

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON  
**DEMOCRACY**  
IN THE **21<sup>ST</sup>** CENTURY

**CHALLENGES AND  
WAYS FORWARD**

**BOOK OF  
ABSTRACTS**



Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia 9-10 July, 2018



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## WELCOME NOTE

### *Welcome note by the President of the World Society Foundation*

On behalf of the World Society Foundation it is my distinct pleasure to welcome you all to the **'International Conference on Democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century'** here in Ulaanbaatar! The World Society Foundation's conference has been organized annually since 2007; covering various global issues, such those related to inequality and sustainability that we are now facing. As such, the Foundation aims to sustain a network of excellent scholars interested in transnational and global research topics.

In 2018, the Conference theme **'Democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Challenges and Ways Forward'** provides a platform for scholars from different disciplines, and from different regions, to come together and share their research. The Conference theme - of Democracy - is timely as questions about digital society, populism, international conflict, declining citizen participation and satisfaction are being raised globally. It is also pertinent that the Conference is being held

in Ulaanbaatar, as Mongolia has its own unique experience of democracy.

This Conference - with its interesting topics on civil society, rural-urban cleavages and the role of extractives - allows scholars to engage in dialogue on the **'ways forward'** (in strengthening democracy and global society) that benefit the well-being of all. Selected papers from the Conference will be published in the World Society Foundation book series **'World Society Studies'**.

The Independent Research Institute of Mongolia's Organizing Team has been crucial in all stages of preparation of the Conference. Special thanks go to the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation and the University of Neuchatel for their generosity in providing sponsorship for the Conference.

A very warm welcome to all participants. I hope you enjoy the Conference and the beautiful summer weather here in Mongolia!

**Christian Suter,**

**President, the World Society Foundation (Zurich)**

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## Welcome note by the President of IRIM

Welcome to the International Conference on 'Democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Challenges and Ways Forward'. This theme was chosen jointly by the World Society Foundation (WSF) and the Independent Research Institute of Mongolia (IRIM), as it provides an overarching framework to discuss the current trends in democracy within a multi-disciplinary (and multi-national) research and experiences context.

At the heart of the Conference lies an array of presentations across the spectrum of theoretical and applied research; ranging from trans-national comparisons to case studies, and from everyday experiences of democracy to conceptual foundations. On behalf of the Conference's Scientific Committee, I wish to thank all the prominent scholars who supplied their papers and essays, and for participating in this Conference.

We would also like to thank the

WSF for allowing us to provide hospitality grants to international and Mongolian scholars living abroad, to come to Ulaanbaatar to participate in the Conference. Thanks to the WSF's generous support, the Conference Organizing Committee was also able to organize a cultural day for our international participants to experience Mongolia's national festival, Naadam.

I am also pleased that the Independent Research Institute of Mongolia (IRIM) is organizing this Conference on the occasion of its 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary. All of us at IRIM believe that the Conference will be a success; providing a close environment where participants are able to share global and multi-disciplinary perspectives on the current debates in democracy.

Enjoy the Conference and let us together, seek ways forward!

**Ambassador Bekhbat Khasbazar,**

***IRIM President and Conference Chair***





2019  
Conference

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## CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION



## SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE

### **Ambassador Bekhbat Khasbazar**

President of IRIM and Director of the Diplomatic Academy of Mongolia

### **Prof. Dr. Christian Suter**

Professor of Sociology at the University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland and  
President of the World Society Foundation

### **Assoc. Prof. Dr Byambasuren Yadmaa**

Director of School of Management and Governance of the National  
Academy of Governance, Mongolia and Board Member of IRIM

### **Dr Tamir Chultemsuren**

Senior Lecturer at the Department of Sociology and Social Work of  
National University of Mongolia and Board Member of IRIM

### **Dolgion Aldar**

Board Member and Consultant of IRIM

### **Dr Khatanbold Oidov**

Academic Secretary of the Institute of Philosophy and Senior Academic  
Researcher at the Department of Political Sciences of Mongolian Academy  
of Sciences





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## ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

**Dr Tamir Chultemsuren**

Senior Lecturer at the Department of Sociology and Social Work of National University of Mongolia and Board Member of IRIM

**Erdenetsetseg Dashdeleg**

Researcher and Project Manager of IRIM

**Dolgion Aldar**

Board Member and Consultant of IRIM

**Bulgan Luuzandamba**

Consultant of IRIM

**Bold Tsevegдорж**

Senior Lecturer at the Department of Sociology and Social Work of National University of Mongolia and Board Member of IRIM

## CONFERENCE PROGRAM



### PRE-CONFERENCE DAY - SUNDAY, 8 JULY 2018

Visit IRIM office (4:00 pm – 4:40 pm)

Welcome reception (5:00 pm – 7:00 pm)

### DAY I – MONDAY, 9 JULY 2018

8:00 am – 8:30 am

#### Registration

8:30 am – 8:50 am

#### Opening Remarks

Bekhbat Khasbazar, Ambassador and IRIM President (Conference Chair), Mongolia

Battsetseg Batmunkh, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mongolia

Enkhbayar Battumur, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Justice and Home Affairs, Mongolia

Christian Suter, President, the World Society Foundation (Zurich) and Professor, University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland

8:50 am – 8:55 am

#### Group photo

8:55 am – 9:00 am

#### Conference Introduction

Dolgion Aldar, Board Member, IRIM, Mongolia

### SESSION 1. CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRACY

9:00 am – 9:20 am

**Chair:** Bekhbat Khasbazar, IRIM, Mongolia

**Keynote 1:** Civil Society's Indispensability for Liberal Democracy

Steven Fish, Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, United States

9:20 am - 9:40 am

#### Discussion:

Munkh-Ochir Dorjjugder, Institute for Security Studies, Mongolia and participants

9:40 am – 10:00 am

#### Coffee break





## CONFERENCE PROGRAM

### SESSION 1 (continued)

10:00am–11:00am

**Chair:** Byambajav Dalaibuyan, Tohoku University, Japan

**Presentation 1:** The role of civil society in promoting democracy and good governance in Mongolia

Byambabat Munkhtogoo, Volunteer Development Center, Mongolia

**Presentation 2:** How do youth movements promote democracy in Azerbaijan? Their civic engagement and impacts on public sphere (2000-2014)

Khayyam Namazov, Humboldt University, Germany

**Presentation 3:** Citizen empowerment through the Check My Service Initiative in Mongolia

Undral Gombodorj, Democracy Education Center, Mongolia

**Presentation 4:** Needs and necessities for sophisticating the legal framework for non-governmental organizations

Enkhbayar Battumur, Ministry of Justice and Home Affairs, Mongolia

**Presentation 5:** 1-O Catalan referendum turns into a struggle for democracy

Núria Suero Comellas, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain

11:00am–11:20am

**Discussion**

11:20am–11:50am

**Coffee break**

11:50am–12:40pm

**Chair:** Delgerjargal Uvsh, University of Wisconsin-Madison, United States

**Presentation 1:** The influence of international relations on democratization. 1972-2005

Mathias De Roeck, University of Antwerp, Belgium (Co-writer: Mr. Ronan Van Rossem, University of Ghent, Belgium)

**Presentation 2:** The transformation of civil society in post-socialist democratization: Theoretical and practical implications from Mongolia's experience

Byambajav Dalaibuyan, Tohoku University, Japan

**Presentation 3:** Insurgency-its genesis in the failure of democratic governance: A Study of individual motivation to join armed groups in Northeast India

Banasmita Bora, University of Delhi, India

**Presentation 4:** Civilization, Citizenship and Democracy: The Challenge of Military Coups-The Case of Egypt

Haldun Karanhanli, Ibn Haldun University, Turkey





12:40pm–1:00pm

**Discussion**

1:00pm–2:00pm

**Lunch**

## SESSION 2. URBAN-RURAL CLEAVAGES AND DEMOCRACY

2:00pm–2:20pm

**Chair:** Christian Suter, World Society Foundation (Zurich) and University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland

**Keynote 2:** The perception of Mongolians about Democracy: Do we have differences?

Ganbat Damba, Academy of Political Education, Mongolia

2:20pm–2:40pm

**Discussion**

Mathias De Roeck, University of Antwerp, Belgium and participants

2:40pm–3:30pm

**Chair:** Dolgion Aldar, IRIM, Mongolia

**Presentation 1:** Democracy development in Mongolia: Challenges and Opportunities

Khatanbold Oidov, Mongolian Academy of Sciences, Mongolia

**Presentation 2:** Democratic Education: Challenges and practices in rural and urban schools of Kazakhstan

Diana Mombayeva, University of Calgary, Canada

**Presentation 3:** Poverty reduction and democratization-new cross country evidence

Frank-Borge Wietzke, Institut Barcelona Estudis Internacionals, Spain

**Presentation 4:** Community-based groups and agency of men and women in the public sphere in rural Bangladesh

Esha Sraboni, Brown University, United States

3:30pm–3:50pm

**Discussion**

3:50pm–4:20pm

**Coffee break**





## CONFERENCE PROGRAM

### SESSION 2 (continued)

4:20pm – 5:20pm

**Chair:** Tapan Sarker, International Business and Asian Studies, Griffith University, Australia

**Presentation 1:** Electoral gifting in rural Mongolia

Tuya Shagdar, National University of Mongolia, Mongolia (Co-writer: Dr. Lauren Bonilla, Research associate, University College London, England)

**Presentation 2:** Everyday democracy in Mongolia: An anthropological approach to democracy as lived in the ger districts of Ulaanbaatar

Elizabeth Fox, University of College London, England

**Presentation 3:** Chronicling Mongolia's experience in transition

Craig Castagna, International Republican Institute (IRI), Mongolia

**Presentation 4:** Social media rendezvous for egalitarian academic discourse in a monarchical democracy: An ethnomethodological study

Reynaldo Gacho Segumpan, Ministry of Higher Education, Rustaq COE, Oman

**Presentation 5.** Spatial-econometric relationship between urbanization and economic development in Mongolia

Oyut Amarjargal, Clark University, United States

5:20pm – 5:40pm

**Discussion**

### END OF DAY 1

6:30 pm – 8:30 pm

**Dinner**





## DAY II – TUESDAY, 10 JULY 2018

8:00am – 9:00am

### Morning coffee & Tea

9:00am – 9:10am

### Opening Remark

Jean-Jacques de Dardel, Ambassador of Switzerland to Mongolia, the People's Republic of China and the DPRK, Switzerland

## SESSION 3. EXTRACTIVE ECONOMICS, RESOURCE-RICH COUNTRIES AND DEMOCRACY

9:10 am – 9:30 am

**Chair:** Byambasuren Yadmaa, IRIM, Mongolia

**Keynote 3:** The Role of democratic governance in improving transparency and accountability of multinational enterprises in resource-rich countries

Tapan Sarker, International Business and Asian Studies, Griffith University, Australia

9:30 am – 9:50 am

### Discussion

Stephen Brown, University of Ottawa, Canada and participants

9:50 am – 10:40 am

**Chair:** Boldsaikhan Sambuu, Waseda University, Japan

**Presentation 1:** Reversal of the curse? Negative revenue shocks and political regimes around the world

Delgerjargal Uvsh, University of Wisconsin-Madison, United States

**Presentation 2:** The curse of foreign investment: Untangling Mongolia's post-communist transition from its extractive dependence

Aubrey Menardt, Menarndt Global Consulting, Hong Kong

**Presentation 3:** What keeps economic growth unsustainability in Mongolia? Plan-irrational state and extractive economic institutions

Uganbayar Tumurkhuu, Ministry of Education, Culture, Science and Sports, Mongolia

**Presentation 4:** Democratization and judicial independence: A case study of Mongolia

Tuya Barsuren, Mongolian Gender Equality Center, Mongolia

10:40am–11:00am

### Discussion

11:00am–11:30am

### Coffee break





## CONFERENCE PROGRAM

### SESSION 3 (continued)

11:30am-12:20pm

**Chair:** Steven Fish, Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, United States

**Presentation 1:** Natural resource abundance, democracy and economic growth in transition economies

Enkh-Amgalan Dorjgotov, National University of Mongolia, Mongolia

**Presentation 2:** Empowering local communities in the Kyrgyz mining sector: The case of Talas

Nazik Imanbekova, Public Foundation ICC Elnaz, Kyrgyzstan

**Presentation 3:** Democratization and the political economy of diamond sector policy in Southern Africa

Nathan Munier, Independent researcher, Austria

**Presentation 4:** Buying votes with rents: The politics of economic populism and clientelism in natural resource dependent democracies

Boldsai Khan Sambuu, Waseda University, Japan

12:20pm-12:40pm

**Discussion**

12:40pm-2:00pm

**Lunch**

2:00pm-2:50pm

**Chair:** Ganbat Damba, Academy of Political Education, Mongolia

**Presentation 1:** Foreign aid, the mining sector and democratic governance: The case of Canadian assistance to Peru

Stephen Brown, University of Ottawa, Canada

**Presentation 2:** Regional Integration in Asia: FTA initiatives driven regional leadership

Purevdulam Jamiyansuren, SICA LLC, Mongolia

**Presentation 3:** Natural resources management in Southeast Asia: Challenges of corruption, compliance and effectiveness

Andrea Haefner, Griffith University, Australia

**Presentation 4:** The empirical analysis of political stability and inflow foreign direct investment: Case of Mongolia

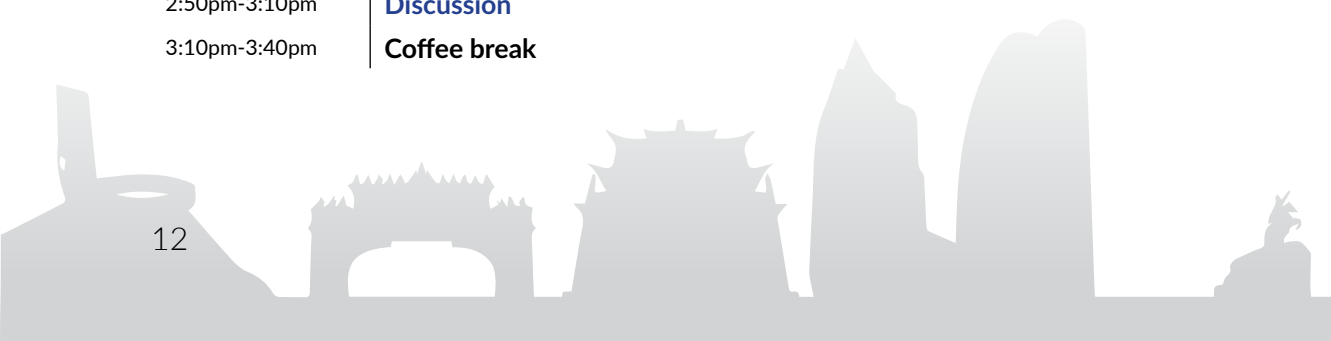
Nandin-Erdene Byambajav, Value United Partners, Mongolia

2:50pm-3:10pm

**Discussion**

3:10pm-3:40pm

**Coffee break**





## CONCLUDING SESSION

3:40pm-4:40pm

### Panel discussion: Democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Ways Forward

**Chair:** Christian Suter, World Society Foundation (Zurich) and University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland

#### Panelists:

Ganbat Damba, Academy of Political Education, Mongolia

Steven Fish, Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, United States

Tapan Sarker, International Business and Asian Studies, Griffith University, Australia

