RESEARCH ARTICLE

POLITICAL CULTURE AND INTRA-PARTY SECURITY IN MONGOLIA

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Manuscript Info	*Abstract*
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In any democratic country, political parties play an important role in the development of society and are a participating institution with a special role in representative democracy. In this context, parties play a major role in supporting fair competition in politics and also have an important influence on ideological and state regulation of politics. Therefore, political parties are obliged to fulfill their obligations to the society strictly within the legal and legal framework, to report on their financial support in accordance with the established procedure and to be able to be accountable to the society. In this context, how will Mongolia's political parties influence the formation of the following functional approaches - the will of the people and the formation of public opinion; improving citizens' political education; how to ensure citizens' active participation in political life; preparing citizens capable of performing public service and taking responsibility; participating in elections as a candidate; how to harmonize their political goals and agenda with the government's policies and decisions; In this article, we have sought to clarify the following functional approaches. The results of the main and additional studies selected and conducted by the authors themselves are used, analyzed and presented.

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Introduction:-

Thomas Hobbes emphasized that democracy should be normative and everyone should be equal in social equality and justice, which is the main problem we face today. He suggested that while all are equal in social equality and justice, the priority of the call of the heart and natural honest behavior over the interests and freedom of society and the people is a sign of creating an opportunity to get rid of one's own wrongdoing in society. In fact, for Thomas Hobbes, freedom means the absence of all resistance, and the central value of his theory is that "man" should be free under conditions where the use of force is not prohibited.

In most democracies, political parties are funded and managed from private and public sources. Attention is paid to balancing the following two points. In particular, most of the funding of Israeli political parties (about 85 percent) is funded by the state or public foundations, whereas U.S. political parties are funded primarily by private sector sources. However, U.S. presidential election campaign expenditures and operations are unique in that they receive base funding directly from state coffers. All this indicates that the parties pay attention to maximizing the interdependence and balance of public and private funding sources. The two options for party funding outlined

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above, along with the requirements of the political environment and the impact of results, create the necessary conditions for the implementation of specific additional organizational and administrative measures.

The direction of political policy and attitudes towards national security in our time are changing very rapidly compared to previous societies. Until recently, many countries, including our country, used the concept of «hard security)» to ensure their national security, considering the source of threat to be an external threat and using force to counter it, only through solution-oriented state structures. Since the end of the last century, especially in Europe, the national security theory of «soft security)» has become increasingly widespread and has been seen as an important means of creating, protecting and stabilizing the conditions for securing people's basic rights and keeping them safe. The main feature of "soft security" on security is that people and all their problems are put in the center of attention, while the security of the state is ensured by guaranteeing the security of citizens.

In our time, it is not enough to provide security through the power of a single actor, the state, although civil society and public confidence in state institutions providing security has to some extent waned, it has become important. It relied on their own participation. Such a tradition, which is the germ of democratic ideals, has been inherited to a certain extent in the history of our statehood, including the history of Mongolian statehood in the twentieth century.

Currently, the main sources of danger are terrorism, corruption, bribery, illicit trade in drugs, psychoactive drugs, substances and instruments, arms and firearms trafficking, human trafficking, communicable diseases, infections, contagious animal diseases-epizootics, institutions, including domestic threats. and threats such as environmental degradation.

While the concept of security is becoming increasingly multifaceted, it includes many other types of security such as environmental, economic, human, social, cultural, informational and ethnic etc.

This concept of security opens up the trend of active participation of citizens in the security of the country through civil society organizations and cooperation with the government. Of course, the way in which security is provided is also changing.

From the national revolution of 1911, which restored Mongolia's national independence, and the people's revolution of 1921, from the process of establishing a republican government in Mongolia, we can find out the true folk customs and ideals of valuing the benefit of the people. Then for the first time in the history of Mongolia it was established by law that the people were in one way or another connected with the power of the state and the government, and then it was reflected in the Constitution of 1924, and the general sense was that democracy in a way came to the consciousness of the Mongolians. For example, the act of communalizing property is called socialization and the act of transferring property is called privatization, whereas the process of transferring power to the people is called democratization and this process is called democracy. The term "democracy" was a reflection of the communist theory and concept that the Mongols had encountered over the past seventy years. In fact, democracy was interpreted as a revolutionary process of transferring state power that was under the control of princes, monks and wealthy groups under the silent gaze of society. The constitutions of 1924 and 1940 proclaimed that «… the supreme right of the state should be enjoyed by the real people»(MAS, School of Law, NUM, 2024)or «…the power of government is in the hands of the working people town and country»(VIII State Congress , June 30, 1940.), which clearly linked the issue of power to one social class or group.

That is why the basic principles of the organization of the State of Mongolia were emphasized by such designations as «Arad Ulus/People`s Republic» and «Aradyn Zasag/People's Government». The term «democracy» was first introduced in the 1960 Constitution and was used in the formula of «People`s Democratic State» in accordance with the theory and policy of the time. The new democratic Constitution adopted in 1992 proclaimed «democracy» in its liberal meaning, or within the mission of the comprehensive development of a «civil democratic society»(People's Congress., January 13, 1992. City of Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.). The ideals of the 1992 Constitution and today's democracy in Mongolia have already gone beyond ideals and brilliant wills and reached the level of everyday life and affairs of the masses. While Mongolia's new constitution states that «democracy, justice, freedom, equality, national unity and the rule of law are the basic principles of state activity», the question of how to ensure and

strengthen them is inevitable. That is why, if democracy is a matter of the correct use of power and conflict management, the main principle of this activity is realized in the sense of integration of political institutions and processes based on the balanced principle of respect for the interests of the people today.

According to a public opinion poll on «Mongolia's modern political culture: state and trends»(2020) organized by the Department of Political Science & Legal Studies at the Institute of Philosophy from the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, 57.4 percent of people in the political sphere were "in the middle" when considering law enforcement(IPSL, National Legal Institute, School of Law, NUM, 2008)was the response.

Thus, in the relationship between political institutions and politicians, constitutional values and principles are paramount, politicians are fair, rules are governed by law, political parties are law-abiding, politicians are citizens who compete in elections with just dignity and the state and attitude of the current political culture which was a sign. In the table below, you can see the types of views on political culture and the overall percentage of citizen responses to them.

Table 1:- Citizens' views on types of political culture, attitudes and views (in percent).

Type of behiour and ideology	I. Political participation reflects modern political culture, politicians respect social and economic values. Must have ethics and morals and strictly observe ethical standards in their activities. Political party emphasized on the formation of cadres, values and values.	44.7
	II. Political culture is an integral part of human heritage, history, traditions and thinking, feelings related to the consciousness of citizens, habits and perceptions of citizens derived from public beliefs and convictions, and attitudes based on the values and interests of citizens. A combination of personal development, values and feelings.	42.1
	III. Factors affecting the governance of all members of society, basic objectives, functions and activities of government, political system, process of development of society, level of decision making.	10.5
	IV. Accepting the truth about ordinary brown lives without economics is called political culture.	2.6

Source: «Determining the State and Trends of Mongolian Political Culture». Expert Survey Results.
Department of Political Science & Legal Studies, Institute of Philosophy, MAS. UB., 2019.

