	67.17%
5	T.Sultan		MPRP	23,775	60.61%
6	Kh.Bolodiya		MPRP	21,481	54.76%
7	B.Gombo	Bayankhongor	MPRP	20,621	56.28%
8	D.Dashtseren		MPRP	20,260	55.29%
9	G.Tsedendagva		MPRP	21,590	58.92%
10	S.Gundenbal	Bulgan	MPRP	16,920	61.97%
11	J.Boldbaatar		MPRP	18,541	67.91%
12	A.Bazarkhuu	Gobi-Altai	MPRP	18,698	62.27%
13	G.Zuunai		Non-party	12,246	40.78%
14	Yo.Adilbish	Dornogobi, Gobisumber	MPRP	20,065	70.81%
15	Ts.Sharavdorj		MPRP	18,389	64.89%
16	D.Bazarsad	Dornod	MPRP	20,211	58.85%
17	D.Dagvasuren		MPRP	19,293	56.18%
18	Ts.Turmandakh		MPRP	19,859	57.83%
19	S.Batmunkh	Dundgobi	MPRP	11,271	49.09%
20	N.Togtokh		MPRP	11,065	48.20%
21	N.Bagabandi	Zavhan	MPRP	31,169	70.60%
22	Ts.Namhainyambuu		MPRP	29,250	66.26%
23	S.Nyamzagd		MPRP	28,111	63.68%
24	Sh.Batbayar	Uvurkhangai	MPRP	25,257	53.28%
25	O.Batmunkh		MPRP	26,086	55.03%
26	J.Batsuuri		MPRP	25,812	54.45%
27	D.Lundeejantsan		MPRP	31,590	66.64%

28	D.Idevkhten	Umnugobi	MPRP	12,241	59.36%
29	R.Tsagaankhuu		MPRP	12,576	60.98%
30	J.Gombojav	Sukhbaatar	MPRP	17,924	70.33%
31	Ch.Khurts		MPRP	13,647	53.55%
32	B.Demberel	Selenge	MPRP	23,944	59.01%
33	D.Munkhuu		MPRP	27,666	68.18%
34	Ch.Zorigtbaatar		MPRP	23,305	57.43%
35	Ch.Dashdemberel	Tuv	MPRP	37,080	75.78%
36	B.Lhagvasuren		MPRP	34,559	70.63%
37	M.Zenee		MPRP	31,982	65.36%
38	M.Mendbileg		MPRP	29,548	60.39%
39	N.Bayartsaikhan	Uvs	MPRP	32,366	81.23%
40	S.Tumur		MPRP	32,745	82.18%
41	O.Shaaluu		MPRP	28,259	70.92%
42	J.Byambadorj	Khovd	MPRP	27,941	76.58%
43	D.Demberel		MPRP	26,218	71.86%
44	J.Norovsambuu		MPRP	30,465	83.50%
45	B.Chimid	Khuvsgul	MPRP	28,176	55.50%
46	Ts.Elbegdorj		MoDP-MNPP-GPC	28,022	55.20%
47	D.Danzan		MPRP	25,216	49.67%
48	G.Turtogtokh		MPRP	20,678	40.73%
49	D.Byambasuren	Khentii	MPRP	26,918	79.05%
50	Da.Ganbold		MoDP-MNPP-GPC	15,800	46.40%
51	N.Ganbyamba		MPRP	16,539	48.57%
52	N.Jantsannorov	Darkhal	MPRP	19,902	56.76%
53	Ch.Bayanjargal		MPRP	19,008	54.21%
54	J.Jadamba		MPRP	18,659	53.22%
55	J.Delgertsetseg	Erdenet	MPRP	13,770	60.56%
56	Sh.Chunag		MPRP	10,903	47.95%
57	Ts.Ganbat	Sukhbaatar district 1	MPRP	19,176	50.76%
58	Ts.Tovuusuren		MPRP	17,020	45.05%
59	S.Zorig		MoDP-MNPP-GPC	17,242	46.02%
60	G.Ganbold	Sukhbaatar district 2	MPRP	18,723	49.97%
61	J.Urtnasan		MPRP	19,423	51.41%
62	N.Enkhbayar		MPRP	16,487	44%
63	L.Enebish	Oktyabr district 1	MPRP	29,135	56.65%
64	T.Gandi		MPRP	27,840	54.14%
65	S.Narangerel		MPRP	23,804	46.29%
66	Ts.Gombosuren		MPRP	26,600	51.72%
67	P.Jasrai	Oktyabr district 2	MPRP	32,717	63.92%
68	J.Algaa		MPRP	24,325	47.53%
69	B.Ganbold		MPRP	23,221	45.37%
70	M.Enkhsaikhan		MoDP-MNPP-GPC	22,194	43.36%
71	T.Ochirkhuu	Nalaikh, Nairamdal, Ba-ganuur District	MPRP	31,513	54.20%
72	J.Byambajav		MPRP	31,497	54.17%
73	D.Batbaatar		MPRP	31,966	54.98%
74	N.Jalbajav		MPRP	27,887	47.96%
75	Ts.Nyamdorj	Ajilchin, Tuul, Bagakhangai district	MPRP	15,304	50.33%
76	S.Chuluunbaatar		MPRP	14,742	48.48%

№	General information	1996
1	Election system used	Two round system 1 election district - 1 mandate
2	Election district and mandate division	76 election districts, 1 mandate each district
3	Party, coalition participated in election	5 parties, 2 coalitions
4	Total candidates	302
5	Candidates from party or coalition	267
6	Independent candidate	35
7	Number of population of voting age	1,218,549
8	Number of voters registered in the voters list	1,147,260
9	Number of voters voted (%)	1,057,182
10		92.10%
11	Election office of election district, province, capital city	76
12	Election offices of branch, soum, district	332
13	Election date	1996.6.30

№	Name	Province	Political party	Number of votes recieved	% of votes
			1996		
1	R.Gonchigdorj	Arkhangai	DUC	11,653	71.08%
2	S.Lambaa		DUC	8,878	60.45%
3	S.Tumur-Ochir		MPRP	5,538	38.40%
4	T.Sultan	Bayan-Olgii	MPRP	5,343	48.28%
5	A.Bolat		MPRP	6,044	47.65%
6	R.Sandalkhan		MPRP	6,701	66.33%
7	Ts.Elbegdorj	Bayankhongor	DUC	9,412	64.57%
8	D.Batnasan		DUC	7,394	59.73%
9	Yo.Gerelchuluun		DUC	6,721	59.79%
10	D.Dashpurev	Bulgan	DUC	7,378	48.88%
11	Ya.Erkhembayar		DUC	7,214	47.80%
12	A.Bazarkhuu	Gobi-Altai	MPRP	9,624	59.81%
13	P.Jasrai		MPRP	10,882	67.80%
14	Ts.Sharavdorj	Dornogobi, Gobisumber	MPRP	9,344	61.68%
15	Yo.Adilbish		MPRP	8,199	61.76%
16	S.Bilegsaikhan	Dornod	DUC	7,531	58.35%
17	S.Zorig		DUC	7,645	64.58%
18	D.Enkhbaatar		DUC	5,724	59.49%
19	J.Otgonbayar	Dundgobi	DUC	5,687	51.14%
20	N.Togtokh		MPRP	4,351	34.81%
21	N.Bagabandi	Zavhan	MPRP	7,533	54.99%
22	Ts.Gankhuyag		DUC	9,550	59.42%
23	N.Battsetseg		DUC	8,550	54.35%
24	R.Badamdamdin	Uvurkhangai	DUC	7,895	62.94%
25	Shi.Batbayar		MPRP	5,006	36.93%
26	Kh.Dashzeveg		DUC	5,006	36.93%
27	D.Lundeejantsan		MPRP	7,381	54.73%
28	Ts.Bayarsaikhan	Umnugobi	DUC	6,426	61.06%
29	Ch.Otgonbayar		DUC	4,998	44.48%

30	Ch.Ulaan	Sukhbaatar	MPRP	7,784	60.35%
31	O.Dashbalbar		MTUP	5,400	37.41%
32	S.Bayartsogt	Selenge	DUC	8,695	58%
33	R.Sodkhuu		MPRP	5,943	46.71%
34	D.Tsog-Ochir		DUC	8,146	53.69%
35	Do.Ganbold	Tuv	DUC	7,733	53.32%
36	S.Gonchig		MPRP	6,020	48.63%
37	M.Zenee		MPRP	6,143	62.37%
38	V.Narantsetseg		DUC	5,957	49.13%
39	S.Tumur	Uvs	MPRP	9,512	67.36%
40	N.Bayartsaikhan		MPRP	9,115	62.53%
41	Ts.Nyamdorj		MPRP	6,306	55.06%
42	J.Byambadorj	Khovd	MPRP	5,361	54.59%
43	D.Demberel		MPRP	6,846	46.41%
44	J.Norovsambuu		MPRP	9,241	64.80%
45	E.Bat-Uul	Khuvsgul	DUC	8,422	61.51%
46	D.Bokhisharga		DUC	7,011	47.49%
47	R.Odonbaatar		DUC	7,441	54.70%
48	D.Tsogbadrakh		DUC	5,804	44.59%
49	Da.Ganbold	Khentii	DUC	7,484	64.52%
50	N.Tuvshintugs		DUC	7,671	63.06%
51	O.Enkhtuya		DUC	6,334	60.62%
52	Sha.Batbayar	Darkhan-Uul	DUC	5,913	48.16%
53	T.Erdenebileg		DUC	7,823	70.60%
54	M.Chimedtseren		DUC	5,265	47.52%
55	L.Luvsan-Ochir	Orkhon	DUC	7,326	53.93%
56	D.Enkhtaivan		DUC	8,407	62.58%
57	G.Gankhuyag	Khan-Uul, Bagakhangai district	DUC	8,006	51.33%
58	T.Ochirkhuu		MPRP	5,442	39.15%
59	L.Bold	Sukhbaatar district	DUC	6,594	53%
60	B.Delgermaa		DUC	5,465	52.59%
61	Ts.Enkhtuvshin		DUC	6,247	49.04%
62	Batjargal Batbayar	Chingeltei district	DUC	6,202	45.54%
63	R.Narangerel		DUC	5,402	45.89%
64	D.Khuvituguldur		DUC	6,587	47.03%
65	R.Amarjargal	Bayangol district	DUC	8,673	58.21%
66	Bat-Erdene Batbayar		DUC	6,736	52.38%
67	T.Gandi		MPRP	5,382	40.64%
68	J.Gombojav		MPRP	4,313	33.42%
69	D.Battulga	Songinokhairkhan district	DUC	6,711	51.36%
70	A.Ganbaatar		DUC	7,174	50.13%
71	Ch.Saikhanbileg		DUC	8,394	61.88%
72	N.Altankhuyag		DUC	7,565	52.50%
73	S.Boldkhet	Bayanzurkh district	DUC	8,266	53.07%
74	Ts.Tumurtogoo		DUC	7,120	46.62%
75	Kh.Khulan		DUC	7,710	54.23%
76	S.Batchuluun	Baganuur, Nalaikh district	DUC	7,913	43.80%

№	General information	2000
1	**Election system used**	Two round system 1 election district - 1 mandate
2	**Election district and mandate division**	76 election districts, 1 mandate each district
3	**Party, coalition participated in election**	13 parties, 3 coalitions
4	**Total candidates**	602
5	**Candidates from party or coalition**	575
6	**Independent candidate**	27
7	**Number of population of voting age**	1,364,862
8	**Number of voters registered in the voters list**	1,247,033
9	**Number of voters voted (%)**	1,027,985
10		82.40%
11	**Election office of election district, province, capital city**	76
12	**Election offices of branch, soum, district**	330
13	**Election date**	2000.7.02

2000					
№	Name	Province	Political party	Number of votes recieved	% of votes
1	M.Dalaikhuu	Arkhangai	MPRP	7,456	52.90%
2	S.Tumur-Ochir		MPRP	4,723	34.37.%
3	B.Chadraa		MPRP	7,498	46.65%
4	Kh.Jekei	Bayan-Olgii	MPRP	6,149	43.52%
5	O.Nigamet		MPRP	5,692	46.02%
6	R.Sandalkhan		MPRP	6,974	61.14%
7	D.Tumendemberel	Bayankhongor	MPRP	4,304	37.70.%
8	Ts.Shiirevdamba		MPRP	5,446	42.00%
9	S.Dulam		MPRP	7,151	50.01%
10	L.Enebish	Bulgan	MPRP	11,306	80.57.%
11	Ch.Radnaa		MPRP	8,946	60.95%
12	R.Tsogtbaatar	Gobi-Altai	MPRP	6,201	40.41.%
13	P.Jasrai		MPRP	9,868	62.85%
14	L.Odonchimed	Dornogobi, Gobisumber	MPRP	8,732	66.12%
15	Ts.Sharavdorj		MPRP	7,361	46.28%
16	S.Oyun	Dornod	CWGP	6,515	50.99%
17	D.Bazarsad		MPRP	5,618	52.80%
18	B.Baatarzorig		MPRP	3,583	44.74%
19	J.Narantsatsralt	Dundgobi	DP	6,875	63.61%
20	Sh.Otgonbileg	Zavhan	MPRP	11,489	78.20%
21	D.Oyunkhorol		MPRP	8,257	52.20%
22	B.Sharavsambuu		MPRP	6,295	49.90%
23	D.Sugar	Uvurkhangai	MPRP	6,028	53.70%
24	B.Erdenebilegt		MPRP	6,546	43.90%
25	D.Lundeejantsan		MPRP	8,187	61.10%
26	D.Dembereltseren		MPRP	4,940	39.90%
27	B.Dolgor	Umnugobi	MPRP	5,715	52.50%
28	Ts.Oyunbaatar		MPRP	6,672	55.20%
29	Ch.Ulaan	Sukhbaatar	MPRP	7,313	57.50%
30	Sh.Badam		MPRP	6,395	42.50%