4:40pm-4:50pm

### Closing remarks

Christian Suter, World Society Foundation (Zurich) and University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland

Bekhbat Khasbazar, IRIM, Mongolia

4:50pm-5:00pm

### Cultural Activity Introduction

Erdenetsetseg Dashdeleg, IRIM, Mongolia

## END OF DAY 2

6:00pm-8:00pm

### Dinner

## CULTURAL DAY - WEDNESDAY, 11 JULY 2018

Opening Ceremony of the Naadam Festival (9:00 am – 12:00 pm)

Lunch (1:00 pm – 2:00 pm)

Watching horse racing (2:00 pm – 5:00 pm)





## CONFERENCE KEYNOTE SPEAKERS



### DR GANBAT DAMBA

*Keynote speech for the session Rural-Urban Cleavages and Democracy*

*Title: The perception of Mongolians about Democracy: Do we have differences?*

Dr Ganbat Damba is Chairman, of the Board of The Academy of Political Education, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia. The Academy of Political Education is a non-governmental institution which engages in research and training in both the city and countryside. The Academy has made key contributions in promoting democratic values within, for example, human rights and freedoms, the rule of law, the role of an individual in the society and democratic elections. From 1999 to 2010, Dr Ganbat Damba worked as Executive Director of the Academy.

During 2009 to 2017 he was an advisor to the President of Mongolia (on research) and a Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies in Mongolia. Since May 2017, he is currently the Ambassador of Mongolia to the Federal Republic of Germany. Dr Ganbat Damba received his PhD in 2002 from the Academy of Science in Mongolia. He is currently a member of the regional Asian Barometer Survey's (ABS) working group, in charge of Mongolia (since 2002). Under his management, the ABS has been conducted four times in Mongolia. From 1996 to 1999, he served as an expert in the Foreign Aid Coordination Unit; under the Prime Minister of Mongolia. During 2009 to 2015 he was a Board Member of the National Public TV/Radio; and during 2014 to 2016 a member of Ministerial Board of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia. Dr Ganbat Damba has published various articles examining issues such as: democratization, democratic and authoritarian values, elections, political party development and the principles of foreign (and security) policy. ■





## DR TAPAN SARKER

*Keynote speech for the session Extractive Economics – in  
Resource-rich Countries and Democracy*

*Title: The Role of Democratic Governance in Improving  
Transparency and Accountability of Multinational Enterprises in  
Resource-rich Countries*

**D**r Tapan Sarker (PhD, The Australian National University) is the Senior Lecturer in the Department of International Business and Asian Studies, within the Griffith Business School. He is the Deputy Director (Research) at the Griffith Centre for Sustainable Enterprise (of Griffith University) and a member of the University's [Griffith Asia Institute](#) in Brisbane, Australia. Tapan Sarker has more than 20 years of teaching, research, administrative and consulting experience

in a range of areas, including: university, government, international NGOs and industry. In the latter, he has worked as a project manager and consultant for leading resource sector companies such as: BHP Billiton, Rio Tinto, Mahindra and Mahindra Ltd (India) and Sinarmas Forestry (Indonesia). Prior to joining Griffith University, he worked as a Fellow at the Centre for Social Responsibility in Mining, at the University of Queensland. He was also a co-ordinator of Leadership for Environment and Development (LEAD), Japan program; an international NGO that has played a pioneering role in developing leadership capacity across sectors. He was also a Visiting Fellow at the Centre for Tax and Fiscal Policy Research, at Harvard University. Tapan Sarker has publications in the areas of: sustainable growth, business ethics and corporate social responsibility, internal revenue mobilisation and taxation policy, and the political economy of natural resources. He has authored/co-authored three books and over 25 journal articles on sustainable growth, climate change and the political economy of natural resources. ■





## CONFERENCE KEYNOTE SPEAKERS



### DR STEVEN FISH

*Keynote speech for the session Civil Society and Democracy*  
*Title: Civil Society's Indispensability for Liberal Democracy*

Dr Steven Fish is Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. He studied for his PhD - at Stanford University - in Political Science. He teaches courses at graduate and undergraduate levels, in: general comparative politics, foundations of social theory, regime change and democratization, and politics, society and economy in Eurasia. Steven

Fish's research interests include: political regimes and regime change, social movements, political parties, constitutional systems and national legislatures, and the sociology of religion. He undertook extensive fieldwork in Eurasia, Eastern Europe, and Southeast Asia, and has also research experience in Western Europe, East Asia, and Latin America. He currently serves as consultant to US government organizations including the Department of State (and other federal government agencies) and as consultant to a variety of international organizations, such as the European Commission for Democracy through Law (the Venice Commission) and the e-Parliament. He also serves as a commentator in electronic media, including: Al-Jazeera English, CCTV, CNN International, CNBC, the BBC, KGO TV San Francisco, KTVU TV Oakland, and KRON TV San Francisco. His articles and books include: Indonesia: Democracy Despite Scarcity (Journal of Democracy), Fighting Reversion: Strong Legislatures as the Key to Bolstering Democracy (in: Nathan J. Brown, ed., The Dynamics of Democratization: Dictatorship, Development, and Diffusion, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), Failed Democratization (in: Christian W. Haerpfer, Patrick Bernhagen, Ronald F. Inglehart, and Christian Welzel, eds., Democratization, New York: Oxford University Press). ■







## Session 1 Civil society and Democracy

**BYAMBABAT MUNKHTOGOO**  
(Volunteer Development Center,  
Mongolia)

Email: [byambabat.m@gmail.com](mailto:byambabat.m@gmail.com)

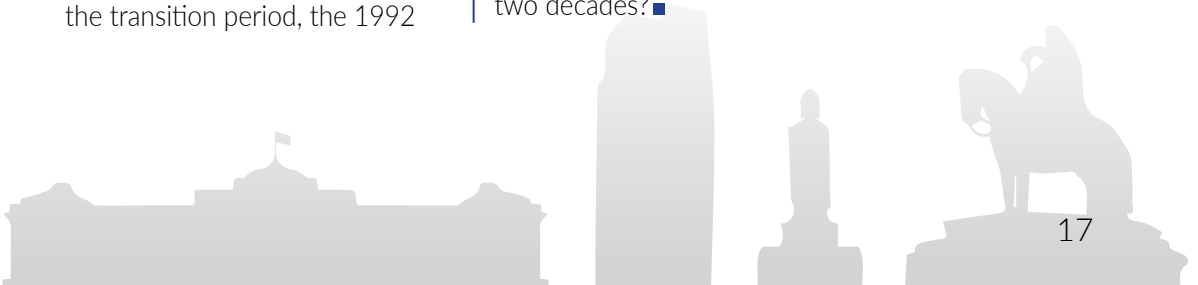
### *The role of civil society in promoting democracy and good governance in Mongolia*

Within this speech, I will describe relationship between civil society and government and also between civil society and citizens.

Since Mongolia's peaceful democratic revolution, it is important to notice that there was a significant growth of civil society previously in Mongolia. Mongolian civil society comprises several broad groups of organizations, such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), trade unions, chambers of commerce, saving and credit cooperatives, local groups under political parties, apartment owners' unions, nonprofit media, think-tanks, informal self-help and leisure groups or community groups. Among them, the most influential actors are NGOs. One of the achievements after the transition period, the 1992

constitution and the law on non-governmental organizations (1997) opened up a legitimate ground for NGOs. As a result, total number of NGOs registered to the State Registration Agency is over 23,694 (State Registration Agency, 2017). But there is question that do we (as CSOs) really have power or rights to control over the state and monitor its public services in order to have representative and accountable government?

