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The Political Impact of Civil Movements: The Mongolian Case (2004–2009)

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Abstract
This study examines the fulfilment of demands by civil movements between 2004 and 2009 and their impact on the Mongolian political system. Using an outcome-based evaluation (OBE) and the Composite Impact Index (CII), the research assesses both direct policy outcomes and indirect systemic effects of civil movements. Data were collected from official government documents, parliamentary records, media reports, and civil society archives. The results show that only 29% of demands were fully or partially fulfilled, indicating moderate impact, while 71% remained unmet or unresolved. Although policy implementation was limited, civil movements contributed to transparency, citizen participation, and institutional responsiveness. Combining quantitative and qualitative indicators provides a nuanced understanding of the social movement impact in transitional democracies.

Keywords: Civil movements, political impact, demand fulfilment, Mongolia, social movements, outcome-based evaluation, Composite Impact Index

Introduction
Civil movements are a cornerstone of participatory democracy, expressing citizens' demands for policy change, institutional reform, and social improvement (Tilly, 2004; Tarrow, 2011) [7, 6]. In Mongolia, between 2004 and 2009, civil movements emerged in response to issues including natural resource management, local governance inequalities, and transparency. These movements involved local residents, environmental activists, and emerging civil society organizations, influencing the allocation of mining licenses and resource management practices.

Assessing the political impact of civil movements is inherently challenging. Traditional indicators, such as participation numbers or media attention, provide limited insight into actual political outcomes (Della Porta & Diani, 2006) [2]. This study addresses both the fulfilment of demands and the broader political consequences of civil movements using an outcome-based evaluation framework. The approach aligns with Easton's (1965) systems model, where movements represent political inputs and governmental responses constitute outputs. By measuring direct and indirect effects, this study provides a comprehensive understanding of civil movements' political influence in Mongolia.

Theoretical Framework
Civil movements are recognized as key factors influencing political systems by articulating social demands and mobilizing collective action (Tilly, 2004; Meyer & Staggenborg, 1996) [7, 5]. Their impact can be assessed across three interrelated dimensions (Tilly, 2004; Tarrow, 2011) [7, 6]:

- **Policy level:** Legislative or regulatory changes directly resulting from movement demands.
- **Institutional level:** Modifications in governance structures and mechanisms reflecting responsiveness to citizen demands.
- **Cultural level:** Changes in social values, civic awareness, transparency, and public attitudes toward accountability.

Outcome-based evaluation (OBE) emphasizes measurable changes rather than mere

participation or visibility, providing a practical framework for assessing civil movement impact (Tilly, 2004; Meyer & Staggenborg, 1996) [7, 5]. Scholars argue that demand fulfilment is a key indicator of political impact, reflecting the extent to which civil actions translate into policy responses. By combining Easton's (1965) systems perspective with demand fulfilment and political significance, the Composite Impact Index (CII) captures both direct and indirect effects, offering a refined measure of civil movement influence.

Methodology

Research Design

The study employs a mixed-methods design, combining content analysis with quantitative comparative measures to evaluate the fulfilment of civil movement demands and the depth of systemic impact in Mongolia between 2004 and 2009.

Data Sources

Data were obtained from:

- Official government documents (laws, decrees, ministerial orders)
- Parliamentary records
- Media reports on civil movements
- Civil society reports and archives

These sources enable cross-validation of movement demands and government responses.

Levels of Evaluation

Following social movement research frameworks (Tilly, 2004; Tarrow, 2011) [7, 6], impacts were assessed at three levels:

- **Policy level:** Laws, regulations, and policy changes resulting from movements
- **Institutional level:** New governance structures or forms of citizen-state interaction
- **Cultural level:** Changes in public values, civic awareness, or transparency

Given that not all demands were fully met, evaluating both the quality of fulfilment and the depth of impact was essential. A two-stage evaluation model was applied (Table 1).

