



**ROLE OF PUBLIC POLICY FOR WOMEN'S EQUALITY IN POLITICS:
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MONGOLIA, RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND
THE UNITED NATIONS FRAMEWORK**

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Executive Summary

Women tend to play major role in their households, and in the depiction of sacred and saint images of Goddess and angels in cultures and religions, however they can not play any influential role at political decision making levels for the sake of their own states or families in most of the United Nations Member States, Mongolia and the Russian Federation. Women do not have equal political representation as men as a result of many factors including lack of equal political participation, historical political hierarchy of men, lack of women's equal participation in some sectors of labor market and subordination of women to men. Public policy is one of the most effective ways of liberalizing and achieving women's equal participation in politics which can contribute to advancing public policy for society with women's voices.

In Mongolia and the Russian Federation women are equal in health and education sectors where women are majority of personnel. Nonetheless, they are the minority without any influence for policy and decision making of those sectors as well as other public policy sectors. Therefore it is important to increase the number of women on political representation level particularly, it is possible to use the public policies to substantiate women's equality in political representation, specially the policies of education and health sectors which are directly affecting women owing to women's roles in families and societies. In addition, the majority of the workers of those sectors are women in Mongolia and the Russian Federation.

I am using comparison methodology by comparing jurisprudences of Mongolia, the Russian Federation and the United Nations framework for women's equality. I am comparing equality situations particularly women's ratio of participation in education and health sectors in

Mongolia, the Russian Federation and the United Nations framework. These sectors need more women at policy developing and decision making levels. In return, the sectors can play roles for women to achieve substantial equality of women in politics.

The main findings of this thesis are that substantive gender equality can be achieved on decision making level particularly politics, however it is a long process requiring lots of hard work beginning from educating young children on gender equality to changing mentality with the assistance of the supportive active actions of the United Nations and its member states' national policies. The United Nations, Mongolia, and the Russian Federation are making steps towards these. They need more efforts and initiatives to succeed more.

On the other hand, women need to change their mentality towards what they want from life and try to do their best to achieve their goals in good and just ways. Without inspiration, goals are difficult to achieve. Mass media, literature, culture, technology, science, social tendencies, and public policies can be good parts of igniting and instilling inspiration in people including girls and women to achieve their goals.

Both Mongolia and the Russian Federation and women need to work hand in hand to step up more educated and skilled women with good hearts and souls, and just and fair morale at policy making levels to develop more women empowering laws, regulations and policies and to support families, children, and women and catalyze society with right and good policies.

Introduction

Women are slightly more than half of the human population of the earth. Women are acknowledged and cherished in history, culture and religion as the mother of Jesus Christ, as the mothers of human beings and main care takers of their children – the vital part of societies. Women have been core of families – the smallest units of society. Although women tend to play major roles in their households, and in the depiction of sacred and saint images of Goddesses and angels in cultures and religions, they can not play any influential role at political decision making levels for the sake of their own states or families in most of the United Nations Member States, Mongolia and the Russian Federation. Majandra underlined in 2006:

In most countries, ... *de jure* equality exists between women and men in the area of political participation. Yet, critical barriers to women's equal participation in politics persist. They are deeply rooted in feminization of poverty, in violence against women, illiteracy, and attitudes resulting in women's exclusion from political systems. Entrenched stereotypical ideas regarding the role of women in the family and their participation in public life, in a pervasive climate of discrimination, discourage women from entering public life. They are thus unable to influence key decisions that affect their lives and the future of society.¹

¹ Mayanja, Rachel. 'Statement' at *Equal Participation of Women and Men in Decision-Making Process at all Levels*. NGO CSW Interactive Roundtable Discussion. New York, Feb 14 2006. p 1. http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/pdf/RM_NGOcswddecisionmaking14february.pdf (Accessed Mar 10, 2010).

“Women’s rights are fundamental human rights”² the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights said in 1997.³ Gender equality’s inclusion as one of the eight goals of the UN Millennium Development Goals⁴ implies the importance of women in the UN’s main purposes – well being of states or peace and security, development of states and human rights. Although the significance of women in society is recognized even in the biggest international government organization the United Nations, the role of women is not enough as required at the decision making level of states. In this thesis, I will focus on what gender equality and public policy are and how public policy can play roles to increase the number of women at decision making levels of politics particularly focusing on the sectors of education and health out of public policy sectors as well as of politics itself.

In Mongolia and the Russian Federation, women are equal in health and education sectors where women are majority of personnel. Nonetheless, they are the minority without any influence for policy making of those sectors as well as other sectors. Therefore it is important to increase the number of women at political representation level particularly it is possible to use public policies to substantiate women’s equality in political representation, specially the policies of education and health sectors which are directly affecting women owing to women’s roles in families and societies. In addition, the majority of the workers of those sectors are women in Mongolia, the Russian Federation and the United Nations member states particularly developing countries.

² UNFPA. *Population Issues-1999*. 2010. <http://www.unfpa.org/6billion/populationissues/empower.htm> (Accessed Mar 26, 2010).

³ Ibid. UNFPA. *Population Issues-1999*.

⁴ UNFPA. *Gender Equality: Cornerstone of Development*. 2010. <http://www.unfpa.org/gender/> (Accessed Mar 26, 2010).

Chapter One. Theoretical and Legal Framework: Equality, Gender Equality, and Public Policy

1.1. Theoretical Framework: Gender Equality and Equality

1.1.a. Gender Equality

“The term gender refers to the economic, social, political and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female.”⁵ “In most societies, men and women differ in the activities they undertake, in access and control of resources, and in participation in decision-making.”⁶ This definition was termed in 1997 but after 13 years, it is still true. “...Gender is a socio-economic and political variable with which to analyse roles, responsibilities, constraints and opportunities of people; it considers both men and women...Gender refers to roles; sex refers to the biological state of being male or female; and women refers to adult females.”⁷ “Gender is a way of distinguishing between biological difference and the social construction of maleness and femaleness. Gender is not a homogenous category; it is internally differentiated and elaborated by class, race/ethnicity, age, culture and other hierarchical social relations that organize a society’s institutions and practices.”⁸

⁵ ‘What is meant by “gender”?’ in *Promoting Gender Equality*. UNFPA.

http://www.unfpa.org/gender/resources_faq.htm (Accessed Sept 12, 2010).

⁶ Woroniuk, Beth; Thomas, Helen; and Schalwuk, Johanna ‘Gender: The Concept, Its Meaning and Uses – A Think Piece, SIDA, May 1997 cited in Amgalan, T. Oyunchimeg, N. *Gender Basic Terms, Concepts and Definitions*. UN Gender Theme Group. Ulaanbaatar. 2003. p 6.

⁷ Carolina, Taborga; Leanch, Beryl. ‘IPS Gender and Development Glossary’, Rome, Dec 1996 cited in Amgalan, T. Oyunchimeg, N. *Gender Basic Terms, Concepts and Definitions*. UN Gender Theme Group. Ulaanbaatar. 2003. p 6.

⁸ Singh, Navsharan. ‘Thinking Gender in Development Research(1996-1997) From A Gender Perspective’ cited in Amgalan, T. Oyunchimeg, N. *Gender Basic Terms, Concepts and Definitions*. UN Gender Theme Group. Ulaanbaatar. 2003. p 6.

1.1.b. Necessities for Equality

There are many necessities for equality. Among them there are five categories of demands for equality: political, legal, social, economic and moral equality. The above five categories should all have subcategories of gender equality because they inevitably contain gender equality in them. The demands are that laws have to be enforced and applied with equally objective means; people should be given equality to suggest and include their ideas in state policy; people treat each other equally without concerning their status in society and without dominating others or fearing other's domination; creating equality of people's economic situation by meritocracy, land egalitarianism, means of production egalitarianism, and communism; social institutions should be structured showing 'equal concern and respect'⁹ to people as each person should have equal worth in a society.¹⁰

Women are inseparable parts of families. "Family-state relationship...has important implications for public policy."¹¹ Fineman said: "Family is...a societal creation."¹² In addition, "children's rights – "needs based rights"...are the basis for a positive claim for basic nurture and protection."¹³ "These rights create responsibility(ies) not only for the individual parents, but for the larger community requiring political responses."¹⁴ "If the child is seen as the object of social policy and justification for subsidy, some form of quality

⁹ White, Stuart. "Forms of Equality" in White, Stuart. *Equality*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, 2007. p 10.

¹⁰ Ibid. White. p 4-14.

¹¹ Fineman, Martha Albertson. "What Place for Family Privacy?" Privacy and the Law: A Symposium Privacy and the Family in *George Washington Law Review*. June-August, 1999. p 2.

¹² Ibid. Fineman. p 2.

¹³ Woodhouse, A Public Role in the Private Family, p 394 cited in Fineman, Martha Albertson. "What Place for Family Privacy?" Privacy and the Law: A Symposium Privacy and the Family in *George Washington Law Review*. June-August, 1999. p 8.

¹⁴ Ibid. Fineman. p 8.

control will be considered appropriate. Standardization and normative judgments in a diverse and pluralistic society can be problematic and contentious.”¹⁵

MacKinnon notes “Sex equality is mostly guaranteed by law, including areas in which sex inequality is pervasive in society.”¹⁶ I concur with MacKinnon’s idea on this and I consider that sex inequality is more related to people’s unconscious mind which is still stagnated at the beginning of civilization stage to a certain degree in connection with nature, culture, tradition, and customs.

1.1.c. Political equality

Political equality includes participation in drafting laws, voting rights, right to be elected or appointed to government office, freedom of speech and expression which are channels for people to suggest their ideas to be included in policy of the state according to White.¹⁷ Political equality in law does not give effective political equality. Economic situation of people affects their political rights in a way that economic advantage of rich people gives more advantage to the rich to campaign and to be elected, while poor people do not have time even to vote by working hard to earn their bread.¹⁸ “Lacking effective guarantees of economic and social rights, women have found political and civil rights, however crucial, to be largely inaccessible and superficial”¹⁹ MacKinnon noted.

¹⁵ Fineman, Martha Albertson. “What Place for Family Privacy?” Privacy and the Law: A Symposium Privacy and the Family in *George Washington Law Review*. June-August, 1999. p 10.

¹⁶ MacKinnon, Catharine A. *Are Women Human? And Other International Dialogue*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2006. p 3.

¹⁷ White, Stuart. “Forms of Equality” in White, Stuart. *Equality*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, 2007. p 5.

¹⁸ Ibid. White. p 5-6.

¹⁹ Ibid. MacKinnon. p 6.

Monopoli noted “Political representation itself is both a mechanism to ensure that equality and a manifestation of it.”²⁰ Ruiz et al. concluded that balanced representation of gender is a constitutional matter based on their comparison of three European countries. Ruitz et al. noted equality debate “should be understood as a debate about democracy-namely, a debate about the model of democracy implicit in the pursuit of gender equality in political representation”²¹ and human interdependency and political representation.²²

Well known philosopher Habermas noted that people transform into the creators of laws through “basic rights to equal opportunities to participate in processes of opinion-and will-formation in which citizens exercise their political autonomy through which they generate legitimate law.”²³ Habermas suggested ‘three categories of rights’²⁴ those determine ‘status of legal persons’.²⁵ Those rights are from the ‘right to the greatest possible measure of equal individual liberties’²⁶; ‘status of a member of in a voluntary association of consociates under law’; and rights ‘from the actionability of rights and from the politically autonomous elaboration of individual legal protection’.²⁷ From here, we can see that Habermas underlined equality as a part of individual liberties – the fundamental rights.

Controversially, White suggested controlling economic inequality to make political equality more possible and also noted that in some cases it contradicts the rich people’s liberty. He

²⁰ Monopoli, Paula A. “Why So Slow: A Comparative View of Women’s Political Leadership” Symposium: Reflecting on the 60th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in *Maryland Journal of International Law*, 2009, (Westlaw International KeyCite # 24 MDJIL 155).

²¹ Ruiz, Blanca Rodriguez., Rubio-Marín, Ruth. “The Gender of Representation: On Democracy, Equality, and Parity”, *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, April 2008. (Westlaw International Key Cite # 6 INTLJCL 287).

²² Ibid. Ruiz.

²³ Habermas, Jürgen. *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy* translated by Rehg, William. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1996, p 123.

²⁴ Ibid. Habermas. p 122.

²⁵ Ibid. Habermas. p 122.

²⁶ Ibid. Habermas. p 122.

²⁷ Ibid. Habermas. p 122.

wrote “To prevent economic inequality undermining the substance of political equality it may be necessary to limit economic inequality directly and/or to control the ways in which economic advantage can translate into political influence.”²⁸ This suggestion for governmental police power over economically advanced people’s liberty to create political equality will bring only more political inequality, therefore it is not an effective suggestion, I think. Because the ones with political power already will limit both rich and poor people’s political equality by government control.

1.1.d. Legal Equality

Legal equality is that laws have to be enforced and applied equally with impartial and unbiased means for all people of a state without difference based on their gender, wealth, ethnicity or any other factors.²⁹

Social equality is about two ideas: a/ ‘status equality’³⁰ which is about treating each other equally without difference based on social status such as family background or social class, or gender or ethnicity; b/ ‘absence of domination’³¹ where domination means one person dictates other due to hierarchal position of work or breadwinner husband towards wife. It means that in society without domination, people can communicate with each other from the same status without fear.³²

To eliminate or reduce gender inequality, countries need to inform, educate and raise the awareness of public on the women’s equality in society and workplaces, advertise Universal

²⁸White, Stuart. *Equality*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, 2007, p 5-6.