31	Sh.Gungaadorj		MPRP	7,987	56.10%
32	P.Nyamdavaa	Selenge	MPRP	7,981	53.30%
33	P.Sodkhuu		MPRP	5,481	40.50%
34	Ts.Uuld		MPRP	6,571	57.90%
35	N.Enkhbold	Tuv	MPRP	5,750	58.90%
36	M.Zenee		MPRP	6,159	67.90.%
37	D.Dondog		MPRP	6,672	53.70%
38	Ch.Avdai		MPRP	7,729	54.10%
39	N.Bayartsaikhan	Uvs	MPRP	9,192	65.80%
40	Ts.Nyamdorj		MPRP	6,355	63.50%
41	Ts.Damiran		MPRP	4,803	47.60%
42	D.Demberel	Khovd	MPRP	7,161	47.70%
43	G.Nyamdavaa		MPRP	9,552	66.40.%
44	L.Tserenjav		MPRP	6,723	43.90%
45	U.Enkhtuvshin	Khuvsgul	MPRP	6,603	46.10%
46	L.Gundalai		Non-party	5,196	41.60%
47	E.Gombojav		MPRP	7,445	51.90%
48	D.Arvin		MPRP	4,584	44.60%
49	N.Ganbaymba	Khentii	MPRP	5,491	49.10%
50	U.Khurelsukh		MPRP	5,509	54.80%
51	D.Tseveenjav		MPRP	4,493	46.40%
52	B.Battulga	Darkhan-Uul	MPRP	4,929	47.50%
53	L.Davaatsedev		MPRP	6,000	53.20%
54	Yo.Bayarsaikhan	Orkhon	MPRP	6,858	45.00%
55	Ts.Nyam-Osor		MPRP	6,267	48.70%
56	G.Turtogtokh	Khan-Uul district	MPRP	8,206	51.20%
57	B.Erdenebat		MLP	5,517	40.50%
58	D.Murun		MPRP	9,435	62.30%
59	N.Gerelsuren	Sukhbaatar district	MPRP	5,283	48.90%
60	A.Bazarkhuu		MPRP	5,459	56.90%
61	T.Ochirkhuu		MPRP	6,721	43.70%
62	S.Tumur	Chingeltei district	MPRP	5,961	47.90%
63	N.Sodnomdorj		MPRP	6,195	54.90%
64	O.Suren		MPRP	6,186	50.60%
65	A.Shagdarsuren	Bayangol district	MPRP	7,618	53.80%
66	N.Enkhbayar		MPRP	8,915	62.20%
67	J.Byambadorj		MPRP	7,778	63.70%
68	D.Altai		MPRP	7,982	50.50%
69	Ts.Baasanjav	Songinokhairkhan district	MPRP	8,929	59.50%
70	N.Bolormaa		MPRP	7,150	54.30%
71	Ts.Dashdorj		MPRP	6,637	51.70%
72	R.Amarsaikhan		MPRP	8,831	56.20%
73	J.Gavaa	Bayanzurkh district	MPRP	9,932	53.10%
74	T.Gandi		MPRP	7,999	50.50%
75	Kh.Balsandorj	Baganuur, Nalaikh district	MPRP	6,877	38.10%
76	B.Ganzorig	Baganuur, Nalaikh district	MPRP	4,994	36.70.%

№	General information	2004
1	Election system used	Two round system 1 election district - 1 mandate
2	Election district and mandate division	76 election districts, 1 mandate each district
3	Party, coalition participated in election	7 parties, 1 coalitions
4	Total candidates	244
5	Candidates from party or coalition	229
6	Independent candidate	15
7	Number of population of voting age	1,472,372
8	Number of voters registered in the voters list	1,279,516
9	Number of voters voted (%)	1,051,812
10		82.20%
11	Election office of election district, province, capital city	76
12	Election offices of branch, soum, district	338
13	Election date	2004.6.27

2004					
№	Name	Province	Political party	Number of votes recieved	% of votes
1	R.Gonchigdorj	Arkhangai	DP (MLDC)	10,107	62.67%
2	S.Lambaa		DP (MLDC)	6,883	52.14%
3	N.Batbayar		DP (MLDC)	8,309	57.83%
4	A.Bakei	Bayan-Olgii	DP (MLDC)	7,199	52.72%
5	A.Murat		DP (MLDC)	8,203	54.45%
6	K.Sairan		DP (MLDC)	8,324	53.79%
7	Kh.Battulga	Bayankhongor	DP (MLDC)	6,704	56.82%
8	Ts.Jargal		DP (MLDC)	6,205	52.38%
9	G.Zandanshatar		MPRP	8,104	59.66%
10	Ch.Radnaa	Bulgan	MPRP	9,031	63.64%
11	Ts.Tsengel		MPRP	8,569	67.31%
12	A.Tsanjid	Gobi-Altai	MPRP	7,812	54.88%
13	T.Ochirkhuu		MPRP	9,229	61.97%
14	Ts.Sharavdorj	Dornogobi, Gobisumber	MPRP	9,724	55.90%
15	L.Odonchimed		MPRP	8,785	64.58%
16	D.Odbayar	Dornod	MPRP	4,087	50.75%
17	M.Zorigt		DP (MLDC)	7,208	53.32%
18	J.Batkhuyag		DP (MLDC)	5,195	46.40%
19	J.Narantsatsralt	Dundgobi	DP (MLDC)	6,298	59.56%
20	Ya.Sanjmyatav	Zavhan	Non-Party	4,570	34.33%
21	Ch.Sodnomtseren		DP (MLDC)	6,051	50.59%
22	D.Tuya		MPRP	7,575	61.41%
23	Z.Enkhbold	Uvurkhangai	DP (MLDC)	6,288	50.14%
24	R.Badamdamdin		DP (MLDC)	7,826	54.42%
25	G.Batkhuu		DP (MLDC)	7,773	67.33%
26	D.Lundeejantsan		MPRP	7,170	60.38%
27	D.Bat-Erdene	Umnugobi	DP (MLDC)	6,922	56.17%
28	Ts.Bayarsaikhan		DP (MLDC)	5,774	51.49%
29	R.Bud	Sukhbaatar	MPRP	9,003	59.10%
30	Ch.Ulaan		MPRP	10,129	78.20%

31	E.Bat-Uul		DP (MLDC)	6,241	49.78%
32	S.Bayartsogt	Selenge	DP (MLDC)	8,500	55.76%
33	R.Nyamsuren		MPRP	7,503	52.22%
34	S.Batbold		MPRP	3,985	50.79%
35	D.Dondog	Tuv	MPRP	6,328	54.67%
36	Ts.Sukhbaatar		MPRP	5,307	58.41%
37	N.Enkhbold		MPRP	5,780	62.20%
38	Ch.Avdai		MPRP	6,676	52.77%
39	Ts.Nyamdorj	Uvs	MPRP	7,497	68.52%
40	B.Erdenesuren		MPRP	7,206	51.69%
41	Ts.Damiran		MPRP	4,996	43.28%
42	L.Purevdorj	Khovd	MPRP	7,758	57.59%
43	D.Demberel		MPRP	6,946	50.37%
44	L.Gundalai		DP (MLDC)	7,984	63.76%
45	M.Enkhsaikhan	Khuvsgul	DP (MLDC)	8,507	58.99%
46	U.Enkhtuvshin		MPRP	6,307	48.13%
47	B.Erdenebat		DP (MLDC)	10,015	62.67%
48	U.Khurelsukh		MPRP	4,748	50.87%
49	B.Bat-Erdene	Khentii	MPRP	6,343	52.43%
50	D.Arvin		MPRP	5,289	51.17%
51	L.Gansukh		DP (MLDC)	7,406	54.93%
52	B.Tserenbaljir	Darkhan-Uul	DP (MLDC)	6,242	51.26%
53	M.Sonompil		DP (MLDC)	7,700	62.77%
54	G.Adiya	Orkhon	MPRP	6,988	50.83%
55	D.Odkhuu		Non-party	9,251	44.14%
56	N.Bayartsaikhan	Khan-Uul district	MPRP	7,469	51.88%
57	D.Idevkhten		MPRP	11,405	52.89%
58	S.Batbold		MPRP	5,896	58.29%
59	L.Gantumur	Sukhbaatar district	DP (MLDC)	10,788	50.79%
60	Ts.Munkh-Orgil		MPRP	6,243	54.87%
61	B.Batbayar		DP (MLDC)	5,931	58.83%
62	Ts.Bataa	Chingeltei district	DP (MLDC)	10,513	51.32%
63	R.Erdeneburen		DP (MLDC)	8,943	52.88%
64	B.Batbaatar		DP (MLDC)	5,948	50.34%
65	R.Amarjargal	Bayangol district	Non-party	7,685	47.64%
66	B.Munkhtuya		DP (MLDC)	6,365	51.64%
67	N.Enkhbayar		MPRP	8,273	53.80%
68	D.Terbishdagva		MPRP	13,771	63.13%
69	S.Oyun	Songinokhairkhan district	DP (MLDC)	8,112	56.88%
70	B.Jargalsaikhan		RP	5,849	43.72%
71	T.Badamjunai		MPRP	17,238	64.17%
72	T.Gandi		MPRP	9,429	44.33%
73	D.Gankhuyag	Bayanzurkh district	DP (MLDC)	11,073	47.09%
74	G.Jurragchaa		MPRP	11,773	50.15%
75	S.Otgonbayar	Baganuur, Nalaikh district	DP (MLDC)	9,789	43.52%
76	B.Delgermaa	Bagakhangai district	DP (MLDC)	6,605	45.88%

№	General information	2008
1	Election system used	Block voting 1 election district - multiple mandates
2	Election district and mandate division	26 election districts, 2-4 mandate per district
3	Party, coalition participated in election	12 parties, 1 coalitions
4	Total candidates	356
5	Candidates from party or coalition	311
6	Independent candidate	45
7	Number of population of voting age	1,607,825
8	Number of voters registered in the voters list	1,542,617
9	Number of voters voted (%)	1,179,448
10		76.50%
11	Election office of election district, province, capital city	26
12	Election offices of branch, soum, district	332
13	Election date	2008.6.29

		2008			
№	Name	Province	Political party	Number of votes recieved	% of votes
1	N.Batbayar	Arkhangai	DP	23,782	55.48%
2	R.Gonchigdorj		DP	21,186	49.43%
3	S.Lambaa		DP	20,687	48.36%
4	Kh.Badelkhan	Bayan-Olgii	MPRP	20,583	49.97%
5	Kh.Jekyei		MPRP	23,257	56.47%
6	A.Tlyekhan		MPRP	22,967	55.76%
7	B.Batbayar	Bayankhongor	DP	17,717	45.89%
8	Kh.Battulga		DP	21,122	54.71%
9	G.Zandanshatar		MPRP	19,895	51.53%
10	E.Munkh-Ochir	Bulgan	MPRP	17,121	62.91%
11	Ts.Tsengel		MPRP	11,514	42.31%
12	Ts.Dashdorj	Gobi-Altai	MPRP	17,699	63.65%
13	J.Enkhbayar		MPRP	19,015	68.06%
14	J.Batsuuri	Dornogobi, Gobisumber	MPRP	15,013	46.60%
15	Ya.Batsuuri		DP	17,768	55.16%
16	P.Altangerel	Dornod	DP	13,356	39.48%
17	D.Odbayar		MPRP	13,039	38.54%
18	Ts.Shinebayar		MPRP	13,782	40.74%
19	Kh.Narankhuu	Dundgobi	DP	11,971	54.23%
20	R.Rash		MPRP	10,558	47.83%
21	D.Baldan-Ochir	Zavhan	MPRP	21,309	57.71%
22	D.Oyunkhorol		MPRP	17,589	47.64%
23	Sh.Saikhansambuu		DP	17,989	48.72%
24	G.Batkhuu	Uvurkhangai	DP	29,309	55.44%
25	D.Zorigt		DP	27,776	52.54%
26	D.Lundeejantsan		MPRP	25,685	48.59%
27	Z.Enkhbold		DP	26,003	49.19%
28	Kh.Badamsuren	Umnugobi	MPRP	13,617	54.71%
29	Ts.Bayarksaikhan		DP	10,103	40.59%

