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GENDER ANALYSIS IN PASTORAL LIVESTOCK HERDING IN MONGOLIA

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Research team:

Federica Voltolini, Team leader

Odgerel Tserendorj, Sociologist

Khandsuren Sovd, Agricultural economist, MSUA

Byambabat Munkhtogoo, Community development specialist

Byambabaatar Ichinkhorloo, Anthropologist, NUM

Acronyms

APUG: Association of Pasture-User Groups

GG: Green Gold Project

HHs: Households

NSO: National Statistical Office

PUG: Pasture User Groups

SDC: Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation

NSA: System of National Accounts

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1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The present analysis is meant to support the gender equality mainstreaming within the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) program in Mongolia and in particular of the Green Gold (GG) project. The overall goal of this project is to contribute to improve herders' livelihood. The objective of the current fourth phase (2013-2016) is to support collective actions for sustainable rangeland management and to improve access to technological knowledge, markets and economic opportunities.

The aim of this research is to investigate on the existence of possible gender gaps within the traditional herder households which are predominantly living from animal husbandry in a semi nomadic way of life. Roles and responsibilities of men and women on different aspects of herding households such as workload for productive and reproductive activities, division of responsibilities, management and decisions regarding expenditures, and participation in community activities have been analysed. Furthermore the role of children (sons and daughters), their role in herding household and visions for the future are investigated.

The main findings of the interviews of the total 366 persons (men, women, sons and daughters) from 301 different herding households in eight soums¹ of eight aimags: Taishir (Govi Altai), Most (Khovd), Umnugovi (Uvs) Bayannuur (Bayan-Ulgii), Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan), Mandal (Selenge), Undurshireet (Tuv), Olziit (Dundgovi) are presented here.

The analysis shows that the workload of a herder household varies seasonally. The highest peaks are in spring (March April) during the birth period and in summer (July-August) during the milking period. The lowest workloads are registered during the cold winter months (November-January).

Women's workload resulted to be higher than men's for all the months of the year, with the exception of March and December. The average daily workload of women during the year is 11.1 hours while the workload of men is 9.2 hours. Despite this, women's contribution and roles appear to not be adequately recognized in other aspects of herding household such as decision-making on major family spending and purchases, participation in community activities, and leadership. In relation to the control of household assets, properties are mostly registered under the husband's name. This imbalance can influence women's bargaining power and vulnerability in their homes and communities.

In relation to participation in community activities at bagh² level or in herder's organisations such as pasture user groups (PUG) or cooperatives, more men are involved than women. The main difficulty for women to participate in community activities is their difficulty to delegate household tasks and the care of children and elders. These reasons, coupled with a lack of driving skills and the existence of social norms that do not support their involvement, time and distance from meetings are also factors for women's lack of participation.

¹ A soum is an administrative unit below the aimag level (provinces)

² The bagh is the lowest administrative level under the soum in Mongolia

The time allocated for herding can change in relation to ecological region and the availability of pasture. In recent years, moreover, increasing wolf population has become a concern for herder households. If a herder household is located in an area with sufficient pasture and with limited risk of wolf attack, herders can graze their livestock with less effort. If a herder household is located in a mountainous region or in a place with a greater risk of wolf attack, the whole day must be spent tending on herding livestock in the pasture. When neighbours are part of an extended family clan such as hot ail, households tasks are shared among members, thus is less workload per member. Living in the neighbourhood of an extended family clan is very helpful especially during the event of droughts, wind storms or other natural disasters that all members assist each other and everybody, with the exception of children under 12 years of age, has to work.

According to research findings, in relation to the choice of a community leader, the preference for a men was quite strong (in the case of PUGs, this represented the majority of responses, 38.7 per cent). This was despite many saying they had no gender preference as long as they were able to carry out their duties well (in the case of cooperative leaders, this represented the majority of responses, 40.7 per cent). Only 12.6-16 percent of the respondents said they would have chosen women as PUG/cooperative leaders.

The assessment confirms that school drop-outs is highly gender biased, as there are more boys (16 percent) than girls (9 percent) dropping out prematurely from school. There is a positive correlation between poor households and children's tendency to pursue higher education. Children are an essential support for sharing the household workload. The presence of a son or a daughter living full-time in the home is an important contribution to reducing the number of working hours for parents.

With regard to the opinions of sons and daughters about their futures differ from that of their parents. Eighty-five percent of the 65 sons and daughters interviewed do not want to become herders and want to pursue higher education. Only 15 percent say they would become herders. On the other hand, 53.5 percent of the parents interviewed want their children to become herders, particularly their sons.

The analysis has included an anonymous questionnaire among 299 participants on domestic violence. The results show that problems related to domestic violence, such as economic deprivation, quarrelling, pressure and violence linked to alcohol are present within herders' families. Survey participants understood domestic violence as turbulence from husbands or neighbours.

According to survey results, domestic violence occurs at any age. On average, 15 per cent of households experienced domestic violence, which primarily occurred among people aged between 35-49 years. In other words, one in every five people experienced domestic violence. However, given that women participants were not surveyed separately, generally in the presence of other family members, the figure of 15 per cent warrants further consideration.

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Scope and objectives of the study

This study explores the relationships and roles among women and men and boys and girls in herding households. There are two key factors underpinning this research:

- To support gender mainstreaming within SDC projects involving herding households as beneficiaries
- To plan and implement GG Project targeted actions³ ensuring equal opportunities for both herder men and women to access project resources and initiatives

The main objectives of this analysis are:

- To identify the roles and responsibilities of different family members in herding households in Mongolia
- To identify gender gaps and gender issues which could be addressed by a support project in order to ensure equality in participation of project activities, and opportunities for further livelihood improvement

1.2 Methodology and context

1.2.1 Characteristics of surveyed areas

The eight areas to be surveyed were identified in cooperation with GG Project staff (see *Table 1*). The selection process took into consideration the regions in which SDC is working, and also paid attention to the different contexts that can influence life in herding households, such as different ecological characteristics, access to markets, local livelihood opportunities and the presence of ethnic groups.⁴

³The overall goal of the GG Project is to contribute to the improved livelihoods of herders and to reduce poverty. The project has four components: 1) Collective action; 2) Applied research; 3) Extension; and 4) Marketing

⁴ The sources of statistical data reported in *Table 1* are the NSO 2014 statistical reports from each surveyed aimag (Zavkhan, Khovd, Bayan-Ulgii, Uvs, Govi-Altai, Tuv, Selenge and Dundgovi)

Table 1: Characteristics of surveyed areas

Soum	Aimag ⁵	Criteria 1: Ecological area	Criteria 2: Livelihood means besides herding	Criteria 3: Main ethnic minorities (other than Khalkh)	Distance from aimag center in km	Number of men per 100 women	Working age population (per 100 people)	Sheep unit per 100 ha
Undurshireet	Tuv	Steppe area			216	106.7	54.1	120.2
Mandal	Selenge	Forest - steppe area	Agricultural activities		210	97.7	50.1	149
Olziyt	Dundgovi	Govi area			100	116.6	49	14.3
Most	Khovd	High mountain area		Zahchin majority	190	97.5	67.7	58.4
Bayannuur	Bayan-Ulgii	High mountain area	Agriculture activities	Kazakh majority	126	104.9	69.6	82.7
Umnugovi	Uvs	High mountain area		Durvud majority	119	97.3	65.8	74.7
Tsagaan chuluut	Zavkhan	High mountain area			44	101.9	53.8	29.6
Tayshir	Govi-Altai	Great lakes area			43	105.3	62.6	41.3

2.2.2 Survey sample

The identification of the survey sample took into consideration the National Statistical Office (NSO) definition⁶ of a herding family, which is: “A family herding livestock through the year and for which livestock products and benefits become livelihood sources.” A total of 366 interviews were conducted, involving (*see Tables 2 and 3*):

- About 10 per cent of herding households in the selected areas via a questionnaire, collecting information about the overall family. Of this 10 per cent, nearly 20 per cent were single-headed households⁷

⁵ An aimag is a provincial administration unit in Mongolia (there are 21 aimags)

⁶ Source: Mongolian National Statistic Office (2013), *Agriculture Sector 2012*. Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia

⁷ Female/male-headed household: Men/women widowed or divorced or living separately or not married but living with their children

- About 20 per cent of sons or daughters (14-18 years old) of the households interviewed, in order to determine the perspectives of boys and girls, via a specific questionnaire

Table 2: Number of herding households in each surveyed aimag (as per NSO 2014 figures) and of households involved in the survey

Soum	Aimag	Number of female heads of households in soums of surveyed area	Number of herder households in soums (including female-headed households)	Total number of households interviewed (including single-headed)	Number of single-headed households interviewed
Undurshireet	Tuv	50	305	32	6
Mandal	Selenge	176	485	46	4
Olzyit	Dundgovi	26	408	42	10
Most	Khovd	79	420	42	9
Bayannuur	Bayan-Ulgii	49	426	43	11
Umnugovi	Uvs	68	538	58	8
Tsagaanchuluut	Zavkhan	40	175	18	3
Tayshir	Govi-Altai	35	196	20	4
Total		523	2953	301	55

Table 3: Survey sample respondents by gender and age

Soum	Aimag	Number of girls interviewed (14-18 years old)	Number of boys interviewed (14-18 years old)	Total men interviewed	Total women interviewed	Total interviews
Undurshireet	Tuv	5	5	17	15	42
Mandal	Selenge	3	3	27	19	52
Olzyit	Dundgovi	3	5	23	19	50
Most	Khovd	5	4	21	21	51
Bayannuur	Bayan Ulgii	7	4	26	17	54
Umnugovi	Uvs	6	5	32	26	69
Tsagaanchuluut	Zavkhan	0	5	10	8	23
Tayshir	Govi-Altai	4	1	15	5	25
Total		33	32	171	130	366

Some social, demographic and economic characteristics of the households interviewed are detailed in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Characteristics of surveyed households

Number of household members	Number of households in the survey	Percentage of households in the survey
1 member only	5	1.7%
2 members	31	10.3%
3-6 members	232	77%
7-10 members	33	11%
Age	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
21-35 years old	55	18.3%
36-60 years old	220	73.1%
61 and over	26	8.6%
Ethnic group	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Khalkh	161	53.5%
Durvud	58	19.3%
Kazakh	45	15%
Zachin	28	9.3%
Bayad	4	1.3%
Uriankhai	2	0.7%
Other	3	1%
Number of livestock per household	Number of households	Percentage of households
Less than 100 animals	53	17.6%
101-200 animals	74	24.6%
201-500 animals	110	36.5%
501-999 animals	55	18.3%
1000-1499 animals	7	2.4%
1500-1999 animals	1	0.3%
More than 2000 animals	1	0.3%

Taking advantage of the opportunity provided by the field work, an additional anonymous questionnaire on domestic violence was included in the survey, although this topic was not one of the main areas of focus of this study. The additional questionnaire was completed by 299 men and women. An analysis of the data is available in Annex 1.

1.2.2 Methodology

The survey methodology included the following:

- Survey planning according to the terms of reference
- Drafting of questionnaires
- Test survey (in Undurshireet soum)
- Final drafting of questionnaires and data-gathering methodology

- Conducting of surveys in eight soums⁸
- Gathering and processing data collected through SPSS and Excel programmes

In the initial phase, we chose to use two semi-structured questionnaires targeting herder households and teenaged children. We also planned to conduct in-depth interviews (for example, PUG leaders, soum officers, soum and bagh doctors) and to compile case studies in each surveyed area. To select households for the research, we agreed to possibly⁹ interview a balanced and proportional number of households from each PUG in each surveyed soum (see *Table 5*).

Table 5: PUGs¹⁰ and cooperatives set up by the Green Gold Project in surveyed areas

Aimag	Soum	PUGs	Cooperatives
Govi-Altai	Tayshir	3	1
Khovd	Must	4	4
Bayan-Ulgii	Bayannur	7	1
Uvs	Umnugovi	13	0
Zavkhan	Tsagaanchuluut	7	1
Dundgovi	Olziyt	14	1
Tuv	Undurshireet	8	1
Selenge	Mandal	0	0

Following the test survey, it was found that the questionnaires needed comprehensive revision. Questions that were deemed too general or confusing, such as “What does a normal working day looks like?”, were replaced with a list of activities normally carried out in rural households and the time spent on each activity. The questionnaires were divided into three main groups: 1. Overall household information; 2. Questions for sons and daughters; and 3. Anonymous questionnaire on domestic violence (see *Annex 8*).

In order to make a distinction between the productive and reproductive activities carried out by men and women, a list of 61 activities was drafted and divided into productive, reproductive, social, seasonal, occasional and daily, weekly groups, and participants were asked:

- In which month each activity was carried out?
- Who carried out the activity: Husband, wife, son/daughter, herder assistant, male or female? Alone or with support from whom?
- How many hours/days each person carried out each activity?

⁸ The conducting of the field survey in the selected soums lasted from periods ranging from a few days to about two weeks, depending on the number of interviews planned. The field work was carried out between March and April 2015

⁹ In order to gather perspectives from each PUG in the surveyed soums. In the field, we tried to respect this plan as best as possible, also evaluating the logistical issues (the time available and areas’ accessibility and distance) and prioritizing interesting issues as determined in the field

¹⁰ PUGs mobilize local communities for the sustainable and collective management of rangelands, focusing on the organization of herders. Cooperatives have been set up to improve herders’ livelihoods as they are to be linked with processing industries. In particular, the GG Project supports herders who supply cashmere, wool and yak down to cashmere and yak wool processing factories.

With this data, gender disaggregated average daily workloads for each month and the average number of hours spent in one year for each listed activity were estimated for different family members in each surveyed areas¹¹.

1.2.3 Methodology limitations

Estimation of the activities and workload of herder men and women

The gender disaggregated workload calculation presented in this study must be considered to be approximate as it was not possible to validate the findings with full-time observation spanning a longer period of the year.

Quantifying the number of hours worked in a rural context such as Mongolia is a complex task, and the herders interviewed had difficulty estimating the number of hours dedicated to each activity. For example, women usually reported that the time spent cooking per day was on average one hour. However, during our stay with the families, we observed that the time spent cooking just one meal took about one hour, and usually there were three meals per day. That means that in some specific cases, a correction of surveyed data has been necessary.

Another limitation to take into account to understand the gender disaggregated workload in herding households is that if one family member is absent, that person's tasks will be carried out by others. The herding family workload is shared in quite a flexible manner. For example, even though the adult male of a family is in charge of herding livestock, if the family has both large and small herds and grazes them separately, the wife has to participate in looking after the small herds. When neighbours are part of the family, the division of tasks is shared with them. In the event of droughts, wind storms or other natural disasters, everybody, with the exception of children under 12 years of age, has to work. The time allocated for herding can change in relation to the region, the landscape and the availability of pasture. If a herder household is located in an area with sufficient pasture and with limited risk of wolf attack, herders can graze their livestock with less effort. They can take the herds to pasture in the morning and collect them in the evening, checking on them just few times a day. If a herder household is located in a mountainous region or in a place with a greater risk of wolf attack, the whole day must be spent herding livestock within their pasture area, checking whether they cross customary pasture borders. Therefore, tasks and work schedules are not evenly distributed among families as there are several factors to be considered, such as: 1) Age classification; 2) The number of families and their family members; 3) Neighbouring families; 4) Relatives or friends of the family; 5) The number and structure of livestock; 6) Pasture characteristics and the ecological range of the area; 7) Technological attainment to simplify labour; 8) The distance from the soum centre; and 9) Weather conditions and precipitation.

¹¹ The calculation of the average hours spent for each activity aimed to understand if within each area an activity was carried out by men or by women and in what proportion

Another difficulty in trying to estimate herders' workload is the disaggregation of some activities carried out at the same time. There can be overlapping tasks, such as grazing sheep and goats, watering cattle, collecting dung, visiting neighbours, travelling distances to find fertile land on which to graze cattle, looking after horses, and gathering cows, which can be carried out while herding. The research team was mindful in separating the different hours spent engaged in "sub-activities" while doing other work as there was a risk that the hours listed by the herders could exceed 24 hours per day because one task could involve many other activities.

Finally, although we are aware of the risk of simplifying herding tasks, we believe the study can provide relevant information for reflection from a gender perspective. In particular, it provides information about men's and women's tasks, their contribution to different work, and gives an idea as to the proportion of hours they respectively work in each surveyed area. Therefore, this data can be helpful in defining differences and gaps in the labour of men and women within the herding sector and in planning actions to ensure gender equality.

This analysis of the types of activities carried out by herder men and women and their workloads was carried out in seven selected soums of eight aimags: Taishir (Govi-Altai), Most (Khovd), Bayannur (Bayan-Ulgii), Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan), Mandal (Selenge), Undurshireet (Tuv), Olziyt (Dundgovi).

Anonymous questionnaire

As this was an anonymous questionnaire that respondents filled out independently, researchers could not ensure methodical answers to all the questions, and this sometimes made the interpretation of answers difficult. In our analysis, we only used data that seemed to be reliable and consistent.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Specific literature about gender issues in herding households in Mongolia is relatively limited and is often part of broader analyses about gender nationally.

Since 1990, or the transition period, some gender studies have been conducted by national and foreign scholars. Among the first was research on *Khot Ail*¹² and Farms in 1995 by the Agricultural University. This study did not specifically focus on gender; however, it was the first large-scale, comprehensive survey to be conducted on herding life, and included information on household income/expenditures and herders' daily time allocations, divided into productive/household work and classified by herders' age, sex, natural region and season.

Another time-use study that included gender disaggregated data related to soums in various aimags was the NSO/UNDP *Pilot Time-Use Survey* in 2000. A report providing an overview of

¹² Khot ail: A group or camp of herders

gender issues in the context of the economic transition, also in rural areas, was UNIFEM's *Women in Mongolia: Mapping Progress Under Transition* (Burn and Oidov, 2001). Other studies concentrated on rural areas in one or few aimags, such as the UNIFEM /UNDP study *A Gender Lens On The Rural Map Of Mongolia: Data for Policy* (Burn, 2003). Some research focused more on a specific topic, such as a case study of natural resource co-management in Mongolia included in *Social and Gender Analysis in Natural Resource Management* (Vernooy, 2006), *Gender and Water Resources Management in Mongolia* (Hawkins, 2007) carried out in three rural areas in the Govi, and the *Cashmere Value Chain: Participation of Women and Men* (UNIFEM 2004) report focused on three soums in Bayankhongor aimag.

Issues related to the division of roles, responsibilities and labour within the household are considered starting from the fact that nomadic households are units of both the productive and reproductive activities in which rights and responsibilities are clearly divided by gender. Although this, men and women tend to help each other in carrying out their tasks, also involving boys and girls in this mix of cooperation and specialisation (Burn and Oidov, 2001, p.47). Workforce availability has a fundamental impact on household wealth and survival. In terms of the interdependence of men and women working inside the household, it has been remarked that while herding skills and techniques, which are much dependent on male members, are a crucial factor for the wealth of a family, the labour carried out by the female side is an equally crucial factor for herd growth (Burn and Oidov, 2001, p.48).

This interconnection and the fact that both men's and women's productive work can be used for income-generation as well as for family subsistence makes it difficult to analyse the context dividing productive and reproductive work. For example, animals are often raised and used for their meat and the dairy consumption of the family, but their hides and hairs are sold. The interrelated nature of many activities carried out within the household, and the fact that in most of the cases the entire family is somehow involved in them, makes housework and herding activities fundamentally linked (Hawkins, 2007, p.78).

The diversity of men's and women's work is often remarked upon. Men usually do most of the work outside and away from the home, particularly selecting pastures, haymaking, herding animals, participating in meetings and business management. The main characteristic mentioned in relation to men's work is seasonality, with busy periods of work as well as of rest. This is in contrast to the nature of women's work, as women's work is continuous during the day and during the year. They usually do repetitive housework, particularly processing milk, taking care of children and housekeeping. Furthermore, although the daily workload of women is higher than men, almost all of this work is unpaid. (Ykhanbai, Odgerel, Bulgan, Naranchimeg, 2006, 192). According Bruun's observations in Khotont soum, in Arkhangai aimag, "Male dominance in decision making and a gendered pattern of work, which leaves men work-free particularly in the summer season, provide important incentives to men for upholding the nomadic lifestyle" (2006, p. viii).

Some studies have tried to quantify the workloads of herder men and women. The *Khot Ail and Farms* research of 1995 calculated that the average number of hours men spent engaged in

productive activities each day was 9.9, spending 10.1 hours in summer and 8.7 hours in winter. According to the study, men covered most of the productive hours, with women spending fewer hours engaged in productive activities. However, when it came to total working hours for both productive and reproductive activities, women took the lead, spending 11.3 hours in summer and 10.1 hours in winter, with a higher workload in all seasons and with less free time.

The aforementioned UNIFEM/UNDP research of 2003 carried out in soums in Dornod, Bayankhongor and Umnugovi aimags found that for the rural area, where herder households are, inequality is the highest between women and men. The calculation of average time spent on housework, unpaid SNA and unpaid extended SNA shows 42.7 per cent of women in the sample work over 10 hours, compared to 22.3 per cent of men¹³ (Burn, 2003, p.70).

In addition, the conclusion of UNIFEM's 2004 *Cashmere Value Chain: Participation of Women and Men* report states that although the labour division of women and men is different depending on sex, with the move to a market economy, women have assumed more roles and duties, thereby increasing their workload. In the cashmere value chain case, women participate in all stages of cashmere preparation on a par with men and at the same time accomplish other duties, including livestock-related as well as household and care work. (p. 44).

The quantification of the involvement of men and women in some specific household activities, such as cashmere production/sales, water use and reproductive activities, has also been subject to research. For example, in relation to cashmere production, 2001 UNIFEM/UNDP study found that women were more involved in the care of young animals and livestock; however, men predominated in combing goats and cashmere sales. "The gender pattern is clear: Cashmere sale is the one activity where men dominate. They do a greater share of combing goats, but not as much as their involvement in marketing. This gives them not just greater voice, but also greater visibility as cashmere producers at the meso and policy levels" (Burn, 2003, p. 74).

