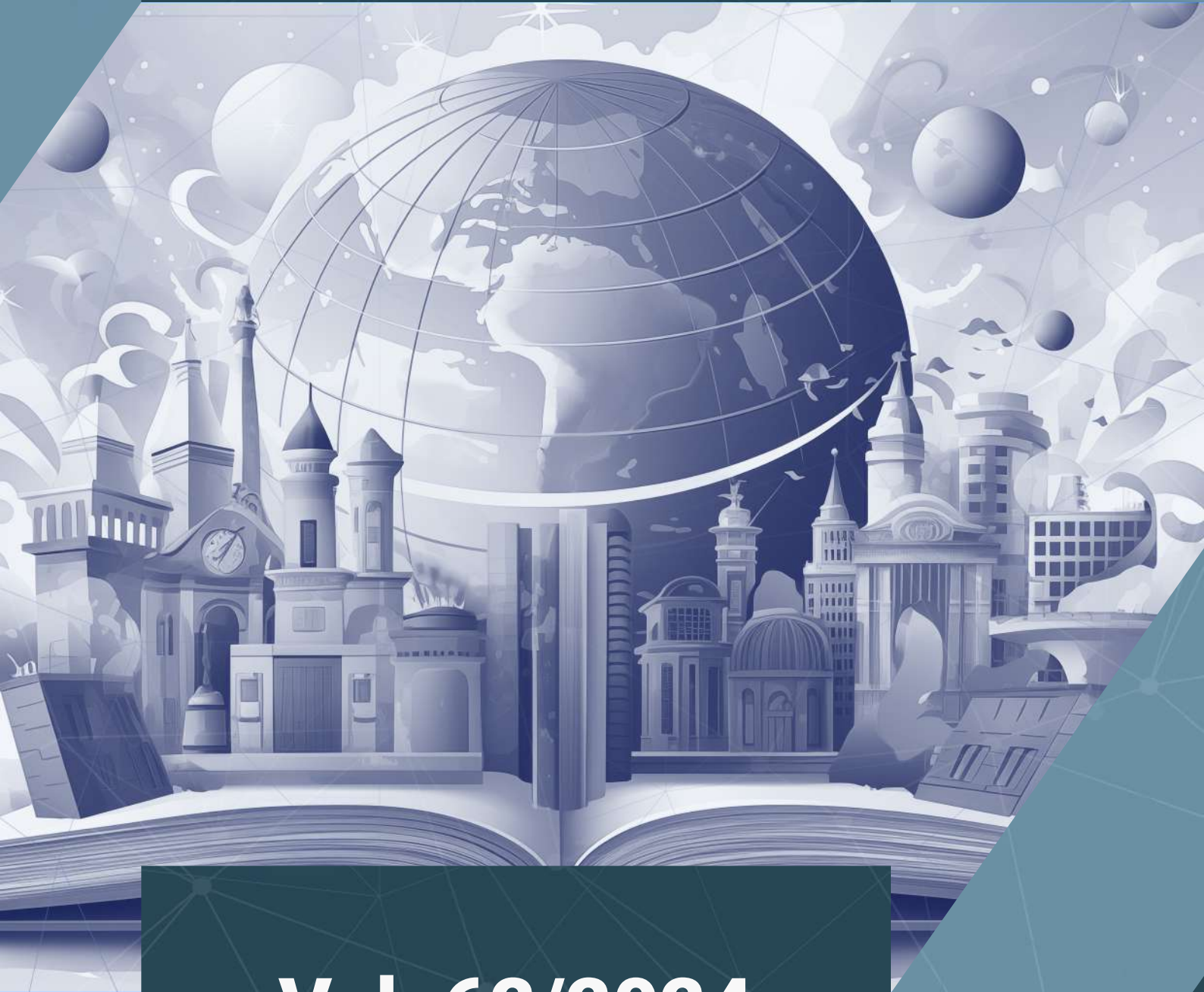




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## Reasons for Increasing the Number of Members of the Great Khural of Mongolia and Its Impact Over the Next 10 Years