Compared to the last 5 years, citizens' respect for government, citizens' trust in government and its institutions, citizens' evaluation of government, and citizens' attitudes toward government have decreased.

1 Understanding of political culture can be manifested firstly at the cognitive level, secondly at the emotional level and thirdly at the operational level.

2
- Political awareness 47.4%
- Political norms 30.6%
- Political behavior 21%

3 Political cultural attitudes can be categorized into (i) ideological; (ii) norms; (iii) can be categorized into functional levels.

4
- Feelings related to the actions of politicians - 48.7%
- Political knowledge and beliefs - 20.5%
- Political value - 17.9%
- Arbitrary criticism prevailed - 7.7%
- Value approach of society and groups to the impact/effect of the political system and development process - 2.6%
- Electronic representation and speech attitude - 2.6%

Source: «Determining the State and Trends of Mongolian Political Culture». Expert Survey Results.
Department of Political Science & Legal Studies, Institute of Philosophy, MAS. UB., 2019.

Citizens' respect for government, citizens' trust in government and its institutions, citizens' evaluation of government, and citizens' trust in government were used to calculate the average rating in the indicators below compared to the previous 5 years. attitudes toward government shows a high percentage of worse than before.

Table 2:- Expert assessment of citizens' respect for the state and power in some elements of political culture (in percent).

Certain elements of political culture		Bad	Medium	Good	Average rating (1-bad, 3-good)
	Citizens' respect for government	**74.4**	**17.9**	**7.7**	**1.33**
	Citizens' trust in the state and its institutions	71.8	28.2	0.0	**1.28**
	Acceptance of the government and its decisions by the people	76.9	23.1	0.0	**1.23**
	Citizens' attitude towards the government	59.0	38.5	2.6	**1.43**
	Acceptance of the government and its decisions by the people	33.3	59.0	7.7	**1.74**
	Political participation of citizens	20.5	61.5	17.9	**1.97**
	Citizens' knowledge and information about political systems and processes	47.4	47.2	5.3	**1.57**
	Political education of citizens	65.8	28.9	5.3	**1.39**

Source: «Determining the State and Trends of Mongolian Political Culture». Expert Survey Results. Department of Political Science & Legal Studies, Institute of Philosophy, MAS. UB., 2019.

The indicator of trust in political institutions declines year by year, and parliament, legal institutions and political parties are consistently among the institutions least trusted.

Table 3:- Indicators of citizens' trust in political institutions (percentage).

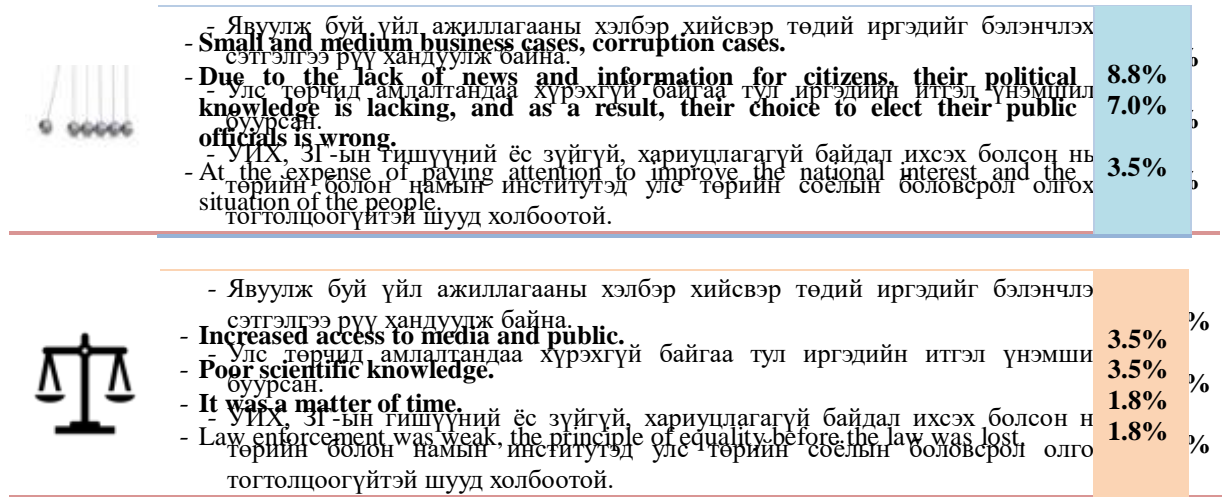| Institutions	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2021
President	33.5	33.4	39.3	43.7	32.0	54.8	44.6	54.4	21.9	25.0	27.3
State Great Khural	44.6	48.3	49.0	49.2	48.3	61.7	53.9	45.2	63.0	62.6	51.1
Legislative institutions	54.8	55.2	53.6	54.9	51.1	50.0	41.4	42.2	53.0	55.7	53.7
Public administration	35.1	35.6	30.3	33.3	30.1	33.8	25.1	25.5	27.8	33.5	31.9
Political parties	58.5	54.8	52.4	57.1	57.1	67.1	58.7	60.6	72.7	73.7	69.6
Civil Society Organizations	36.5	34.7	32.7	31.0	37.9	40.3	35.5	41.2	35.3	35.6	39.1

Source: San Maral Foundation Political Barometer. UB., 2021.

The indicator of trust in political institutions is decreasing year by year, and the parliament, legal institutions and political parties are the institutions that arouse the least trust of citizens.In 2010, 44.6% did not trust parliament and it has increased by 18 points to 62.6% in 2019. In 2010, 58.5% did not trust the state parties and in 2019 it increased by 15.2 points to 73.7%. Also, the propensity of voters to believe that there is no influence on political policy has increased by 14.7 points compared to 11 years ago, and the propensity to think that influence has little impact has increased by 11 points. This shows that the public believes that voting in elections is ineffective and a waste of time.

The next point to emphasize is the factors that have contributed to the change in political culture. Politicians make impossible promises, fail to fulfill their promises, engage in empty "making a populism", unethical behavior, and engage in activities that push citizens to be over-prepared, which negatively affects the development of political culture.