Heavier workloads for women are often cited as an important reason to limit their participation in social activities. As mentioned in the case study within *Social and Gender Analysis in Natural Resource Management*, although women traditionally have an important role in the conservation of natural resources (as for example, they teach their children how to protect and soundly use nature and they are involved in activities such as cleaning campsites and protecting rivers), the busy housework hinder them to participate in pasture and natural resource management (p. 194). In the same study it is also noted that there is a common perception that men is more involved in decision-making activities, for example participating in community meetings and making agreements with community leaders on behalf of their households (Ykhanbai, Odgerel, Bulgan, Naranchimeg, 2006, 194).

¹³ Unpaid SNA is, for example, pig breeding, livestock rearing and crop growing for personal consumption. Unpaid extended NSA includes domestic work and care for family members

Different studies have highlighted that despite their contribution to productive household work, women “are often seen in Mongolia as ‘helpers’ of their male counterparts, who are considered the ‘official’ herders...(Burn, 2003; Benwell, 2006)” (Hawkins 2007, p. 77) with the implication of excluding women from discussion and policies about natural resources management (Ykhanbai, Odgerel, Bulgan, Naranchimeg, 2006). A deeper reason could be that “Women are less recognised in their own right as herders and tend to be considered as unpaid family labour because of the conflation of households as both production units and social units, with a designated male head” (Burn, Oidov, 2001, p.52).

In terms of decision-making, women’s perceived limitations are often cited. According to Hawkins survey results, while rural women appear to have more influence than men over household water management decision-making in terms of water collection, they do not seem to have a significant voice in decisions regarding where to dig a well. “This could indicate that while women hold decision-making power within the household, this power is closely related to domestic work. Outside the domestic realm, even the realm of herding, vegetable farming or small business production where women are commonly involved, women’s decision-making power and voice appear to dwindle” (2007, p. 84).

Since Mongolia’s transition from a centrally planned to a free market economy, the position of women appears to have worsened in a number of aspects, including in terms of productive and reproductive workloads. A key factor has been a reduction in the local services and products formerly provided by the state. In addition, in order to cope with the insecurity of the transition period, herders began increasing and diversifying their herds to earn extra income. As stated by Burn and Oidov, privatization has affected this organisation of the livestock-based household economy in two ways. On one hand, it has blurred some distinctions between men’s and women’s work as women and boys took on men’s tasks. On the other, some traditional work divisions remained valid although the volume of productive work has increased and these tasks continued to be women’s responsibility (2001, p. 47).

One of the consequences of transition policies in relation to the access/control of resources has been the imbalanced distribution of property. Privatisation policy has been to allocate state assets such as livestock and housing to private households, assigning the ownership in particular to the head of the household, normally the man. This change renewing the importance of headship, carried many implications for gender relations in decision-making, in who controls income and spending, in the purchase and disposal of assets and in the division of labour among household/family members (Burn, Oidov, 2001, p.16).

This issue is also mentioned in relation to the fact that women have fewer opportunities to access credit than men. “Women in rural areas do face barriers in accessing finance, due to the scarcity of productive employment and a limited choice of occupations. The lack of collateral has been reported one of the major challenges for women to secure finance. While under the Law on Land women and men have equal rights to access to land, land titles disproportionately reside with male household heads, which has increased as a result of the privatisation process. With respect to property other than land, there are no legal restrictions on women’s equal

access. However, as the government reported in 2007, 46 per cent of privatised properties such as apartments and livestock were registered only in the name of the husband and 30.5 per cent jointly by husband and wife, with only 16 per cent in the name of wife.” (European Bank of Reconstruction and Development, 2013, p.56).

In relation to gender issues related to rural children’s education and futures, it is often said that the problem of school drop-outs emerged during the transition period. The phenomenon, as often remarked, is more related to boys than girls, and the main reason identified is the need for families to have support for herding and managing livestock-related activities. Furthermore the increased size of the herd during the transition meant an increased need for livestock processing, which may have resulted in the intensification of women’s work, rather than the withdrawal of girls from school (Burn, Oidov, 2001, p.31).

According to the 2005 *Mongolia Country Gender Assessment Study* (ADB /World Bank): “Drop-out rates for boys at the secondary level are high among poor families in urban areas while in rural areas, children drop out even at the primary level. Forty-two per cent of all rural drop-outs were due to the need to work, though parental complaints about poor teaching and deteriorating infrastructure were also given as reasons for withdrawing children from school. Drop-out rates were twice as high for boys from herder families because of the division of labour. While herder women and their daughters go to aimags and soums for employment and schooling, men and boys remain with the livestock. In addition, traditional attitudes on the need for education for girls who are not able to survive ‘by their wits alone’ persist, so more family investment is made for girls’ education than for boys” (p. 36).

The results of the 2005 *Mongolian Drop-Out Study* also showed that gender plays an important part in why children drop out. Among the reasons to prefer to send girls to school, it is mentioned also that “girls are regarded as more sensitive to any kind of pressure and violence and it is better for them. According to one mother, the dropping out of girls increases the probability of their becoming pregnant. Thus, education is a kind of support mechanism and protection for girls” (Del Rosario, 2005, p. 66, 67).

This imbalance has a range of impacts in the rural context. As Hawkins remarked, the gender gap has an impact on rural men and in some cases also women’s ability to be involved in the future local-resources management schemes. A generation of herders who are largely illiterate and uninformed about environmental and political processes does not bode well in relation to their ability to participate effectively in community management for a sustainable use of natural resources. (2007, p.87). There are also other social implications; for example, difficulties for herder boys and educated girls in finding a partner to marry given sharp disparities in education levels as well as the potential absence of social, cultural and intellectual affinities between the prospective partners. (Burn, Oidov, 2001, p.18). About 80-95 per cent of students at universities are female¹⁴. Male herders who marry educated women tend to live in urban areas. Also for this reason, the number of young herders is decreasing, and increasingly those

¹⁴ www.Meds.gov.mn/stahigherE

who remain to herd livestock are older people. The number of young herders aged 15-34 decreased from 11,300 in 2012 to 7,700 in 2013.¹⁵

While 79.6 per cent of the girls and 67.4 per cent of the boys who graduated from secondary schools in 2012/2013 continued their education at universities and colleges.¹⁶

3 DIVISION OF LABOUR IN PASTORAL HOUSEHOLDS

3.1 Workload estimation in herding households

As shown in Table 6, the average daily workload per person (men and women) of a herder household in all surveyed soums - Bayannuur (Bayan-Ulgii), Umnugovi (Uvs), Most (Khovd), Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan), Taishir (Govi-Altai), Olziyt (Dundgovi), Undurshireet (Tuv) and Mandal (Selenge) - is 10.1 hours on average¹⁷. The highest number of working hour peaks in March to April and drops to the lowest level in November to December. The average workload includes productive, reproductive and community activities (bagh¹⁸, PUG and cooperative meetings).

Table 6: Average daily working hours per person (men and women) during a full year

Month	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	means
Average daily working hours per person (men and women)	8.9	9	13	11.7	10.2	10.5	11.2	11	11	9.3	8.4	7.7	10.1
Average daily working hours for women	9.1	9.2	12.5	11.8	10.7	13	14.1	13.6	12.8	9.9	8.5	7.5	11.1
Average daily working hours for men	8.6	8.7	13.5	11.6	9.6	7.9	8.2	8.4	9.1	8.6	8.3	7.9	9.2

Looking separately at men's and women's workloads in the table above, November (8.5 hours) and December (7.5 hours) represented the months when women had fewer workload. Men too had less working hours in December (7.9), but also in June (7.9 hours). December was the

¹⁵ www.nso.livestock statistic 2013

¹⁶ www.mes.mn statistic, 2013/2012

¹⁷ In considering these data it should be kept in mind the fact that Mongolia is a cold country with temperatures ranging from -30C to -40C in the winter months, and for most of the year the weather is very harsh. These conditions contribute significantly in shaping people life and work

¹⁸ A bagh is a small rural settlement, an administrative unit below soum level

time when households were settled in their winter camps, with forage and hay sourced, and meat for winter food prepared.

March to April was the busiest period for men, with an average daily peak of 13.5 hours in March and 11.6 hours in April. According to the herders, at this time of the year they are busy taking care of baby animals and have almost no time for proper sleep. Animal birth-related labour is among the heaviest work to be done in spring, when the weather is harsh. This activity requires the effort of both men and women to ensure the animals survive. We estimate that women contribute almost the same amount of time as men during this period, with the average workload for women being 12.5 hours in March and 11.8 hours in April.

The survey in Bayannuur soum was carried out during the labour-intensive birth period (March) with temperatures around -15C during the day and far below -20C during the night. Women's work started around 8am and continued until 9pm in the evening, including cooking and looking after children. Men's work started slightly later at 8-9am and continued until 7-8pm in the evening. Men, while herding, take with them so-called "keragai" bags, which are used to carry newborn animals and bring them home for special care during their first days. Women are involved in such activities as checking on livestock that are ready to give birth, helping newborn animals suckle their mothers, keeping the newborns at home if it is too cold, feeding them hay, taking them to their mothers to feed and letting them stay with their mothers for a while, and performing special practices for female animals who neglect their offspring.

Team member observation in Bayannuur soum, Bayan-Ulgii

For women, July and August are the busiest months of the year. In July, the workload was 14.1 hours, while in August it was 13.6 hours. For men in these same months, the estimated working hours per day were 8.2 hours and 8.4 hours respectively. Summer is the main period in which cows, sheep, goats, horses and camels are milked and dairy products are processed. These activities are mainly carried out by women, although in some cases, as will be detailed further on, men can contribute to the milking. The processing of dairy products is an activity that tends to be carried out mainly by women, with support from children when available. The contribution of sons and daughters is crucial in reducing both parents' workload and is fundamental during the busiest periods of the year to ensure tasks are accomplished in order to guarantee household survival¹⁹.

In spring, we send our livestock to pasture at 7am and collect them at 8pm; in summer, livestock are sent to pasture at 6am and collected at 9pm; in autumn, livestock are sent to pasture at 9am and collected at 8pm; in winter, livestock are sent to pasture at 7am and collected at 7pm. My husband herds livestock on the pasture, and when our children are around he comes home for lunch while the children look after the livestock.

Herder woman, Bayannuur soum, Bayan-Ulgii aimag

¹⁹ For example, in the weeks when animals are born, some families must temporarily keep their children at home and out of school to help. From June to August, when children have their summer vacation, they can greatly assist their parents in many duties in accordance with their ages. Chapter 7 details the activities that the children interviewed said they carried out within their households when they were at home for school holidays

3.2 Productive labour

Productive labour activities include works such as livestock product sales, the combing/shaving of animals, taking animals to pasture, processing dairy products, otoo²⁰ movements, and milking (see detailed list in Annex 4).

Table 7: Estimated daily average working hours of men and women for productive activities during a full year

Month	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Means
Men	6.9	7.1	12.1	10.2	8.3	6.8	7.1	7.3	7.7	7	6.6	6.1	7.8
Women	2.5	2.2	6.4	5.8	4.9	7.3	9.1	8.6	6.9	3.8	2.4	1.7	5.1

According to the results of this survey, men spent on average 7.8 hours engaged in productive labour and women 5.1 hours, of which men spent 7.1 hours in summer, 6.7 hours in winter, 10.2 hours in spring and 7.1 hours in autumn, while women spent 8.3 hours in summer, 2.1 hours in winter, 5.7 hours in spring and 4.4 hours in autumn. Both the 1995 *Khot Ail and Farm* research and our study results show that men are more involved in productive labour compared with women. In addition, in relation to the results of the research carried out in 1995, our study results indicate that the productive labour workload of both men and women has decreased.

An analysis of the average daily productive hours of men and women is illustrated in more in detail in each surveyed soum in Table 8 below.

Table 8: Estimated daily average contribution of the productive activities of men and women in each soum

Soum (aimag)	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Undurshireet (Tuv) men	5.8	5.6	13.1	10.6	8.3	7.1	6.9	7.2	8	6.7	5.7	5.1
Undurshireet (Tuv) women	1.7	1.5	8.7	6.6	4.1	4.7	4.3	4.9	5.2	3.4	2.2	1.5
Olziyt (Dundgovi) men	9.2	6.7	16.1	12.4	9.8	7.5	8.1	6.1	7.7	5.9	5.5	5.3
Olziyt (Dundgovi) women	4.2	2.3	10.3	8.5	6.9	7	8.4	8.5	7	4.4	2.4	1.8

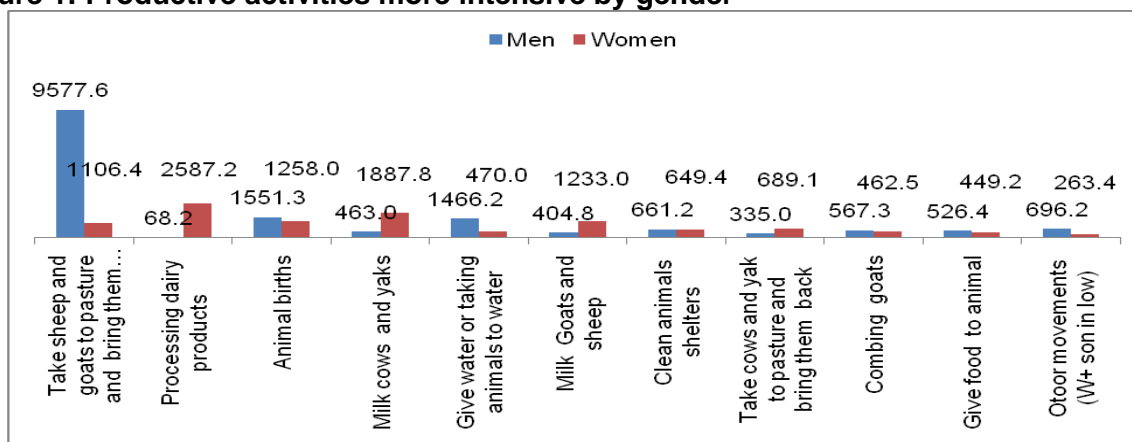
²⁰ Otoo is a type of pastureland livestock herding in which herders move their livestock to selected pastureland - areas where there is good vegetation, planting, water and saline - throughout the four seasons with three main purposes: to feed livestock on nutritious grass, to allow livestock to fatten, and to sustain the strength and weight of livestock

Soum (aimag)	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Mandal (Selenge) men	9.9	6.6	12.5	11.1	8	6.3	8.7	7.1	7.9	6.5	6.6	6.7
Mandal (Selenge) women	6	3.5	6.2	6.3	6.7	7	8	7.5	5.4	3.9	2.9	2.3
Bayannur (Bayan-Ulgii) men	8.8	13	15.1	14	10.4	9	7.6	11.9	9.1	12.4	10.9	8.9
Bayannur (Bayan-Ulgii) women	2.5	5.8	7.6	7.1	5.6	8.8	10.1	10.5	8.4	4.1	3.3	2.7
Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan) men	5.1	6.9	8.8	7.7	8.7	6.4	6.6	7.1	7.3	5.4	5.9	6
Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan) women	1.4	1.2	3.7	5.0	5.3	7.8	11.7	10.5	7.6	4.3	4	2.4
Tayshir (Govi-Altai) men	5.4	5.7	9.6	7.6	5.9	5.7	6.9	7.4	7	6.5	6	6.5
Tayshir (Govi-Altai) women	1	0.9	3.3	3.1	2.9	7.5	12.2	10.2	7.3	3.9	1.1	0.8
Most (Khovd) men	4	5.1	9.4	8.1	7.2	5.4	5	4.7	7.2	5.7	5.4	4.5
Most (Khovd) women	0.6	0.6	5.9	4.2	2.7	8.2	8.4	7.9	7.2	2.8	1.5	0.7

Considering all the surveyed soums, the more intensive productive activities for men and women are: herding sheep and goats, processing dairy products, animal birth-related labour, milking and giving water to livestock (*Figure 1 below*)²¹.

²¹ Calculated by overall surveyed soums yearly average hours

Figure 1: Productive activities more intensive by gender



An example of men’s and women’s involvement in productive activities according to the estimates of the average hours spent on each activity in Most soum in the surveyed year is listed in Table 9 below.

Table 9: Gender division of productive activities in Most soum, Khovd aimag

Productive activities	
Activities conducted only or mainly by men	Shaving camels, the sale of camel wool, the sale of livestock (live animals) and meat, the growing of forage and preparation of animal feed, hay making, livestock-supporting material/craft production, taking camels (horses, sheep, goats, cows, yaks) to pasture and bringing them back again, giving water to animals or taking animals to water, otoor movements, looking for lost/stolen animals, training animals for riding and for household use
Activities conducted mainly by men with women’s participation about half²² of men’s time	Animal shelter repairs and winter preparation, combing yaks and goats, the sale of goat skins, sheep wool, yak down, the collection and sale of medicinal herbs, washing livestock (bathing animals to remove parasites), feeding animals
Activities conducted only or mostly by women	Processing dairy products, feeding baby animals
Activities conducted mainly by women with men’s participation about half of women’s time	Milking cows, yaks, goats and sheep, cleaning animal shelters
Activities for which men and women spent about an equal amount of time	Ger repairs/winter preparation ²³ , milking horses, shaving sheep, the sale of milk and dairy products, the sale of cashmere and wool, caring for animals during the birthing period, veterinary

22 More in detail, these are activities for which one partner spent more than 1/4 and less than 3/4 of the other partner’s time
 23 In the repair/preparation for winter of gers, women are more responsible for activities like sewing the covering cloth, maintaining the floor of the ger, etc.

Productive activities	
Activities conducted only or mainly by men	Shaving camels, the sale of camel wool, the sale of livestock (live animals) and meat, the growing of forage and preparation of animal feed, hay making, livestock-supporting material/craft production, taking camels (horses, sheep, goats, cows, yaks) to pasture and bringing them back again, giving water to animals or taking animals to water, otor movements, looking for lost/stolen animals, training animals for riding and for household use
	activities (mainly injections against worms/parasites), the marking of animals, the slaughtering of animals and clearing out the carcasses, the castration of animals, seasonal household movements (packing, moving, settlement in a new location)

Milking

Milking is mostly undertaken by women, daughters-in-laws and girls. This tradition has been preserved, however, men can be involved in this activity in two ways (see Figure 2):

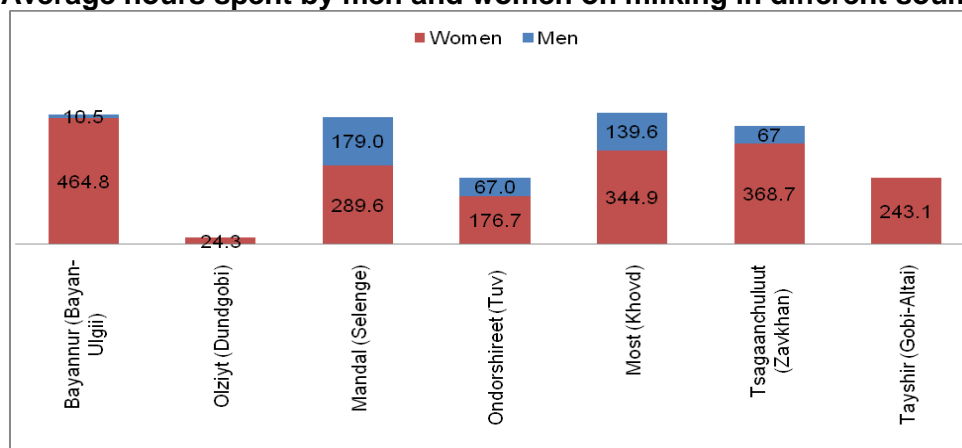
- Herder men in Most soum (Khovd) and Taishir soum (Zavkhan) said they spent hours helping their wives by holding baby cows during milking
- In Mandal (Selenge) and Undurshireet (Tuv), men said they milked cows and were in charge of household activities when their wives were absent, particularly in Mandal soum where intensive milk-oriented livestock farming is practiced. Here, the number of cows has increased in recent years, as has the demand for more workers to milk them. This need is met by husbands milking cows with their wives or by hiring assistant herders²⁴ to do the milking.

My wife went for otoor with our son. I am looking after my home. I feed a few cows and milk them while my wife is away. As we do not have enough human power, whoever is available should do household work.

Male herder, Undurshireet soum, Tuv aimag

²⁴ Herder assistant: In this research, we considered herders assistants to be: 1) People with no opportunities for income-generation other than offering their labour full-time throughout the year (because they do not have enough livestock, etc) in exchange for material benefits (animals, food, money, support from richer families); and 2) People offering their labour as an extra opportunity to receive benefits (money, animals, food, other kinds of support from richer families), contributing to their livelihoods. It is part-time/seasonal/temporary work (for some months or, in general, not for the full year) within the supported family. Annex 7 details some cases studies focused on assistant herders, both male and female

Figure 2: Average hours spent by men and women on milking in different soums

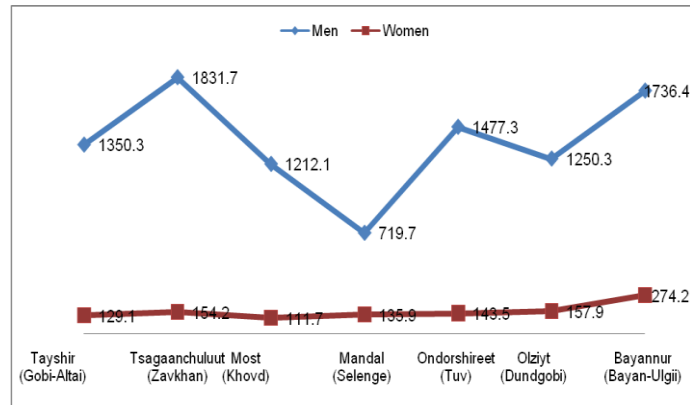


Sheep and goat herding

Sheep and goat herding is one of the herders' main productive activities, and is predominantly undertaken by men. During summer vacations and other school holidays, children and students return home and help with livestock herding. Women are predominantly engaged in herding baby goats, baby sheep and calves, as well as herding and taking care of physically weaker sheep, goats and cows in nearby pastureland. For example, in Bayannur soum, Bayan-Ulgii aimag, when men are away for otor, women keep weaker and thinner animals and cows for milking. Herding techniques and the division of labour vary due to a range of factors, including the number of livestock, herd composition, the geographic characteristics of different areas, and the presence of risks such as wolves.²⁵ As shown in Figure 3, men prevail in the number of hours spent herding sheep and goats. Herding hours were longer in the surveyed areas of Zavkhan and Bayan-Ulgii aimags, which are located in mountainous and rocky areas in the western region of Mongolia.