In order to build a humane, civil and democratic society which Mongolia is aiming for, it is also important to increase citizen participation which is basis of building an informed, effective, and responsible citizenry. But many Mongolians still do not have complete information and knowledge on what exactly democracy is. According to the survey on changes and perception of democracy in the youth of Mongolia (Khatanbold, 2014), majority of the survey respondents, aged between 18 and 44, expressed that democracy is a freedom to exercise their rights. Except this, many people also don't know fully about their responsibility to participate in the policy-making process that, in turn, protects their rights and freedoms. For example, the survey on citizens' participation reported that 8 people in a ten survey respondents never give their feedbacks on the draft laws and main reason for not giving their feedbacks is that they don't know on how to participate in the process. Due to these issues related with citizens' knowledge about democracy and their participation, I come up with some questions that what are roles of Mongolian CSOs in promoting democracy? And how was the CSOs' engagement with communities and citizens in past two decades? ■





## CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

**KHAYYAM NAMAZOV**  
(Humboldt University, Germany)  
Email: [chayyam@gmail.com](mailto:chayyam@gmail.com)

***How do youth movements promote democracy in Azerbaijan? Their civic engagement and impacts on public sphere (2000-2014)***

The socio-political life in Azerbaijan at the beginning of 21st century has been characterized by the active and visible participation of new generation within the Pro-Democracy Movement network against the government. The facts that the new youth activists established their own movement organizations outside of the traditional political parties, their attitudes were very critical against the government, as well as the traditional opposition render them to be labeled as an independent youth movement. So that the research explores on the one hand the primary characteristic

features of the Pro-democracy Youth Movement emerged and functioned in the period of 2000-2014 in Azerbaijan, its civic engagement and struggle for democracy; on the other hand, the essential issues problematized by the movement and the impacts of them on public sphere in that period. Considering distinct characteristic features of the movement organizations the research classifies and explore them under the following groups 'colour movement' in 2003-2005, 'the enlightenment movement' in 2006-2011, and 'the political youth movement' in 2011-2013. Moreover, the miscellaneous activities of the movement and their influences on democracy are analyzed under two following activity directions of political engagement and of social and cultural events conducted by them. In the light of these directions, the pro-democracy youth movement is assessed in terms of their internal structure, membership and strategy; alternative movement identity against the one promoted by political regime; political struggle against the government and the classical opposition parties; a socio-political alternative against the mainstream social values.

Key words: pro-democracy movement, youth movement, democracy, civic-engagement, public sphere ■





**ENKHBAYAR BATTUMUR**  
(Ministry of Justice and Internal  
Affairs, Mongolia)

***Needs and necessities for  
sophisticating the legal  
framework for non-governmental  
organizations***

It has been 20 years since Mongolia ratified and enforced the independent Law on Non-Governmental Organizations in 1997 for the purpose of ensuring the constitutional rights of citizens to unite and freedom to association.

In 1998, there were 1075 registered Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) nationwide, and in 2017 NGOs reached 18325. As of 2017, 90 branches and representative offices of international NGOs operate in Mongolia. However, according to the data of National Statistical Office, 51.5 percent or 1 out of 2 NGOs is inactive or stagnant.

Following the social changes, main operational directions, scopes and organizational forms and structures of NGOs undergo major transformations, but they face many hurdles and hardships due to weakness in legal framework.

The Law on Non-Governmental Organizations had been amended 6 times in total in the years between 1998 and 2016, however these modifications focused not on resolving hurdles and hardships faced by NGOs, but addressed the needs of other legislations in the sector. For instance, due to lack of regulatory arrangements in conformity with the Civil Code, enacted in 2002, there is a contradiction between NGO and forms of non-profit legal entities, where political and religious entities, even for-profit legal entities could enjoy the title “NGO”.

Such conditions restrict active operations of NGOs, resulting in mistrust in the society, and complicate and make it difficult to exercise effective cooperation and mutual monitoring of NGOs. In other words, legal framework for Non-Governmental Organizations could not completely regulate such relations, lagging behind the legal reforms as well as contradicting with other legislations. Therefore, the Government of Mongolia aims to implement comprehensive reforms in the legal framework for Non-Governmental Organizations in a way of encouraging civic society development and extending NGO partnerships. ■





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## CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

NÚRIA SUERO COMELLAS  
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Barcelona, Spain)

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### ***1-O Catalan referendum turns into a struggle for democracy***

1 October referendum in Catalonia became a massive protest as the Spanish government outlawed the vote. Citizens mobilized to defend the right to vote bringing democracy at the centre of the struggle. The paper addresses the questions: how the Catalan secessionist movement turns into a movement for democracy? Which are the forms that citizen participation takes? And how do they promote democracy? The paper claims that citizen participation made the celebration of the referendum possible in a massive protest of non-violent civil resistance. In a context of crisis of the nation-state system and severe critiques of representative

democracy both at national and European levels the Catalan referendum becomes a relevant example of ways through which civil society actors engage in promoting democracy. The paper is based in participant observation of four electoral colleges in two different municipalities during 1-O referendum. The observation reveals an important organization of citizens mainly through the Committees in Defence of the Referendum. These forms of participation evolve into Committees in Defence of the Republic after 1-O becoming sites of engagement in democratic promotion. ■



**MATHIAS DE ROECK**  
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***The influence of international  
relations on democratization.  
1972-2005***

World polity scholars argue international relations expose countries to a Western cultural field and foster the diffusion of democracy. These scholars, however, face limits when it comes to explaining the worldwide stagnation of democracy from the mid-nineties on or during the increasingly global era. This article explains this trend by introducing a structural model of democracy diffusion. The model argues that countries are embedded in a stratified system of dependency relations and that the structure as well as the content of these dependency relations determines chances for democracy.

During the Cold War, the international system was marked by rigidity. Countries either belonged to the Soviet or Western bloc and democracy was conditional upon East-West orientation. After the Cold War, however, the structure of the international system changed profoundly. A short period of Western hegemony made demands for democracy intense. Yet, this pressure was quickly overcome by globalization, which not only created new opportunities for developing states by facilitating access to (alternative) material resources, but also by challenging the supremacy of the democratic script. We test the applicability of the structural model by making use of a global and multidimensional dataset of dependency relations among countries for the 1972-2005 period and an alternative conceptualization and measurement of democracy. The article finds that embeddedness in democratic dependency networks enables while embeddedness in authoritarian dependency networks undermines democratization. Yet, the article also finds that the positive effect of democratic dependency networks on democratization declines or disappears after the Cold War, and that this is related to the rapid rise of authoritarian states, and the People's Republic of China in particular, in international trade. The article taps into current debates on the link between international relations and democracy and offers new insights on the diffusion of democracy during and after the Cold War. ■





## CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

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(Tohoku University, Japan)  
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***The transformation of civil society in post-socialist democratization: Theoretical and practical implications from Mongolia's experience***

Civil society has been widely conceptualized and promoted as inherently holistic, 'good' and democratic, especially in new democracies and post-socialist transitional countries, humanistic and normative approaches to research on civil society have been prevalent. However, "qualitative erosion" of democracy in many countries during the past two decades poses questions about challenges for the formation and consolidation of civil society envisaged by scholars and practitioners. Based on Mongolia's experience, this paper argues that civil society is, as Michael Burawoy points out, "a divided entity" and suggests

an analytical framework for understanding the key factors shaping the dynamics within civil society and its role in democracy in post-socialist countries.

This paper applies the social movement approach to explain the transformation of civil society, focusing on three broad sets of explanatory variables for explaining the dynamics of social movements: political opportunities, mobilizing structures and collective action frames. The paper examines the transformation of civil society in Mongolia since 1990, and it is based on author's regular research fieldwork in Mongolia conducted in 2008-2016, international cross-national surveys, newspaper-based protest event data collected by the author, and several case studies including on women's rights NGO network, environmental and anti-mining organizations.