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**Abstract.** During their term of office, members of parliament are responsible for passing laws, monitoring government activities, and approving the budget to ensure the legitimacy of parliament while representing the interests of citizens. However, in recent years, the ability of parliamentarians to effectively represent citizens has weakened, with growing concerns about their accountability and ethics. This highlights the need for a study on the negative impacts of these issues. The concept of the "optimal size of parliaments" explores the capacity of parliaments to fully perform their duties. The aim of this research is to determine the appropriate number of members for the Mongolian parliament, ensuring it remains at an optimal size. Specifically, the effectiveness of the parliament is linked to its size, as the ability to maintain ethical standards and properly implement laws that benefit society is connected to the number of representatives. The size of parliament affects its capacity to represent citizens, the workload it can manage, and its overall efficiency during the term of elected members. The research results suggest that the optimal number of members in the Mongolian parliament could range between 114, 151, and 155, considering factors such as traditions, geography, administrative divisions, and the electoral system. As a result of this study, the Constitution was amended in 2023 to increase the number of members to 126, which reflects the findings of this research.

**Keywords.** optimal size of parliaments, number of members of parliament, Mongolian democracy, Mongolia's political system

### A. Introduction

In our representative democracy, members of Parliament form the legislative body for a set period and have the authority to make decisions on behalf of citizens during their term of office. Specifically, during this time, a member of parliament carries out essential functions, such as passing laws, overseeing the government, and approving the budget, thereby ensuring the legitimacy of the parliament and representing the interests of the public. However, until 2023, the ability of parliamentarians to effectively represent citizens had weakened, with growing concerns regarding their accountability and ethical standards. This underscores the need to examine the problems that have negatively impacted the fulfillment of their duties.

For some researchers, there is a tendency to believe that the characteristic of representative democracy is a system in which a minority is elected to represent the entire people, and the elected minority in turn makes decisions on behalf of the majority. Therefore,

whether the majority can be fully represented is considered to be related to the representativeness of the minority. On the other hand, the essence of representative democracy is that the valid vote of each voter who casts his vote in the election must be expressed through his chosen representative in the legislature. Specifically, representative democracy is a system in which the minority is elected to represent the majority, and the minority must make decisions that satisfy the interests of the majority as much as possible. Therefore, countries have calculated the number of minorities that fully represent the majority, or the "representation ratio".

Federalist Papers No. 10 states<sup>1</sup>, "A republic, however small, must be careful to increase the number of representatives to a certain extent, to guard against the interests of a small group dominating politics. On the other hand, regardless of how large the number of representatives may grow, it must be limited to a certain extent to avoid undermining the will of the majority."<sup>2</sup> Specifically, it is necessary to find the most suitable number of members of parliament, a figure that should be based on careful calculations. Therefore, the number of members of parliament should not be determined randomly or without consideration.

It can be said that the capacity of parliament is directly related to the number of its members. If we assume that strengthening ethics in parliament and ensuring the effective implementation of approved laws benefit society, then it is essential to calculate the optimal size of parliament. The size of parliament can be understood concerning the number of members, their ability to represent citizens, and their capacity to handle the workload effectively during their term. In other words, the number of members is directly linked to how beneficial the approved laws are to society.

For instance, the research report "Human Rights Situation - Problems - Solutions"<sup>3</sup> revealed that 800 provisions across 318 laws commonly applied in Mongolia's social relations violate human rights. While the study provides an assessment of legislators' work and the parliament's performance, it may also indicate that participants in the law-making process are not fully capable of fulfilling their roles effectively.