²⁵ In Bayannur, Mandal and Undurshireet soums, cows are sent to pasture in the morning and are left unattended all day, and horses are checked from a distance only two to three times a month; sheep and goats are herded all day. In Tsagaanchuluut soum (Govi-Altai), animals are checked by herders from a distance. In Tayshir soum (Zavkhan), herders follow their sheep and goats, herding them for about nine to 11 hours per day. Some herders lessen the burden of their productive labour by cooperating with neighbours or relatives, sharing some activities on a shift basis. For example, in Bayanniur soum, some herders share sheep herding on a shift basis, working 15 days in a row.

Figure 3: Average hours spent by men and women on herding sheep and goats in different soums



Some herding techniques

Horses are checked once a month. Sheep and goats are herded for 10 hours a day from January through to April and October through to December. Cows are left unattended on pasture; they are taken to pasture in the morning and gathered by herders in the evening. My husband takes male goats to otor in March to April and October. I take care of female goats and spend two hours a day herding on a regular basis in a yard that is 3 ha in area. My husband manages sheep births at otor and I manage goat births.

Herder

woman, Bayannuur soum, Bayan-Ulgii aimag

Livestock labour does not allow us free time and is not valued from outside. Although we herd animals from morning until evening, it is still not seen as proper work. A herder is a very busy person and does hard work, and mostly men are responsible for sheep and goat herding.

Male herder man, Bayannuur soum, Bayan-Ulgii aimag

Combing goats and sales of cashmere

It has been calculated that the surveyed families had on average 161 sheep, 160 goats, 15 cows, 15 yaks, 16 horses and seven camels, making sheep and goats the dominant livestock. Because cashmere is a highly valued raw material, herder families raise goats as their main source of income. Within the households surveyed, both men and women were in charge of combing and selling cashmere. The average number of hours spent in the surveyed year for these activities is listed in Figures 4 and 5 below.

Figure 4: Average hours spent by men and women combing cashmere in different soums

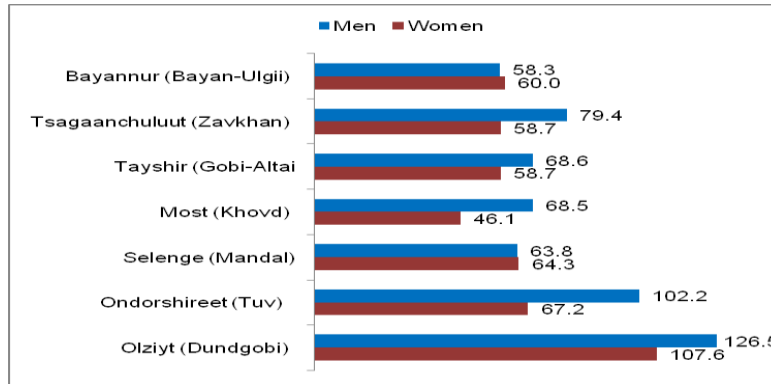
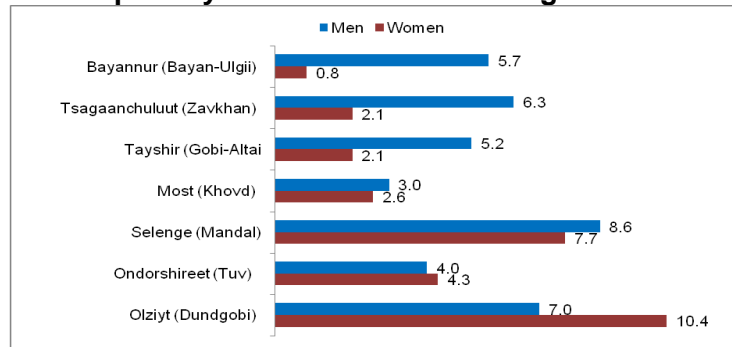


Figure 5: Average hours spent by men and women selling cashmere in different soums

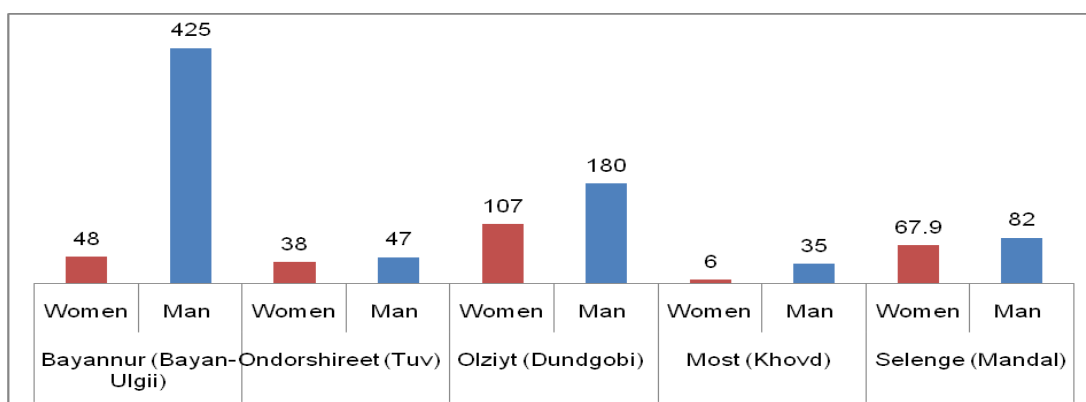


The hours spent combing goats show that although the activity is undertaken by both men and women, men’s involvement is higher in almost all of the surveyed soums, with the exception of Mandal soum (Selenge) and Bayannuur soum (Bayan-Ulgii). Combing requires more physical effort, and combing large male goats is done by men with support from children, relatives and assistant herders. Women mainly comb younger goats aged up to three years. The reason women are less involved in combing goats is also because they are busy with household reproductive activities. In relation to the sale of cashmere - the most valuable livestock raw material - Figure 5 shows that in most of the surveyed soums there is a higher level of men’s involvement. This is particularly so in Taishir (Govi-Altai), Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan) and Bayannuur (Bayan-Ulgii), while in Most (Khovd) and in Mandal (Selenge) there is less of a difference. In Undurshireet (Tuv) and in Olziit (Dundgovi), women spend more time on this activity than men.

Otor

Otor grazing is a heavy activity carried out for several weeks and includes such activities as livestock herding, watering and feeding, and animal births. As shown in Figure 6 below, otor grazing is mostly carried out by men in the surveyed soums in Bayan-Ulgii, Dundgovi, Selenge, Khovd and Tuv aimags. Because otor grazing is not practiced in Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan) and Taishir (Govi-Altai), these areas are not included in this figure.

Figure 6: Average hours spent by men and women on otoor grazing in each soum



During otoor grazing, women stay at home. According to the herders' responses, the division of tasks among husband and wives during otoor grazing is more defined, particularly in Bayan-Ulgii and Khovd. In Olziit soum (Dundgovi), Mandal soum (Selenge) and Undurshireet soum (Tuv), otoor grazing is more equally shared, particularly in Olziit soum, where herders often reported that husband and wives undertook otoor grazing together.²⁶

I take our sheep, goats and horses to otoor from October until January together with my brothers, who are already married and have their own families. We combine the livestock of our three families and three of us herd them on a shift basis for 15 days in row. When not on shift, we go home and change our clothes and bring food.

Male herder, Bayannuur soum, Bayan-Ulgii aimag

3.3 Reproductive labour

The reproductive labour examined included activities that revolved around care and maintenance of the household and its members, such as cleaning inside gers, taking care of children and the elderly, helping children with their studies, preparing firewood, collecting water, cooking and washing. The women surveyed spent on average 5.9 hours per day throughout the year performing these domestic tasks. Table 10 below shows that women's working hours and their workload for reproductive activities were three to four times higher than that of men.

²⁶ According to the herders involved in the survey in Bayannuur soum of Bayan-Ulgii aimag, otoor grazing is undertaken for a long period until October and December. Lately herders have managed to pool their efforts by sharing the labour, herding sheep on a shift basis for 15 days in row. Herders from Olziyt soum, Dundgovi aimag, said they had to otoor graze frequently due to pasture degradation and poor vegetation caused by bad weather

Table 10: Average daily working hours spent by men and women on reproductive activities during a full year

Month	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Average
Men	1.6	1.6	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.1	1	1	1.3	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.4
Women	6.6	6.9	6	5.9	5.8	5.6	5	5	5.9	6	6	5.8	5.9

Compared with men, the hours women spent engaged in reproductive activities were higher across all seasons, which confirms that women are the most involved in activities that provide care for other members of the family.

Table 10 shows that women’s reproductive workload decreases in the summer months when their daughters return home during summer vacations and help out with tasks such as cooking, cleaning, washing and collecting water.

“Herding life is not easy for women. Taking care of livestock is hard for women; harsh weather, cold and heat, damage the skin, the skin gets darker. People age quickly in the countryside. Housework is mostly done by women so they have to work continuously, while men work only from time to time. Also, activities such as milking, giving milk to baby goats, processing dairy products in hot weather, collecting dung and collecting water every day, these are repetitive jobs done by women. Men mostly take livestock to pasture, do herding work and sometimes collect water. Women’s work is more varied and takes much more time. Some men more or less help with dung collecting, water collection, tea-making and keeping the house warm. If more men could carry out these activities, it would be a big help for women’s workload in housework.”

“In general, women have to be more flexible; they have more different kinds of tasks in the household, they have a greater workload, including a big variety of activities such as caring for livestock, processing products, caring for children, cooking and other daily housework. Men are more specialised in one activity, which is herding, but it is a more risky kind of work.”
Some women’s reflections about gender roles in Most soum, Khovd aimag

An example of the level of involvement of men and women in reproductive activities based on the average hours spent for each activity in Most soum in the surveyed year is listed in Table 11 below.

Table 11: Division of reproductive activities between men and women in surveyed households in Most soum, Khovd aimag

Reproductive activities	
Activities conducted only or mainly by men	–
Activities conducted mainly by men with women’s participation about half of men’s time	Taking children to kindergarten/school

Activities conducted only or mostly by women	Cleaning inside the ger, cooking (food and tea-making, heating/making fires), taking care of children, washing, taking care of the elderly, sewing/stitching/embroidering, cleaning outside the ger
Activities conducted mainly by women with men's participation about half of women's time	Collecting water for family use, collecting <i>argal</i> ²⁷
Activities for which men and women spent about an equal amount of time	Helping children to study

As shown in Table 12 below, men are rarely involved in cooking and cleaning, particularly when families are separated due to otor grazing or when a parent moves to an urban area for work or to look after children who are studying. However, men's involvement is more regular in other reproductive activities, such as collecting firewood and water, and helping children with their homework. According to area, in Taishir soum (Zavkhan) and Most soum (Khovd), men are more involved than women in taking children to and from school; men in Mandal soum (Selenge), Olziyt soum (Dundgovi) and Undurshireet soum (Tuv) are more engaged in collecting water and preparing firewood; and men in Bayannuur soum (Bayan-Ulgii) are more involved in preparing firewood and fuel, taking children to and from school, and cleaning outside the ger.

Table 12: Average daily working hours spent by men and women on main reproductive activities in different soums

Activity	Tsagaanc-huluut, Zavkhan		Tayshir, Govi-Altai		Most, Khovd		Mandal, Selenge		Olziyt, Dundgovi		Undurshireet, Tuv		Bayannur, Bayan-Ulgii	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Cleaning inside ger	199.4	30	189.3	23.9	302.3	20.1	448.5	51.6	348.9	40.5	376.4	20	771.7	43.6
Taking care of elderly	121.6	0	1.7	0	9.6	0	0	5.3	0	0	10.9	0	248.3	0
Cooking/Heating	288.9	50.6	406.2	44.7	746.6	35.9	599.8	58.3	471.3	32.4	534.1	10.6	971.7	54.5
Taking care of children	410.4	18.8	57.1	15.8	152.8	5.1	916.9	113.6	691.6	97.3	221.1	106.7	605	65.5
Collecting water	354.6	124.5	177.4	79.7	66.4	45.5	57.1	95.6	18.9	115.6	36.4	74.2	116.4	112.1

²⁷ Argal is dried cow dung; it is collected for use as fire fuel

Washing	120.6	11.2	110.7	5.5	161.2	13.9	184.2	35.3	181.3	39.2	128.7	13.2	247.7	32
Sewing/stitching/embroidering	24.1	0	24.1	0	146.7	1.9	64.2	9.4	76.3	6.5	57.3	0	182.9	11
Collecting firewood/argal	384.6	64.7	384.6	187.7	151.2	66.9	142.2	167.8	100.7	117.2	69.4	70.1	59.4	229.3
Helping children to study	33.8	29.8	33.8	16.1	38.8	34.4	17.4	4.6	44.8	0.0	38	0	108.6	59.6
Cleaning outside ger	34.2	3.3	34.2	0.8	42.5	8	52.4	30.2	52.3	14.8	29	14.3	104.2	116.2
Taking children to kindergarten/school	23.6	30.9	20.9	8	8.9	15.8	12.7	1.9	33	0	38.4	6.9	15	89.1

4 DECISION-MAKING, ACCESS AND CONTROL OVER RESOURCES/BENEFITS

4.1 Herding Household income sources²⁸

This section examines incomes and income sources in the eight surveyed areas from March 2014 to February 2015. The major sources of income for herder households²⁹ are:

- Livestock income
- Pensions and social benefits
- Income from crop activities
- Other additional income/wages and small businesses

4.1.1 Livestock income

Income from livestock includes earnings from the sale of milk and dairy products, cashmere and other kinds of wool, meat, animal skins, and animals. According to the majority of responses (80.9 per cent or 1016 responses) this income was earned by both husbands and wives; For 118 responses (9.4 per cent) husbands earned income from cashmere, livestock and meat sales, and wool and skins, 6.3 per cent of replies have been that women earned income from dairy products, wool, cashmere and skins, and in 3.4 per cent of the cases sons and daughters earned income from dairy products, wool and cashmere (see *Table 13*).

Table 13: Livestock income earned by household members (by answers number)³⁰

Soum (aimag)	Husband	Wife	Together	Children
Taishir (Govi-Altai)	9	23	67	8
Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan)	9	9	65	5
Most(Khovd)	15	4	220	0
Umnugovi (Uvs)	50	9	167	0
Bayannuur, (Bayan-Ulgii)	21	15	53	25
Undurshireet (Tuv)	12	6	169	5
Olziit (Dundgovi)	0	0	205	0
Mandal (Selenge)	17	13	70	0
Total	118	79	1016	43

Most of the income derived from livestock is earned by husbands and wives, although most of the decisions related to livestock production are made by men (see *Figure 7*). Livestock production includes such decisions as otor and seasonal grazing movements, involvement in

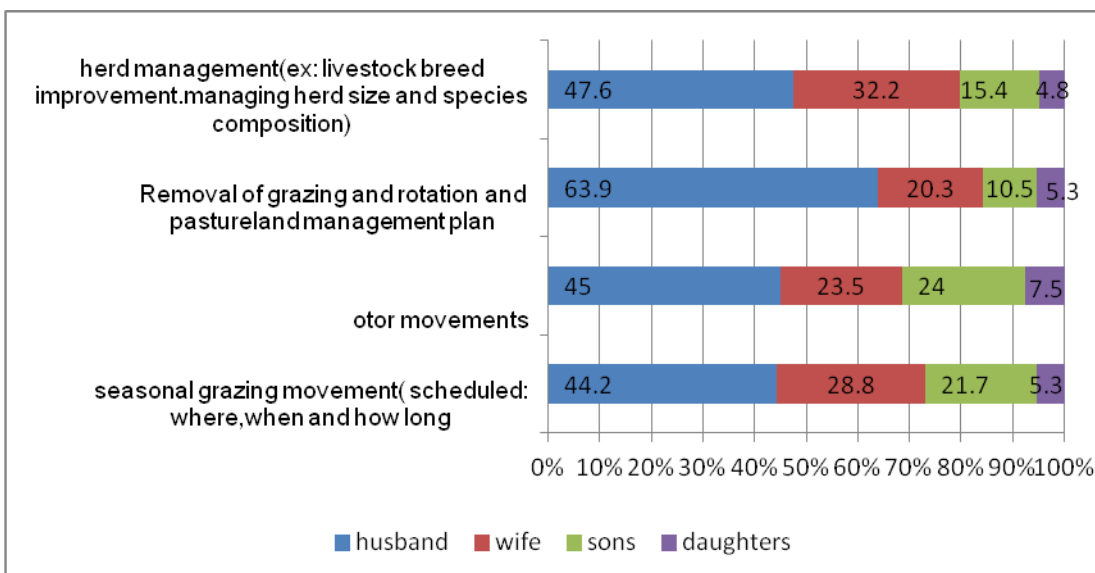
²⁸ Suggestions from the herders interviewed about how to improve their livelihoods and incomes are in Annex 2

²⁹ The income structure of herder households is in Annex 5

³⁰ More in detail, by number of answers (totally 1256) about different kind of livestock income sources, including sales of: meat, milk/dairy products, wool, cashmere, animals skins and animals.

pastureland management plans and herd management. In terms of decision-making, husbands represent 50.2 per cent, wives 26.2 per cent, sons 17.9 per cent, and daughters 5.7 per cent.

Figure 7: Household members’ decision-making in livestock production (by per centage, n=215)



According to the respondents, among the main reasons for men’s dominance in decision-making is that men have to lead livestock production and generally have more knowledge about the land, pastures, water, vegetation, winter disasters and droughts, with women being less familiar and less interested in these areas.

4.1.2 Pensions and social welfare income

The major types of welfare support herders receive are:

- Childcare allowance
- Student tuition allowance
- Pensions
- Benefits for disabled people
- Food coupons

Table 14: Pensions and social welfare allowances received by household members (by numbers, n=301)

Soum (aimag)	Husband	Wife	Children
Tayshir (Govi-Altai)	0	3	14
Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan)	3	3	14
Most (Khovd)	3	13	29
Umnugovi (Uvs)	9	10	14
Bayannuur (Bayan-Ulgii)	21	20	30
Undurshireet (Tuv)	0	5	17

Soum (aimag)	Husband	Wife	Children
Olziit (Dundgovi)	2	5	12
Mandal (Selenge)	7	7	24
Total	45	66	154

The survey found that 45 men, or 26.3 per cent of all men who took part, received pensions or welfare allowances, while 66 women, or 50.7 per cent of all women who took part, received pensions or allowances (see Table 14). Of the 171 men who took part in the survey, 15 or 8.7 per cent were pensioners, and 44 or 33.8 per cent of the 130 women who took part were pensioners. In addition, 30 men and 22 women received allowances other than a pension. More men received a disability allowance than women who received a disability allowance and an allowance for mothers/mothers with more than four children, indicating that men's overall health status was below that of women.³¹

In recent years, men's health has been declining. They do heavy work, and apart from that they almost never have health check-ups and are very careless about their health. Wives stay in the soum centre to look after their children in winter, which could be one of the factors contributing to the poor health of men.

Female head of the Soum Citizens' Representative Khural, Tayshir soum, Govi-Altai aimag

In terms of the expenditure of pensions, factors such as being able to travel to the soum centre, mobility, health status and literacy play important roles; those who have more opportunities to travel are spending the money.

I keep my pension money at the bank. The savings are in the name of my husband. As I don't usually travel to the soum centre, my husband withdraws money when he goes there. This is much easier for me.

Female pensioner, Tayshir soum, Govi-Altai aimag

4.1.3 Income from crops and planting

Not all the herder households surveyed grew crops. Only about 4.7 per cent of the men and 3.0 per cent of the women involved in the survey worked in the agricultural sector. Income from crops such as grains, potatoes and other vegetables was earned only in Taishir (Govii-Altai), Mandal (Selenge), Umnugovi (Uvs) and Bayannuur (Bayan-Ulgii). Income earned from the agricultural sector represented in general only a small portion of the total income of the herder households,³² however, it was important because it was earned in autumn³³.

³¹ The per centage of pensions and social allowances within the incomes of the herder households surveyed is listed in Annex 5

³² The per centage of income derived from cropping and planting among surveyed households is listed in Annex 5

³³ In Autumn the availability of money is crucial for herders to support children starting school and to carry out all the necessary activities to guarantee a safe winter period for livestock and household.

In good harvest years, we earn more income than from the livestock sector. If we can sell our vegetables as a whole, we use the income for investment. When the vegetables are sold continuously in winter, the income is used for our daily household needs. As my husband sells the products, he buys the necessary goods for our family. This allows us to not have to take out a loan from the bank for household use.

A woman from Tayshir soum, Govi-Altai aimag

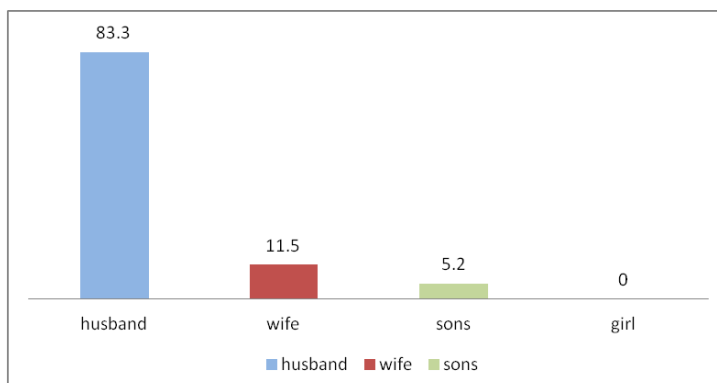
Compared with the livestock herding sector, agriculture is based on the use of mechanics, the daily working time is long, and sometimes workers have to live far from home. These are some of the reasons why men are the major income-earners (*see Table 15*) and men's working hours in this sector are predominant. The average number of hours engaged in agricultural activities by men in the surveyed year in Taishir soum (Govi-Altai) was 374.6, and for women 57.8 hours. Men's hours were 5.5 times greater than women's. Men worked on average 10 to 12 hours per day during the harvest period, while women spent three to four hours.