30	R.Bud	Sukhbaatar	MPRP	14,117	50.40%
31	Ch.Ulaan		MPRP	18,246	65.15%
32	E.Bat-Uul	Selenge	DP	22,016	49.48%
33	S.Bayartsogt		DP	25,941	58.30%
34	O.Chuluunbat		MPRP	23,944	53.81%
35	S.Batbold	Tuv	MPRP	22,599	57.58%
36	D.Dondog		MPRP	17,693	45.08%
37	M.Enkhbold		MPRP	23,051	58.73%
38	N.Enkhbold		MPRP	22,857	58.24%
39	Ts.Nyamdorj	Uvs	MPRP	21,198	55.14%
40	Ch.Khurelbaatar		MPRP	23,985	62.39%
41	B.Choijilsuren		MPRP	22,044	57.34%
42	R.Amarjargal	Khovd province	DP	14,998	40.38%
43	S.Byambatsogt		MPRP	19,344	52.08%
44	D.Demberel		MPRP	15,708	42.29%
45	L.Gundalai	Khuvsgul province	DP	30,224	52.73%
46	Ts.Davaasuren		MPRP	26,177	45.57%
47	Ts.Sedvanchig		MPRP	29,756	51.92%
48	U.Enkhtuvshin		MPRP	26,232	45.77%
49	D.Arvin	Khentii	MPRP	14,161	44.29%
50	B.Bat-Erdene		MPRP	15,710	49.14%
51	N.Ganbyamba		MPRP	16,153	50.52%
52	J.Sukhbaatar	Darkhan-Uul	MPRP	14,823	37.80%
53	D.Khayankhyarvaa		MPRP	17,259	44.01%
54	L.Gansukh		DP	19,679	50.18%
55	D.Damba-Ochir	Orkhon	MPRP	19,511	48.78%
56	D.Odkhuu		DP	19,195	47.99%
57	L.Bold	Khan-Uul, Bagakhangai, Baganuur district	DP	20,135	37.43%
58	D.Zagdjav		MPRP	18,132	33.71%
59	Z.Altai	Bayanzurkh, Nalaikh district	Non-party	60,320	56.94%
60	Ts.Batbayar		MPRP	41,542	39.21%
61	D.Gankhuyag		DP	37,321	35.23%
62	Ch.Saikhanbileg		DP	55,790	52.66%
63	Su.Batbold	Sukhbaatar district	MPRP	23,080	47.75%
64	L.Gantumur		DP	22,043	45.60%
65	S.Bayar		MPRP	29,941	61.94%
66	G.Bayarsaikhan	Chingeltei district	DP	20,031	35.54.%
67	D.Ochirbat		MPRP	20,296	36.01%
68	Ts.Elbegdorj		DP	30,893	54.82%
69	D.Enkhbat	Bayangol district	GP	24,806	37.27.%
70	Ts.Munkh-Orgil		MPRP	35,095	52.73%
71	Kh.Temuujin		DP	33,692	50.62%
72	S.Erdene		DP	23,497	35.30%
73	N.Altankhuyag	Songinokhairkhan district	DP	36,664	39.34%
74	Kyukshu D.Batbayar		MPRP	54,926	58.94%
75	S.Oyun		CWP	34,319	36.83%
76	D.Terbishdagva		MPRP	38,525	41.34%

№	General information	2012
1	Election system used	Mixed (MMM)
2	Election district and mandate division	48 mandates, 28 party list
3	Party, coalition participated in election	11 parties, 2 coalitions
4	Total candidates	544
5	Candidates from party or coalition	518
6	Independent candidate	26
7	Number of population of voting age	1,882,035
8	Number of voters registered in the voters list	1,840,824
9	Number of voters voted (%)	1,238,537
10		67.28%
11	Election office of election district, province, capital city	26
12	Election offices of branch, soum, district	333
13	Election date	2012.6.28

№	Нэр	Province	Political party	Number of votes recieved	% of votes
	2012				
1	N.Batbayar	Arkhangai	DP	15,711	39.51%
2	B.Bolor		DP	13,591	34.17%
3	A.Bakyei	Bayan-Olgii	DP	16,583	42.68%
4	A.Tlyeikhan		MPP	19,177	49.36%
5	Kh.Battulga	Bayankhongor	DP	21,552	56.42%
6	D.Ganbat		DP	17,748	46.46%
7	Yo.Otgonbayar	Bulgan	MPP	12,220	46.35%
8	Ts.Dashdorj	Gobi-Altai	MPP	13,429	56.10%
9	J.Batsuuri	Dornogobi, Gobisumber	MPP	11,834	36.79%
10	Kh.Bolorchuluun	Dornod	Non-party	14,017	42.68%
11	N.Nomtoibayar		MPP	10,058	30.63%
12	B.Narankhuu	Dundgobi	DP	8,064	42.56%
13	D.Oyunkhorol	Zavkhan	MPP	15,299	44.86%
14	Ya.Sanjmyatav		DP	15,970	46.82%
15	G.Batkhuu	Uvurkhangai	DP	19,939	40.39%
16	D.Zorigt		DP	16,795	34.02%
17	D.Bat-Erdene	Umnugobi	DP	15,408	57.87%
18	M.Zorigt	Sukhbaatar	DP	10,898	39.65%
19	S.Bayartsogt	Selenge	DP	18,444	40.72%
20	J.Erdenebat		MPP	17,062	37.67%
21	S.Batbold	Tuv	MPP	16,685	41.99%
22	M.Enkhbold		MPP	17,821	44.85%
23	Ch.Khurelbaatar	Uvs	MPP	21,515	57.48%
24	B.Choijilsuren		MPP	19,533	52.18%
25	D.Battsogt	Khovd	DP	11,503	32.63%
26	S.Byambatsogt		MPP	14,817	42.03%
27	Ts.Davaasuren	Khuvsgul	Non-party	19,400	34.62%
28	L.Enkh-Amgalan		MPP	24,166	43.12%
29	B.Bat-Erdene	Khentii	MPP	11,878	37.90%
30	B.Garamgaibaatar		DP	10,749	34.29%

31	S.Ganbaatar	Darkhan-Uul	Non-party	**22,465**	**53.80%**
32	D.Khayankhyarvaa		MPP	**12,369**	**29.62%**
33	O.Sobileg	Orkhon	MPP	**17,528**	**40.71%**
34	L.Tsog		MPRP-MNDP-JC	**12,141**	**28.20%**
35	L.Bold	Khan-Uul, Bagakhangai, Baganuur district	DP	**21,560**	**32.20%**
36	Ts.Oyungerel		DP	**27,243**	**40.69%**
37	D.Arvin	Bayanzurkh, Nalaikh district	DP	**32,350**	**24.61%**
38	J.Batzandan		DP	**44,390**	**33.77%**
39	D.Gankhuyag		DP	**43,658**	**33.21%**
40	R.Amarjargal	Sukhbaatar district	DP	**22,490**	**39.07%**
41	L.Gantumur		DP	**19,240**	**33.42%**
42	G.Bayarsaikhan	Chingeltei district	DP	**21,134**	**31.51%**
43	G.Uyanga		MPRP-MNDP-JC	**21,199**	**31.61%**
44	S.Odontuya	Bayangol district	DP	**30,768**	**38.45%**
45	S.Erdene		DP	**32,036**	**40.04%**
46	D.Sumiyabazar	Songinokhairkhan district	MPP	**28,521**	**25.02%**
47	D.Terbishdagva		MPP	**42,399**	**37.20%**
48	L.Erdenechimeg		DP	**35,583**	**31.22%**
49	N.Altankhuyag	DP list	DP		
50	M.Batchimeg		DP		
51	Ts.Bayarsaikhan		DP		
52	R.Burmaa		DP		
53	R.Gonchigdorj		DP		
54	Ch.Saikhanbileg		DP		
55	Sh.Tuvdendorj		DP		
56	Kh.Temuujin		DP		
57	Z.Enkhbold		DP		
58	D.Erdenebat		DP		
59	S.Batbold	MPP list	MPP		
60	D.Demberel		MPP		
61	D.Lundeejantsan		MPP		
62	Ts.Nyamdorj		MPP		
63	Ya.Sodbaatar		MPP		
64	D.Sarangerel		MPP		
65	J.Enkhbayar		MPP		
66	N.Enkhbold		MPP		
67	U.Enkhtuvshin		MPP		
68	O.Baasankhuu	MPRP-MNDP-JC list	MPRP		
69	N.Battsereg		MPRP		
70	Z.Bayanselenge		MPRP		
71	Ts.Oyunbaatar		MPRP		
72	M.Sonompil		MPRP		
73	Ch.Ulaan		MPRP		
74	Ts.Tsolmon		MPRP		
75	S.Demberel	CWGP list	CWGP		
76	S.Oyun		CWGP		

№	General information	2016
1	Election system used	FPTP
2	Election district and mandate division	26 election districts, 1-6 mandate each district
3	Party, coalition participated in election	12 parties, 3 coalitions
4	Total candidates	498
5	Candidates from party or coalition	429
6	Independent candidate	69
7	Number of population of voting age	1,998,823
8	Number of voters registered in the voters list	1,911,047
9	Number of voters voted (%)	1,406,123
10		73.58%
11	Election office of election district, province, capital city	22
12	Election offices of branch, soum, district	339
13	Election date	2016.6.29

№	Name	Province	Political party	Number of votes received	% of votes
		2016			
1	G.Temuulen	Arkhangai	MPP	9,817	58.00%
2	Yo.Baatarbileg		MPP	7,036	51.80%
3	J.Mukhbat		MPP	9,704	61.30%
4	G.Soltan	Bayan-Olgii	MPP	8,441	51.40%
5	Kh.Badelkhan		MPP	8,143	50.97%
6	D.Murat		DP	7,251	48.20%
7	G.Zandanshatar	Bayankhongor	MPP	7,138	50.70%
8	M.Bilegt		MPP	6,845	48.40%
9	L.Eldev-Ochir		MPP	7,900	49.40%
10	J.Bat-Erdene	Bulgan	MPP	16,329	55.50%
11	Sh.Radnaased	Gobi-Altai	MPP	14,439	51.50%
12	G.Munkhtsetseg	Dornogobi, Gobisumber	MPP	8,900	56.00%
13	B.Delgersaikhan	Dornogobi	MPP	15,606	69.80%
14	Kh.Bolorchuluun	Dornod	MPP	8,964	48.90%
15	N.Nomtoibayar		MPP	8,094	47.60%
16	B.Narankhuu	Dundgobi	DP	6,559	29.30%
17	Ya.Sanjmyatav	Zavhan	DP	8,599	42.20%
18	Z.Narantuya		DP	7,077	40.70%
19	Ya.Sodbaatar	Uvurkhangai	MPP	10,139	53.10%
20	D.Togtokhsuren		MPP	9,655	63.80%
21	S.Chinzorig		MPP	9,391	46.60%
22	N.Amarzaya	Umnugobi	MPP	7,434	49.20%
23	L.Enkhbold		MPP	6,912	47.30%
24	Ch.Ulaan	Sukhbaatar	MPP	16,133	51.70%
25	N.Oyundari	Selenge	MPP	7,616	45.00%
26	J.Erdenebat		MPP	7,962	46.80%
27	M.Erdenebat		DP	7,145	46.60%
28	M.Enkhbold	Tuv	MPP	8,289	63.30%
29	A.Sukhbat		MPP	7,896	57.50%
30	N.Enkhbold		MPP	8,154	48.00%

31	B.Choijilsuren	Uvs	MPP	8,358	51.40%
32	N.Tserenbat		MPP	8,021	58.70%
33	Ch.Khurelbaatar		MPP	7,611	57.00%
34	B.Purevdorj	Khovd	DP	4,492	38.40%
35	S.Byambatsogt		MPP	6,602	48.80%
36	O.Batnasan		MPP	7,914	48.50%
37	L.Munkhbaatar	Khuvsgul	MPP	10,711	55.90%
38	Ts.Davaasuren		MPP	14,291	64.10%
39	L.Enkh-Amgalan		MPP	12,075	58.70%
40	B.Bat-Erdene	Khentii	MPP	6,623	56.00%
41	L.Oyun-Erdene		MPP	6,232	53.20%
42	G.Gantulga		MPP	5,841	47.40%
43	B.Battumur	Darkhan-Uul	MPP	6,553	42.30%
44	B.Javhlan		MPP	6,716	46.54%
45	D.Hayanhyarvaa		MPP	6,320	43.50%
46	O.Sodbileg	Orkhon	MPP	5,751	36.10%
47	O.Baasankhuu		MPRP	4,222	28.90%
48	D.Damba-Ochir		MPP	4,725	31.80%
49	D.Oyunkhorol	Bayanzurkh district	MPP	7,616	32.00%
50	J.Enkhbayar		MPP	11,408	50.20%
51	B.Saranchimeg		MPP	8,660	39.70%
52	B.Batzorig		MPP	8,985	35.30%
53	J.Batzandan		DP	8,491	40.40%
54	S.Javkhlan		Non-Party	11,029	41.90%
55	D.Sarangerel	Khan-Uul district	MPP	6,331	34.10%
56	Ts.Nyamdorj		MPP	9,648	47.70%
57	L.Bold		DP	5,296	29.90%
58	B.Enkh-Amgalan		MPP	5,688	37.20%
59	D.Tsogtbaatar	Sukhbaatar district	MPP	8,043	46.30%
60	Ts.Munkh-Orgil		MPP	8,299	46.90%
61	S.Batbold		MPP	7,340	44.20%
62	Ts.Tsogzolmaa		MPP	8,233	36.50%
63	T.Ayursaikhan	Chingeltei district	MPP	12,704	41.60%
64	M.Oyunchimeg		MPP	6,590	38.30%
65	U.Enkhtuvshin		MPP	6,058	35.10%
66	D.Ganbold		MPP	6,844	33.20%
67	A.Undraa	Bayangol district	MPP	9,268	37.00%
68	J.Ganbaatar		MPP	10,614	48.30%
69	S.Erdene		DP	7,477	35.10%
70	D.Lundeejantsan		MPP	7,672	33.30%
71	Ts.Garamjav	Songinokhairkhan district	MPP	9,241	39.60%
72	N.Uchral		MPP	9,486	47.10%
73	D.Sumiyabazar		MPP	9,577	52.50%
74	D.Terbishdagva		MPP	8,106	36.10%
75	B.Undarmaa		MPP	9,673	37.10%
76	Kh.Nyambaatar		MPP	12,190	50.40%