According to the law that was in effect when our parliament had 76 members, a member of parliament could belong to up to three standing committees, with each standing committee consisting of 12 to 19 members. This arrangement is believed to increase the workload of individual members and reduce the time they spend on each draft law, thereby diminishing the time spent on studying, reading, and voting on the draft law. Consequently, this could lead to a decrease in the quality of the approved laws and their economic benefits. Due to the small number of members, there was a real risk that a bill could be approved with the support of just 6-9 members of a standing committee. Specifically, with 76 or fewer members in parliament, the likelihood of a group of individuals, united by personal interests, initiating and approving laws that violate citizens' rights and serve their own interests increases. Additionally, the fact that a member could be part of up to three standing committees raised concerns about whether they were well-versed in each field and specialized enough to address the issues effectively.

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<sup>1</sup> "Federalist Papers: №.10," *State Historical Society of IOWA*, accessed June 1, 2022, <https://iowaculture.gov/sites/default/files/history-education-pss-party-federalist-transcription.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> "Federalist Papers №.10: In the first place, it is to be remarked that, however small the republic may be, the representatives must be raised to a certain number, in order to guard against the cabals of a few; and that, however large it may be, they must be limited to a certain number, in order to guard against the confusion of a multitude.", accessed Oct 24, 2023, [https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th\\_century/fed10.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/fed10.asp)

<sup>3</sup> MPP, "Human Rights Situation-Problems-Solutions" Research Report, accessed June 1, 2022. <http://itoim.mn/article/exGyq/30702>

In addition to drafting laws, the standing committee in Parliament is also responsible for reviewing the implementation of approved laws. The results of the "Human Rights Situation: Problems and Solutions" study indicated that this function is not sufficiently implemented due to the small number of members. This has led to negative effects, such as weakening the parliament's capacity and shortening the effective lifespan of approved laws.

In addition to the reasons mentioned above for increasing the number of parliament members, we also considered the following legitimate factors. When the democratic Constitution of 1992 was adopted, Article 21.1 stated that "The National Assembly shall have one chamber and 76 members," based on the total population of Mongolia. However, over the 30 years from 1992 to 2023, Mongolia's population increased by 61%, from 2.1 million to 3.4 million. This population growth necessitates a recalculation of the percentage of citizens represented by each member of parliament. This is important because, in addition to their primary legislative duties, members also face a substantial workload related to daily communications, interactions with other organizations and members, and especially meetings with voters from their constituencies.

As a result, political science generally considers the ideal number of citizens represented by each member to be between 20,000 and 30,000. However, in Mongolia, each member of Parliament represents approximately 45,000 citizens, indicating an excessive burden. In countries with similar populations to Mongolia, each member of parliament typically represents about one percent of the total population. In contrast, in Mongolia, each member represents approximately 1.3 percent of the population, highlighting the need to increase the number of parliament members. It is believed that having an appropriate number of members will positively impact the development of the political system.

In a new democratic country like Mongolia, a small number of parliamentarians relative to the population can diminish the public image of elected politicians. Specifically, a large constituency size and the significant number of citizens represented can create an unofficial threshold that favors individuals with financial resources in entering politics. Consequently, having fewer members can increase the influence of individual members and create risks of "bargaining" for votes to pass laws that might not align with the public interest. Conversely, it also poses the risk of a small number of members conspiring to approve legislation that could affect national and public interests negatively. Therefore, it is crucial to scientifically determine the optimal number of parliament members to address these issues effectively.

## **B. Research methods**

The mandate allocation method is used to calculate the appropriate number of members of parliament in relation to the population.

Currently, only the following methods are proposed as alternatives. One well-known method is Cube's Law, discovered through statistical calculations by educational researcher James Parker Smith in 1910. Smith submitted his calculations based on Cube's Law to the Royal Electoral Commission of England as part of his oral evidence. Although his work was not included in the report, researcher David Butler rediscovered it 40 years later and brought it back into circulation. Cube's Law originally calculated the ratio of seats won by a political party relative to the number of votes it received, predicting that if the vote ratio between two parties was A:B, the seat ratio would be  $A^3:B^3$ . This calculation is accurate under a two-party system. It has been used in modeling and has served as the foundation for the development of certain

theories in political science.<sup>4</sup> Since the 1960s and 70s, this regularity has been developed into a methodology for determining the size of the parliament and the appropriate number of members to ensure effective functioning.