The paper argues that the dynamics within the Mongolian political system, specifically, the evolution of opposition parties in the political environment in which the former Communist party, the MPRP, dominated most of the time, had a crucial influence on civil society transformation. Based on Mongolia's experience, the paper will critically discuss the mainstream theories of civil society and highlight implications for understanding dynamics of civil society in the 21st century. ■





BANASMITA BORA  
(University of Delhi, India)  
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***Insurgency-its genesis in the failure of democratic governance: A Study of individual motivation to join armed groups in Northeast India***

The paper is an attempt towards an exacting search for the multitude of reasons that directs an individuals' decision of choice to be an underground rebel, often an armed rebel. The diagnosis brings to sight a critical reflection on the role of the democratic governance (or non-governance) and social-structural factors that stimulate the emergence of insurgent movements in Northeastern part of India. The focus of the paper is primarily on the conduct of the social world as well as the working or non-working of a democratic polity and its engagement with the existing socio political complexities that plays a crucial role in the making of this decision.

This paper attempts to document from the testimonial details those triggering events in one's life that inspires or attracts or simply makes a person choose to join an armed group.

The very logic behind the principal research query of this paper is that the insurgents do not evolve from any alien land; they are born, socialized and politicized in this very society and polity. The focus of this paper is on the examination of this proposed hypothesis: In situations where people lose its confidence in the democratic process and Institutions of the State for the safeguard of their insecurities and wellbeing, convincing rebel groups has an easy mass appeal.

The State, as is understood in various popular connotations as the 'Sarkar' the Government both the Central and the State, the administrative officials, the police and the Army, appears to have played a direct or indirect role to some extent, for triggering frustration and anger among many and their eventual association with the underground groups.

Key Words: Insurgency, Northeast India, Democratic governance, Motivation, Insecurity, Institutions, Violence ■





## CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

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### ***Civilization, Citizenship and Democracy: The Challenge of Military Coups-The Case of Egypt***

This paper addresses the civil-military relations literature in its totality and argues that it is historically anachronistic, sociologically obsolete, and politically opaque. At the 2005 World Summit, all the world's governments reaffirmed "that democracy is a universal value, based on freely expressed will of people to determine their own political, economic, social and cultural systems and their participation in all aspects of their lives". Yet in the last seventy years, numerous coups were staged in the developing countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America by the very states that declare democracy a universal value. How can this be explained? The Swiss historian

Jacob Burckhardt feared that the spiritual and aesthetic human values were doomed to submersion by the rise of industrial democracy.

Noble as he might seem, Burckhardt fell prey to Euro-centrism. Today we are witnessing the industrial democracy tarnishing the democratic pursuits of the "other" non-Western.

Spengler is always mistaken as a total pessimist, yet his concern about democracy in the Western Civilization begs to differ. At the end Spengler held hope that the inevitable decline can somehow be postponed and the Faustian soul can be tamed. He was especially concerned with the crisis of democracy in the West and he referred to two issues: money and the press. Toynbee on the other hand argued that promoting democracy is a positive result the modern Western civilization has achieved, however he held that worship of the nation state and militarism are negative aspects of it. For Toynbee, the price a society pays for being modern is as he calls it: "increasing regimentation", which is more than he defined it as "encroaches on personal freedom". However, modern disciplinary power does not only limit personal freedom, it changes not only the society, but also the self, the political, the relations between civilizations, and the very nature of power. In these lines, The paper employs the 2013 military coup in Egypt as the focal point of the study within the broader context of the Egypt's "modern" history. Through employing Egypt as an empirical case study, this paper seeks answers to the question: what can/should the vanquished developing countries do to become really democratic, really free? At the end of the day democracy is about change, and transformation not only transition. ■







## Session 2 Urban-Rural Cleavages and Democracy

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### *Democracy development in Mongolia: Challenges and Opportunities*

The modern democracy in Mongolia has changed from the ideology and desires into the daily actions and real-life needs of achievement of the people. Hereof, a few of challenges, one-sided approaches and polarization have occurrence in the consolidation process of democracy as followed an inverse and failures. The prominent researchers such as Francis Fukuyama were noted that democracy is a natural phenomenon. The democracy understanding has yet become orderly among to Mongolians. In accordance with general trends, the people mean that's building and making the realities of national democracy such plants in our own land as followed to imitating that external approaches from the outside of Mongolia and other nationals. Regarding

to a key significance of democracy expressed by mediating values of human rights, freedom, equality which prevails as excessively general and declarative pretend perception within the people such renowned scholars.

Since its democratic transition in 1990, researchers who considered as underlying factors and state of affairs of democracy in Mongolia that represented a country for "fourth wave in the democracy" and Central Asian region since 1990, Mongolia that emphasized as the "first example of the extraordinarily unusual" in the democratic process as considered by internationally. The essence of "Extraordinarily unusual" emphasizes were not being as "prerequisite" of the traditional democracy same with western countries, in regards that quite a few of democratic cultural features were important as unique or classical transfer to liberal form of democracy. Mongolia situated between two substantial neighbors such implements a different way of democracy in the world, that relates to the unique of "extraordinarily unusual" tells a number of factors and circumstances that we have concerning that facial appearance, aspects in the democracy studies. It involves a primary key argument in this research paper. ■





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### *Democratic Education: Challenges and practices in rural and urban schools of Kazakhstan Abstract*

The practices and challenges of democratic education in rural and urban Kazakhstan schools are examined in the article. The author argues that every school is the unique place and has its own traditions, experience, and conditions for democratic education, thus it is difficult to generalize situation in rural and urban schools. However, it is possible to identify such common factors as an updated education program, school ecology, mass media and social networks which have the impact on improvement democratic education at schools. Analyzing national and regional newspapers

and using different stories as examples, the author highlighted that rural and urban students in Kazakhstan have almost the same conditions for practicing democratic education in schools.

It was suggested that differences in democratic education in rural and urban schools can be traced during analysis of school ecology. It has been identified as a field that in addition to teachers, students, and administration include family practices, public institutions and public initiatives which contribute to forming students' understanding of citizenship and democracy. The author examined school ecology by focusing on a range of public institutions involved youth media, children organizations, museums, art galleries, non-government organizations and teacher colleges and institutes. It has been stated that students' practices within this diverse field can create opportunities for development democratic education among students in Kazakhstan. Urban students have more opportunities for participating in art exhibitions, programs of youth organizations and so on, while rural students have examples from the local community and public enthusiasm which effect on the understanding of democracy.

Key words: democracy, school ecology, citizenship, rights, social networks, mass media, Kazakhstan.

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***Poverty reduction and  
democratization-new cross country  
evidence***

The recent rapid decrease in extreme poverty rates across developing regions has received much public attention. However, there have been few systematic attempts to analyze the consequences of these developments for democracy.

This paper builds on the improved availability of household income data from developing countries to document a small but statistically significant positive impact of lagged poverty reduction on a range of democracy indicators. The results hold up across a battery of sensitivity and robustness tests. I also show that the effects of poverty reduction on democracy are much stronger and more robust than the effects of alternative measures of distributional change that are more widely used in the democratic regime transition and consolidation literature, such as relative inequality (the Gini index) or the share of income held by middle income deciles.





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### *Community-based groups and agency of men and women in the public sphere in rural Bangladesh*

Using nationally representative survey data from rural Bangladesh, I examine whether participation in community-based groups affects several dimensions of agency (defined broadly as the capability to exercise voice as citizens) of men and women in the public sphere. For all individuals, I examine whether participating in groups affects their ability to exercise voice as citizens by i) protesting corruption by public officials, ii) demanding implementation of public works programs, iii) participating in decision-making regarding public infrastructure and iv) voting in local elections. For women, I additionally examine whether agency in the private sphere (proxied by their experience of domestic violence) and ii) participation in economic decision making influences agency in the public sphere.

