Gender survey among TVET teachers and students in the western region of Mongolia



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Abbreviations

ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRIM	Independent Research Institute Mongolia
LPGE	Law on Promotion of Gender Equality
MCA	Millennium Challenge Account
AFE	"All for Education!" National Civil Society Coalition of Mongolia
ML	Ministry of Labor
MNT	Mongolian tugrik
MONFEMNET	National Network of Mongolian Women's NGOs
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NSO	National Statistics Office of Mongolia
SDC	Swiss Agency for Cooperation and Development
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization
UNGEI	United Nations Girls' Education Initiative
UN Women	United Nations Women
WB	World Bank

Introduction

Gender inequality in Mongolia is a complex issue. Mongolia's basic human development indicators are practically equal for men and women. It is often described that the country has relative gender equality. Mongolian women are better educated than men and enjoy unconstrained personal freedoms. Since 2011 Mongolia has the Law on Promotion of Gender Equality. In international rankings the country demonstrates good results. In 2014 Mongolia was placed in the Global Gender Gap ranking by the World Economic Forum on the 42-th place out of 142 countries.

These positive aspects of the situation in the country shall not lead to illusion of gender equality that may not exist in reality. Poor documentation of discriminations and uncritical approach to cultural and social norms contribute to the perception of non-existence of gender inequality in the country. The belief, a legacy of the communist past, that the country reached equality between men and women is still present in the public consciousness. Disclosure of gender inequalities in Mongolia requires serious gender analysis. Mongolia has limited expertise on gender and lack of gender disaggregated data. The collection of gender disaggregated statistical data is made obligatory at the national level only recently. It can be expected that with enhancement of gender expertise and increase of availability on gender related data many myths on gender (in)equality in the country will be dismantled.

One of the current priorities of Mongolia is to have gender analysis for specific sectors. Sector specific analysis would allow to plan concrete actions of promotion of gender equality. No gender studies were carried out in TVET sector. The present survey is an attempt to map the situation at TVET schools on examples of TVET schools in the western region of Mongolia. The main incentive for carrying out this survey was to help TVET schools to mainstream at the institutional level. This means that data was collected from the pragmatic perspective. The survey attempts to identify gender differentials at TVET schools in terms of access, control over resources and opportunities, decision making of female and male teachers and students. It was also important to understand differentials in attitudes, needs, constrains, opportunities in relation to conditions to work and family responsibilities of female and male teachers. We hope that based on findings of the survey TVET schools can start the process of integration of promotion of gender equality in their activities in accordance with LPGE.

The survey consists from the 6 main chapters. The first chapter provides the information on methodology of the survey. The second chapter outlines the major rationale and legal conditions of gender mainstreaming in the TVET sector in Mongolia. The third chapter presents findings related to TVET teachers which include findings on teachers' gender awareness, teachers' attitudes on gender and occupational choice, gender aspects of the institutional culture. This chapter includes the findings on barriers faced by male and female teaching job candidates, problems and constrains of male and female teachers at work, their participation, access to opportunities and resources, and decision making in TVET school. The findings on TVET students are presented in the fourth chapter. It encompasses findings on entry barriers to TVET school, occupational choice, TVET institutional culture, safety of female and male students. The chapter six is devoted to the findings on sexual harassment at TVET schools. This chapter is followed by the "Conclusion".

I. Methodology

1. Background

This gender survey among TVET teachers and students in the Western region of Mongolia was carried out in the framework of the project "Vocational Education and Training in the Western Region of Mongolia". This project is implemented by GFA Consulting Group and funded by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. The project aimed to improve training capacity of the TVET schools in 6 western aimags (Khovd, Zavkhan, Bayankhongor, Bayanulgii, Uvs, Gobi Altai), to raise awareness on benefits and advantages, to improve in-service teachers' training by strengthening capacity of the Regional Methodological Center in Zavkhan. The choice of the Western region of Mongolia as the project implementation site is explained by the high rate of poverty and unemployment in the region. The enhancement of capacities of TVET schools in this region provides rural youth with economic and life opportunities.

2. Scope

The goal of this survey to map an analyze the existing gender based situations in TVET schools in the western region of Mongolia, seeking to identify gender gaps and disparities sot that appropriate measures to address the gender inequalities can be determined.

Thematically the survey seeks to shed lights on the state of awareness and implementation of the LPGE at TVET schools, gender attitudes among teachers and gender biases in the institutional culture of TVET schools. Teachers bring their own attitudes about gender to the classroom. Based on these attitudes teachers may act with preconceptions about the skills, capacity, and performance of girls and boys. Teacher attitudes construct gender stereotypes which are reproduced in the educational process and passed on to students. Therefore this survey seeks to find out what attitudes of TVET teachers hold on gender and on occupational choice.

Mainstreaming gender at TVET schools means transforming institutional culture and practices in gender sensitive way. This survey aims to identify gender biases in institutional culture at TVET schools in regards of teachers and students. It makes efforts to find answers to the following questions: What kind of access barriers to a TVET school exist for female and male teachers and students? What are the problems and constrains faced by males and females while teaching or studying at TVET schools? How do women's and men's participation, access to resources and decision making differ? How students' occupational choice influenced by gender? Do female and male students face different problems at school?

Consequently, based on the analysis of this survey TVET schools can take measures to achieve a more equitable distribution of educational resources, gender sensitive institutional cultures and practices, and to challenge existing social norm and expectations of men and women. Transforming TVET schools in gender friendly way will be translated into greater access to labor market, better earnings, personal satisfaction and empowerment of teachers and students of both sexes.

3. Data Collection

The data was collected by means of questionnaires, individual and group interviews, observations at TVET schools, dormitories and lessons as well as analysis of school policies and documents. The

questionnaires, interview questions and observation check lists were worked out based on the desk study.

The questionnaire for teachers and students were developed separately. Teachers' questionnaire contained 11 close end questions, 3 half open questions and 6 open questions. The students' questionnaire had 11 close end questions, 5 half open questions and 10 open questions. The assessment questions were created using Likert scale and Bi-polar score scale. The data collected through the questionnaires was processed by means of SPSS statistics 20 software package (IBM, US).

The data collection took place in two TVET schools of the western region: the TVET School in Bayankhongor aimag and the Polytechnic College in Zavkhan. The field trip to Bayankhongor and Zavkhan aimags took place in 19-23 May, 2015. The survey questionnaires were collected from 76 teachers and 177 students.

Individual interviews were hold in both aimags with the school directors, the school educational manager and the representatives of employers. Group interviews with young female teachers, two groups of female students and two groups of male students took place at each institution. The observations were carried out at schools, dormitories and lessons.

4. Participants

44 teachers of the TVET school in Bayankhongor aimag and 32 teachers of the Polytechnic College in Zavkhan participated in the survey. It makes of 22% of the total number of teachers in six TVET schools. 66% of the survey participants were male, 34% female. 55% of them were older than 36 years old. 78% teachers hold bachelor or higher academic degree. 70% of teachers teach vocational subjects. (14.5% of teachers teach male dominated occupations, 13.2% -female dominated occupations, 42.1%¹-mixed gender occupations)

98 students of the TVET school in Bayankhogor aimag and 79 students of the Polytechnic College in Zavkhan (total 177) students took part in the survey. 60% of the survey participants were male and 40% female. 77% of students are in their secondary year. 57% of them are trained in male dominated occupations, 31% trained in female dominated occupations and 12% of them trained in mixed gender occupations.

¹ 15 teachers or 19.7% wrote that they teach theory or practice. Researchers counted them to the mixed gender group.

II. Why gender matters for TVET in Mongolia?

Far from being the weakest link in education systems, in recent years TVET in Mongolia is emerging as a cornerstone for the transformation of education and labor market. Indeed, the development of skills through TVET is now one of the most often-cited priorities of all recent Mongolian governments and the field of intensive international development cooperation in Mongolia of the last decade. But little attention was paid until now to gender issues in the TVET sector. Mainstreaming gender is one of the challenges of the TVET sector. This chapter outlines the major rationale and conditions of gender mainstreaming in the TVET sector in Mongolia.

1. Human right and economic rationale

First of all, equality between women and men is recognized to be a basic human right. As a human right gender equality is just and fair and a worthy goal on its own. Promotion of gender equality doesn't need any other justification. Gender equality as a human right shall be respected and promoted in every sphere including TVET.

Secondly, gender inequality is harmful to all people in the society because it hinders economic growth. Critical evidences demonstrate that gender equality can play an important role in generation of economic growth. Most obviously, gender equality can contribute to economic growth by raising labor productivity, improving agricultural efficiency and increasing the stock of physical capital as well as expanding the labor market participation. The gender gaps in the labor market may cause up to 27% of GDP losses.² Just eliminating discrimination against women workers and managers will potentially increase productivity per worker by 25-40% and 7-18%.³ Gender inequality is not only costly but it also reduces a country's ability to compete internationally. It may have particularly negative impact on countries aspiring open trade when exporting goods and services can be equally good performed by men and women workers. The harmful consequences of gender inequality are not limited by economic losses there are social and intergenerational costs that left non-estimated.

TVET sector as a bridge to the labor market has strategic importance to address gender inequalities existing on the labor markets. Assessing gender inequalities in Mongolia on the labor markets the World Bank report states as follows:"... benchmarking Mongolia against other countries reveals considerable inequalities with respect to economic and political power and decision-making. In the context of labor markets, gender disparities are especially prominent in the type of work women do – mostly unpaid with limited engagement in self-employment/ entrepreneurial activities and with high levels of occupational segregation – and the wages that they are paid. In addition, women also have a limited presence in higher level managerial positions."⁴ TVET creates access for skilled workers to the labor markets. Redressing gender inequalities on labor market such occupational segregation and limited opportunities for women to be self-employed must be addressed at TVET level.

The shortage of skilled workers and low productivity is one of the biggest obstacles to sustainable economic development of Mongolia. TVET sector in Mongolia shall play a crucial role in supplying the nation with a skilled, motivated and adaptable workforce. Only equal access of men and women to TVET can secure equal labor force participation. TVET in Mongolia has unleashing potentials to improve youth

² IMF, Women, Work and the Economy: Macroeconomic Gains from Gender Equality, p. 4

³ WB, Mongolia: Gender Disparities in Labor Markets and Policy Suggestions, p. 5

⁴ WB, Mongolia: Gender Disparities in Labor Markets and Policy Suggestions, p.5

employment, older workers employability, to reduce the burden on higher education, to attract foreign investment, and to reduce earning gaps between the rich and the poor. Promotion of gender equality in the TVET sector will allow tapping from these potentials at fullest.

Efficiency in the use of human resources is essential to the country's competitiveness and growth. Creating possibility in TVET sector for each man and woman to choose a carrier based on her/his talents and aspiration unprejudiced by gender stereotypes and discrimination is only economically and morally justified strategy.

2. The international context

Mongolia has signed the major international conventions on promotion of gender equality. Just to name the most important of them:

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
- Convention on the Political Rights of Women
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
- Convention on Improvement of the Situation of Women in Rural Areas
- ILO conventions on equal remuneration and discrimination with respect to employment and occupation
- Convention Against Discrimination in Education
- Maternity Protection of ILO Convention 103
- Equal Remuneration Convention

The country also joined the global initiatives such Millennium Development Goals (UN), Beijing Platform for Action +20 (UN Women), Education for all (UNESCO), Decent Work (ILO) and etc. Promotion of gender equality is an integral and important part of these initiatives.

By signing the conventions and by joining the global initiatives Mongolia makes herself legally and politically committed to promotion of gender equality in all spheres of life in the country including economy, education, politics, employment and etc. And TVET sector shall not be exempted.

"The Shanghai Consensus: Transforming TVET: Building Skills for Work and Life" is an international document that specifically devoted to TVET sector. It was adopted in 2012 by the Third International Congress on TVET under the auspices of UNESCO. The significance of Shanghai Consensus is that the global community reached an agreement in respect to key challenges facing TVET and the main directions and priorities for TVET policies transformation which highlights the need for rethinking TVET role in broader human development aspects, and not just to respond to the demand for immediate skills. It drives the vision of TVET away from the narrowness of employability, productivity and competitiveness. Among others the document recognizes the role of TVET in promotion of equity including gender equality. The Shanghai Consensus states that TVET shall "improve gender equality by promoting equal access of females and males to TVET programs, particularly in fields where there is strong labor market demand, and by ensuring that TVET curricular and materials avoid stereotyping by gender."

3. Domestic Law on Promotion of Gender Equality

There is no yet a sector specific written policy on promotion of gender equality in TVET sector. But TVET institutions as educational providers hold the legal duties to promote gender equality in their activities based on the LPGE. The law was adopted in 2011. Its objective among others is to promote gender equality in education.

The law declares that in all educational terrains including vocational men and women shall enjoy equal rights and equal opportunities. Article 12 defines the duties of educational institutions. According to the article TVET schools shall carry out programs and activities to promote gender equality, identify breaches of gender equality and take measures to redress these breaches. An annual report of a TVET school shall include accounts on results of the activities on promotion of gender equality. The law holds school management responsible for the promotion of gender equality at school. A director of a TVET shall ensure that the working and learning environment is free from gender discrimination, and shall adopt and carry out plans and programs on gender awareness and education. A performance evaluation of a TVET school director shall include an indicator on results of a program or activities to promote gender equality. The admission to a TVET school shall be free from discrimination. Concerning educational process a TVET school holds the duty to incorporate mandatory for students gender content, methodology and evaluation into educational standards and curriculum. Textbooks, learning material and aides used in TVET schools shall be free of content that denies the concepts of gender equality.

The other important article for TVET schools is the Article 11 of LPGE. It guarantees of equal rights in employment and labor relations prohibiting gender discrimination in employment and labor relations. It is also prohibited to treat preferentially, to restrict or to dismiss an employee based on his/her sex, pregnancy, child care-taking roles, or family status. Following this article collective bargains and agreements shall incorporate provisions on the creation of conditions and opportunities for a man and a woman to combine their professional and family responsibilities, to bear and care for a child, to take care of his/her health, to enjoy labor safety, equal pay and bonus for equal work and to enjoy equal working conditions. The school management according to this article shall report to employees on implementation of a plan and/or a program aimed at promoting gender equality.

In regards to the human resource policy of the TVET the law defines the following requirements:

- to recruit a person of the under-represented sex in order to ensure gender balance in a given organization or its unit;
- to carry out monitoring and evaluation of legal provisions on equal pay for equal work and equal working conditions and take actions to eliminate identified breaches;
- to undertake the promotion, professional training and re-training, skills development and pay increases for male and female employees based on the human recourse roster;
- to inform promptly all employees of job vacancies and professional training and re-training opportunities;
- to ensure that in a case of a once a time lay-off of more than one third of the workforce as a result of a structural change, the gender ratio of the dismissed group be directly proportional to that in the entire workforce irrespective of the length of service;
- to incorporate the rights, duties and responsibilities of an employer and an employee set out by the law in the internal employment procedures.

The law sets up also some requirements for a job application process:

- to refrain from explicitly specifying or implying a preference for any one sex in a job vacancy notice/advertisement;

 if an unsuccessful participant in a proficiency examination or recruitment process so requests, provide a written explanation of the ground of selection of a candidate of the opposite sex in a given process;

According to the law a TVET school shall provide professional training opportunities for an employee returning from an absence from work due to childbirth and childcare in order to ensure their competitiveness in the labor market.

TVET schools shall submit their reports on the sex ratio in the organization to the Governor's Offices of their respective soums or duuregs by the 20th of December of each year. The state agency in charge of labor and employment affairs shall provide support to TVET schools in their activities to promote gender equality.

One of the achievements of the law is the regulation on sexual harassment. The Article 6 defines the duties of the organization to establish no tolerance policy.

These are most important articles but the duties of TVET schools are not limited by them. Other relevant articles are applicable to TVET schools. The findings of this survey shall be assessed on the background of these legal regulations.

III. Findings on TVET teachers

1. Gender awareness of TVET teachers

In order to mainstream gender successfully in TVET schools it is necessary that teachers are interested in gender issues and possess necessary awareness on gender. In this chapter we present the findings of the survey related to the interest and awareness on gender among the TVET teachers.

Being asked if they are interested in gender issues 70% of the teachers answered affirmative. Both male and female teachers demonstrate equally good interest in gender issues.73.1% of male teachers and 71.4% of female teachers stated that they are interested or interested very much in gender issues. There are twice more women (16.3%) than men (7.7%) among those who are interested in gender issues very much. (See Diagram 1 in Annex) Teachers with higher academic degree exhibit more interest in gender issues. (See Diagram 2 in Annex)

The survey participants were requested to provide self-evaluation of their gender awareness. 47% of the survey participants consider their knowledge to be "sufficient" or "very good". It is relatively high result. Especially, the female teachers tend to assess their gender awareness high. 54% of them find their gender awareness to be "sufficient" or "very good" and no of them choose "don't know". 49% of all teachers and 54 % of male teachers think that their awareness is poor or superficial. Almost of 4% of men admit that they "don't know". Thus an implication can be made that women are more exposed to gender topics than men. (See Diagram 3 in Annex)

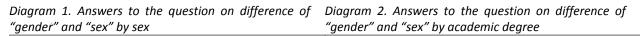
Educational level seems not to play a big role here. No significant differences between the educational groups can be observed in the self-assessment of gender awareness by teachers. About the half of teachers in all educational groups assess their gender awareness as "sufficient" or "very good" (See Diagram 4 in Annex)

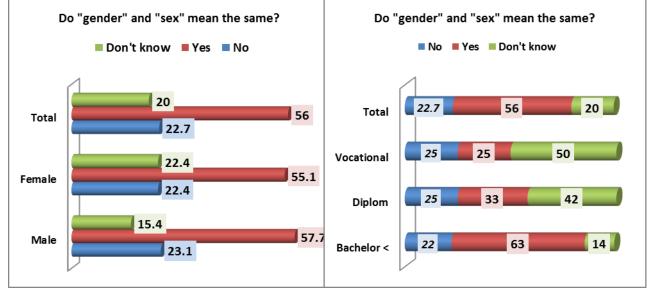
The above mentioned results showed that the TVET teachers, especially female, tend to assess their gender awareness relatively high. But the responds to the simple question if "gender" and "sex" are the same make us to think that teachers overrate their actual gender awareness. 56% of teachers answered that there is no difference between two concepts. 20% of teachers answered that they don't know. This means that collectively 76% of teachers have no understanding what gender is about. (See Diagram 1) The results of female respondents were not better than the men's. On contrary, the ratio of the right answer by men is 0.7% higher than by women. The lack of knowledge of the difference between gender and sex is present throughout all educational groups. 63% of teachers with the bachelor or higher degree answered that there is no difference between gender and sex. (See Diagram 2) These findings implicate that the actual gender competence among TVET teachers is far lower than one might suggest from the results of the question of the self-assessment on gender awareness. Gender capacity building of TVET school teachers shall be started literally from the scratches.

The above mentioned finding is a vivid illustration of the situation when the use of a foreign word alienates the concept from ordinary people causing confusion and misunderstanding. In Mongolian language there is no word that can be translated as "gender". The English word "gender" entered officially Mongolian language in 2011 when the LPGE was adopted. In everyday language use people seem to associate gender with all type of issues that relate to women. As we can see from the following extract of an interview with a female teacher.

I think that I have sufficient knowledge on gender. I attended several trainings on reproductive health. And last year the police organized a training on prevention of gender based violence.

Extract from an interview with a female teacher.