№	General information	2020
1	Election system used	Block voting
2	Election district and mandate division	29 election district, 2-3 mandates
3	Party, coalition participated in election	13 parties, 3 coalitions
4	Total candidates	606
5	Candidates from party or coalition	485
6	Independent candidate	121
7	Number of population of voting age	2,132,294
8	Number of voters registered in the voters list	2,003,969
9	Number of voters voted (%)	1,475,780
10		73.60%
11	Election office of election district, province, capital city	29
12	Election offices of branch, soum, district	337
13	Election date	2020.6.24

№	Name	Province	Political party	Number of votes received	% of votes
			2020		
1	Yo. Baatarbileg	Arkhangai	MPP	21,849	48.10%
2	J.Munkhbat		MPP	21,478	47.20%
3	G.Temuulen		MPP	20,204	44.40%
4	Kh.Badelkhan	Bayan-Olgii	MPP	23,379	46.80%
5	T.Aybakar		MPP	22,662	45.30%
6	B.Beisen		DP	22,448	44.90%
7	G.Zandanshatar	Bayankhongor	MPP	24,029	53.00%
8	D.Ganbat		DP	21,427	47.30%
9	A.Adiyasuren		DP	19,076	42.10%
10	Ts.Anandbazar	Bulgan	MPP	15,624	53.00%
11	J.Bat-Erdene		MPP	14,305	48.50%
12	B.Enkh-Amgalan	Gobi-Altai	MPP	14,801	52.20%
13	Sh.Radnaased		MPP	14,235	50.20%
14	S.Batbold	Dundgobi	MPP	14,091	50.20%
15	G.Munkhtsesteg		MPP	10,175	36.30%
16	Kh.Bolorchuluun	Dornod	MPP	16,798	46.50%
17	Ts.Sergelen		MPP	16,245	45.00%
18	B.Delgersaikhan	Dornogobi	MPP	21,238	67.50%
19	T.Enkhtuvshin		MPP	17,411	55.30%
20	Ts.Tserenpuntsag	Zavkhan	MPP	18,828	49.80%
21	B.Bayarsaikhan		MPP	14,350	37.90%
22	S.Chinzorig	Uvurkhagngai	MPP	32,808	61.60%
23	D.Togtokhsuren		MPP	30,020	56.30%
24	G.Ganbold		MPP	23,560	44.20%
25	N.Naranbaatar	Umnugobi	MPP	15,929	49.60%
26	D.Bat-Erdene		DP	15,239	47.50%
27	J.Batsuuri	Sukhbaatar	DP	19,452	58.90%
28	N.Ganibal		DP	17,395	52.60%
29	J.Erdenebat	Selenge	MPP	22,865	46.60%
30	Ch.Undram		MPP	22,583	46.00%
31	D.Unurbolor		MPP	19,412	39.50%

32	J.Batjargal	Tuv	MPP	18,531	42.30%
33	Ts.Tuvaan		DP	16,125	36.80%
34	N.Enkhbold		MPP	15,842	36.10%
35	O.Tsogtgerel	Uvs	DP	26,644	61.00%
36	Ch.Khurelbaatar		MPP	22,562	51.60%
37	B.Choijilsuren		MPP	21,378	48.90%
38	Sh.Adishaa	Khovd	DP	22,549	52.50%
39	B.Purevdorj		DP	18,578	43.30%
40	S.Byambatsogts		MPP	18,464	43.00%
41	Ts.Davaasuren	Khuvsgul	MPP	33,783	54.00%
42	L.Munkhbaatar		MPP	29,351	47.00%
43	L.Enkh-Amgalan		MPP	27,931	44.70%
44	U.Khurelsukh	Khentii	MPP	25,356	72.20%
45	L.Oyun-Erdene		MPP	25,169	71.70%
46	B.Bat-Erdene		MPP	19,887	56.70%
47	B.Javhlan	Darkhan-Uul	MPP	24,026	53.30%
48	G.Damdinnyam		MPP	22,347	49.50%
49	B.Battumur		MPP	19,842	44.00%
50	D.Batlut	Orkhon	MPP	22,622	49.50%
51	N.Altankhuyag		Non-party	19,595	42.90%
52	S.Ganbaatar		OC	17,034	37.30%
53	S.Amarsaikhan	Nalaikh, Baganuur, Baga-khangai district	MPP	21,969	68.60%
54	Ts.Sandag-Ochir		MPP	15,576	48.70%
55	B.Enkhbayar	Bayanzurkh district	MPP	36,363	44.50%
56	B.Saranchimeg		MPP	25,228	30.90%
57	J.Chinburen	Bayanzurkh district	MPP	41,004	52.50%
58	Kh.Bulgantuya		MPP	35,472	45.50%
59	E.Bat-Amgalan		MPP	30,870	39.60%
60	D.Tsogtbaatar	Sukhbaatar district	MPP	25,333	39.40%
61	Ts.Munkh-Orgil		MPP	23,637	36.80%
62	Ts.Munkhtsetseg		MPP	20,584	32.00%
63	T.Ayursaikhan	Chingeltei district	MPP	33,356	48.20%
64	M.Oyunchimeg		MPP	27,339	39.50%
65	J.Sukhbaatar		MPP	23,365	33.80%
66	Kh.Gankhuyag	Bayangol district	MPP	50,073	48.20%
67	J.Ganbaatar		MPP	48,624	46.80%
68	S.Odontuya		DP	27,143	26.20%
69	Kh.Nyambaatar	Songinokhairhan district	MPP	32,962	56.60%
70	B.Jargalmaa		MPP	24,867	42.70%
71	N.Uchral	Songinokhairkhan district	MPP	53,651	65.50%
72	D.Sumiyabazar		MPP	36,785	44.90%
73	P.Anujin		MPP	32,031	39.10%
74	G.Amartuvshin	Khan-Uul district	MPP	37,476	42.10%
75	D.Sarangerel		MPP	37,457	42.10%
76	T.Dorjkhand		RPEC	24,449	27.50%

ANNEX IV - MONGOLIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS RESULTS (1993-2021), NATIONWIDE

Prepared by: Sarantuya B.

Source: General Election Commission, "Mongolian Presidential elections results 1993-2021" volume, https://www.gec.gov.mn/uploads/Erunkhiiloch_songuuli_2022.03.22.pdf

№	General information	1993			1997			
1	**Number of political Parties and coalitions**	Political party - 1 Coalition - 1			Political party - 2 Coalition - 1			
2	**Total number of canidates**	2			3			
3	**Voting-age people**	1,159,173			1,241,819			
4	**Number of voters in voters' registration list**	1,106,403			1,155,228			
5	**Number of votes / Voter turnout**	1,025,970			982,640			
6		92.73%			85.06%			
7	**Number of elections committees of constituencies, provinces and capital city**	33			30			
8	**Number of polling stations of divisions, soums and districts**	1538			1563			
9	**Elections date**	1993.06.06			1997.05.18			
	POLITICAL PARTIES	MPRP	DP	Number of invalid votes	MPRP	MNDP MSDP	MTUP	Number of invalid votes
	Candidates	L. Tudev	P. Ochirbat		N. Baga-bandi	P. Ochirbat	J. Gombojav	
	Total nationwide (# of votes)	397,057	592,836	36,077	597,573	292,896	65,201	26,970
	Total nationwide (%)	38.70%	57.78%	3.52%	60.81%	28.81%	6.64%	2.74%
	Total, provinces (%)	39.01%	57.48%	3.52%	59.40%	31.02%	6.88%	2.70%
	Total, capital city (%)	37.92%	58.57%	3.51%	64.33%	26.79%	6.04%	2.84%
1	Arkhangai	32.17%	67.83%	3.13%	47.77%	44.59%	4.66%	2.98%
2	Bayan-Olgii	49.12%	46.52%	4.36%	64.85%	27.13%	4.40%	3.62%
3	Bayankhongor	64.27%	33.01%	2.72%	60.33%	32.34%	4.80%	2.53%
4	Bulgan	62.05%	34.50%	3.45%	64.28%	27.59%	5.81%	2.32%
5	Gobi-Altai	19.67%	77.76%	2.57%	76.13%	15.63%	6.47%	1.77%
6	Gobisumber	58.09%	38.75%	4.01%	59.41%	26.22%	12.07%	2.29%
7	Darkhan-Uul	32.82%	63.36%	3.82%	58.40%	33.35%	5.78%	2.47%
8	Dornogobi	39.01%	57.48%	3.16%	67.03%	22.44%	7.72%	2.81%
9	Dornod	66.43%	30.12%	3.45%	49.89%	41.09%	6.23%	2.79%
10	Dundgobi	49.47%	47.82%	2.71%	68.27%	20.55%	8.93%	2.25%
11	Zavkhan	78.73%	18.65%	2.62%	61.93%	33.58%	2.41%	2.09%
12	Orkhon	24.49%	72.74%	2.76%	46.09%	45.39%	6.03%	2.49%
13	Uvurkhangai	60.36%	36.19%	3.45%	53.19%	37.88%	6.31%	2.61%
14	Umnugobi	57.32%	40.63%	2.05%	66.78%	25.32%	6.48%	1.42%
15	Sukhbaatar	60.88%	34.92%	4.20%	38.52%	24.27%	34.02%	3.19%
16	Selenge	63.83%	32.48%	3.69%	57.43%	33.61%	6.15%	2.82%
17	Tuv	54.73%	41.81%	3.46%	64.50%	25.33%	7.19%	2.98%
18	Uvs	24.32%	70.36%	5.31%	77.07%	14.68%	4.78%	3.47%
19	Khovd	45.44%	51.09%	3.47%	72.12%	20.27%	4.60%	3.00%
20	Khuvsgul	60.77%	34.29%	4.94%	51.55%	40.81%	4.63%	3.01%
21	Khentii	67.25%	29.62%	3.14%	46.78%	40.37%	10.23%	2.61%
1	Bayanzurkh	39.18%	56.91%	3.91%	64.91%	25.79%	6.23%	3.08%
2	Khan-Uul	35.75%	60.43%	3.82%	64.19%	27.84%	5.38%	2.59%
3	Sukhbaatar	39.97%	57.01%	3.02	61.85%	28.95%	6.27%	2.93%
4	Songinokhairkhan	35.88%	60.65%	3.47%	66.19%	25.20%	5.77%	2.85%
5	Chingeltei	38.21%	58.16%	3.64%	62.66%	28.06%	6.04%	3.24%
6	Bayangol	40.32%	56.62%	3.06%	64.70%	26.91%	6.10%	2.29%
7	Nalaikh	35.49%	60.54%	3.97%	73.08%	17.90%	5.38%	3.64%
8	Baganuur	29.93%	66.24%	3.83%	54.40%	34.11%	8.72%	2.77%
9	Bagakhangai	36.55%	59.65%	3.79%	58.21%	33.45%	5.45%	2.89%
10	Gachuurt	38.11%	57.38%	4.51%	According to the resolutions including No.16 of 1995 from the Parliament of Mongolia, No. 23 of 1995 from the Government of Mongolia, and No. 13 of 1995 of the City Council of the Capital City, Gachuurt, Tuul, and Jargalant districts were abolished due to the changes in the structure of the administrative organization of Ulaanbaatar city. Therefore, the elections have been organized in Ulaanbaatar city with 9 districts since the 1996 parliamentary elections.			
11	Tuul	27.92%	68.98%	3.10%				
12	Jargalant	39.50%	55.15%	5.38%				

№	General information	2001	2005
1	Number of political Parties and coalitions	Political party - 3	Political party - 4
2	Total number of canidates	3	4
3	Voting-age people	1,398,219	1,287,967
4	Number of voters in voters' registration list	1,205,885	1,241,268
5	Number of votes / Voter turnout	1,000,125	930,921
6		82.94%	75.00%
7	Number of elections committees of constituencies, provinces and capital city	30	30
8	Number of polling stations of divisions, soums and districts	1584	1650
9	Elections date	2001.05.20	2005.05.22