My findings suggest that community-based group members are more likely to have agency in the public sphere. However, female group members are not significantly likely to feel comfortable in demanding public infrastructure, in contrast to men, which highlights different preferences men and women may have regarding public goods and services. The results for voting are insignificant for both men and women. All of these results are driven by participation in micro-credit groups, for women, and religious groups, for men. Further research is needed to shed light and provide a more nuanced understanding of the mechanisms through which different groups affect political engagement. My finding that women's agency in the private sphere matters for their agency in the public sphere provides empirical support to the rich literature on intra household relations, and points to the need to understand intra household power dynamics when implementing policies and programs that attempt to bring women into the public sphere as political actors. ■



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### ***Electoral gifting in rural Mongolia***

In the run-up to parliamentary elections in Mongolia, it is not uncommon for aspiring political candidates to distribute things like noodles, calendars, and cash to citizens. Although the practice is prohibited, it continues to thrive under different guises. This article examines electoral gifting in Uvs, Mongolia before the 2016 parliamentary election.

Drawing on ethnography, it suggests that gifts provide citizens a tool to evaluate candidates while also affording candidates the opportunity to make themselves known publicly, often through the giving of branded items that reinforce their economic acumen and business successes. It reveals entanglements between politics and the economy, whereby the electioneering landscape is skewed in favour of individuals who can demonstrate that they are either a ‘big person’ who embodies access to wealth, or someone who has the ability to ‘do things’ to generate wealth. Finally, the article argues against seeing gifting through the prism of democratic ideals, and shows how it operates within culturally specific responsibilities and obligations. ■





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***Everyday democracy in Mongolia:  
An anthropological approach  
to democracy as lived in the ger  
districts of Ulaanbaatar***

Life in Mongolia has changed rapidly over the last two and half decades. One of the key changes has been the movement of people into the capital city, Ulaanbaatar, particularly to the areas known as ‘ger districts’ that encircle the built-up city centre. Within the broader aim of presenting a novel perspective on the ger districts, namely an anthropological one that prioritizes the voices and lived experiences of ger district residents in the ‘age of the market’, this paper will deal with three issues of contemporary Mongolian democracy.

The first issue covered is the health of democratic processes in the ger district. Describing attempts by political parties to buy votes, the paper covers how such activities are taking place and the responses of ger district residents. Moving to the medium scale, it then traces the connection between democracy and social cohesion (or lack thereof) in the ger districts. Finally, the paper addresses the large-scale issue of how ger district residents’ understand their own place as citizens of a democratic Mongolia. This paper makes the case for a new understanding of ger districts and their residents as neither simply victims, nor unfortunate villains. It argues instead that much can be learned from actually listening to ger district residents and paying attention to the everyday ways in which they negotiate the challenges Mongolia faces. If one such challenge is a growing rural urban socio-economic cleavage, then this paper argues that ger district residents are uniquely positioned to shed light on what forms this cleavage is taking and why. ■



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***Chronicling Mongolia's experience  
in transition***

In the nearly three decades since its peaceful revolution, Mongolia has achieved significant progress in building democratic institutions and reaffirming the universal appeal to core values of democracy. In this relatively brief period, Mongolia's democratic experiment has managed to sustain essential features of democracy such as competitive elections, peaceful handovers of government, a comparatively free press and vibrant civil society.

In recent years, Mongolia has even spearheaded programs to promote itself as a positive model of peaceful democratic transition to other opening countries in the region, most notably with the creation of the International Cooperation Fund, which IRI supports through the NED-funded Chronicling Mongolia's Experience in Transition (COMET) program. However, despite these earlier successes with laying out the basic infrastructure of democracy and publicizing those democratic accomplishments, Mongolia today faces the daunting, yet equally important task of fortifying democratic gains, preventing internal backsliding, and ensuring that democracy delivers for all Mongolian citizens. Drawing upon IRI's 27 years of programming in Mongolia, Craig Castagna will present on the key developments of Mongolia's democracy since the 1990 revolution, and will outline the challenges facing the integrity and future of Mongolian democracy today. ■





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### *Social media rendezvous for egalitarian academic discourse in a monarchial democracy: An ethnomethodological study*

In the Sultanate of Oman, a monarchial society, the use of social media is weaved into the fabrics of the society in many respects, including higher education. My research highlights how democracy may be situated in social media rendezvous. It explored the meanings which were in the practices of multi-cultural academics in social media rendezvous, a metaphor I am introducing which was muted in the review of literature. The research addressed the following pivotal research questions:

(1) When do academics engage in egalitarian academic discourse?; (2) Why do academics engage in social media rendezvous?; and, (3) How does social media rendezvous promote democracy?

The participants were 24 multi-cultural academics teaching in the Department of Business Administration in a government higher education institution based in Rustaq, Sultanate of Oman. Thirteen of them were locals (i.e., Omanis) while the rest were expatriate staff from South Asia (India and Pakistan) and Southeast Asia (Malaysia and Philippines). Data were collected from the existing social media group (using Whats App, in particular) as a platform for online interaction among the academics.

Three overarching themes emerged from the social media rendezvous of the participants, namely: (a) Disseminating Work Information, (b) Deliberating External Issues Online, and (c) Diffusing Content for Entertainment. The findings echoed that democracy can be nurtured in an academic environment that upholds openness of opinions, respects freedom of self-expression, and supports diverse themes of discourse. Social media rendezvous, when situated in an egalitarian academic discourse, would be a rich platform and mechanism to engage classless confabulations and dialectical discourse in a democratic ambiance, positioned in the monarchial environment in the Sultanate of Oman.





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*Spatial-econometric relationship  
between urbanization and  
economic development in  
Mongolia*

The transition from a peripheral Soviet satellite state to a democratic nation brought more than just free elections, it initiated a grand change in Mongolian social, cultural, and economic spheres. Accordingly, this transformation created novel issues for Mongolia's nascent democracy. During this period, international forces, pressured Mongolia to introduce radical economic reforms. These reforms were intended to transform the Soviet-style command economy into a Western-style free market economy. A new privatization program was put in place; state property was privatized, barriers to trade and foreign investment were removed, and tariffs were eliminated. However, the "shock therapy" eliminated extensive socialist patterns of support and failed to replace or rebuild the previous rural market infrastructure.

Additionally, the difficulties have been accompanied by a dramatic increase in income inequality and poverty. Soon afterwards, the discovery and increased excavation of minerals such as gold, copper, and coal delivered results that attracted global attention. China's increasing demand for energy, and its political influence, affects Mongolia's economy and society. As a result of this pressure for increased resource extraction, Mongolia's GDP grew by an unprecedented 17.3% in 2011, and was proclaimed as the world's fastest growing economy (New Internationalist). As Munkh-Erdene states, "Mongolia, in effect, has replaced one form of dependency—Communist—with another—Capitalist" (Knauft, 2012). This dramatic transformation to a neoliberal economy exemplifies a transition from a "traditional" to a "modern" society. Given this background, the importance of this exploratory analysis has much to do with not only Mongolia's unique economic situation in the past 25 years, but also the nation's rather unpredictable future.

Through a combination of regression and spatial analysis at the provincial-scale from 2000 to 2017, the research will investigate the impact of urbanization, mining, and industrialization on the nation's economic development. Primary data from the Mongolian Statistics Yearbook will be fused with STATA, a statistical software package, and GeoDa, a geostatistics software package. By evaluating the relationship between urban-rural cleavages and development indicators through space and time, the concluding statistical and visual results could serve as an inference for Mongolia's near future and ultimately, what it means for the nation's democratic foundation. ■





## CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

### Session 3 Extractive economics, resource-rich countries and Democracy

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#### ***Reversal of the curse? Negative revenue shocks and political regimes around the world***

Although political science and economics literatures have extensively explored the relationship between natural resource dependence and political regimes, the literatures focus primarily on one aspect of resource dependence-what happens when countries get a positive revenue shock in form of natural resource windfall income.