In an open question of the survey teachers had a possibility to write their definition of the difference between "sex" and "gender". The following responds were provided:

An	swers of female teachers:	Answers of male teachers:
	Correct definition of gender (1)	Gender and Sex are the same (1)
•	Sex is biologically determined, gender is a social construct.	 Gender means in English sex. So there is no difference between sex and gender.
	Gender and Sex are the same (2)	
		Balanced representation of men and women (1)
•	It is a concept about biological sex of females and males.	Gender is about balanced representation of males and
•	Sex is in born, gender is defined by nature.	 Gender is about balanced representation of males and females.
	Balanced representation between men and women (3)	
•	Gender should be balanced. It is not good when one sex outbalances the other.	
•	It is a concept about balanced representation of both sex.	
	Gender as a difference between men and women (4)	
•	It is a concept explaining the differences of men's and women's occupations and status.	
•	It is a concept explain why men and women have different work endurance	
•	Sex is about differences of men and women. Gender is about responsibilities of women.	

Table1. Difference between sex and gender

From 16 answers provided only one is fully correct, some are partially correct and the others are completely incorrect. From the above table it is evident that confusion and misunderstanding around the gender concept is common among TVET teachers. It is apparent that no trainings specifically devoted to gender were organized.

Teachers relate gender to participation, equality and balance in numbers of men and women based on information from the trainings where gender was dealt as an auxiliary topic. Being asked to name trainings on gender, in which they participated, teachers provided the following list.

An	swers of female teachers:	Answers of male teachers:
•	SASA training on prevention of violence against women (2015/05/14-16)	 ETAS – ser IV (2012) GOPA (2013)
•	"Gender equality" lecture by women parliamentarians Ts.Ouyngerel, Burmaa (2012)	
•	Gender issues of teachers (Mongolian National Teachers' Training University)	
•	Capacity building training of school management (2015/05/05-09)	
•	"Prevention of gender based violence" UNPF	
•	Training for school management	

Judging from the answers provided by women they are more exposed to gender topics than men. It is desirable to enclose men in gender discourses and capacity building. Otherwise the currently existing perception in public that gender is only a women's concern will be strengthened.

TVET teachers lack of knowledge about the LPGE. Only 14.5 % of them stated that they have sufficient or very good knowledge of the LPGE. (Diagram 7 in Annex) Like many laws in Mongolia the LPGE is a well written law but failure to raise public awareness explains its poor implementation. The administrations of the TVET schools were unaware of the regulations of the LPGE on duties of an educational institution. Subsequently no implementation took place. Promotion of gender equality and prohibition of sexual harassment was not integrated in any school policy or regulations at all six schools in the western region. In the framework of the survey most important internal policy and regulations of six TVET schools were collected and analyzed. Gender was not mentioned in any of the documents. Differentiation between female and male teachers is done only in the context of general statistics on number of the teachers working at the school. Also there are no school's internal mechanisms to handle complaints on sexual harassment or gender discrimination.

A general remark based on analysis of the policies and documents can be made that there is much room for improvement of TVET school governance. The principles of transparency, accountability, participation and integrity are not considered sufficiently well in school governance of the TVET schools. The mechanisms to ensure channeling all stakeholders in decision making are not adequately safeguarded, especially of students. In some schools the head of Students' Council is a teacher who is nominated by the school administration. The School Boards fail to play important role in school governance. Promotion of gender equality and prevention of sexual harassment go hand in hand with good governance at schools. Therefore it is important for the TVET schools to improve the school governance.

The following table contains a list of the main sources for the information on gender. The mass media is the most important source for all educational groups. On the second place is "information from the school management". This reply was provided mostly (74,4%) by teachers of the TVET in Bayankhongor. (Table. 3) The director of the TVET is a socially engaged person who is interested in gender issues. It is atypical case. But it also shows that a committed school administration has a great potential to channel gender awareness to teachers, students and public in general. On the third place we have newspapers followed by internet. Teachers rely heavily for information on gender on mass media. Information from mass media is likely to be fragmented. Contrary to our expectation the Regional Methodological Center, information materials by the international organization projects, handbooks were named with low frequency. Heavy reliance on mass media as information source and non-existence training possibilities explain the lack of systematized knowledge on gender by TVET teachers. The Chi-Sq indicator shows that there is an interrelation between degree of education and training as a source of gender information. (Table.3) This means that with higher degree of education teachers name more frequently trainings as a source for information on gender.

Info	ormation sources	Frequency	Percentage	Education	nal grades		Chi- Sq
				Bachelor <	Diploma	Vocation al	
1.	TV	50	65,8	40	8	2	
2.	School administration	43	56,6	31	9	3	0,371
3.	Newspapers	37	48,7	32	3	2	
4.	Internet	27	35,5	21	5	1	
5.	Colleagues	16	21,1	10	5	1	
6.	Trainings	15	19,7	13	1	1	0,001
7.	Book	12	15,8	11	1	12	
8.	Regional Methodological Center	7	9,2	5	2	-	
9.	Information issued by	5	6,6	2	1	2	
	international projects						
10.	Sector experts and methodologists	3	3,9	2	1	-	0,083

Table 3.Sources of information on gender

To sum up, both male and female teachers demonstrate interest in gender issues. 70% of teachers answered to be interested to learn about gender. Teachers assess their gender awareness relatively high but the state of their actual awareness is low. It is true for both men and women. 76% of teachers don't know that gender and sex are different concepts. Women seem to be more exposed to gender thematic

than men. Only 14.5 % of teachers have sufficient or very good knowledge of the LPGE. Because of the poor awareness on LPGE it is poorly implemented at TVET schools. Analyses of school policy documents and regulations point out the weakness in school governance. Teachers tend to have fragmented information on gender mainly because the main source for information on gender is mass media. There is lack of trainings specifically devoted to gender equality as well as printed materials on gender.

2. TVET Teachers' Gender Attitudes

What kind of biases exists in attitudes about gender among TVET teachers? How biased are their attitudes on occupational choice? To examine what are TVET teachers' beliefs about gender will provide better understanding gender stereotypes and biases existing not only in the sector but also in the society as whole.

2.1 Teachers' General Gender Attitudes

9 statements about gender were given to teachers for assessment. These statements or similar ones can be overheard in everyday conversations.

Sta	tement			Male								
		-		±	+	++	-		±	+	++	(Chi- Sq)
1.	Men are superior to women in all aspects.	46	11	8	31	0	32	4	14	36	14	0,122
2.	Women are weak.	8	4	4	77	4	10	0	4	32	48	0,001
3.	A man must be the breadwinner of the family.	31	23	8	31	4	46	18	4	20	10	0,621
4.	Working shall not be a woman's priority, family goes first.	27	15	11	42	4	32	6	18	34	8	0,620
5.	Men should not be involved in housework.	15	4	4	65	11	8	0	10	66	16	0,424
6.	Employers prefer to hire men because women are often absent getting pregnant or taking care of children.	27	8	15	38	4	28	4	24	30	14	0,225
7.	Worksinpolicydevelopmentanddecisionmakingsuittomenthantowomen.women.	38	15	15	27	4	34	6	14	32	12	0,600
8.	Worksonimplementationlevelsuit to women.	23	0	27	46	4	48	8	6	26	12	0,008
9.	Carrier advancement is easier for men than for women.	42	11	35	8	4	58	10	14	16	2	0,248
	Average:	28.5	10.1	14.1	40.5	4.3	32.8	6.2	12	32.4	15.1	
	Prevailing attitude :	Weak p	ositive				Weak p	oositive				

Table. 4 Gender attitudes by sex

Note: - Weak negative; -- Strong negative; ± Neutral; + weak positive; ++ Strong positive.

The first two statements are related to attitudes on masculinity and femininity. The survey participants were asked if they agree with the statement "*Men are superior to women in all aspects*". The statement found more agreement by men. 57% of men agree with the statement. And only 36 % of women recognize superiority of men. As we see the patriarchal notion about male superiority finds stronger support among men.

The prevailing majority both women (80%) and men (81%) disagreed with the statement "Women are weak". The survey provided the participants two alternatives of agreement: to "disagree strongly" or "disagree". Interestingly, 77% of men disagree and only 3% disagreed strongly whereas 48% of women disagreed strongly with this statement. From the results of the answers to this statement it can be assumed that weakness of women is not central in constructing the femininity in Mongolia and women do not perceive themselves as weak.

The second group of the statements was related to the role of a man and a woman in a family, and their duties in the household. There were three statements to assess: *Men must be breadwinner of families*. *Working shall not be a woman's priority, family goes first. Men should not be involved in housework*. More women (64%) than men (54%) see men in gender stereotypical role of breadwinners of families. Both sexes agree on men performing housework. 82% of women want to see men involved in housework and 76% of men share their opinion.

On the statement defining family as the priority of women teachers' opinions are not clear cut. 46% of men and 42 % of women disagree with the statement "*Working shall not be a woman's priority, family goes first*". 42% of men and 38% of women agree with the statement. From the answers it can be implied that the model of a family, where both partners work, is socially acceptable for majority of TVET teachers. Significant difference in attitudes exists between different age groups. Younger people don't see family as only priority of a woman. The number of people who thinks that the woman's priority shall be a family increases when the survey participants get older than 35. (See Table 1 in Annex)

The last four statements are related to employment. 33 % of all respondents with that the statement that *"Employers prefer to hire men because women are often absent getting pregnant or taking care of children"* is true. Although those (43%) who don't agree build a relative majority the fact that 1/3 of the survey participants sees that women have difficult access to job market is disturbing. The responses to the next statements show that the conditions on the labor markets are biased against women. 68% of women find that *men have more opportunities for promotion than women*. 53% of men hold the same opinion. On the labor markets men and women occupy different niches in hierarchy. 53% of men and 40% of women find that *works in policy development and decision making suit more to men than to women*. As we see previously the idea of men supremacy is supported more by men. When it comes to the women's niche 56% of women think that "works on implementation level suit to women". Far fewer men (23%) consider that women are predestined for jobs on implementation level. A possible implication can be made that women self-select for low profile jobs.

The overall results show that equitable attitudes on gender in general prevail among male (44.8%) and female (47.5%) TVET teachers. But older teachers tend to have more biased (conservative) gender attitudes. (See Table 1 in Annex) The biased tendency starts to prevail among survey participants older 35 and from 56 years the frequency of negative attitudes increases up to 55.5%.

To sum up, both male and female TVET teachers hold equitable attitudes on gender in general. The patriarchal notion about male superiority finds stronger support among men. More women than men see men in gender stereotypical role of breadwinners of families. Both sexes agree on men performing housework. The most divided opinion TVET teachers have on the dilemma what shall be a priority of a woman: job or family. With a slight difference those who think that family is not only priority of women

outnumber. The responses to the statements on the conditions of the labor markets showed that biases against women exist on the labor markets. Older teachers tend to have more biased (conservative) gender attitudes. The biased tendency starts to prevail among survey participants older 35 and from 56 years the frequency of negative attitudes increases up to 55.5%.

2.2 Teachers' attitudes on occupational choice

Gender stereotyping means overgeneralization of characteristics, differences and attributes of men and women. Gender stereotypes create a widely accepted judgment or bias about what occupations are considered to be proper for men and women based on certain characteristics or traits of each sex. In order to be able to address gender inequality in vocational education it is important to shed lights on TVET teachers' attitudes towards occupational choice?

Our findings indicate that male and female teachers' attitudes on occupational choice differ. Female teachers hold more equitable attitudes compared to their male counterparts. In overall 51.6 % of men hold biased attitudes whereas 51.4% of women hold equitable attitudes. (See Table 5)

	Statement		Μ	lale			Fen	nale			То	tal		Chi- Sq
		-		+	++	-		+	++	-		+	++	
1.	Occupations that require physical power are more suitable to men.	35	11	46	8	58	10	30	2	50	10	35	4	0,206
2.	Women due her physical capacity cannot perform all types of work.	58	11	23	8	42	16	34	6	36	14	30	7	0,664
3.	Men are more competent than women in occupations related to mechanics (wielder, auto repair).	46	27	19	8	58	26	12	2	54	26	14	4	0,559
4.	Nowadays technology is highly developed so there should not be female and male professions. A person shall choose his/her occupation considering her/ his talents, interests and perspectives of salary.	27	0	38	35	10	0	58	32	16	0	51	33	0,110
5.	Girls who choose traditionally male occupations (wielder, auto repair) will not be able to complete the training and later to overcome work related difficulties as successfully as their male counterparts.	54	11	27	8	42	12	38	6	46	12	34	7	0,785
6.	Even a woman	42	11	42	4	60	12	22	4	54	12	29	4	0,412

Table.5 Teachers' attitude on	occupational choice by sex
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	Prevailing attitude:	Weak	negati	ve		Weak	positive	2		Weak	o positi	ve		
	Averuge.	+0	11.0	55.1	14.5	51	7.0	57.0	11.0	30. 8	10. 5	57. 6	12. 6	
	Average:	40	11.6	33.7	14.3	37	9.8	39.8	11.6	36.	10.	37.	12.	
	female and male students.													
	requirements for													
	same performance													
10.	school teachers to have	40	0	55	11	50	0	40	10	39	/	42	10	0,808
10.	practices) It is difficult for TVET	46	8	35	11	36	6	46	10	39	7	42	10	0,808
	(discriminating hiring													
	biases of employers.													
	on changes of gender													
5.	able to have influence	55		50	15	10	Ŭ	02	12	~~	U	34	15	0,101
9.	TVET teachers shall be	35	11	38	15	16	6	62	12	22	8	54	13	0,181
	will be teased by others.													
	dominated professions													
8.	Boys trained in female	19	15	42	23	16	4	54	24	17	8	50	24	0,419
	harassment.													
	subjected to sexual													
	are at risk to be													
7.	Women trained in male dominated professions	38	11	27	23	32	6	42	18	34	8	37	20	0,614
_	she won't get a job.	20			22	22	6	12	10	2.4		07	20	0.64.4
	dominated occupation													
	a training in a male													
	successfully completes													

Note: - weak negative; -- strong negative; + weak positive; ++ strong positive.

Teachers' attitudes differ depending on what kind of subjects they teach. The vocational subjects, in which TVET schools offer training programs, can be grouped into three groups: male dominated occupations, female dominated occupations, and mixed gender occupations. The definition of male or female dominated occupation is based on the widely accepted definition. When the representation of one sex in an occupation is more than 75% percent it is considered to be male or female dominated occupation depending on which sex outnumbers. Mixed sex occupations are those were both sexes have more or less balanced presentation. (See Table 2 in Annex)

Teachers who train students in mixed gender occupations have equitable attitudes. (See Table 2 in Annex) Teachers of female dominated occupation, teachers of male dominated occupations and teachers of secondary education subjects hold biased attitudes. (See Table 2 in Annex) Teachers (52.3%) of male dominated occupations demonstrate biased attitudes at the strongest. They are followed by teachers (51%) of female dominated occupations. Secondary education subject teachers (49.5 %) are ranked behind. (See Table 2 in Annex)

The strongest *biases* irrespective sex and educational subject TVET teachers demonstrate in regards *to women not being able to perform in technical occupations as well as men.* 73 % of men and 84 % of women agreed with the statement "Men are more competent than women in technical occupations (wielder, auto repair)". (See Table 5) This statement received the largest number of (negative) scores among all school subject groups (except teachers training students in female dominated occupations). 87% of secondary education subject teachers, 81% of male dominated occupations, 78% of teachers of mixed gender occupations and 70% of female dominated occupational teachers support this statement. (See Table 2 in Annex)

More female teachers than male teachers think that females trained in male dominated occupation will experience lack of employment possibility. 80% of teachers of female dominated and 72% of all female teachers think that girls even when they successfully complete the training they won't be able later to find a job. (See Table 5, Table 2 in Annex) Whereas 53% of male teachers and 54 % of teachers of male dominated occupations share this employment forecast. (See Table 5, Table 2 in Annex)

Each sex seems to have biased attitudes on physical qualities to be a determining factor for carrier choice of the opposite sex. 73% of teachers of male dominated occupations and 69% of all male teachers believe that women due her physical qualities cannot perform all types of work. Whereas 58% of female teachers, 60 % of teachers of female dominated occupations have this attitude. Strong belief that biological differences between men and women to be a determinant in carrier choice shared by women in regard to men. 68% of female participants think that men are predestined for occupations requiring physical strength. 14% less men, namely 54%, share this attitude.

Men hold much stronger biases on *lack of endurance* of women to overcome difficulties of male dominated occupations. 65% of male teachers and 72% of teacher of male dominated occupations are sure that *"girls who choose traditionally male occupations (wielder, auto repair) will not be able to complete the training and later to overcome work related difficulties as successfully as their male counterparts"*. 60% of teachers of female dominated occupations. Teachers, who work with both female and male students, believe more in capacity of female students. Only 53% of teachers of mixed gender agreed with the statement.

The statement "It is difficult for TVET school teachers to assess female and male students with the same performance criteria" is answered differently by female and male teachers. The majority of male teachers 54% agreed with the statement whereas the majority of female teachers 56% disagreed. (See Table 5) 72% of teachers of male dominated and 60% female dominated occupations agree with this statement. This can imply that male teachers are more biased in assessment of performance by female students because of their low expectation. The teachers who work with students of both sexes think it is possible to assess female and male students with the same performance criteria. 61% of secondary subject teachers and 60% of mixed gender occupations disagreed with the statement.

The statement "*Boys trained in female dominated professions will be teased by others*" was disagreed by the large majority of men (70%) and women (78%). 84% of secondary school teachers, 77% of mixed gender teachers, 70% of female dominated occupations and 81% of male dominated occupations think that boys will not face such problems. For boys crossing the gender stereotype line in occupational choice seems to be easier than for girls.

The statement "TVET teachers shall be able to have influence on positive changes of gender biases (for example: discriminating hiring practices) of employers" found more support by women (44%) than by men (31%). Teachers of secondary education subjects (78%) and traditional female occupations (80%) have positive attitudes.

To sum up, male teachers of TVET are more biased than female teachers in regard to occupational choice. Teachers, who train students of both sexes, namely in mixed gender occupations, have more equitable attitudes. Teachers of female dominated occupation, teachers of male dominated occupations and teachers of secondary education subjects hold biased attitudes. Teachers of male dominated demonstrate negative attitudes at the strongest. The strongest *biases* irrespective sex and educational subject TVET teachers demonstrate in regards to women not being able to perform in technical *occupations as well as men*. Each sex seems to have biased attitudes on carrier choice based on physical qualities of the opposite sex. Majority of teachers of male dominated occupations believe that women due her physical qualities cannot perform all types of work. Strong belief that biological differences

between men and women to be a determinant in carrier choice shared by women in regard to men. More female survey participants than men think that men are predestined for occupations requiring physical strength. The existing gender biases in attitudes of TVET teachers bar females from entering into technical occupations and disadvantage females in gaining quality training by setting low expectation in their skills and abilities.

3. Institutional attitudes towards male and female teachers

Teachers had an opportunity to assess their school in terms of its attitude to women and men on the five points scale. Overall 55.7% of teachers perceive their schools' attitudes to be positive towards men and 51.5% towards women. (Table. 6) Thus there is a slight overbalance in favor of men. In which aspects do men have advantages?