²⁹ Ibid. White. p 4-5.

³⁰ Ibid. White. p 5.

³¹ Ibid. White. p 6.

³² Ibid. White. p 5-6.

Declaration of Human Rights, CEDAW and all related laws in many interesting and attractive ways with lots of repetitions, and the countries need to take temporary affirmative action to create political equality for women particularly on the legislative level that will eventually help to amend laws those are not preventing from inequality of women or discrimination against women in workplaces. These will help women to achieve equality in workplaces and societies to become more democratic.

1.1.e. Economic Equality

Economic equality is that there are four basic views on demands for economic equality in the last two hundred years: meritocracy, land egalitarianism, means of production egalitarianism, and communism.³³ Meritocracy is ‘career open to talents’³⁴; land egalitarianism is that land should be owned by the state and people need to rent from the state; means of production egalitarianism is that all means of production including land is owned by the state and all citizens are shareholders into the means with equal stake; and in communism people work with their power and get from it according to their needs not according to their contribution.³⁵

“The lack of equal opportunities and equal rights for women in Mongolia has contributed to the feminization of poverty...”³⁶ according to Mongolian Gender Equality Center NGO’s shadow report of 2008 to the CEDAW committee and this was also confirmed by the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) General Recommendation 19 of 1992 as cited in the shadow report. The report noted that in

³³ White, Stuart. *Equality*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, 2007, p p 7-10.

³⁴ Ibid. White. p 8.

³⁵ Ibid. White. p 7-10.

³⁶ Mongolian Gender Equality Center. *Trafficking of Women in Mongolia Part II*. Supplementary CEDAW Shadow Report submitted to the CEDAW Committee. Sept 26, 2008. p 1. www.iwraw-ap.org/.../42_shadow_reports/Mongolia_SR_MGEC.pdf (Accessed Feb 21, 2010).

CEDAW's concluding observations of 2001 the influence of the economic transition, the feminization of poverty and the issue of human trafficking were the main areas for attention in Mongolia.³⁷

1.1.f. Moral Equality

Moral equality is that each person should have equal worth in a society and the social institutions should be structured showing 'equal concern and respect'³⁸ to people and thus it is connected to the justification of state authority.³⁹ We can say that moral equality is based on human dignity which is based on autonomy of everybody. Human dignity and equality are the key in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as they are indicated in the Preamble of the declaration as "Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world..."⁴⁰; "Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".⁴¹ Moreover, both in the Preambles of

³⁷ Mongolian Gender Equality Center. *Trafficking of Women in Mongolia Part II*. Supplementary CEDAW Shadow Report submitted to the CEDAW Committee. Sept 26, 2008. p 1. www.iwraw-ap.org/.../42_shadow_reports/Mongolia_SR_MGEC.pdf (Accessed Feb 21, 2010).

³⁸ White, Stuart. "Forms of Equality" in White, Stuart. *Equality*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, 2007, p 10-14.

³⁹ Ibid. White. p 10-14.

⁴⁰ *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. G.A. Res. 217A at 71, U.N.GAOR, 3rd Sess., 1st plen. mtg., U.N. Doc. A/810 (Dec. 10, 1948) <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/> (Accessed March 6, 2010).

⁴¹ *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, G.A. Res. 217A at 71, U.N.GAOR, 3rd Sess., 1st plen. mtg., U.N. Doc. A/810 (Dec. 10, 1948) <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/> (Accessed March 6, 2010).

the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,⁴² and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights⁴³ human dignity and the equal rights are recognized.

Moral equality can be considered as it embraces all kinds of equality.

Although in family women are more equal by moral equality, but in bigger picture in community and society, particularly in social, economic and political fields, facts show that women are not equal by moral equality.

1.1.g. Cultural Equality

White divided the demand of equality into well defined possible forms and sub-forms. Out of them, there are difficulties to achieve ‘political equality’⁴⁴ and ‘economic equality.’⁴⁵

I think ‘cultural equality’ between ethnic groups within a state and between nations might be added. People need cultural equality to be equally treated and live with dignity that was declared in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights⁴⁶ and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.^{47,48}

⁴² *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*. G.A. Res.2200A (XXI). 21 UN GAOR Supp. (No. 16) at 52, UN Doc. A/6316 (1966); 999 UNTS 171. <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/ccpr.htm> (Accessed March 6, 2010).

⁴³ *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*. G.A. Res.2200A (XXI), 21 UN GAOR Supp. (No. 16) at 49, UN Doc. A/6316 (1966); 993 UNTS 3; 6 ILM 368 (1967)

⁴⁴ White, Stuart. “Forms of Equality” White, Stuart. *Equality*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, 2007, p 5.

⁴⁵ Ibid. White. p 7.

⁴⁶ *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, United Nations, 2009. <http://www.un.org/rights/HRToday/declar.htm> (Accessed 22 Oct, 2009).

⁴⁷ *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*, United Nations, Amnesty International USA, 2009, <http://www.amnestyusa.org/violence-against-women/ratify-the-treaty-for-the-rights-of-women-cedaw/page.do?id=1108216> (Accessed 22 Oct, 2009).

⁴⁸ White, Stuart. “Forms of Equality” White, Stuart. *Equality*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, 2007, p 4-14.

Mongolia has a proverb which says “Women have long hair and short intelligence.” This cultural or traditional stereotype is one of women’s images in people’s heads in the country. Thus culture also plays role to downgrade women’s positions in the society.

In contrast, in Russian culture, “strong women” have existed traditionally. However, the strong women go through significant psychological inconvenience in modern Russia.⁴⁹ This means that women’s more than equality is not socially appreciated even if it is accepted in the culture. Still cultural equality is a step towards equality where cultural equality does not exist.

1.1.h. Politics

‘Politics’ is “the art or science of government; the art or science concerned with guiding or influencing governmental policy; the art or science concerned with winning and holding control over a government; political actions, practices, or policies; political affairs or business; *especially*: competition between competing interest groups or individuals for power and leadership (as in a government); political life especially as a principal activity or profession; political activities characterized by artful and often dishonest practices; the political opinions or sympathies of a person; the total complex of relations between people living in society; relations or conduct in a particular area of experience especially as seen or dealt with from a political point of view.”⁵⁰

1.1.i. Public Policy, Legal Context of Policy and Gender Equality in Them

⁴⁹ Pilkington, Hillary “Introduction” in *Gender, Generation and Identity in Contemporary Russia* edited by Pilkington, Hillary, Routledge, London, the UK, 1996, p 10.

⁵⁰ Merriam-Webster Dictionary. ‘Politics’ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/politics> (Accessed 21 July, 2010).

One of my thesis question is to determine the role of public policy as affirmative action to achieve substantial equality of women in politics. To answer this question, let us first see which definitions of policy, public policy and politics, I am going to use in the thesis.

It is difficult to have an absolute definition of what policy is. I will rely on following definitions, because both the definitions of dictionaries and well-known philosophers in law help to explain the reasons of the need of women's equality in politics. According to Merriam–Webster dictionary 'policy' is “prudence or wisdom in the management of affairs; management or procedure based primarily on material interest; a definite course or method of action selected from among alternatives and in light of given conditions to guide and determine present and future decisions; a high-level overall plan embracing the general goals and acceptable procedures especially of a governmental body.”⁵¹

Definition by well known philosopher of law Mr. Dworkin, 'policies' are norms those tie to collective interests.⁵² The norms are that state aims to support happiness or to protect from evil – that is either from natural calamity or “from man's disregard for his neighbor's rights”⁵³ according to Kant. I consider that this also implies modern understanding of the state and its public policy can play a role to strengthen women's need and participation in decision making of the state because the state is in charge of welfare. There is “the close interdependence between the promotion of welfare and the maintenance of security”^{54,55} I think for the promotion of welfare, women will know the subject not less than men, because women are the key of families. Humboldt's classical description of state noted “(E)very

⁵¹ Merriam-Webster Dictionary. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/netdict/policy> (Accessed 21 July, 2010).

⁵² Dworkin's Taking Rights paraphrased in Alexy, Robert. “The Structure of Constitutional Rights Norms” in *Theory of Constitutional Rights*. Oxford. Oxford University Press. 2009. p 66.

⁵³ Humboldt, Baron Wilhelm Von. Translated from German by Coulthard, Joseph. *The Sphere and Duties of Government*. “Chapter III. On the Solicitude of the State for the Positive Welfare of the Citizen”. John Chapman. London. (1854 ed.) [1792]. p 19.
http://all.libertyfund.org/?option=com_staticxt&staticfile=show.php%3Ftitle=589&chapter=45492&layout=html&Itemid=27 (Accessed Feb 22, 2010).

⁵⁴ Ibid. Humboldt. p 20.

⁵⁵ Ibid. Humboldt. p 21.

political institution designed to preserve or augment the physical welfare of the nation.”⁵⁶

This also proves women are needed for the state’s decision making.

Legal dictionary defines that ‘public policy’ means a thing that “the law encourages for the promotion of the public good”⁵⁷ also the dictionary explained that “which is against public policy is generally unlawful.”⁵⁸

Public policy is one of the most effective ways of liberalizing and achieving women’s equal participation in politics which will contribute to advancing public policy for society with women’s voices. To analyze public policy, first we need to determine what public policy is and then its analysis.

The ‘public policy’ idea is to define the relationship between public and private spheres. Adam Smith et al considered that maximizing individual interests through market forces can advance public interest the most.⁵⁹

The implication of public policy predicts that there is an area of commonality opposing to ‘private’.⁶⁰ Thus ‘public’ means private act requiring interference or regulation of the

⁵⁶Humboldt, Baron Wilhelm Von. Translated from German by Coulthard, Joseph. *The Sphere and Duties of Government*. “Chapter III. On the Solicitude of the State for the Positive Welfare of the Citizen”. John Chapman. London. (1854 ed.) [1792]. p 21.

http://all.libertyfund.org/?option=com_staticxt&staticfile=show.php%3Ftitle=589&chapter=45492&layout=html&Itemid=27 (Accessed Feb 22, 2010).

⁵⁷Story, Eq. Jur. Sec. 274. See Newl. Contr. 472 and Bouvier, John. *A Law Dictionary*, Adapted to the Constitution and Laws of the United States. published 1856 cited in The Free Dictionary by Farlex ‘Policy, Public’ <http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/policy> (Accessed July 22, 2010).

⁵⁸Story, Eq. Jur. Sec. 274. See Newl. Contr. 472 and Bouvier, John. *A Law Dictionary*, Adapted to the Constitution and Laws of the United States. published 1856 cited in The Free Dictionary by Farlex ‘Policy, Public’ <http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/policy> (Accessed July 22, 2010).

⁵⁹Parsons, Wayne. “‘Public’ and ‘policy’ as concepts” *Public Policy in An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Policy Analysis*. Edward Elgar Publishing. Brookfield, USA. 1995. p 2-9.

⁶⁰ Ibid. Parsons. p 2-3.

government or society or common activity.⁶¹ The political economists noted that maximizing individual interests through market forces can advance public interest the most. The role of the state is to set up and facilitate market and economic freedom where public interests are protected. Public interests are desired but not to interfere the natural equilibrium of market which is the result of private self-interests and then private interests will meet the public interests.⁶²

‘New liberalism’ believes that the public administration is the rational means to advance the public interests.⁶³ The public and private relationship is ‘the market and freedom of choice’⁶⁴ instead of state working in the interests of public according to the new rightist economists and philosophers such as Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman or old liberals such as Adam Smith et al. Because they saw more effectiveness of free market and the freedom of choice and used it to define public private partnership which will bring more synergized result than only the government’s work for public. Policy analysis is in the “study of the action of public authorities within society”⁶⁵ according to Meny and Thoenig.

Modern state government’s role and functions can be explained by the definition of government. According to Merriam-Webster Dictionary, the government is “authoritative direction or control; the office, authority, or function of governing; the continuous exercise of authority over and the performance of functions for a political unit, rule; the organization, machinery, or agency through which a political unit exercises authority and performs functions and which is usually classified according to the distribution of power within it; the complex of political institutions, laws, and customs through which the function of governing

⁶¹Parsons, Wayne. “‘Public’ and ‘policy’ as concepts” *Public Policy in An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Policy Analysis*. Edward Elgar Publishing. Brookfield, USA. 1995. p 3.

⁶²Ibid. Parsons. p 4.

⁶³Knoepfel, Peter., Larrue, Corinne. Varone, Frederic. and Hill, Michael. *Public Policy Analysis*. The Policy Press. Bristol, UK. 2007. p 6.

⁶⁴ Ibid. Knoepfel. p 8-9.

⁶⁵ Ibid. Knoepfel. p 11-14.

is carried out; the body of persons that constitutes the governing authority of a political unit or organization: as...a small group of persons holding simultaneously the principal political executive offices of a nation or other political unit and being responsible for the direction and supervision of public affairs:...such a group in a parliamentary system constituted by the cabinet or by the ministry...administration.”⁶⁶

1.1.j. Conclusion

The forms of equality are interdependent and it is not possible to achieve one form of equalities without achieving the other forms.