Table 1: Flexibility of the Evaluation of Demand Fulfilment of Movements

Evaluation Level	Indicators	Example
Direct outcome	% of demands fulfilled, government decisions, legal changes	Amendments to the Mining Law, license restrictions
Indirect outcome	Increase in political participation, public trust, transparency, institutional reform	Restructuring of Ministry of Environment, establishment of local participation channels

Fulfilment Assessment

Table 2: Classification of Demand Fulfilment Levels

Level	Description	Score (Coefficient)
Fully fulfilled	Demand fully implemented	1.0
Partially fulfilled	Demand partially implemented	0.5
Unfulfilled	Demand not implemented	0.0
Delayed/Unclear	Implementation delayed or uncertain	0.0
Illegally challenged	Responded using legal enforcement	0.0

Composite Impact Index (CII): To assess both direct and indirect effects, the Composite Impact Index was calculated:

$$CII = (0.6 \times \text{Demand Fulfillment Score}) + (0.4 \times \text{Political Significance Score})$$

Impact Levels (Table 3):

CII Range	Impact Level	Description
0.00–0.25	Low	Limited or negligible impact
0.26–0.50	Moderate	Partial policy or institutional impact
0.51–0.75	High	Noticeable direct and indirect effects
0.76–1.00	Very High	Significant systemic or policy change

Analytical Procedure

1. Categorize all demands (2004–2009) by content and intended outcome
2. Assess fulfilment using official records
3. Assign political significance weights
4. Calculate CII for each demand and aggregate annually
5. Visualize trends using tables and figures (APA style)

Results

Overview of Demand Fulfilment

Between 2004 and 2009, Mongolian civil movements submitted 209 distinct demands. Fulfilment data were assessed quantitatively and qualitatively, and averages were calculated (Table 4).

Table 4: Annual Fulfillment of Demands by Movements (2004–2009)

Year	Fully Fulfilled	Partially Fulfilled	Unfulfilled	Delayed/Unclear	Illegally Challenged	Total Demands
2004	9	4	3	13	1	30
2005	1	3	2	17	3	26
2006	15	6	8	34	8	71
2007	8	4	8	15	1	36
2008	5	6	16	10	7	44

2009	1	0	0	0	1	2
Total	39	21	36	89	21	209

Note: Delayed/unclear and illegally challenged demands are categorized as unfulfilled for analytical purposes.

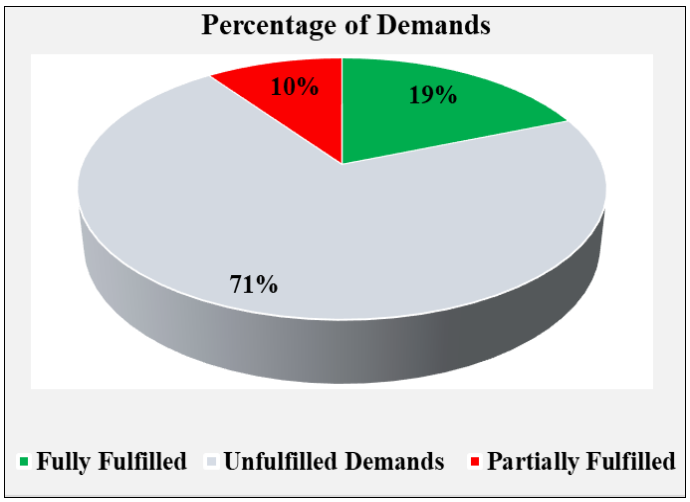

Fig 1: Percentage of Fully Fulfilled, Partially Fulfilled, and Unfulfilled Demands

In terms of overall implementation levels, only 29% of requirements have been fully or partially met, while 71% remain unmet, unclear, or illegitimate, indicating that the government's response is limited.

Composite Impact Index

Table 5: Annual Composite Impact Index of Civil Movements (2004–2009)

Year	Fully Fulfilled	Partially Fulfilled	Total Demands	CII	Impact Level
2004	9	4	30	0.37	Moderate
2005	1	3	26	0.10	Low
2006	15	6	71	0.27	Moderate
2007	8	4	36	0.28	Moderate
2008	5	6	44	0.20	Low
2009	1	0	2	0.50	Relatively High
Average	–	–	209	0.29	Moderate

Civil movements have had a moderate political impact overall, with the highest impact in 2009 despite a small number of demands, while their impact in 2005 and 2008 was weak due to insufficient implementation and institutional responses.