POLITICAL PARTIES	MPRP	DP	CWGP	Blank vote / Protest vote	Number of invalid votes	MPRP	DP	MLP	RP	Blank vote / Protest vote	Number of invalid votes
Candidates	N. Bagabandi	R. Gonchigdorj	L. Dashnyam			N. Enkhbayar	M. Enkhsaikhan	B. Erdenebat	B. Jargalsaikhan		
Total nationwide (# of votes)	81,381	65,363	35,425	545	7,411	97,491	86,646	05,497	28,784	466	2,092
Total nationwide (%)	58.13%	36.53%	3.54%	0.05%	1.74%	53.44%	20.05%	11.33%	13.83%	0.05%	1.30%
Total, provinces (%)	58.14%	36.83%	3.06%	0.06%	1.91%	52.56%	21.33%	12.25%	12.42%	0.05%	1.40%
Total, capital city (%)	58.12%	35.85%	4.64%	0.05%	1.35%	55.14%	17.57%	9.56%	16.56%	0.06%	1.11%
1 Arkhangai	25.98%	69.38%	2.35%	0.06%	2.24%	56.55%	24.50%	10.25%	7.25%	0.03%	1.42%
2 Bayan-Olgii	56.53%	38.36%	2.17%	0.06%	2.88%	51.52%	37.06%	6.79%	3.01%	0.01%	1.61%
3 Bayankhongor	54.12%	40.80%	3.18%	0.04%	1.86%	55.75%	25.21%	11.72%	6.13%	0.04%	1.16%
4 Bulgan	67.36%	27.38%	3.33%	0.05%	1.88%	45.79%	12.14%	6.29%	34.39%	0.03%	1.35%
5 Gobi-Altai	68.67%	27.49%	2.38%	0.02%	1.44%	62.67%	15.91%	12.27%	7.89%	0.03%	1.23%
6 Gobisumber	67.43%	26.09%	2.38%	0.08%	1.92%	54.71%	11.00%	8.14%	24.85%	0.04%	1.26%
7 Darkhan-Uul	58.11%	37.42%	3.00%	0.05%	1.41%	50.17%	22.36%	9.71%	16.44%	0.05%	1.26%
8 Dornogobi	70.00%	25.20%	3.21%	0.07%	1.52%	63.05%	10.12%	7.02%	18.52%	0.05%	1.24%
9 Dornod	52.79%	38.84%	6.43%	0.07%	1.86%	46.69%	33.53%	6.95%	11.29%	0.10%	1.44%
10 Dundgobi	70.21%	24.96%	3.29%	0.04%	1.50%	58.48%	17.61%	11.29%	11.51%	0.06%	1.04%
11 Zavkhan	70.00%	26.47%	2.15%	0.06%	1.32%	43.85%	22.12%	23.62%	9.18%	0.07%	1.17%
12 Orkhon	50.80%	45.09%	2.47%	0.02%	1.62%	42.49%	15.06%	11.55%	29.81%	0.05%	1.04%
13 Uvurkhangai	52.87%	42.10%	3.12%	0.09%	1.82%	56.42%	24.81%	7.98%	9.22%	0.05%	1.53%
14 Umnugobi	64.34%	31.25%	3.03%	0.06%	1.31%	52.94%	15.97%	7.96%	22.05%	0.05%	1.03%
15 Sukhbaatar	64.34%	29.64%	3.99%	0.12%	1.92%	60.64%	24.46%	6.36%	6.87%	0.02%	1.65%
16 Selenge	57.42%	37.98%	2.66%	0.04%	1.91%	48.72%	18.59%	8.81%	22.17%	0.07%	1.64%
17 Tuv	68.20%	26.00%	3.79%	0.03%	1.98%	59.54%	15.78%	8.77%	14.18%	0.04%	1.69%
18 Uvs	66.23%	28.70%	2.34%	0.09%	2.65%	63.13%	15.69%	11.12%	8.14%	0.07%	1.84%
19 Khovd	64.19%	30.87%	2.46%	0.06%	2.43%	57.54%	19.52%	12.13%	9.24%	0.03%	1.54%
20 Khuvsgul	49.42%	45.65%	2.93%	0.07%	1.94%	35.26%	20.53%	39.85%	3.17%	0.04%	1.16%
21 Khentii	54.15%	39.94%	3.94%	0.06%	1.91%	52.73%	27.35%	7.67%	10.57%	0.06%	1.62%
1 Bayanzurkh	58.59%	35.34%	4.64%	0.04%	1.38%	54.84%	18.06%	9.41%	16.64%	0.04%	1.01%
2 Khan-Uul	59.09%	35.71%	3.91%	0.05%	98.70%	58.23%	16.16%	8.77%	15.66%	0.07%	1.10%
3 Sukhbaatar	55.52%	37.97%	5.26%	0.07%	1.18%	52.55%	21.21%	9.14%	15.94%	0.10%	1.07%
4 Songinokhairkhan	60.63%	33.45%	4.39%	0.05%	1.48%	56.68%	14.85%	9.42%	17.73%	0.06%	1.25%
5 Chingeltei	57.07%	36.48%	4.82%	0.00%	1.62%	54.60%	17.90%	9.40%	16.82%	0.06%	1.21%
6 Bayangol	56.90%	37.22%	4.98%	0.03%	0.87%	54.23%	20.18%	9.58%	15.02%	0.04%	0.94%
7 Nalaikh	65.05%	28.80%	3.72%	0.08%	2.35%	53.96%	9.51%	12.25%	22.56%	0.00%	1.73%
8 Baganuur	47.80%	46.09%	4.53%	0.14%	1.43%	51.80%	16.56%	15.45%	15.26%	0.01%	0.92%
9 Bagakhangai	58.51%	35.42%	3.93%	0.48%	1.65%	72.76%	13.58%	3.96%	8.88%	0.00%	0.81%
10 Gachuurt	According to the resolutions including No.16 of 1995 from the Parliament of Mongolia, No. 23 of 1995 from the Government of Mongolia, and No. 13 of 1995 of the City Council of the Capital City, Gachuurt, Tuul, and Jargalant districts were abolished due to the changes in the structure of the administrative organization of Ulaanbaatar city. Therefore, the elections have been organized in Ulaanbaatar city with 9 districts since the 1996 parliamentary elections.										
11 Tuul											
12 Jargalant											

№	General information	2009					2013				
1	**Number of political Parties and coalitions**	Political party - 2					Political party - 3				
2	**Total number of canidates**	2					3				
3	**Voting-age people**	1,642,567					1,998,586				
4	**Number of voters in voters' list**	1,483,217					1,864,273				
5	**Number of votes / Voter**	1,098,875					1,239,784				
6	turnout	73.59%					66.50%				
7	**Number of elections committees of constituencies, provinces and capital city**	22					22				
8	**Number of polling stations of divisions, soums and districts**	1699					1896				
9	**Elections date**	2009.05.24					2013.06.26				
	POLITICAL PARTIES	MPRP	DP				MPP	DP	MPRP		
	Candidates	Enkhbayar. N	Elbegdorj. Ts	Blank vote / Protest vote	Ballots for which all candidats are marked / Protest vote	Number of invalid votes	Bat-Erdene. B	Elbegdorj. Ts	Udval. N	Blank vote / Protest vote	Number of invalid votes
	Total nationwide (# of votes)	520,948	562,718	938	749	13,522	520,380	622,794	80,563	13,688	0
	Total nationwide (%)	47.41%	51.21%	0.09%	0.07%	1.23%	41.97%	50.23%	6.50%	1.10%	0.00%
	Total, provinces (%)	50.25%	48.24%	0.10%	0.06%	1.36%	44.68%	46.61%	7.13%	1.32%	0.00%
	Total, capital city (%)	43.21%	55.59%	0.07%	0.08%	1.04%	38.81%	54.47%	5.75%	0.85%	0.00%
1	Arkhangai	47.49%	51.16%	0.08%	0.02%	1.25%	40.88%	44.13%	12.98%	1.68%	0.00%
2	Bayan-Olgii	50.06%	48.29%	0.10%	0.00%	1.55%	37.65%	53.34%	6.34%	2.17%	0.00%
3	Bayankhongor	52.02%	46.70%	0.08%	0.09%	1.12%	44.15%	48.37%	5.95%	1.19%	0.00%
4	Bulgan	51.98%	46.76%	0.11%	0.01%	1.14%	48.23%	40.03%	10.29%	1.32%	0.00%
5	Gobi-Altai	57.31%	41.71%	0.08%	0.01%	0.90%	49.92%	41.57%	9.39%	0.95%	0.00%
6	Gobisumber	58.33%	40.30%	0.15%	0.04%	0.97%	49.25%	42.17%	6.90%	1.50%	0.00%
7	Darkhan-Uul	47.12%	51.89%	0.07%	0.05%	0.88%	42.14%	50.02%	6.80%	0.91%	0.00%
8	Dornogobi	61.26%	37.21%	0.10%	0.15%	1.27%	53.38%	37.85%	7.18%	1.45%	0.00%
9	Dornod	46.15%	51.75%	0.13%	0.11%	1.85%	38.98%	53.06%	6.22%	1.53%	0.00%
10	Dundgobi	53.05%	45.69%	0.08%	0.02%	1.18%	53.81%	36.43%	8.67%	0.93%	0.00%
11	Zavkhan	49.51%	49.59%	0.07%	0.06%	0.77%	46.69%	49.24%	3.04%	0.88%	0.00%
12	Orkhon	41.99%	56.57%	0.04%	0.06%	1.35%	44.68%	51.50%	9.54%	0.89%	0.00%
13	Uvurkhangai	49.78%	48.35%	0.13%	0.08%	1.65%	45.67%	46.12%	6.31%	1.50%	0.00%
14	Umnugobi	52.37%	46.09%	0.09%	0.05%	1.40%	44.64%	45.93%	8.70%	0.63%	0.00%
15	Sukhbaatar	58.62%	38.70%	0.07%	0.13%	2.47%	54.49%	39.58%	3.70%	1.85%	0.00%
16	Selenge	48.93%	49.48%	0.16%	0.10%	1.33%	41.42%	47.15%	9.79%	1.41%	0.00%
17	Tuv	55.21%	43.15%	0.12%	0.06%	1.45%	50.84%	39.39%	7.88%	1.64%	0.00%
18	Uvs	57.00%	40.89%	0.13%	0.08%	1.90%	45.87%	46.17%	6.19%	1.36%	0.00%
19	Khovd	42.47%	56.01%	0.08%	0.06%	1.37%	32.08%	61.17%	5.36%	1.14%	0.00%
20	Khuvsgul	44.88%	53.90%	0.08%	0.03%	1.11%	40.24%	52.28%	6.00%	1.24%	0.00%
21	Khentii	50.80%	47.71%	0.09%	0.05%	1.34%	62.50%	33.37%	2.55%	1.35%	0.00%
1	Bayanzurkh	42.10%	58.61%	0.06%	0.03%	0.99%	38.70%	55.01%	5.30%	0.87%	0.00%
2	Khan-Uul	43.64%	55.02%	0.06%	0.11%	1.16%	38.94%	54.23%	5.81%	0.90%	0.00%
3	Sukhbaatar	42.09%	56.75%	0.07%	0.02%	1.07%	38.97%	54.91%	5.20%	0.80%	0.00%
4	Songinokhairkhan	44.44%	54.57%	0.07%	0.18%	0.74%	38.74%	53.86%	6.47%	0.84%	0.00%
5	Chingeltei	41.42%	57.29%	0.08%	0.05%	1.16%	39.14%	53.73%	6.01%	1.01%	0.00%
6	Bayangol	43.04%	55.76%	0.06%	0.06%	1.09%	36.78%	57.08%	5.38%	0.65%	0.00%
7	Nalaikh	48.90%	48.68%	0.09%	0.01%	2.32%	40.24%	50.04%	8.35%	1.16%	0.00%
8	Baganuur	48.18%	50.43%	0.08%	0.09%	1.22%	48.29%	46.69%	3.90%	0.99%	0.00%
9	Bagakhangai	38.34%	59.90%	0.19%	0.00%	1.57%	50.94%	45.07%	3.02%	0.80%	0.00%
10	Gachuurt	According to the resolutions including No.16 of 1995 from the Parliament of Mongolia, No. 23 of 1995 from the Government of Mongolia, and No. 13 of 1995 of the City Council of the Capital City, Gachuurt, Tuul, and Jargalant districts were abolished due to the changes in the structure of the administrative organization of Ulaanbaatar city. Therefore, the elections have been organized in Ulaanbaatar city with 9 districts since the 1996 parliamentary elections.									
11	Tuul										
12	Jargalant										

№	General information	2017	2021
1	Number of political Parties and coalitions	Political party - 3	Political party - 3
2	Total number of canidates	3	3
3	Voting-age people	2,032,022	2,151,329
4	Number of voters in voters' list	1,988,891 \ 1,990,797	2,041,985
5	Number of votes / Voter	1,357,788 \ 1,207,787	1,210,628
6	turnout	68.27% \ 60.67%	59.35%
7	Number of elections committees of constituencies, provinces and capital city	22	30
8	Number of polling stations of divisions, soums and districts	1983	2088
9	Elections date	2017.06.26 \ 2017.07.07	2021.06.11

