# RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN MONGOLIA: LIBERAL MEDIA THEORY AND POLITICAL REPORTING

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## **ABSTRACT**

Due to technological development and social media usage in the digital era right to freedom of expression has become more accessible than ever before people exercise their rights efficiently. However, disinformation is a considerably negative impact on society. To combat disinformation, the Mongolian government has revised Criminal Code which came into effect on 10 January 2020, and spreading false information has been considered a criminal offense, it has become a barrier to freedom of expression in Mongolia. Many studies find that politicians are required to have a high moral standard because they lead society and set ethical standards and values. Instead of respecting the media's right to criticize, politicians use criminal law to repress media and journalists. Restricting freedom of opinion under the criminal code might somehow reduce hate speech and disinformation in society but could not protect politicians' honor. It creates fear in society and violates human rights. Mongolia has guaranteed freedom of expression and information in 1992's constitutional law and ratified International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. However, restrictions and abuses of journalists continue to occur, press freedom shrinking year by year, and it has reached a historical low in the last ten years. The major objective of this study was to look into the main factors that violate and restrict political journalists' right to know and access information and contributes to independent professional journalism in Mongolia.

Keywords: Political Journalists, Democracy, Freedom of Expression, Disinformation, Liberal Media

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### INTRODUCTION

# Significance of Freedom of Expression

Freedom of expression is a fundamental and universal human right pillar of a democratic society. This research aims to reveal the challenges to political journalists' freedom of expression in the Mongolian context, based on liberal media theory. It will also identify the gaps and defects in Mongolia's national human rights mechanisms and make recommendations for improving the existing legal framework. In general, the research objectives would be to identify the main factors that violate and restrict the right to know and right to information for journalists and human rights defenders in Mongolia. Its specific objectives are as follows: to examine media freedom and freedom of expression in the framework of liberal media theory and international standards based on primary research data, and to explore legal contexts and analyze the challenges to access to freedom of expression in practice and to what barriers face journalists, to gather information from relevant NGOs, academics, and journalists on the current situation in Mongolia.

Mongolia has a population of slightly more than 3 million people (2016), making it one of the world's least populated countries. 95% of the population are ethnic Mongols, Kazakh, Turkic peoples, Chinese, and Russians who make up the remaining population. Ulaanbaatar is the capital and largest city (pop.: 1 million). The official language is Mongolian, a language written in Cyrillic and the traditional Mongolian script (One World Nations Online, 2022). Mongolia's one-party system was abolished in 1990. Today, the country is a multi-party semi-presidential representative democratic republic. The President and the Government wield executive power. The president is the chief of state, and his role is mostly symbolic. The prime minister is the head of the government and is elected by parliament (State Great Khural). Mongolia has guaranteed freedom of expression and information in 1992's constitutional law and ratified International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1966). Many domestic laws protect media freedom (Gunjidmaa, 2020).

However, due to some restrictive laws, policies, and regulations of the laws, societies still cannot fully access their rights. Particularly, Violations of the freedom of expression of journalists still exist in Mongolian society (Press Institute of Mongolia, 2019). The police and the court system rarely take media freedom violations seriously, and this lack of protection discourages journalists from engaging in investigative and critical reporting that exposes significant wrongdoings and is assessed by the scholar (Nielsen, 2009). It is becoming easier to criticize journalists, and they are being charged with a crime under the criminal code (Ayushjav, 2021) for "disseminating false information" section 13.14, just because of their work. The researcher found that state actors can misuse the amended provisions of the criminal code (The National Legal Institute, 2020) to benefit their interests of silencing or intimidating journalists from reporting politically sensitive issues that need to be addressed. The criminal code (The National Legal Institute, 2020) harms journalists; they have a criminal record that impacts their lives, not just their careers. According to the Reporters Without Borders agency's index, Mongolian press freedom is shrinking yearly. It remains a country with serious press freedom issues, which is also one of the reasons for the declining democracy in Mongolia. The magnitude of the problem is getting worse.

#### RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative method with a thematic analysis (Thematic analysis, 2009) approach and primary resources. The researcher selects participants based on purposive sampling. It is a sampling technique in which the researcher relies on their judgment when choosing members of the population to participate in the study. For instance, TV reporters stop certain individuals on the street to ask their opinions about certain political changes. The general research questions are as follows: How do liberal media theory elements apply to the

media industry in Mongolia? How has political journalists' freedom of expression been challenged in Mongolia? The study takes three groups of people from society and interviews to collect key-informant. Firstly, one group of NGO representatives (5 participants) and one group of policymaker lawyers or scholars (5 participants) who specialize in civil and political rights will be interviewed to find out the conflicts and the process of legal barriers to understanding the state's responses to the disinformation. And the last group would be political journalists (5 participants) who witnessed or experienced the obstacles to freedom of expression in the media industry.

The reason why the researcher chose to interview these certain groups of people is because of their reliability and because they could provide accurate information about the current situation in freedom of expression in Mongolia. Furthermore, due to the pandemic situation, the researcher conducted the interview process online. After collecting all the necessary data, the researcher uses thematic analysis, goes through the entire transcript, and looks for meaningful patterns in themes across the data. The patterns can be analyzed by repetitive data reading, data coding, and theme creation. The researcher created 2 main themes, each with three sub-themes developed based on the respondent's answers. This research had also Limitations, focused on political journalism and its barriers, especially in the legal context. Indeed, two eligible participants dropped out because of their safety and targeted surveillance concerns.

#### RESEARCH FINDINGS

This section will focus on the narratives of the interviewees. The stories are collected through semi-structured interviews with the target populations as described in the research methodology above. The report includes the liberal media theory's elements and reveals their practical implementations and obstacles. This part also argues that there are some threats to press freedom that leads to Non-democracy. The section will start with Free and independent media and then discuss the Disinformation and Moral ethics of politicians. Lastly, it will go into the Confidentiality of journalists and Legal barriers to the effect on the freedom of expression in Mongolia.

## Free and independent media

Free and independent media represent the free flow of information. The media is not influenced by the government or powerful social groups and allows citizens to make informed political decisions. The public should be able to express their beliefs without fear of government action or harm (UN treaty body database, 2011). Article 16 of the Chapter on Human Rights and Freedoms of the Mongolian Constitution states that "the citizens of Mongolia shall be guaranteed the privilege of enjoying the following rights and freedoms: 16.16 Freedom of thought, opinion, expression, speech, press, and peaceful assembly. 16.17 The right to seek and receive information except that which the state and its bodies are legally bound to protect as secret (The National Legal Institute, 1992). Even though, a recent study shows that two out of every three journalists have reported being harassed or intimidated for writing articles or disseminating information to the public in Mongolia (Naranjargal, 2019).

According to the online survey by Globe International Center (GIC), a total of 274 types of violations have been documented, and such as denial of information, and interference with access to or dissemination of information were one of the most registered violations. For the implementation of liberal media theory measurement, participants were asked a series of openended questions that how they see media freedom in Mongolia and do they report without any interference, the respondents tended to believe that the media is not free but agree that there is always some dependence and many statistics show that Mongolians have lost faith in the media as a result of political and economic interference. Reporters Without Borders released its World Press Freedom Index. This year, Mongolia fell 22 places to 90th out of 180 countries (Reporters Without Borders, 2022). In 2013, Mongolia began to assess the situation with press freedom.

For example, 98th in 2013, 88th in 2014, 54th in 2015, 60th in 2016, 69th in 2017, 71st in 2018, 70th in 2019, 73rd in 2020, and 2021, it was ranked 68th. It has reached a historical low in the last ten years. According to the local journalist, the media is not independent at all levels. She stated that:

"In my experience, I'm more of an editor than a news reporter. Neither at the editorial level nor the level of a news journalist, it is impossible to prepare news without any intervention. For instance, the editorial staff guides journalists reporting the news and tells which news will be published. On the other hand, an editor also has to follow the instruction of the media owner, who is the employer of the organization and most of the time relates to one of the political parties. Therefore, it is impossible to prepare political news without intervention in Mongolia (ET,2022)".

Mongolia joined the United Nations in 1961 and adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948). It ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1966) in 1974 (OHCHR, 2022). Mongolia is, therefore, legally obligated to guarantee freedom of expression by international standards. Section 10.3 of Article 10 of the Constitution, states: "The international treaties to which Mongolia is a party become effective as domestic legislation upon the coming into force of the laws upon their ratification or accession." This right encompasses the freedom to express oneself without fear of relationships and the freedom to seek, receive, and transfer information and ideas through any media and across all borders. However, several issues were identified as one respondent (MC,2022) mentioned that, to a certain extent, the media in Mongolia is becoming a public voice and a space for debate. 7-8 years ago, when this type of research was conducted, journalists said that more than half of the editorial staff prepared their news independently. Still, in political journalism, it has been reported that there are instances of external pressure to warn the editorial staff against specific topics, especially those involving critically written authorities.