In modern times, the leading researcher on the study of parliamentary size based on Cube's Law is Rein Taagepera. His research focused on improving parliamentary efficiency. According to his findings, for Parliament to function efficiently, the time spent between voters and members should be balanced. Specifically, the core idea of this method is that reducing the number of ineffective interactions between individual members and other members will enhance the overall efficiency of Parliament.<sup>5</sup>

Researcher Taagepera calculated several factors to determine the optimal size of a legislature, including:

- Population
- Level of economic development
- Level of social transition
- Independence and sovereignty of the nation
- Election method: electoral system and appointment
- Competencies and functions of the Parliament: whether it makes decisions, consults, or merely votes
- Whether there is a style established by traditional state assemblies and councils
- Individual and national characteristics<sup>6</sup>

As a result of his calculations, Taagepera proposed an equation representing the optimal size of an assembly or parliament.

$$A = (2 LWP_0)^{1/3} N$$

Considering this equation,  $A=(2 \times 0.98 \times 0.6 \times 3,409,939)^{1/3} \approx 154.4$ , the optimal size of the parliament or the number of members should be approximately 154.4. However, the actual number of members was 76, which is about half of the optimal size, indicating that the appropriate size for the assembly has not been achieved.

Consequently, it has been demonstrated that population size is a significant factor influencing the size of the parliament. The size of the parliament shows a positive correlation with the population in all the countries studied. The equation used to calculate this is  $A=(P_0)^{1/3}$ . For our country, using the population value of 3,409,939, the calculation is  $A=(3,409,939)^{1/3} \approx 150.5$ , which suggests an optimal size of around 151 members.

Next, let's compare the size of the parliament in post-communist countries with populations similar to that of our country. As shown in Table 1, the number of citizens represented by one member ranges between 28,000 and 39,000. By taking the cube root of these values, you can estimate the approximate number of seats. This confirms the idea that Cube's Law reflects a universal power-law relationship, where the size of the parliament is proportional to the cube root of the population.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> "Cube Rule," *Nuffield College, University of Oxford*, accessed June 8, 2022, <https://www.nuffield.ox.ac.uk/people/sites/the-david-butler-archive/psephology/cube-rule/>

<sup>5</sup> Raphael Godefroy, Nicolas Klein, "Parliament Shapes and Sizes," *Economic Inquiry*, (2018):3, <https://raphael-godefroy.github.io/pdfs/parliaments.pdf>

<sup>6</sup> Raphael Godefroy, Nicolas Klein, "Parliament Shapes and Sizes," *Economic Inquiry*, (2018):3, <https://raphael-godefroy.github.io/pdfs/parliaments.pdf>

<sup>7</sup> Gamberi, L., Förster, Y. P., Tzanis, E., Annibale, A., & Vivo, P. (2021). Maximal modularity and the optimal size of parliaments. *Scientific reports*, 11(1), 14452. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-021-93639-1>

*Table 1. Size of parliaments in post-communist countries*

Country name	Population	Number of Members of Parliament	Cube's Law	Number of citizens represented by 1 member of parliament
Armenia	3,000,000	107	144	28,037.38
Moldova	4,000,000	101	158	39,603.96
Georgia	4,000,000	150	158	26,666.67
Norway	5,425,270	169	175	32,102.19
Slovakia	5,500,000	150	176	36,666.67
Finland	5,541,000	200	180	27,705.00
Denmark	5,792,000	179	179	32,357.54
Singapore	5,900,000	104	180	56,730.77
Hungary	9,600,000	119	212	80,672.27
Sweden	10,353,442	349	217	29,666.02
Czech Republic	10,700,000	200	220	53,500.00

Source : The researcher

In 150 countries with a unicameral parliament, the average size is 150 members. In countries with populations between 1 million and 10 million, the average size of the legislative body in democracies is 125 members.