Each of the above definition have gender context, but I will address public policy and gender equality in my thesis. I think public policy and gender equality are inseparable when it comes to the public policy role to substantiate women’s equality.

As a cause politics is in front of policy which is the result. By deduction method, from back to the front, women’s equality at political representation can be effectively realized by effective role of public policy which can play implicated role towards changing public mentality and achieve the aim.

⁶⁶Merriam-Webster Dictionary. ‘Government’ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/government> (Accessed 23 July, 2010).

1.2. International Legal Framework for Gender Equality

The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women⁶⁷ was ratified by 186⁶⁸ states including both Mongolia and the Russian Federation those ratified the convention of 1979 in 1981⁶⁹ respectively the same year of the convention coming into force.

There are many definitions of gender equality. I will treat gender equality in the light of international legal framework. According to UNESCO definition *gender equality* is “women and men have equal conditions for realizing their full human rights and for contributing to, and benefiting from, economic, social, cultural and political development.”⁷⁰ Thus it is equal valuation and assessment of the roles of women and men and their activities in homes and society.⁷¹

UNESCO’s ‘Women in Development’⁷² strategy is to encourage women to participate more actively in the progress of development and thus help women to boost their income. The strategy is successful in short term by advancing profit of the women and their health,

⁶⁷ UN General Assembly. *United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*. GA res. 34/180, 34 UN GAOR Supp. (No. 46) at 193, UN Doc. A/34/46; 1249 UNTS 13; 19 ILM 33 (1980) <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm> (Accessed Apr 3, 2010).

⁶⁸ *United Nations Treaty Collections*. United Nations. Apr 1, 2010. http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-8&chapter=4&lang=en (Accessed Apr 3, 2010).

⁶⁹ *United Nations Treaty Collections*. United Nations. Apr 1, 2010. http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-8&chapter=4&lang=en (Accessed Apr 3, 2010).

⁷⁰ UNESCO. “Baseline definitions of key gender-related concepts” in *UNESCO's Gender Mainstreaming Implementation Framework for 2002-2007*. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=11483&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (Accessed Feb 17, 2010).

⁷¹ UNESCO. “Baseline definitions of key gender-related concepts” in *UNESCO's Gender Mainstreaming Implementation Framework for 2002-2007*. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=11483&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (Accessed Feb 17, 2010).

⁷² UNESCO. “Baseline definitions of key gender-related concepts” in *UNESCO's Gender Mainstreaming Implementation Framework for 2002-2007*. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=11483&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (Accessed Feb 17, 2010).

however it does not change the baseline of unequal interactions of men and women, women in development approach does not succeed in the long term. Also the strategy's appraisal lacks the evaluation of all roles and output of women in labor and at home. On the other hand, UNESCO's Gender and Development strategy is to encourage both women and men to contribute to the development and get benefits from it.⁷³

By rule of law, international treaties and state laws women's equality is universally recognized. The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights defined in its Article 1 "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood"⁷⁴ on December 10, 1948 and it was ratified by 58 states at that time.⁷⁵ The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) underlined "...Noting that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms the principle of the inadmissibility of discrimination and proclaims that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, including distinction based on sex..." By August 2009, 185 countries ratified the Convention according to the United Nations⁷⁶ and they are legally binding to this Convention as well as the section of the prohibition of sex discrimination included from the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights into the Convention.

⁷³ UNESCO. "Baseline definitions of key gender-related concepts" in *UNESCO's Gender Mainstreaming Implementation Framework for 2002-2007*. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=11483&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (Accessed Feb 17, 2010).

⁷⁴ *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, United Nations, 2009. <http://www.un.org/rights/HRToday/declar.htm> (Accessed Oct 23, 2009).

⁷⁵ 'A United Nations Priority' in *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, United Nations, 2009. <http://www.un.org/rights/HRToday/declar.htm> (Accessed Oct 23, 2009).

⁷⁶ "Treaty for the Rights of Women, CEDAW Fact Sheet" in *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*, Amnesty International USA, 2009, <http://www.amnestyusa.org/violence-against-women/ratify-the-treaty-for-the-rights-of-women-cedaw/page.do?id=1108216> (Accessed Oct 23, 2009).

CEDAW noted that by accepting the Convention, States commit to taking measures to end discrimination against women in all forms by defining the gender equality principle in their laws; establishing tribunals and ombudsman type organizations in their public institutions to protect women from discrimination; and to eliminate all acts of discrimination against women by individuals, organizations or enterprises.⁷⁷ All legally binding states to CEDAW must have been taking all measures to bind to these rules. All democratic societies adopted laws or included in their constitutions, the prohibition of the discrimination against women. By international treaties and laws women are well protected from inequality and discrimination.

1.3. National Legal Frameworks: Mongolia and the Russian Federation

According to the constitutions of Mongolia and the Russian Federation, their Governments are the highest executive powers of the states and are in charge of state policies in all fields.^{78,79}

“The Government shall implement the State laws and according to the duty to direct economic, social and cultural development shall exercise the following powers: to organize and ensure nation-wide implementation of the Constitution and other laws; to work out a comprehensive policy on science and technology, guidelines for economic and social development, and make State budget, credit and fiscal plans and to submit these to the State Ikh Hural (*the Parliament*) and to execute decisions taken thereon; to elaborate and

⁷⁷ “*Treaty for the Rights of Women, CEDAW Fact Sheet*” in Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, Amnesty International USA, 2009, <http://www.amnestyusa.org/violence-against-women/ratify-the-treaty-for-the-rights-of-women-cedaw/page.do?id=1108216> (Accessed Oct 23, 2009).

⁷⁸ *The Constitution of the Russian Federation*. Section 1. Chapter 6. Article 110. Clause 1 and Article 114. Clauses 1 and 2. <http://www.departments.bucknell.edu/russian/const/ch6.html> (Accessed July 25, 2010).

⁷⁹ *The Constitution of Mongolia*. Article 38.1 and 38.2. <http://www.embassyofmongolia.be/?q=node/76> (Accessed 24 July, 2010).

implement comprehensive measures on sectional, inter-sectorial, as well as regional development; to undertake measures on the protection of the environment, rational use and restoration of natural resources; to guide the Central state administrative bodies and to direct the activities of local administrations; to strengthen the country's defense capabilities and to ensure national security; to take measure for the protection of human rights and freedoms, to enforce the public order and to prevent of crimes; to implement the State foreign policy; to conclude and implement international treaties with the consent of and subsequent ratification by the State Ikh Hural (*the Parliament*) as well as to conclude and abrogate intergovernmental treaties”⁸⁰ according to the Constitution of Mongolia.

As per the constitution of the Russian Federation “The Government of the Russian Federation shall: a) develop and submit the federal budget to the State Duma and ensure compliance therewith; submit a report on the execution of the federal budget to the State Duma; b) ensure the implementation in the Russian Federation of a uniform financial, credit and monetary policy; c) ensure the implementation in the Russian Federation of a uniform state policy in the field of culture, science, education, health, social security and ecology; d) manage federal property; e) adopt measures to ensure the country's defense, state security and the implementation of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation; f) implement measures to ensure legality, the rights and freedoms of citizens, protect property and public law and order and control crime; g) exercise any other powers vested in it by the Constitution of the Russian Federation, federal laws and the decrees of the President of the Russian Federation.”⁸¹

The Governments of the nations as highest executive powers have been and can play role to ensure gender equality in the countries.

⁸⁰ *The Constitution of Mongolia*. Article 38.2. <http://www.embassyofmongolia.be/?q=node/76> (Accessed July 24, 2010).

⁸¹ *The Constitution of the Russian Federation*. Section 1. Chapter 6. Article 114. Clause 1; 2. <http://www.departments.bucknell.edu/russian/const/ch6.html> (Accessed July 25, 2010).

1.3.1. National Politics and Gender Equality: Mongolia and the Russian Federation

In political representation, the Russian Federation is ranked 84th out of 139 in the world with 14 percent of its lower house of the Parliament and 4.7 percent of the Upper House of its Parliament's members women, while 3.9 percent of Mongolia's unicameral Parliament's members are women, which places Mongolia 129th out of the 139 ranks according to the Inter-Parliamentary Union.⁸²

For Mongolia, in its National Programme on Gender Equality, the country established the goal to raise the women's representation to 15 to 30 percent of political authorities and decision making level.⁸³

As the realization of the Action Plan of the Fourth World Women's Conference in Beijing in September 1995 to which Mongolia participated in,⁸⁴ Mongolian government created its own National Programme on Gender Equality which is the enhanced version of the country's National Programme on Advancement of Women in December 2002.⁸⁵ The Government of Mongolia established the National Committee on Gender Equality headed by the Prime Minister of Mongolia⁸⁶ based on the national programme. Mongolian Women NGO's coalition which stated its purpose to "ensure equal numbers of women are elected and

⁸²Inter-Parliamentary Union. *Women in National Parliaments. Situation as of Dec 31, 2009. World Classification*. <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm> (Accessed Feb 20, 2010).

⁸³ Amgalan, T.(Director of Gender Center for Sustainable Development). "Millennium Development Goals and the Implementation of National Programme on Gender Equality (2005-2006)" in *Gender Issues* (Gender Center for Sustainable Development's Information Compilation Magazine). Issue #1. 2007. p 43.

⁸⁴ Delgermaa, B. Social Policy Advisor to Prime Minister of Mongolia, Member of National Committee on Gender Equality. "Foreword" in Strategic Planning Workshop on Gender 12-13 May, 2005. Comiled by National Committee on Gender Equality and UNIFEM. Ulaanbaatar. 2006. p 1.

⁸⁵Ibid. Delgermaa. p 1.

⁸⁶The Government of Mongolia. National Committee on Gender Equality. *Greetings of the Prime Minister of Mongolia, Chairman of the National Committee on Gender Equality* <http://www.gender.gov.mn/index.php> (Accessed Feb 15, 2010).

nominated for decision making positions”⁸⁷ as listed on its website. There is the general state policy and NGOs to promote women’s equality in political representation, however, women’s equality in political representation does not become a reality in real life.

The National Programme of Mongolia is implemented in four phases from 2003 until 2015.⁸⁸ “In implementation of the policy towards promoting the gender equality at the national level adapting the international strategic documents into the country’s peculiarity, aims to address not just women’s issues concerning the well-being and the access to services but promotes the gender mainstreaming as a driving force of the development to achieve the goal for good governance.”⁸⁹ In April 2005 the Parliament of Mongolia passed the Millennium Development Goals’ Resolution⁹⁰ including Goal #3 that aims at “increasing women’s participation in decision-making by promoting gender equality.”

For the Russian Federation, there is a project named “Gender Mainstreaming in Russia (in the context of the UN Development Goals and sustainable human development)”⁹¹ has been implementing with the assistance of UNDP Russia Office.

⁸⁷ Mongolian Women’s NGO’s Coalition. Introduction. 2001.

<http://www.owc.org.mn/mwngoc/english/index.htm> (Accessed Feb 15, 2010).

⁸⁸ Delgermaa, B., Social Policy Advisor to Prime Minister of Mongolia and Member of National Committee on Gender Equality. “Foreword” in *Strategic Planning Workshop on Gender, 12-13 May, 2005* organized by the Government of Mongolia National Committee on Gender Equality. UN Development Fund for Women. Ulaanbaatar. 2006. p 1.

⁸⁹ Ibid. Delgermaa. p 1.

⁹⁰ United Nations Mongolia. *Mongolia and Millennium Development Goals*. <http://www.un-mongolia.mn/web/un-mongolia.html> 2007. (Accessed Sep 15, 2010).

⁹¹ “UNDP activities to assist the Russian Federation in achieving MDGs” in *Millennium Development Goals*. UNDP Russia. 2010. <http://www.undp.ru/index.phtml?iso=ru&lid=1&pid=98> (Accessed November 29, 2010).

The project develops “gender-balanced training and re-training programmes for government officials and experts of the federal Assembly of the Russian Federation. In 2007, the project conducted gender analysis and monitoring of the most acute social problems in Russia in the context of the protection of rights of both women and men,”⁹² and ran public discussions of gender related papers and organized conferences on gender. The participants of the conference were from all spectrum of Russian society such as civil servants, private sectors, NGOs, experts and community representatives. One of the conferences was to find ways to develop women’s entrepreneurial skills to run businesses which will help to eradicate poverty.⁹³

The Russian Federation, a member of the G8 and a country of middle income the UN Millennium Development Goals are not part of the official development goals of the country.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, many of the MDGs are in official Government documents such as Medium-Term Strategy of Socio-Economic Development (2006-2008) and National Priority Projects.⁹⁵ The strategic documents address gender equality in non-direct ways by empowering people including women with skills oriented towards poverty eradication.

In following chapters, I will analyze education, and health sector policies and gender equality and women’s political representation. Although social policy such as family and housing policies are important, I will address education and health sector policies and their roles in substantiating women’s participation in the sector’s administration and politics. Because more women work in education and health sectors out of most state policy sectors and thus

⁹² “UNDP activities to assist the Russian Federation in achieving MDGs” in *Millennium Development Goals*. UNDP Russia. 2010. <http://www.undp.ru/index.phtml?iso=ru&lid=1&pid=98> (Accessed November 29, 2010).

⁹³ “UNDP activities to assist the Russian Federation in achieving MDGs” in *Millennium Development Goals*. UNDP Russia. 2010. <http://www.undp.ru/index.phtml?iso=ru&lid=1&pid=98> (Accessed November 29, 2010).