Table 15: Income from crops earned by household members (by numbers, n=15)

Soum (aimag)	Husband	Wife	Both husband and wife	Children
Taishir (Govi-Altai)	4	0	3	0
Umnugovi (Uvs)	1	0	0	0
Mandal (Selenge)	0	0	4	0
Bayannuur (Bayan-Ulgii)	0	1	0	2
Total	5	1	7	2

It is interesting to note that in the surveyed areas in which agriculture is practiced, men's involvement was also predominant (83.3 per cent) in decision-making about household production in this sector (*see Figure 8*).

Figure 8: Decision-making in farming production among household members (by percentage, n=35)



4.1.4 Additional income

As a result of rangeland degradation, the decline in the price of livestock products and the increased price of consumers goods, herders try to generate income from non-livestock sources.³⁴ Table 16 below lists some of the most common additional forms of income-generation among herder men and women.

Table 16: Additional income sources of herder men and women

Additional income sources of herder men	Additional income sources of herder women
I. Seasonal paid jobs (driver, doorkeeper)	I. Baking bread and cookies
II. Taxi driver in aimag centre	II. Running a shop
III. Hand gold mining	III. Working as a clerk at a shop
IV. Timber sales	IV. Working as a janitor at a dormitory or hospital
V. Herding livestock for other families	V. Working at soum and aimag administration office
VI. Training horses for other families	VI. Running a small business

A range of factors influence the earning of additional income, including market location, the population of the soum, the availability of natural resources, and herders' level of education. For example, a herder family in Taishir soum, Govi-Altai aimag, stays in the aimag centre from about October to March to send their child to school. The husband bought a car and earns income providing a taxi service. Another example can be seen in Tsagaanchuluut soum, Zavkhan aimag, where the soum administration took steps to increase the incomes of poor herder families who had few livestock, hiring as janitors the mothers of those students who stay in the soum in order to support their children's education.

³⁴ The per centage of additional income among the surveyed herder households is listed in Annex 5

Table 17: Additional income earned by household members (percentage, n=52)

Soum (aimag)	Husband	Wife	Both husband and wife	Children	Mother and children	Total
Tayshir (Govi-Altai)	28.5	28.5	0	28.5	14.5	100
Tsagaanchuluut zavkhan	21.4	28.6	7.2	42.8	0	100
Most (Khovd)	44.5	44.5	11	0	0	100
Umnugovi (Uvs)	64.3	0	35.7	0	0	100
Bayannur, (Bayan-Ulgii)	0	0	100	0	0	100
Undurshireet, (Tuv)	0	0	100	0	0	100
Olziyt (Dundgovi)	0	100	0	0	0	100
Mandal, (Selenge)	66.7	0	33.3	0	0	100
Average	38.5	19.2	25	15.4	1.9	100

Considering the 52 people involved in the survey who earned additional income, (Table 17 above) 38.5 per cent were men, 19.2 per cent were women, 25 per cent were both partners, and 15.4 per cent were sons and daughters, 1.9 per cent were mother and children.

4.1.5 Household forms of expenditure³⁵

Family members' participation in decision-making about household-related procurements and sales is shown in Table 18 below. Of the families interviewed, husbands decided on 49.9 per cent of purchases, wives 33.2 per cent, sons 12.4 per cent, and daughters 4.5 per cent.

Table 18: Decision-making on household-related procurement and sales (by percentage³⁶)

Type of procurement/expenditure	Decision			
	Husband	Wife	Son	Daughter
Choosing markets for selling livestock products	43	31.1	15.7	10.2
Purchasing daily products (food and clothes)	28.7	45	20.9	5.5
Purchasing equipment and tools	40.8	33.6	17.6	8
Purchasing a vehicle (car, truck, tractor, motorcycle)	45.4	25.5	23.5	5.6
Purchasing a new ger	49.5	38.1	9.6	2.7
Purchase/rental/construction of an apartment	44.1	35.7	14.9	5.2
Purchasing winter and spring camps	55.8	35.3	6.9	2
Construction of well	69.6	27	3.4	0
Starting a new business	54.1	29.8	16.1	0

³⁵ Data on the structure of herder household expenditures in the surveyed year and soums is listed in Annex 5

³⁶ 1245 answers in total

Purchase and sale of fast horses	66.6	17.3	12.5	3.6
Purchasing jewellery and other expensive items	46.0	48	2.5	3.6
Decisions on taking out loans	55.6	32.1	5.1	7.2
Average	49.9	33.2	12.4	4.5

The involvement of family members in decision-making can vary depending on the type of goods to be bought (see Table 18). Women's involvement is predominant in the purchasing of items to satisfy daily needs such as food and clothes; this is because women are more cognisant of the needs of family members. They are also slightly predominant in decisions involving the purchase of jewellery and other luxury items (such as gold and silver decorative items and snuff bottles). Women were less involved in decisions on the rest of the expenditures.

In relation to the purchasing of expensive items, men are the main decision-makers, which in some cases reflects that the tradition of respecting the husband and ensuring he looks good is beneficial for the entire family. While these expenditures represent a significant portion of a family's income, some women still respect their husbands' decisions about buying such expensive items as cars, snuff boxes and pipes, and race horses.

I support my husband when he buys car and fast horses. From generation to generation, we believe if a man is in good shape then the rest of the family will stay well. But I will never accept it if he gets drunk or smokes.

Herder woman, Tsagaanchuluut soum, Zavkhan aimag

4.2 Household money management

As part of the questionnaire targeting husbands and wives, we asked "Who manages the money in your family?" The responses are listed in Table 19 below.

Table 19: Money management within the household (per centage, n=287)

Soum (aimag)	Husband	Wife	Together	Together with male dominance	Together with female dominance	Mother and children
Undurshireet (Tuv)	20	40	23.3	3.3	10	3.4
Mandal (Selenge)	36.6	24.4	34.1	4.9	0	0
Olziit (Dundgovi)	23.8	42.9	31	2.3	0	0
Most (Khovd)	28.6	42.9	4.8	16.6	7.1	0
Bayannuur (Bayan-Ulgii)	51.2	39.5	7	2.3	0	0
Umnugovi (Uvs)	43.9	17.5	17.5	19.3	1.8	0
Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan)	12.5	31.3	56.2	0	0	0
Taishir (Govi-Altai)	25	43.7	25	0	6.3	0
Average	33.4	33.8	21.6	8	2.8	0.3

Money is controlled by wives in 33.8 per cent of households, and by husbands in 33.4 per cent; 21.6 per cent of respondents said money was jointly managed by husbands and wives. Eight per cent said money was managed together by couples but with male dominance, while 2.8 per

cent said both decided but with female dominance. Only 0.3 per cent said money was managed by mothers and children. In total, for wives the involvement in financial decision-making was 58.5 per cent (33.8+21.6+2.8) and for husbands 63 per cent (33.4+21.6+8.0), which shows that in terms of money management, husbands tend to be slightly dominant.

Analysing the involvement of members of nuclear households in terms of money management in each surveyed soum (see *Table 20*), we can see that men are predominant in Bayannuur (Bayan-Ulgii), Umnugovi (Uvs), Most (Khovd), Undurshireet (Tuv), Olziit (Dundgovi) and Mandal (Selenge). Within households in the surveyed soums of Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan) and Taishir (Govi-Altai), wives exercise more power in relation to financial decision-making.

Table 20: Involvement of family members in money management (only nuclear³⁷ households, by percentage, n=240)

Family members	Umnugovi (Uvs)	Most (Khovd)	Bayannuur (Bayan-Ulgii)	Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan)	Taishir (Govi-Altai)	Undurshireet (Tuv)	Mandal (Selenge)	Olziit (Dundgovi)	Means
Husband	45.8	30.3	60.7	16.7	23.1	22.7	44.4	35.7	34.9
Wife	12.5	33.3	28.6	33.3	38.5	13.6	33.3	17.9	26.4
Together	18.8	6.1	7.1	50	38.5	54.5	22.2	42.9	30
Together with husband dominant	22.9	21.2	3.6	0	0	4.5	0	3.6	7
Together with wife dominant	0	9.1	0	0	0	4.5	0	0	1.7
Husband+together+together with husband dominant	87.5	57.6	71.4	66.7	61.5	81.8	66.7	82.1	71.9
Wife+together+together with wife dominant	31.3	48.5	35.7	83.3	76.9	72.7	55.6	60.7	58.1

In relation to the nuclear households (see *Table 20*), average 34.9 per cent of respondents said that husbands managed the money, 26.4 per cent said wives managed the money, 30 per cent said both, 7 per cent said both with the husband dominant, and 1.7 per cent said both with the

³⁷ Nuclear family: A family group consisting of a pair of adults and their children

wife dominant. However, in the soums surveyed in Uvs, Bayan-Ulgii and Selenge aimags, a greater number than average said men managed the money.

Women`s power in money management increases in closer proximity to the central region from the west. For example, women`s involvement in money management was 31.3 per cent (the least involved) in Umnugovi (Uvs), while it was 83.3 per cent (the highest) in Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan). The shared decision-making rate was relatively higher than average in Undurshireet (Tuv), Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan) and Olziit (Dundgovi). It was lower in Most (Khovd), Bayannuur (Bayan-Ulgii), Umnugovi (Uvs) and Mandal (Selenge).

Table 21: Number of livestock in relation to household money management (by percentage, n=287)

Number of livestock	Husband	Wife	Together	Together with husband dominant	Together with wife dominant	Mother and children
>100	38.5	42.3	15.4	3.8	0	0
101-200	38.2	35.3	16.2	8.8	1.5	0
201-500	24	32.7	29.8	8.7	4.8	0
501-999	38.9	27.8	20.4	9.3	1.9	1.9
1000-1499	42.9	28.6	14.3	0	14.3	0
1500 and more	50	0	0	50	0	0

It has been noted that money management varies across families depending on the number of livestock (*see Table 21*). As the herd size expands, the involvement of husbands in money management increases. Money management shifts to husbands or is jointly undertaken with males dominant in households with more than 501 livestock, where there is sufficient income to cover all household needs and make investments.

According to age classifications (*see Table 22*), men`s decision-making is dominant in the 21-24 (36.4+31.8+9.1) and 35-60 year age groups (30.9+21.2+8.3), although in the younger age group joint money management is also relevant at 31.8 per cent. On the contrary in senior families aged over 60 the joint decision-making about money is very limited (4.5 per cent).

Table 22: Age groups in relation to household money management (by percentage, n=283)

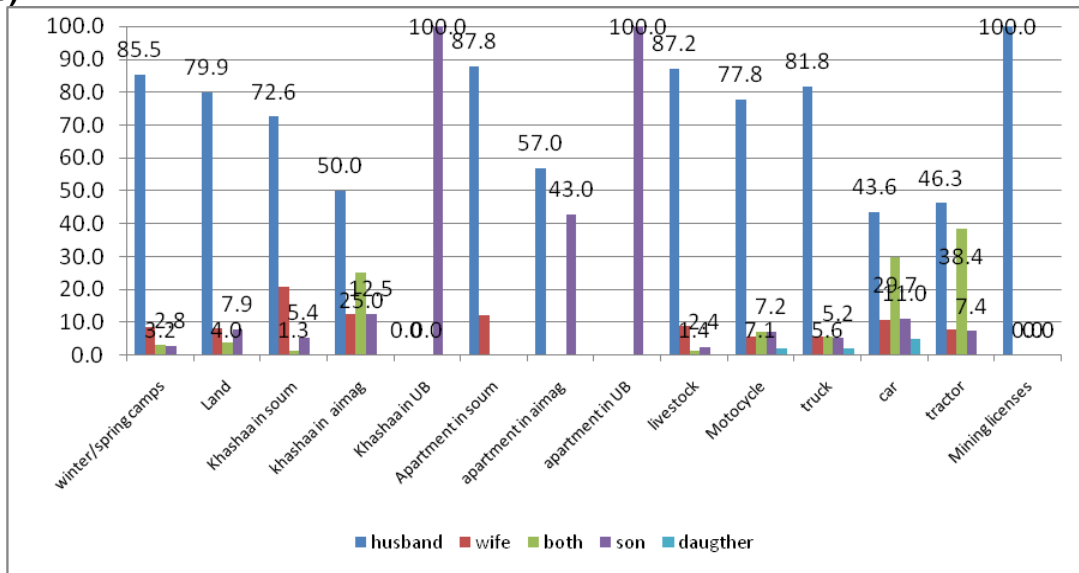
Age groups	Husband	Wife	Jointly husband and wife	Together with husband dominant	Together with wife dominant	Mother and children	Total
21-34	36.4	15.9	31.8	9.1	6.8	0	100
35-60	30.9	36.9	21.2	8.3	2.3	0.4	100
60 and more	50	45.5	4.5	0	0	0	100

4.3 Household property ownership

According to the Civil Law of Mongolia, the ownership of any property registered after marriage is the common property of all family members; however, if property is registered under only one partner's name, he/she can sell the property without their partner's agreement.

Figure 9 shows how the household property among the households surveyed is registered under the names of different family members, according to the location and types of property³⁸.

Figure 9: Registration of property under the name of family members (by per centage, n=230)



The majority of household property, 58.5 per cent, is registered under the name of husbands, 10.7 per cent under the name of both husbands and wives, and only 8.5 per cent under the name of wives. In relation to children, 8 per cent of household property is under the name of sons, 3.3 per cent under the name of daughters, and 2.6 per cent under the name of granddaughters. In general, 5.7 per cent of property is registered under the name of children, and 2.6 per cent under the name of mothers and children. Livestock, winter and spring camps, motorcycles and other vehicles are mainly registered under the name of husbands. Property outside the local area is mainly under the name of sons due to the tradition of preparing a dwelling for the son when he marries. In the course of our fieldwork, we observed that rural women often did not think household property could be registered under their name because family property was registered under the name of the head of the family.

4.4 Household loans

Income from livestock production is seasonal, therefore herders' second income source is often via loans³⁹. Table 23 below lists the involvement of husbands and wives in decision-making about loans.

³⁸ The private property of surveyed herder households is detailed in Annex 5

Table 23: Husbands' and wives' involvement in decision-making about loans (per centage, n=224)

Soum	Husband	Wife	Together
Undurshireet (Tuv)	26.1	8.7	65.2
Mandal (Selenge)	23.8	0	76.2
Olziyt (Dundgovi)	11.8	17.6	70.6
Most (Khovd)	17.2	13.8	69
Bayannur (Bayan-Ulgii)	51.9	33.3	14.8
Umnugovi (Uvs)	42.2	11.1	46.7
Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan)	46.2	23.1	30.7
Tayshir (Govi-Altai)	40	0	60
Average	32.4	13.5	54.1

The involvement of both husbands and wives in decisions to take out bank loans represented 54.1 per cent of all respondents who had taken out loans. The decision is made by husbands alone in 32.4 per cent of the cases, while in 13.5 per cent of cases it was solely the wife's decision. Livestock is used as collateral for bank loans, so both husbands and wives must sign loan papers at banks.

The participation of nuclear family members in decision-making about loans in the surveyed year varied depending on the different purposes for the loans (see *Table 24*). An interesting result is that husbands made 50 per cent of the decisions about buying apartments for their sons and 33.3 per cent of the decisions about buying vehicles for their sons, while wives made 66.7 per cent of the decisions about purchasing apartment for their daughters. In other words, it seems that fathers tend to ensure homes and vehicles for their sons, while mothers are more interested in making investments for their daughters. A total of 52.6 per cent of the respondents made joint decisions about loan expenditures. However, overall it appears that men are dominant at the decision-making level about loans expenditures (82.7 per cent is the involvement of men, while 66.5 per cent is that of women).

Table 24: Nuclear family members' involvement in decision-making about different purposes for loans (per centage, n=301)

³⁹ The number of herder loans and loan providers are detailed in Annex 5

Loan purpose	Husband	Wife	Together husband and wife	As a whole family with children
Daily expenditure and household needs	23.8	9.5	66.7	0
Support daughter's business	33.3	0	66.7	0
Purchase livestock	31.6	10.5	52.6	5.3
Son's wedding	28.6	14.3	57.1	0
Daughter's wedding	50	0	50	0
Preparing shelter, hay and forage	0	33.3	66.7	0
Travel	100	0	0	0
Attend training	0	100	0	0
Household equipment	25	12.5	62.5	0
Medical expenses	50	0	50	0
Construction of apartment	0	0	100	0
Student tuition fees	33.3	19.4	47.2	0
Lunar New Year celebration	0	100	0	0
Purchase of vehicle for family use	25	16.7	50	8.3
Purchase of vehicle for son	33.3	0	33.3	33.3
Purchase of apartment	40	20	40	0
Purchase of apartment for son	50	0	25	25
Purchase of apartment for daughter	0	66.7	33.3	0
Support family business	44.4	0	44.4	11.1
Average	30.1	13.9	52.6	2.9

The participation of men and women in decision-making about loans in the surveyed year varies, depending on the different types of loan providers, as shown in Table 25 below. The participation of men in taking out loans from official and non-official sources was 63.6-86.6⁴⁰ per cent; women's participation was 54.5-70 per cent. The participation of husbands and wives in taking out official bank loans was equal as herders families use their livestock as collateral and both husband and wife have to sign loan contracts. Husbands' decisions were more predominant than women's in the other kind of loan arrangements.

Table 25: Participation of households member in decision-making about loans from different loan providers (percentage)

⁴⁰ Data of table 25 in column 'Per centage in decision' and in the 'Loan providers' columns are related to two different questions about decision making regarding loans

	Per centage in decision	Loan providers			
		Bank	Cooperative	Shop	Individuals
Husband	31.7	45.5	45	30	33.2
Daughter, mother	0.6	0	0	0	0.4
Parents and son	1.2	0	0	0	0.9
Parents and daughter	0.6	0	0	0	0.4
Wife	9.8	36.4	15	15	12.3
Wife and husband	54.9	18.2	40.0	55	51.9
Whole family	0.6	0	0	0	0.4
Mother and son	0.6	0	0	0	0.4
Husband+husband and wife	86.6	63.6	85	85	85.1
Wife+ husband and wife	64.6	54.5	55	70	64.3

5 COMMUNITY ACTIVITY PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP

5.1 Community activity participation

The involvement of men and women in community activities at the local level (such as bagh meetings, and PUG and cooperative meetings) are examined in this chapter in terms of general participation.

Looking first at how many times men and women took part in these activities from March 2014 to February 2015 (see *Table 26*), we can see that men participated significantly more than women: 298 times for men and 175 times for women. Both men and women attended more bagh meetings than PUG and cooperative meetings. The participation of men and women in at least one meeting at the bagh level (63 husbands and 60 wives) or at the cooperative level (34 husbands and 31 wives) was more balanced than participation in PUG meetings, where men were predominant (44 husbands and 16 wives). In relation to participation in a second meeting during the surveyed year, women participated markedly less than men in all the three kinds of activities. For example, in the case of bagh meetings, husbands took part a second time in 28 cases, while women took part in only 16 cases.

Table 26: Husbands' and wives' participation frequency in bagh, cooperative⁴¹ and APUG/PUG meetings from March 2014 to February 2015 (by numbers, $n=242$)

⁴¹ The data on cooperatives provided in this chapter is not limited to those set up by the GG Project. It refers to any cooperative activities in the soums in which the respondents were involved

Number of attendances within the surveyed year	Bagh meetings		Cooperative meetings		APUG/PUG meetings		Total attendance husband	Total attendance wife
	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife		
1	63	60	34	31	44	16	141	107
2	28	16	18	13	17	7	63	36
3	27	11	8	2	14	3	49	16
4	21	8	6	2	9	3	36	13
5	4	2	1	0	2	1	7	3
6	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Total	145	97	67	48	86	30	298	175

“Mostly men attend all the public activities, and depending on the distance of the event, women might also attend, but they go once, and they will not go a second time per year as they think one time is enough. Normally they attend one bagh meeting per year and they think this is sufficient.”

“Women are not really into pasture management. Mainly men do this activity or men tell women where to go with the herds. Women stay at home all day. Pasture is not familiar to them. It is something quite far.”

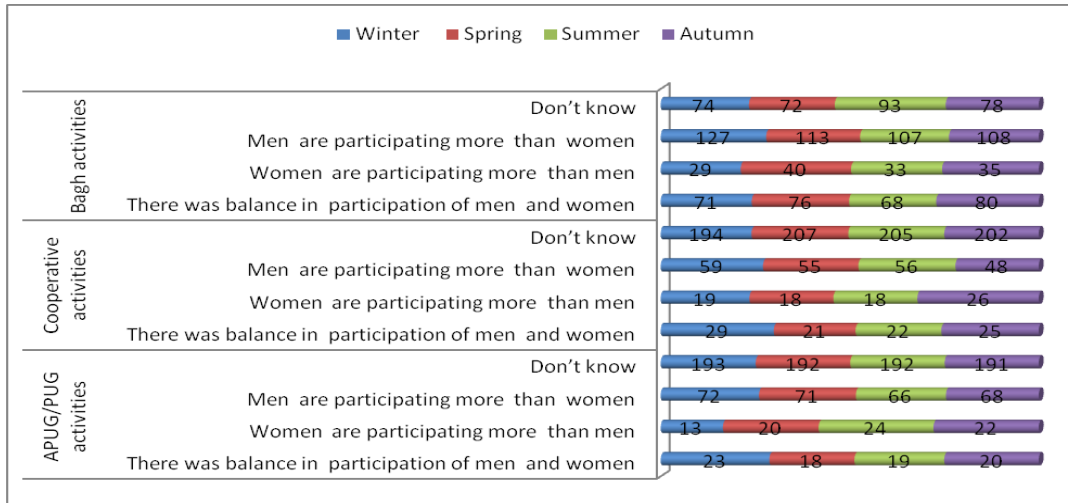
Interviews with two bagh doctors, Most soum, Khovd aimag

Women talk about pasture but people don’t respect what they say. They tell them, “You’re a women, what do you want to know?” I think it is a Mongolian tradition: Men make decisions and women have to follow. Traditionally, women were not involved in pasture management. Traditionally, it was the man’s role to chose pastureland rotation, where and when to move. Women took care of the children, the housework, the livestock at home. During the socialist era, planning was done by the government, so herder families had to follow, but this didn’t change the tradition inside the household. With democracy, livestock became private, but pasture is still public. So herders can use the pasture as they want because the land belongs to nobody, therefore it is messy. But even during communism, the roles inside the household (between husbands and wives) did not change so much.”