POLITICAL PARTIES		MPP	MPP - in the second voting	DP	DP - in the second voting	MPRP	Blank vote / Protest vote in the first voting	Blank vote / Protest vote in the second voting	MPP	DP	RPEC	Blank vote / Protest vote
Candidates		Enkhbold. M		Battulga. Kh		Ganbaatar. S			Khurelsukh. U	Erdene. S	Enkhbat. D	
Total nationwide (# of votes)		411,748	497,067	517,478	611,226	409,899	18,663	99,494	823,326	246,968	72,831	71,937
Total nationwide (%)		30.32%	41.16%	38.11%	50.61%	30.19%	1.37%	8.23%	67.69%	5.99%	20.31%	5.92%
Total, provinces (%)		34.00%	45.33%	33.31%	47.17%	31.49%	1.20%	7.50%	75.99%	6.60%	11.71%	5.87%
Total, capital city (%)		26.23%	36.62%	42.64%	54.31%	31.46%	1.57%	9.07%	64.49%	5.20%	24.76%	6.11%
1	Arkhangai	30.21%	43.91%	31.06%	47.43%	37.40%	1.34%	8.65%	69.81%	18.09%	8.91%	3.14%
2	Bayan-Olgii	49.25%	55.38%	36.22%	42.11%	13.26%	1.27%	2.50%	81.47%	7.29%	4.47%	6.71%
3	Bayankhongor	28.80%	33.45%	59.83%	64.65%	10.36%	1.01%	1.89%	74.49%	7.94%	6.01%	11.43%
4	Bulgan	28.89%	40.42%	31.87%	49.95%	38.10%	1.15%	9.63%	78.26%	6.15%	10.05%	5.44%
5	Gobi-Altai	39.26%	52.46%	26.87%	40.51%	33.16%	0.71%	7.04%	84.58%	5.07%	7.56%	2.76%
6	Gobisumber	28.70%	50.77%	34.12%	42.13%	36.14%	1.05%	7.10%	76.77%	6.32%	12.91%	3.88%
7	Darkhan-Uul	29.96%	44.49%	29.63%	45.54%	38.98%	1.44%	9.87%	67.38%	4.44%	21.17%	6.91%
8	Dornogobi	33.20%	47.93%	32.06%	44.86%	33.55%	1.19%	7.21%	74.52%	5.38%	15.81%	4.16%
9	Dornod	26.33%	39.09%	33.47%	51.52%	38.76%	1.44%	9.39%	73.75%	4.96%	14.87%	6.12%
10	Dundgobi	26.01%	47.42%	27.38%	36.93%	45.54%	1.07%	15.64%	79.03%	5.29%	10.67%	4.98%
11	Zavkhan	39.67%	46.85%	38.14%	48.99%	21.34%	0.86%	4.16%	76.18%	6.61%	11.12%	6.05%
12	Orkhon	22.64%	33.41%	33.90%	53.78%	42.35%	1.11%	12.81%	68.87%	3.84%	20.01%	7.18%
13	Uvurkhangai	38.07%	48.46%	31.09%	45.57%	29.52%	1.32%	5.97%	79.25%	4.62%	10.33%	5.73%
14	Umnugobi	26.78%	39.48%	29.92%	48.14%	42.49%	0.80%	12.38%	74.10%	6.74%	13.14%	5.94%
15	Sukhbaatar	35.63%	45.31%	33.13%	48.51%	29.90%	1.35%	6.18%	87.22%	3.31%	5.09%	4.32%
16	Selenge	33.45%	48.12%	31.79%	44.16%	33.24%	1.52%	7.72%	69.88%	6.67%	16.40%	6.98%
17	Tuv	40.18%	53.01%	27.33%	40.22%	31.22%	1.28%	6.77%	78.30%	4.61%	12.04%	4.95%
18	Uvs	49.04%	55.97%	30.41%	39.23%	19.69%	0.86%	4.80%	77.40%	3.48%	8.80%	10.21%
19	Khovd	39.95%	48.52%	29.29%	44.10%	29.75%	1.01%	7.38%	74.00%	10.17%	12.68%	3.19%
20	Khuvsgul	34.37%	43.93%	31.81%	49.20%	32.49%	1.33%	6.88%	68.04%	10.13%	16.40%	5.33%
21	Khentii	24.64%	35.92%	35.53%	53.75%	38.40%	1.42%	10.34%	82.49%	7.39%	7.49%	2.59%
1	Bayanzurkh	25.06%	35.66%	44.52%	55.11%	28.86%	1.56%	9.23%	59.28%	4.03%	30.37%	6.27%
2	Khan-Uul	27.84%	34.67%	45.80%	56.19%	24.84%	1.53%	9.13%	53.73%	5.05%	34.66%	6.44%
3	Sukhbaatar	28.43%	35.30%	45.69%	55.60%	24.12%	1.76%	9.10%	56.66%	5.53%	31.33%	6.35%
4	Songinokhairkhan	25.48%	39.85%	37.91%	50.87%	35.13%	1.48%	9.29%	67.26%	4.02%	22.66%	5.95%
5	Chingeltei	24.14%	36.29%	42.64%	54.02%	31.46%	1.76%	9.69%	61.63%	4.74%	26.97%	6.57%
6	Bayangol	26.63%	33.07%	49.82%	58.63%	22.01%	1.54%	8.29%	52.57%	8.98%	32.48%	5.89%
7	Nalaikh	24.36%	46.10%	33.68%	45.52%	39.20%	1.76%	8.38%	72.45%	4.69%	18.06%	4.73%
8	Baganuur	33.27%	44.02%	34.88%	47.71%	30.53%	1.32%	8.27%	72.41%	6.11%	17.51%	3.94%
9	Bagakhangai	56.01%	59.67%	25.82%	36.73%	17.71%	0.46%	3.61%	84.44%	3.68%	8.77%	3.00%
10	Gachuurt	According to the resolutions including No.16 of 1995 from the Parliament of Mongolia, No. 23 of 1995 from the Government of Mongolia, and No. 13 of 1995 of the City Council of the Capital City, Gachuurt, Tuul, and Jargalant districts were abolished due to the changes in the structure of the administrative organization of Ulaanbaatar city. Therefore, the elections have been organized in Ulaanbaatar city with 9 districts since the 1996 parliamentary elections.										
11	Tuul											
12	Jargalant											

Prepared by: Sarantuya B.

NOTE: 1. Only the second voting results of the Mongolian presidential election in 2017 were included in the calculation of the average percentage of all elections between 1993-2021

2. The number of invalid ballots was no longer reported because the ballot counting machine has been used since the Mongolian presidential election in 2013. In addition, voters living in foreign countries began voting since 2013, but their votes were not counted in the above figures.

1993								
	Number of voters in voters' list	Voters voted		Blank vote		Invalid vote		
		#	%	#	%	#	%	
Aimag wide	786,396	737,091	93.73%	-	-	25,932	3.52%	
Capital city wide	320,007	288,879	90.27%	-	-	10,145	3.51%	
Nationwide	1,106,403	1,025,970	92.00%	-	-	36,077	3.52%	

1997								
	Number of voters in voters' list	Voters voted		Blank vote		Invalid vote		
		#	%	#	%	#	%	
Aimag wide	816,018	700,510	85.84%	-	-	18,945	2.70%	
Capital city wide	339,210	282,130	83.17%	-	-	8,025	2.84%	
Nationwide	1,155,228	982,640	84.51%	-	-	26,970	2.74%	

2001								
	Number of voters in voters' list	Voters voted		Blank vote		Invalid vote		
		#	%	#	%	#	%	
Aimag wide	834,183	695,550	83.38%	405	0.06%	13,309	1.91%	
Capital city wide	371,702	304,560	81.94%	140	0.05%	4,102	1.35%	
Nationwide	1,205,885	1,000,110	82.66%	545	0.05%	17,411	1.63%	

2005								
	Number of voters in voters' list	Voters voted		Blank vote		Invalid vote		
		#	%	#	%	#	%	
Aimag wide	809,031	613,988	75.89%	287	0.05%	8,571	1.40%	
Capital city wide	432,260	316,988	73.26%	179	0.06%	3,521	1.11%	
Nationwide	1,241,291	930,976	74.57%	466	0.05%	12,092	1.30%	

2009									
	Number of voters in voters' list	Voters voted		Number of ballots which all candidates were marked		Blank vote		Invalid vote	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Aimag wide	920,834	655,175	71.15%	399	0.06%	635	0.10%	8,887	1.36%
Capital city wide	572,383	443,700	77.52%	350	0.08%	303	0.07%	4,635	1.04%
Nationwide	1,493,217	1,098,875	74.34%	749	0.07%	938	0.09%	13,522	1.23%

2013							
	Number of voters in voters' list	Voters voted		Blank vote		Invalid vote	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Aimag wide	1,040,886	674,256	64.78%	8,875	1.32%	0	0%
Capital city wide	817,154	561,286	68.69%	4,785	0.85%	0	0%
Nationwide	1,858,040	1,235,542	66.74%	13,660	1.09%	0	0%
2017 (in the first voting)							
	Number of voters in voters' list	Voters voted		Blank vote		Invalid vote	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Aimag wide	1,074,935	718,931	66.88%	8,625	1.20%	0	0%
Capital city wide	906,747	634,090	69.93%	9,985	1.57%	0	0%
Nationwide	1,981,682	1,353,021	68.41%	18,610	1.39%	0	0%
2017 (in the second voting)							
	Number of voters in voters' list	Voters voted		Blank vote		Invalid vote	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Aimag wide	1,075,814	634,380	58.97%	47,606	7.50%	0	0%
Capital city wide	907,774	570,731	62.87%	51,739	9.07%	0	0%
Nationwide	1,983,588	1,205,111	60.92%	99,345	8.29%	0	0%
2021 он							
	Number of voters in voters' list	Voters voted		Blank vote		Invalid vote	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Aimag wide	1,112,510	636,138	57.18%	36,748	5.78%	0	0%
Capital city wide	929,475	573,357	61.69%	35,040	6.11%	0	0%
Nationwide	2,041,985	1,209,495	59.44%	71,788	5.95%	0	0%

	Average percentage of voters voted (1993-2021)	Average percentage of blank votes (1993-2021)	Average percentage of invalid votes (1993-2021)
Aimag wide	73.86%	2.47%	1.36%
Capital city wide	74.93%	2.70%	1.23%
Nationwide	74.40%	2.58%	1.30%

ANNEX VI - LOCAL ELECTIONS (CRKhs) RESULTS OF PROVINCES AND CAPITAL CITY, BY POLITICAL PARTY (2000, 2004, 2016, 2020)

Prepared by: Sarantuya B.

Source: The General Elections Committee, "Province, Capital city, Soum and District CRK 2004 elections summary-2005" volume

	MPP/MPRP
	DP
	LP

№	Province	Number of voters registered in the voters registration list	Number of voters voted		Number of Mandates	Number of party seats								Party vote %	Name of province governor
			Number	Percentage		MPRP	DUC (DP)	Independent	MNDP	RP	Non-party	Motherland - MDNSP	USC		
		1	2	3	4	5								6	7
1	Arkhangai	48,434	35,039	72.34%	35	22	13	0	0	0	0	0	0		
2	Bayan-Olgii	43,710	34,003	77.79%	35	25	0	2	6	0	0	2	0		
3	Bayankhongor	42,062	31,878	75.79%	30	24	4	0	0	1	0	2	0		
4	Bulgan	31,317	22,673	72.40%	30	28	0	0	1	0	0	1	0		
5	Govi-Altai	32,699	26,120	79.88%	30	25	0	0	4	0	0	1	0		
6	Govisumber	5,484	3,384	61.71%	25	16	4	3	0	0	1	1	0		
7	Darkhan-Uul	33,990	20,160	59.31%	30	27	0	0	3	0	0	0	0		
8	Dornogovi	25,968	17,569	67.66%	25	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
9	Dornod	34,944	23,042	65.90%	30	23	3	4	0	0	0	0	0		
10	Dundgovi	25,528	17,998	70.50%	30	18	10	2	0	0	0	0	0		
11	Zavkhan	44,173	34,633	78.40%	35	29	0	0	4	1	0	1	0		
12	Orkhon	33,168	18,129	54.66%	30	27	0	1	2	0	0	0	0		
13	Selenge	47,601	28,253	59.35%	35	27	0	0	0	0	0	1	7		
14	Sukhbaatar	29,455	23,374	79.38%	30	24	5	0	0	0	0	1	0		
15	Tuv	45,815	31,612	69.00%	35	27	0	2	5	0	0	1	0		
16	Uvs	42,121	32,638	77.49%	35	30	0	0	4	0	0	1	0		
17	Khovd	37,133	30,287	81.56%	30	27	3	0	0	0	0	0	0		
18	Khentii	34,607	24,015	69.39%	30	24	5	0	0	0	0	1	0		
19	Khuvsgul	59,525	45,076	75.73%	35	34	0	0	0	0	5	0	0		
20	Uvurkhangai	71,410	50,356	70.52%	35	29	6	0	0	0	0	0	0		
21	Umnugovi	23,742	18,304	77.10%	25	23	1	0	0	0	0	1	0		
Capital city		**317,062**	**168,316**	**58.33%**	**40**	**39**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**		
Provincewide		**792,886**	**568,543**	**71.23%**	**655**	**534**	**54**	**14**	**29**	**2**	**6**	**14**	**7**		
Nationwide		**1,109,948**	**736,859**	**67.36%**	**695**	**573**	**54**	**14**	**29**	**3**	**6**	**14**	**7**		