50 % of teachers think that the school holds **empowering** attitude to men and only 30% believe that the school empowers women. 60% of teachers hold the opinion that their school **builds confidence** of men whereas for women it is 52%. 40% of teachers claim that the school holds **very friendly** attitudes towards men while for women it is only 30%. (See Table. 6)

18% of teachers find that the school has **exploitative** attitude toward women while only 8% believe the same is true for men. 20% think that the school is **repressive** towards women whereas for men it is 16%. (See Table. 6)

	F	Μ	F	Μ	F	Μ	F	Μ	F	Μ	Statement	Chi-
												Sq
	++	++	+	+	±	±	-	-				
Empowering	10	17	20	33	58	37	8	8	4	4	Hostile	0,540
Appreciate work	10	16	30	24	36	44	18	8	6	8	Exploitative	0,694
Respectful	16	20	36	36	38	32	6	12	4	0	Disrespectful	0,723
Confidence- building	20	20	32	40	28	24	12	8	8	8	Repressive	0,956
Progressive	14	20	39	32	35	32	6	8	6	8	Conservative	0,945
Encouraging team-building	34	32	38	28	22	28	2	8	4	4	Fostering competitiveness	0,690
Friendly	30	40	32	32	34	24	2	0	2	4	Unfriendly	0,774
Average:	19.1	23.6	32.4	32.1	35.8	31.5	7.7	7.5	4.8	5.1		

Table 6: Teachers' assessment of school's attitudes towards men and women

Note: ++ strong positive, + weak positive, ± neutral, - weak negative, -- strong negative

The organizational attitude towards men and women differs also when it comes to encourage teambuilding or to foster competitiveness. 38% of teachers say that the school fosters team building attitudes among female teachers. This value is 10% higher than for men. 12% of teachers answered that the organization fosters competitiveness attitudes toward men which is 6% higher than by women. As we see TVET school organizational culture encourages women to work in teams while men are expected to be competitive.

Hence the organizational attitudes favor men in some ways. There are some other evidences indicating the institutional culture at TVET schools may be less favorable to women.

Being asked, if the school management discriminate teachers based on gender, teachers provided following answers:

Table 7: Gender discrimination by school management

Discrimination against women:	Discrimination against men:					
 No discrimination occurs(14) School management doesn't treated everyone equally School management base on attitude that warman area 	 No discrimination occurs(16) Involve too much in not job related manual tasks. 					
 School management has an attitude that women are less competent. 						
 Sometimes the work performed by women is not fairly valued and appreciated. Women get scolded for things unrelated to her. 						
 School management discriminates because of age. They deny my requests to participate in trainings. (Survey participant belong to the age group 45-55) 						
 Male bosses favor young female teachers. 						

Note: the numbers in the brackets is the frequency of answers.

Male survey participants named only one example of discrimination. The school administration occupies male teachers with manual tasks not related to the job description which probably include building maintenance, repair or other kind of activities requiring physical strength. The allegations of women are more serious and include lack of appreciation of women's work, undue psychological pressure, devaluation and underestimation of women's competency, denial of training for older female teachers and favoritism of younger female teachers by male bosses.

TVET schools have an obligation to create work environments for teachers that respect their human rights. Having gender sensitive work culture means that female and male teachers work in equally positive work environment. In Mongolia in everyday language use the notion of positive work environment is described by absence of "(undue) psychological pressure". In other studies among teachers the question on "undue psychological pressure" is commonly used to assess work environment. The report on teachers' rights from 2014 by AFE identified as the second biggest harassment on working place. 19% of secondary school teachers admitted to experience this on daily basis.⁵

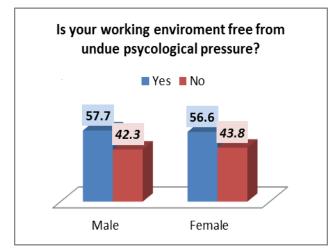
The concept of (undue) psychological pressure is not narrowly defined but in common understanding it is close to the concept of bullying in English. One of the definitions of bullying is "Persistent, offensive, abusive, intimidating or insulting behavior, abuse of power, or unfair punishment which upsets, threatens and/or humiliates the recipient(s), undermining their self-confidence, reputation and ability to perform".⁶ This definition captures approximately what is meant under "(undue) psychological pressure" in Mongolia.

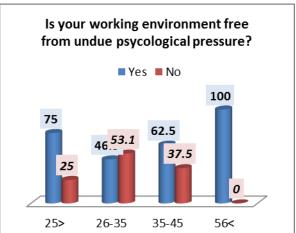
The diagrams below present the responds to the question "Is your working environment free from undue psychological pressure?"

⁵ AFE, Study on labor and trade union rights of teachers, p. 15

⁶ http://www.bullyonline.org/workbully/amibeing.htm#definition_of_bullying

Diagram 3. Presence of psychological pressure by sex





42.3 % of male and 43.8% of female teachers answered that they experience undue psychological pressure on working place. (See Diagram. 3) From the age group perspective young teachers of 26-35 year old are vulnerable to be put under undue psychological pressure. (See Diagram. 4)

Being asked in which context they experience undue psychological pressure female and male teachers provided the following answers.

Table 8: Context in which female and male teach	ers' expierence undue psychological pressure
---	--

Diagram 4. Presence of psychological pressure by age

 possible to express own opinion freely Management scolds and holds teacher responsible for actions of students. Management demands to perform tasks without instructing properly 	
---	--

The column with the list of situations, when women experience undue psychological pressure, encompasses 20 points. It is twice as many points than in the column for men, which contains just 9 points. All answers can be grouped into three groups. The first group is about excessive workload or workload typically not related to job description. It is the same for men and women. The second group concerns unfair assessment of performance. Twice as many women than men mention that their performance assessed unfairly. In more than one place in this chapter women indicated that they feel that their work is not assessed fairly.

The third group contains points on lack of positive work and communication culture. 14 points were mentioned in the column for women and just 3 in the column for men. This may imply that women are more vulnerable than men in the power imbalanced relation with management. Further studies are needed to find out if management has different style of communication with female and male workers.

To sum up, overall 55.7% of teachers perceive their schools' attitudes to be positive towards men and 51.5% towards women. Teachers think that TVET schools empower men, build their confidence and hold strong friendly attitudes toward men. Some teachers find that TVET schools more exploitative and repressive attitudes towards women than toward men. Male survey participants provided only one example of discrimination. The school administration occupies male teachers with manual tasks not related to the job description. The allegations of women are more serious and include lack of appreciation of women's work, undue psychological pressure, devaluation and underestimation of women's competency, denial of training for older female teachers and favoritism of younger female teachers by male bosses. 42.3% of male and 43.8% of female teachers answered that they experience undue psychological pressure on working place. Male and female teachers experience undue psychological pressure in three situations: excessive workload or workload typically not related to job description; unfair assessment of performance; and lack of positive work and communication culture. Twice as many female teachers as male wrote unfair assessment of their performance to be a reason for undue psychological pressure. The number of female teachers who mentioned that they experience undue psychological pressure due to lack of positive work and communication culture is almost five times higher than the number of male teachers.

4. Being a teacher at TVET school from the gender perspective

No serious gender research can overlook gender issues concerning access, participation and distribution of resources in an organization. In this chapter we will undertake effort to shed lights on the following issues. Do men and women face different barriers when they aspire to become a TVET teacher? Secondly, what kind of gender specific problems and constrains they face while working in a TVET school? How does female and male teachers' participation differ? How some job related resources and opportunities are distributed?

4.1 Barriers faced by female and male teaching job candidates

Teaching in Mongolia is female dominated occupation. Female teachers make 75.7% of the total number of teachers' at all educational levels. The national statistics for 2014 show that there 2327 TVET teachers of which 1497 are female. In percentage the female and male ration is 64:36. The statistics for six TVET schools in the western region demonstrate that there are 344 TVET teachers from which 200 are females. The ratio of female and male teachers in the TVET schools in the western region is 58:42. The

number of female teachers outnumbers male teachers because of the high concentration of female teachers in secondary education subjects. Out of 105 teachers teaching secondary education subject only 18 are male. The female and male ration for secondary school subjects at 6 TVET schools is 83:17. Concerning teachers teaching vocational occupational subjects male teachers outnumber female teachers. There are 122 male teachers of vocational occupational subjects in the 6 TVET schools which makes 52%.

The TVET sector in Mongolia is expanding rapidly in the last decade. In 2004 there were only 35 TVET school by 2014 there are 76 TVET school. The TVET sector faces acute need in qualified teaching personnel. How difficult for a man or a woman to become a TVET teacher? Do they face same barriers?

The following answers were provided as an answer to the question what barriers a female and male job candidate for a teaching position in a TVET school face.

Barriers for a woman to become a TVET teacher:	Barriers for a man to become a TVET teacher:					
 No barriers (13) 	 No barriers (12) 					
Lack of professional qualification and skills (9)	Lack of Professional qualification and skills (9)					
 Deficiency in knowledge and education (2) Skill deficiency (2) Skills and qualifications should be good. You have to pass the job selection procedure. A job applicant should have good qualification and teaching skills. A job applicant should meet high professional requirements. A job applicant should be a good expert in her profession. There are women in the school management therefore a female candidate should not experience big problems. 	 One should have right qualification and good teaching skills (4) Professional qualities are what really count Deficiency in education and knowledge can be a barrier for a job candidate 					
Lack of sport and music talents (4)	Lack of sport and music talents (5)					
 It is difficult to fulfill requirements on music and sport talents (2) Sport and music talents are more important rather than professional skills. Sometimes such people are employed without any selection process. It is difficult when a job candidate doesn't have all-round talents 	 experience(2) It will be difficult for an applicant if he doesn't have sufficient professional skills and talents in sport or music.(2) 					
Lack of required personal qualities(3)	Lack of required personal qualities(4)					
 Integrity of a job candidate is important (2) A job candidate must be stress resistant 	 Integrity is important for a job candidate(2) A job candidate should be reliant and have good time management There will be problems if a male job candidate has problem with alcohol consumption 					
Lack of "right" connections and "right" political party affiliation (2)	Lack of "right" connections and "right" political party affiliation (3)					
 One gets a job after a meeting with the director. No job selection process takes place. All power is in the hands of few bosses. 	 One can get a job only through private connection or political party affiliation No barriers if you know someone powerful 					

Table 9: Barriers for female and male job candidates

 I don't like the fact that nowadays not professional skills are decisive but "right" connection or "right" party affiliation. 	 Not professional qualification is decisive but "right" connection or "right" party affiliation
Gender specific barriers (3)	
 There is tendency to judge female candidates based on education as well as on appearance Gossiping and office tattling by women A woman may receive requests to meet privately from a male school manager 	

Note: the number in the bracket is the frequency of answers.

The biggest bulk of teachers name understandably the lack of required professional qualification and skills as a potential barrier both for male and female job candidates. There is no difference in the content of answers of men and women clustered in this group.

The next cluster of answers is a quite surprise. Both female and male teachers name the lack of talents in sport and music as an entry barrier for a teaching position. As a remnant from socialist time a custom to organize music and sport competitions among different organizations is still popular crossover sectors and regions. Although winning in such competition has only a reputational value it seems to be an important factor building an external image of the organization. The practice to give preferences to candidates with talents in sport and music is common not only in the TVET sector. In this context it is justified to question how much the quality of TVET education can be jeopardized through this practice.

In the third group of answers we collected responses related to personal qualities of job candidates. Both men and women consider that being a TVET teacher requires particular personal qualities such as integrity, reliability, time management, stress resistance and good time management. Interestingly, alcoholism is named as a specific barrier for a man.

Teachers identified the lack of "right" connection and "right" party affiliation to be a barrier for the entrance to a job as a TVET teacher. Lack of transparency in the job application procedure opens door for possible cases of corruption, nepotism. The rivalry based on the political party affiliations is a social phenomenon in Mongolia. Interest groups in local politics, administration and public service sector at all levels built based on the political party affiliation leading to discrimination of those who belong to other political parties. A change of personnel at higher level of the power hierarchy may lead to changes of employees at lower levels. Although firing people based on political affiliation is legally forbidden but it is commonly practiced. Blindly following one party affiliation policy as an organizational human resource policy can open possibility for people lacking professional qualification but with the right party affiliation to become employed in TVET schools thus harming sustainability and quality of vocational education in Mongolia.

Political interest does have impact not only on selection of TVET teachers but also on the term of a TVET director. According to the law on TVET the Ministry of Labor nominates and removes TVET school directors. Making the position of TVET directors dependent on political decision making leaves directors vulnerable to personal changes at the Ministry level. During the data collection period of this survey the directors of the TVET schools were removed and no new directors were nominated for long period of time. During the visits to the TVET schools it was noticeable that frequent and unpredictable changes of school directors destabilizes the operation of TVET schools and demoralizes teaching staff. Because with the appointment of a new director TVET teachers felt that they might be replaced it created an atmosphere of constant job insecurity in which it is not possible for TVET teachers to work realizing full potentials and creativity.

The last cluster of answers is a gender specific barrier faced by women. Among others the survey participants name that women face discrimination based on appearance. It is commonly reported that women in Mongolia being discriminated in labor markets in Mongolia because of her appearance. A case when a female job applicant is asked to go out for a private meeting with a male school manager can be classified as a case of sexual harassment. Thus a female job applicant for a teaching job at TVET School might be at risk to be subjected to sexual harassment and discrimination based on her physical appearance.

To sum up, teachers named lack of professional qualification and skills; lack of sport and music talents; lack required personal qualities; lack of "right" connections and "right" political party affiliation as barriers for entry to a teacher's position at a TVET school. The entry barriers faced by female and male candidates are similar except that females might be at risk to experience gender specific barriers such as sexual harassment or discrimination based on physical appearance.

4.2 Problems and constrains faced by female and male teachers

Teachers were asked to name problems and constraints that they as men or women face on job. The following table contains the answers provided by teachers.

Problems and constrains faced by women:	Problems and constraints faced by men:
 Experience no gender specific constraints (8) 	 Experience no gender specific constraints (8)
Reproductive role and work- life-balance(8)	Reproductive role and work-life-balance(2)
 Pregnancy, child care (4) Neglecting of the duties of a parent or a care giver. No time for family. (3) Excessive workload. no time left for family 	 Because of excessive workload little time is left for dealing with family issues Because of big workload there is little time left for family. Wives get dissatisfied and unhappy.
Difficulties related to work (5)	Difficulties related work (4)
 Work requirements are not realistic to fulfill No possibility to enhance professional qualification Since recently we started to have problems with the numbers of teaching hours. Fewer hours means less work. Even when a woman wants to work long term she will be forced to leave the job. Women get easily laid off 	 Low salary. Sometimes I wonder why I work the money is not enough for living. When students' enrollment will decrease the situation can become really bad. There is a risk to get injured Students, especially adult students, are disrespectful. Addiction (9) Alcoholism (5) Alcoholism and fell otherwise under bad influence of others(2) Men are at risk to develop addictions(2)

Table 10: Problems and constraints faced by women and men

Note: the numbers in the brackets means the frequency of the answers

The problems and constrains faced both by men and women can be clustered into two groups: problems and constrains related to reproductive role and work-life-balance; and difficulties related to work.

Both men and women experience problems and constrains related to their reproductive roles and struggle to achieve work-life-balance. But for women these problems seem to be especially acute. The largest number of the answers is clustered under this rubric in the column devoted to women. The pressure of family obligations lies heavily on shoulder of Mongolian women. On top of a day's work for wage women carry a double burden of housework, child care and sick care. "The prevalent attitude towards women is that women are primarily responsible for housework and children. The Time Use Survey 2007 conducted by the NSO estimates that almost 70 percent of household work is shouldered

by women, equivalent to 5.6 hours per day versus 2.7 hours for men."⁷ Beside housework Mongolian women are those who provide care for sick, old and disabled. Health care industries are not well developed in Mongolia and only limited circle of people can afford paid health care. According to the NSO ca. 4 hours pro week an average woman is engaged in care giving activities which three times more than men spend.

Pregnancy and child care are named by women as a problem faced to female teachers. According to the current law a woman can stay with a child at home up to three years. Lack of preschools, kindergartens and nurseries draws women out of labor market and makes life of working women difficult to manage.

For me, as a working mom, the most difficult thing is find a kindergarten place for my children. The state owned ones can accommodate a limited number of children. You have to have a lot of luck or a good connection to put your children in state owned kindergartens. With my teacher's salary I cannot afford private kindergartens. Even when a child got a place in the kindergarten there is a problem with the working hours of a kindergarten. Kindergartens are opened too late and closed too early. I wish that kindergartens could have some flexibility in their working hours

Extract from an interview with a female teacher.

Women are forced to stay at home for three years. Kindergartens take children who can eat on their own. It is usually when children are two or three years old. And even if you wish to start to work earlier you can't do it. Before in our mothers' time there were nurseries which took several month old children. If we only had such opportunities nowadays.

Extract from an interview with a female teacher

Long child care leave is considered by some managers as a problem making them reluctant to hire female workers. As it was already mentioned in the part on teachers' attitude on gender one third of the survey participants agreed that many employers are reluctant to hire women because long absence due to child care. (See Table. 4)The following interview presents an opinion of a person holding a management position at TVET School.

Hiring a woman brings risk to destabilize the operation of an organization for long time. A woman gets pregnant and leaves for three years and then she is back to work but only for a short time and gets pregnant again. It means three more years. And if the woman decides to have a third child it would be all together almost ten years. She loses in meantime all her professional skills. And we obliged to keep the workplace for her. And for a replacement person the situation is also unfair.

Extract from an informal conversation with a male manager of a TVET school

The study among secondary school teachers by AFE documented that the pregnancy discrimination takes commonly place at secondary schools. ⁸ Female teachers were not able to return back to their jobs after the expiration of their maternity leave. There is a common practice among the secondary school management to conclude a permanent contract with a replacement person.⁹ This weakens the legal position of the teacher on child care leave. This means that pregnancy can put a woman at risk to become unemployed.

⁷ UNICEF, Situation analysis of children and women in Mongolia, p.44

⁸ AFE, Study on labor and trade union rights of teachers, p. 16

⁹ AFE, Study on labor and trade union rights of teachers, p. 16

Of course the above cited interview is not representative for all management persons but still reveals the core dilemma of school management. There are also other managers who hold a different opinion as below.

I welcome when female workers and teachers get pregnant. Mongolia needs more babies. I think an organization should be able to manage the difficulties related to a pregnancy of a female worker.

Extract from an interview with a female TVET school director

If a woman decided to be back on work before her child gets three she has to handle issues like breastfeeding. According to the Labor law breastfeeding mothers can leave the working place for two hours if a child younger than six month and for an hour if a child not older than one year to breast feed.¹⁰ Breast feeding hours shall be considered to be working hours.¹¹ As the interview below shows this regulation is not implemented always.

I know that such regulations exist. I am happy to have this job and don't want to cause any inconveniences. And even if I made demand on this hour it would not be enough for me to go home breastfeed and come back. I live far away from the campus. So family members drive my child and I feed the baby in the car during the pauses between the lessons.

Extract from an interview with a female teacher

For an organization being gender sensitive means to establish institutional culture and practices addressing practical and strategic needs of both sexes. Internationally some good practices established in organizations taking gender equality seriously. For example, some organizations provide a room for mothers to breast feed their children or make flexible time arrangements to accommodate needs of workers with family responsibilities. Flexible work policies consist of flexible scheduling (e.g., compressed work week, variable start and end times, reasonable amounts of leave without penalty, etc.). Both men and women reported experience work life imbalance. Teachers see expressed wish for more flexibility in working time.

Our school is very strict with working hours. But it would be good if we had some flexibility. There are many things related to children's education and health that I as a mother can do only in day time.