- Явуулж буй үйл ажиллагааны хэлбэр хийсвэр төдий иргэдийг бэлэнчлэх сэтгэлгээ рүү хандуулж байна.
- **The activities and forms carried out are only abstract, but people are guided to install preparedness.**   **29.8%**
- Улс төрд амлалтандаа хүрэхгүй байгаа тул иргэдийн итгэл үнэмшил буурсан.
- **Citizens' trust has decreased because politicians do not fulfill their promises.**   **26.3%**
- Growing ёс зүйгүй байдал ба хариуцлагагүй байдал ихэсч буй нь УИХ-ын гишүүд болон Засгийн газартай шууд холбоотой.
- Growing unethicality and irresponsibility of the members of the Parliament and the Government are directly related to the lack of education system of political culture in state and party institutions.   **14.0%**
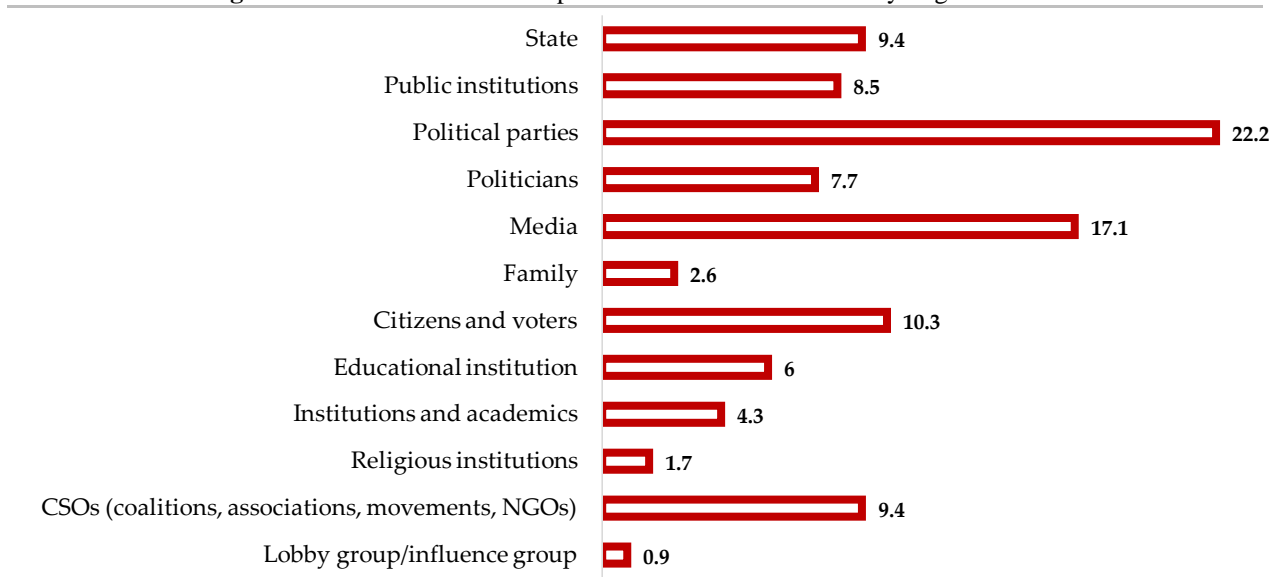
- Явуулж буй үйл ажиллагааны хэлбэр хийсвэр төдий иргэдийг бэлэнчлэх
- **Small and medium business cases, corruption cases.** сэтгэлгээ рүү хандуулж байна.
- **Due to the lack of news and information for citizens, their political**   8.8%
- Улс төрчид амлалтандаа хүрэхгүй байгаа тул иргэдийн итгэл үнэмшил **knowledge is lacking, and as a result, their choice to elect their public**   7.0% оуурсан.
officials is wrong.
- УИХ, ЗГ-ын гишүүний ёс зүйгүй, хариуцлагагүй байдал ихсэх болсон нь   3.5%
- At the expense of paying attention to improve the national interest and the төрийн болон намын институтэд улс төрийн соёлын боловсрол олгох situation of the people.
тогтолцоогүйтэй шууд холбоотой.

- Явуулж буй үйл ажиллагааны хэлбэр хийсвэр төдий иргэдийг бэлэнчлэ сэтгэлгээ рүү хандуулж байна.
- **Increased access to media and public.**   3.5%
- Улс төрчид амлалтандаа хүрэхгүй байгаа тул иргэдийн итгэл үнэмши
- **Poor scientific knowledge.** оуурсан.   3.5%
- **It was a matter of time.**   1.8%
- УИХ, ЗГ-ын гишүүний ёс зүйгүй, хариуцлагагүй байдал ихсэх болсон н
- Law enforcement was weak, the principle of equality before the law was lost.   1.8% төрийн болон намын институтэд улс төрийн соёлын боловсрол олго
тогтолцоогүйтэй шууд холбоотой.

After calculating the percentage of each cause of change in negative effects, and rating how political culture is shaping up on a scale of 1 to 10 (1 being not at all mature, 10 being fully mature), none of the experts gave a score of 7-10, and all of them rated it below 6.The majority of participants - 51.3 percent - gave 2-3 points, while 28.2 percent gave 4-5 points. This leads to the disappointing conclusion that the formation of political culture is at the middle and lower stages of formation.

The term 'social capital', which describes the characteristics of modern civil society, has re-entered the social science vocabulary since the 1980s(IPSL, MAS, 2011). When major political changes and public policy decisions are made, there needs to be enough space and time for key stakeholders to share and disseminate information, to form groups for debate and discussion, and to reach consensus.

Sociologist James Coleman defines it as trust, competence of mutual aid(Coleman, 1990), and group work between people in civil society. Neverthless, social capital is the mutual trust and cooperation arising from the network of relationships between people involved in organizations and community groups. In most cases, private activities are more conducive to the development of social capital than public activities. According to this, it can be broadly understood as all instances where people cooperate with each other to achieve a common goal based on norms and values that are accepted and followed on a voluntary basis.

Figure 2:- Assessment from the political culture of Civil Society Organizations.

Category	Value
State	9.4
Public institutions	8.5
Political parties	22.2
Politicians	7.7
Media	17.1
Family	2.6
Citizens and voters	10.3
Educational institution	6
Institutions and academics	4.3
Religious institutions	1.7
CSOs (coalitions, associations, movements, NGOs)	9.4
Lobby group/influence group	0.9

Source: «Determining the State and Trends of Mongolian Political Culture». Expert Survey Results.

Department of Political Science & Legal Studies, Institute of Philosophy, MAS. UB., 2019.

As shown in the table below, political parties received a below average rating when assessing the political culture of political parties across the seven indicators. However, the ruling party has only +0.1 points higher than other parties, which indicates that the current state of political culture of political parties is insufficient.

Table 4:- Assessment in thematuration from the political culture of the political parties (indicators& in percent).