### **C. Discussion**

Mongolia has adopted four constitutions since the first one was enacted in 1924. In this study, we aimed to outline how the number of members and the number of citizens represented by each seat have been defined in the country's constitutions, and what principles were followed.

#### **1924 Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic**

According to the law, the representative body of state power was called the State Assembly. Chapter 2, Article 7 states: "The National Assembly is composed of representatives from various provinces, cities, and small towns, and the number of representatives should be elected for a one-year term based on the majority of the population in each area."<sup>8</sup> It also mentioned that the rules for electing representatives to the State Great Khural would be followed. Additionally, Chapter 2, Article 10 states: "The State Assembly shall elect thirty members and establish the State Assembly."<sup>9</sup>

At the time of the adoption of the first Constitution, the Parliament had 90 members. Mongolia conducted its first population census in 1918, and the total population was officially

<sup>8</sup>1924 Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic, accessed June, 2022, <https://legalinfo.mn/api/front/cons-detail-1924.html>

<sup>9</sup> 1924 Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic, accessed June, 2022, <https://legalinfo.mn/api/front/cons-detail-1924.html>

recorded as 647,500.<sup>10</sup> By calculating the number of citizens represented by each member at that time, we find that it was  $647,500 \div 90 \approx 7,194$  citizens per member.

### **1940 Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic**

Chapter 3 of the law stipulates that the State Great Khural is the highest body of government. Article 14 of Chapter 3 states: "The National Assembly shall be formed by representatives of the working people of the cities and provinces and the representatives of the people's revolutionary military personnel, elected as representatives for every 1,500 people of the population by city and province meetings."<sup>11</sup> The second population census of our country was conducted in 1935, with a total population of 732,800<sup>12</sup>. According to the Constitution, with one representative for every 1,500 people, the number of representatives would be  $732,800 \div 1,500 \approx 488.5$  representatives.

Article 18 of Chapter 4 states: "The Lower Khural shall be elected by the Great Khural for a period of 3 years<sup>13</sup>, with one member per 10,000 of the population." Based on this, the number of representatives would be  $732,800 \div 10,000 \approx 73.2$  representatives elected by the Parliament.

### **1960 Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic**

Article 3 of Chapter 1 states: "All government authority in the Mongolian People's Republic is vested in the working people." It further specifies that "The working people will exercise power through assemblies of people's deputies representing them."<sup>14</sup> Article 21 of Chapter 2 states: "Citizens of the People's Republic of Mongolia shall elect one deputy for every 4,000 people by creating constituencies and electing the Great People's Assembly,"<sup>15</sup> with a term of office of 3 years. According to the 1963 population census, the total population was 1,017,100<sup>16</sup>, marking the first time in the 20th century that the population exceeded one million.

Based on the Constitution, with one representative for every 4,000 people, the number of representatives would be  $1,017,100 \div 4,000 \approx 254.2$  representatives. By the time of the last People's Congress in 1990, there were 430 representatives.

### **1992 Democratic Constitution**

Chapter 3 of the law stipulates that the supreme body of state power is the Great Khural of Mongolia. Article 21.1 of Chapter 3 states: "The National Assembly shall have one chamber and seventy-six members," and the election procedure shall be established by law. Unlike the previous three constitutions, the number of citizens represented by each member was not specified in the new Constitution.