After the democratic revolution, press freedom was relatively good but has generally declined steadily over the past decade. Specific reasons are explained for this. First legal environment, and second, political interference and non-transparency have attracted considerable attention. However, external and internal factors play a crucial role, and it is essential to look at it from which angle. Domestically, there are sufficient opportunities to prepare and disseminate news and information. Still, due to financial pressure, some media organizations and journalists are influenced by over-indulgence in paid communication and the dissemination of information for a specific purpose.

Together these results provide important insights into media is not free, it is impossible to prepare news without any intervention. Neither at the editorial level nor the level of a news journalist. Some felt that to a certain extent, the media in Mongolia is becoming a public voice and a space for debate while others considered that journalists are influenced by over-indulgence in paid communication and the dissemination of information for a specific purpose. Which affect principles of balanced reporting, media independence, freedom, and pluralism. The majority of those who responded to this question felt that there is always political and economic interference and Mongolia reached World Press Freedom Index historical low in the last ten years (Reporters Without Borders, 2022).

#### Disinformation and Moral ethics of politicians

According to Irene Khan, finding appropriate responses to disinformation is difficult, not least because the concept is undefined and open to abuse, and because the size and nature of the problem are contested in the absence of sufficient data and research. State responses have often been problematic and heavy-handed and had a detrimental impact on human rights. Companies play a significant role in the spread of misinformation, but their efforts to address the issue have been inadequate (Irene Khan, 2021). In 2015 and 2020, the UN Human Rights Committee recommended to the Government of Mongolia (OHCHR) that the Criminal Code should not

regulate defamation and insult. In particular, this type of crime should not be punishable by imprisonment, and these articles have been removed from the Criminal Code. From July 1 to 20, 2017, Article 6.21 of the Violation Law (The National Legal Institute, 2017) was regulated as Defamation. Still, it was ineffective or harmful to the media, so it was removed from the Violation Law and returned to the Criminal Code. However, there is no clear explanation for Defamation, allowing law enforcement officials to interpret it differently. On the other hand, it is too broadly legalized and includes the traditional crime of slander and insult. There is no clear understanding of dissemination. For instance, a citizen who wrote a comment on the website article was fined (GT,2022).

As noted by the literature review, The Supreme Court of the United States stated, that citizens and the press have the right to criticize government activities unconditionally, every citizen has the right to express his opinion, and newspapers have the right to express their views on matters of public concern. However, the government should not ban the publication of what a citizen or the press has written or expressed because it is unwise, unfair, false, or harmful. In a democratic society, citizens have the right to express their criticisms and opinions actively, and legislative, and judicial authorities should not be suppressed as slander or false information" (Orosoo, 2021). Furthermore, A draft law amending the Criminal Code was submitted to Parliament by the Ministry of Justice and Domestic Affairs. Article 13.15 of this draft provides for the addition of insult to the new Criminal Code. Legislative surveillance has not been conducted on this law. The current 13.14 is also punishable by abuse under the provision of Defamation. One respondent stated that it is politically influenced.

"Who offends by media is usually government officials, government organizations, politicians, government influential, and all political figures. According to a study by the Globe International Center, between 1999 and 2021, 1,146 cases of defamation, insult, slander, and dissemination of false information was arbitrated in 22 years. 42% of cases were civil servants, government agencies, political figures, and government influential (GT 2022)".

This puts journalists and media workers at risk of being summoned by the police, taking statements, and being investigated, leading to censorship of journalists. Criminal proceedings usually take about six months to complete, while the Law on Violations (The National Legal Institute, 2017) resolves disputes within two months. In terms of time and financial point of view, Law on Violations is more efficient than the criminal code. Criminal punishment is a severe violation of a person's rights and freedoms. Some experts argue that instead of using a criminal code, it can be resolved within the framework of the media's own ethical rules.

"I write 5-6 articles a year and work part-time. In my understanding, the criminal code of article 13.14 spreading false information is unclear; for instance, we have to prove the news article is not false, journalists have to prove it and disclose their source, which leads to a complicated situation and often violates the ethics and principles of journalism (MT,2022)".