Political parties	a.Assessment of the current situation(good-3, in the midst of-2, bad-1) b.Evaluation changes (mostly improved-5, slightly improved-4, normally-3, slightly worse-2, significantly worsened-1)	a.assessment of the current situation	Republic People`s Party	Democratic Party	Mongolian People's Revolution Party	Political parties without seats in parliament	b. evaluation of changes	Republic People`s Party	Democratic Party	Mongolian People's Revolution Party	Political parties without seats in parliament
	Fulfilling promises		1.5	1.3	1.2	1.2		2.2	1.8	1.8	1.8
	Accomplishing the expected obligations		1.4	1.5	1.3	1.2		2.1	1.9	2.1	2.0
	Compliance with laws & regulations		1.4	1.3	1.5	1.5		2.1	1.9	2.1	2.1
	Culture and values		1.3	1.3	1.5	1.5		2.2	2.0	1.9	2.0
	Financing & investment		1.4	1.3	1.3	1.2		2.1	2.1	2.0	2.0
	Decision-making process		1.4	1.3	1.4	1.4		2.0	1.9	1.9	2.0
	Make responsibility		1.3	1.2	1.3	1.3		2.0	1.8	1.8	1.9

Source: «Determining the State and Trends of Mongolian Political Culture». Public Opionion Survey.
Department of Political Science & Legal Studies, Institute of Philosophy, MAS. UB., 2019.

So, as far as Mongols' political knowledge and citizenship are concerned, the above political styles do not reflect the diversity and complexity of political life in reality, and mixed political styles prevail.

In the high-level expert survey, the most frequent answers to the concepts defining the factors impeding democracy were grouped by content and categorized in the above-mentioned areas: 28.3% of citizens have poor political knowledge and political misconceptions, low political activity. As well as 16.6% have problems with corruption and political financing, 10.5% have errors in the political system and distribution of state power, and 8.3% have high rates in the formation of political parties, which is also in line with the results of the above-mentioned survey (Figure 3).

Figure 3:- On the political knowledge and civil status of the Mongolians.
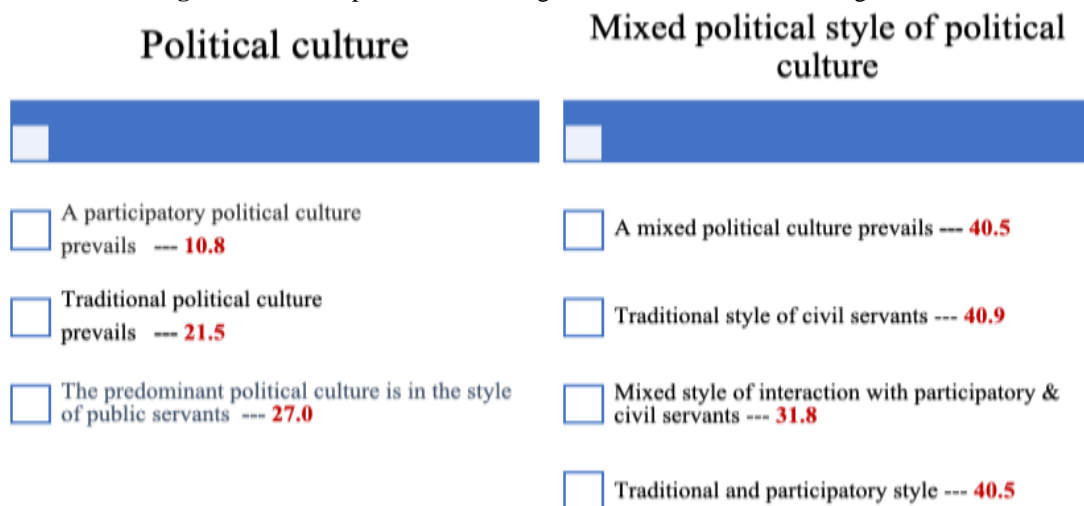
Political culture
- A participatory political culture prevails --- **10.8**
- Traditional political culture prevails --- **21.5**
- The predominant political culture is in the style of public servants --- **27.0**

Mixed political style of political culture
- A mixed political culture prevails --- **40.5**
- Traditional style of civil servants --- **40.9**
- Mixed style of interaction with participatory & civil servants --- **31.8**
- Traditional and participatory style --- **40.5**

Source: «Determining the State and Trends of Mongolian Political Culture». Public Opionion Survey.

Department of Political Science & Legal Studies, Institute of Philosophy, MAS. UB., 2019.

In short, the relationship between culture and institutions is very complex, and the nature of the interaction depends on which one is more dynamic.In this regard, the experts who participated in the study believe that the following actors will play a major role in the formation of political culture: traditional and old social attitudes (3.30%), struggle for power and interests (6.60%), underdeveloped space. for civil society (3.30%), influence of neighboring governments (3.30%), formation of political parties (8.30%), influence of business groups influencing politics (3.30%), electoral system (6.60%), weak economy dependent on mineral exports (3.30%), administrative system of legal rights (3.30%) and control system (3.30%) were identified as the most important.In this situation, politicians, political parties, MPs, government and public officials made policies and decisions based on their own interests to gain popularity and re-election.

In accordance with the observation in the above pictures that caused public debate and criticism in social media, we can see that any socio-political phenomena and processes have become completely unsatisfactory, and the media criticism of the political decisions of the government, political parties and the actions of politicians has become completely unsatisfactory and it become strong.

Table 5:- What do you think constitutes a person with a political culture? (in percent).

		validated percentage	percentage of occurrences
Expressions ranked by the highest percentage	**Prioritize national interests over personal interests.**	**21.8**	**61.5**
	Strictly observes legal and ethical norms in his/her activities.	18.2	51.3
	Is able to objectively assess political and social processes.	14.5	41.0
	We believe in the well-being of our country and people	12.7	35.9
	He is responsible and owns his words	9.1	25.6
	Be fair and honest	8.2	23.1
	Has high political and legal knowledge and education.	6.4	17.9
	Recognize mistakes and shortcomings and is able to take responsibility and correct them.	4.5	12.8
	Respects the opinion of others and implements it in his/her actions.	1.8	5.1
	Communicative and does not discriminate against others	0.9	2.6
	Disciplined and respects the interests of others.	0.9	2.6
	Treats from the heart	0.9	2.6
	Total	**100**	**282.1**

Source: «Determining the State and Trends of Mongolian Political Culture». Public Opionion Survey.
Department of Political Science & Legal Studies, Institute of Philosophy, MAS. UB., 2019.

Table 6:- Factors and causes of political culture change (in percent).

Politics is run by self-centered attitudes and business people.		**36.2**
Consequences of irresponsible actions of politicians		14.9
Unethical behavior, immorality and excessive rudeness of the government.		14.9
Exposure to corruption, international corruption and transparency indices are constantly decreasing.		8.5
Factors that affect the development problem are not only problems within the country.		8.5
Voter education is too general and insufficient		4.3
There was a person who respected the national interest, influenced the election results and elected the president correctly.		4.3
A space where the public can receive and seek social information and express their opinions.		4.3
Law enforcement was weak and accountability had deteriorated.		2.1
Life and business were at odds with reality		2.1
Total		**100**

The first column label (rotated): Factors influencing the change of political culture Reasons (in percent). The last column label (rotated): validated percentage.

Source: «Determining the State and Trends of Mongolian Political Culture». Public Opionion Survey.
Department of Political Science & Legal Studies, Institute of Philosophy, MAS. UB., 2019.