Extract from an interview with a female teacher

Women name also a fair share of other problems related to work such as having lack of possibilities to enhance professional qualification, being vulnerable to be laid off or being induced to quit. Pursuant to the present legislation women retire with 55 years while men with 60 years. Women retire earlier than men. This leads to low pension. According to WB report 84.2% of women receive the lowest pension compared to 25% of men.¹² Women with four and more children may choose to retire earlier when they are 50 years old. It is reported in other studies among women that this regulation are misused to induce women to quit the job earlier or to make them first candidates for a lay off.¹³

Interestingly, the biggest cluster of the answers defining gender specific problems for men includes alcoholism and other addictions. Men in Mongolia culturally and socially seem to be more exposed to

¹⁰ Article 103.1 Labor Law

¹¹ Article 103.3 Labor Law

¹² WB, Mongolia: Gender Disparities in Labor Markets and Policy Suggestions, p. 14

¹³ WB, Mongolia: Gender Disparities in Labor Markets and Policy Suggestions, p. 7

risks of developing addictions. Alcoholism in Mongolia is mainly men's issue. On average men's alcohol consume is 5 times bigger than women's. ¹⁴ Competent therapies for alcohol addiction are not commonly available. Families left alone to deal with the situation. And usually women and children who bear all consequences of men's drinking problem at heaviest. Addressing male alcoholism in Mongolia will require deconstruction of the existing masculinity concept.

Summing up, both female and male teachers experience problems and constrains related to their reproductive roles and struggle to achieve work-life-balance. But it is especially problematic for women who due to cultural norms shoulder double burden of reproductive and productive work. Lack of access to child caring, health care services for sick, old and disabled put working women under much constrains to balance multitude of her duties. There is a need at TVET schools for safeguarding proper implementation of the legal regulations child care leave, breastfeeding and retirement. TVET teachers voiced their need for gender friendly and family friendly modifications in the institutional. Alcoholism and risks to develop other addictions was identified by teachers to be a specifically men's problem and constrain.

4.3 Participation, access to resources and decision making in TVET schools from the gender perspective

Participation, access to resources and decision making are important indicators for defining gender roles within an institution. In the framework of the survey TVET teacher were given an opportunity to assess which opportunities and resources are accessible in their institution for which sex.

70% of all teachers believe that men and women in their institution have equal access to the named resources and opportunities. More women (76 %) than men (60%) believe that the access to resources and opportunities is equitable to women and men. (See Table 11)

	Male			Female			Total		
Statement	F >	M >	=	F >	M >	=	F >	M >	=
1. Education and training opportunities	11	11	77	4	10	86	7	10	83
2. Recognition for good work	15	15	69	10	14	76	12	14	74
3. Promotional opportunities	19	23	58	18	12	70	18	16	66
4. Participation in decision making	27	23	50	16	4	80	20	10	70
5. Freedom to use one's own initiative	11	23	65	20	6	74	17	12	71
6. Up-to-date technology	11	46	42	4	22	74	7	30	63
7. Opportunities to exercise leadership in one's workgroup	31	15	54	22	8	70	25	10	64
8. Opportunities to exercise leadership within the institution	19	23	58	22	10	68	21	14	64
9. Authority over resources	35	23	42	24	10	66	28	14	58
10. On-the-job challenges for which one has responsibility	23	8	69	10	2	88	15	4	81
11. Career development	11	19	69	12	6	82	12	10	78

Table 11: Distribution of opportunities and resources among female and male teachers

¹⁴ Brian White: Alcohol consumption: A Toast to Data, http://www.themongolist.com/blog/society/90-alcoholconsumption-a-toast-to-data.html

12. Support staff	19	11	69	6	14	80	10	13	76
Average:	19.3	20	60	14	9.8	76	16	13	70.6

Teachers think that male teachers have better access than women in the following aspects: education and training opportunities, recognition for good work, up-to-date technology and support staff.

10% of female teachers think that men have better assess to education and training whereas only 4% of female teachers think that female teachers have better assess to education. Better access to education and training opportunities for men is indicated also in interviews.

Men have more opportunities to get trainings because there are many international projects are implemented in occupations that usually male dominated.

Extract from an interview with a female teacher

There are other indications, that female teachers of TVET schools may not have satisfactory access to trainings and education, occurred in several places of the survey. Asked to provide an example of discrimination, an older female teacher reported being denied in participation in training. (See Table.7) One teacher named "no possibilities to enhance professional qualification" as a problem for female teachers (See Table.10)

14% of female teachers share an opinion that male teachers have better opportunity to get recognition for good work on contrary only 10% of female teachers think this opportunity is given more to women. There are some other indications in the survey supporting that it may be easier for male teachers to receive recognition for good work. 18% of teachers find that the school has exploitative attitude toward women while only 8% believe the same is true for men. (See Table. 6) More female teachers than male reported the unfair assessment of their performance as the context of experiencing undue psychological pressure. (See Table.8) TVET female teachers are likely to face more problems than their male counterparts to receive deserved recognition. Female teachers also mentioned unfair assessment of their performance as a form of gender based discrimination. (See Table. 7)

46% of male teachers and 22% of female teachers think that TVET schools provide better access to upto-date technologies to men. In contrast only 7% of all teachers suppose that female teachers may have better access. One of explanation of this result is that due to the occupational segregation men are concentrated in male dominated occupations which are more technology intensive. On other hand, many TVET schools benefited from generous spending programs by international donors which included facility and equipment modernization and the supply of new power tools and state-of-the-art simulated technologies in high demand trades which are mainly male dominated occupations. The donors paid less attention to occupations in which females are concentrated.

Both men and women agree that women have better access to participation in decision making, opportunities to exercise leadership in one's workgroup, authority over resources and on-the-job challenges for which one has responsibility. 80% of female teachers compared to 50 % of male teachers have the opinion that access to decision making is equal for both men and women. 20% of all teachers consider that female teachers have more access to decision making whereas for male teacher it is just 10%. 25% of all teachers think that female teachers have opportunities to exercise leadership in one's workgroup. Only 10% of them believe it is true for male teachers. 28% of teachers have an opinion that women have more authority over resources whereas for men it is just 14%. 15% of teachers voted for women having more access to on-the-job challenges for which one has responsibility whereas for men having more access to on-the-job challenges surprisingly voted just 4%. How to understand this data? First of all, higher participation rate of women in decision making and in excising authority over

resources can be explained partially by women majority in teaching personnel and management as well as overrepresentation of women in position of finance workers. Female teachers outnumber male in six TVET schools in Western aimags with the average ratio 60:40. The gender ration in management of six TVET schools is proportional to the general presentation of female and male teachers. It is 63:37.

But how to explain that men exercise less leadership in one's workgroups and on-the-job challenges for which one has responsibility. It was already mentioned that TVET school organizational culture encourages women to work in teams while men are expected to be competitive. On other hand, women seem to be expected due socialization and education to be engaged and committed. This would mean that laid back behavior of males is culturally tolerated and expected.

Men don't participate actively. They tend to be clumsy. Women participate actively. They work fast and pay attention to details. They can think critically. Women can also multitask.

Extract from an interview with a school manager

To sum up, 70% of all teachers believe that men and women in their institution have equal access to the resource and opportunities. More women than men believe that the access to resources and opportunities is equitable. 76% of female teachers compared to 60% of men have the opinion that the organization provides equal access to resources and opportunities. Teachers think that male teachers have better access than female teacher to educational and training opportunities, recognition for good work, up-to –date technology and support staff. Teachers have an opinion that female teachers have better access to decision making, opportunities to exercise leadership in one's workgroup, authority over resources and on-the job challenges for which one has responsibility. Male teachers are less participatory than female teachers.

II. Findings on TVET students

1. Entry barriers to a TVET school for female and male students

The national wide ratio of TVET male to female students is 57:43 for 2014. There is an overbalance of male students in TVET sector. It is an exceptional situation compared to other educational terrains. The reversed gender gap exists in the secondary as well as the higher education. Compared to other regions, in the western region the numbers of TVET female and male students is balanced. (See Diagram 8. in Annex)The ratio of male and female students is 52:48. The biggest discrepancy in the number of male and female students is in Ulaanbaatar. The male and female ratio in TVET schools in Ulaanbaatar is 59:41.

Do TVET schools in the western region provide equal access to female and male students? Female and male students provided the following responds to the question on how difficult it is to become a TVET student.

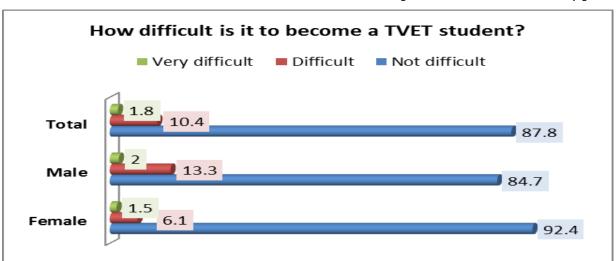


Diagram 5: Access to TVET school by gender

87.8 % of students found it is "not difficult" to become a TVET students. From the gender perspective it is an interesting finding that more female students (92.4%) than male students (84.7%) answered that the access to a TVET school was "not difficult" for them. Twice as many boys (13.3%) than girls (6.1%) answered that it was difficult for them to entry a TVET school. (See Diagram 5.) How to explain that girls have easier access to TVET schools?

First of all, female students may have easier access to a TVET school because they perform at school better than boys. So they may do better at the entrance exam if a TVET school requires an exam. Secondly, it is more competitive for boys to become a TVET student. After the 9-th grade secondary schools select students by performance. Girls tend to stay at school and pursue later higher education. Boys tend to constitute the majority of poor-performing students.¹⁵ There are more male candidates competing for a place at a TVET school. Male students are concentrated mostly in male dominated occupations which are usually at high demand on the labor market than traditionally female dominated occupations. Being asked to name difficulties, that they face by the entry to a TVET school, boys reported that the classes of the occupation, in which they were interested, were already full.

¹⁵ UNGEI, Why are boys under-performing in education?, p.21

Using the argument of limited places schools also get rid of "undesirable" students with behavioral problems. Students reported as one of difficulties they face by the entry to a TVET school the negative school climate. Put with their words "I was hesistant to decide to become a TVET student because I heard from others that TVET students lack communication skills and there are a lot of conflicts and fights among them."

Being asked what kind of difficulties students face specifically as girls or boys when they enter a TVET school. Boys told that they do worry about their communication skills. Girls have insecurities about not being able to perform tasks requiring physical power. Both girls and boys shared that an age difference from other classmates would be a problem for them. It is understandable that TVET students as teenagers wish to be among their peers. On other hand, it may imply that the peer group dynamic is so strong that just not belonging to the definite age group may put a girl or a boy under strain and isolation. Age difference may cause other kind of tension in the group. The report by IRIM reveals occurrence of senior students' violence among TVET students.¹⁶

To sum up, female students have easier access to a TVET school. One of the reasons is that girls perform at school better than boys. Male students experience for competition by the entry to a TVET school because there are more male candidates competing for a place at a TVET school and because male dominated occupations are at high demand on the labor markets. Students reported negative school climate to be an entry barrier to a TVET school. Boys have anxieties about their communication skills and girls are not confident about their abilities to perform tasks requiring physical power. Both girls and boys shared that an age difference from other classmates would be a problem for them. Age difference appear to cause constrains and tensions among TVET students.

2. Occupational choice of male and female students

In the academic year 2014-2015 altogether 6 TVET schools offered trainings in 54 occupations. Although the variety of occupations differs depending on the size and type of the institution all schools have programs of 7 occupations: interior decorator, tailor, construction plumber, carcass assembler, cook, construction electrician and baker. The TVET schools in the western region give priority to construction. Interior decorator is the most popular occupation among girls and boys. 10.8% of total number of all students in 6 schools decided for the programs in interior decorator. Gender composition of students in interior decoration is 52% female and 48% female. Interior decorator is only occupation related to construction were girls' presence is balanced.

Occupations, in which TVET schools offer educational programs, can be grouped into three groups: traditionally male dominated occupations, traditionally female dominated occupations, and mixed gender occupations. The definition of traditionally male or female occupation is based on a classical definition. When one sex presentation in an occupation is more than 75% percent it is considered to be traditional male or female occupation depending on which sex outnumbers. Mixed gender occupations are those were both sexes have more or less balanced presentation.

The diagram contains the top 25 occupations in 6 TVET schools in Western aimags. The traditionally male occupations include: construction plumber, construction carcass assembler, vehicle repairer, carpenter, contraction electrician, welder, construction cement worker, intensive livestock farmer, construction carpenter, metal worker, repairer of household electrical items and operator of heavy

¹⁶ IRIM, Formative research with youth aged 15-24 on matters related to their sexual and reproductive health in Mongolia, p.86

machinery. All together this group includes 12 occupations. The traditionally female occupations include 6 occupations: sewer, cook, hairdresser, baker, shoemaker and cosmetologist. The mixed gender occupations are interior decorator, operator of electronic devices, vegetable farmer, TVET veterinary assistant, technician of civil construction, agricultural farmer and souvenir maker.

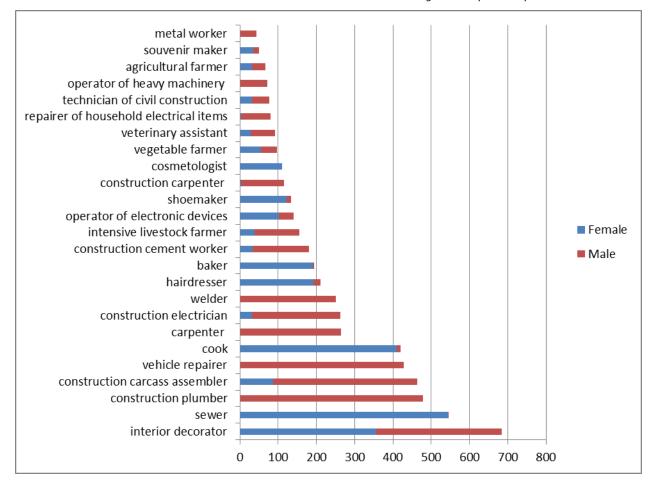


Diagram 6. Top 25 occupations at TVET schools

The most popular occupations among girls are sewer (23%), cook (17%), interior decorator (15%), baker (8%), hairdresser (8%), shoemaker (5%) and cosmetologist (5%). Majority of girls are concentrated in a very few traditionally female occupations. 40% of all girls are trained to be sewers and cook. (See Diagram 9 in Annex) When it comes to choice of occupations boys can choose from the wider range of occupations. Among 25 top occupations 12 are male dominated whereas only 6 occupations are female dominated. Boys choose the occupations such as construction plumber (15%), vehicle repairer (13%), construction carcass assembler (12%), interior decorator (10%), carpenter (8%), welder (8%) and construction electrician (7%). (See Diagram 10 in Annex)

The occupational gender segregation among students is strong. The majority of boys in male dominated occupations and girls are concentrated in female dominated occupations. The occupational segregation among TVET schools mirrors the labor market segregation. The high occupational segregation on the labor markets can be explained by a legacy of the labor regulations from 1999 prohibiting women to work in certain occupations. These regulations were a leftover from the communist past. They prohibited women to work in an extensive range of industries including construction, transportation (rail, road and air), meatpacking, textile, tailoring, publishing and etc. The major argumentation behind

the restricting regulations was health and safety concerns. But it is not convincing because all these jobs are considered to be "safe" in any other countries. Health and safety concerns can be addressed by overall improvement benefiting of both men and women rather than through restricting of women's economic participation. Although these regulations were annulled in 2008 the belief that women should not work in some industries is still present in the social consciousness.

Was the choice of girls always so limited? In the interviews with the employers from the construction sector it was mentioned that there were more women in construction sector performing what is considered today as exceptionally male occupations like brick layers, cement workers and etc. In the TVET school of Bayankhongor aimag there is a female teacher who teaches welding. In the interview she stated when she was a student she was not only female student in her class. But she as a teacher never had a female student. Although occupational choices of female students were always limited by the existing occupational segregation on the labor markets but it was not so restricted like today. The restriction of occupational choices of girls at TVET schools to a very few female dominated occupations can be a recent phenomenon.

For boys it is easier to cross the line of gender stereotyping and acquire skills in traditionally female occupation. 44% of boys agreed that their TVET school provides students with a possibility to be trained in any occupation regardless their sex whereas only 27% of girls found this to be true. Teachers also more accepting when boys choose to be trained in occupations which are considered to be female dominated. 74% of teachers disagreed with the statement that boys being trained in traditionally female occupations will be teased by others. (See Table 5) During the interviews both teachers and students remarked that boys in non-traditional occupation perform better than girls. It is believed that those boys possess better abilities and skills and they outperform girls.

We had a few boys. Boys are neater than girls when they sew. They are hard working. They perform everything in accordance with the technology. Girls sometimes get lazy and don't hold on right technology.

Extract from an interview with a male teacher training sewers

When a man becomes a cook he cooks much better than a woman cook. The taste of his dishes will be always the same. The tastes of dishes by women cook changes with her mood.

Extract from an interview with teachers

Vice versus, where a girl decides to pursue a carrier in non-traditional path she faces more challenges. There is a strong belief among TVET teachers that a woman in nontraditional occupations cannot perform as good as a man. (See Table 5) But success stories of women in male dominated occupations prove that training of women in non-traditional occupations can open different economic opportunities.

There is a woman in our Aimag who was trained as a welder. Now she is a successful business woman. She owns a company specialized in welding. She also has a small trading company. She is an inspiring model for students.

From an interview with the worker of Carrier Center

How does gender influence the choice of occupation? What kind of factors influences the occupational choice of boys and girls? Both boys (58.2%) and girls (52.9%) said that parents played a decisive role for their occupational choice. (See Diagram 11 in Annex) Those who choose non-traditional carrier paths reported that they made their decision under the influence or support from the adults from their near circle. The decision on what occupation to choose girls and boys are done mainly based adults' opinion. This means that boys and girls mainly reproduce gender stereotypes of the adults from their

surroundings. The implication of this finding would be that carrier counseling shall never leave parents out of consideration and involve them as much as possible. Especially, it is meaningful to involve parents in events introducing girls to possibilities of being trained in technical occupations.

Girls don't show any interest in technical occupations on their own. The situation will probably never change without special measures targeting girls.

From the interview with the Carrier Center worker

The above mentioned interview demonstrates the need for career counseling for girls. The second biggest bulk of students told that they made their carrier choice based on belief of what is traditionally female or male occupation. It means that male and female students make their carrier choice based on their own gender stereotype. 27.9% of female students choose their occupations because they consider it to be a traditionally female occupation. 26.3 of male students choose their occupations because they consider it to be a traditionally male occupation. (See Diagram 11 in Annex) Girls seem to be more under pressure to conform the gender typical role. In the interview with the officer from the Carrier Center in Bayankhongor she shared that girls often come to her seeking an advice in the situations when their mothers do not approve their occupational choices.

My clients for individual counseling are mostly girls. Girls are also who ask questions at the meetings organized at secondary schools. Often girls come to individual counseling when they have conflicts with their mothers. They say most commonly: "My mom wants me to be so and so. But I don't want. What shall I do?" Then I usually invite both mother and daughter. And we speak all together and find a solution. I never had a boy with the similar problem.

Extract from an interview with the officer of the Carrier Council

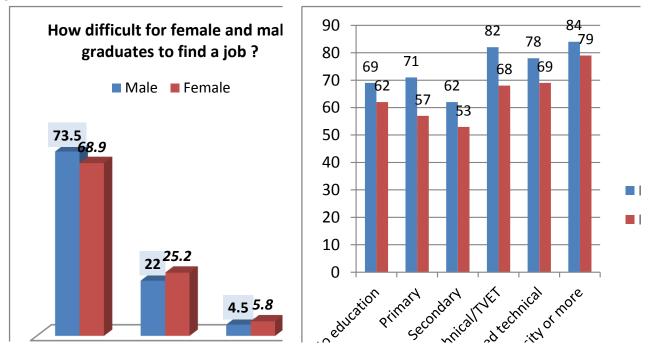
Surprisingly, economic factors like salary (8.5%) and probability to find a job (6.4%) were named by students less frequently. (See Diagram 11 in Annex)

How satisfied are male and female students with their occupation choice? Boys seem to be more satisfied with their occupational choice. 90,4% of them answered that they like the chosen occupation "much" and "very much". 82.3 % of girls provided the same answer. It is 8.1% less than by male students. 3.4% more girls than boys answered that "don't like" or "like little" the occupation that they choose. (See Diagram 12 in Annex)

Being asked what kind of gender specific problems girls can face two girls wrote that girls may dislike the occupation in which they trained. It is remarkable that only girls and no boys provided such answers. All these indicate that the limited occupational choice based on gender stereotypes leave girls dissatisfied with their carrier choice. Gender segregation in career choice results in talent loss for individuals as well as for the society as whole.