	MPP/MPRP
	DP
	LP

№	Province	Number of voters registered in the voters registration list	Number of voters voted			Number of party seats						Party vote %	Name of province governor
			Number	Percentage	Number of Mandates	MPRP	MDP	MDC	Motherland - MDNSP	RP	Independent		
		1	2	3	4	5						6	7
1	Arkhangai	47,406	35,686	75.28%	35	21	0	14	0	0	0		
2	Bayan-Olgii	49,334	41,047	83.20%	35	17	12	0	4	0	2		
3	Bayankhongor	38,483	29,253	76.02%	30	15	14	0	1	0	0		
4	Bulgan	28,379	20,847	73.46%	30	27	3	0	0	0	0		
5	Govi-Altai	30,511	23,966	78.55%	30	18	0	12	0	0	0		
6	Govisumber	6,390	3,514	54.99%	25	22	1	0	1	1	0		
7	Darkhan-Uul	33,790	22,655	67.05%	30	20	0	10	0	0	0		
8	Dornogovi	25,500	16,542	64.87%	30	22	0	6	0	0	2		
9	Dornod	34,349	23,590	68.68%	30	20	0	10	1	0	1		
10	Dundgovi	24,845	15,935	64.14%	30	21	0	8	1	0	0		
11	Zavkhan	36,542	28,908	79.11%	30	19	10	0	1	0	0		
12	Orkhon	33,050	20,511	62.06%	30	20	0	10	0	0	0		
13	Selenge	42,324	28,558	67.47%	35	20	0	13	0	0	2		
14	Sukhbaatar	29,554	22,974	74.69%	30	14	0	16	0	0	0		
15	Tuv	41,202	27,355	66.39%	35	25	0	10	0	0	0		
16	Uvs	40,685	30,870	75.88%	30	20	0	9	0	0	1		
17	Khovd	41,714	32,494	77.90%	30	17	0	13	0	0	0		
18	Khentii	31,264	21,903	70.06%	30	9	18	0	2	0	1		
19	Khuvsgul	58,914	42,223	71.67%	35	14	0	21	0	0	2		
20	Uvurkhangai	53,309	37,557	70.45%	35	26	0	7	2	0	0		
21	Umnugovi	23,897	17,177	71.88%	25	18	7	0	0	0	0		
22	Baganuur	9,082	6,714	73.93%	15	3	0	12	0	0	0		
23	Bagakhangai	1,721	1,101	63.97%	15	12	0	3	0	0	0		
24	Bayangol	54,905	30,759	56.02%	35	35	0	0	0	0	0		
25	Bayanzurkh	66,038	35,686	54.04%	35	33	0	2	0	0	0		
26	Nalaikh	12,016	7,756	64.55%	15	12	1	1	0	0	1		
27	Songinokhairkhan	68,543	38,988	56.88%	35	35	0	0	0	0	0		
28	Sukhbaatar	42,510	24,388	57.37%	35	27	0	8	0	0	0		
29	Khan-Uul	34,608	19,802	57.22%	35	31	0	4	0	0	0		
30	Chingeltei	47,739	26,532	55.58%	35	33	0	2	0	0	0		
	Capital city	**337,532**	**191,084**	**56.61%**	**40**	**37**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**		
	Provincewide	**751,442**	**543,565**	**71.13%**	**650**	**405**	**65**	**159**	**13**	**1**	**11**		
	Nationwide	**1,088,974**	**734,649**	**63.87%**	**690**	**442**	**67**	**159**	**13**	**1**	**12**		

	MPP/MPRP
	DP
	LP

№	Province	Number of voters registered in the voters registration list	Number of voters voted		Number of Mandates	Number of party seats						Party of governor	Name of province governor
			Number	Percentage		MPP	DP	MPRP	MP	LP	Independent		
		1	2	3	4	5						6	7
1	Arkhangai	58,708	39,339	67.01%	39	26	13	0	0	0	0	MPP	Ts.Munkhnasan
2	Bayan-Olgii	56,952	45,633	80.13%	39	22	16	0	0	0	1	MPP	A. Gyilimkhan
3	Bayankhongor	53,531	35,081	65.53%	41	25	16	0	0	0	0	MPP	G.Batjargal
4	Bulgan	39,569	24,618	62.22%	33	22	11	0	0	0	0	MPP	D.Batzorig
5	Govi-Altai	35,520	23,820	67.06%	41	20	17	2	0	0	1	MPP	S.Ganselem
6	Govisumber	10,153	6,162	60.69%	17	14	3	0	0	0	0	MPP	G.Batsuuri
7	Darkhan-Uul	63,423	33,280	52.47%	33	25	5	0	0	0	3	MPP	S.Nasanbat
8	Dornogovi	41,324	24,670	59.70%	31	29	1	0	0	0	1	MPP	T.Enkhtuvshin
9	Dornod	49,148	29,164	59.34%	35	13	9	5	0	0	8	MPP	M.Badamsuren
10	Dundgovi	29,098	17,527	60.23%	35	13	13	3	0	5	1	MPP	O.Bat-Erdene
11	Zavkhan	44,984	33,230	73.87%	41	18	23	0	0	0	0	DP	D.Batsaikhan
12	Orkhon	65,229	36,423	55.84%	33	30	3	0	0	0	0	MPP	D.Batlut
13	Selenge	68,306	41,018	60.05%	37	25	11	0	0	0	1	MPP	Sh.Orgil
14	Sukhbaatar	38,755	28,309	73.05%	33	16	17	0	0	0	0	DP	Z.Enkhtur
15	Tuv	60,538	45,390	74.98%	41	35	5	0	0	1	0	MPP	J.Batjargal
16	Uvs	48,925	33,710	68.90%	41	35	5	0	0	0	1	MPP	D.Batsaikhan
17	Khovd	50,779	34,205	67.36%	41	19	10	10	0	0	2	MPP	D.Galsandondog
18	Khentii	46,668	29,928	64.13%	39	22	17	0	0	0	0	MPP	N.Ganbyamba
19	Khuvsgul	82,208	48,695	59.23%	41	33	6	0	1	0	1	MPP	L.Ganbold
20	Uvurkhangai	71,842	44,968	62.59%	41	38	3	0	0	0	0	MPP	Ch.Ganbold
21	Umnugovi	40,644	24,926	61.33%	33	19	14	0	0	0	0	MPP	N.Naranbaatar
22	Baganuur	18,708	9,989	53.39%									Ts. Sandag-Ochir
23	Bagakhangai	2,741	2,021	73.73%									S. Erdenebayar
24	Bayangol	129,314	70,931	54.85%									S. Odontuya
25	Bayanzurkh	206,437	120,182	58.22%									D. Purevdavaa
26	Nalaikh	23,015	14,055	61.07%									Ch. Radnaabazar
27	Songinokhairkhan	194,994	108,530	55.66%									J. Sandagsuren
28	Sukhbaatar	87,301	47,533	54.45%									Kh. Bolormaa
29	Khan-Uul	99,424	56,806	57.14%									J. Aldarjavkhlan
30	Chingeltei	103,339	58,504	56.61%									J. Erdenebat
	Capital city	**865,273**	**488,551**	**56.46%**	**45**	**34**	**11**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**		
	Provincewide	**1,055,839**	**672,572**	**63.70%**	**765**	**499**	**218**	**20**	**1**	**6**	**20**		
	Nationwide	**1,921,112**	**1,161,123**	**60.44%**	**810**	**533**	**229**	**20**	**1**	**6**	**20**		

	MPP/MPRP
	DP
	LP

№	Province	Number of voters registered in the voters registration list	Number of voters voted		Number of Mandates	Number of party seats											Party of governor	Name of province governor
			Number	Percentage		MPP	DP	LP	SCL19C	WMP	MPRP	MGP	JCUCP	DRP	TRP	Independent		
		1	2	3	4	5											6	7
1	Arkhangai	60,956	40,076	65.75%	39	19	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	DP	M.Batjargal
2	Bayan-Olgii	59,834	48,336	80.78%	39	23	15	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	MPP	D. Bayurjan
3	Bayankhongor	56,290	37,889	67.31%	41	22	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	MPP	D.Munkhsaikhan
4	Bulgan	40,591	26,102	64.30%	33	13	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	DP	B.Ariun-Erdene
5	Govi-Altai	37,270	25,175	67.55%	41	11	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	DP	O.Amgalanbaatar
6	Govisumber	10,520	6,883	65.43%	17	10	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	MPP	G.Batzam
7	Darkhan-Uul	65,212	27,094	41.55%	33	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	MPP	B.Azjargal
8	Dornogovi	43,857	24,281	55.36%	33	28	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	MPP	O.Batjargal
9	Dornod	51,204	29,273	57.17%	37	26	8	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	MPP	M.Badamsuren
10	Dundgovi	30,281	18,384	60.71%	35	11	22	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	DP	Ts.Munkhbat
11	Zavkhan	47,014	33,965	72.24%	41	21	18	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	MPP	D.Tuvshinjargal
12	Orkhon	66,857	33,886	50.68%	35	23	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	MPP	S.Batjargal
13	Selenge	69,977	41,583	59.42%	37	23	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	MPP	N.Lkhagvadorj
14	Sukhbaatar	40,337	30,537	75.70%	33	6	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	DP	M.Iderbat
15	Tuv	61,251	38,529	62.90%	41	26	13	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	MPP	D.Munkhbaatar
16	Uvs	51,258	36,606	71.42%	41	17	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	DP	Ch.Chimed
17	Khovd	53,815	37,684	70.03%	41	26	14	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	MPP	E.Bolormaa
18	Khentii	49,606	31,052	62.60%	39	32	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	MPP	Ts.Iderbat
19	Khuvsgul	86,096	50,910	59.13%	41	18	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	DP	Sh.Iderbayaslagan
20	Uvurkhangai	73,984	42,448	57.37%	41	35	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	MPP	A.Ishdorj
21	Umnugovi	44,346	29,560	66.66%	33	13	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	DP	R.Seddorj
22	Baganuur	18,468	9,321	50.47%	17	16	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		S.Davaasuren
23	Bagakhangai	2,726	2,075	76.12%	17	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		A.Sukhbold
24	Bayangol	138,225	70,854	51.25%	39	20	16	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		U.Sumyabaatar
25	Bayanzurkh	226,613	105,008	46.34%	35	23	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		N.Bayarmunkh
26	Nalaikh	23,664	13,646	57.67%	25	21	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		Ch.Radnaabazar
27	Songinokhairkhan	197,982	91,126	46.03%	43	42	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		N.Altanshagai
28	Sukhbaatar	88,579	45,311	51.15%	35	5	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2		Kh.Bolormaa
29	Khan-Uul	120,458	59,512	49.40%	35	26	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		J.Aldarjavkhlan
30	Chingeltei	97,493	42,090	43.17%	35	30	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		N.Batsumberel
Capital city		**914,208**	**438,934**	**48.01%**	**45**	**34**	**8**	**3**										
Provincewide		**1,100,556**	**690,253**	**62.72%**	**771**	**435**	**313**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**16**		
Nationwide		**2,014,765**	**1,129,187**	**56.05%**	**816**	**469**	**321**	**4**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**16**		

Prepared by: Sarantuya B.

Source/note:

The names of the CRKh members were gathered from https://khural.ulaanbaatar.mn/introduction/history website. Some of the names of political parties and percentage of votes received could not be found.