⁹⁴ “UNDP activities to assist the Russian Federation in achieving MDGs” in *Millennium Development Goals*. UNDP Russia. 2010. <http://www.undp.ru/index.phtml?iso=ru&lid=1&pid=98> (Accessed November 29, 2010).

⁹⁵ “UNDP activities to assist the Russian Federation in achieving MDGs” in *Millennium Development Goals*. UNDP Russia. 2010. <http://www.undp.ru/index.phtml?iso=ru&lid=1&pid=98> (Accessed November 29, 2010).

these sectors may help women to succeed in being equal in political representation. Let us see how these sectors can help for substantiating women's equality in Mongolia, the Russian Federation and in the United Nations framework.

Chapter Two. The Role of Education Policy for Women's Equality

2.1. Education Sector's Policy and Gender Equality

While majority of labor force in education and health sectors are women, the sectors deeply devalue women in labor force. Because men, those can earn more, do not work in those sectors. These sectors are not the sectors which are valued the highest by governments either. Thus the condition of education and health sectors impact or burden family particularly women. The burden will shift from the sectors to family and from family to women in the family. Interdependence and mutual factors of education and health sectors are more absent from labor markets.

On the other hand, though majority of the employees of health and education sectors are women, they are not the majority of the decision making levels of those sectors. Nonetheless, since the population of the two sectors are dominated by women, these sectors can help to substantiate women's participation in politics.

In addition, education sector is vital to change people's perception and the sector can be helpful to change people's mind to accept gender equality more widespread in society. In addition, education policy is a better region of politics.

2.1.a. The United Nations Framework

The United Nations particularly UNESCO policy gives high preference to enrolling girls and women into schooling which will in return contribute to poverty elimination and economies.

The United Nations has 192 member states⁹⁶ out of 195⁹⁷ (excluding Vatican City, Kosovo and Taiwan) countries of the world. Therefore, the United Nations' framework is covering 98.46 percent of the world's countries where 6.8 billion⁹⁸ people live today out of which women are more than the half of the population. Mongolia has 1.4 million women out of 2.7 million⁹⁹ population where women are 51.18 percent or more than half of the population by 2008 statistics. The Russian Federation had 76.3 million¹⁰⁰ women out of 142 million¹⁰¹ population in which women were 53.72 percent of the total population as of January 1, 2008.

The World Education Forum of 2000 in Dakar, Senegal highlighted the importance of education for women. Led by the forum, UNESCO's key objectives for education are to support "education as a fundamental right"¹⁰² according to the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "to improve the quality of education through the diversification of contents and methods and the promotion of universally shared values; to promote experimentation,

⁹⁶ The United Nations. 2010. <http://www.un.org/en/aboutun/index.shtml> . (Accessed November 18, 2010).

⁹⁷ Pearson's Information Please. *How Many Countries?* 2010. <http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0932875.html> (Accessed February 20, 2010).

⁹⁸ United States Census Bureau. *Data Finders: Population Clocks. World as of 16:55 UTC (EST+5) Feb 20, 2010.* <http://www.census.gov/> (Accessed Feb 20, 2010).

⁹⁹ Mongolia's National Statistics Office. "Chapter 3 – Population" in *Statistics Compilation 2008*. Ulaanbaatar. 2009. p 84.

¹⁰⁰ Russian Federation's Federal State Statistics Service. *Population, Age and Sex Structure of Population*. Jan 1, 2008. http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/b09_12/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d01/05-03.htm (Accessed Feb 19, 2010)

¹⁰¹ The number is the total by adding up numbers of men to women from the statistics of the Russian Federation's Federal State Statistics Service. *Population, Age and Sex Structure of Population*. Jan 1, 2008. http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/b09_12/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d01/05-03.htm (Accessed Feb 19, 2010).

¹⁰² UNESCO. "Education" in *Gender Mainstreaming*. 2010. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=10996&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (Accessed Feb 20, 2010).

innovation and the diffusion and sharing of information and best practices as well as policy dialogue in education”.¹⁰³ From here it is clear that the United Nations Framework has implications of promoting gender equality particularly educating women and girls in its goals of education sector; because majority of the poor of the world are females and the two thirds of the illiterate people of the universe are women.¹⁰⁴

In addition, “It is proved that investing in formal and informal trainings of girls and women are the best way to create sustainable development and economic growth,”¹⁰⁵ Asian Development Bank noted “Everybody should have opportunities to acquire primary education. If there is no such supply, particularly the poor and their children will have least possibilities to improve their economic condition and to participate in society.”¹⁰⁶

Target 3 of the Millennium Development Goals of the United Nations notes “Promote gender equality and empower women”¹⁰⁷ and for this Target 3A “Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and to all levels of education no later than 2015.”¹⁰⁸ The MDGs Target 3 can be realized when only UN member states work towards it with efforts and plans.

¹⁰³ UNESCO. “Education” in *Gender Mainstreaming*. 2010. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=10996&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (Accessed Feb 20, 2010).

¹⁰⁴ The Hunger Project. *Empowering Women as Key Change Agents*. New York, NY, USA. 2010. http://www.thp.org/what_we_do/program_overview/empowering_women?gclid=CPW79KD-gaACFUL_3godC0A_kw (Accessed Feb 20, 2010).

¹⁰⁵ ‘Why Gender Is Important in Educational Projects?’ in *Gender Criteria List: Education*. Asian Development Bank in Mongolia. Ulaanbaatar. 2010. p 1.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Why Gender Is Important in Educational Projects?’ in *Gender Criteria List: Education*. Asian Development Bank in Mongolia. Ulaanbaatar. 2010. p 1.

¹⁰⁷ The World Bank Group. ‘3. Promote gender equality and empower women’ in *Millennium Development Goals*. 2010. <http://ddp-ext.worldbank.org/ext/GMIS/gdmis.do?siteId=2&goalId=7&menuId=LNAV01GOAL3> (Accessed November 28, 2010).

¹⁰⁸ The World Bank Group. ‘3. Promote gender equality and empower women’ in *Millennium Development Goals*. 2010. <http://ddp-ext.worldbank.org/ext/GMIS/gdmis.do?siteId=2&goalId=7&menuId=LNAV01GOAL3> (Accessed November 28, 2010).

2.1.b. Mongolia

Mongolia was the second communist country in the world that had followed the socialist path after the former Soviet Union. The Soviet Union became a socialist country in 1917 afterwards Mongolia became a socialist country in 1921 when it took its independence with the backing of the Soviet Union. Therefore, the educational system in Mongolia was similar to the former Soviet Union supporting literacy and equal enrollment of girls and boys to school. This put equally good backgrounds in the two countries and the two countries more comparable for their education sectors.

92.4¹⁰⁹ percent of girls completed primary school in Mongolia in 2008 according to the World Bank statistics. For Mongolia, the total number of pupils studying in educational institutions were 735,000¹¹⁰ and total of 532,000¹¹¹ students in general educational schools and out of which 270,000¹¹² or 50.6 percent were female students at the beginning of the 2008-2009 academic year. The total number of graduates of educational institutions 134,500¹¹³ out of which females were 74,100¹¹⁴ or 55 percent for the 2007-2008 academic year. The female professors, teachers and instructors of educational institutions including universities, colleges, primary, secondary and high schools, and kindergartens were 30,200

¹⁰⁹ The World Bank. 'Gender Stats' in *East Asia and Pacific*. 2010.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,,contentMDK:21442585~menuPK:4851736~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336,00.html> (Accessed November 20, 2010.)

¹¹⁰ Mongolia's National Statistics Office. "19.2 Number of Pupils and Students in Educational Institutions" in *Statistics Compilation 2008*. Ulaanbaatar. 2009. Appendix 19.2.

¹¹¹ Ibid. Mongolia's National Statistics Office. Appendix 19.2.

¹¹² Ibid. Mongolia's National Statistics Office. Appendix 19.2.

¹¹³ Mongolia's National Statistics Office. "Number of Graduates in Educational Institutions" in *Statistics Compilation 2008*. National Statistics Office. Ulaanbaatar. 2009. Appendix 19.3.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. Mongolia's National Statistics Office. Appendix 19.3.

out of total 38,400 teachers or 78.6 percent for the 2008-2009 academic year. For Russia the percentage was a little bit higher as 81¹¹⁵ percent in 2008.

Statistics of target 6 of Goal 3 - Promote gender equality and empower women - of the indicators of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, subgoal 14 “ratio of girls to boys in primary education” was 0.97, subgoal 15 “ratio of girls to boys in secondary education” was 1.08, subgoal 16 “ratio of female to male students in tertiary education” was 1.54 respectively in Mongolia in 2008.¹¹⁶ Target 7 of the goal 3, subgoal 17 - Share of women in wage employment in non agricultural sectors - were 53.0 in 2008.¹¹⁷

In Mongolia there were 115.78 girls for every 100 boys in primary and secondary schools in 2005 and this placed Mongolia to rank at the third place out of for girls to boys ratio in schools.¹¹⁸ The ratio of girls to boys in Mongolia in primary and secondary school became 104.78¹¹⁹ in 2008 that placed Mongolia at the 12th place out of 204 states compared by Encyclopedia of the Nations.com.

One serious issue that can not be overlooked as the United Nations Secretary General said “Less than 5 per cent of children and young persons with disabilities have access to education

¹¹⁵ Council of Europe. “Russia/ 4.2 Recent policy issues and debates. The share of working women by sector, in %, 1980-2007” in *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe*. 11th edition. 2010.
<http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/russia.php?aid=4210> (Accessed Feb 20, 2010).

¹¹⁶ Mongolia’s National Statistics Office. “Indicators of Millennium Development Goals. Goal 3. Promote gender equality and empower women” in *Statistics Compilation 2008*. Ulaanbaatar. 2009. Table 27.1

¹¹⁷ Mongolia’s National Statistics Office. “Indicators of Millennium Development Goals. Goal 3. Promote gender equality and empower women” in *Statistics Compilation 2008*. National Statistics Office. Ulaanbaatar. 2009. Table 27.1

¹¹⁸ NationMaster.com. *Education Statistics > Ratio of girls to boys in primary and secondary education > % (most recent) by country*. NationMaster.com. 2010.
http://www.nationmaster.com/graph/edu_rat_of_gir_to_boy_in_pri_and_sec_edu-ratio-girls-boys-primary-secondary (Accessed November 18, 2010).

¹¹⁹ Encyclopedia of the Nations. *Ratio of girls to boys in primary and secondary education (%) – Millennium Development Goals Indicators*. Encyclopedia of the Nations. 2010.
<http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/WorldStats/MDI-ratio-girls-boys-primary-education.html> (Accessed November 20, 2010.)

and training; and girls and young women face significant barriers to participating in social life and development”.¹²⁰ Therefore, it is important for the world particularly developing countries those are the member states of the United Nations to give possibilities with all necessary aids to young girls and young women with disabilities to study or get education.

For Mongolia, 3.05 percent¹²¹ of the population are people with disabilities. But the official statistics do not indicate how many of them are girls or young women. Nonetheless, there is a report that half of the people with disabilities got the benefits of *Equally Full* program that rehabilitates people with disabilities.¹²²

Total of 161 thousand students studied in public and private universities in Mongolia in 2008-2009 academic year and 60.1 percent of the students were females in 2008. Female to male ratio in tertiary education was 158 percent in the country in 2008.¹²³

65.5 percent of the graduates of the universities were females in 2007-2008 academic year. Only 35.5 percent of the total graduates got employment in 2007.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Secretary-General of the United Nations in his report on the Implementation of the World Programme of Action concerning Disabled, A/59/169, paragraph 79 cited in United Nations. *Women with Disabilities Fact Sheet*. <http://www.un.org/disabilities/default.asp?id=258> (Accessed Apr 4, 2010).

¹²¹ National Rehabilitation Center under the Ministry of Social Protection and Labor, Government of Mongolia. “2007 Survey to Discover People with Disabilities” in *Equally Full Program That Rehabilitates People with Disabilities Based on Society*. Ulaanbaatar, Jan 22, 2009.

http://nrc.gov.mn/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=57&Itemid=88 (Accessed Apr 4, 2010).

¹²² National Rehabilitation Center under the Ministry of Social Protection and Labor, Government of Mongolia. “2007 Survey to Discover People with Disabilities” in *Equally Full Program That Rehabilitates People with Disabilities Based on Society*. Ulaanbaatar, Jan 22, 2009.

http://nrc.gov.mn/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=57&Itemid=88 (Accessed Apr 4, 2010).

¹²³ The World Bank. ‘Gender Stats’ in *East Asia and Pacific*. 2010.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,contentMDK:21442585~menuPK:4851736~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336.00.html> (Accessed November 20, 2010.)

¹²⁴ National Development and Innovation Committee. *The Millennium Development Goals Implementation Third National Report*. Admon Printing, Publishing & More. Ulaanbaatar. 2009. p 40.

Due to much less job opportunities, it is difficult to find jobs in Mongolia, as we can see from only one third of university or college graduates were getting jobs in 2007. It is clear that the fewer job vacancies affect women more who are the caretakers of their children. However, from the numbers of pupils and students we can see that women are comparably well educated in Mongolia and the education sector can be a good place to advertise women's equality.