Theoretically speaking, the crime of spreading false information depends on the intentional form of guilt (Richard, 2015), but the act of spreading false information without the intention of defaming a person's dignity and reputation is also criminally liable under this article. There is no clear understanding of dissemination. For instance, a citizen who wrote a comment on the website article was fined. It shows that most of the filed complaints usually come from politicians, government officials, and all types of public figures. Public bodies shall not be considered victims of this crime because they are elected by the public and should tolerate criticism more than citizens. Legislating the offense of spreading false information by the Criminal Code cannot be assumed to stop or reduce the extent of false information. Instead, it made fear in society and pressure on freedom of expression and information.

The press can examine misbehavior by public authorities when journalists are well-trained and have reliable sources of information. Fraud or corruption redirecting public finances or other public resources for self-benefit is an example of such wrongdoing (Justine Limpit law, 2021).

According to a 2018 Globe International NGO survey, 74% of 300 journalists said that the main obstacle for journalists is their inability to obtain relevant information from government agencies. Also, in the same survey conducted in 2022, 57% of 233 journalists answered the same way (Ayushjav, 2021). So, access to information can be seen as a common problem for journalists. Some local journalists said that political journalism happens most of the time in the parliament house, and there is a lack of opportunity to get real live talk from politicians. Some politicians tend to avoid it as much as possible. Government agencies do not provide information, and journalism is limited only to their press news.

Effective rule of law helps to fight corruption, end poverty, and protects people from injustices. According to research data about the corruption index of governments in 2021, Mongolia placed 81 out of 139 countries (Rule of Law Index, 2020 - 2021 report). The factor considers three forms of corruption: bribery, improper influence by public or private interests, and misappropriation of public funds or other resources. These three types of corruption are examined concerning government officers in the executive, judicial, military, police, and legislative branches. Furthermore, Mongolia ranked 72 out of 139 countries in terms of open government. This index assesses how a government shares information, equips citizens with tools to hold the government accountable, and encourages citizen participation in public policy debates. On the other hand, it measures the quality of information published by the government and whether basic laws and information on legal rights are made public. Together these results indicate that the rule of law declining by year, and both indices Mongolia placed below average the percentage lowered by -2.2% in the previous year's report.

The corruption and a lack of access to government information lead to the weakening of the rule of law as well as freedom of expression. It is one of the causes that democracy's decline in the country. These views surfaced mainly in what respects the moral ethics of politicians they should open before the general public and journalists, and provide all necessary information. In other countries, if a public figure is subject to a public discussion on an issue, they usually have a responsibility and first, make an explanation regarding the issue being discussed before going to court and making a complaint. Since there is no regulation of this type of mechanism in Mongolia, most politicians trying to stop the act of publicly criticizing and judgment, directly go to the legal institutions. The Indian scholar Basu stated free speech serves to "check the abuse of power by public officials" by providing citizens with the information they need to exercise their veto power when public officials' decisions exceed certain bounds. (DD. Basu, 2014).

# Confidentiality of journalists' and Legal barrier

Over the last 15 years, every new law has included some media-related provisions, most of which have restricted media freedom. One of the emerging issues is the confidentiality of journalists' sources is not enough in Mongolia. Out of 86 surveyed journalists, 44 of the 51.2 percent, have faced pressure to disclose their sources (Naranjargal, 2019). There is a provision in the law on public radio and television. Journalist on Public Radio and Television has the right to keep their sources secret. This provision applies only if you work for this organization. As a general journalist and media worker, there is no clear legal framework for this issue. According to the media's legal principles, a journalist has a legal obligation to protect their sources, and they usually say that I will not disclose their sources. Still, they do not have a regulation to guarantee this obligation, which is one of the reasons for the lack of investigative journalism in Mongolia and directly impacts the quality of news in general.

"The number of requests from the government to delete articles published online has doubled in the last five years. Mongolia has sent 16 requests to delete content from Google since 2011 EB, 2022".