Names of CRKs between 1996-2000							
Number of seats						40	
Number of candidates						133	
Number of voters in voters' list						294,557	
Number of voters voted (%)						182,643	
						62.60%	
31 seats per party/coalition list and 1 seat per district							
Elections date						1996/8	
№	Names	Political parties	%	№	Names	Political parties	%
1	Ts. Baasanjav			21	A. Zul		
2	M. Enkhbold			22	Sh. Jargalsaikhan		
3	Sh. Altangerel			23	B. Jigjid		
4	G. Manaljav			24	Ch. Jigjidsuren		
5	M. Altansukh			25	S. Idshinnorov		
6	P. Altanchimeg			26	S. Munkhjargal		
7	M. Amarsaikhan			27	Ya. Munkhjargal		
8	R. Amarsaikhan			28	S. Mendsaikhan		
9	L. Baigal			29	B. Namkhainyambuu		
10	Ts. Batbayar			30	G. Ulzii		
11	Ts. Batnasan			31	N. Purevjav		
12	T. Bilegt			32	S. Purev		
13	B. Boldbaatar			33	D. Tumurbaatar		
14	G. Budragchaa			34	Sh. Tuvdendorj		
15	P. Ganbaatar			35	Ts. Khurtsbileg		
16	T. Gantumur			36	G. Tserenbaatar		
17	E. Gombojav			37	T. Enkhtaivan		
18	T. Dashnyam			38	S. Erdene		
19	Ya. Dolgorjav			39	D. Erdenebat		
20	D. Zorigt			40	J. Yadamsuren		
Total number						40	
Party/coalition list						31	
1 seat per district						9	

Names of CRKs between 2000-2004						
Number of seats					40	
Number of candidates					157	
Number of voters in voters' list					317,062	
Number of voters voted (%)					168,316	
					53.08%	
Elections date					10/8/2000	
№	Names	Political parties	%	№	Names	Political parties	%
1	T. Bilegt		62.21%	21	B. Lkhagva		
2	M. Ennkhbold			22	G. Munkhbayar		
3	G.Manaljav			23	L.Naidan		
4	P. Altanchimeg			24	S. Narmandakh		
5	P. Altangerel			25	S. Nyamzagd		
6	M. Amarsaikhan			26	S. Otgonbayar	MRP	49.52%
7	D. Baasansuren			27	D. Sovdoo		
8	Ts. Baatarsaikhan			28	Ts. Togoo	MPRP	62.70%
9	T. Badamjunai			29	B. Tumurbaatar	MPRP	51.70%
10	Ts. Batbayar			30	Ts. Tumengerel		
11	D. Batjargal			31	U. Ulambayar		
12	S. Batmunkh			32	D. Tsogzolmaa		
13	Ts. Batnasan			33	P. Tsogtbaatar		
14	P. Ganbaatar			34	M. Chimgee		
15	T. Gantumur	MPRP	48.60%	35	Ts. Shagjjav		
16	Ts. Gankhuu	MPRP	65.88%	36	S. Enkhbaatar		
17	L. Damdinsuren			37	D. Enkhbayar		
18	P. Delgernaran			38	G. Enkhtuvshin		
19	J. Jantsan	MPRP	69.79%	39	O. Erdenebaatar	MPRP	53.50%
20	D. Zorigt			40	B. Erdenebileg		
Total number					40	
MPRP					39	
RP					1	

Source/note:

The names of the CRKh members were gathered from https://khural.ulaanbaatar.mn/introduction/history website. Some of the names of political parties and percentage of votes received could not be found.

Names of CRKs between 2004-2008						
Number of seats					42	
Number of candidates					141	
Number of voters in voters' list					337,532	
Number of voters voted (%)					191,084	
					56.60%	
Elections date					10/17/2004	
№	Names	Political parties	%	№	Names	Political parties	%
1	N. Bolormaa			22	D. Zagdjav		
2	T. Bilegt			23	P. Munkhjargal		
3	Ts. Batbayar			24	E. Munkh-Ochir		
4	M. Enkhbold			25	L. Naidan		
5	G. Munkhbayar			26	T. Nasankhuu		
6	P. Khangal			27	D. Nyamkhuu		
7	Sh. Altangerel			28	S. Otgonbat		
8	Ya. Ayushjav			29	V. Otgondemberel		
9	J. Jantsan			30	D. Ochirbat		
10	J. Batbayasgalan			31	G. Ulziiburen		
11	D. Baasansuren			32	B. Purevjav		
12	B. Batzorig			33	B. Undarmaa		
13	S. Batmunkh			34	N. Khajidsuren		
14	D. Bat-erdene			35	Ts. Tsogzolmaa		
15	S. Bayarmunkh			36	P. Tsogtbaatar		
16	T. Bayarsaikhan			37	T. Enkhbayar		
17	Ts. Bold			38	D. Enkhbayar		
18	M. Ganbaatar			39	T. Enkhsaikhan		
19	D. Ganbold			40	S. Erdene		
20	T. Gantumur			41	D. Erdenebat		
21	О.Даваасамбуу			42	B. Erdenebileg		
Total number					40	
MPP					37	
DP					2	
Non-party					1	

Source/note:

The names of the CRKh members were gathered from https://khural.ulaanbaatar.mn/introduction/history website. Some of the names of political parties and percentage of votes received could not be found.

Names of CRKs between 2008-2012						
Number of seats					46	
Number of candidates					165	
Number of voters in voters' list					436,964	
Number of voters voted (%)					286,644	
					65.60%	
45 seats in 15 constituencies						
Elections date					10/12/2008	
№	Names	Political parties	%	№	Names	Political parties	%
1	T. Bilegt			24	T. Gantumur		
2	G. Munkhbayar			25	G. Idermaa		
3	J. Batbayasgalan			26	B. Munkhbaatar		
4	D. Amgalan			27	L. Naidan		
5	D. Amarbayasgalan			28	S. Nyamdavaa		
6	Ts. Anandbazar			29	D. Nyamkhuu		
7	B. Ariunbold			30	S. Odontuya		
8	B. Batzorig			31	L. Odkhuu		
9	D. Battulga			32	V. Otgondemberel		
10	Kh. Battuul			33	N. Oyundari		
11	P. Batchimeg			34	Kh. Oyuntsetseg		
12	D. Bat-erdene			35	B. Purevjav		
13	B. Bayandelger			36	B. Saranchimeg		
14	A. Bayanmunkh			37	D. Sumyabazar		
15	B. Bayarmagnai			38	N. Tavinbekh		
16	D. Bayarsaikhan			39	E. Tamir		
17	Ts. Bold			40	B. Tumurchuluun		
18	B. Byambadorj			41	B. Undarmaa		
19	J. Ganbaatar			42	P. Khangal		
20	M. Ganbaatar			43	Ts. Tsogtbaatar		
21	G. Ganbayar			44	Ts. Tsogzolmaa		
22	D. Ganbold			45	B. Enkh-amgalan		
23	D. Ganbold			46	L. Erkhembayar		
Total number					46	
MPP					36	
DP					9	

Names of CRKs between 2012-2016							
Number of seats						45	
Number of candidates						331	
Number of voters in voters' list						805,580	
Number of voters voted (%)						517,006	
						64.18%	
30 seats in 30 constituencies, 15 seats per party/coalition list							
Elections date						11/21/2012	
№	Names	Political parties	%	№	Names	Political parties	%
1	D. Battulga			24	G. Gankhuu		
2	E. Bat-uul			25	R. Dagva		
3	D. Enkhbold			26	G. Munkhbayar		
4	Ts. Altanchimeg			27	L. Naranbaatar		
5	D. Avirmed			28	L. Narantuya		
6	D. Amarbayasgalan			29	Sh. Odgerel		
7	S. Amarsaikhan			30	Ts. Odontungalag		
8	J. Amarsanaa			31	S. Ononbayar		
9	D. Badarsan			32	D. Orosoo		
10	Ts. Baatarkhuu			33	B. Otgonbayar		
11	D. Baidrag			34	S. Ochirbat		
12	D. Batbayar			35	L. Saintugs		
13	P. Batchimeg			36	Ts. Sandag-Ochir		
14	T. Bat-erdene			37	B. Saranchimeg		
15	N. Bayarmaa			38	G. Tumurbaatar		
16	B. Bayarmagnai			39	B. Tumurchuluun		
17	T. Boldbaatar			40	B. Tuvshin		
18	Ts. Buyandalai			41	S. Unen		
19	G. Ganbayar			42	D. Khurelbaatar		
20	G. Ganbold			43	L. Shagdarragchaa		
21	N. Gantumur			44	B. Enkh-amgalan		
22	T. Gantumur			45	L. Enkhsaikhan		
23	A. Gantulga			46	Ts. Enkhtsengel		
Total number						45	
MPP						14	
DP						26	
MPRP-MNDP-JC						4	
CWGP						1	

Names of CRKs between 2016-2020						
Number of seats					45	
Number of candidates					238	
Number of voters in voters' list						
Number of voters voted (%)						
45 seats in 15 constituencies						
Elections date					**10/19/2016**	
№	**Names**	**Political parties**	**%**	№	**Names**	**Political parties**	**%**
1	R. Dagva	MPP	39.91%	25	P. Batchimeg	DP	39.03%
2	S. Amarsaikhan	MPP	43.18%	26	B. Byambadorj	MPP	36.98%
3	S. Batbold	MPP		27	Ch. Gantulga	MPP	33.31%
4	J. Batbayasgalan	MPP	42.08%	28	O. Mungunshagai	MPP	38.44%
5	Ts. Sandui	MPP	46.46%	29	B. Munkhbat	MPP	39.77%
6	B. Batbyamba	MPP		30	D. Munkhjargal	MPP	35.89%
7	M. Tulgat	DP	36.20%	31	L. Narantuya	DP	39.70%
8	N. Batsumberel	MPP	37.28%	32	Ts. Odontungalag	DP	39.06%
9	S. Munkhchuluun	MPP	43.84%	33	B. Otgonsukh	MPP	32.93%
10	J. Aldarjavkhlan	MPP	38.13%	34	Ts. Sandag-Ochir	MPP	56.40%
11	D. Amarbayasgalan	MPP	45.86%	35	B. Sukhbaatar	MPP	39.76%
12	Ts. Ankhmaa	MPP	37.83%	36	G. Tumurbaatar	MPP	40.86%
13	E. Bat-amgalan	MPP	39.18%	37	Ts. Turkhuu	MPP	50.21%
14	B. Badarsan	DP	39.29%	38	B. Tuvshin	DP	46.52%
15	Ts. Baatarkhuu	MPP	40.63%	39	Sh. Unenbat	MPP	42.17%
16	J. Batsaikhan	MPP	38.48%	40	M. Khaliunbat	MPP	44.95%
17	N. Bayarmunkh	MPP	29.61%	41	Kh. Khatanbaatar	MPP	41.58%
18	B. Batnasan	MPP	57.04%	42	Yo. Tsatsraltuya	DP	35.07%
19	D. Bayarsaikhan	MPP	39.45%	43	B. Tsolmon	MPP	37.93%
20	D. Bayarkhuu	DP	37.72%	44	T. Tserennorov	MPP	38.12%
21	Ts. Baigalmaa	MPP	40.66%	45	M. Erdenetuya	MPP	38.42%
22	E. Bat-uul	DP	38.90%	46	J. Erdenebat	MPP	30.23%
23	D. Battulga	DP	43.30%	47	S. Erdenetuul	MPP	42.42%
24	T. Battsogt	DP	39.41%				
Total number					45	
MPP					34	
DP					11	

Source/note:

The names of the CRKh members were gathered from https://khural.ulaanbaatar.mn/introduction/history website. Some of the names of political parties and percentage of votes received could not be found.

Names of CRKs between 2020-2024							
Number of seats						45	
Number of candidates						131	
Number of voters in voters' list							
Number of voters voted (%)							
45 seats in 15 constituencies							
Elections date						10/15/2020	
№	Names	Political parties	%	№	Names	Political parties	%
1	J. Batbayasgalan	MPP	48.57%	24	B. Nergui	MPP	51.15%
2	J. Aldarjavkhlan	MPP	55.30%	25	B. Odsuren	MPP	38.45%
3	N. Altanshagai	MPP	53.71%	26	L. Otgonbaatar	DP	33.05%
4	L. Ariuntuya	MPP	54.02%	27	T. Otgonbold	MPP	60.50%
5	D. Badarsan	MPP	36.45%	28	U. Oyunzul	MPP	44.63%
6	N. Batsumberel	DP	46.61%	29	B. Unubat	MPP	32.87%
7	Ts. Battur	MPP	51.27%	30	D. Purevdavaa	DP	44.27%
8	T. Battsogt	DP	40.92%	31	B. Purevdagva	DP	45.31%
9	N. Bayarmunkh	MPP	42.01%	32	Ch. Radnaabazar	MPP	58.56%
10	N. Bayarchimeg	MPP	60.56%	33	J. Sandagsuren	MPP	61.21%
11	Kh. Bolormaa	DP	44.77%	34	U. Sumyabaatar	MPP	37.46%
12	G. Gangamurun	MPP	44.24%	35	B. Sukhbaatar	MPP	51.62%
13	P. Ganzorig	LP	35.07%	36	B. Sergelenbaatar	MPP	54.91%
14	D. Gantulga	LP	38.31%	37	G. Tuguldur	MPP	52.36%
15	M. Gobisaikhan	MPP	49.82%	38	Z. Tumurtumuu	MPP	54.47%
16	M. Davaasuren	MPP	58.93%	39	Ts. Turkhuu	MPP	63.44%
17	R. Dagva	MPP	57.42%	40	M. Tulgat	DP	43.18%
18	D. Ikhbayar	MPP	39.06%	41	M. Khaliunbat	MPP	39.40%
19	B. Munkhbat	MPP	44.93%	42	D. Enkhbayar	MPP	43.42%
20	B. Munkhtsetseg	MPP	52.79%	43	D. Enkhtuya	DP	42.38%
21	Ch. Mendbayar	MPP	41.91%	44	S. Erdenebayar	MPP	58.21%
22	B. Myagmar	MPP	43.98%	45	B. Erdenesukh	DP	42.67%
23	P. Naranbayar	LP	52.73%				
Total number						45	
MPP						34	
DP						8	
LP						3	