If we calculate the number of citizens represented by each member based on the 1992 population of 2,158,362, it would be  $2,158,362 \div 76 \approx 28,399.5$  citizens per member. Of course,

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<sup>10</sup> "Civil Registry Historical Review," accessed June 1, 2021. <https://burtgel.gov.mn/Иргэний-бүртгэлийн-түүхэн-тойм>

<sup>11</sup> 1940 Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic, <https://legalinfo.mn/api/front/cons-detail-1940.html>

<sup>12</sup> "Population Growth of Mongolia," Dictionary of Mongolian History, <https://legalinfo.mn/api/front/cons-detail-1940.html>

<sup>13</sup> 1940 Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic, <https://legalinfo.mn/api/front/cons-detail-1940.html>

<sup>14</sup> 1960 Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic, <https://legalinfo.mn/api/front/cons-detail-1960.html>

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> "Population Growth of Mongolia," Dictionary of Mongolian History, <https://legalinfo.mn/api/front/cons-detail-1940.html>

it is not entirely appropriate to compare the population at the time of the previous constitutions with the current population.

However, it is clear that the number of citizens represented by each member has significantly changed. For instance, according to the 1992 Constitution, compared to the population in 2021, each member represents approximately 44,867.6 citizens.

As shown above, even though our country had forms of government other than a democratic one, the size and number of members of the highest state authority were calculated and specified in the law.

Daniel Webster, 170 years ago, noted that finding a perfectly fair solution is extremely difficult, but it is important to strive for perfection, even in small measures. The choice of principles and compromises are ultimately matters of political legitimacy, and legislators must navigate and learn to manage these issues. Our goal is to accurately clarify the consequences of these choices.<sup>17</sup> In line with this idea, we should recognize that the structure, size, number of members, and the calculation of how many citizens are represented by one member in the 1992 Constitution are reflections of the political decisions made at that time.

According to the process and minutes from the adoption of the Constitution, the number of members to be elected to the legislative body was considered and discussed as follows. Between 1989 and 1990, a total of 19 proposals<sup>18</sup> were developed. Opinions varied on the number of members, with suggestions ranging from 76 to 150. When calculating the number of members of the Parliament, the following reasons are used. It includes:

- In terms of electoral constituencies and administrative units at that time, 2 representatives from provinces with a population of less than 90,000, 4 representatives from provinces with more than 18 provinces, 20 representatives from Ulaanbaatar city, and 20 representatives from Ulaanbaatar city;
- Another proposal suggested 4 representatives from provinces with a population of less than 90,000, 6 representatives from provinces with a population of more than 90,000, and 20 representatives from Ulaanbaatar city, totaling 102 members;<sup>19</sup>
- Considering the ability to represent the population and society, another proposal suggested 50-75 members<sup>20</sup>, with each member representing approximately 26,000 people;
- There was also a proposal for 128 members<sup>21</sup>, with 64 from rural areas and 64 from the city, including a two-chamber system.

Specifically, four to five different numerical values were considered for the number of members. Among the suggestions for the number of members in the draft Constitution, the proposal that "the State Great Khural should have one chamber, be permanent, and consist of 75 members"<sup>22</sup> was strongly supported. Consequently, during the discussion and approval of the Constitution of Mongolia in December 1991, the initial proposal for 102 members was

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<sup>17</sup> Michael L. Balinski & H. Peyton Young., *Fair Representation - Meeting the Ideal of One Man One Vote*, (Brookings Institution Press, 2001) :10.

<sup>18</sup> Secretariat of the Great Khural of Mongolia, Sources of the Constitution of Mongolia Volume 5, No. November 16, 1991 Minutes, pages 132-33.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Secretariat of the Great Khural of Mongolia, Sources of the Constitution of Mongolia, volume 7, No. 3 December 1991, page 580.

<sup>21</sup> Secretariat of the Great Khural of Mongolia, Sources of the Constitution of Mongolia Volume 7, No. December 2, 1991 Minutes, pages 588-589.

<sup>22</sup> Secretariat of the Great Khural of Mongolia, Sources of the Constitution of Mongolia, Volume 7, page 452.

revisited, and the number was eventually set at 76<sup>23</sup>. When reviewing the discussion notes of the draft Constitution, the number of members was determined based on administrative units, population, and the electoral system. According to Cube's Law, if we use the 1988 census figure of 2 million citizens, the calculation would suggest approximately 125.9, or about 130 seats. At the time the project was being discussed, the proposed numbers of 102 and 128 were more in line with this calculation.