2.1.c. The Russian Federation

Former Soviet Union had policies to promote literacy and equality of girls and boys. In addition, in Russian culture women are strong figures. Therefore, enrollment of girls to boys to school is a little bit more than equal for primary, secondary and tertiary education. For the Russian Federation it is same.

Russia had enrollment rate of girls to primary school was 96.9 percent¹²⁵ in 2008 according to the World Bank statistics. 83.5 percent¹²⁶ of girls of the country enrolled secondary schools in 2008. Girls were 48.9 percent¹²⁷ of students for primary schools and were 48.2 percent¹²⁸ of secondary schools in the country in 2008.

¹²⁵ The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Education' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,,contentMDK:21438836~menuPK:4080912~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336,00.html> (Accessed November 27, 2010).

¹²⁶ The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Education' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,,contentMDK:21438836~menuPK:4080912~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336,00.html> (Accessed November 27, 2010).

¹²⁷ The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Education' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,,contentMDK:21438836~menuPK:4080912~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336,00.html> (Accessed November 27, 2010).

¹²⁸ The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Education' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,,contentMDK:21438836~menuPK:4080912~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336,00.html>

For Russia, the ratio of girls to boys for enrollment to primary schools was 100.2 percent, the one to secondary schools was 97 percent and the one to tertiary education was 135.6 percent in 2008 and these numbers are higher than in any developing countries of Europe and Central Asia according to the World Bank statistics.¹²⁹ In the country there were 109.55 girls to every 100 boys in primary and secondary schools in 2004 and this placed Russia to rank at the 17th place for girls to boys ratio in schools out of 183 states surveyed by Nation Master.¹³⁰ In 2007, the ratio of girls to boys decreased in primary and secondary schools became 98.34 percent¹³¹ making Russia to rank at 116th out of 204 states compared by the Encyclopedia of the Nations.com. Still the number of girls enrolled in schools was high.

89.1¹³² percent of girls studied for higher education in Russia in 2008. Also the average schooling for girls was 14.6¹³³ years for the country in 2008 and this was much higher than any other developing countries of Europe and Central Asia according to the World Bank statistics.

[ATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,contentMDK:21438836~menuPK:4080912~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336.00.html](http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,contentMDK:21438836~menuPK:4080912~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336.00.html) (Accessed November 27, 2010).

¹²⁹ The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Education' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,contentMDK:21438836~menuPK:4080912~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336.00.html> (Accessed November 27, 2010).

¹³⁰ NationMaster.com. *Education Statistics. Ratio of girls to boys in primary and secondary education. % (most recent) by country*. NationMaster.com. 2010.

http://www.nationmaster.com/graph/edu_rat_of_gir_to_boy_in_pri_and_sec_edu-ratio-girls-boys-primary-secondary (Accessed November 18, 2010).

¹³¹ Encyclopedia of the Nations. *Ratio of girls to boys in primary and secondary education (%) – Millennium Development Goals Indicators*. 2010.

<http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/WorldStats/MDI-ratio-girls-boys-primary-education.html> (Accessed November 20, 2010.)

¹³² The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Education' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,contentMDK:21438836~menuPK:4080912~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336.00.html> (Accessed November 27, 2010).

¹³³ Ibid. The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Education' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

The official statistics of the Russian Federation on women's participation in the education sector shows the working women in education sector were as high as 81 percent¹³⁴ in 2006. These numbers show comparable advantages of the sector to advance women's participation in decision making of the sector both for the clients-students as well as employees of the sector in the Russian Federation. In addition, the sector can be a good place to begin to introduce equality further in wide spectrum of Russian society.

2.2. After Education, Recruitment and Workplace Discrimination

2.2. a. Mongolia

53 percent of workers in non-agricultural sectors were women in Mongolia in 2008.¹³⁵ 70¹³⁶ percent of working people aging 15 to 64 years old was female in Mongolia in 2008. Pensioners and students were included in the percentage as non working part of active labor force. Taking into consideration that pension age is 50 years for women with four or more children or 55 years for women with less than three children in the country, the female rate of active labor participation is quite high in the country. 97.8¹³⁷ percent of Mongolia's women 15 years old and over were literate in 2008. Three¹³⁸ percent of female labor force were unemployed in 2008.

¹³⁴ Council of Europe. "Russia/ 4.2 Recent policy issues and debates. The share of working women by sector, in %, 1980-2007" in *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe*. 11th edition. 2010. <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/russia.php?aid=4210> (Accessed Feb 20, 2010).

¹³⁵ National Development and Innovation Committee. *The Millennium Development Goals Implementation Third National Report*. Admon Printing, Publishing & More. Ulaanbaatar. 2009. p 42.

¹³⁶ The World Bank. 'Gender Stats' in *East Asia and Pacific*. 2010. <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0..contentMDK:21442585~menuPK:4851736~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336.00.html> (Accessed November 20, 2010.)

¹³⁷ Ibid. The World Bank. 'Gender Stats' in *East Asia and Pacific*. 2010.

¹³⁸ Ibid. The World Bank. 'Gender Stats' in *East Asia and Pacific*. 2010.

2.2. b. The Russian Federation

In the Russian Federation active labor force's 49.66 percent were women in 2008 increasing gradually from its lowest 47.79 percent in 1995 according to the World Bank statistics.¹³⁹ The rate of labor participation of women aging between 15 years and 64 was 68.7¹⁴⁰ percent and for ages over 15 years was 57.1¹⁴¹ percent in the country in 2008.

In Russia 98.5¹⁴² percent of teachers for primary schools, and 81.1¹⁴³ percent of teachers for secondary schools were women in 2008.

Literacy rate of women aging 15 years and older in Russia was 99.4¹⁴⁴ percent in the country in 2008. 5.8 percent of female labor force was unemployed in the country in 2008 which was actually decreased from the rate of 9.4 percent in 2000 and 7.5 percent in 2004 according to the World Bank statistics.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁹ The World Bank. 'Indicators: Russian Federation' in *Data and Statistics*. November 2010.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/ECAEXT/RUSSIANFEDERATIONEXTN/0,,contentMDK:21032960~menuPK:989684~pagePK:1497618~piPK:217854~theSitePK:305600,00.html> (Accessed November 20, 2010).

¹⁴⁰ The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Europe and Central Asia' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,,contentMDK:21442602~menuPK:4851684~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336,00.html> (Accessed November 27, 2010).

¹⁴¹ The World Bank. 'Indicators: Russian Federation' in *Data and Statistics*. November 2010.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/ECAEXT/RUSSIANFEDERATIONEXTN/0,,contentMDK:21032960~menuPK:989684~pagePK:1497618~piPK:217854~theSitePK:305600,00.html> (Accessed November 20, 2010).

¹⁴² The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Education' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,,contentMDK:21438836~menuPK:4080912~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336,00.html> (Accessed November 27, 2010).

¹⁴³ Ibid. The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Education' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Education' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

¹⁴⁵ The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Europe and Central Asia' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,,contentMDK:21442602~menuPK:4851684~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336,00.html> (Accessed November 27, 2010).

2.2.c. Common Problems: Workplace Discrimination

“The real problem is not acquiring education only for women. For most women just being women prevents to be hired or to succeed in workplaces equally with men. The gender factor further affects the number of women in politics or top positions in companies and organizations. What should be done to eliminate or reduce gender inequality in workplaces?”¹⁴⁶

“From the beginning of civilization, women are mothers taking care of their children and their homes. This notion still continues to exist, but for women’s disadvantage especially in workplaces of today’s society. According to MacKinnon equality is generally affirmed but rarely in reality.¹⁴⁷ She wrote “Equality in society is hard to find anywhere.”¹⁴⁸ Philosopher Richard Rorty’s formulation accepts that women’s lives are not “human” by the standard of men as MacKinnon mentioned.¹⁴⁹ This is the starting point of the problem.”¹⁵⁰

“After college or school, to be employed, graduates get into networking and job interviews. Then according to Massey “Discrimination also plays out with networking and in preferential treatment within the economic market. Men typically occupy positions of power within the job economy. Due to taste or preference for other men because they share similar characteristics, men in these positions of power are more likely to hire or promote other men, thus discriminating against women.”¹⁵¹ From here we can see that to be employed, women

¹⁴⁶ Galindiv, Sarnai. ‘Achieving Equality for Women in Workplace’ paper written for *Equality: Law and Policy* course by Professor Baer, Susanne at CEU Legal Studies Department. 2009-2010. p 1.

¹⁴⁷ MacKinnon, Catharine A. *Sex Equality*, 2nd edition. Foundation Press, Eagan, MN. 2007, p 2.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. MacKinnon. p 2.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. MacKinnon. p 3.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. Galindiv. p 1.

¹⁵¹ Massey, Douglas. *Categorically Unequal: The American Stratification System*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York. 2007. p 1.

begin from a worse starting line compared to men and discrimination against women begins from landing on a job.”¹⁵²

“But women are not only discriminated by employers at workplace. Let’s see how people are interacting in society from the most basic elements of customer preference or prejudice based on gender to customer service people they are interacting with according to customer satisfaction survey research.”¹⁵³ David Hekman et al. did extensive and comprehensive customer surveys in their research and concluded that “...Customer ratings are biased against women and racial minorities.”¹⁵⁴ The participants of the surveys were from all genders and races and came out with this result as they noted in this paper. “In general, employees belonging to low-status demographic groups (i.e., women, and racial minorities) will receive lower customer satisfaction scores than employees belonging to high-status demographic groups.”¹⁵⁵ They noted “Customer satisfaction judgments are likely to be highly susceptible to racial and gender biases because customers are usually anonymous, asked to make summary judgments rather than provide accurate recall of performance-related behaviors, and are untrained in techniques that might help them overcome non-conscious biases.”¹⁵⁶

“For profit companies, why women are less hired and paid less for same positions can be well explained by the above research. Since companies want more profit, they prefer to hire men and pay more to them who are more favored by customers than women. From the research

¹⁵² Galindiv, Sarnai. ‘Achieving Equality for Women in Workplace’ paper written for *Equality: Law and Policy* course by Professor Baer, Susanne at CEU Legal Studies Department. 2009-2010. p 2.

¹⁵³ Ibid. Galindiv. p 3.

¹⁵⁴ Hekman, David R. Aquino, Karl., Owens, Bradley P., Mitchell, Terence R., Schilpzand, Pauline., Leavitt, Keith. *An Examination of Whether and How Racial and Gender Biases Influence Customer Satisfaction*, Sauder School of Business, Vancouver, 2009, p 44.
http://www.sauder.ubc.ca/AM/Template.cfm?Section=Research_Papers&Template=/CM/ContentDisplay.cfm&ContentID=31991 (Accessed Oct 23, 2009).

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. Hekman. p 10.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. Hekman. p 10.

we can see that the discrimination against women is deep rooted in people's mentality at the unconscious level."¹⁵⁷

"Another workplace related issue is sexual harassment. It is due to another disadvantage of women as being prey owing to their biological features. How this is reflected in laws determines how the problems are judged and remedied. Countries have different understandings and thus different legal approaches for this problem."¹⁵⁸ Baer noted "The European Commission defined sexual harassment as 'unwanted behavior of a sexual nature or other behavior based on sex, which violated dignity of working women and men. This may include unwanted physical, verbal or non-verbal behavior'"¹⁵⁹ "Harassment is only a problem when sexuality is implicitly or explicitly at play...German law recognizes harassment only if women object to it...This tends to privilege the perpetrator's perspective, since courts tend to ask whether he was the one who recognized a 'no' as such."¹⁶⁰ Baer highlighted "Laws against sexual harassment in Europe and in the United States differ in ways that exemplify the difference between dignity – and equality-based approaches to sex discrimination."¹⁶¹ Further she explained that in Europe particularly in Germany laws guarantee individual dignity on an equal basis for all but in the United States laws guarantee liberty on an equal basis.¹⁶² "Different histories, experiences and cultural differences made countries to determine the core values for their citizens differently and these result in different

¹⁵⁷Galindiv, Sarnai. 'Achieving Equality for Women in Workplace' paper written for *Equality: Law and Policy* course by Professor Baer, Susanne at CEU Legal Studies Department. 2009-2010. p 3.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. Galindiv. p 3.

¹⁵⁹ Baer, Susanne. "Dignity or Equality? Responses to Workplace Harassment in European, German, and U.S. Law" in edited by MacKinnon, Catharine A., Siegel, Reva B. *Directions in Sexual Harassment Law*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London, p 592.

¹⁶⁰ Baer, Susanne. "Dignity or Equality? Responses to Workplace Harassment in European, German, and U.S. Law" in edited by MacKinnon, Catharine A., Siegel, Reva B. *Directions in Sexual Harassment Law*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London, p 592.

¹⁶¹ Baer, Susanne. "Dignity or Equality? Responses to Workplace Harassment in European, German, and U.S. Law" in edited by MacKinnon, Catharine A., Siegel, Reva B. *Directions in Sexual Harassment Law*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London, p 588.