Diagram 7. Work perspectives for female and male graduates

Diagram 8. Labor force participation by education (NSO 2009)



Do girls and boys have different expectation on finding jobs after the completion of their training? 73.5% of students think it is easy for males to find a job after the completion of the training. 4.6 % less namely 68.9% of students think that it will be easy for women to find a job. 31% of students think that it will be for women "difficult" or "very difficult" to find a job whereas for men it is 26.5 %. (See Diagram 7) One of the explanations for this is that female dominated occupations that have low demand on labor market. The national statistics show that labor force participation of female TVET graduates is low. The labor force participation of male TVET graduates are economically active. (See Diagram 8)

Creating economic opportunities for young women in rural areas is important issue to halt female migration to urban areas. In interviews it was often mentioned that young men have difficulty to find a wife because girls go to cities to study at universities and often don't come back. TVET schools shall take more into consideration the gendered dimensions of the labor markets when they tailor their training programs. What kind of economic reality do girls in rural Mongolia face? Women in Mongolia are concentrated in the non-remunerated part of the labor market. 31.1% of women in Mongolia are employed as unpaid family workers. This is considered to be high even for the East Asia. Especially, in rural areas women perform most of unpaid work.¹⁷ Only education can bring girls out of unpaid work. Girls and their parents hope that the university degree can ensure an employment. Among others universities may be attractive for girls because they provide wider choices of professions.

Both female and male TVET graduates most probably will work in the informal sector. According to statistics the majority 66 % of working age individuals – men and women – work in the informal sector. The girls' perspective after the graduation of TVET school is less bright than boys in terms of a potential

¹⁷ WB, Mongolia: Gender Disparities in Labor Markets and Policy Suggestions, p. 11

salary. Overall in Mongolia men earn about 10% more than women.¹⁸ This gap exists across all educational level. The large wage gaps cannot be explained by differences in men's and women's endowments such as education and experience.¹⁹ The bigger gap exists among young workers. Young women paid 1.35 times less than their male counterparts.²⁰ The survey by MCA among 10 TVET schools revealed that average monthly wage of a female graduate is 680.667 MNT while of male is 1.255.798 MNT.²¹ This means that a female TVET graduate earns twice as less than a male graduate. After the completion of the training boys have better chances to get self-employed. Statistically there are twice more men compared to women at all educational levels who become self-employed.²²

To sum up, at TVET schools male students have more occupational choice whereas girls' occupational choice is limited to very few traditionally female occupations. For boys it is easier to be trained in female dominated occupations. Both teachers and students believe that boys in non-traditional occupation perform better than girls. Vice versus, where a girl decides to pursue a carrier in non-traditional path she faces more biases and challenges. Both boys and girls reported that parents played a decisive role for their occupational choice. Boys and girls are likely to reproduce gender stereotypes of their parents in carrier choice. Students also make their carrier choice based on their own gender stereotype. Interviews show that girls seem to be more under pressure to conform the gender typical carrier choice. Boys seem to be more satisfied with their occupational choice. The limited occupational choice based on gender stereotypes is likely to leave girls dissatisfied with their carrier choice. Students think it is easier for male graduates than for female ones to find a job after the completion of the training. This is also supported by the national statistics. Creating economic opportunities for young women in rural areas is important issue to halt female migration to urban area. It is necessary that TVET schools take into consideration the gendered dimensions of the labor markets when they tailor their training programs.

3. TVET institutional culture from the perspective of female and male students

Do girls and boys have equal access to resources and opportunities while they study at TVET schools? 77.8 % of students have the opinion that boys and girls all have equal access to resources and opportunities. 13.2 % of students found that male students have better access to opportunities and resources whereas only 9.5% of students think that female students may be better off at TVET schools.

		Male			Female	5		Total		Chi-	
Sta	Statement		M >	=	F >	M >	=	F >	M >	=	Sq
1.	Opportunity to get scholarship	1	21	78	11	0	88	5	13	82	0,000
2.	Recognition for good work	3	17	79	15	0	85	8	11	81	0,001
3.	Receive encouragement	14	0	86	9	13	78	11	8	81	0,026
4.	Participation in decision making	11	17	72	14	8	78	12	14	74	0,313
5.	Participation in sport events	3	26	70	15	6	79	8	19	73	0,001
6.	Participation in music	6	16	72	12	8	80	8	16	76	0,087

Table.12 Distribution of opportunities and resources among female and male students

¹⁸ WB, Mongolia: Gender Disparities in Labor Markets and Policy Suggestions, p. 17

¹⁹ WB, Mongolia: Gender Disparities in Labor Markets and Policy Suggestions, p. 17

²⁰ WB, Mongolia: Gender Disparities in Labor Markets and Policy Suggestions, p. 19

²¹ Gender overview-Mongolia: A desk study, p.23

²² WB, Mongolia: Gender Disparities in Labor Markets and Policy Suggestions, p. 5

	competitions										
7.	Participation in professional competitions	2	21	77	10	4	86	5	15	80	0,006
8.	Leadership in class	15	14	72	16	0	84	15	8	76	0,022
9.	Leadership in school	12	16	72	15	4	81	13	11	75	0,145
10.	Being elected as a leader in workgroups at school and class levels	12	16	72	23	4	73	16	11	72	0,057
11.	Receive support from teachers	6	15	79	13	4	83	9	20	80	0,048
12.	Opportunity for internship	4	19	81	9	2	89	4	12	84	0,000
	Average:	7.4	16.5	75.8	13.5	4.4	82	9.5	13.2	77.8	

Students think that boys have better access to opportunities related to professional development and leisure activities, namely access to scholarships, recognition for good work, participation in professional competition, receiving support from teachers and opportunity for internship as well as to sport and music competitions. Interestingly, 30.8% of girls answered that TVET teachers favor boys over girls. (See Table 3 in Annex)

Girls are provided with better opportunities to enhance leadership qualities. They are given opportunities to be leaders in classes, schools and workgroups. Girls are encouraged throughout educational system to be responsible and actively participate in organizational activities of school. For example, in secondary schools female students more likely to be elected to be a class leader.²³ This means that most organizational works among students are carried out by female students. 67% of girls answered that they actively participate in organization of events by students compared to 59% of boys. (See Table 3 in Annex) Girls also participate more actively than boys in decision making. 70% girls told that they participate in decision making. In contrary, only 52.7% of boys told that they participate in organizational matters and decision making of the school was also observed among female teachers.

Girls seem to have more need in counseling than boys. 27.5 % of female students answered that they are not able to get the needed counseling in cases when they face problems at school. (See Table 3 in Annex) Both for girls and boys experience demand in more extra-curricular activities like interest clubs, music groups and etc. Only 55.2% of students told that they were able to be involved in extra-curricular activities. For an educational institution working with youth this result is not satisfactory.

In interviews with female students they identified need for improvement of the conditions of toilets at schools and at dormitories. Toilets were at bad hygienic condition and shared by female and male students. Although the buildings of TVET schools and dormitories had two toilets for males and females, one of them was locked always locked. In dormitories girls and boys don't have possibility to take shower.

I wish that girls and boys can use separate toilets at the school and dormitory. The toilet at the dormitory is open at night time. In other time we had to use the wooden toilets outside. There are slits in the wooden wall of the toilet. It makes girls to feel uncomfortably.

Extract from an interview with a female student.

²³ G. Steiner-Khamsi, I. Stolpe, Educational Import. Local Encounters with Global Forces in Mongolia, p. 122

We wish we could take shower at the dormitory. We had to go to commercial shower. There is one near our dormitory which we usually use. It is the cheapest one. It costs 1000 MNT whereas other commercial showers cost 1500 MNT. At the commercial shower there are two rooms. 1-4 people can use one room. The doors cannot be locked. There is a person who is actually in charge of the shower. But she is not always at her place. So girls feel unsafe when they take shower.

Extract from an interview with a female student

Statement	F	М	F	М	F	Μ	F	М	F	М	Statement
	++	++	+	+	±	±	-	-			
Empowering	48	43	18	20	14	16	9	6	11	16	Hostile
Appreciative	46	41	15	18	22	21	6	9	11	11	Exploitative
Confidence building	43	40	18	15	18	24	10	11	10	10	Disrespectful
Progressive	40	37	22	19	18	17	13	15	7	12	Repressive
Encouraging team- building	53	50	14	14	17	12	4	6	12	18	Fostering competitive
Average:	46	42.2	17.4	17.2	17.8	18	8.4	9.4	10.2	13.4	competitive

Table. 13 Students' assessment of school's attitudes towards men and women

Note: ++ strong positive; + weak positive; ± neutral; - weak negative, -- negative

Female and male students were given an opportunity to provide assessment of the institutional attitudes towards girl and boys. 88.2% students think that the TVET school's attitudes towards girls and boys very positive. The results of assessment don't reveal significant differences in perception of intuitional attitudes towards girls and boys except two last points of the table. The TVET school fosters more competitiveness among boys. The similar pattern was observed among male teachers. (See Table.6) And 27% of students think that school is repressive to boys.

To sum up, 13.2 % of students found that male students have better access to opportunities and resources whereas 9.5% of students think that female students may be better off at TVET schools. Boys have better access to opportunities related to professional development and leisure activities, namely access to scholarships, recognition for good work, participation in professional competition, receiving support from teachers and opportunity for internship as well as to sport and music competitions. TVET schools foster more competitiveness among boys and team work among female students. Girls are provided with better opportunities to enhance leadership qualities. They are given opportunities to be leaders in classes, schools and workgroups. Girls also participate more actively than boys in decision making. TVET schools fail to address some basic needs of girls such as a need for separate toilets for girls and boys at schools and at dormitories and a need for shower at dormitories.

4. Safety of students from the gender perspective

To the question "Do you feel safe at the school?" only 46,3 % of boys answered "yes". This is 15% less than for girls. The number of boys, who provided "no" and "almost no" as answer, is 5-12% less than of girls'. Less boys than girls answered that they feel safe at dormitories. (See Table 3 in Annex) 62.5% of boys say that they feel safe at dormitories while 84.2% of girls feel the same. (See Table 4 in Annex) The legitimate question comes up: "Is the TVET school environment more unsafe for boys, than for girls?"

Violence at school was identified as one of the reasons for dropping boys out of school in Mongolia.²⁴ Child protection is an issue at schools in Mongolia; UNESCO report has identified the need to make schools into non-violent space.²⁵ Boys in Mongolia are likely to experience physical violence from peers

²⁴ UNGEI, Why are boys under-performing in education?, p.15

²⁵ UNGEI, Why are boys under-performing in education?, p.31

and teachers as well as extortion of money by peers.²⁶ Boys at TVET schools are even more vulnerable to violence because of their stipend. In interviews with teachers and students it was reported that boys are attacked and robbed by other male youth on days when TVET students receive their stipends.

Boys, especially those who are not physically strong are get targets for robbery and attacks at the days when we get stipends. Boys from other schools come to the campus. We, at dormitory, hold a Students' Council meeting and decided that boys will be accompanied to the bank by a special group. The group includes one male student, one female student and an adult (the dormitory teacher or the dormitory warden). Since this regulation the number of incidents is decreased among dormitory boys. Boys are usually attacked when they go alone or in all male groups. When girls are around it is safer.

Extract from an interview with a male student

On the days when students get stipends teachers build groups and patrol around the campus. We also work in close cooperation with the police. Also we asked the bank to install the cash machines on the territory of the campus so that students don't need to leave the campus.

Extract from an interview with a TVET school director

The student rules of conduct of TVET schools don't contain any regulations on bullying or school violence, sexual harassment. One of the specific of TVET schools that students can be different age. This may carry some potential for conflicts and tension. In the Table 10 a male teacher mentioned he sees as a problem that adult students are disrespectful. The study among youth found out that TVET students experience bullying from senior students.²⁷ In the interviews with students it was mention that the tensions and conflicts may occur in dormitories when there are older students, especially those who served in the army.

We hold a meeting of the Student's Council of the dormitory and made a decision to put the age limit of 18 years for inhabitants in the dormitory statute.

Extract from an interview with a male student

Creating safe supportive schools is essential to ensuring students' academic and social success. None of six TVET schools have violence prevention programs. The need is there as the following extract from the interview demonstrates. There is considerable number of vulnerable youth among TVET students who are at – risk because of poverty, family instability or dysfunction and past exposure to violence.

TVET students usually have vulnerable background. They are orphans, or have only one parent. They come mostly from poor families. They have lot problems in their families with alcohol and violence. All this these kids bring with to the school.

Extract from the interview with a school manager

Being asked to name problems and constrains faced by girls and boys students provided the following answers.

 Table 14: Problems and constrains that girls and boys face

²⁶ UNGEI, Why are boys under-performing in education?, p.15

²⁷ IRIM, Formative research with youth aged 15-24 on matters related to their sexual and reproductive health in Mongolia, p.86

Girls:	Boys:
 No difficulties and problems (30) 	 No difficulties and problems (39)
 Don't know (16) 	 Don't know (7)
Risky behavior (4) Fell under bad influence of others and develop bad habits (4)	 Risky behavior and addictions (4) To develop bad habits: smoking, drinking alcohol (2) Develop PC game addiction Skipping lessons
Violence (1)	Violence (13)
 Being bullied Problems related to trainings (3) 	 Being bullied and pressured (6) Being robbed of money (4) Fell under bad influence of others and commit a crime (3)
 Dislike the occupation in which the one is trained(2) 	
 There are not enough protection clothes for girls 	Others
Gender specific constrains and problems	 Lack of communication skills
 Getting pregnant 	
 Experiencing sexual harassment 	
Others (2)	
 It is difficult when one is illiterate or has speech problems Some girls have problems to behave properly 	

Note: the number in brackets is the frequency of responses.

Both girls and boys named risky behaviors and violence as the major problems that they face at TVET schools. The responses of TVET students support the above mentioned finding that boys are more than girls exposed to the risk to be subjected to violence. 13 of responses point that violence is a male students' problem whereas only one student mention violence to a problem for girls. Sexual harassment and pregnancy is mentioned to be one of problems facing girls at TVET schools. This implies that counseling services at TVET schools shall be made more gender sensitive and shall address the issues faced by boys and girls such violence, risky behavior, addiction, carrier choice, pregnancy, sexual harassment and etc. During the survey boys mentioned in several places the lack of communication skills to be a male issue. This indicates that there is a need for trainings in communication skills targeting male students.

Summing up, boys at TVET schools are less safe than girls. Boys at TVET schools are even more vulnerable to violence because of their stipend. TVET male students are attacked and robbed by other male youth on days when they receive their stipends. There is a need for violence prevention programs at TVET schools. None of six TVET schools have violence prevention programs. There is some potential for tensions and conflicts among students at a TVET school. Counseling services at TVET schools shall be made more gender sensitive and shall address the issues faced by boys and girls such violence, risky behavior, addiction, carrier choice, pregnancy, sexual harassment and etc.

III. Findings on sexual harassment

Sexual harassment on workplace and in education is not studied in-depth in Mongolia. The scope and magnitude of the problem still remain unknown. Few surveys exist on sexual harassment but the findings are alarming. In the latest survey carried out in 2010 by the Mongolian Women's Fund 86.3 % of all respondents recognized an incidence of sexual harassment in the workplace.²⁸

Educational sector recognized internationally to be at high risk of sexual harassment along with road, construction sector, army and police. In 2009 the Citizens' Alliance Center and the Lector Center published a research "Sexual harassment in education" which found that female students at universities, colleges and high schools commonly experience sexual harassment in educational setting. 75% participated in the survey disclosed they were subjected to sexual harassment in some form. ²⁹ And 42 % answered that they "know someone who was sexually harassed". The situation is especially serious at universities where female students build the majority of students' body. ³⁰

Sexual harassment is a type of discrimination based on sex and shall be prohibited by law. Until the adoption of LPGE in 2011 Mongolia had no national regulation on sexual harassment in workplace. The LPGE provides a comprehensive set of measures aimed at addressing sexual harassment in workplace.

This law prescribes an employer an obligation to enforce the policy of zero tolerance of sexual harassment. In the article 11.4 LPEG it is stated: "In order to prevent and keep the workplace free of sexual harassment and to maintain zero tolerance of such harassment, an employer shall take the following measures: 11.4.1. incorporate in organization's internal procedures specific norms for prevention of sexual harassment in a workplace and the redress of such complaints;

11.4.2. design and conduct a program on training and retraining geared toward creating a working environment free from sexual harassment, and report on its impact in a transparent manner."

TVET schools as any other education providers have a legal duty to take measures to prevent and respond to sexual harassment. The interviews with the school management of TVET schools revealed that the school administrations have very poor awareness on the LPGE in general. They are unaware of their legal duties in regards of prevention of sexual harassment at school. None of six TVET schools in the western regions integrated prevention of sexual harassment in policy documents. There is no procedure defined to deal with complaints of sexual harassment. Under today's circumstances if a person lodges a complaint on sexual harassment TVET schools cannot provide a fair and victim sensitive dealing with the case.

TVET teachers and students were asked if their schools have a policy on prevention of sexual harassment. The results of the survey reveal that confusion exists among teachers and students. The relative majority of teachers (58%) and students (36%) answered that they don't know. 32% of teachers and students answered that there is no policy on prevention of sexual harassment. (See Diagram 13 and 14 in Annex) Students seem to be more confused; 32% of them answered that their school has a policy on prevention of sexual harassment. (See Diagram 14 in Annex)

Being asked if they knew if there were any complaints of sexual harassment submitted at their school. 43% of teachers and 54% of students answered that they don't know. Only 3% of teachers whereas 8% students answered they know about complaints of sexual harassment. (See Diagram 15 and 16 in Annex) The higher percentage of students knowing about incidents of sexual harassment at school can be considered as one more indication for problems with safety at TVET schools.

²⁸ cited in Gender overview-Mongolia: A desk study, p.45

²⁹ cited in Gender overview-Mongolia: A desk study, p.46

³⁰ cited in Gender overview-Mongolia: A desk study, p.46

There are no procedures in place to deal with sexual harassment. To the question "What is the procedure at you school of redressing the complaints of sexual harassment?" only three teachers provided answers.

- If such incident would take place probably the Ethics Committee would have to deal.
- Maybe the deputy director or the social worker will resolve the case in accordance with the laws.
- I am sure. Such complaint will be never resolved. (a female teachers belonging the age group of 26-35)

Students were asked whom they would contact to seek assistance if they expierence sexual harassment. The following answers were provided:

- Social worker (14)
- Police (13)
- School doctor (11)
- School administration (9)
- Teacher (8)
- Family members (4)
- Organizations protecting children's rights (2)
- I am male no such thing can happen to me.
- Go to court.