According to the expert survey, most have a below average political culture, especially in the formative stage, with 51.3 percent rating it at 2-3 points and 28.2 percent rating it as "poor" at 4-5 points.

- unethical government
- there is no basic system of political culture
- the two main political parties do not adhere to just principles of democratic politics.
- always deviates from its ideals
- space for civil society activities is limited
- improve voter education

- a political party-business oligarchy has emerged
•- prone to conflicts of interest, favoring personal interests
•- it has failed in development because of its vulnerability to corruption
•- law enforcement is weak and accountability has deteriorated.

Conflict of interest in the process of creating, establishing and controlling the implementation of laws had a "big" impact on political corruption. The analysis confirmed that the indicators have been steadily increasing and are approaching 4.42-5.0 points on average.A changing picture was observed every year depending on socio-economic conditions. In particular, the electoral system and the mechanism of party financing, the appointment of positions, as well as conflicts of interest caused by business groups in the political sphere, conflicts of interest in the activities of the Parliament to initiate and adopt laws and monitor their implementation. "strongly" related to political corruption under influence.In fact, more than 50% of the responses from the experts who participated in the survey over this entire period are the responses below that express concern about this growth.

Table 7:- Assessment of factors contributing to political corruption in 2008-2022.

The situation in political encirclings	2009	2010	changes (±)	2011	2012	changes (±)	2013	2014	changes (±)	2015	2016	changes (±)	2017	2018	changes (±)	2019	2020	changes (±)	2020	2021	changes (±)	2021	2022	changes (±)
1. Preferred personal interests, encircling of friends	3.92	3.75	-0.17	3.77	3.69	-0.08	3.67	3.68	0.01	3.56	3.64	0.08	3.91	3.68	-0.23	3.58	3.82	0.24	3.82	3.32	0.50	3.32	4.21	-0.89
2. An encircling around the party that supports personal interests	4.31	4.75	0.44	4.08	4.46	0.38	4.25	4.15	-0.10	4.17	4.22	0.05	4.44	4.46	0.02	4.38	4.57	0.19	4.57	3.76	0.81	3.76	4.48	-0.72
3. An inter-party encircling that prefers personal interests (coalition of parties)	4.38	4.42	0.04	4.08	4.00	-0.08	4.08	4.14	0.06	3.97	4.10	0.13	4.43	4.44	0.01	4.33	4.38	0.05	4.38	4.13	0.25	4.13	4.55	-0.42
4. An encircling created for the common good	1.82	2.27	0.45	2.08	2.25	0.17	2.00	2.54	0.54	2.67	2.52	-0.15	3.26	2.23	-1.03	2.63	2.39	-0.24	2.39	2.85	-0.46	2.85	3.16	-0.31
5. An encircling around one person with a preference for self-interest	3.77	4.00	0.23	3.69	3.77	0.08	3.83	3.69	-0.14	3.87	4.05	0.18	4.03	4.14	0.11	4.16	3.98	-0.18	3.98	3.76	0.22	3.76	4.11	-0.35
6. An encircling around a region (province) in which personal interests are prioritized	4.00	4.08	0.08	4.31	4.08	-0.23	3.83	4.08	0.25	3.60	3.80	0.20	4.15	4.08	-0.07	4.05	3.87	-0.18	3.87	3.74	0.13	3.74	4.37	-0.63
7. Preference was given to private interests, the business encircling expanded.	4.42	4.58	0.16	4.31	4.15	-0.16	4.17	3.97	-0.20	3.91	3.98	0.07	4.28	4.19	-0.09	4.21	4.09	-0.12	4.09	3.92	0.17	3.92	4.26	-0.34
Assessment of the situation in the political environment	3.80	3.98	0.18	3.76	3.77	0.01	3.69	3.75	0.06	3.78	3.94	0.16	4.08	3.89	-0.19	3.91	3.87	-0.04	3.87	3.64	0.23	3.64	4.16	-0.52

Source: Khatanbold O. «Analyzing the situation of corruption in the political sphere in Mongolia». Quantitative and qualitative research conducted in the context of policy research. UB., 2021//Independent Authority Anti-Corruption. Political Corruption Perception Survey 2022. A collection of research reports. UB., 2023. p.106.

The self-serving, cross-party circle (coalition of parties) has also been rated at 4.38 since the first year, but the rating has fluctuated between 4.00 and 4.44 over the past 12 years, and the rating has steadily increased.

Table 8:- Position of groupings and circles in the political sphere (2008-2022 by index).

The situation in political encirclings	2009	2010	changes (±)	2011	2012	changes (±)	2013	2014	changes (±)	2015	2016	changes (±)	2017	2018	changes (±)	2019	2020	changes (±)	2020	2021	changes (±)	2021	2022	changes (±)
1. Preferred personal interests, encircling of friends	3.92	3.75	-0.17	3.77	3.69	-0.08	3.67	3.68	0.01	3.56	3.64	0.08	3.91	3.68	-0.23	3.58	3.82	0.24	3.82	3.32	0.50	3.32	4.21	-0.89
2. An encircling around the party that supports personal interests	4.31	4.75	0.44	4.08	4.46	0.38	4.25	4.15	-0.10	4.17	4.22	0.05	4.44	4.46	0.02	4.38	4.57	0.19	4.57	3.76	0.81	3.76	4.48	-0.72
3. An inter-party encircling that prefers personal interests (coalition of parties)	4.38	4.42	0.04	4.08	4.00	-0.08	4.08	4.14	0.06	3.97	4.10	0.13	4.43	4.44	0.01	4.33	4.38	0.05	4.38	4.13	0.25	4.13	4.55	-0.42
4. An encircling created for the common good	1.82	2.27	0.45	2.08	2.25	0.17	2.00	2.54	0.54	2.67	2.52	-0.15	3.26	2.23	-1.03	2.63	2.39	-0.24	2.39	2.85	-0.46	2.85	3.16	-0.31
5. An encircling around one person with a preference for self-interest	3.77	4.00	0.23	3.69	3.77	0.08	3.83	3.69	-0.14	3.87	4.05	0.18	4.03	4.14	0.11	4.16	3.98	-0.18	3.98	3.76	0.22	3.76	4.11	-0.35
6. An encircling around a region (province) in which personal interests are prioritized	4.00	4.08	0.08	4.31	4.08	-0.23	3.83	4.08	0.25	3.60	3.80	0.20	4.15	4.08	-0.07	4.05	3.87	-0.18	3.87	3.74	0.13	3.74	4.37	-0.63
7. Preference was given to private interests, the business encircling expanded.	4.42	4.58	0.16	4.31	4.15	-0.16	4.17	3.97	-0.20	3.91	3.98	0.07	4.28	4.19	-0.09	4.21	4.09	-0.12	4.09	3.92	0.17	3.92	4.26	-0.34
Assessment of the situation in the political environment	3.80	3.98	0.18	3.76	3.77	0.01	3.69	3.75	0.06	3.78	3.94	0.16	4.08	3.89	-0.19	3.91	3.87	-0.04	3.87	3.64	0.23	3.64	4.16	-0.52

Source: Khatanbold O. «Analyzing the situation of corruption in the political sphere in Mongolia». Quantitative and qualitative research conducted in the context of policy research. UB., 2021//Independent Authority Anti-Corruption. Political Corruption Perception Survey 2022. A collection of research reports. UB., 2023. pp.105-106.