¹⁶² Baer, Susanne. "Dignity or Equality? Responses to Workplace Harassment in European, German, and U.S. Law" in edited by MacKinnon, Catharine A., Siegel, Reva B. *Directions in Sexual Harassment Law*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London, p 588-595.

explanations of a same issue and this made the laws of countries on equality or against discrimination very different from each other.”¹⁶³

“Discrimination against women in workplace is not limited to their gender only. It is added or cumulated by the women’s qualifications which are higher than average men in the workplace or if the women do not have protection from power people such as the authority or decision makers or influential ones in the workplace.”¹⁶⁴ Fredman explained that most people have multiple identities such as gender, age and ethnicity which may result in discrimination on more than one ground.¹⁶⁵

Fredman noted that when gender discrimination crisscrosses other discrimination it produces cumulative effects and gender discrimination against women is different in different situations.¹⁶⁶ “But laws are to cover only one ground and therefore, when the discrimination experienced by one person is based on several grounds, narrowly tailored laws do not offer solution to the problem.”¹⁶⁷ “The synergistic nature of discrimination means that it has proved difficult to frame policy and law in ways which can address multiple discrimination.”¹⁶⁸ Based on the comparison of European countries, Fredman suggested “the expansion of EU anti-discrimination law into a wider area of application opens up the possibility of addressing multiple discrimination.”¹⁶⁹ Fredman’s idea applies to every country for cases of multiple discrimination, I consider.

¹⁶³ Galindiv, Sarnai. ‘Achieving Equality for Women in Workplace’ paper written for *Equality: Law and Policy* course by Professor Baer, Susanne at CEU Legal Studies Department. 2009-2010. p 4.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. Galindiv. p 4.

¹⁶⁵ Fredman, Sandra “Double Trouble: Multiple Discrimination and EU Law” in *European Anti-Discrimination Law Review*, Issue No 2. Oct 2005. p 13.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. Fredman. p 13.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. Galindiv. p 5.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. Fredman. p 14.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. Fredman. p 18.

“To change women’s workplace discrimination or disadvantages such as the mentality of customers and employers through information, education and awareness of women’s equality or amending laws, women should participate in policy making and drafting the legislation. For this, women need political equality.”¹⁷⁰ The best place to begin with to introduce women at decision making level to eradicate workplace discrimination is the education sector which can help to enlighten students – the clients of the sector through giving proper understanding of women’s equality from professors and teachers – employees and the power of energy of the sector.

2.3. Education Sector’s Policy and Women’s Possible Improvement of It

Women’s voices can contribute as being mothers, professors or students for policy of education sector in Mongolia, the Russian Federation, and the United Nations member states. Women can enormously contribute to change the education sector’s policy for the improvement of the sector and future equal society for women since they are majority as education sector’s professors, teachers, mothers of students and students both in Mongolia and the Russian Federation. Therefore, it is important for them to have enough representation at political decision making level for public policy. In that way, women can play significant role to create educational public policy that is more fruitful to people in return.

¹⁷⁰Ibid. Galindiv, Sarnai. ‘Achieving Equality for Women in Workplace’ paper written for *Equality: Law and Policy* course by Professor Baer, Susanne at CEU Legal Studies Department. 2009-2010. p 5.

Globally there is the trend of “reappearance of the ideal of nuclear family, with the domesticity of women and the role of provider for men”¹⁷¹ and “feminization of labor as a result of neoliberal restructuring, along with a trend of feminization of migration.”¹⁷²

If authorities of schools transfer from national level to local levels, from local to the levels of districts and units, then it is essential to have both women and men equally at the directing boards of schools through non-educational system as Asian Development Bank noted.¹⁷³ Both decentralization of administration and requiring gender equality might be a way of introducing more women as equal as possible at decision making levels of the sector in addition to other affecting factors.

In this chapter, we have seen how education sector and its policies those are the cause of other sectors of public policies can play important roles to substantiate women in political representation and vice versa. In the next chapter, let us see health sector, which is mostly dependent on social security in developing countries thus a sector of the result of public policy, can play role to substantiate women’s political representation.

¹⁷¹*The Gender Question in Globalization: Changing Perspectives and Practices – Gender in a Global/Local World.* edited by Davids, Tine and Driel, Francien van. Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate Publishing Company. p 228.

¹⁷²*The Gender Question in Globalization: Changing Perspectives and Practices – Gender in a Global/Local World.* edited by Davids, Tine and Driel, Francien van. Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate Publishing Company. p 228.

¹⁷³ ‘Why Gender Is Important in Educational Projects?’ in *Gender Criteria List: Education*. Asian Development Bank in Mongolia. Ulaanbaatar. 2010. p 19.

Chapter Three. Role of Health Sector's Policy for Women's Equality in Politics

Health sector's policy is a consequence of political choices since the policy is mostly reflection and results of government decisions and their policies depending on their social and health insurance policies.

Both in Mongolia and in the Russian Federation 82 percent¹⁷⁴; ¹⁷⁵ of employees of medical sectors are females and the numbers are very high. Comparing to the United Nations' member states, both Mongolia and the Russian Federation have very high ratio of female medical personnel, however, it does not mean women are majority on the decision making levels of the medical sectors of those countries.

3.1. The United Nations

In addition to the Convention on the Elimination of the All Forms of Discrimination Against Women¹⁷⁶, the United Nations made another significant treaty - Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities¹⁷⁷ in 2007. The latter convention and its optional protocol are legally binding to Mongolia because Mongolia ratified it, but Russia did not sign or ratify the latter convention or its optional protocol.

¹⁷⁴ Mongolia's National Statistics Office. "Employees of Health Organizations, by specialization categories, at the end of the year" in *Statistics Compilation 2008*. Ulaanbaatar. 2009. Appendix 20.3.

¹⁷⁵ Council of Europe. "Russia/ 4.2 Recent policy issues and debates. The share of working women by sector, in %, 1980-2007" in *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe*. 11th edition. 2010. <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/russia.php?aid=4210> (Accessed Mar 27, 2010).

¹⁷⁶ UN General Assembly. *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*. GA res. 34/180, 34 UN GAOR Supp. (No. 46) at 193, UN Doc. A/34/46; 1249 UNTS 13; 19 ILM 33 (1980) <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm> (Accessed Apr 3, 2010).

¹⁷⁷ UN General Assembly. *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities*. Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, 24 January 2007, A/RES/61/106. <http://www.un.org/disabilities/convention/conventionfull.shtml> (Accessed Apr 3, 2010).

The United Nations' brand new treaty Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities made significant steps to protect the health of persons with disabilities including women. One of the key steps of the convention is "...to further equalize opportunities for persons with disabilities"¹⁷⁸ as it the convention's preamble noted. The convention underlined in its preamble that "...women and girls with disabilities are often at greater risk, both within and outside the home, of violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation"¹⁷⁹. Furthermore the convention highlighted "the need to incorporate a gender perspective in all efforts to promote the full enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms by persons with disabilities".¹⁸⁰ Women with disabilities are more susceptible to double or multiple discriminations both for being women and for being with disabilities. The latter convention has had 96¹⁸¹ ratifications and 147¹⁸² signatories as of November 29, 2010. Thus the convention has contributed and will contribute a lot for women with disabilities not to be discriminated as the convention is legally binding to the ratified states.

Moreover, in Article 28.2.b. of the Convention it highlights that states "(t)o ensure access by persons with disabilities, in particular women and girls with disabilities and older persons with disabilities, to social protection programmes and poverty reduction programmes"¹⁸³ By this article, Mongolia which ratified the convention and other legally binding states to the

¹⁷⁸ UN General Assembly. *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities*. Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, 24 January 2007, A/RES/61/106. Preamble. Section f. <http://www.un.org/disabilities/convention/conventionfull.shtml> (Accessed Apr 3, 2010).

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. UN General Assembly. *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities*. Preamble, Section q.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. UN General Assembly. *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities*. Preamble. Section s.
¹⁸¹ UN General Assembly. *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. Convention and Optional Protocol Signatures and Ratifications*. <http://www.un.org/disabilities/countries.asp?navid=17&pid=166> (Accessed November 29, 2010).

¹⁸² UN General Assembly. *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. Convention and Optional Protocol Signatures and Ratifications*. <http://www.un.org/disabilities/countries.asp?navid=17&pid=166> (Accessed November 29, 2010).

¹⁸³ UN General Assembly. *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities*. Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, 24 January 2007, A/RES/61/106. Article 28.2.b. <http://www.un.org/disabilities/convention/conventionfull.shtml> (Accessed Apr 3, 2010).

Convention have responsibilities to enroll women and girls with disabilities to various programmes of social protection and employment.

According to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women's general recommendation "Women with disabilities, of all ages, often have difficulty with physical access to health services. Women with mental disabilities are particularly vulnerable, while there is limited understanding, in general, of the broad range of risks to mental health to which women are disproportionately susceptible as a result of gender discrimination, violence, poverty, armed conflict, dislocation and other forms of social deprivation"¹⁸⁴ If women are on the decision making levels of public policy sectors, they feel close and understand the issues of women with disabilities and can help them more.

We have to consider the fact that unfortunately, "every minute, more than 30 women are seriously injured or disabled during labor, thus rendering vast numbers of women in the developing world physically and socially disabled... 15 – 50 million women generally go unnoticed."¹⁸⁵ Therefore, the United Nations legally binding treaty - the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities have been and will significantly make differences in the UN member states to make their laws and policies to be aligned to the convention.

¹⁸⁴ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women General Recommendation 24 Women and Health, in relation to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (Article 12) (Twentieth session, 1999, paragraph 25) cited in "Health" in *Women with Disabilities Factsheets* by the United Nations. <http://www.un.org/disabilities/default.asp?id=258>. (Accessed Apr 4, 2010).

¹⁸⁵ The World Bank. *Reproductive Health and Disability*. 2010. <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTHEALTHNUTRITIONANDPOPULATION/EXTPRH/0,,contentMDK%3A20286128~menuPK%3A632615~pagePK%3A148956~piPK%3A216618~theSitePK%3A376855,00.html> (Accessed Apr 4, 2010).

If a mother passes away or become disabled, her children's care, nutrition, and education are decreased according to Ostlin, George and Sen.¹⁸⁶ Therefore, mothers' health is an important factor that affects household condition and income. Ostlin, George and Sen also note that although women have higher life expectancy than men, women inform sickness, depression or distress more.¹⁸⁷

In developing countries mortality declined thanks to the increased measures for public health and better macroeconomic policies. The policies affected to increase income and educational levels which provide bases for better health such as food, housing, and employment opportunities according to Ostlin and George.¹⁸⁸ However, developing countries still have insufficient health services, bad infrastructures and expensive services which affect women more, Ostlin and George noted.¹⁸⁹ They pointed out that policies should assure that men and women are equally treated for health and their differences are serviced equitably.¹⁹⁰

In general in some developing countries, women do not get enough health services, and their health needs are more than men as per maternity, prenatal, postnatal cares and special cares for some women related only diseases such as cervical and breast cancers. Therefore in health sector, expenses for female patients can be higher than expenses for male patients. In addition, women age longer and get more health services than men in most countries. All these should be accounted and reflected in the health policies. Women can identify these women problem more and may be more helpful to find the best solutions for health sector for

¹⁸⁶ Ostlin, Pirooska., George, Asha., and Sen, Gita. 'Gender, Health and Equity. The Intersections' in *Health and Social Justice: Politics, Ideology and Inequity in the Distribution of Disease*. ed. Hofrichter, Richard, Jossey-Bass. 2003. p 138.

¹⁸⁷ Ostlin, Pirooska., George, Asha., and Sen, Gita. 'Gender, Health and Equity. The Intersections' in *Health and Social Justice: Politics, Ideology and Inequity in the Distribution of Disease*. ed. Hofrichter, Richard, Jossey-Bass. 2003. p 139-140.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. Ostlin. p 145.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. Ostlin. p 148.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. Ostlin. p 151.

patients treatments as well as health insurances. On the other hand, since women are the majority of the employees of health sectors in many states, if women are on decision making levels of the sector they can be good listeners to employees on their working and living conditions and can be close to solve problems.

3.2. Mongolia

Women care for the well beings of their children, their family members and themselves. As per the Millennium Development Goals, “proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel was 99.8 percent and maternal mortality ratio per 100,000 live births was 49 respectively”¹⁹¹ in Mongolia in 2008 according to the official statistics of Mongolia’s National Statistics of Office.

In Mongolia birth rate were two births per woman in 2008. The rate of maternal mortality was 65¹⁹² per hundred thousand live births in the country in 2008 which was 1.67 times more than the one in Russia. It can partially be connected to the number of pregnant women receiving prenatal care which were 88.6 percent¹⁹³ of all pregnant women and births attended by skilled health staff were 99.8¹⁹⁴ percent in Mongolia in 2008.

¹⁹¹ Mongolia’s National Statistics Office. “Indicators of Millennium Development Goals. Goal 5. Improve Maternal Health. Target 10” in *Statistics Compilation 2008*. Ulaanbaatar. 2009. Table 27.1

¹⁹² The World Bank. ‘Gender Stats’ in *East Asia and Pacific*. 2010.
<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,,contentMDK:21442585~menuPK:4851736~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336,00.html> (Accessed November 21, 2010).

¹⁹³ The World Bank. ‘Mongolia’ in ‘Health’ in *Gender Stats*. 2010.
<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,,contentMDK:21438822~menuPK:4080929~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336,00.html> (Accessed November 28, 2010).

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. The World Bank. ‘Mongolia’ in ‘Health’ in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

Infant mortality was 26.3¹⁹⁵ per 1000 infants and 31.4¹⁹⁶ per 1000 children under five in the country in 2008 according to the World Bank statistics. The infant mortality rates of Mongolia were 2.2 times more than the ones of the Russian Federation.