By comparison, we know little about how political and economic actors deal with negative revenue shocks, which are an integral part of resource dependence given the volatile nature of commodity prices. On the one hand, we may expect a reversal of the resource curse-when the level of resource revenues decrease, it may open opportunities for democratization or destabilization of authoritarian regimes. On the other hand, political and economic actors may sink deeper into the curse by trying to substitute the resource revenues with increasing their income from unlawful means, such as corruption, which in turn could entrench authoritarian tendencies and undermine democracies. This paper sheds light on these questions by econometrically examining the effects of negative revenue shocks on regime types of all countries between 1970-2015. Data is taken from the World Bank and International Center for Tax and Development and Polity IV and V-Dem projects. The findings of this paper will have implications for national and international policies for dealing with the aftermath of the resource curse. ■





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***The curse of foreign investment:  
Untangling Mongolia's post-  
communist transition from its  
extractive dependence***

A peaceful democratic transition and the absence of Russian interest in Mongolia throughout the 1990s made for a key difference in the way Western leverage influenced Mongolia as compared to other post-Soviet states. A leverage vacuum left by the withdrawal of the Soviet Union created an opening for Western financial institutions and democracy-promoting organizations to have a profound impact on the country's political and economic development and therefore its regime trajectory. In pursuing a 'Third Neighbor Policy' which builds relationships with foreign countries beyond bordering Russia and China, Mongolia has invited Western influence on their political development.

Mongolia's transition, while economically difficult, was comparatively much more peaceful and straightforward than many others. Like other Soviet republics, Mongolia too sought external validation and support, but because of its inclination towards democracy and the comparative weakness of its regime, Western leverage had a broader effect on overall governance beyond the extractive industry, helping to fully democratize the country and shift it to a market economy. Despite this, extractive sector transparency and regulation in Mongolia have remained weak for three reasons: firstly, because of multitudinous extraction partners; secondly, because of a government left weak by aggressive capitalist reforms; and thirdly and relatedly, because of delay in the development of the extractive industry itself due to the volatility of a democratic government and its oftentimes-populist policies. While a delay in the development of its extractive industry has consequently slowed the construction and enforcement of strong transparency and accountability measures, it has allowed democracy time to consolidate in Mongolia, which may make it less susceptible to the resource curse in the future or alternatively, because of government weakness which leads to corruption, lead to resource curse effects. ■





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***What keeps economic growth  
unsustainability in Mongolia?  
Plan-irrational state and  
extractive economic institutions***

This study aimed to explore what keeps the economic growth unsustainability and unconsolidated democracy in Mongolia. I applied a qualitative inductive reasoning to answer to my research questions. While I was analyzing and interpreting my data, I found that there are six patterns that emerge from the existing problems in Mongolia.

Then, I discovered two accepted hypotheses that relate to the six patterns. However, this finding raised two emergent questions presenting that the two hypotheses need updates and each other's knowledge for providing a complete picture on Mongolian problems. The theoretical implications of this study suggest that the "plan-irrational state" with three aspects such as "clientelism", "appointive bureaucracy", and "weakly insulated political parties" enables both unsustainability of economic growth and unconsolidated democracy.

Keywords: clientelism, plan-irrational state, appointive democracy, ignorance hypothesis, extractive economic institution, inclusive economic institution. ■





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***Democratization and judicial  
independence: A case study of  
Mongolia***

In 2011, the President initiated a package of laws regarding the judicial system of Mongolia, and the Parliament approved it in 2012. After that approval, there is a dispute emerged between scholars over the President's constitutional 'excessive' rights and his negative relationship with the judiciary system of Mongolia. According to the President, nowadays Mongolian financial negative circumstances, an increasing nature of corruption incidents and the Mongolian government's negative governance crisis can be fixed by the independent, impartial judiciary system of Mongolia, and he claimed that the package of laws can the judiciary system more independent.

The questions arise from here are: is the judiciary system independent now? Can the judiciary system of Mongolia fixes all these problems alone? If an independent judiciary system is the main spirit of the liberal democracy which is the main political ideology of the Mongolian democracy, then what is wrong with the Mongolian democracy in its nature?

In order to answer these questions, this research first will study the notion of liberal democracy in Mongolia. The Federal Republic of Germany's system will be compared with Mongolian system as benchmarking, because, Mongolian political and legal system is initially derived from Germany's example. While explaining the Mongolian legal and political system, the Mongolian President's status will be discussed simultaneously. Next, under the notion of judicial accountability and the notion of judicial independence, due to clarify the President's unduly influence over the judiciary system, an appointment system of other law enforcement agencies, who can participate in the trial, will be also discussed.

This study found that, formally, Mongolia has liberal democratic system. However, due to a 'design defect' in the judiciary system of Mongolia, contextually, there is no liberal democratic system in Mongolia. Therefore, there is no organization that can protect human rights and liberty and can keep a balance between branches. In order to fix this problem, we need establish the Constitutional Court. ■





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***Natural resource abundance,  
democracy and economic growth  
in transition economies***

We estimate standard cross-country OLS growth regressions of the type used in the resource curse literature. We concentrate on the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), some countries of the Soviet Union (FSU) and Mongolia. All these countries had a common experience of socialist rule over several decades, and faced similar challenges at the start of their transition, including the task of transforming their economies from planned into market-based systems.

We have found strong evidence of natural resource curse is outside of transition countries and absolute convergence applies for these transition countries. This paper examines two main aspects of the resource curse, and the limited attention paid to institutional quality in growth with natural resources. We use two measures of resource abundance (fuel and mineral exports), as well as three indicators of institutional quality (polity2, control of corruption and government effectiveness). Natural resource abundance does hinder economic growth in countries with grabber friendly institutions but does not in countries with producer friendly institutions (Mehlum, 2006). The essence of the argument is that heavy dependence on natural resources in transition countries may result in corruption.

On average, a one-percent increase in mineral exports in total merchandise exports would have meant up to 0.30 percent more income growth over the period. The highly significant negative coefficients for initial income throughout the growth estimations are in accordance with the convergence literature. Results from both OLS and 2SLS estimations show that natural resources have a positive association with GDP per capita growth between 1996 to 2016 and institutional quality. ■

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***Development of Tripartite  
cooperation in the Kyrgyz Mining  
Sector. The case of Talas***

This research studies implementation and development of tripartite cooperation between government, mining companies, and local communities in the Kyrgyz mining sector from its launch after getting independence in 1991 through its peak in 2011-2015. By examining the interests, authorities, and predicaments of each stakeholder, I clarify the opportunities to balance competing demands.

I particularly look into the case of Talas where three out of eight strategically essential mines are located and where I have worked as a head of Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI) public reception. In my research, I used literature review, the micro data I have collected during my work, and surveys' results. The main goal of my paper was to analyze the narration of relationship/cooperation between interested stakeholders, identify main obstacles, undertakings, and attainments. For that, I also considered frequent conflicts that have mining industry been facing for the last 10 years. The implications of these results were the base for my recommendations for each stakeholder to take into consideration. ■





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### ***Democratization and the political economy of diamond sector policy in Southern Africa***

This research seeks to answer the question of how has increased democratization influenced diamond sector policy in Southern Africa? Based on extensive interviews and document analysis, case studies of Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe show an interesting level of variation in how changes in the political climate have influenced the diamond sector. These cases are chosen because they have many similarities in that they are all have had a high level of diamond production, a comparable level of development and a one party dominant system. However, all of these states differ in both strategy and outcomes in the diamond sector. It is the goal of this research to build a theoretical basis for why this is the case by examining the political economy of transitions to multi-party democracy and how this influences the diamond sector.

In my research I find that variation in each of these cases is due to three interrelated dynamics. First, while party competition is increasing in all of these states this is taking place at a different pace as the ruling party's dominance is more entrenched in some cases than others.