On the other hand, the results of the legislative body's work are closely related to the actual number of elected members who represent citizens' interests and work productively. The numerical value of the number of members, as determined in the previous section, is a key indicator of whether the parliament is adequately sized to fulfill its main functions, represent its constituents, and address its agenda effectively.

The size of the parliament is also linked to the electoral system, the development of political parties, and the tenure of executive power institutions. For example, in countries undergoing democratic transitions, political party systems often become centralized and dominated by a few parties. This is because newly established parties may lack the human, financial, and social resources or organizational capacity to compete effectively. This centralization can also enable new parties to succeed the previous authoritarian parties, thereby benefiting from their established structures.<sup>24</sup>

Consequently, a single-member district electoral system tends to favor large parties in localities, which can lead to strong local divisions. As a result, one party may become dominant in the legislature, and minority parties might resort to non-democratic means to achieve their political goals. In such a majoritarian electoral system, if the number of parliament members is small relative to the population, it can lead to an overemphasis on individual performance over party agendas, undermining the effective implementation of the party's platform.

Currently, members of parliament are engaged in initiating and passing laws, but they are struggling to monitor the implementation of these laws. The heavy workload on the standing committees has increased the amount of work for each member and weakened overall productivity. Considering factors such as the distribution of state power, the size of the territory, the geopolitical situation, administrative units, natural resources, and population growth in Mongolia, there are several reasons to increase the number of members in the State Great Khural. This change aims to enhance the development of democratic governance institutions and improve the parliament's capacity. Consequently, amendments were made to the Constitution of Mongolia.

Prior to this change, the Constitution was amended in 2000 and 2019. The 2000 amendments revised a total of seven articles, did not address citizens' participation, had negative consequences for ensuring control and balance between state powers, and utilized methods that did not align with the fundamental principles of government operations specified in the Constitution. These amendments have been criticized as "seven changes that worsened" the constitutional framework.

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<sup>23</sup> D. Lundeeljantsan, Distribution of State Powers in Mongolia, 242: Minutes of Session II of the 12th Election of the People's Great Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic, Volume XXII, p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> Sarah Birch. Single-member district electoral systems and democratic transition. *Electoral Studies* 24 (2005) 286

In contrast, the 2019 amendments involved revisions to 19 articles and 36 sections across four chapters of the Constitution, creating conditions for the new approval of 31 sets of laws. These revised laws included significant legislation, such as the Law on Courts, the Law on Political Parties, and the Law on the Legal Status of Ulaanbaatar, the capital of Mongolia.

The 2023 amendment, which legislators describe as a continuation and update of the 2019 amendments, revised Article 21, Section 1 of the Constitution to state: "The State Great Khural shall have one chamber and one hundred and twenty-six members. The election of the State Great Khural will be conducted by a mixed electoral system. Seventy-eight members shall be elected by majority representation, and forty-eight members shall be elected by proportional representation."

Prior to 2023, the Constitution lacked provisions on the electoral system, which had only been regulated by constitutional (organic) law. Since the threshold for revising ordinary legislation is the same as for constitutional law, the main laws governing institutions regulated by organic law were frequently and rapidly changed, creating instability at the legal and institutional levels. The 2023 amendment's combination of a mixed proportional-majoritarian electoral system aims to ensure constitutional stability over an eight-year period, as well as facilitate legal amendments and adjustments in accordance with the law. From a theoretical perspective, a mixed electoral system can enhance party system development and political stability.

On the other hand, specifying the electoral system in the Constitution can be seen as a measure to ensure the stable implementation of the government's agenda. This is particularly relevant given that the average lifespan of the Government of Mongolia between 1992 and 2024 was only 2.1 years. This short duration has reduced the likelihood of consistent policy implementation and has hindered the government's ability to effectively address and review social and economic issues.