Bayantuum PUG leader, Most soum, Khovd aimag

The perception among those interviewed on men’s and women’s overall participation in PUG, cooperative and bagh activities was that men took part to a greater degree in any season (see Figure 10).

Figure 10: Respondents’ perception of men’s and women’s participation in APUG/PUG, cooperative and bagh activities, by seasons (by numbers, n=301)

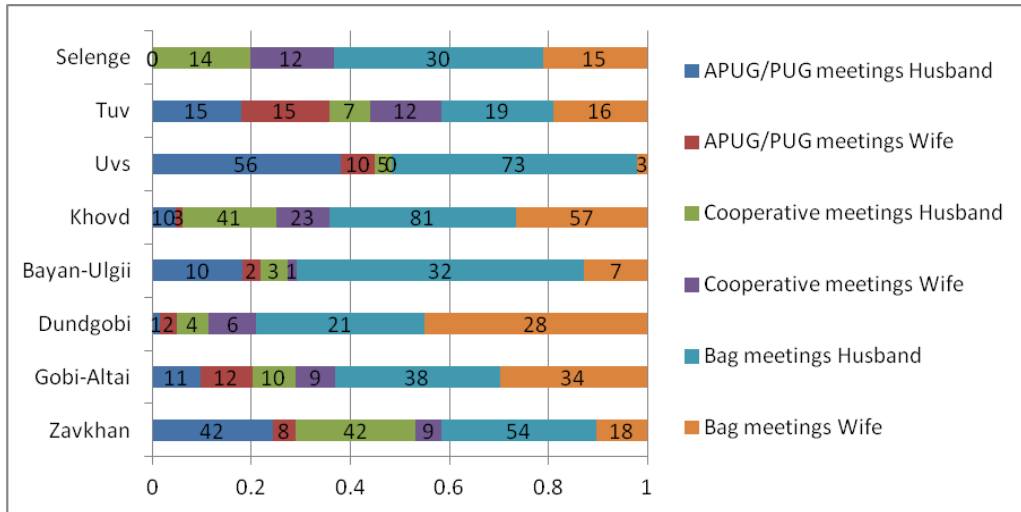


The participation rate of men and women in each surveyed soum is detailed in Figure 11 below. In bagh meetings, the attendance of men was significantly higher than that of women in Zavkhan, Khovd, Uvs, Bayan-Ulgii and Selenge aimags areas. A more similar level of men's and women's involvement (although still with men predominance) was seen in Taishir (Govi-Altai) and Undurshireet (Tuv). Female herders participated in bagh meetings more than men in Olziyt (Dundgovi).

There was a considerable higher level of men's participation in cooperative meetings in the soums of Zavkhan, Khovd, Uvs and Bayan-Ulgii aimags, although in the latter two the overall level of herder participation was quite low. Women's participation was higher than that of men in Undurshireet and slightly also in Olziyt. In Taishir and Mandal soums there was quite fairly equal participation, still with men predominance.

There was a substantially higher level of men's participation in APUG/PUG meetings in Umnugovi (Uvs) and Tsagaanchulut (Zavkhan). There was also a higher level of men's participation in Bayannur (Bayan-Ulgii) and Most (Khovd), although the overall participation rate was lower. Men and women in Undurshireet (Tuv) had an equal level of participation in APUG/PUG meetings. In Taishir (Govi-Altai) and in Olziit (Dundgovi) there was a very slightly higher participation of women. However, the participation of both men and women in Olziit was very low due to a decrease in these kinds of activities. In Mandal soum (Selenge) there is no PUG activity.

Figure 11: Participation of men and women in bagh, cooperative⁴² and APUG/PUG meetings in the surveyed year and in different soums, (by number of times attended, n=242)

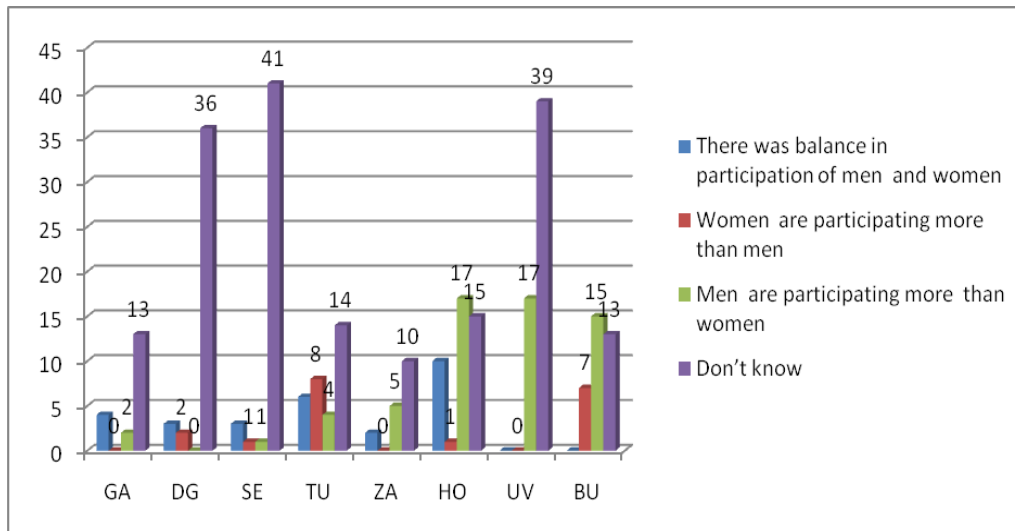


Generally, the participation of female herders was significantly less than males in most of the surveyed soums in the western aimags. Women’s level of participation was more equal in the surveyed soums in the central aimags of Tuv and Dundgovi.

Results on the actual participation of husbands and wives in those households interviewed (*Figure 11*) matched respondents’ perceptions about men’s and women’s overall attendance in their areas (*see Figure 12*).⁴³

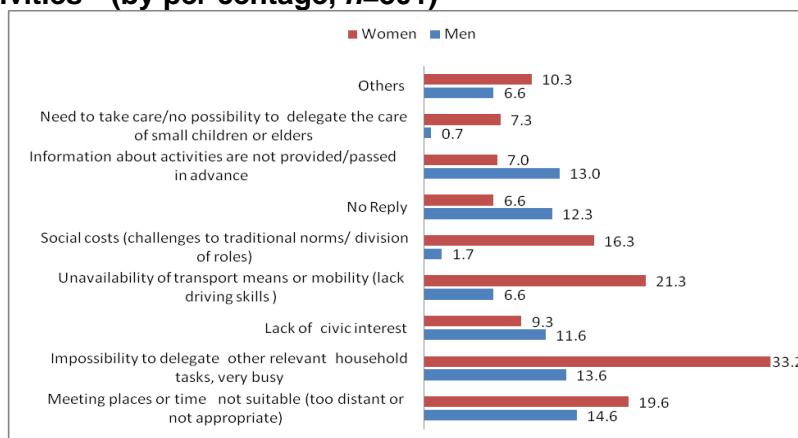
Figure 12: Respondents’ perceptions about male and female herders’ participation in APUG/PUG, cooperative and bagh activities, by areas in each aimag (by numbers, n=289)

⁴³ It is interesting to note that respondents in Khovd, Uvs and Bayan-Ulgii aimags said men participated more than women. In Undurshireet soum, Tuv aimag, respondents said women participated more than men. In Gobi-Altai, Dundgovi and Selenge aimags, respondents said there was balance in the participation of men and women



With these results in mind, we then examined the reasons underpinning the different levels of participation for men and women in PUG and cooperative activities. Figure 13 below shows that for women, the main reasons were not being able to delegate household task (33.2 per cent) and not being able to delegate the care of children and the elderly (7.3 per cent). These reasons, coupled with a lack of driving skills (21.3 per cent) and the presence of social norms that did not support their involvement (16.3 per cent), contributed to limiting women's participation.

Figure 13: Main causes of men's and women's limited participation⁴⁴ in PUG and cooperative activities⁴⁵ (by per centage, n=301)



Time and physical distance from meetings were also factors impacting upon women's participation (19.6 per cent); factors which also were the principal reasons for limited male

⁴⁴ The suggestions made by the herders interviewed on how to improve participation and leadership in PUG and cooperative activities is detailed in Annex 3

⁴⁵ The survey question was multiple choice

participation (14.6 per cent), along with not being able to delegate tasks at the household level (13.6 per cent), a lack of information and a lack of civic interest.

About women’s participation in community activities: “Housework and transportation can really be a problem for women. But if you really want to attend something, you can find a way, so these are secondary issues. The husband is herding all day, so the woman has to stay at home. There are no kindergarten facilities in rural areas, so unless a family has neighbourhood families, they have no other people with whom they can leave their children. Furthermore, women in the countryside aged over 35 feel old, physically and mentally, so they lack initiative, and they lack skills to communicate, and they do not have sporting skills.”

About women’s involvement in pasture management and cooperatives: “There is the problem of information. They say ‘There is a meeting’, but they don’t explain the content, so if the content of the meeting isn’t clear and people don’t know what is going to be discussed, they prefer to stay at home as they don’t know if it’s interesting for them. Furthermore, traditionally, women’s words are not much valued; that’s why women lack confidence. For example, during a meeting when women make speeches, men tend to react like, ‘Oh, what does she know? I know these things better than her’. People also tend to prefer male leaders. There is still the stereotypical thinking that ‘women have long hair and short minds’, meaning that men are always smarter than women. Traditionally, women are considered good wives if the house is clean, the children are clean and the food is ready - mainly routine work that went on for centuries. That’s how women are valued, but nobody ask what her plans for the future are, what she thinks, so women just continue their routine work.”

A woman from Must soum, Khovd aimag

According to the respondents, the main reasons underpinning the lack of participation of men and women in each surveyed area are detailed in Table 27 below.

Table 27: Main causes of men’s and women’s low participation in each area⁴⁶ (by percentage, n=301)

	Men	Women
Bayannur (Bayan-Ulgii)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of civic interest • Information about activities is not provided in advance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not able to delegate other household tasks, very busy • Lack of transport or mobility (lack of driving skills)
Most soum (Khovd)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No reply • Information about activities is not provided in advance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No reply • Lack of transport or mobility (lack of driving skills)

⁴⁶ The survey question was multiple choice

	Men	Women
Bayannur (Bayan-Ulgii)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of civic interest • Information about activities is not provided in advance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not able to delegate other household tasks, very busy • Lack of transport or mobility (lack of driving skills)
Umnugovi soum (Uvs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meeting places or times not suitable (too distant or inappropriate) • Information about activities is not provided in advance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social costs (challenges to traditional norms/division of roles) • Unable to delegate other household tasks, very busy
Tsagaanchulut soum (Zavkhan)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of civic interest • Meeting places or times not suitable (too distant or inappropriate) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meeting places or times not suitable (too distant or inappropriate) • Women's ideas/priorities are not considered
Tayshir soum (Govi-Altai)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No reply • Not able to delegate other household tasks, very busy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meeting places or times not suitable (too distant or inappropriate) • Not able to delegate other household tasks, very busy
Mandal soum (Selenge)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of civic interest • Information about activities is not provided in advance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not able to delegate other household tasks, very busy • Lack of transport or mobility (lack of driving skills)
Undurshireet soum (Tuv)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not able to delegate other household tasks, very busy • Information about activities is not provided in advance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of transport or mobility (lack of driving skills) • Not able to delegate other household tasks, very busy
Olziyt soum (Dundgovi)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not able to delegate other household tasks, very busy • Lack of interest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of transport or mobility (lack of driving skills) • Need to take care of/not able to delegate the care of children or the elderly

There are some interesting cases to be remarked upon in which the level of participation follows different trends. In Tayshir soum, Govi-Altai aimag, there is shared participation in bagh meetings, PUG and cooperative meetings. Respondents said that being located close to the soum centre enabled them to easily attend meetings, and given that there were few social activities, both men and women preferred to go together.

In Olziyt soum, Dundgovi aimag, although most of the women surveyed could not drive, they were still able to attend bagh, PUG and cooperative meetings more than men by organising themselves into groups and car-pooling for some activities. Many of the young herder couples interviewed said they took part together in community activities and in other households' work. In Undurshireet soum, Tuv aimag, women had a higher rate of participation in cooperative activities and quite the same rate of attendance in bagh and PUG meetings. Undurshireet soum has the advantage of being closer to Ulaanbaatar and, compared with other areas, has better infrastructure and a road transportation network. More women there were also able to drive. In

addition, some respondents said that because men were busy herding, women had to attend community meetings in order to share information within their households.

Mostly women attend public activities. Families have two main members: A husband and a wife. The husbands care for livestock and the wives attend public activities, so sometimes wives just lock their ger door and go. This phenomenon (women participating in community activities) started about five to seven years ago, because women know how to drive and almost every family has a car or small truck. It is considered better for men to take care of livestock. Also, if men attend meetings it is possible for them to join friends and drink vodka and forget their household priorities. Maybe traditionally men were more involved in organising life outside the household, but lately the situation has become more equal in Undurshireet. *APUG leader in Undurshireet soum, Tuv aimag*

In none of the surveyed areas was women's participation in PUG activities substantially higher than that of men's. Among the main reasons cited by respondents were:

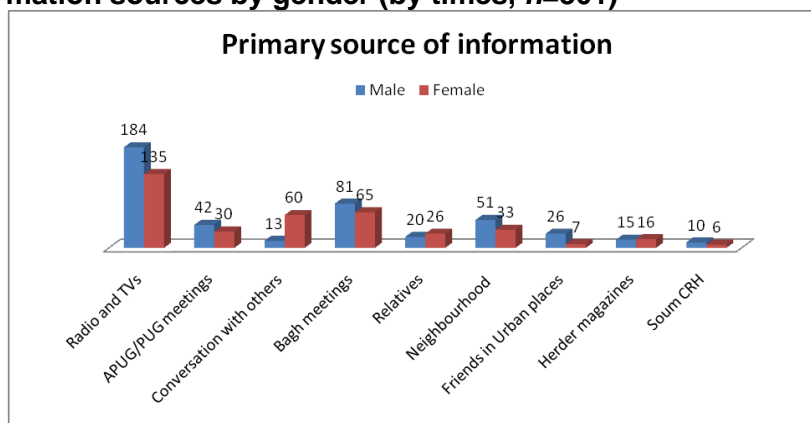
- Men are traditionally closer to activities outside the household, including herding and other important activities. Traditionally, men are more "mobile" and know more about the land and pastures than women
- Some APUG/PUG activities are more related to physical labour activities such as digging or maintaining wells, moving to otoo reserve areas, protecting water sources, planting and harvesting livestock feed crops, building and maintaining roads, harvesting hay, removing parasites from livestock, and caring for diseased animals
- PUG members are registered in the names of household heads, so invitations to any events or meetings are delivered to/for household heads only

A significant number of the herders surveyed said they did not participate in community activities because they had not received information in advance. As shown in Figure 14 below, the majority of the men and women involved in the survey received local and national news and other information via the radio and television. The second main source of information for both men and women was bagh meetings/bagh governors' messages (81 times mentioned by men and 65 times by women). Neighbours (51 times mentioned by men and 33 times by women) and APUG/PUG meetings (42 times mentioned by men and 30 times by women) were other important information channels. While all these sources of information are relevant for both men and women, they actually reach more men than women.

Women receive more news than men via: a) Conversations with others who attended events and meetings (60 times mentioned by women and 13 times by men); b) Conversations with relatives and others, including husbands (26 times mentioned by women and 20 times by men); c) Through "Herder Magazine" (16 times mentioned by women and 15 times by men).

In relation to less-mentioned sources of information, men predominantly receive news from friends in urban places (26 times mentioned by men and seven times by women) and via Soum Citizens' Representative Khurals (CRK).

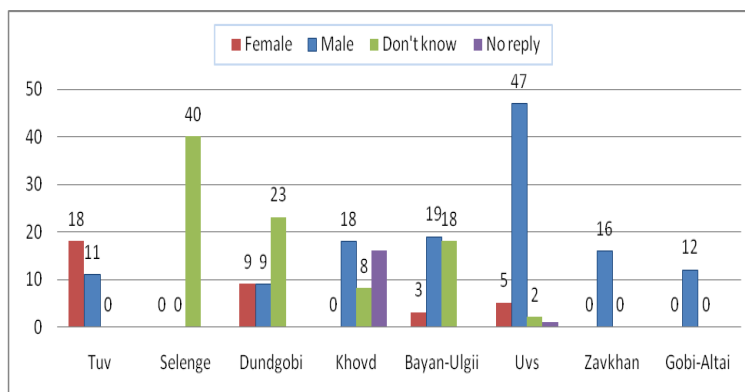
Figure 14: Information sources by gender (by times, n=301)



5.2 Leadership in community activities

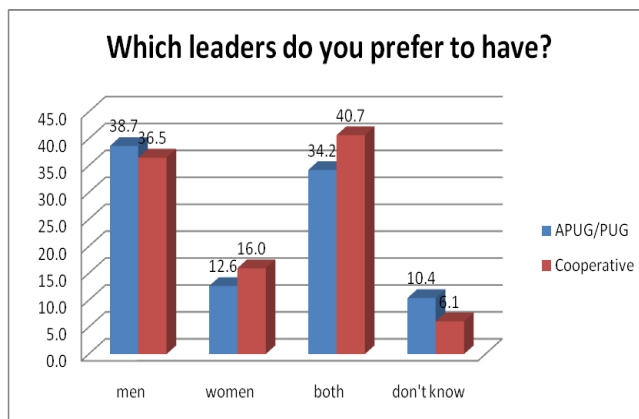
Respondents in the surveyed soums in Zavkhan, Uvs, Khovd, Govi-Altai and Bayan-Ulgii aimags said the majority of PUG leaders were male. Many of the surveyed herders in Olziyt soum, Dundgovi aimag, did not know who the PUG leader was because of a decrease in activities in the area. In Mandal soum, Selenge aimag, there was no PUG activity. Undurshireet soum, Tuv aimag, was the only place where the majority of respondents said their PUG leader was a woman (see Figure 15).

Figure 15: PUG leaders' gender according to respondents' knowledge (by numbers, n=260)



As part of the interviews in each household, those surveyed were asked about their preference for either male or female PUG and cooperative leaders (see Figure 16). The majority of the respondents said they had no gender preference in relation to cooperative leadership (the figure was 40.7 per cent), while for PUG leadership, the majority said they would prefer men (38.7 per cent). However the preference for men is also strong for cooperative leaders (36.5 per cent of respondents) and a significant number of people (34.2 per cent) said they would be happy to have either a male or female PUG leader as long as they properly carried out their duties. Only a minority of respondents said they would prefer a female leader for PUGs (12.6 per cent) and cooperative activities (16 per cent).

Figure 16: Respondents' preference for the gender of PUG and cooperative leaders (by per centage, n=301)



The difficulties and benefits of male and female leaders as cited by respondents are listed in Tables 28 and 29.

Most of the respondents said men had no difficulties in terms of leadership, although they sometimes lacked the skills needed to ensure a plan was implemented and lacked knowledge about PUG and cooperative activities. In relation to PUG leadership, a lack of firmness in decision-making was also cited as one of the difficulties facing men. This means that for example in the case of Umnugovi soum, according to the majority of respondents, often for men it is hard to reach consensus on decisions that might harm some of the other herders involved. Herders are politically very sensitive, cautious and value prestige. Most of the men respect collective decisions and rely on mutual respect and reciprocity. The male herder who disagree with others will later fail to get support or help from those other herders. If herders want to disagree, they tend not to say it openly, and just postpone the decision, or drop the issue. In addition, male herders tend to refuse to confront others. Culturally, men consider important to be neutral, respectful and to avoid any dispute and quarrel with others.

Women were believed to have more leadership problems than men, with the main challenges cited for PUG and cooperative leadership being similar to those underpinning their limited level of participation in community activities, namely a lack of mobility (vehicles/driving skills), and a lack of time to spend at meetings because of household responsibilities and duties. At different levels, although still often mentioned for women, there was the need to take care of others, a lack of self-confidence, and a lack of civic engagement and communication and negotiation skills. A lack of firmness in decision-making and a lack of the skills needed to implement plans were also mentioned in relation to women.