Further, if we compare the position of the groups and circles in the political sphere mentioned in the above comparative analysis with the results of the expert research of the last three years and calculate the coefficient of change, the following changes are made.

From the comparison table, the influence of the circle of friends favoring personal interests is 0.89 points, the influence of the circle around the same region (province) favoring personal interests is 0.63 points, the influence of the circle of friends favoring personal interests is 0.63 points, the influence of the circle of friends favoring personal interests is 0.42 points, and the influence of the circle of friends favoring personal interests has increased sharply. In addition, the influence of other circles steadily increased by 0.23-0.35 points(Independent Authority Anti-Corruption, 2023).If we can conclude from this, the comparative figures show that in our country today the influence of united groups and circles as prioritizing any narrow or personal or group interests is very strong.

In order to clarify the factors affecting the growth of indicators of causes and conditions of corruption when analyzed by sub-indicators:

Table 9:- Assessment and change of relations between gangs, corrupt behaviour and conditional causes (2008-2020).

Causes	Years	Assessment	changes	Causes	Years	Assessment	Changes	Causes	Years	Assessment	Changes
1. Spending public funds on NGOs in the pockets of politicians	2008	-	0	2. Political corruption has taken a more hidden form	2008	-	0	3. A foreign business group has merged with a Mongolian political party (group).	2008	-	0
	2009	-			2009	4.67			2009	1.22	
	2010	-	0		2010	5.00	-0.77		2010	1.40	+0.15
	2011	-			2011	4.23			2011	1.55	
	2012	-	0		2012	4.23	+0.17		2012	4.00	-2.86
	2013	-			2013	4.40			2013	1.40	
	2014	-	0		2014	4.05	-0.05		2014	2.93	+0.02
	2015	-			2015	4.00			2015	3.13	
	2016	-	0		2016	4.13	+0.16		2016	3.00	+0.47
	2017	-			2017	4.29			2017	3.47	
	2018	-	0		2018	4.19	+0.09		2018	3.40	+0.04
	2019	-			2019	4.28			2019	3.44	
	2019	4.28	+0.39		2019	4.28	+0.17		2019	3.44	+0.14
	2020	4.67			2020	4.45			2020	3.58	
4. Criminal groups have taken control of political parties (groups).	2008	-	-0.57	5. Political party (group) harbors criminal groups	2008	-	-0.67	6. Politicians have teamed up with judges and law enforceme	2008	-	+0.04
	2009	2.80			2009	2.40			2009	4.08	
	2010	3.40			2010	2.78			2010	4.50	
	2011	2.83			2011	2.11			2011	4.54	

Statement	Year	Value	Change	Statement	Year	Value	Change	Statement	Year	Value	Change
	2012	2.00	+1.0		2012	2.71	+0.07	nt officers in illegal interests	2012	4.50	-1.75
	2013	3.00			2013	2.78			2013	2.75	
	2014	2.75	-014		2014	2.62	+038		2014	3.68	+0.02
	2015	2.61			2015	3.00			2015	3.88	
	2016	2.96	+0.54		2016	2.88	+0.52		2016	3.67	+0.62
	2017	3.50			2017	3.40			2017	4.29	
	2018	3.29	+0.43		2018	3.36	+0.34		2018	4.15	+0.15
	2019	3.72			2019	3.70			2019	4.30	
	2019	3.72	-0.38		2019	3.70	-0.32		2019	4.30	-0.25
	2020	3.34			2020	3.38			2020	4.05	
7. Political and business factions united	2008	-		8. Politicians have taken control of business groups	2008	-		9. A foreign political group took control of a Mongolian political party (group).	2008	-	
	2009	4.67			2009	2.23			2009	3.18	
	2010	4.67	-0.33		2010	3.50	-0.67		2010	3.73	-0.73
	2011	4.33			2011	2.83			2011	3.00	
	2012	4.54	-0.46		2012	3.60	+0.13		2012	2.27	+0.40
	2013	4.08			2013	3.73			2013	2.67	
	2014	4.13	-0.20		2014	3.16	+0.23		2014	2.65	+0.25
	2015	3.93			2015	3.39			2015	2.90	
	2016	4.23	+0.04		2016	3.61	+0.18		2016	2.88	+0.64
	2017	4.27			2017	3.79			2017	3.53	
	2018	4.35	+0.11		2018	3.81	+0.41		2018	3.42	+0.21
	2019	4.46			2019	4.21			2019	3.63	
	2019	4.46	-0.25		2019	4.21	-0.21		2019	3.63	-0.19
	2020	4.21			2020	4.00			2020	3.44	
10. A foreign political group has merged with a	2008	-		11. Business groups have taken control	2008	-		12. Foreign business groups have taken control of	2008	-	
	2009	2.78			2009	4.69			2009	4.11	
	2010	3.60	-1.60		2010	4.50	+0.19		2010	3.91	-1.27

Mongolian political party (group).	Year	Value	Change	of politicians	Year	Value	Change	Mongolian political parties (groups).	Year	Value	Change
	2011	2.00			2011	4.69			2011	2.64	
	2012	2.25	+0.95		2012	4.20	+0.03		2012	3.00	+0.20
	2013	3.20			2013	4.23			2013	3.20	
	2014	2.42	+0.39		2014	3.68	+0.19		2014	3.07	+0.08
	2015	2.81			2015	3.87			2015	3.15	
	2016	2.64	+0.67		2016	4.05	+0.26		2016	2.93	+0.74
	2017	3.31			2017	4.31			2017	3.68	
	2018	3.27	+0.13		2018	4.20	+0.01		2018	3.75	-0.09
	2019	3.40			2019	4.21			2019	3.66	
	2019	3.40	-0.17		2019	4.21	-0.09		2019	3.66	-0.07
	2020	3.23			2020	4.12			2020	3.59	

Source: Khatanbold O. «Analyzing the situation of corruption in the political sphere in Mongolia».
Quantitative and qualitative research conducted in the context of policy research. UB., 2021

Comparing the relationship of the above subgroups with the conditional causes of corrupt behavior, bribery, giving and receiving methods in the political sphere as of 2021-2022: the estimate of the use of bribery and receiving methods in the political sphere was 4.03 compared to the previous (3.55 in 2021) increased by 0.48 points.

Figure 4:- Assessment and index of ways of giving and receiving bribes in the political sphere, (2018-2022).