Mongolia had 77 thousand or 28.5 percent¹⁹⁷ of households headed by women¹⁹⁸ in 2008. This number means that these families are mostly taken care of by the mothers for all members of their families.

Mongolia ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and the Optional Protocol of the Convention on May 13, 2009¹⁹⁹ respectively. Although Mongolia has not yet issued any new law to make the regulation compatible to the convention, it already adopted Law on Social Protection of Persons with Disabilities²⁰⁰ on December 08, 2005 and amended the law on October 17, 2006²⁰¹ before the convention was issued by the United Nations.

Article 5.3.4 of Mongolia's Law To Support Employment underlines that "to support employment that is suited to the specialty of particular requirement of persons with

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. The World Bank. 'Mongolia' in 'Health' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

¹⁹⁶ The World Bank. 'Mongolia' in 'Health' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,contentMDK:21438822~menuPK:4080929~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336,00.html> (Accessed November 28, 2010).

¹⁹⁷ The World Bank. 'Gender Stats' in *East Asia and Pacific*. 2010.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,contentMDK:21442585~menuPK:4851736~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336,00.html> (Accessed November 21, 2010).

¹⁹⁸ Mongolia's National Statistics Office. "Chapter 3 – Population. 3.10 Number of Female Headed Households" in *Statistics Compilation 2008*. Ulaanbaatar. 2009. p 92.

¹⁹⁹ United Nations. *Rights and Dignity of Persons with Disabilities. Ratifications*. 2010.

<http://www.un.org/disabilities/default.asp?navid=19&pid=257> (Accessed Apr 4, 2010).

²⁰⁰ Parliament of Mongolia. *Law on Social Protection of Persons with Disabilities*. Dec 8, 2005. Mongolia's United System of Legal Info. Ulaanbaatar. Apr 5, 2010.

<http://www.legalinfo.mn/insys/lawmain.php?vlawid=6276> (Accessed Apr 5, 2010).

²⁰¹ United System of Legal Information of Mongolia. *Law on Social Protection of Persons with Disabilities* <http://www.legalinfo.mn/insys/list.php?tabclick1=0&vlett=%D0%A5> (Accessed November 29, 2010).

disabilities.”²⁰² This created the legal justification of requiring employers to accommodate persons with disabilities with environment more compatible to their conditions, however, on the other hand, this does not require employers to employ people with disabilities particularly women with disabilities. The legal holes can be patched by public and law makers’ awareness, particularly women’s active participation in law and policy making process.

For the first 10 months of 2010, 1 million 400 thousand²⁰³ people were hospitalized in state and private hospitals Mongolia which are almost 50 percent of the population. It can be said that illnesses depend on the environmental pollution due to mineral resource deposit usages by small and big companies and people those use internationally prohibited chemicals in the processing, greenhouse gas, climate change and unsafe food products imported mostly illegally, poverty and irresponsible living of people. It is good to be hospitalized if a person is sick and needs medication. On the other hand, to have more healthy population the public policy need to be changed comprehensively to reform the unsafe conditions through sound policies and regulations. For this, powerful educated women with right policies needed to be on the decision making levels of the health sector.

In addition, at the end of 2008, there were total 31,215²⁰⁴ female employees out of 38,000²⁰⁵ employees or 82.15 percent of health organizations in Mongolia. This number shows that women are core part of employees of the health sector in Mongolia as well as being patients, and main care takers of adult and child patients. To improve the skills of health sector staff and working and living conditions and benefits of the health sector employees who are

²⁰² Parliament of Mongolia. *Law To Support Employment*. Apr 19, 2001 (Last amended Jan 15, 2008). Mongolia’s United System of Legal Info. Ulaanbaatar. Apr 5, 2010.

<http://www.legalinfo.mn/insys/lawmain.php?vlawid=1439> (Accessed Apr 5, 2010).

²⁰³ Olloo.mn *Mortality Rate Increases 13.5 percent Nationwide*. Nov 27, 2010. (in Mongolian language) <http://www.olloo.mn/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=1178994> (Accessed November 28, 2010).

²⁰⁴ Mongolia’s National Statistics Office. “Employees of Health Organizations by specialization category” in *Statistics Compilation 2008*. Ulaanbaatar. 2009. Appendix 20.3.

²⁰⁵ Mongolia’s National Statistics Office. “Employees of Health Organizations by specialization category” in *Statistics Compilation 2008*. Ulaanbaatar. 2009. Appendix 20.3.

mostly women, it can be definitely useful to have more women at the sector's policy and decision making levels of the country.

3.3. The Russian Federation

The Russian Federation ratified the Convention on the Elimination of the All Forms of Discrimination Against Women²⁰⁶ on January 23, 1981.²⁰⁷ On October 16, 2009 the Russian Federation ratified the Revised European Social Charter²⁰⁸ including Article 11 of the charter that notes "Everyone has the right to benefit from any measures enabling him to enjoy the highest possible standard of health attainable."²⁰⁹ By signing the charter Russia obligates itself to provide high standard health services.

53.8 percent of the Russian population of 142 million in 2008 was women.²¹⁰ In Russia, women's life expectancy was "13.5 years longer than men"²¹¹ in 1994. Then the average life

²⁰⁶ UN General Assembly. *United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*. GA res. 34/180, 34 UN GAOR Supp. (No. 46) at 193, UN Doc. A/34/46; 1249 UNTS 13; 19 ILM 33 (1980) <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm> (Accessed Apr 3, 2010).

²⁰⁷ United Nations. 'Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women Status as at 01-08-2010' in *United Nations Treaty Collections*. 2010. http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-8&chapter=4&lang=en (Accessed Aug 2, 2010).

²⁰⁸ Council of Europe. *Signatures and Ratifications of the European Social Charter, its Protocols and the European Social Charter (revised)*. 3 March 2010 http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/socialcharter/presentation/SignaturesRatifications_en.pdf (Accessed 27 July, 2010).

²⁰⁹ Council of Europe. *European Social Charter (Revised)*. 3 May 1996, ETS 163. Part I. Article 11. <http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/treaties/html/163.htm> (Accessed 27 July, 2010).

²¹⁰ The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Demographics' in *Gender Stats*. 2010. <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,contentMDK:21438822~menuPK:4080929~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336.00.html> (Accessed November 28, 2010).

²¹¹ Ostlin, Pirooska., George, Asha., and Sen, Gita. 'Gender, Health and Equity. The Intersections' in *Health and Social Justice: Politics, Ideology and Inequity in the Distribution of Disease*. ed. Hofrichter, Richard, Jossey-Bass. 2003. p 135.

expectancy of women became 74.2²¹² years, while men's was 61.8²¹³ years and the gap of the average life expectancy between women and men became 12.4 years in the nation.

In the Russian Federation birth rate was 1.5 births²¹⁴ per woman in 2008. The rate increased comparing to the rates of 2000 and 2004. The rate of maternal mortality was 39 per hundred thousand live births in the country in 2008. It can be partially connected to skilled health staff attending births. The births attended by skilled health staff was 99.5²¹⁵ percent in Russia in 2008. Infant mortality was 12 per 1000 infants and 13.4 per 1000 children under five in the country in 2008 according to the World Bank statistics.²¹⁶

80 percent ²¹⁷of the health sector employees in Russia has been and is women. Women are majority core part of employees of the health sector in the country.

Russia has more than half of female population who are the majority of patients as well as majority of health care providers. Therefore, it is vital to have more women at decision making levels of health sector of the Russian Federation to improve working and living

²¹² The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Demographics' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.
<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,,contentMDK:21438822~menuPK:4080929~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336,00.html> (Accessed November 28, 2010).

²¹³ Ibid. The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Demographics' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

²¹⁴ The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Health' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.
<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,,contentMDK:21442602~menuPK:4851684~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336,00.html> (Accessed November 27, 2010).

²¹⁵ Ibid. The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Health' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

²¹⁶ Ibid. The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Health' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

²¹⁷ Ehlander, Ann-Mari Satre. Paper *Women's and Women's Work in Transitional Russia. Impacts from the Soviet System*. Published on the University of Warwick's website, UK. 2010. p 1.
<http://www.warwick.ac.uk/~syrb/gww/paper-satre-ahlander.pdf> (Accessed November 29, 2010).

conditions and benefits of the health sector employees as well as the improvement of services offered and tailored to women those are again mostly women.

3.4. Conclusion: Health Sector's Policy and Women's Possible Improvement of It

For member states of the United Nations, Mongolia and the Russian Federation women are important clients and service providers of health sector as mothers to be, mothers, girls, and adolescent women and doctors and health care professionals. However, the statistics of the World Bank and the United Nations do not show the percentage of women at decision making levels of the sector. In practice, women are the minority on the decision making levels of health sector – the vital sector for women and their families and their voices are not enough heard and reflected in the policies of the sector due to much less power to vote or say yes or no for decision making of the sector. Numbers of women as decision makers and policy developers of the health sector, where both service providers - employees and clients are mainly women, are favorably to be increased to catalyze the sector's services and for the benefit of women in the member states of the United Nations, Mongolia and the Russian Federation. For this, the countries need to take affirmative actions to increase women's numbers at decision making levels of the health sector and this will also help to boost the substantiation of equality of women at decision making levels of other public policy sectors.

Chapter Four. Women's Political Participation and Representation

Politics is the platform of the highest executive powers of countries. Parliaments pass laws and governments implement the codes. Public policies are powerful means to determine the fates and living standards of many people including vulnerable groups the poor, the sick, children and the old. Women, more than half of the population of the globe have not been fairly represented at most of the parliaments of the world and women's voices are not fairly reflected in public policies of countries. In this chapter, I will try to determine ways to increase the numbers of women in political participation and representation.

4.1. The United Nations Framework

The United Nations Millennium Declaration²¹⁸ was issued by the leaders of member states from the United Nations Summit of September 2000. The declaration became known as the Millennium Development Goals²¹⁹ to alleviate severe poverty worldwide by 2015. One of the goals is gender equality.²²⁰ The goal number 3 is to “promote gender equality and empower women”.²²¹ Although there is a nice goal on paper declared by 147²²² UN member states together, in reality it has not been effectively realized.

²¹⁸ The United Nations. *End Poverty 2015-Millennium Development Goals. Background. Millennium Summit.* <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/bkgd.shtml> (Accessed Mar 7, 2010).

²¹⁹ The United Nations. *End Poverty 2015-Millennium Development Goals. Background. Millennium Summit.* <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/bkgd.shtml> (Accessed Mar 7, 2010).

²²⁰ The United Nations. *End Poverty 2015-Millennium Development Goals. Background. Millennium Summit.* <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/bkgd.shtml> (Accessed Mar 7, 2010).

²²¹ The United Nations. *End Poverty 2015-Millennium Development Goals. Goal 3:Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women.* <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/gender.shtml> (Accessed Mar 7, 2010).

²²² Shvedova, Nadezda. ‘Gender Politics in Russia’ in *Gender Politics in Post-Communist Eurasia* ed. by Racioppi, Linda; and See, Katherine O’Sullivan. Michigan State University Press. East Lansing. 2009. p 148.

The ratio of the parliamentary seats filled by women rose from 13.5 percent in 2000 to 17.9 percent in 2008. In addition, women taking up more than 30 percent of parliamentary seats are only of 20 countries out of the member states of the United Nations and none of them are from Asian.²²³

The number of women working on legislative and executive powers' decision making levels is very few in most of the United Nations member states. There were only five Parliaments where women fill more than 40 percent of the seats by 2008. In one third of the UN member states women occupy fewer than 10 percent of the seats of the parliament. Only '7 of the 150 elected heads of state and 8 of the 192 heads of government of United Nations Member States'²²⁴ were women in January 2008 according to the United Nations statistics.²²⁵ It means only 4.7 percent of the elected presidents are women and 4.2 percent of the prime ministers of 192 UN member states are women. These show the whole pattern of the world where women are still not widespread accounted as someone who can lead or make decisions to improve the well-being of nations by their voters including both women and men.

²²³ United Nations. 'Quick Facts' in *End Poverty 2015-Millennium Development Goals. Goal 3:Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women*. High-level Event on the Millennium Development Goals, United Nations Headquarters, New York, Sep 25, 2008.
<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/newsroom/Goal%203%20FINAL.pdf> (Accessed Mar 7, 2010).

²²⁴ United Nations. 'Quick Facts' in *End Poverty 2015-Millennium Development Goals. Goal 3:Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women*. High-level Event on the Millennium Development Goals, United Nations Headquarters, New York, Sep 25, 2008.
<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/newsroom/Goal%203%20FINAL.pdf> (Accessed Mar 7, 2010).

²²⁵United Nations. 'Quick Facts' in *End Poverty 2015-Millennium Development Goals. Goal 3:Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women*. High-level Event on the Millennium Development Goals, United Nations Headquarters, New York, Sep 25, 2008.
<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/newsroom/Goal%203%20FINAL.pdf> (Accessed Mar 7, 2010).

In addition, within the United Nations' administration and logistical systems women are the minority at the decision making level as women were only 27 percent of the United Nations' D-1 director or above level staff in 2006.²²⁶

On International Women's Day of March 8, 2010, the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the United Nations Global Compact (UNGC) appealed to the business and profit organizations to have recruitment and employment practices "that advance women's empowerment and inclusion and urged them to proactively appoint women as managers, executives and board members".²²⁷ This is a progress towards creating equality of women at executive and management level and this will help the private sector - parallel sector of public sector where women's voices at decision making level are in lack.