Table 28: Difficulties for women and men as PUG or cooperative leaders (by numbers, n=301)

Difficulties for men and for women	APUG/PUG		Cooperative	
	M	W	M	W
No difficulties	65	43	59	54
No time to spend in meetings and informing people/responsibilities and duties at home	12	48	4	59

Difficulties for men and for women	APUG/PUG		Cooperative	
	M	W	M	W
No difficulties	65	43	59	54
No time to spend in meetings and informing people/responsibilities and duties at home	12	48	4	59
Lack of mobility skills (personal/driving skills)	7	75	0	96
Lack of respect/attention/trust from other people	6	18	0	14
Lack of self-confidence	4	16	1	18
Not firm on decisions	18	18	8	3
Lack of interest in engaging in civic activities	4	17	2	16
Lack of communication/negotiation skills	9	12	3	13
Need to take care of/not able to delegate the care of children and the elderly	5	16	4	20
Lack of skills to ensure a plan is implemented	25	10	35	18
No incentive/salary	5	1	1	1
Lack of proper knowledge and education	6	2	3	1
Alcohol consumption	6	2	0	1
Others	6	3	9	6
Total	178	281	129	320

In relation to the benefits of having male or female PUG and cooperative leaders, men were mostly believed to be better able to effectively spread information, to hold effective discussions on issues/identification of solutions, and to make decisions in a more responsible/comprehensive way. Respondents strongly thought the decisions of male leaders were better respected and better implemented than women leaders. However, women were believed to have better organisational skills and be more honest than men. In relation to the perceived benefits of female leaders, more people said that there were no differences over men. Particularly in the case of PUG activities, women were perceived to not consume alcohol and, at a slightly higher level than men, to undertake higher quality work (Table 29).

Table 29: Benefits of having women or men as APUG/PUG and cooperative leaders (by per centage and numbers, n=301)

Benefits of having a male or female leader	APUG/PUG leadership				Cooperative leadership			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	N	per cent	N	per cent	N	per cent	N.	per cent
Effective in disseminating information (more people informed more clearly)	107	35.5	55	18.3	57	18.9	34	11.3
Effective discussions about issues and identification of solutions	86	28.6	55	18.3	53	17.6	24	8.
Decisions are made in a more responsible/comprehensive way	85	28.2	46	15.3	42	14	25	8.3
Decisions are better respected and better implemented	107	35.5	11	3.7	54	17.9	5	1.7
No differences	31	10.3	62	20.6	46	15.3	51	16.9
Provide more detailed information	21	7	9	3	19	6.3	14	4.7
More tolerant	21	7	29	9.6	25	8.3	9	3

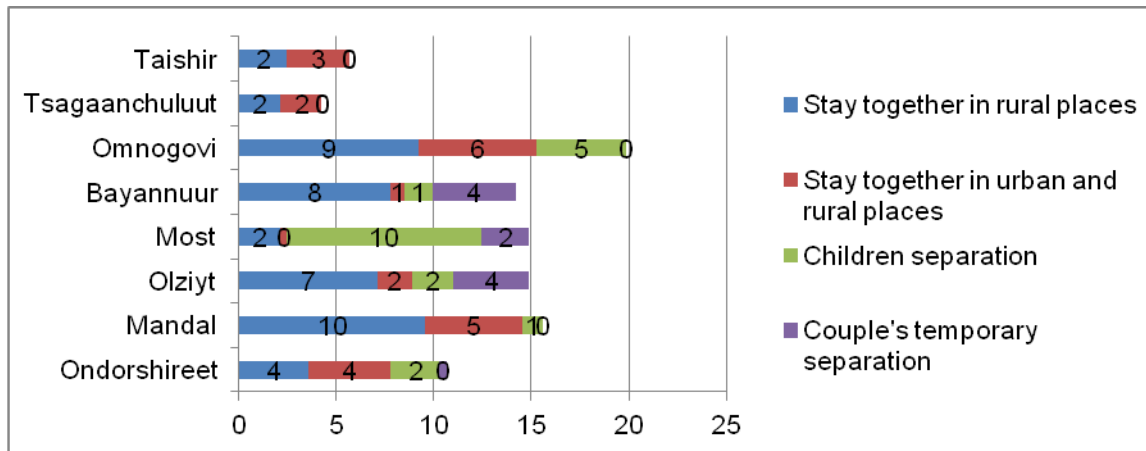
Have good organisational skills	11	3.7	20	6.6	6	2	17	5.6
Doing quality work	15	5	18	6	3	1	3	1
Travel more	14	4.7	17	5.6	11	3.7	8	2.7
Honest	2	0.7	24	8.0	2	0.7	10	3.3
Do not consume alcohol	1	0.3	9	3.0	0	0	0	0
Less household responsibility, more free time	7	2.3	1	0.3	1	0.3	7	2.3
Better communication skills	6	2	3	1	4	1.3	5	1.7
Others	20	6.6	36	12	23	7.6	29	9.6

6 CHILDREN, EDUCATION AND THE FUTURE

6.1 Periods of separation among parents and children

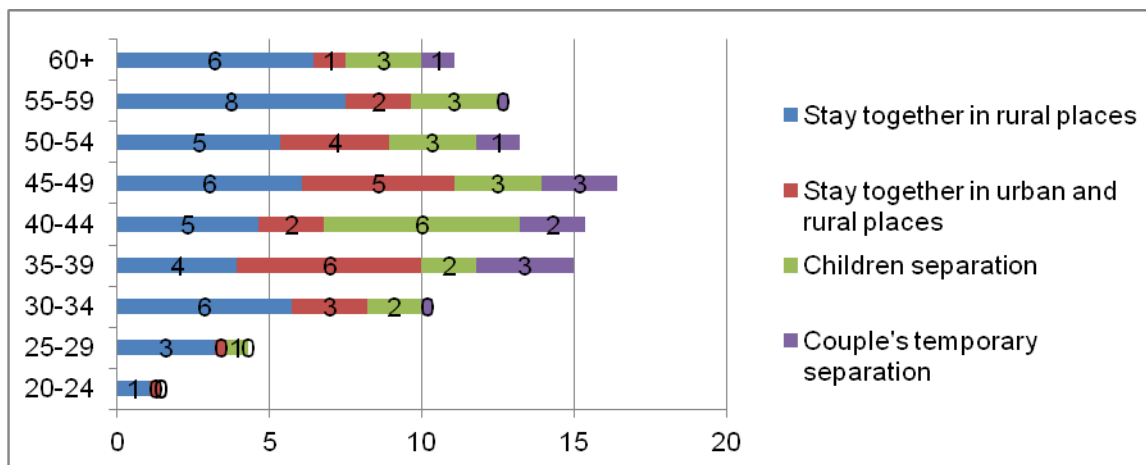
The periods of separation within herding families has been studied in order to determine if there are any gender issues related to the separations. Thirty-one families, or 10 per cent of the household survey respondents, said husbands and wives separated seasonally, primarily for their children's education and to herd livestock, while about 20 per cent, or 61 families, said they sent their children away to school and lived separately in rural areas. In further examining the gender issues underpinning the separations among the aforementioned 10 per cent, we noted a range of issues. Adult male members of households, predominantly husbands, suffered physically and psychologically during seasonal family separations. Husbands often stayed alone with their livestock in rural areas, having to herd, heat their gers and cook. As shown in Figure 17 below, it is common in Olziyt soum, Dundgovi aimag, Most soum, Khovd aimag, and Bayannuur soum, Bayan-Ulgii aimag, for herder households to send their children to school in urban areas. This is related to the geographical remoteness of the households, which occurs less frequently in Mandal, Undurshireet and Umnugovi soums, where there is a higher population density. The decision to separate brought on by the need to follow children to urban areas is limited in areas where there is a high population density, infrastructure development (such as comfortable dormitories), relatives living in soum centres or small cities nearby, or when families are able to find work in urban areas.

Figure 17: Types of separation among herder household members by soum (by percentage, $n=282$)



Family separations mainly occur among the 35-39 age group, slowing down dramatically by the age of 49 (see Figure 18), which is related to the number of children and animals within the family. Most marriages take place between adults aged 20-25 years. The first child of the family reaches school age when the parents are aged about 30. A herder from Umnugovi soum said his family was able to send their first child to their parents in the soum centre. After the second and third children reached school age, they had to send their children altogether to the soum centre, which made it difficult for the children to stay with relatives there. Because the family have a large number of animals, it was not possible to leave them with relatives in rural areas. That is why, when the number of animals grows and the number of children attending school increases, family members need to separate, which generally happens when parents are about 35-45 years of age.

Figure 18: Separation among herder household members by age (by per centage, n=280)



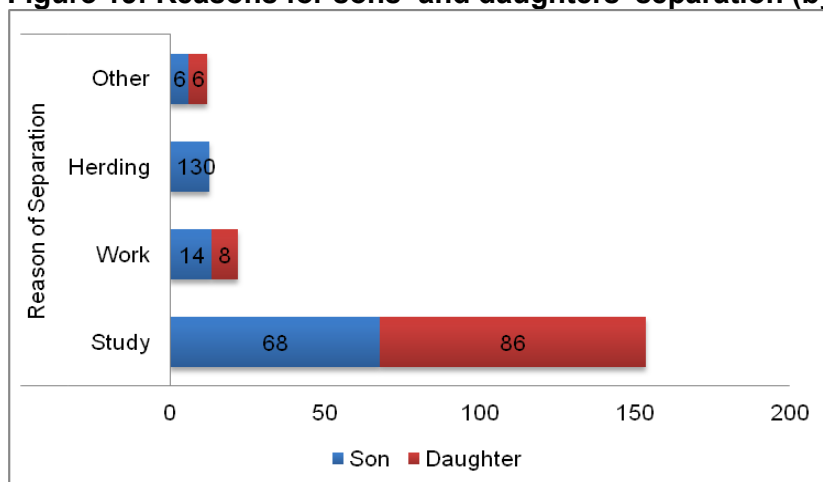
Wives often take their children to live in urban areas and aimag centres while husbands look after their livestock. According to the 31 respondents who said their families had separated in the past, 43 per cent separated to look after their schoolchildren, 14 per cent to work in the soum centre, and 43 per cent for seasonal otoo movements. Overall, 87 per cent of the families

separated for more than five months, and 58 per cent of the separated families lived in soum and aimag centres. Ninety-five per cent of husbands stayed in the countryside to look after their animals, and 71 per cent stayed alone for more than five months.

When questioned in detail, husbands often said that during these periods they left their animals with their neighbours and visited the soum centre some weekends. Wives often joined their husbands during school vacations or on weekends once or twice a month and helped them look after livestock. In spring, when livestock give birth, wives also returned to their husbands, sometimes bringing their children with them. Herders said family separations continued for one to three years and were very expensive.⁴⁷

During the interviews, parents said their children separated from their families not only to study, but also to work and to help their parents herd livestock (see Figure 19). Among boys, 13 per cent separated to herd livestock and help their fathers during otoor, 14 per cent⁴⁸ to work, 6 per cent for other reasons, and 68 per cent to study.⁴⁹ Among girls, 86 per cent separated to study, 8 per cent to work, and 6 per cent for other reasons.

Figure 19: Reasons for sons' and daughters' separation (by per centage, n1=118, n2=85)



Eighty per cent of the 65 children involved in the survey⁵⁰ lived apart from at least one parent. Children from rural areas who are studying can live in dormitories, with siblings in a ger built on relatives' land, with grandparents or other relatives, with one parent who has moved to the soum centre during the school period, or alone.⁵¹

⁴⁷ See the case study in Annex 7

⁴⁸ This figure can be explained in relation to more school drop-outs and considering that respondents included children who had dropped out of school

⁴⁹ 118 respondents answered the survey question about the reasons for sons' separation; 85 respondents answered the survey question about the reasons for daughters' separation. Each is considered to be 100 per cent.

⁵⁰ The age of the children interviewed ranged from 14 to 18

⁵¹ Details about where and with whom children in the survey stayed during study periods are available in Annex 6

When children return home during school vacations, they provide important support in the household. In relation to the kind of support activities children carry out during vacations, there was a slight difference noted between boys and girls. Seventy per cent of boys herded goats and sheep, and 35 per cent collected water and wood or dried dung for fuel. Fifty per cent of girls helped to clean the house, 35 per cent cooked, and 30 per cent washed clothes. Both girls and boys helped their parents in such other activities as milking, watching over large herds, processing dairy products, building gers, and feeding young animals.

6.2 School drop-outs

Although the level of school drop-outs among children from herder households has significantly dropped, the phenomenon continues. Fifty-seven respondents, or 19 per cent of all household survey respondents, said they had children who had dropped out of school. However, the drop-out figure for girls was actually 9 per cent and boys 16 per cent. The survey confirms that some households do not disclose that their children have dropped out of school, and separate questions about the drop-out of boys and girls determined that overall 25 per cent (9 per cent + 16 per cent) of the surveyed households had children who had dropped out of school. The situation in relation to school drop-outs in each soum, as determined through responses to three survey questions, is detailed in Table 30 below.⁵²

Table 30: School drop-outs in surveyed households in each soum (by number and percentage)

Soums	Total respondents (sum)	Total drop-outs in response to general question		Girl drop-outs in response to a question about girl drop-outs		Boy drop-outs in response to a question about boy drop-outs	
		n	per cent	n	per cent	n	per cent
Undurshireet (Tuv)	32	5	16	1	3	5	16
Mandal (Selenge)	46	3	6	2	4	0	0
Olziyt (Dundgovi)	42	11	26	4	10	11	26
Most (Khovd)	42	3	7	0	0	3	7
Bayannuur (Bayan-Ulgii)	43	8	19	7	16	4	9
Umnugovi (Uvs)	58	27	47	13	22	24	41
Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan)	18	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tayshir (Govi-Altai)	20	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	301	57	19	27	9	47	16

⁵² Table 30 shows the results of three different survey questions; the total number of drop-outs does not match the results of separate questions about the dropping out of girls and boys

The level of school drop-outs was relatively high, 47 per cent, in Umnugovi soum (Uvs), 26 per cent in Olziyt soum (Dundgovi) and 19 per cent in Bayannuur soum (Bayan-Ulgii). There were almost no drop-outs in Tsagaanchuluut, Tayshir and Mandal soums. The drop-out rate of girls was about 16-22 per cent in Umnugovi and Bayannuur, while for boys the highest drop-out rate was in Umnugovi and Olziyt (see *Table 30*).

Analysing the reasons for dropping out of school, the most prevalent is the need of herder families for more workers. Parents often have to keep their eldest son at home to work in order to provide younger children with the opportunity to study. Some parents allow all their children to study and keep their youngest son at home to become a herder and inherit his parents' estate. Another reason is that young children in their first years of school are often homesick, and when this happens, parents have to decide whether to temporarily separate or allow the child to drop out of school.

Among the children involved in the survey, 37 per cent, or 24, said they knew children who had dropped out of school. This demonstrates that there are drop-outs in neighbouring families or in their classrooms. In addition, 42 per cent, or 27 children, said it was mainly boys who dropped out of school. Despite not knowing the full context or details, 15 per cent said children dropped out of school due to a lack of household income and 27 per cent because boys needed to help their parents raise livestock⁵³. This confirms that families generally keep one child out of school in order to send other children to school due to a lack of workers. Sixty-seven per cent of girls said they were unaware of any particular reasons. The remainder said school drop-outs happened because of inadequate family income, poor school results, sickness, or inadequate dormitories.

6.3 The future of children and herding

The parents involved in the survey were asked which of their children would become herders and what kind of future they imagined for their sons and daughters. The results were intriguing. There was a tendency to keep at home those sons who were interested in becoming herders, who had the skills to become herders, or who were not academically inclined to pursue higher education. Most of the herders tried hard to support their children in pursuing higher education and careers. Almost all herders wanted their daughters to live independently, to receive an education and to have their own stable source of income.⁵⁴

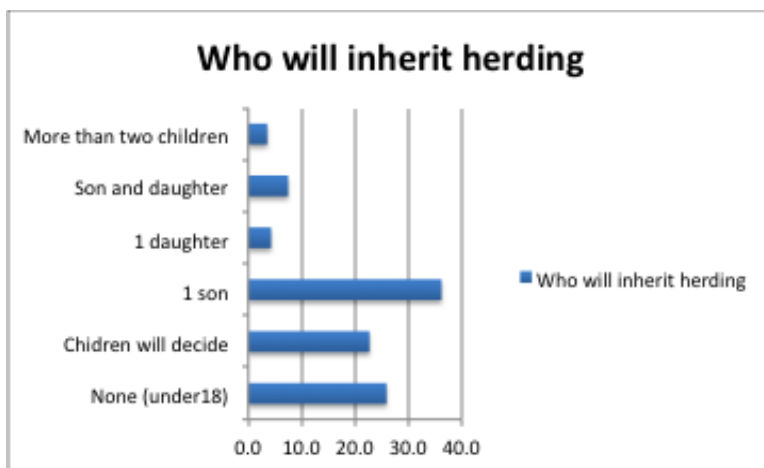
When parents were asked which of their children would become herders in the future, 282 survey participants provided the responses listed in Figure 20 below. Twenty-six per cent said none of their children would become herders and 23 per cent said their children would decide for themselves. This shows that half of the herders were uncertain about who would look after their livestock, given that their children would have a higher education and live in the city. In relation to the other half, 36 per cent said one of their sons would look after the livestock, and 11

⁵³ Although there were other reasons given, such as the inadequacy of dormitories, long distances to travel, the behaviour of teachers, migration, problems at home, etc, each of the listed reasons were limited to one child per reason

⁵⁴ Although herders acknowledged that the standard of university education was falling, and although not everyone who received a higher education could find secure employment, most believed their children should have professional careers in the city

per cent said they would like two or more of their children to become herders. Only 4 per cent said they thought one of their daughters would be a herder.⁵⁵

Figure 20: Parents' perceptions about sons' and daughters' herding inheritance (by percentage, n=282)



When looking at each soum (table 31), half of the herders in Tsagaanchuluut and Tayshir soums bordering Govi-Altai and Zavkhan aimags said their children would not become herders. Only 10-17 per cent said they would make one of their sons a herder. However, in the rest of surveyed soums, 72-86 per cent of respondents wanted their children to become herders or were not against children's decision to be a herder. There is a direct correlation between the non-preference for herding and poor development of infrastructure and continued exposure to natural disasters. Among the soums involved in our research, Tayshir and Tsagaanchuluut have a low level of infrastructure and herders are vulnerable to natural disasters. These factors lead parents to think it is better for their children to avoid becoming herders. As for the respondents in Most (Khovd), Umnugovi (Uvs), Bayannuur (Bayan-Ulgii), Undurshireet soum (Tuv) and Olziit (Dundgovi), 52-72 per cent had decided to make one or more children a herder.

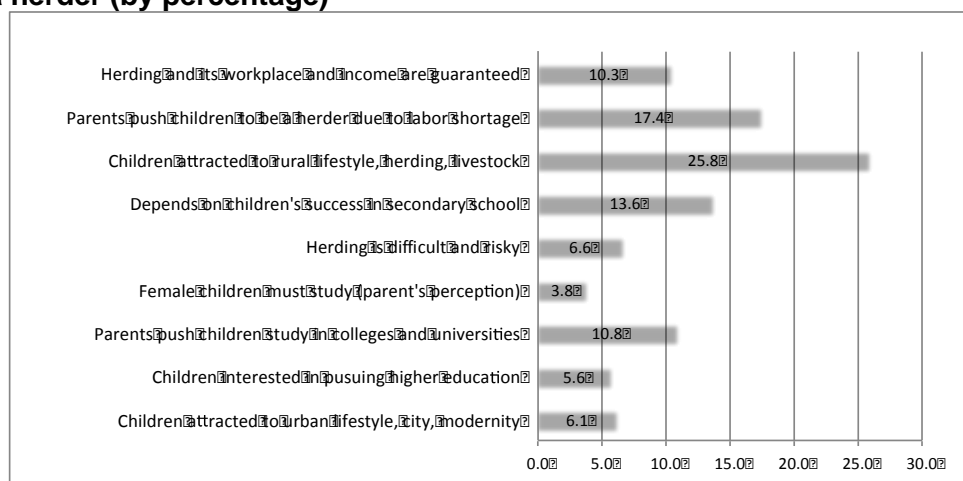
⁵⁵ The herders who have decided to make their daughters herders have no sons or their daughters who have already decided that they would become herders

Table 31: Herders' perception about the future of their children as herders (by numbers and percentage)

	Total Respondents	None (under 18)		Children decide		1 son		1 daughter		Son and daughter		More than 2 sons or daughters		Total responses	
		N	n	per cent	n	per cent	n	per cent	n	per cent	n	per cent	n	per cent	n
Undurshireet (Tuv)	32	9	28	4	13	14	44	1	3	0	0	0	0	28	88
Mandal (Selenge)	46	11	24	17	37	14	30	1	2	0	0	1	2	44	96
Olziyt (Dundgovi)	42	6	14	12	29	10	24	3	7	4	10	5	12	40	95
Most (Khovd)	42	10	24	10	24	17	40	3	7	2	5	0	0	42	100
Bayannuur (Bayan-Ulgii)	43	8	19	4	9	19	44	2	5	2	5	4	9	39	91
Umnugovi (Uvs)	58	9	16	11	19	23	40	2	3	12	21	0	0	57	98
Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan)	18	10	56	2	11	3	17	0	0	1	6	0	0	16	89
Tayshir (Govi-Altai)	20	10	50	4	20	2	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	80
Total	301	73	24	64	21	102	34	12	4	21	7	10	3	282	94

The reasons herders did or did not want their children to become herders are listed in Figure 21 below. A total of 32.9 per cent of parents supported their children's decision not to become herders because of the high degree of risk to their lives, the attraction of urban areas, and their preference for higher education. On the other hand, 53.5 per cent of parents wanted their children to become herders because herders' lives were secure and brought in a regular income; 13.6 per cent of parents said it depended on the child. These parents' opinions differ in relation to the future of girls and boys. For example, there is a tendency to place more importance on educating girls and sending them to universities or in pursuit of a higher education in urban areas. In relation to boys, parents send them to the city to pursue higher education if they have performed well in school; they avoid forcing their sons to pursue education if they have no interest in studying.