2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
⇨ 3.71	⇨ 3.79	⇨ 3.75	⬇ 3.55	⬆ 4.03

Source: Independent Authority Anti-Corruption. Political Corruption Perception Survey 2022.

A collection of research reports. Ub., 2023.
Experts assessed 11 common methods and techniques of bribery in the political sphere. The most common ways to do this are to favor relatives, family members and their companies, to give and receive through relatives or intermediaries, to pass them on as operating expenses, and to sell or buy things at prices above or below market value as named.If we calculate the index of causes and conditions of political corruption, it is 4.29, which is the highest rating in the last five years and an increase of 0.08-0.36 points compared to previous years (Figure 5).

Figure 5:- Index of Causes and Conditions of Political Corruption (2018-2022).

2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
⇨ 4.09	⬆ 4.21	⇨ 4.13	⬇ 3.93	⬆ 4.29

Source: Independent Authority Anti-Corruption. Political Corruption Perception Survey 2022.

A collection of research reports. Ub., 2023.
As shown in the figure above, if the index of causes and conditions of political corruption is calculated according to three sub-indicators: factors influencing political corruption, mistakes and the state of groups, the following picture is observed(Figure 6).

Figure 6:- Assessment of causes and conditions of political corruption (by subindicators and indices).
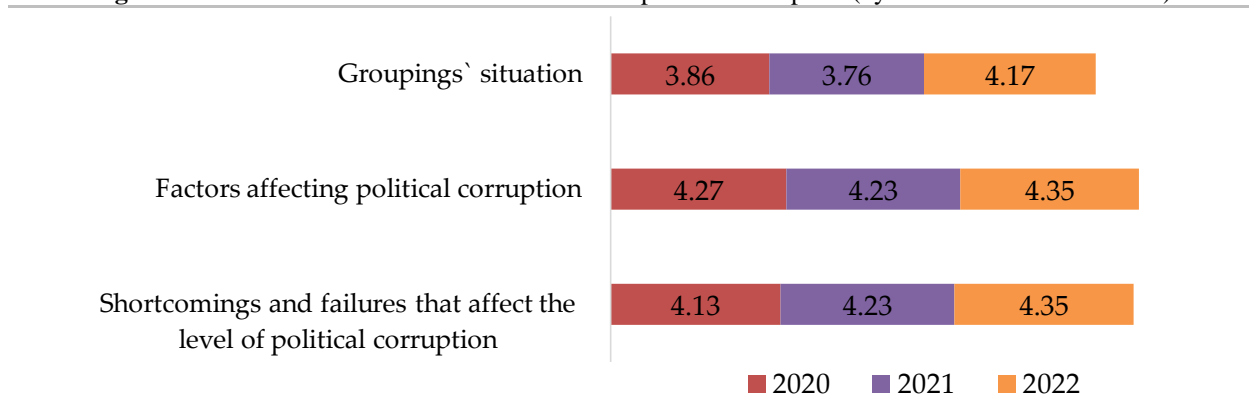
Source: Independent Authority Anti-Corruption. Political Corruption Perception Survey 2022.

A collection of research reports. UB., 2023.

Most experts believe that the form of corruption has become layered and narrower than the traditional way of giving and receiving money, and the form of patronizing organizations and individuals has become popular, as evidenced by the fact that it has been rated higher than other shows.

Looking at the table, the last year, 2021, measured the increase and decrease of the corruption situation compared to the previous year's assessment, and when calculating the index, it was noticed that the level of corruption in the public sector, the judiciary and the private sector increased slightly. However, the level of corruption also decreased in the other sectors assessed in the analysis.In other words, despite the fact that last year corruption was quite widespread in political parties and local governments, this year, according to experts, corruption has decreased.

In addition to compare with the level of corruption presented in the above comparative table by sector and scale for 2020-2022, we can observe the following picture.

Table 10:- Perception of corruption in the political sphere (Expert survey results).

	Sectors and frameworks	2020	2021	2022	Changes
Sector in which corruption has increased					
1	Court	3.84	3.90	4.31	+0.41
2	Prosecutor	3.88	3.98	4.21	+0.23
3	Media	3.72	3.71	3.85	+0.14
4	Government (ministries & agencies)	4.18	4.43	4.50	+0.07
5	Political parties	4.38	4.40	4.45	+0.05
6	Civil society organizations	2.59	2.61	2.63	+0.02
Sectors in which corruption has decreased					
7	State-owned and local enterprises, state-owned and local-owned enterprises	4.10	4.02	3.94	-0.08
8	Local public administration	4.17	4.18	4.11	-0.07
9	Parliament (State Great Khural)	4.02	4.15	4.10	-0.05
10	Local self-government organization	3.80	3.91	3.86	-0.05
11	Private sector	2.84	2.77	2.75	-0.02

Source: Independent Authority Anti-Corruption. Political Corruption Perception Survey 2022.

According to the results of the above survey, the level of corruption in 6 sectors increased compared to the previous year (0.02-0.41). For example, the judicial sector had the "highest" rating, which increased by +0.41 points. Media corruption decreased in 2020-2021, but increased by +0.14 points this year and ranked 3rd among the indicators. However, a decrease of 0.02-0.08 points occurred in 5 sectors such as state and local enterprises, local administration and private sector.The opinions of experts who took part in a corruption survey of political parties in Mongolia are summarized. If one were to name the most corrupt party imaginable, the results would be as follows. Specifically, 35.6 percent of the experts who participated in the survey consider the currently ruling Mongolian

People's Party (MPP) to be the "most" corrupt.But 37.4 percent of them support the Democratic Party (DP), 9.5 percent support the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), 10.4 percent support the Labor National Party (HUN), and 1.7 percent support the Mongolian Green Party (MGP). On the other hand, 5.2 percent expressed that other political parties are corrupt. In other words, 73 percent of all experts surveyed had the impression that both MP and DP are corrupt as accordince with survey results(Independent Authority Anti-Corruption, 2023).

When asked about the opinion of the experts who participated in the study on political party corruption in Mongolia, they indicated that the ruling party was more corrupt. Political parties are ranked from highest to lowest based on their corruption score. The figure below shows that 41.3 percent of all experts surveyed consider the currently ruling Mongolian People's Party (MPP) to be the most corrupt. In addition, it can be seen here that 77.8 percent of MPPs and DPs consider themselves more corrupt (Figure7).