From the answers provided by students it is clear that they would feel quite lost. Because there is no school procedure to deal with complaints on sexual harassment, students are left on their own to deal with their problems. Teachers are also unprepared to deal with cases of sexual harassment. In the interview with young female teachers, they were asked what they will do if they find out that a student became a victim of sexual harassment. Teachers suggested to contact many different persons including the director, the deputy director, the social worker, the school doctor, a policeman and etc. The confidentiality and protection of a victim was left out the consideration. There is an urgent need for schools to define procedures for dealing with such sensitive subject in confidential and victim friendly way.

One of the findings of the research carried out by Citizens' Alliance Center and the Lector Center was that "people tend to understand rape under sexual harassment".³¹ Understanding that Mongolian term "belgiin daramt" is associated in everyday language use only with rape sheds also lights on interpretation of the findings of this survey. The concept of sexual harassment is wider as a rape.

The LPGE provides a legal definition of sexual harassment in the article 4.1.7: "an unwelcome sexual advance made in verbal, physical and/or other forms, intimidation, threat and/or other forms of coercion that makes sexual intercourse an unavoidable option for the victim or that creates an unbearable hostile environment and/or causes damage in terms of the person's employment, professional, economic, psychological and/or any other form of wellbeing".

The legal definition of sexual harassment includes verbal, non-verbal and physical actions. The existing international statistics show that 60-90% of sexual harassment is committed by physical acts and ca. 60% verbally.³² In international practice the following actions are recognized to be sexual harassment:

<u>Verbal</u>

• using rude or insulting language or making comments toward girls and women (or boys and men, depending on the circumstances)

³¹ cited in Gender Overview-Mongolia: A desk study, p.46

³² Sexual harassment in work place in the European Union, p.20

- saying or doing something because you think a person does not conform to sex-role stereotypes
- calling others sex-specific derogatory names
- spreading rumors or gossip about a person's personal sex life (including online)
- turning work discussions to sexual topics
- asking for sex in return for a benefit or a favor
- making sexual comments about a person's body, physical characteristics, looks, clothing, or actions
- repeatedly asking for dates a person, who is not interested-
- telling sexual jokes or stories
- asking personal questions about social or sexual life
- bragging about sexual prowess

Non-verbal

- making unnecessary physical contact, including unwanted touching
- posting or sharing sexually suggestive visuals like pornography, sexual pictures or cartoons, sexually explicit graffiti, or other sexual images (including online)
- blocking a person's path
- Following the person
- Making sexual gestures with hands or through body movements
- Making facial expressions such as winking, looking a person up and down (Elevator eyes), staring
- bullying based on sex or gender

Physical

- Giving a massage around the neck or shoulders
- Touching the person's clothing, hair, or body
- Touching or rubbing oneself sexually around another person ·
- Standing close or brushing up against another person

In a group discussion at one of TVET schools young female teachers were convinced that sexual harassment cannot happen at their school because students twice a year undergo medical checkups which also include gynecological examinations. This indicates that teachers' understanding of sexual harassment is limited to a physical assault. They were unaware that sexual harassment can be committed verbally.

Sexual harassment is a tabu theme at schools. Teachers hold an opinion that sexual harassment happens somewhere else but not at their school. Teachers were also reluctant to discuss pregnancy among female students and drop-out rate because of pregnancy. They answered simply no such thing happens at their school.

Usually TVET students come from nomadic families from the surrounding region. During the training they live with at dormitories or with the relatives in the aimag center. Each class has a teacher who is assigned to be responsible for a class. In the interview with young female teachers it was articulated that they as a class teacher had to watch out that no girl in the class becomes pregnant. Most students are minors and live separated from their parents. Teachers reported that they feel relieved when at end of the academic year they safely "hand girls back" to parents.

Teachers were asked to define in which relationship an incidence of sexual harassment at school most probably to occur. 63% of teachers said that student to student sexual harassment. (See Table 15) This high percentage of assessment of probability of sexual harassment among students can be understood, on one hand, as an indication of unsafe atmosphere among students. On other hand, it is related to the

narrow understanding of the concept of sexual harassment as a rape and inability of teachers to identify sexual harassment due to the lack of awareness.

Statement:	Yes (%)	No (%)
An incidence of sexual harassment at school can most probably occur in the relationship between male and female students	63	37
An incident of sexual harassment at school can most probably occur in the relationship between high ranked male officials and female school employees.	16,4	83,6
An incidence of sexual harassment at school can most probably occur in the relationship between teachers/school employees and students.	15,9	84,1
An incident of sexual harassment at school can most probably occur in the relationship between high ranked male officials and female teachers.	15,7	84,3
An incidence of sexual harassment at school can most probably occur in the relationship between male and female teachers.	10,3	89,7
Other		

Table.15 Probability of sexual harassment incident

In international statistics show that 30% of incidences occur in the relationship between a higher standing official and a subordinate and 50% between co-workers.³³ The study on teachers' rights by AFE documented that incidents of sexual harassment at secondary schools are likely to occur between school directors and young female teachers.³⁴ In the rural areas where everyone knows each other women are reluctant to talk about sexual harassment because they are afraid to lose reputation. By existing social norms women would be accused to provoke harassment and face potential problems in their marriages or families.

During the interviews teachers and students told stories which they themselves don't define as sexual harassment, but which indicate existence of sexual harassment or fall under the description of one of examples of sexual harassment mentioned in the list above. For example, female teacher indicated that male bosses show preferences toward young female teachers (See Table. 7) or during job application a female candidate may be asked to go out privately. (See Table. 9)

In every interview with female students they reported that boys call them using obscene words. Calling persons sex-specific derogatory names is considered to be sexual harassment.

My tongue cannot speak out those words that boys use when they want us to make angry. These are really very nasty words. They say such things even in presence of teachers. Some teachers tell them to stop. Other teachers prefer to ignore.

Extract from an interview with a female student

TVET schools as education providers hold an obligation to create positive environments that respect human rights of students and teachers. From a human rights perspective, it is not acceptable to ignore sexual harassment. Ignoring or downplaying sexual harassment by teachers and other staff clearly conveys the wrong message to students that such behavior can be tolerated. Teachers at any educational institution have to watch for inappropriate sexual comments and behavior, irrespective if the students have malicious intentions or not. Teachers have important role in the prevention of sexual harassment. They should act as role models and teach proactively respectful behavior and communicate consistently that inappropriate behavior will not be tolerated. Without intervention from adults sexual harassment in the school setting has the potential to escalate into more aggressive behavior, including

³³European Commission, Sexual harassment in work place in the European Union, p.5

³⁴ AFE, Study on labor and trade union rights of teachers, p. 16

sexual assault. It is vital to increase teachers' sensitivity and awareness through programs and trainings tailored to needs of teachers and students.

Those few girls who were courageous to cross the line of gender stereotypes and choose occupations considered to be traditionally male dominated are at a special risk to become subjected to sexual harassment. As the case below demonstrates spreading sexual rumors can serious disrupt victim's educational perspective.

I train students to be electricians. Once I had only one girl in the class. In the middle of the semester her father approached me with a request to transfer the girl to other occupational class with more girls. I was puzzled. I did some investigation and found out that girls form other classes spread a gossip that the girl from my class is sexually promiscuous because she is only female among so many boys. I had a talk with the boys from my class and those other girls. I told them that I would never leave the only girl in my class without protection and no one should dare to harm her. The girl stayed and had successfully completed the training.

Extract from an interview with a female teacher

In this case the girl got the needed support from the teacher. The teacher acted correctly and intervened into the situation. But how many other cases where sexual harassment remained undetected? How many girls are left discouraged? Sexual harassment is a serious problem because it interferes with person's ability to reach full potential in life. It undermines person's sense of dignity and safety. Victims of sexual harassment tend to stop doing school work and participating in school-related activities. They can start to skip or drop classes, or they even drop out of school entirely. Experiencing sexual harassment may have serious psychological effects on victims such as anxiety, depression, sleep disturbance, loss of appetite, difficulty to concentrate, low self-esteem, and loss of interest in regular activities, social isolation, and feelings of sadness, fear or shame.

Students are vulnerable to sexual harassment and bullying not only in school settings, but also in the cyber world.

It is easy to destroy a good name of a girl in Facebook. Boys write comments using sex-specific derogatory names. Once I forgot to log out from the Facebook. Boys used my account and wrote obscene things to other female students.

Extract from an interview with a female student

In a wide range of countries it is recognized that schools should respond to bullying and sexual harassment in the cyber environment as a matter of educational policy. In Mongolia the public is still unaware of the threats and dangers for youth in cyber world.

There is an urgent need to raise awareness on sexual harassment among teachers and students. Sexual harassment does exist in TVET school settings. Left unnoticed due the lack of awareness among school administration, teachers and students it is continues to harm dignity and safety of those who are affected. Sexual harassment is a serious problem because it interferes with person's ability to reach full potentials in life.

To sum up, the administrations of TVET schools are unaware of their legal duties in regards of prevention of sexual harassment at school. None of six TVET schools in the western regions integrated prevention of sexual harassment in policy documents. There is no procedure defined to deal with complaints of sexual harassment. TVET teachers and students like other Mongolians understand sexual harassment as rape. 63% of teachers said that incidences of sexual harassment at TVET school most probably to occur in student to student relation. The interviews teachers and students reveal incidents

of sexual harassment which are not identified by them as sexual harassment because of lack of awareness. The most common type of sexual harassment at TVET schools experienced according to reports by female students is calling persons sex-specific derogatory names. Students are vulnerable to sexual harassment and bullying not only in school settings, but also in the cyber world.

IV. Conclusion

With the adoption of LPEG in 2011 TVET schools in Mongolia have legal obligations to integrate gender in their activities. Because of the poor awareness on LPGE it is poorly implemented at TVET schools. Only 14.5 % of teachers have sufficient or very good knowledge of the LPGE. There is an acute need for raising gender awareness among TVET school administrations and teachers. TVET teachers assess their gender awareness relatively high but the state of their actual awareness is low. 76% of teachers don't know that gender and sex are different concepts. 70% of teachers answered to be interested to learn more about gender. Open mindedness of teachers to gender issues and the fact that both male and female TVET teachers hold equitable attitudes on gender in general are the positive factors which can serve as a good basis for promotion of gender equality in TVET sector.

The strategy of promotion of gender equality in Mongolia shall prioritize goals set in the Shanghai Consensus, namely "to improve gender equality by promoting equal access of females and males to TVET programs, particularly in fields where there is strong labor market demand, and by ensuring that TVET curricular and materials avoid stereotyping by gender." From the findings it is possible to predict that biased attitudes on occupational choice of TVET teachers, especially those who train students in male dominated occupations, may negatively affect promotion of equal access of females and males to TVET programs, where there is strong labor market demand. Capacity building measures shall involve all TVET teachers but based on the findings of this survey it can be suggested that male teachers and teachers of male dominated occupations may need some special training programs to dismantle their gender stereotypes.

The general results of the survey show that male and female teachers are content with their situation at TVET schools. 70% of all teachers believe that men and women in their institution have equal access to the resource and opportunities. But there are some indications of existence of biases toward females at TVET schools. Overall 55.7% of teachers perceive their schools' attitudes to be positive towards men and 51.5% towards women.

Teachers think the organizational attitudes of TVET schools favor men over women in some aspects. According to them TVET schools empower, build confidence and have more friendly attitudes toward male teachers. Male teachers have better access than female teacher to educational and training opportunities, recognition for good work, up-to-date technology and support staff. Access to these resources provides good opportunities for men to enhance professional skills. TVET school organizational culture encourages women to work in teams while men are expected to be competitive. Male teachers are less participatory than female ones. Their laid back behavior is culturally tolerated and expected. Alcoholism and risks to develop other addictions was identified by teachers to be a specifically men's problem and constrain.

TVET female teachers are likely to face more problems than their male counterparts to receive deserved recognition for their work. Female teachers brought up unfair assessment of their performance at several places of the survey. This is especially striking on the background of the findings showing that female teachers demonstrate active participation, leadership at all levels of school life. Female teachers reported that the failure to create positive work and communication culture by school management affects them more severely than their male colleagues. Women could be at risk to experience gender discrimination and sexual harassment when they apply for a teacher's position and when they work. Female teachers of TVET schools articulated their dissatisfaction with their access to trainings and education. Like other Mongolian women female teachers of TVET schools shoulder double burden of reproductive and productive work. Lack of access to child caring, health care services for sick, old and disabled put women under much constrains to balance multitude of her duties. It is necessary that TVET

schools monitor the implementation of the legal regulations on child care leave, breastfeeding and retirement. According to the results of the survey female teachers have better access to decision making, opportunities to exercise leadership in one's workgroup, authority over resources and on-the job challenges for which one has responsibility. Higher participation rate of women in decision making and in excising authority over resources can be explained partially by the majority of women among teaching staff and management as well as overrepresentation of women in position of finance workers. Both female and male teachers struggle to achieve work-life-balance. TVET teachers voiced their need for gender friendly and family friendly modifications in work mode of TVET schools.

The findings of the survey among students also reveal some gender biases. Although female students may have easier access to entry TVET schools their occupational choice is limited to very few traditionally female occupations. 40% of all girls are trained to be sewers and cook. Girls are put under more pressure to conform gender stereotypical role by choosing their occupations. The limited occupational choice based on gender stereotypes is likely to make girls unhappy with their carrier choice. Boys can choose from a wider range of occupations. When boys choose nontraditional carrier path it is socially acceptable. Both teachers and students believe that boys in non-traditional occupations she faces more biases and low expectation in their skills. Students make decisions about their future occupations based on advice of their parents or their own opinion what is a typical occupation for the particular sex. Economic factors like future salary or possibility to find a job don't play significant role.

TVET schools shall seek to consider needs of female students as well as gendered dimensions of labor markets by designing their training programs. Female and male graduates face different realities after the completion of the training at TVET schools. 82% of male and only 68% of female TVET graduates are economically active. TVET students themselves are aware of this.73.5% of students think it is easy for males to find a job after the completion of the training. 31% of students think that it will be for women "difficult" or "very difficult" to find a job. Female graduates earn twice less than their male counterparts. Female TVET graduates will have compared to male ones limited opportunities to become self–employed. There are twice as many men than women become self-employed. Creating economic opportunities for young women in rural areas is important issue for having balanced demographic composition. In interviews it was often mentioned that young men in rural areas have difficulty to find a wife because of female migration to urban areas.

As for teachers the general results of the survey show that male and female students are content with their situation at TVET schools. 88.2% students think that the TVET school's attitudes towards girls and boys positive. 77.8 % of students have the opinion that boys and girls all have equal access to resources and opportunities. But there are indications of some gender biases. 13.2 % of students found that male students have better access to opportunities and resources whereas for female students it is 9.5%. 30.8% of girls answered that TVET teachers favor boys over girls. There are similarities in distribution of resources and opportunities at TVET schools among teachers and students. Boys like male teachers have better access to resources and opportunities which are supportive to enhancement of professional skills, namely access to scholarships, recognition for good work, participation in professional competition, receiving support from teachers and opportunity for internship. Boys have better access than girls to leisure activities such as sport and music competitions. In the similar way as for teachers TVET schools foster more competitiveness among boys and team work among female students.

Girls like female teachers are provided with better opportunities to enhance leadership qualities. They are given opportunities to be leaders in classes, schools and workgroups. Girls are more actively participate in organization of events by students and decision making. Compared to girls boys are less participatory and active. TVET schools fail to address some basic needs of girls. In interviews with

female students they identified need for separate toilets for girls and boys at schools and at dormitories and expressed a wish to have shower at dormitories. Girls have more need in counseling than boys. 27.5 % of female students answered that they are not able to get the needed counseling in cases when they face problems at school.

Lack of safety is a specific gender issue of male students. Boys feel less safe than girls at TVET schools and dormitories. Only 46,3 % of boys answered that they fell safe at school. 61% of girls answered that they feel safe at school. 62.5% of boys say that they feel safe at dormitories while for girls it is 84.2%.Boys at TVET schools are more than girls exposed to the risk to be subjected to violence. TVET male students are attacked and robbed by other male youth on days when they receive their stipends. There is a need for violence prevention programs at TVET schools. None of six TVET schools have violence prevention programs. There is some potential for tensions and conflicts among students at a TVET school. Students reported negative school climate to be an entry barrier to a TVET school. Counseling services at TVET schools shall be made more gender sensitive and shall address the issues faced by boys and girls such violence, risky behavior, addiction, carrier choice, pregnancy, sexual harassment and etc.

The school administrations have very poor awareness on the LPGE in general. They are unaware of their legal duties in regards of prevention of sexual harassment at school. None of six TVET schools in the western regions integrated prevention of sexual harassment in policy documents. There is no procedure defined to deal with complaints of sexual harassment. No trainings on sexual harassment are organized for teachers and students. As many other Mongolians TVET teachers and students understand sexual harassment as rape. The interviews teachers and students reveal incidents of sexual harassment which are not identified by them as sexual harassment because of lack of awareness. The most common type of sexual harassment at TVET schools according to reports by female students is calling persons sex-specific derogatory names. Girls trained in male dominated occupations may be more vulnerable to sexual harassment. In order to improve access of females to TVET programs, particularly in fields where there is strong labor market demand it is important to address sexual harassment. Students are vulnerable to sexual harassment and bullying not only in school settings, but also in the cyber world.

As the results of this survey demonstrate gender inequality at TVET schools in Mongolia is a complex and multidimensional issue. Gender is a cross cutting topic which means that every sphere of TVET school life has its relevance for gender equality. The achievement of gender equality at TVET schools requires a multi-pronged approach and critical examination of gender dynamics between sexes. We hope that this survey will help TVET schools to start a process of transformation on gender dynamics at their institutional settings.

V. Summary

- 1. Mainstreaming gender in TVET schools is justified from the human rights and economic rationales. Mongolia holds the legal obligations from international law and political commitments from the different global initiatives to promote gender equality into all spheres of life including TVET. In the Shanghai Consensus of UNESCO from 2012 it was specifically mentioned that TVET shall improve gender equality. The legal obligations to promote of gender equality at TVET schools are based on LPGE adopted in 2011. Article 12 of LPGE is devoted to the promotion of gender equality in education. Article 11 of LPGE defines duties of an employer in promotion of gender equality.
- 2. Both male and female teachers demonstrate interest in gender issues. 70% of teachers answered to be interested to learn about gender. 47% of the survey participants consider their knowledge to be "sufficient" or "very good". Teachers assess their gender awareness relatively high but the state of their actual awareness is low. 76% of teachers don't know that gender and sex are different concepts. Only 14.5 % of teachers have sufficient or very good knowledge of the LPGE.
- 3. There is a serious need for capacity building on gender for TVET school administrations and teachers. The main source for information on gender is mass media. There is lack of trainings specifically devoted to gender. Women seem to be more exposed to gender thematic than men.
- 4. Administrations of TVET schools are unaware of the regulations of the LPGE on duties of an educational institution. Gender issues were not integrated in any school's policies and documents. Analyses of school policy documents and regulations point out the weakness in school governance.
- 5. Overall positive attitudes on gender in general prevail among male (44.8%) and female (47.5%) TVET teachers. Biased attitudes on gender start to prevail among survey participants older 35 and from 56 years the frequency of biased attitudes increases up to 55.5%.
- 6. The notion of male superiority finds stronger support among men. Women are not perceived as weak both by men and women. More women see men in role of a breadwinner. Both men and women agree that males shall be involved in household work. Men and women have a divided opinion on family being a priority for women. Teachers' attitudes on employment reveal biased conditions on labor market. One third of all respondents agree that employer prefer to hire men. The majority of women (68%) agree that carrier advancement is easier for men. Men and women have different attitudes on whether works in policy development and decision making suit more to men. 53% men agree whereas 44% of women disagree. Women appear to self-select for jobs on implementation level. 56 % of women and only 23% of men agree that works on implementation level suit to women.
- 7. Female teachers (51.4%) hold more equitable attitudes on occupational choice compared to their male counterparts. 51.6 % of men hold biased attitudes in regard to occupational choice. Teachers who train students in mixed gender occupations have equitable attitudes. Teachers of female dominated occupation, teachers of male dominated occupations and teachers of secondary education subjects hold biased attitudes. Teachers (52.3%) of male dominated occupations demonstrate biased attitudes at the strongest.