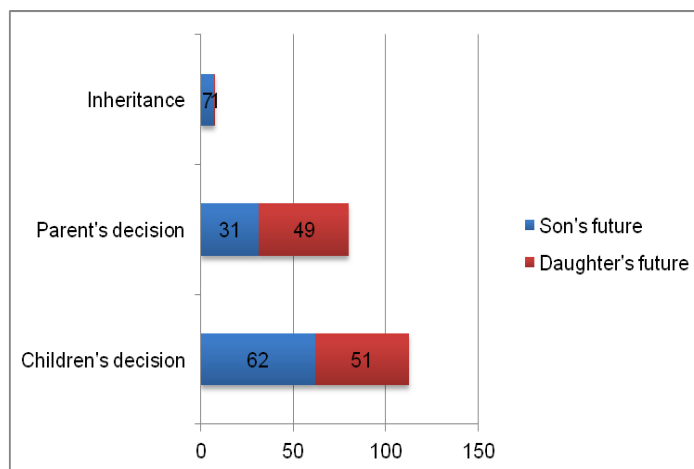
Figure 21: Parents' perceptions about why children should pursue further study or become a herder (by percentage)



According to the survey results (see *Figure 21*), 10.8 per cent of parents pushed their children to study in universities, while another 3.8 per cent strongly believed girls should continue their study beyond high school. A total of 5.6 per cent of parents said they respected their children's interest in further study, and 6.1 per cent said their children were interested in living in urban areas. Those parents who wanted their children to become herders gave the following reasons: 25.8 per cent said it was their children's decision, 17.4 per cent said it was due to a herding labour shortage, and 10.3 per cent said herding was better than being unemployed after graduating from university. A total of 6.6 per cent did not want their children to work in the risky livestock business, as they did.

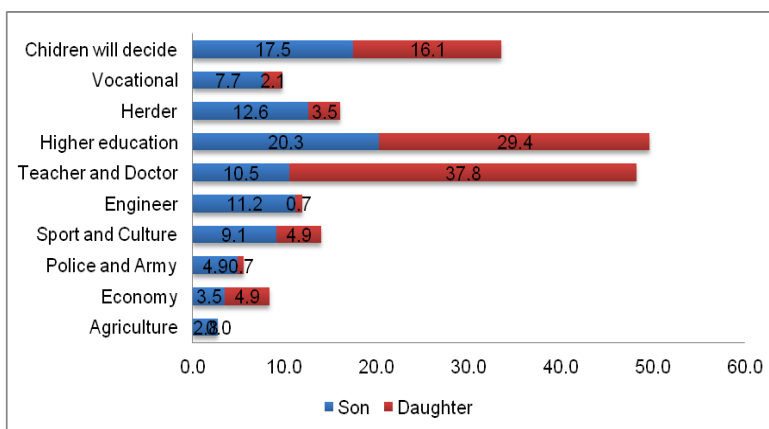
Overall, 49 per cent of the parents interviewed decided the future of their daughters, while 31 per cent decided the future of their sons. There appears to be a big difference between girls and boys when taking into consideration the children's own interests (see *Figure 22*).

Figure 22: Decisions about sons' and daughters' futures (by percentage)



When parents were asked what they wanted their children to become⁵⁶ (see Figure 23), 37.8 per cent said they wanted their daughters to become teachers or doctors because they believed there were more employment opportunities for these professions. In relation to their sons, 9.1 per cent wanted them to become wrestlers or singers, 4.9 per cent wanted them to become police officers or defense personnel, 11.2 per cent wanted them to be engineers, and about 6 per cent wanted them to study economics and agriculture. Thirteen per cent of parents said they wanted their sons to become herders as a choice of profession; 16-17 per cent said they would leave the decision to their children; and 20 per cent had not yet decided on professions for their sons and 29 per cent had not decided on professions for their daughters. This shows that not all herders are capable of advising their children in decisions about their future. Instead, parents generally guide their children to pursue higher education without paying attention to the quality of universities or their children's own choice of profession. On the other hand, parents have a high level of respect for their children's decisions about their future.

Figure 23: Parents' expectation about sons' and daughters' future professions (n1=143, n2=143)



Children were also asked their opinions. Of the 65 children who took part in the survey, 15 per cent said they would become herders and help their parents, while the rest said they would not. Within this 15 per cent, only 3 per cent were girls, which confirms the tendency of herders to choose one of their sons to continue their work.

Among the children interviewed, an equal number of boys and girls said they would like to study at university; 85 per cent were planning on attending university or college after graduating from secondary school. This shows that the decisions of children and parents differ. In most cases, children did not want to become herders. While 85 per cent of the children wanted to study at university and be independent, 53.5 per cent of parents wanted their children to become herders, especially their sons. This tendency is two times greater for boys than girls.

⁵⁶ These data are the result of a specific question about the choice of profession for the children that in the interview were not already mentioned to continue the family herding work

7 RECOMMENDATIONS

Division of labour in pastoral households:

- As confirmed by the research results, the overall average workload of women for productive and reproductive activities in one year tends to be higher than for men. Despite this, women's contributions and roles appear to not be adequately recognised in other aspects of household herding life, such as decision-making on major spending and purchases, household business management, participation in community activities and leadership. It would be beneficial therefore, organise focused activities for women to raise awareness about the significance of their role in the herding household and encourage to take an active part in decision making and train them with simple and easy to use tools such as simple Cost Benefit Analysis, Bookkeeping and Households finance recording in order to open up opportunities for women to be more equally included in other aspects of household activities.
- In order to promote more equal sharing of the workload within the household, it would be useful to undertake initiatives that give visibility to households in which husbands and wives share the reproductive work. This would promote shared cooperation among partners as a positive example; one that does not undermine male masculinity, but rather contributes to the benefits of the family.

Decision-making, access and control over resources/benefits:

- In relation to the control of household assets, properties are mostly registered under the husband's name. This imbalance can influence women's bargaining power and vulnerability in their homes and communities. If a property is registered under only one partner's name, he/she can sell the property without the consent of the other partner. This can be an issue, particularly in the case of expensive property such as immovable property that belongs to the family. Therefore, activities (discussions during meetings/trainings and the dissemination of informational material) aimed at raising awareness about the Mongolian legal framework that foresees the possibility of having both husbands and wives as property-holders should be encouraged. This could rebalance the current situation, recognising the involvement of both partners in supporting the household and guaranteeing both their rights. The awareness of women in relation to this issue should be addressed first, as well as both partners' awareness, particularly in terms of children's property inheritance.

Community activities participation and leadership:

- Improve information-sharing on PUG and cooperative activities among herder men and women: Information about the content of activities should be clear and be provided in advance, and should also reach women. These are the basic requirements that have to be guaranteed in order to improve participation. People tasked with disseminating information should be made aware of the importance of this work and be supported in ensuring it is effectively organised and this is an integral and major part of delivering training and information to herder household members. In this regard, Green Gold is

applying a simple monitoring tool to closely watch participation of men and women in training and information dissemination activities. This is improving situation, but this needs to be continued diligently.

- Ensure PUG membership is not limited to the household head but is extended to both partners.
- Where possible, reduce the practical logistical difficulties that hinder women's participation in community meetings and activities.
- Conduct activities closer to women's/men's areas, such as at the hot ail/bag level and during less busy periods of the year, after the livestock birth period and before or after the busy dairy production period (for example, in autumn/winter or early summer). Activities can also be organised in the soum centre during school hours to target those women who spend the autumn and winter months there supporting their children's education.
- Support the shared/organised attendance of activities, and arrangements to ensure that women can be temporarily released from their household tasks: Help women to manage children in the event of meetings or study trips as it is harder for them to leave home, and organise meetings on weekends when school children are at home so both parents can attend.
- In cooperative activities, where the cooperative leader collects raw materials for sales, support women, especially female led households in managing the loading of trucks, or organise different delivery of the raw materials (for example, a group of families could appoint someone to arrange material collection among them and then take it to the cooperative leader).
- Support women's involvement in PUGs and in cooperatives as groups. This can help them to improve exchanges among themselves, to have more opportunities to socialise, to share objectives with other women, and to become more confident. This can be done through:
 - PUG activities at the hot ail level as this can help women to more actively discuss and participate in meetings and share information with other women who might have fewer opportunities to attend.
 - Organise/promote the establishment of small groups of women at the local level and link those groups to cooperatives and markets, providing them with small loans to start businesses. Possible productive income activities at the hot ail level are detailed in Annex 2, including herders' suggestions. In brief, the main sorts of suggestions reported for women are: a) Based on wool/felt products, dairy products, the production of traditional garments; b) Trainings to improve their skills for markets; and c) The provision of equipment to be used as a group. For example, for dairy products, herders mentioned the need for a mechanised butter machine to be shared within a hot ail; those who sew pointed out the need for a mechanised sewing machine; others mentioned a machine to soften and separate wool to make felt products (the electricity supply in rural areas should first be checked). Participants involved in these activities should also be supported in testing and managing the economic feasibility and sustainability of their initiatives.

- Raise awareness about the importance of women's participation in community activities through public campaigns, awareness-raising initiatives, social activities (events, performance activities, contests, study tours) in order to promote the understanding that women should be more independent in their decisions and activities.
- Raise awareness among current women PUG/cooperative leaders as an example of champions
- Current leaders should be aware that there needs to be an environment in which women can also share their ideas. In addition, they must include women in the list of leadership candidates.
- Include activities for capacity building on gender issues, and trainings/study trips to areas where there are women leaders to see how they can also manage their duties.
- If it hasn't already been done, ask leaders to develop a basic "plan" focused on how they can involve more women in their area: What are the practical steps that need to be taken in the local context to ensure more balanced participation? For example, in which activities/roles could they involve more women? How many women? Within what time frame? How can they help resolve the difficulties they have in participating in PUG/cooperative activities?
- Activities for raising awareness among women about the importance of participation (self-consciousness) including gender trainings. Where possible/helpful, coordinate activities with existing organisations such as women's unions (which, as far as we could determine, were the only organisations dealing with women in the field) that already have a network with which to bring women together. For example, include discussions about PUG/cooperative activities and women during Women's Day and Children's Day celebrations.
- Provide more information about PUGs and cooperatives targeting both men and women in terms of general participation and leadership (videos, lectures, trainings, manuals, exhibitions). According to survey respondents, there is a need to make people more aware of the reasons why it is important to be involved in these community activities.
- In relation to leadership positions, provide training activities targeting women's needs. Improve communication and public-speaking skills. Women need improved presentation/public-speaking skills in order to more clearly impart their ideas. They should learn to disseminate information and organise meetings. In addition, there should be activities conducted to improve confidence, decision-making/leadership skills, and management capacity to plan and implement activities. These trainings should be conducted within the framework of a methodology that is appropriate for the herding context. Mechanisms to ensure women's mobility should be established and, where possible/needed, driver training should be considered.

Children, education and the future

- To help solve school dropouts, increase the social capital and social control of those households supporting collective actions with other herders. If a household has enough workers, parents will not force their children to stop studying. Therefore, it will be important to:

- Revitalise collective activities, such as dipping, providing reciprocal help in seasonal work, and herding livestock in shifts among neighbouring or kin-based households.
- Strengthen informal or customary institutions such as khot ails and neighbourhoods.
- These actions, combined with ensuring respect for parents and the elderly (allowing them to intervene in young couples' domestic issues) can also help to reduce domestic violence problems.
- To help six-year-old children adapt to school life, ger-based kindergartens or preschools can help them to socialise and learn to live independently with their siblings in school dormitories.

Domestic violence

- The results of the anonymous questionnaire (n=299) show that problems related to domestic violence, such as economic deprivation, quarrelling, pressure and violence linked to alcohol abuse, are present within herders' families. Survey participants understood domestic violence as turbulence from husbands or neighbours.
- According to survey results, domestic violence occurs at any age. On average, 15 per cent of households experienced domestic violence, which primarily occurred among people aged between 35-49 years. In other words, one in every five people experienced domestic violence. However, given that women participants were not surveyed separately, generally in the presence of other family members, the figure of 15 per cent warrants further consideration.
- When asked who was the main domestic abuser, 13 people (39%) said husbands, four people (12%) said wives and 11 people (33%) said others
- In relation to the forms of domestic violence experienced, most were verbal abuse, economic deprivation and turbulence or intimidation under the influence of alcohol. Six out of 239 people faced severe abuse, such as physical abuse, beatings, and being hit by objects or having objects thrown at them.
- However, it would be necessary to conduct qualitative research on domestic violence, interviewing with appropriate methodology each person separately to accurately determine the scope of the issue.
- Respondents' knowledge about domestic violence legal regulations was quite limited. Of the 240 survey respondents, 41 per cent said they knew there was a law on domestic violence. However, they were unaware of the content of that law.

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9 ANNEXES

Annex 1: A glance at domestic violence issues

The results of the anonymous questionnaire (n=299) show that problems related to domestic violence, such as economic deprivation, quarrelling, pressure and violence linked to alcohol abuse, are present within herders' families. Survey participants understood domestic violence as turbulence from husbands or neighbours. From 33-38⁵⁷ of the survey participants said they had suffered domestic violence. Among them, the most vulnerable were aged from 35-39 years.

Table 32: Number of domestic violence cases by age group

Age group	Total respondents	Domestic violence	
		n	per cent
18-19	4	2	50
20-24	9	1	11.1
25-29	18	2	11.1
30-34	26	4	15.4
35-39	47	9	19.1
40-44	36	7	19.4
45-49	36	7	19.4
50-54	31	4	12.9
55-59	32	1	3.1
Total	239	37	15.5

Table 32 above shows that domestic violence occurs at any age. On average, 15 per cent of households experienced domestic violence, which primarily occurred among people aged between 35-49 years. In other words, one in every five people experienced domestic violence. These different levels of age groups vulnerability were supported by the results of survey questions that asked people's perception about which groups were most susceptible to domestic violence. A total of 122 people, or 60 per cent, thought married women or women of marriageable age suffered domestic violence; 14 per cent said girls were vulnerable and 10 per cent said boys were vulnerable. In relation to the forms of domestic violence experienced, most were verbal abuse, economic deprivation and turbulence or intimidation under the influence of alcohol. Six out of 239 people faced severe abuse, such as physical abuse, beatings, and being

⁵⁷ Cases recorded in different questions regarding domestic violence

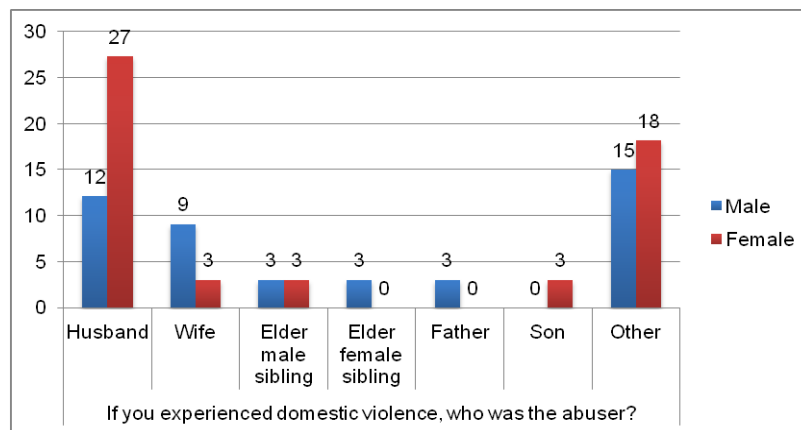
hit by objects or having objects thrown at them. Ten people were subject to threats and intimidation, 12 experienced verbal abuse, and 7 suffered economic deprivation (see Table 33).

Table 33: Different forms of domestic violence experienced by male and female respondents (by numbers, n=38)

Form of violence	Male respondents	Female respondents	Total
Beating	1	1	2
Hit by an object	1	0	1
Having objects thrown at them	1	2	3
Intimidation	0	2	2
Intimidation under the influence of alcohol	3	5	8
Verbal abuse	8	4	12
Economic deprivation	3	4	7
Other	1	2	3
Total	18	20	38

Given that women were not surveyed separately, generally in the presence of other family members, the figure of 15 per cent warrants further consideration. When asked who was the main domestic abuser, 13 people (39%) said husbands, four people (12%) said wives and 11 people (33%) said others (see Figure 24).

Figure 24: Domestic violence abusers by male and female respondents (by per centage, n=33)



According to interviews with soum social welfare officers, violence and drinking problems had a direct correlation to domestic violence.

Social welfare officers visit the police station when there are many people arrested for beating their wives and intimidating their family members under the influence of alcohol, or destroying their houses due to alcohol abuse. The officers, in cooperation with the police, organise trainings on domestic violence and raise awareness about the law and regulations one or two times a year, mainly for arrested male abusers who live in the soum centre ... According to them: “Herders come to the soum centre to attend meetings, collect food and sell livestock raw materials and drink for one to three days. Men going from the soum centre back to the countryside mainly drive motorcycles when they are drunk. When the men are not at home, the wives do all the work, such as herding livestock, and the husbands cause problems when they are back home. In particular, when the men are in charge of the family’s finance, the wives have no financial authority and have to live under the pressure of their husbands ... When the family quarrels, violence happens, which makes things worse and leads to divorce. However, women with three to four children have nowhere to go except to their ageing parents, and they have to endure the problems.”

Social welfare officer

It should be noted that the problems detailed do not occur in every herder family. According to the survey results, only six families experienced serious physical abuse.

In relation to the frequency of domestic violence, quarrels and verbal abuse occur more than twice a year among people older than 35, and abuse from parents towards boys or abuse between young males occurs once a year (see Table 34). The frequency of domestic violence tends to increase among people aged between 35-49 years, with the highest frequency among people aged between 35-39 years.

According to our observations, interviews and research, this kind of domestic violence does not differ between genders and across ages.

Table 34: Frequency of domestic violence by age group (by numbers and per centage)

Age group	Total respondents	Number of people who suffered domestic violence and its frequency				Total N.	Total per cent
		1 (a year)	2-3 (a year)	1 (a month)	2-3 (a month)		
18-19	4	1	1	0	0	2	50.0
20-24	9	0	1	0	0	1	11.1
25-29	18	1	1	0	0	2	11.1
30-34	26	1	2	0	0	3	11.5
35-39	47	1	5	1	1	8	17.0
40-44	36	0	4	0	1	5	13.9
45-49	36	1	3	1	0	5	13.9

Age group	Total respondents	Number of people who suffered domestic violence and its frequency				Total N.	Total per cent
		1 (a year)	2-3 (a year)	1 (a month)	2-3 (a month)		
18-19	4	1	1	0	0	2	50.0
20-24	9	0	1	0	0	1	11.1
25-29	18	1	1	0	0	2	11.1
30-34	26	1	2	0	0	3	11.5
35-39	47	1	5	1	1	8	17.0
50-54	31	1	4	0	0	5	16.1
55-59	32	0	2	0	0	2	6.3
60+	23	0	0	0	0	0	0.0
No response	37	0	0	0	0	0	0.0
Total	299	6	23	2	2	33	11.0

However, it would be necessary to conduct qualitative research on domestic violence, interviewing with appropriate methodology each person separately at soum and local levels to accurately determine the scope of the issue.

Respondents' knowledge about domestic violence legal regulations was quite limited. Of the 240 survey respondents, 41 per cent said they knew there was a law on domestic violence. However, they were unaware of the content of that law.

Annex 2: Herders' suggestions about income-generating and livelihood activities

As part of the survey questionnaire, we asked herder men and women:

- How can we support and encourage women and men to earn additional income aside from herding? What can be done as activities and how?
- What sort of training is required for women and men to improve their livelihoods, as well as pasture and livestock management?

Table 35: Main herders' suggestions about income-generating and livelihood activities

Income-generation activities and support for men	Income-generation activities and support for women
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Restock livestock - Create markets for their products - Wolf-hunting to improve their livelihoods - Support the improvement of livestock breeding, haymaking and cultivation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tailored trainings - Support for youth projects - Advocate to increase the price of livestock products - Organise support activities for female-headed households or households with many children - Support in relation to health insurance - Provide pensions for female herders who take care of small children or twins and elderly women
General activities to support income-generation	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support herders to increase the price of raw materials (cashmere and leather) - Support additional income-generating activities (such as vegetable planting, conducting tourism activities based on herders' resources, the establishment of milk production and small workshops for wool and skin processing) - Trainings on making shoes/boots and sewing - Support sales to market of meat and raw materials - Provide loan assistance to build winter shelters - Develop a more flexible credit policy - Provide equipment for handmade crafts - Support entrepreneurs and provide loans for SMEs - Organise skills trainings - Implement a low-interest loan programme - Establish a small/medium laboratory to test meat and milk products in the soum - Establish or run small milk/meat markets in order to link herders with customers - Markets can be: Cooperatives (herders should sell products to cooperatives and these should identify the markets) or fairs in soums 	
Livelihood/pasture/livestock trainings for men	Livelihood/pasture/livestock trainings for women
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Training to increase the sales value of raw products, for example on how to process wool: Washing wool for the factory before sales. If herders wash, soften and process wool before it is sold, they can increase the value of sales - Training on animal husbandry techniques - Training on animal breeding - Training on making traditional items (such as bridles and halters) - Organise a herders' forum - Life skills trainings - Training on preventing animal diseases and epidemics - Financial management training - Intensive animal breeding training - Teamwork training 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Training and activities on the processing of dairy products: Innovative products such as cheese, goats' milk products and different kinds of dairy products that meet modern requirements without wasting any parts - Study tour to share experiences on the processing of dairy products - Sewing training on making Mongolian deels, create sewing groups and establish a small workshop - Training and production of felt products, children's felt boots, socks, scarves, felt/wool clothes, souvenirs, felt carpets, chair covers, sleepers and traditional clothes (deels)
Period and place	
<p>The majority suggested organising these activities at khot ail and bagh-level trainings for five to 10 families in summer, autumn and winter. Although women were busier than men in summer due to the processing of dairy products, some said they could still find time to attend trainings as their children would be home from school and would help out with the family. Winter and autumn were thought to be the best seasons in which to hold trainings, which should be organised one to two times a week.</p>	

Annex 3: Herders' suggestions about community activities

Herders involved in the survey were also asked for their suggestions on ways to improve the participation and leadership of men and women in PUGs or cooperatives.