When the Law on State Secrets was passed in 1995, state secrets were defined too broadly, impeding citizens' right to information from government agencies. With the enactment of the

Law on State and Official Secrecy in 2016, a new category of classified information, "official", has been added to government organizations. As a result, between 2017 and 2019, the number of state secrets increased by about 500, restricting citizens' right to know and access information. Furthermore, the regulation of defamation, libel, slander, and Personal and Organization Confidentiality laws is Mongolia's most significant political reporting barrier. Another criminal defamation provision, section 14.8 states that "The spread of obviously false information during elections shall be punishable by a fine equal to 450 to 5400 units, or 240 to 720 hours of forced labor or restrictions upon travel for a period of up to one year. The respondent also noted that:

"During the election period, it became challenging for journalists to prepare news and articles because the Law on Violations imposes fines of 20 to 200 million MNT, which was quite restrictive, and the media was unable to carry out their professional activities during the last election they limited their news only by-election committee that was not enough to the public (GT, 2022)".

The new Federal Fund Law contains an initiative to bring government NGOs under state control, and there has been considerable opposition from NGOs in this regard. The Media Council of Mongolia highlighted this issue and recommended this new law. In any society, politics and journalism are interrelated. But the extent is essential. In Mongolia, there is no healthy relationship between politics and journalism. It is complicated to think about fair and independent journalism, primarily when controlled by one political party over time.

"In the Mongolian context, the reality has deteriorated after 20 years of working in this media field. Journalism, media freedom, and democracy are disappearing. I assume that this is a system degradation. The law regulation is enough for us, but its implementation is not enough. The law applies strictly to ordinary people instead of those supposed to enforce it. So, I think changing and improving this system will take a long time (ET,2022)".

In summary, these results show that every new law has included some media-related provisions, most of which have restricted media freedom such as criminal law rather than protection. One emerging issue is that the confidentiality of journalists' sources is not sufficient in Mongolia, where most journalists face demands to reveal the confidentiality of their sources. This is one of the reasons for the lack of investigative journalism in Mongolia and directly impacts the quality of news in general.

## CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The major objective of this study was to look into the main factors that violate and restrict political journalists' right to know and access information in Mongolia. Everything includes the framework of the research questions and the objective of this study. All of these human rights concerns mentioned earlier connect to non-democracy. Throughout this study, the research has dealt with various issues regarding freedom of expression and criminal code, and its impact on journalists and the media industry in Mongolia. By using liberal media theory elements, the research demonstrates an imbalance in a democratic society, and the power balance between media and authorities is unclear. Politicians are obliged to respect human rights, however, turn their position into influence and repress the right to know and freedom of expression of journalists. The researcher concludes with the following recommendations.

Defamation laws should be drafted very carefully and should not serve to restrict freedom of expression in practice. Article 13.14 of defamation should be removed from the criminal code because it restricts journalistic activity and threatens democratic society. The amendments made to the Criminal Code on January 10, 2020, "The spread of obviously false information, causing damage to others' honor, dignity, or business reputation of legal entities, shall be punishable by a fine equal to 450 to 1300 unities (a unity equals MNT1000), 240 to 720 hours of forced labor, or restrictions on travel for a period of one to three months," according to

Criminal Code article 13, section 13.14. The lawmaker focused only on the objective aspect and obscured the aspect of subjective. It was not fully defined whether the false information had the purpose, content, or characteristics of "discrediting or insult" and created a discrepancy in terms and concepts and was considered a crime under the definition of "publicized". Which is too broad a notion and needs to be clear definitions.

Politicians and public authorities have used defamation laws to target media and journalists. Instead of being responsible and doing their job well, politicians tend to punish citizens and journalists by criminal law and restrict their activity which threatens democratic society Public bodies shall not be considered victims of this crime because they are elected by the public and should accept more criticism than citizens and no one can be held liable for defamation for expressing their opinion. Judges, prosecutors, lawyers, police detectives, and public officers need more training and raise awareness about human rights, freedom of expression, media freedom, false information, defamation its types, and mechanisms to combat it. Provisions should be made to protect the confidential sources of journalists. Due to the lack of legal protection of confidential sources, Mongolian media is only limited to 24 hours news cycle and investigative journalism is missing. The law on Freedom of the Media (1998) needs to be revised. Not only this law but other laws also need to be amended. For instance: The Law on Criminal Procedure and the Law on Civil Procedure prohibit journalists' disclosure of confidential sources. Suppose it is necessary to disclose a journalist's confidential source. In that case, such a provision should be included in the procedural law, which is decided only by a judge, based on clear evidence, disclosure of the source based on a clear assessment, or disclosure of the original only when necessary.

Finally, some important limitations need to be considered. The research focused on political journalism and its barriers, especially in the legal context. It is recommended that further research be undertaken in the following areas: Election and political finance, investigative journalism, and human rights journalism.

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