- 8. The strongest biases irrespective sex and educational subject TVET teachers demonstrate in regards to women not being able to perform in technical occupations as well as men. More female teachers than male teachers think that females trained in male dominated occupation will experience lack of employment possibility. Each sex seems to have biased attitudes on physical qualities to be a determining factor for carrier choice of the opposite sex. 69% of all male teachers believe that women due her physical qualities cannot perform all types of work. 68% of female participants think that men are predestined for occupations requiring physical strength. Teachers of male dominated occupations have strongest biases on lack of endurance of women to overcome difficulties of male dominated occupations. 72% of teachers of male dominated think that it is difficult for TVET school teachers to assess female and male students with the same performance criteria. Female teachers and teachers who work with students of both sexes think it is possible to assess female and male students with the same performance criteria. For boys crossing the gender stereotype line in occupational choice seems to be easier than for girls. The large majority of teachers don't think that boys trained in female dominated professions will be teased by others. Teachers of secondary education subjects (78%) and traditional female occupations (80%) have positive attitudes about possibility to have influence on positive changes of gender biases of employers.
- 9. Overall 55.7% of teachers perceive their schools' attitudes to be positive towards men and 51.5% towards women.
- 10. 50 % of teachers think that the school holds empowering attitude to men and only 30% believe that the school empowers women. 60% of teachers hold the opinion that their school builds confidence of men whereas for women it is 52%. 40% of teachers claim that the school holds strong friendly attitudes towards men while for women it is only 30%.
- 11. 18% of teachers find that the school has exploitative attitude toward women while only 8% believe the same is true for men. 20% think that the school is repressive towards women whereas for men it is 16%.
- 12. Male survey participants named only one example of discrimination. The school administration occupies male teachers with manual tasks not related to the job description. The allegations of women are more serious and include lack of appreciation of women's work, undue psychological pressure, devaluation and underestimation of women's competency, denial of training for older female teachers and favoritism of younger female teachers by male bosses.
- 13. 42.3% of male and 43.8% of female teachers answered that they experience undue psychological pressure on working place. From the age group perspective young teachers of 26-35 year old are vulnerable to experience undue psychological pressure.
- 14. Male and female teachers experience undue psychological pressure in three situations: excessive workload or workload typically not related to job description; unfair assessment of performance; and lack of positive work and communication culture. Female teachers named twice as many examples than male teachers of settings when they experience undue psychological pressure.
- 15. Both women and men point out that they experience undue psychological pressure because excessive workload or workload typically not related to job description. Twice as many women than men mention that their performance assessed unfairly. The number of female teachers who

mentioned that they experience undue psychological pressure due to lack of positive work and communication culture is almost five times higher than the number of male teachers. This may imply that women are more vulnerable than men in the power imbalanced relation with management.

- 16. Teachers named lack of professional qualification and skills; lack of sport and music talents; lack required personal qualities; lack of "right" connections and "right" political party affiliation as barriers for entry to a teacher's position at a TVET school. The entry barriers faced by female and male candidates are similar except that females might be at risk to experience sexual harassment or discrimination based on physical appearance.
- 17. Both female and male teachers experience problems and constrains related to their reproductive roles and struggle to achieve work-life-balance. But it is especially problematic for women who due to cultural norms shoulder double burden of reproductive and productive work. Lack of access to child caring, health care services for sick, old and disabled put working women under much constrains to balance multitude of her duties. There is a need at TVET schools for safeguarding proper implementation of the legal regulations child care leave, breastfeeding and retirement. TVET teachers voiced their need for gender friendly and family friendly modifications in the work mode of the organization. Alcoholism and risks to develop other addictions was identified by teachers to be a specifically men's problem and constrain.
- 18. 70% of all teachers believe that men and women in their institution have equal access to the resource and opportunities. More women than men believe that the access to resources and opportunities is equitable. 76% of female teachers compared to 60% of men have the opinion that the organization provides equal access to resources and opportunities.
- 19. Teachers think that male teachers have better access than female teacher to educational and training opportunities, recognition for good work, up-to-date technology and support staff.
- 20. 10% of female teachers think that men have better assess to education and training whereas only 4% of female teachers think that female teachers have better assess to education. Better access to education and training opportunities for men is indicated also in interviews. The indications, that female teachers of TVET schools may not have satisfactory access to trainings and education, occurred in several places of the survey. Asked to provide an example of discrimination, an older female teacher reported being denied in participation in training. One teacher named "no possibilities to enhance professional qualification" as a problem for female teachers.
- 21. TVET female teachers are likely to face more problems than their male counterparts to receive deserved recognition for their work. 14% of female teachers share an opinion that male teachers have better opportunity to get recognition for good work on contrary only 10% of female teachers think this opportunity is given more to women. 18% of teachers find that the school has exploitative attitude toward women while only 8% believe the same is true for men. More female teachers than male reported the unfair assessment of their performance in the context of experiencing undue psychological pressure. Female teachers also see unfair assessment of performance as a form of gender discrimination.
- 22. 46% of male teachers and 22% of female teachers think that TVET schools provide better access to up-to-date technologies to men. In contrast only 7% of all teachers suppose that female teachers may have better access. Due to the occupational segregation men are concentrated in male

dominated occupations which are more technology intensive. Technological modernization of TVET schools by international donors benefited high demand trades which are mainly male dominated occupations. The donors paid little attention to occupations in which females are concentrated.

- 23. Both female and male teachers agree female teachers at TVET schools have better access to participation in decision making, opportunities to exercise leadership in one's workgroup, authority over resources and on-the-job challenges for which one has responsibility.
- 24. 80% of female teachers compared to 50 % of male teachers have the opinion that access to decision making is equal for both men and women. 20% of all teachers consider that female teachers have more access to decision making whereas for male teacher it is just 10%. Higher participation rate of women in decision making and in excising authority over resources can be explained partially by the majority of women in teaching personnel and management as well as overrepresentation of women in position of finance workers.
- 25. 25% of all teachers think that female teachers have opportunities to exercise leadership in one's workgroup. Only 10% of them believe it is true for male teachers. 28% of teachers have an opinion that women have more authority over resources whereas for men it is just 14%. 15% of teachers think that women have more access to on-the-job challenges for which one has responsibility whereas for men having more access to on-the-job challenges surprisingly voted just 4%.
- 26. TVET school organizational culture encourages women to work in teams while men are expected to be competitive. Women seem to be expected due socialization and education to be engaged and committed. Less participatory and laid back behavior of males is culturally tolerated and expected.
- 27. Female students have easier access to a TVET school. More female students (92.4%) than male students (84.7%) answered that the access to a TVET school was "not difficult" for them. Twice as many boys (13.3%) than girls (6.1%) answered that it was difficult for them to entry a TVET school. One of the reasons is that girls perform at school better than boys. Male students experience for competition by the entry to a TVET school because there are more male candidates and because male dominated occupations are at high demand on the labor markets.
- 28. Students reported negative school climate to be an entry barrier to a TVET school. Boys have anxieties about their communication skills and girls are not confident about their abilities to perform tasks requiring physical power. Both girls and boys shared that an age difference from other classmates would be a problem for them. Age difference appear to cause constrains and tensions among TVET students.
- 29. At TVET schools male students have more occupational choice whereas girls' occupational choice is limited to very few traditionally female occupations. There are 12 male dominated occupations among the top 25 occupations in 6 TVET schools in Western aimags. And there are only 6 female dominated occupations. 40% of all girls are trained to be sewers and cook.
- 30. It is easier for boys when they decide to be trained in female dominated occupations. Both teachers and students believe that boys in non-traditional occupation perform better than girls. Vice versus, where a girl decides to pursue a carrier in non-traditional path she faces more biases and challenges.

- 31. Both boys (58.2%) and girls (52.9%) said that parents played a decisive role for their occupational choice. Economic factors like salary (8.5%) and probability to find a job (6.4%) were named by students less frequently. Boys and girls are likely to reproduce gender stereotypes of their parents in carrier choice. Male and female students make their carrier choice based on their own gender stereotype. 27.9% of female students choose their occupations because they consider it to be a traditionally female occupation. 26.3% of male students choose their occupations because they consider it to be a traditionally male occupation. Interviews show that girls seem to be more under pressure to conform the gender typical carrier choice.
- 32. Boys seem to be more satisfied with their occupational choice. 90,4% of them answered that they like the chosen occupation "much" and "very much". 82.3 % of girls provided the same answer. 3.4% more girls than boys answered that "don't like" or "like little" the occupation that they choose. Girls wrote that girls may dislike the occupation in which they trained as a gender specific problem for female students. The limited occupational choice based on gender stereotypes may leave girls dissatisfied with their carrier choice.
- 33. 73.5% of students think it is easy for males to find a job after the completion of the training. 4.6 % less namely 68.9% of students think that it will be easy for women to find a job. 31% of students think that it will be for women "difficult" or "very difficult" to find a job whereas for men it is 26.5 %. Female dominated occupations have low demand on labor market. According to the national statistics labor force participation of female TVET graduates is lower than of male ones. 82% of male and 68% of female TVET graduates is economically active.
- 34. Creating economic opportunities for young women in rural areas is important issue to halt female migration to urban areas. In interviews it was often mentioned that young men have difficulty to find a wife because girls go to cities to study at universities and often don't come back.
- 35. 77.8 % of students have the opinion that boys and girls all have equal access to resources and opportunities. 13.2 % of students found that male students have better access to opportunities and resources whereas 9.5% of students think that female students may be better off at TVET schools.
- 36. Boys have better access to opportunities related to professional development and leisure activities, namely access to scholarships, recognition for good work, participation in professional competition, receiving support from teachers and opportunity for internship as well as to sport and music competitions. 30.8% of girls answered that TVET teachers favor boys over girls.
- 37. Girls are provided with better opportunities to enhance leadership qualities. They are given opportunities to be leaders in classes, schools and workgroups. 67% of girls answered that they actively participate in organization of events by students compared to 59% of boys. Girls also participate more actively than boys in decision making. 70% girls told that they participate in decision making. In contrary, only 52.7% of boys told that they participate in decision making.
- 38. Girls seem to have more need in counseling than boys. 27.5 % of female students answered that they are not able to get the needed counseling in cases when they face problems at school. Both for girls and boys experience demand in more extra-curricular activities like interest clubs, music groups and etc. Only 55.2% of students told that they were able to be involved in extra-curricular activities. In interviews with female students they identified need for separate toilets for girls and boys at schools and at dormitories and expressed a wish to have shower at dormitories.

- 39. 88.2% students think that the TVET school's attitudes towards girls and boys strong positive. TVET schools foster more competitiveness among boys and team work among female students. The similar pattern was observed among teachers. And 27% of students think that school is repressive to boys whereas for girls it is 20%.
- 40. Boys feel less safe than girls at TVET schools and dormitories. Only 46,3 % of boys answered that they fell safe at school. 61% of girls answered that they feel safe at school. 62.5% of boys say that they feel safe at dormitories while for girls it is 84.2%. Boys at TVET schools are more than girls exposed to the risk to be subjected to violence. TVET male students are attacked and robbed by other male youth on days when they receive their stipends.
- 41. There is a need for violence prevention programs at TVET schools. None of six TVET schools have violence prevention programs. There is some potential for tensions and conflicts among students at a TVET school. One of the specific of TVET schools that students can be different age. TVET students may experience bullying from senior students. There is considerable number of vulnerable youth among TVET students because of poverty, family instability or dysfunction and past exposure to violence.
- 42. Both girls and boys named risky behaviors and violence as the major problems that they face at TVET schools. Counseling services at TVET schools shall be made more gender sensitive and shall address the issues faced by boys and girls such violence, risky behavior, addiction, carrier choice, pregnancy, sexual harassment and etc.
- 43. The school administrations have very poor awareness on the LPGE in general. They are unaware of their legal duties in regards of prevention of sexual harassment at school. None of six TVET schools in the western regions integrated prevention of sexual harassment in policy documents. There is no procedure defined to deal with complaints of sexual harassment. No trainings on sexual harassment are organized for teachers and students.
- 44. 63% of teachers said that incidences of sexual harassment at TVET school most probably to occur in student to student relation. TVET teachers as many other Mongolians understand sexual harassment as rape. The interviews teachers and students reveal incidents of sexual harassment which are not identified by them as sexual harassment because of lack of awareness. The most common type of sexual harassment at TVET schools according to reports by female students is calling persons sex-specific derogatory names. Girls trained in male dominated occupations may be more vulnerable to sexual harassment. In order to improve access of females to TVET programs, particularly in fields where there is strong labor market demand it is important to address sexual harassment. Students are vulnerable to sexual harassment and bullying not only in school settings, but also in the cyber world.

VI. Recommendations

Recommendations for measures at the national level

- > To formulate the national strategy for promotion of gender equality in TVET sector
- To harmonize the national strategy for promotion of gender equality in TVET sector with other sectorial policies/strategies such in education, economic participation of women and etc.
- > To establish a mechanism for collection of data on gender in the TVET sector at the ML
- > To establish a monitoring mechanism of gender equality at the ML
- > To encourage research on gender in the TVET sector
- To establish up carrier counseling centers within all TVET schools with special capacity to advise both male and female students

Recommendations concerning mainstreaming gender in TVET schools

- > To request TVET schools and colleges based on LPGE to have equality policies with specific gender equality goals and identification of breaches that shall be addressed.
- To incorporate mandatory for students gender content, methodology and evaluation into educational standards and curriculum.
- > To integrate indicators on implementation of LPGE in TVET school's performance assessment.
- To include in an annual report of a TVET school accounts on results of the activities on promotion of gender equality.
- > To integrate duties on promotion of gender equality in job descriptions and performance assessment
- > To allocating sufficient human and financial resources to finance equality promotion
- To build strategic partnerships with the community at large including the TVET system, the private sector and the Government Ministries.
- > To consider the gendered dimensions of the labor markets into design of training programs
- To equip female and male students with skills helpful for self-employment. Special attention shall be paid the needs of female students.

Recommendations concerning to awareness raising and capacity building

- To organize campaigns on raising awareness on the LPGE and sexual harassment at TVET schools. The TVET Regional Methodological Centers shall play a leading role in this process.
- To work out learning modules, handout materials on gender specially tailored to needs of TVET schools. The Regional Methodological centers can seek expertise and assistance from the National Committee on Gender Equality, NGOs specialized in gender and education (for example: MONFEMNET, AFE)
- > To organize special gender trainings for TVET school management
- > To make gender trainings obligatory for all TVET teachers
- > To involve men in activities promoting gender equality
- > To address issues related to alcoholism and other risky behavior in gender trainings

Recommendations concerning to human resource policy

- > To set gender sensitive targets for staff recruitment and promotion
- > To monitor implementation of the regulations on recruitment of LPGE
- To formulate a school human resource policy ensuring gender equality. In doing so it is important to prioritize professionalism of a job candidate.

- > To make job application procedure transparent
- > To prevent sexual harassment and gender based discrimination
- To provide a possibility to a job candidate to place a complaint in case sexual harassment and gender based discrimination took place

Recommendations concerning gender friendliness of TVET school toward female and male teachers

- > To improve school governance and participation of different stakeholders in school governance
- > To define a procedure to deal with complaints on gender discrimination
- To create positive work and communication culture free from undue psychological pressure Institutional culture shall be empowering, friendly and confidence building for both sexes.
- To redress the existing biases towards female teachers in performance assessment by improving performance assessment process and criteria
- To assess periodically employees' needs as regards childcare, care for elderly relatives, and care for ill family members. TVET school can develop an action plan to best meet employees' needs.
- To support access to childcare either by providing childcare services or by providing information and resources regarding childcare services.
- > To provide private sphere for breastfeeding mothers.
- To define female teachers' needs and incorporate them in TVET school strategies. Each school can carry out annually a survey among female teachers.
- > To define male teachers' needs and incorporate them in school strategies. TVET schools can carry out annually survey among male teachers
- To ensure equitable distribution of organizational resources and opportunities among female and male teachers. The state of distribution of organizational resources and opportunities can be determined by means of surveys and gender sensitive budgeting.
- To improve female teachers' access to opportunities and resources related to professional development.
- > To foster team work among male teachers
- > To improve participation of male teachers
- > To monitor implementation of the legal regulations child care leave, breastfeeding and retirement
- To introduce flexible work policies and other family friendly modifications in the work mode of the organization

Recommendations concerning improvement of female students' access to programs in occupations with strong labor market demand

- > To ensure that admission process to TVET institutions is free from discrimination
- To work out a TVET school strategy to improve gender equality by promoting equal access of females to TVET programs in occupations with strong labor market demand. TVET schools can consider to introduce quota, scholarships for female students and etc.
- To increase number of female teachers in non-traditional occupations. They primed to serve role models for female students
- > To organize gender trainings of carrier counsel officers
- To provide gender sensitive carrier counseling for girls and their parents which will encourage them to entry technical occupations or other occupations with strong labor market demand
- > To offer special gender trainings to teachers in male dominated occupations.
- To work out strategies of cooperation with employers to improve employment of female students in non-traditional occupations

Recommendations concerning institutional gender friendliness of TVET schools toward female and male students

- > To address negative school climate at school.
- To define female students' needs and incorporate them in TVET school strategies. Each school can carry out annually a survey among female students.
- > To improve counseling services taking into consideration greater needs of girls.
- > To provide separate wash rooms for male and female students.
- > To establish shower at dormitories.
- > To provide more extra-curricular activities for female and male students.
- To define male students' needs and incorporate them in school strategies. TVET schools can carry out annually survey among male students.
- To ensure equitable distribution of educational resources and opportunities among female and male students. The state of distribution of educational resources and opportunities can be determined by means of surveys and gender sensitive budgeting.
- To improve access of girls to opportunities and resources related to professional development and leisure time activities.
- To foster team work among male students and to improve participation of male students in decision making

Recommendations concerning school safety

- To formulate a school safety plan
- > To monitor and evaluate routinely the measures taken to improve school safety
- To seek and promote innovative ways to increase cooperation on school safety with the community, parents, police and etc.
- To formulate and implement anti-bullying and violence prevention programs. Special attention should be paid to senior students' pressure, male students' violence and etc.
- To integrate regulations on prohibition of bullying, violence and sexual harassment in the student rules of conduct and the house rules of dormitory
- To ensure that student rules of conduct are communicated, understood and consistently enforced. Student rules of conduct must be periodically review and revised.
- > To ensure that life skills are integrated throughout the curriculum
- To organize trainings on social and communication skills. It is especially important to teach boys how to manage stress, achieve self-control, demonstrate emotional maturity and non-violent solution of conflicts
- > To integrate methods of conflict resolution and management in school life. In conflict resolution it is important to try to create win-win situations.
- > To train teachers and students in conflict resolution and management
- To engage student actively in the process of achieving safe school. It is possible to establish training programs where students can be trained to help other students. It is also thinkable to create a possibility for students to get advice and assistance from their peers. Creating peer courts for conflict resolution is also one of the alternatives.
- To find ways to encourage positive behaviors of students (rewards, inviting positive role models as a speaker and etc.)
- > To educate students about the dangers of alcohol use, PC addiction and other risky behavior.
- To improve counseling services. Counseling shall address the issues faced by boys and girls such violence, risky behavior, addiction, carrier choice, pregnancy, sexual harassment and etc. Counseling shall be gender sensitive and tailored to needs of female and male students.