Table 36: Main herders' suggestions on ways to improve men's and women's PUG or cooperative participation and leadership

Activities to encourage men's participation in APUGs/PUGs	Activities to encourage women's participation in APUGs/PUGs
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provide information about activities in advance - Regularise APUG/PUG activities - Organise community development activities for men - Provide information about APUG/PUG work in general - Support the digging or maintaining of wells and haymaking activities - Provide incentives for members - Consult on pasture-use plans and pasture rotation, and use pastureland in turn - Support collective actions - Support for young herders - Organise meetings for the approval of financial statements and end-of-year reports - Organise regular exhibitions to increase the participation of herders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organise community development and mobilisation activities/meetings for women - Invite women to meetings/activities - Provide information about activities in advance - Conduct activities/meetings during school-break periods - Organise activities/meetings in locations where women can participate - Advocacy activities to change men's mind - Support travel to and from meeting places - Form women's groups to encourage women's participation - Raise women's awareness of the importance of their voices - Conduct driver trainings for women - Register female herders as PUG members - Provide incentives to members who work well - Establish women's councils in areas where they do not exist as this can help women mobilise - Organise meetings for the approval of financial statements and end-of-year reports
<p>Activities to encourage men's participation in cooperatives</p>	<p>Activities to encourage women's participation in cooperatives</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provide information about activities in advance - Establish small and medium-sized factories - Decrease loan interest rates and expand the duration of loans - Organise community development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organise community development and mobilisation activities/meetings for women - Invite women to meetings/activities - Provide information in advance - Conduct activities/meetings during school-break periods

<p>activities for men</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provide information about cooperative work in general - Organise meetings for the approval of financial statements and end-of-year reports - Support the monitoring of budgeting - Organise thematic trainings, such as hunting, driving, hobble-making or other items for herding use to be sold through cooperatives and for household use - Support for young herders - Advocate to increase wool incentives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organise activities/meetings in locations where women can participate - Advocacy activities to change men's mind - Support travel to and from meeting places - Form women's groups to encourage women's participation - Raise women's awareness of the importance of women's voices - Organise meetings for the approval of financial statements and end-of-year reports - Conduct different trainings for women (such as driving, sewing, and making dairy products) - Provide incentives to members who work well - Establish women's councils
<p>Activities to support and encourage men to undertake good leadership of APUGs/PUGs and cooperatives</p>	<p>Activities to support and encourage women to undertake good leadership of APUGs/PUGs and cooperatives</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provide information about activities to participants as good leaders need to enable people to participate - Organise social or mobilisation activities (such as contests, events and performance activities) in order to increase civic interest - Organise lectures and thematic trainings - Information about APUG/PUG and cooperative activities should be more open - Cover transportation costs or provide vehicles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Leadership trainings are essential - Impose a quota for the boards of APUGs/PUG and cooperatives - Appoint men to provide logistical support for women leaders in heavy work - Support women to increase their self-confidence and communication skills to lead others - Organise social or mobilisation activities (such as contests, events and performance activities) - Form women's groups to encourage women's participation as increasing participation can be promoted through women's activism and perspectives

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organise lectures and thematic trainings - Cover transportation costs or provide vehicles
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Annex 4: List of productive, reproductive and community activities for workload estimation

Productive activities

The repair of animal shelters and winter preparation, ger repairs and winter preparation, milking cows and yaks, milking goats and sheep, milking camels, milking horses, combing yaks, combing goats, shaving sheep, shaving camels, the sale of livestock (live animals), the sale of milk and dairy products, the sale of meat, the sale of skins, the sale of camel wool, the sale of sheep wool, the sale of yak wool, the sale of cashmere, livestock-supporting material/craft production, livestock-supporting material/craft sales, vegetable and fruit growing, vegetable and fruit sales, growing trees and grass to preserve pastureland, the collection and sale of medicinal herbs, animal births, feeding baby animals, washing livestock (the bathing of animals to remove parasites), veterinary activities (mainly injections against worms/parasites), the marking of animals, the slaughtering of animals and cleaning of the carcasses, animal castrations, odoor movements, cleaning animal shelters, giving food to animals, giving water to animals or taking them to water, looking for lost or stolen animals, forage growing and the preparation of animal feed, haymaking, seasonal household movements (packing, moving, settling in a new location), taking horses to pasture and bringing them back again, taking sheep and goats to pasture and bringing them back again, taking cows and yaks to pasture and bringing them back again, and taking camels to pasture and bringing them back again.

Reproductive activities

Buying food, cleaning inside the ger, taking care of the elderly, cooking, taking care of children, getting water, washing, sewing/stitching/embroidering, collecting firewood/argal, helping children to study, cleaning outside the ger, and taking children to kindergarten/school.

Community activities

Bagh meetings, APUG/PUG meetings and cooperative meetings.

Annex 5: Surveyed households' income, expenditures and loan data

Table 37: Structure of herder households' income (by per centage, $n= 301$)

Type of income	Must (Khovd)	Tsagaanc huluut (Zavkhan)	Tayshir (Govi-Altai)	Umnugovi (Uvs)	Mandal (Selenge)	Undurshireet (Tuv)	Bayannur (Bayan-Ulgii)	Olziyt (Dundgovi)
Pensions and social welfare	15.5	17.2	4.6	17.7	12.6	7.6	43.7	11

Livestock income	77.1	72.5	82.8	78.8	84.9	91.2	55.1	87.5
Income from crops	0	0	6.1	0.1	0.2	0	1.2	0
Additional income	7.4	10.3	6.5	3.4	2.2	1.2	0	1.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Figure 25: Structure of livestock income (by per centage)

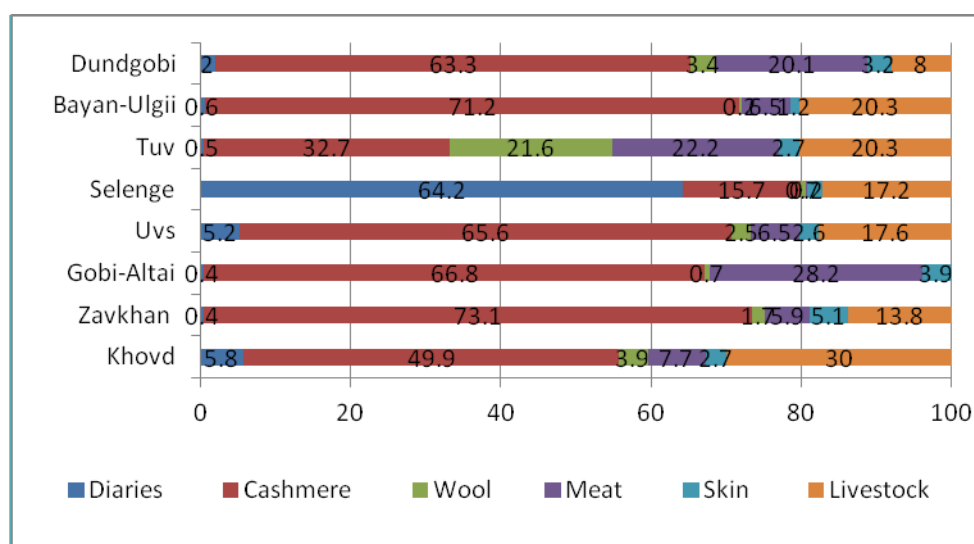


Table 38: Pensions and social allowances within households' income (by per centage)

Type of pension social allowance	Must (Khovd)	Tsagaan chuluut (Zavkhan)	Tayshir (Govi-Altai)	Umnugovi (Uvs)	Mandal (Selenge)	Undurs hireet (Tuv)	Bayannur (Bayan-Ulgii)	Olziyt (Dundgovi)
Child money	4.7	6.5	2.8	9.0	4.7	3	6.6	1.4
Pension	9.9	9.3	1.8	8.6	7.9	4.5	26.5	9.6
Other	0.9	1.3	0	0.1	0	0.1	10.5	0
Per centage of total income	15.5	17.1	4.6	17.7	12.6	7.6	43.7	11

Table 39: Income from crops and planting within total households' income (by per centage)

Kind of crop and vegetables	Tayshir (Govi-Altai)	Mandal (Selenge)	Umnugovi (Uvs)	Bayannur (Bayan-Ulgii)
Grains and crops	4.2	0	0	0
Potatoes	1.9	0.2	0.1	1.2
Per centage of total income	6.1	0.2	0.1	1.2

Table 40: Additional income in total households' income (by per centage)

	Must (Khovd)	Tsagaan chuluut (Zavkhan)	Tayshir (Govi-Altai)	Umnu gobi (Uvs)	Mandal (Selenge)	Undur shireet (Tuv)	Bayannur (Bayan-Ulgii)	Olziyt (Dundgovi)
Additional income	7.4	10.3	6.5	3.4	2.2	1.2	0	1.5

Table 41: Structure of herder households' expenditures in the surveyed year

	Types of income	Daily							Investment			
		Daily expenditures	Stationary	Health	Loan repayments	Weddings	Travel	Tuition fees	Purchase of apartment for sons	Purchase of vehicles	Winter and spring camps	Savings
1	Child money	√	√									√
2	Pensions and welfare allowances	√						√	√			
3	Other government allowances	√		√				√				
4	Income from dairy products	√			√	√		√	√	√		√
5	Income from cashmere	√		√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√
6	Wool	√		√			√	√		√		
7	Meat	√				√		√				√
8	Income from skins	√					√	√				
9	Income from livestock sales	√		√	√		√	√	√	√		√
10	Salary and other	√		√	√			√				

Figure 26: Private property of the households surveyed (by per centage)

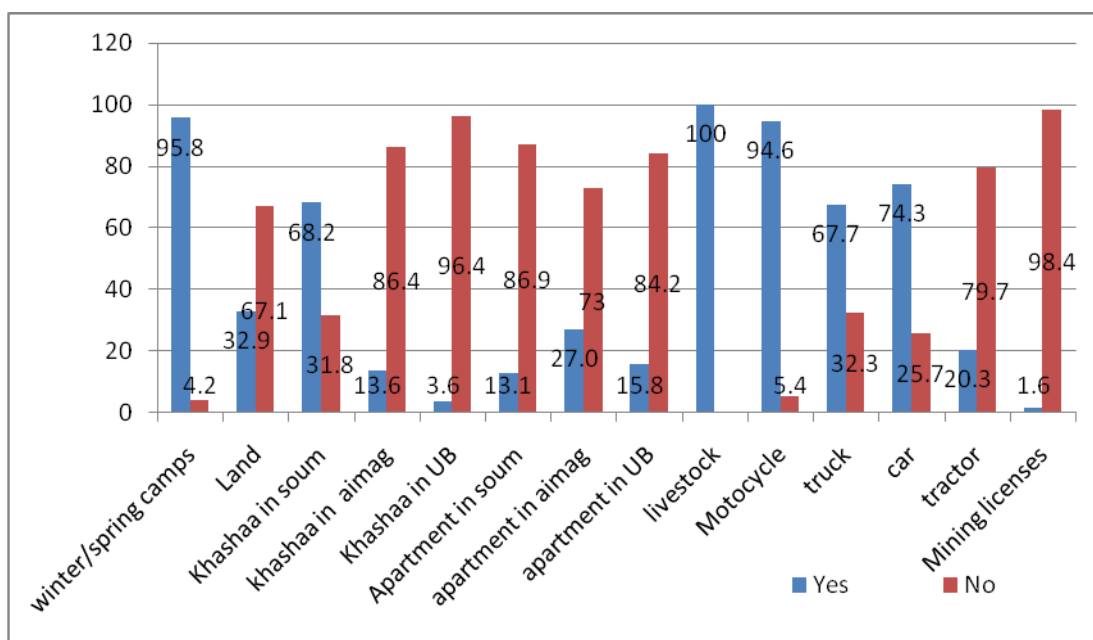


Table 42: Loan and loan sources of households in the surveyed year (by per centage)

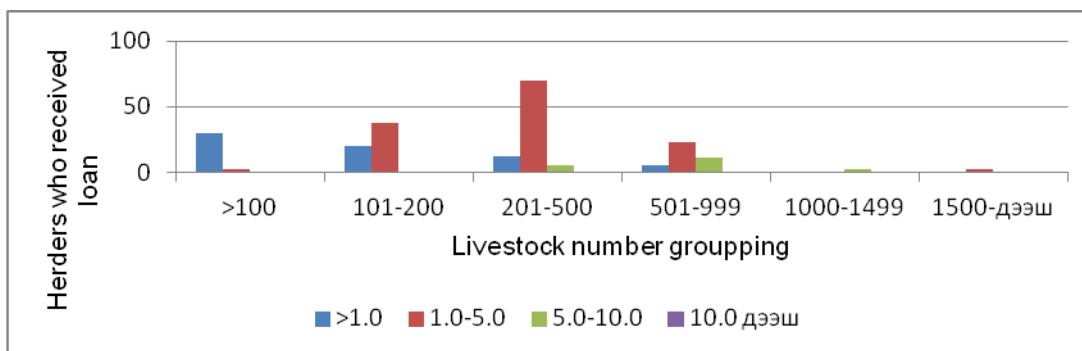
Area	Received loan last year		Loan source			
	Yes	No	Bank	Cooperative	Soum shop	Individual
Undurshireet (Tuv)	81.3	18.8	71.9	3.1	3.1	21.9
Mandal (Selenge)	60	40	63	0	0	37
Olziyt (Dundgovi)	83.3	16.7	77.8	5.6	13.9	2.8
Must (Khovd)	76.2	23.8	97.1	0	2.9	0
Bayannur (Bayan-Ulgii)	73.2	26.8	44.8	3.4	34.5	17.2
Umnugovi (Uvs)	84.2	15.8	45.6	0	25.3	29.1
Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan)	77.8	22.2	57.9	21.1	15.8	5.3
Tayshir (Govi-Altai)	75	25	57.1	0	42.9	0
Average	76.5	23.5	62.6	3	17	17.4

Table 43: Last year loan amount of surveyed households (by number and per centage of households n=267)

Number of times	Undurshireet (Tuv)	Mandal (Selenge)	Olziyt (Dundgovi)	Must (Khovd)	Bayannur (Bayan-Ulgii)	Umnugovi (Uvs)	Tsagaanchuluut (Zavkhan)	Tayshir (Govi-Altai)	Per cent
1 time	26	27	35	32	29	49	14	14	82.2
2 times	6	0	1	2	0	28	5	0	15.3

3 times	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	2.5
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Figure 27: Number of livestock in relation to the amount of the loan (million MNT)



Loans issued by commercial banks are based on herd size. The majority of borrowers are herders with 210-500 livestock and do not have difficulty in accessing loans. People with more than 500 livestock borrow less frequently; the volume is less and is mostly used for investments.

Table 44: Purpose of loans ranked against the number of livestock (by number of households and per centage)

	Purpose of loan	Livestock numbers						Per cent
		>100	101-200	201-500	501-999	1000-1499	1500 up	
1	Daily expenditure and household needs	2	26	30	12	1	1	27
2	Support daughter's business	1	0	1	1	0	0	1.1
3	Purchase livestock	3	4	8	5	0	0	7.5
4	Son's wedding	0	5	4	0	0	0	3.4
5	Daughter's wedding	0	3	0	1	0	0	1.5
6	Preparing shelter, hay and forage	2	1	0	1	0	0	1.5
7	Travel	0	1	0	0	0	0	0.4
8	Attend training	0	1	0	0	0	0	0.4
9	Household equipment	3	9	17	7	0	0	13.5
10	Medical expenses	2	4	4	4	0	0	5.2
11	Construction of apartment	0	1	1	0	0	0	0.7
12	Student tuition fees	10	7	20	6	1	0	16.5
13	Lunar New Year celebrations	0	0	1	0	0	0	0.4

14	Purchase of vehicle for family use	2	3	13	9	1	0	10.5
15	Purchase of vehicle for son	0	0	2	1	0	1	1.5
16	Purchase of apartment	0	3	4	0	0	0	2.6
17	Purchase of apartment for son	0	1	1	2	3	0	2.6
18	Support family business	1	6	3	0	0	0	3.7

Annex 6: Additional data about children separating from their families to study

Table 45 : Location where children studied

Location	Location stayed	
	N	Per cent
Countryside	5	7.7
Aimag centre	23	35.4
Soum centre	18	27.7
Ulaanbaatar	2	3.1
Other aimags	3	4.6
Other soums	1	1.5
No response	13	20
Total	65	100

Table 46 : Where and with whom studying children stay

Where and with whom children stayed	N.	per cent
Dormitory	20	30.8
With relatives	5	7.7
With one parent	1	1.5
With grandparent(s)	8	12.3

Alone	3	4.6
With siblings in their own ger	15	23.1
No response	13	20
Total	65	100

Annex 7: Case studies

An example of the family separation process

Herder B from Umnugovi soum, Uvs aimag, explained the family separation process.

Herder B's 2 sons are in the 8th and 5th grades and the youngest daughter is three-years-old. Because their six-year-old daughter was going to study in the 1st grade in the 2014-2015 school year, the family had decided to separate. The husband decided to cooperate with herder C from September to January and scheduled a 15-day rotation for herding. Because there was less precipitation this year, it was not particularly difficult to herd 600 sheep and goats alone. He used to herd the livestock for 15 days and then travel to the soum centre to be with his wife and children for 15 days before returning to herding. The other herder also took his wife and four children to the soum centre to spend the winter there.

The combined number of small herds (sheep and goat) of the two families was 600 (each family had 300 animals). They grazed the animals on mutual autumn pastureland and on the winter pastureland of herder B. Herder B built a ger in the soum centre in someone's yard for his wife and children, and he took his wife and children to the soum centre along with his large herds (cows). He kept a few camels at the spring pasture nearby and looked after them while also looking after small herds.

After January, his wife and children moved back to the countryside during the school vacation as they had to follow the unwritten rule of looking after their animals themselves during the lambing period in spring. Most herders are reluctant to look after other herders' animals in spring as they have a heavy workload of their own. If a family has fewer than 50 livestock, they can find another herder to look after the herd, whereas no-one wants to look after more than 50 livestock of someone else. Therefore, the two friends separated their animals at the end of January. After Tsagaan Sar, the family had their two sons stay in a dormitory and they left their daughter to study and stay with the husband's parents in the soum centre. Although it is common for children to stay with the wife's parents, his wife's parents lived far away in Bulgan aimag.

It was more comfortable for the children when the family separated and also for the wife, as she had to direct cows to the pasture in the morning and collect them in the evening and otherwise she was free and she was able to make boots and deels for her children. The husband lived in a small otoor ger during winter and spent a significant amount of money on petrol, food, meat

and flour. He also had to bear the costs of his family living in the soum centre, and had to pay additional expenses such as coal and electricity. His wife said that living in the soum centre was expensive and it was difficult to live without a permanent income or work. She said she did not know if her family would separate next year. She also said she did not know if there were any trainings or activities focused on increasing herders' income in the soum centre, and she did not know if they were allowed to attend such events if they did exist.

Assistant herder case studies

The research examined the situation of male and female assistant herders who supported household activities.

Most herders said they hired temporary assistants for the animal birthing period, otoor and planting (for those families who also grew crops). The hiring of an assistant depends on many factors, including an increase in the number of livestock which results in a greater workload. For example, in Bayannur, herders said that because of good weather conditions, the number of livestock had increased and therefore they needed more support. In Undurshireet, some said that families with more than 1000 livestock would hire an assistant, particularly during the animal birthing period, however it was not easy to find someone reliable and hardworking. We noted that in quite a number of instances, in households with a large number of livestock, assistant herders were hired to support the heavy activities that were mainly carried out by men.

In one family in Undurshireet, we briefly talked with a woman and her daughter who were both temporarily working as herding assistants. The woman is a single mother with one teenaged daughter. She had previously worked for the brother of the family with whom she now worked, which was how she found the job. In general, she gets work with people she knows, but she has no other income-generating activities. She has been a helper for 10 years and receives a disability allowance so she can manage life alone with her daughter. In her present position, she helps with the cashmere combing. Last year she helped with the combing of cashmere and sheep's wool, sheep herding and during the animal birthing period. She has a ger in the aimag centre. She used to live in the countryside but moved to the aimag centre because her older sister lives there and she wanted to be closer to her, although she thinks it is hard to live in an urban area and she prefers life in the countryside.

A 46-year-old male assistant herder in Most soum detailed his situation. He has been a herder all his life. He studied at school until the 4th grade; his parents passed away when he was 13 (he is the eldest brother and has three sisters). He married a divorced woman with three children. One day, more than a decade ago, his wife said she was going to visit her mother, but she never returned, and in this way the couple "divorced". The wife and one daughter now work together as herder assistants, living with another family. The wife's sons both became herders. He started working as a herder assistant after the divorce when families he knew called on him for help, and gave him food and accommodation.

He recently began working for the current family, who live far from relatives. His work mainly involves herding goats and sheep, and providing support during the animal birthing period. He said he was working from about 10am to 5pm three days a week throughout the year. He did not negotiate payment, however the family gives him food and clothes. For such work, he believes he should be paid about 20-30 goats per year, although no agreement of this sort has yet been made with the family. He also receives a disability allowance of MNT 170,000 per month, from which he gives some money to his former wife's children, who he considers his own. He also has 30 sheep.

He said: "I am really a herder; I have the mentality of a herder. I want to herd wherever I am." However, he also said that if he needed more money, he could mine gold or work in the agricultural sector. He is getting old, and he wonders how many years he will be able to continue to work, and who will take care of him when he is old. He hopes some relatives will.

Annex 8: Main content of the survey questionnaires

The survey questionnaire portfolio included:

- 1) A questionnaire about the overall household focusing on:
 - General household information
 - Seasonal movements and periods of family separations
 - Productive and reproductive labour divisions/free time of household members
 - Children's future and school drop-outs
 - Income/expenditure, access/control of resources, and decision-making
 - Community and social activities
 - Respondents' suggestions about the implementation of PUG and GG Project cooperatives' activities and about livelihood improvement
- 2) A questionnaire targeting sons and daughters, including questions about:
 - School drop-outs
 - Family separations
 - Plans for the future (in relation to study or work)
 - Involvement in households activities and free time
- 3) An anonymous questionnaire which focused on domestic violence issues. While carrying out interviews in relation to the two aforementioned questionnaires, we asked one of the family members to confidentially fill out this additional questionnaire.