Second, bargaining between private actors and the state varies; in some cases private actors have more ability to get their preferences reflected in policy than state actors do leading to different outcomes and variation in how much government preferences matter overall. Finally, the competition for market share between private firms leads to political competition as these entities try and get their preferences reflected in public policy.

This research is important for building a theory of how the transition from a one party dominant state to a multi-party system influences the domestic political economy of states. Does a more competitive party system lead to a better bargaining position for governments in the resource sector or do past modes of exchange often persist despite political changes? As states in Southern Africa develop their young "democracies" it is of utmost importance to examine how this influences economic development. A better understanding of the political economy of the resource wealthy states in Southern Africa can lead to a better understanding of the vast variation of outcomes in resource wealthy states more broadly. ■





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***Buying votes with rents: The politics of economic populism and clientelism in natural resource dependent democracies***

Why do some countries misuse their natural resource wealth while others manage theirs successfully? What role does electoral competition play in either ameliorating or exacerbating the natural resource curse? This paper explores how political parties in natural resource dependent democracies strategically use resource wealth to gain electoral advantage.

Informed by qualitative cases of resource dependent democracies, including Mongolia, Ghana, and Botswana, it posits that parties are more likely to buy votes with resource rents via economic populism and clientelism when they face strong electoral competition and where voters are largely impoverished. Empirically, the paper uses expert-survey data from V-Dem project to test its key theoretical propositions. It finds that resource wealth is not necessarily a curse, but a double-edged sword. While resource dependence is positively associated with programmatic party-voter linkages when electoral competition is minimal, it makes parties more clientelistic when strong competition interacts with pervasive poverty. By examining how resource wealth affects the quality of a key democratic institution, i.e. political parties, the paper attempts to broaden the existing body of knowledge on the natural resource curse. In so doing, it connects two large, active, yet so far disconnected literatures: one that accounts for the natural resource curse and the other for party-voter linkages of accountability. ■





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## CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

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***Foreign aid, the mining sector and democratic governance: The case of Canadian assistance to Peru***

This paper asks two questions: What is the relationship between foreign aid and mining? And what are the implications for democratic governance? To answer, I focus on a foreign aid recipient country for whom extractive activities form an important economic sector, namely Peru, and the donor country that hosts some 75% of the world's mining companies, Canada. I argue that aid and mining have developed a mutually reinforcing relationship.

Whereas in the past, development assistance often supported grassroots, community and other non-governmental organizations that resisted the encroachment of mining companies onto their territories, aid in this sector now almost exclusively supports: a) strengthening the central government's role in promoting mining, b) encouraging municipalities to negotiate mutually beneficial relations with mining companies, and c) subsidizing foreign companies' efforts to use corporate social responsibility to obtain a "social license to operate".

The Peruvian government's request for Canadian assistance to the mining sector can superficially be justified by the concept of national "ownership", the cornerstone of the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and a fundamental principle of aid effectiveness. However, the legitimacy of aid to the extractive sector rests on a limited vision of ownership, which donors such as Canada are too quick to accept, based on what governments, who claim to speak on behalf of citizens, prioritize, rather than a more democratic conception of governance that takes into account on what poor people actually want. The emphasis on extractive economic models, the weakening of environmental regulations, and the failure to conduct meaningful consultations and obtain free, prior and informed consent combine to strengthen the symbiosis between the state and the private sector, at the expense of democratic participation and the rights of citizens in geographically, socially and ethnically marginalized communities. ■



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***Regional Integration in Asia:  
FTA initiatives driven regional  
leadership***

Since the wake of Asian financial crisis of 1997, the regional economic integration in Asia has changed the landscape dimension to top-down and state-led regional projects and initiatives. The various efforts to facilitate the economic integration and cooperation are gathering momentum through proliferating free trade agreements (FTAs) bilaterally and plurilaterally. The ASEAN countries have long involved in a crusade for regional integration attempts from ASEAN to ASEAN+6 (RCEP) including plus six countries; China, Korea, Japan, India, Australia, and New Zealand. In parallel, the other various moves toward creating regional economic blocs such as Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), and ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) are the big venues for creating large economic areas, and competing for regional leaderships.

The objective of this research is to examine the nature of regional economic integration and the pre-condition of new regionalism in Asia. The two key considerations will be argued that the role of ASEAN only genuine economic organization, and the policy responses to the Asian and Global financial crisis at the regional level. Based on deductive approach the research then argues the current new regionalism in terms of FTA driven regional economic integration and evolving architecture of regional organizations. The paper also suggests that the region is realizing the projects as choosing top-down and government-led cooperation are, however, paying attention to the broader scope of negotiations such as RCEP and TPP. These parallel negotiations manifest the arguable sign for competition for regional leadership. Nevertheless, the research findings reveal that the Asia is a latecomer to the regional integration only in comparison to EU and NAFTA, however the Asian regionalism is truly catching up with partly achievements of ASEAN+3 and AEC as well as broader and ambitious negotiations like RCEP and TPP due to global trends. ■





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## CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

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***Natural resources management in Southeast Asia: Challenges of corruption, compliance and effectiveness***

Environmental issues that begin as matters of national concern ever more frequently become transboundary in scope. For instance, the current surge for large hydropower development projects on the Mekong River impact on water and food security across national boundaries. Similarly, transboundary haze pollution is an almost annual occurrence in Southeast Asia; haze originates from peat and forest fires mostly in Indonesia, with Malaysia and Singapore suffering the worst of its effects.

Using a political science lens, this article draws on original research in the Mekong region and Southeast Asia with a special focus on regional environmental governance and the role of ASEAN in dealing with transboundary challenges focusing on haze pollution and water management.

Using Laos and Indonesia as case studies, key findings include that economic interests dominate among the riparian states in the Lower Mekong, and that Laos and other countries tend to confine their cooperation to infrastructural development rather to consultation or management of potential adverse transboundary. Likewise, the regional nature of the haze has resulted in a concentration of haze mitigation activities at the ASEAN level; however, these initiatives continually fail to effectively mitigate haze. Overall the article argues that key challenges include the general lack of concrete instruments that are able to translate the regional commitments on an ASEAN level into national policy and its implementation, which is often hindered by patron-client relationships, imbalance within the government agencies and a lack of considering the cost of a healthy environment. Environmental goals and the sustainable management of natural resources will only be realized if an assertive action will be taken to address the institutional and political problems of the countries. Unless effective measures are taken to address these concerns, preventing future resource depletion and environmental degradation seem unlikely, further encouraging corruption and patron-client relationships.

Keywords: Governance, natural resources, corruption, Southeast Asia ■



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***The empirical analysis of political stability and inflow foreign direct investment: Case of Mongolia***

According to economists and researchers, political instability is harmful for economic development of any country. Mongolia is also facing the problem of political instability, since political instability causes a decrease in investment and rapidly of economic development process. The paper investigates the relationship between the foreign direct investment and political stability by investigating the political stability measures of social survey. This paper also finds that FDI inflow positive relationship with political stability, while negative relationship with political instability and its political effects.

I made this research work for the purpose to express influences of political factors on foreign investment to Mongolia. In the framework of this research, I had a purpose to determine the political reason to decrease foreign investment since 2012. The reason for the decline in foreign investment is the fact that 55.2% of political factors, including the government's instability, indicate that what political factors are important to them, 74.1% of the government's sustainability is seen as a result of foreign investment the environment and the policy of attracting it is a political factor that is the most important influence on government activity and its sustainability. The answer to the interests of the political party fractions was 53.4%, indicating the position of the fractional and fractional position within the political party and their interests and interests. 51.7% of respondents answered the next policy link of succession. After that, corruption was 43.1% and politicians' interests were 37.9%. Research shows that to be sustainable or unsustainable government activity mostly depends on interest of political party fractions. ■



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