The amendment to the Constitution provides a direct impetus for implementing the "Vision - 2050" development policy document, which was approved by the Mongolian Parliament in 2020. This policy document outlines Mongolia's development goals in nine areas for the periods 2021-2030, 2031-2040, and 2041-2050. Consequently, the Government Action Programs for 2020-2024 and 2024-2028, established following the 8th and 9th regular elections of the Great Khural of Mongolia respectively, are aligned with the "Vision - 2050" document. These programs ensure policy continuity, strengthen social and economic stability, and promote centralized, long-term efficient governance by adhering to the long-term development framework.

#### **D. Closing**

To this day, researchers agree that Taagepera's Cube Law is a widely accepted method for calculating the number of members and the size of parliament. However, there is a strong tendency to consider additional factors when determining the number of members. Taagepera's Cube Law suggests that as the population grows, the number of members should increase accordingly. In practice, though, countries cannot frequently adjust the number of parliamentarians, leading to a preference for finding a more appropriate number by considering other factors.

One significant factor affecting the number of members is the electoral system. Political parties in the majority may advocate for changes in the electoral system to increase their share of votes. If a majority party wins without broad voter support, it suggests that the electoral

system may be dysfunctional.<sup>25</sup> The distortion of the electoral system and the inadequate representation of voter interests are directly linked to the number of members.

Theoretically, a smaller number of parliament members increases the likelihood of policy errors.<sup>26</sup> Determining the optimal number of members ensures a balanced majority-minority relationship within the legislature. As the number of members or the size of parliament increases, the share of seats for large parties decreases, which is thought to be less beneficial for them—a concept known as the micromega rule. However, this adjustment can enhance party balance, promote internal democracy, and reduce the influence of individual politicians, thereby contributing positively to the development of political parties.

One of the factors influencing the number of parliament members is the economy. When the number of members is limited, especially regarding budgetary issues, there are cases where members focus solely on constituency concerns under a majoritarian electoral system. To effectively discuss national policies, pass laws, and ensure that members fulfill their duties, there is a natural need to increase the number of representatives.

Other influencing factors include the country's land size, geopolitical features, and population density. In smaller countries, citizens generally have more opportunities to engage in social relations and participate in elections, which can stimulate voter turnout and develop the political system. In densely populated countries, targeting and engaging voters can be easier. However, regional political culture and geographic influence also play crucial roles.<sup>27</sup> Given the unique conditions in Mongolia, which differ from those in other countries, it is essential to consider the representation of each administrative unit and ensure that each member effectively represents their constituents.

In Mongolia, the representative ratio of one member to the population is 1.3%, compared to an average of 0.7% in other post-communist countries, indicating a higher burden on individual representatives.

As a result, the highest body of state power in Mongolia was expanded in terms of structure with the 2023 constitutional amendment. For the first time in 33 years, the Parliament of Mongolia will operate with 126 members. The new structure includes 78 members elected from constituencies by majority representation and 48 members elected by proportional representation. In the 2024 general election, 19 parties, 2 coalitions, and 1,341 independent candidates were competing.

As a result of the parliamentary elections, the previous ruling party, the MPP, won the majority of seats and had the mandate to form a government alone. However, the MPP extended an invitation to the DP and the HUNP to join a coalition government. This decision was influenced by the fact that the platforms of the competing parties aligned closely with the "Vision 2050" development document, with more than 80% overlap in their agendas. This alignment has created conditions for the collaborative implementation of essential goals for Mongolia's development.

The increased number of parliamentary members, following the recent constitutional amendment, is expected to support stable governance and enhance the feasibility of strategic mega-projects. This structural change is anticipated to contribute to making Mongolia's development more achievable over the next decade.

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<sup>25</sup> Colomer, J. M. (2004). *Handbook of Electoral System Choice*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, p.3.

<sup>27</sup> Lipset, Seymour M. 1981. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

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