Figure 7:- Corruption of political parties in Mongolia, 2022.
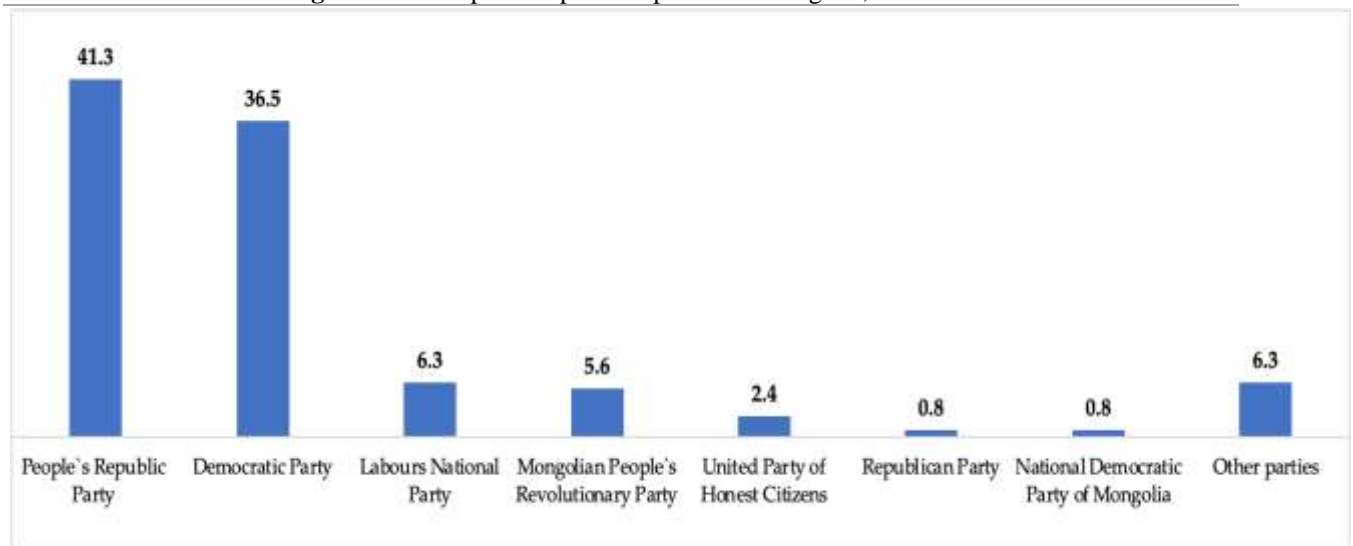
Source: Perceptions of corruption in politics.

Based on the results of an expert survey. IAAC. UB., 2022.

Conclusion:-

Finally, (i) the formation of a political culture that allows women's participation in politics; (ii) the maturity of governance systems and perceptions of them; (iii) on the formation of political culture in political parties; (iv) on the electoral system; and (v) the role and influence of actors shaping political culture were explained as follows. The measures to be taken in the future to shape political culture were formulated by the experts as follows: (i) form political parties and clarify party funding (28.1%), (ii) improve civic socialization, role and participation of citizens. (20.3%), (iii) listening to the words of scholars and researchers and incorporating them into policies (3.1%), (iv) respecting the values and principles of the constitution, strictly adhering to accountability norms (29.7%), (v) ensuring transparency, openness and fairness at all levels, adhering to democratic principles (6, 3%), (vi) bring information about human development as a human being into the education system (9, 4%), (vii) bring neoliberal market economic policies closer to developmental policies (1, 6%), (viii) distance between the extension of elections (1, 6%) (Institute of Philosophy, MAS, 2019).

In order to find out the factors influencing the increase in the indicators of causes and conditions of corruption, the average value of the indicators of causes and conditions of political corruption over the last 12 years was estimated at 3.80-4.21 points and fluctuated at 4.07 points.

After analyzing the mentioned factors in detail, it should be concluded that the risky steps of corruption created in the society through the following activities were the main reason for the negative impact on the internal security of the political party. Forinstance,
(i) Take the following measures to improve weak enforcement and mismanagement by the government:

- Concealment of illegal activities by the law;
- This has long been a bad habit caused by personal greed due to inadequate living conditions of civil servants;
- Unfair enforcement of the law, weak mechanisms to enforce the rule of law;
- Political and legal irresponsibility;
- Selfish thinking for their own interests;

(ii) Adopt and implement the following measures in the framework of political culture and ethics:
- The reckless and unethical actions and attitudes of politicians;
- No matter what you do for your own benefit, a mentality of favoring personal gain prevails in society.
- Poverty, bureaucracy and income equality;
- Approached the problem using the concept of the traditional "door in behind of hidden people ";
- Formed non-political ideology as an opportunity to improve one's life through bribes;

(iii) Interest groups are formed for the following reasons:
- Politics got out of control and businessmen entered politics;
- Political, business, politico-judicial and control groups became stronger;
- The creation of judicial and law enforcement groups became the main cause of corruption in society;
- Due to the fact that someone accepted bad habits as common in society, the bad habits of human beings became a social norm;

(iv)The following measures shall be taken and implemented to address ethical shortcomings and malpractices of the public service and its employees:
- Encouraging illegal relationships whereby public servants are recruited into politics by helping acquaintances, friends and relatives;
- A growing tendency to enter the civil service and make an easy and simple living;
- Government bureaucracy, slow decision making, appointments based on party affiliation;
- Rejection of a mentality that views and understands public service as a means of making money and profit;

(v) Regarding measures to be taken to improve the accountability mechanism:
- A system that fails to take responsibility for corruption exacerbates this situation;
- Due to weak rule of law, accountability is not actually realized;(Institute of Philosophy, MAS, 2019)
- Weak system of justice, transparency, control and accountability;
- Political and legal irresponsibility;

(vi)On measures to be taken in the framework of improving the registration and information system:
- The system of informal oversight of penalties is very weak;
- Weak registration and information systems have resulted in an inability to track and monitor all money;
- Laws and regulations are not enforced and problems are solved through unprincipled traditional relationships (Institute of Philosophy, MAS, 2019).

When a political party starts to make political decisions that favor the interests of a narrow economic group, it leads to dozens of negative consequences. For example, if high-ranking government officials and civil servants are involved in bribery and corruption cases, or violate the rights of citizens, there will be an increase in negative phenomena in society, there is a risk that the foundations of society will be shaken, and the situation will worsen.

If the system that created these conditions continues to promote injustice and support corruption, it will be impossible to form the political, economic and social foundations of the country within a framework of law and justice.

Summarizing all this, the following results are specifically discussed and the need for further detailed research is emphasized. For example,
1. People's faith in justice, equality and the democratic system is increasingly diminishing. A significant increase in the use of electronic information networks has become a major tool that can be used as a platform to express the widest range of views in all areas of politics, business and society.

2. Although the channels for obtaining and disseminating information have thus expanded, the flow of information, including information about society and politics, has been a factor in reinforcing public attitudes that politicians are bad and politics is dirty.
    - not only increases the level of social tension, but also becomes an excuse for any political actions to please the public of politicians and high government officials.
    - in order to win the next election by pleasing the public, they become the main factors of raising their reputation in a short period of time, defaming others and damaging their dignity and thus become the main instrument of politics.
3. Political polarization is caused by voters, rival parties and political leadership which contribute to the divisions. It can be concluded that even the media is divided into two sides and pushed into a situation of supporting candidates in both explicit and implicit ways.

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