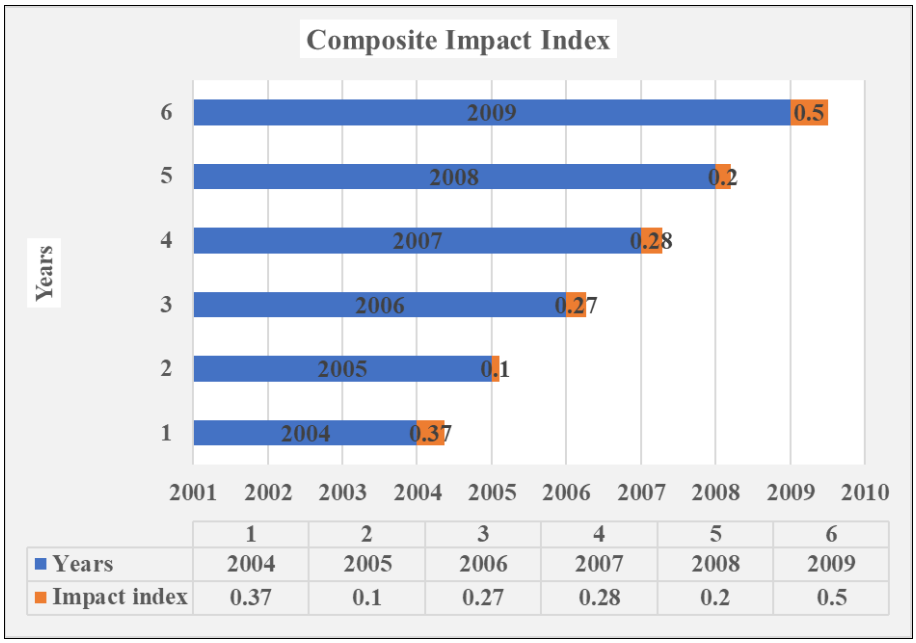

Fig 2: Composite Impact Index Showing Political Influence of Movements

Observations

- Moderate impact overall, with 2009 showing relatively high impact despite fewer demands
- Years 2005 and 2008 had low impact due to insufficient fulfilment and limited institutional response

Qualitative Insights

Although most demands were not fully implemented, civil movements contributed to several indirect yet meaningful systemic effects, including:

1. Enhancing transparency in local governance;
2. Increasing citizen participation and public engagement;
3. Stimulating policy discussions on mining regulation and resource management.

These results reflect the cultural and institutional dimensions of influence outlined in Tilly's (2004) framework—effects that may not be captured through quantitative fulfilment rates but nonetheless shape long-term systemic change.

Discussion

The analysis reveals that, despite 71% of demands remaining unfulfilled, Mongolian civil movements between 2004 and 2009 achieved moderate political influence (CII = 0.29). This demonstrates that civil activism can play a vital role in enhancing institutional responsiveness, even when direct policy changes are limited.

The outcome-based evaluation approach (Tilly, 2004; Meyer & Staggenborg, 1996) [7, 5] underscores that political influence should not be measured solely by participation counts or protest frequency, but rather by policy responses, institutional adaptation, and cultural shifts that movements help to generate.

From Easton's (1965) systems theory perspective, civil movements function as inputs that exert pressure on the political system, leading to outputs in the form of policy adjustments or institutional reactions.

The high CII score in 2009 further demonstrates that strategic, targeted movements—even when few in number—can have a disproportionate influence when they align with political timing and public salience. This highlights the significance of issue framing, agenda focus, and political context in determining the extent of civil movements' political impact.

Conclusion

This study provides empirical evidence that, between 2004 and 2009, Mongolian civil movements exerted moderate political influence on the country's political system. The main findings of the research are as follows:

1. **Limited direct fulfilment:** Only 29% of the demands presented by civil movements were fully or partially fulfilled, indicating that government responsiveness was limited.
2. **Indirect systemic impact:** Although formal policy changes were constrained, civil movements contributed to institutional responsiveness, enhanced citizen participation, and influenced policy discussions, demonstrating both direct and indirect effects on the political process.
3. **Methodological contribution:** The use of the Composite Impact Index (CII), which combines demand fulfilment with political significance, provides a robust methodological framework for evaluating the influence of civil movements beyond mere participation counts or protest frequency.
4. **Strategic significance:** A small number of movements addressing politically critical demands can generate greater systemic impact than larger movements with numerous, less strategically focused demands.

In summary, the Mongolian case demonstrates that even when civil movements encounter partial or limited fulfilment, they can contribute to long-term political and cultural change. Their influence extends beyond immediate policy outcomes, validating the importance of assessing both direct and indirect effects. Future research should incorporate longitudinal analyses of institutional adaptation and sustained citizen participation to better capture the cumulative impact of civil movements over time.

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