> To cooperate closely with police and the wider community on crime prevention among youth

Recommendations concerning sexual harassment

- To ensure that sexual harassment is integrated in the school policy. It is advisable to include specific examples of how to identify and respond to harassing behavior and how to create proper documentation of the incident and outcomes. All stakeholders including students, parents, teachers, school technical workers should get a copy of the policy and be aware of its contents. The policy should be regularly discussed and consistently implemented.
- > To include in the annual school plan mandatory trainings on sexual harassment for students, teachers and school technical workers. It is advisable to develop trainings tailored specially for the school situation.
- > To define a procedure to deal with complaints of sexual harassment ensuring confidentiality and avoiding second victimization

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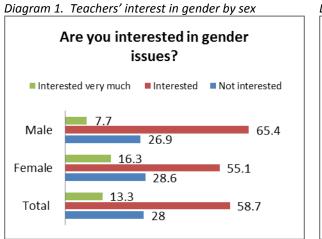
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Annex



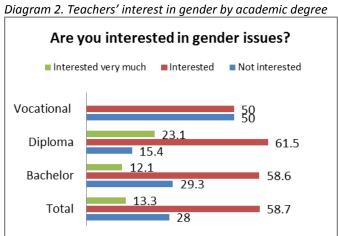


Diagram 3. Self-assessment of gender awareness by sex

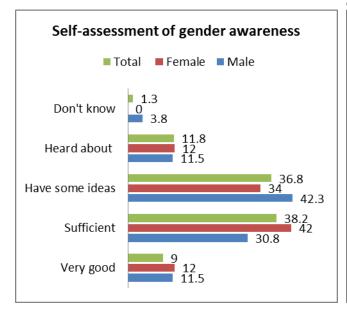
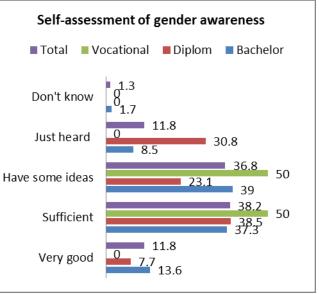


Diagram 4. Self-assessment of gender awareness by academic degree



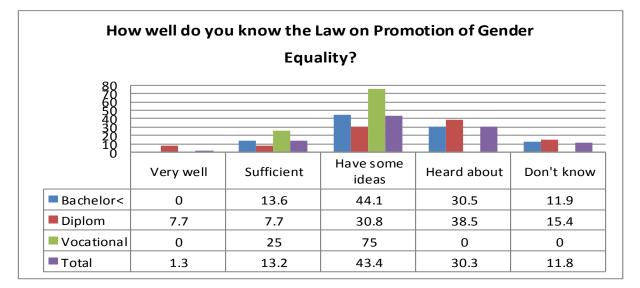
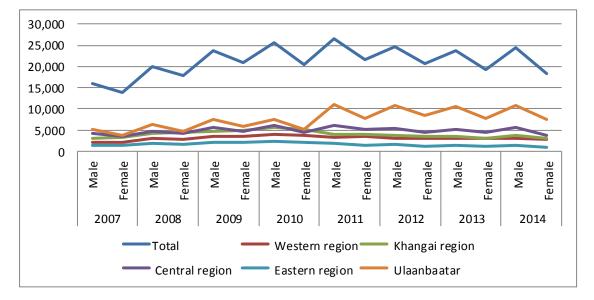


Diagram 8. Female and male students enrollment by regions



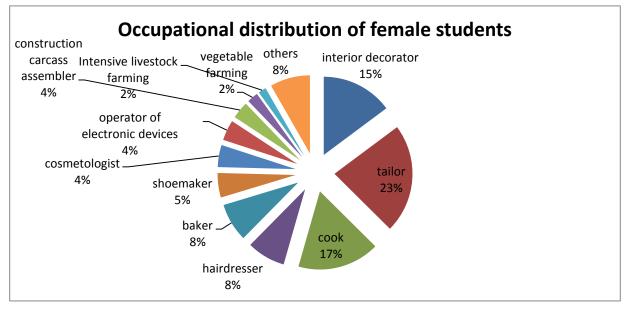
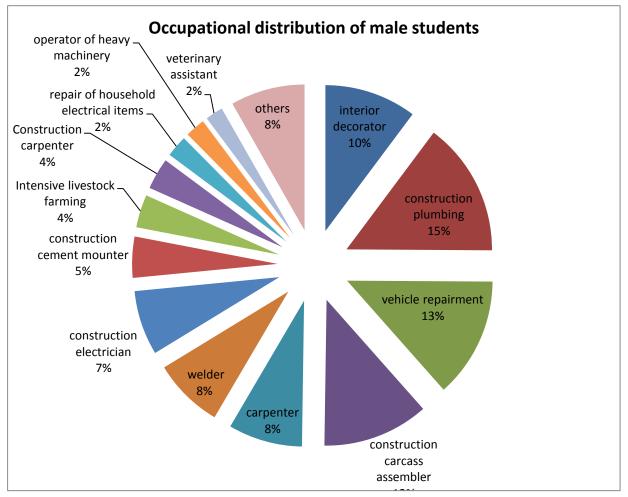


Diagram 10. Occupational distribution of male students



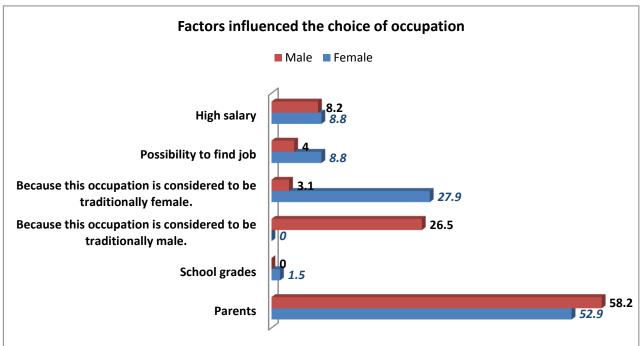


Diagram 11. Factors influencing the choice of profession by girls and boys

Diagram 12. Satisfaction with the chosen occupation among boys and girls



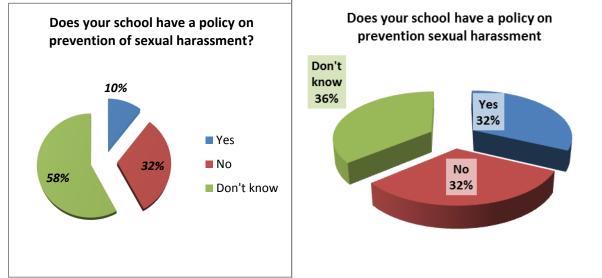
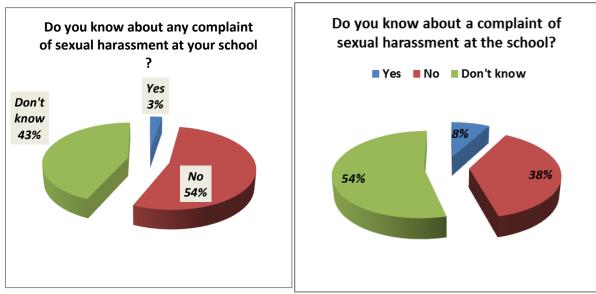


Diagram 13. Teachers' answers on existence of a school policy on prevention of sexual harassment

Diagram 15. Teachers' answers on complaints of sexual harassment at TVET school

Diagram 16. Students' answers on complaints of sexual harassment at TVET school



Statement			< 25					26-35			35-45					
	-		±	+	++	-		±	+	++	-		±	+	++	
1. Men are superior to women in all aspects.	50	12	12	25	0	31	6	9	41	12	35	0	23	23	12	
2. Women are weak.	0	0	0	75	25	9	0	3	41	41	6	0	12	35	41	
3. A man must be the breadwinner of the family.	25	25	0	50	0	41	16	9	22	9	41	23	0	23	12	
4. Working shall not be a woman's priority, family goes first.	37	0	12	50	0	22	9	16	44	9	41	6	18	29	6	
5. Men should not be involved in housework.	0	0	12	87	0	9	0	6	66	19	12	0	12	59	18	
6. Employers prefer to hire men because women are often absent getting pregnant or taking care of children.	37	0	50	12	0	22	6	19	31	19	12	0	29	47	6	
7. Works in policy development and decision making suit to men than to women.	62	0	12	25	0	25	9	19	37	9	47	0	18	23	12	
8. Works on implementation level suit to women.	37	0	25	37	0	25	9	9	47	9	47	0	23	12	18	
9. Carrier advancement is easier for men than for women.	62	0	37	0	0	44	16	16	22	3	53	0	35	12	0	
Average:	34,4	4.1	17.7	40.1	2.7	25.3	7.8	11.7	39	14.4	32.6	3.2	18.8	29.2	13.8	
Prevailing attitude:	Positive					Positive	·		Negative							

Table1. Teachers' gender attitudes by age

Note: - Negative; -- Strong negative; ± Neutral; + Positive; ++ Strong negative

Table1.	Teachers '	' gender	attitudes	by age
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Statement					56<					Total						
Statement		4	6-55													Chi- Sq
	-		±	+	++	-		±	+	++	-		±	+	++	_
1.Menaresuperiortowomeninallaspects.	47	12	0	35	6	0	0	50	50	0	37	7	12	34	9	0,637
2. Women are weak.	12	6	0	59	18	50	0	0	50	0	9	1	4	47	33	0,584
3. A man must be the breadwinner of the family.	41	23	6	18	6	10 0	0	0	0	0	41	20	5	24	8	0,931
4. Working shall not be a woman's priority, family goes first.	35	18	18	23	6	0	0	0	50	0	30	9	16	37	7	0,001
5. Men should not be involved in housework.	12	6	6	65	12	50	0	0	50	0	10	1	8	66	14	0,804
6. Employers prefer to hire men because women are often absent getting pregnant or taking care of children.	41	12	6	35	6	10 0	0	0	0	0	28	5	21	33	10	0,239
7. Works in policy development and decision making suit to men than to women.	35	23	6	23	12	0	0	0	50	0	35	9	14	30	9	0,000
8. Works on implementation level suit to women.	53	6	6	29	6	10 0	0	0	0	0	39	5	13	33	9	0,323
9. Carrier advancement is easier for men than for women.	59	18	12	6	6	10 0	0	0	0	0	53	10	21	13	3	0,482
Average:	37.2	13.7	6.6	32.5	8.6	55. 5	0	5.5	27.7	0	31.3	7.4	12.6	35.2	11.3	
Prevailing attitude:	Negative			Negative												

Note: - Negative; -- Strong negative; ± Neutral; + Positive; ++ Strong negative

Statement	See	condary	educat	ion	Mixe	d gende	er occup	oations	Fe	emale d	ominat	ed	N	Male do	1	Chi- Sq	
	-		+	++	-		+	++	-		+	++	-		+	++	
11. Occupations that require physical power are more suitable to men.	65	13	17	4	41	9	44	6	60	0	40	0	36	18	45	0	0,490
12. Women due her physical capacity cannot perform all types of work.	39	22	35	4	47	12	34	3	50	10	30	10	64	9	9	18	0,723
 Men are more competent than women in occupations related to mechanics (wielder, auto repair). 	65	22	13	0	47	31	16	3	50	20	20	10	54	27	9	9	0,916
14. Nowadays technology is highly developed so there should not be female and male professions. A person shall choose his/her occupation considering her/ his talents, interests and perspectives of salary.	13	0	52	35	12	0	56	31	20	0	50	30	27	0	36	36	0,909
15. Girls who choose traditionally male occupations (wielder, auto repair) will not be able to complete the training and later to overcome work related difficulties as successfully as their male counterparts.	35	22	35	9	47	6	37	6	60	0	40	0	54	18	18	9	0,714
16. Even a woman successfully completes a training in a male dominated occupation she won't get a job.	52	13	35	0	59	6	25	6	70	10	10	10	27	27	45	0	0,444
17. Women trained in male dominated professions are at risk to be subjected to sexual harassment.	39	9	35	17	34	3	41	19	40	10	40	10	18	18	27	36	0,824

Table 2. Teachers' attitude on occupational choice by teaching subject

18. Boys trained in female dominated professions will be teased by others.	22	4	48	26	19	6	50	22	20	10	60	10	0	18	45	36	0,819
 19. TVET teachers shall be able to have influence on changes of gender biases of employers. (discriminating hiring practices) 	17	4	61	17	22	16	56	3	20	0	60	20	36	0	27	27	0,248
20. It is difficult for TVET school teachers to have same performance requirements for female and male students.	35	4	39	22	37	0	53	6	40	20	40	0	54	18	18	9	0,179
Average:	38.2	11.3	37	13.4	36.5	8.9	41.2	10.5	43	8	39	10	37	15.3	27.9	18	
Prevailing attitude:		Neg	ative			Pos	itive			Neg	ative			Nego	itive		

Note: - Negative; -- Strong negative; ± Neutral; + Positive; ++ Strong negative

	Questions	Answers	Frequency	Frequency percentage	Female (percentage)	Male (percentage
1.	If you face problems are there any	Yes	87	51,5	47,8	54
	possibilities to get consultation or	Mostly, yes	30	17,8	15,9	19
	advice?	Mostly, no	18	10,7	18,8	5
		No	19	11,2	8,7	13
		Don't know	15	8,9	8,7	9
2.	Do you feel safe at the school?	Yes	85	52,5	61,2	46,3
		Mostly, yes	29	17,9	17,9	17,9
		Mostly, no	16	9,9	3	14,7
		No	24	14,8	11,9	16,8
		Don't know	8	4,9	6	4,2
3.	Is there a school procedure to investigate	Yes	64	39,5	41,2	38,3
	cases of bulling, harassment?	Mostly, yes	23	14,2	11,8	16
		Mostly, no	23	13	8,8	16
		No	36	22,2	22,1	22,3
		Don't know	18	11,1	16,2	7,4
1.	Do you experience that teachers favor	Yes.	31	19,6		
r.	boys over girls?	Mostly, yes	12	7,6	30,8 7,7	11,8 7,5
	boys over giris:		24	15,2	9,2	
		Mostly, no				19,4
		No	79	50	44,6	53,8
-	De la construction de la constru	Don't know	12	7,6	7,7	7,5
5.	Do you experience that teachers favor	Yes	22	14	13,6	14,3
	girls over boys?	Mostly, yes	18	11,5	7,6	14,3
		Mostly, no	30	19,1	18,2	19,8
		No	72	45,9	48,5	44
		Don't know	15	9,6	12,1	7,7
	Do you clean school rooms?	yes	149	91,4	95,5	88,7
		Mostly, yes	11	6,7	3	9,3
		Mostly, not	2	1,2	1,5	1
		No	1	0,6	0	1
		Don't know	-	-	-	-
7.	Do you have opportunities to join	Yes.	85	55,2	59,4	52,2
	extracurricular activities, interest clubs,	Mostly, yes	17	11	7,8	13.3
	students' voluntary organization without	Mostly, no	13	8,4	9,4	7,8
	entrance test?	No	24	15,6	15,6	15,6
		Don't know	15	9,7	7,8	11,1
	Do girls and boys when they sit in school	Yes	110	72,8	69,8	75
	rooms or practice workshops equally	Mostly, yes	12	7,9	7,9	8
	good places?	Mostly, no	5	3,3	6,3	1,1
		No	18	11,9	11,1	12,5
		Don't know	6	4	4,8	3,4
).	Do you like your place where you sit	Yes	117	74,5	82,8	68,8
	during the lessons or during the practice	Mostly, yes	8	5,1	4,7	5,4
	workshops?	Mostly, no	8	5,1	4,7	5,4
		No	20	12,7	6,2	17,2
		Don't know	4	2,5	1,6	3,2
0.		Yes	90	59,6	70	52,7
	in decision making at the school?	Mostly, yes	22	14,6	11,7	16,5
		Бараг үгүй	15	9,9	8,3	11
		 Үгүй	20	13,2	8,3	16,5
		Мэдэхгүй	4	2,6	1,7	3,3
1.	Do female and male students participate	Тийм	96	62,3	67,2	59,1
	in students' organizations?	Ер нь тийм	20	13	11,5	14
		Бараг үгүй	6	3,9	4,9	3,2
		Угуй	21	13,6	14,8	12,9
		Мэдэхгүй	11	7,1	1,6	10,8

				Table 4. S	students' s	afety at d	omitories
	Statement	Choice	Frequency	Percent	Male	Female	Хи –кв (Chi- Sq)
1.	Dormitory is a safe place for girls	Agree fully	26	74,3	62,5	84,2	0,193
	to live.	Agree	7	20	25	15,8	
		Don't know	2	5,7	12,5	-	
		Disagree	-	-	-	-	
		Disagree fully	-	-	-	-	
2.	Dormitory is a safe place for boys	Agree fully	19	59,4	66,7	52,9	0, 081

	to live.	Agree	9	28,1	13,3	41,2	
		Don't know	3	9,4	20	-	
		Disagree	-	-	-	-	
		Disagree fully	1	3,1	-	5,9	
3.	Students follow house rules at the dormitory.	Agree fully	25	71,4	62,5	78,9	0,535
		Agree	8	22,9	31,2	15,8	
		Don't know	2	5,7	6,2	5,3	
		Disagree	-	-	-	-	
		Disagree fully	-	-	-	-	
4.	Rules preventing sexual harassment is strictly followed at the dormitory.	Agree fully	25	71,4	62,5	78,9	0,841
		Agree	3	8,6	12,5	5,3	
		Don't know	3	8,6	12,5	5,3	
		Disagree	2	5,7	6,2	5,3	
		Disagree fully	2	5,7	6,2	5,3	
5.	I trust that the dormitory teacher and the dormitory warden will help me when I face problems.	Agree fully	24	70,6	66,7	73,7	0,702
		Agree	5	14,7	20	10,5	
		Don't know	4	11,8	13,3	10,5	
		Disagree	-	-	-	-	
		Disagree fully	1	2.9	-	5,3	
6.	There is nothing to be afraid in the dormitory.	Agree fully	21	63,6	71,4	57,9	0,656
		Agree	7	21,2	14,3	26,3	
		Don't know	4	12,1	14,3	10,5	
		Disagree	-	-	-	-	
		Disagree fully	1	3	-	5,3	
7.	There is an arrangement female and male students live on the separate floors.	Agree fully	25	78,1	61,5	89,5	0,215
		Agree	5	15,6	23,1	10,5	
		Don't know	-	-	-	-	
		Disagree	1	3,1	7,7	-	
		Disagree fully	1	3,1	7,7	-	
8.	There is a regulation forbidding persons of opposite sex to enter rooms this regulation is strictly followed.	Agree fully	21	65,6	53,8	73,7	0,422
		Agree	8	25	38,5	15,8	
		Don't know	2	6,2	7,7	5,3	
		Disagree	-	-	-	-	
		Disagree fully	1	3,1	-	5,3	
9.	There are separate toilets for boy and girls	Agree fully	21	65,6	76,9	57,9	0,696
		Agree	5	15,6	7,7	21,1	
		Don't know	3	9,4	7,7	10,5	
		Disagree	-	-	-	-	
		Disagree fully	3	9,4	7,7	10,5	
10.	There are separate and safe shower rooms for girls and boys.	Agree fully	17	58,6	50	64,7	0,128
		Agree	3	10,3	8,3	11,8	
		Don't know	4	13,8	25	5,9	
		Disagree	2	6,9	16,7	-	
		Disagree fully	3	10,3	-	17,6	