4.2. Mongolia

Mongolia has had very few female representatives in politics. Although it has political reasons, the main reason is in the mentality of population on appropriateness of women working on decision making level.

Monfemnet – National Network of Mongolian Women's NGOs and Independent Research Institute of Mongolia made a survey on voters' tendency towards women politicians in

²²⁶ UN Woman Watch 2006 cited in Shvedova, Nadezda. 'Gender Politics in Russia' in Gender Politics in Post-Communist Eurasia ed. by Racioppi, Linda; and See, Katherine O'Sullivan. Michigan State University Press. East Lansing. 2009. p 150.

²²⁷ United Nations Development Fund for Women. *Press Release: On International Women's Day, Strong Recommendations to the Business Community to Advance Women's Empowerment and Inclusion. UNIFEM and UN Global Compact to launch Women's Empowerment Principles – Equality Means Business.* Mar 8, 2010. http://www.unifem.org/news_events/story_detail.php?StoryID=1048 (Accessed Mar 27, 2010).

2008.²²⁸ Roughly around 1000²²⁹ people were surveyed both from the capital city and two provinces. Out of them 570 or 57.6 percent were women and 418 or 42.2 percent were men.²³⁰ To question “What level of public decision making women are appropriate according to public choice?” 27.9 percent of the responders answered appropriate, and 72.1 percent of them answered not appropriate for the position of the President, 46.6 percent of them said appropriate for prime minister’s position and 54.4 percent said women are not appropriate for being Prime Minister. But majority of the responders said women are appropriate for the position of the governors of province or the capital city, speakers of the city or provincial parliament, ministers, district, village or government unit chairs. Out of this the highest percentage approval for women is being members of parliament as the 83.5 percent of the surveyed people answered that women are appropriate for the position.²³¹ According to Monfemnet’s report, 73.6 percent of the respondents to its survey responded that in the country there are female politicians whom they respect.²³²

Although the survey of Monfemnet shows positive nods of the respondents for women being members of parliament, however, in reality there are only 3 out of 76 or 4 percent of the members of the unicameral Parliament of Mongolia are women at present. By the democratic revolution of Mongolia in 1990, the country chose a multiparty parliamentary system which was guaranteed by the new Constitution of Mongolia of 1992.

²²⁸ Undarya, T. “Introduction” in *Chances of Women To Be Elected On Decision Making Level Survey on Voters’ Tendencies* by Monfemnet – National Network of Mongolian Women’s NGOs. Munkhiin Useg Group Co Ltd. Ulaanbaatar. 2008, p 4.

²²⁹ Monfemnet – National Network of Mongolian Women’s NGOs. “Table 1. Composition and Size of Selection” in *Chances of Women To Be Elected On Decision Making Level Survey on Voters’ Tendencies*. Munkhiin Useg Group Co Ltd. Ulaanbaatar. 2008, p 8.

²³⁰ Monfemnet – National Network of Mongolian Women’s NGOs. “Table 2. Gender of Respondents” in *Chances of Women To Be Elected On Decision Making Level Survey on Voters’ Tendencies*. Munkhiin Useg Group Co Ltd. Ulaanbaatar. 2008, p 8.

²³¹ Monfemnet – National Network of Mongolian Women’s NGOs. “Table 10. What level of public decision making women are appropriate according to public choice?” in *Chances of Women To Be Elected On Decision Making Level Survey on Voters’ Tendencies*. Munkhiin Useg Group Co Ltd. Ulaanbaatar. 2008, p 17.

²³² Monfemnet – National Network of Mongolian Women’s NGOs. “Table 10. What level of public decision making women are appropriate according to public choice?” in *Chances of Women To Be Elected On Decision Making Level Survey on Voters’ Tendencies*. Munkhiin Useg Group Co Ltd. Ulaanbaatar. 2008, p 25.

The number of female members of the parliament became significantly high for the first time as 24.9 percent in 1990.²³³ Then it was 7²³⁴ out of 76 members or 10.5 percent for the Parliament of 1996-2000 and it was followed as 9²³⁵ out of 76 or 11.8 percent of the members of the Parliament of 2000-2004. Then the female members of the Parliament reduced to 5²³⁶ out of 76 or 6.6 percent of the Parliament of 2004-2008. And for the present Parliament from 2008 to 2012 there are 3²³⁷ female members or 4 percent of the Parliament. For the last parliamentary elections of 2008, the female candidates were 18.5 percent²³⁸ of all candidates. From the above we can see that there has been the fluctuation of the percentage of women to have been elected as the members of the Parliament of Mongolia.

There have been five Presidential elections since the democratic revolution of Mongolia in 1990, however, there has not been any female candidate²³⁹ from political parties yet. In addition to gender, there are many factors such as political party's reputation of that time among people, the popularity, education, skills, work experience, and family background of individual candidates to be accounted by voters to vote for the candidates. But it is more difficult for women to be approved by voters than men in Mongolia.

²³³ National Development and Innovation Committee. *The Millennium Development Goals Implementation Third National Report*. Ulaanbaatar. Admon Printing, Publishing & More. 2009. p 44.

²³⁴ *State Great Hural of Mongolia 1996-2000*. edited by Damdinsuren, Khorloo-editor-in-chief, Purevsambuu, G., Undrakh, D., Narantuya, D. Montsame News Agency, Mongolian Press and Information Bureau. Ulaanbaatar. 2000. p 13-15.

²³⁵ Damdinsuren, Khorloo. "List of Members of State Great Hural in Constituencies" in *State Great Hural of Mongolia 2000-2004*. Mongolian Information Bureau. Ulaanbaatar. 2004. p 68-72.

²³⁶ *State Great Hural of Mongolia 2004-2008*. edited by Narantuya, J. Office of the State Great Hural. Munkhiin Useg Co.Ltd. Ulaanbaatar. 2008. p 124, 149, 165, 172, 182.

²³⁷ Mongolia's National Statistics Office. "Section 2. Election. Members of State Great Hural, by age group" in *Statistics Compilation 2008*. National Statistics Office. Ulaanbaatar. 2009. p 79.

²³⁸ Mongolia's National Statistics Office. "Indicators of Millennium Development Goals. Goal 3. Promote gender equality and empower women. Target 8. Increase participation of women in politics and decision making levels. 19) Proportion of women candidates in parliamentary elections" in *Statistics Compilation 2008*. Ulaanbaatar. National Statistics Office. 2009. Table 27.1

²³⁹ Mongolia's National Statistics Office. "Section 2. Election. Popular Vote Cast. Mongolian President" in *Statistics Compilation 2008*. National Statistics Office. Ulaanbaatar. 2009. p 77.

“The support for female politicians to be on decision making level rises when the decision making level becomes lower”²⁴⁰ according to one of the conclusions of the survey conducted by Monfemnet in Mongolia. 25 percent of the participants to the survey answered that they support women to be politicians i.e. women can work on all decision making levels with equal rights with men. 47 percent of the participants have tendency to support female politicians, 20 percent of them has no tendency not to support women politicians, and 8 percent of the participants do not support female politicians at all.²⁴¹ The traditional and cultural mentality of the population those in general support patriarchal authority has been loosening up since 1990 thanks to democracy and liberty those came to Mongolia with its democratic revolution. However, this process has still been slow.

The Parliament of Mongolia adopted Mongolia’s Millennium Development Goals²⁴² in April 2005. The goals include the increase of the percentage of the women with wages in non-agricultural sector to 50 percent of the women and female members at the Parliament to 30 percent by 2015.²⁴³ Strategic goal 1 of the National Development Comprehensive Policy, which is based on Mongolia’s Millennium Development Goals, notes “to reflect gender equality issues in state policies, laws and regulations and to have an independent law on gender equality.”²⁴⁴ Point 1.5.12 of the Action Plan of the Government of Mongolia between 2008-2012 underlines “To draft law on gender equality, strengthen national system,

²⁴⁰ Monfemnet – National Network of Mongolian Women’s NGOs. “Voters’ Tendency Towards Female Politicians” in *Chances of Women To Be Elected On Decision Making Level Survey on Voters’ Tendencies*. Munkhiin Useg Group Co Ltd. Ulaanbaatar. 2008, p 17.

²⁴¹ Monfemnet – National Network of Mongolian Women’s NGOs. “Groups Those Support and Those Do Not Support Women’s Participation at Decision Making Level” in *Chances of Women To Be Elected On Decision Making Level Survey on Voters’ Tendencies*. Munkhiin Useg Group Co Ltd. Ulaanbaatar. 2008, p 19.

²⁴² Gender Equality National Committee of the Government of Mongolia and Asian Development Bank. *Policy Paper on Draft of Law on Ensuring Gender Equality*. Office of the Gender Equality National Committee. Ulaanbaatar. 2010. p1.

²⁴³ Ibid. Gender Equality National Committee of the Government of Mongolia and Asian Development Bank. p1.

²⁴⁴ Ibid. Gender Equality National Committee of the Government of Mongolia and Asian Development Bank. p1.

personnel, capacity on providing gender equality and to have statistics information on gender.”²⁴⁵

As of August 2010 Mongolia ratified 44²⁴⁶ international conventions and agreements including United Nations Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women and also follows international customary law - United Nations Declaration on Human Rights. According to the Constitution of Mongolia the international conventions and agreements became parts of Mongolian laws and thus Mongolia has a duty to provide opportunities for the equality of women and men.²⁴⁷

The Government of Mongolia adopted National Program To Ensure Gender Equality in 2002 and the Gender Equality National Committee led by the Prime Minister of Mongolia was established in 2005.²⁴⁸

Back to the expectations of people, the respondents of Monfemnet survey responded that social issues female politicians can solve the best are alcoholism (48 percent of the respondents), children’s development and protection (47.1 percent of the respondents), family development (39.1 percent of the respondents), poverty (37.8 percent of the respondents), health services (37 percent of the respondents), ensuring gender equality (33.2 percent of the respondents), unemployment (32.4 percent of the respondents), corruption (32.2 percent of the respondents), moral degradation (27.3 percent of the respondents), social welfare services (24.4 percent of the respondents), and quality of education (23.3 percent of the respondents),

²⁴⁵ Ibid. Gender Equality National Committee of the Government of Mongolia and Asian Development Bank.p2.

²⁴⁶ The Mongolia’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. *List of Treaties Ratified by Mongolia*. August 12, 2010. Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia. p 1-5.

²⁴⁷ Gender Equality National Committee of the Government of Mongolia and Asian Development Bank. *Policy Paper on Draft of Law on Ensuring Gender Equality*. Office of the Gender Equality National Committee. Ulaanbaatar. 2010. p2.

²⁴⁸ Ibid. Gender Equality National Committee of the Government of Mongolia and Asian Development Bank.p2.

environmental degradation (18.7 percent of the respondents).²⁴⁹ These show that women are expected and can solve challenging social issues in the country. Therefore, the number of women can and need to be increased for political representation in the country.

4.3. The Russian Federation

In Russia the situation of women for political representation is a little bit better than Mongolia's situation. The Federal Assembly of Russia - the Russia's Parliament which consists of lower house – State Duma with 450 members and upper house Federation Council.²⁵⁰ The first elections of Duma were in December 1993 at the same time when it adopted the new Constitution of the Russian Federation.²⁵¹ At present there are 60²⁵² female members out of 450 seats or 13.3 percent of the State Duma. There has been progress as the female members of the Russian parliament increased from 8²⁵³ percent in 2000 to 10²⁵⁴ percent in 2004 and to 13.3 percent in 2008.

However the Russian Federation – a country of 140 million people, where women were 51²⁵⁵ percent of non-agricultural sector employees in 2008, needs more representation of women at decision making levels of public policies to improve some sectors particularly, social

²⁴⁹ Monfemnet – National Network of Mongolian Women's NGOs. "Female Politicians Supported by Voters, Their Images and Policy Goals" in *Chances of Women To Be Elected On Decision Making Level Survey on Voters' Tendencies*. Munkhiin Useg Group Co Ltd. Ulaanbaatar. 2008, p 31.

²⁵⁰ Encyclopedia Britannica. *Federal Assembly*. Encyclopedia Britannica Online. 2010.

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/203344/Federal-Assembly> (Accessed Mar 29, 2010).

²⁵¹ Politika.su *The State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation*. www.politika.su. 2010.

<http://www.politika.su/e/fs/gd.html#st> (Accessed Mar 29, 2010).

²⁵² State Duma. Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation. *Members of State Duma*. State Duma, Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation. Moscow, Mar 22, 2010. <http://www.duma.gov.ru/> (Accessed Mar 29, 2010).

²⁵³ The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Europe and Central Asia' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0..contentMDK:21442602~menuPK:4851684~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336.00.html> (Accessed November 27, 2010).

²⁵⁴ Ibid. The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Europe and Central Asia' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

²⁵⁵ Ibid. The World Bank. 'Russian Federation' in 'Europe and Central Asia' in *Gender Stats*. 2010.

protection sectors, education and health sectors as well as society. If it is realized, on the other hand, women's equality is realized on the decision making level in the country also.

Let us look at the need of the role of public policy for women's substantive political representation in detail in the next chapter.

Chapter 5. The Needs of Role of Public Policy for Women's Substantive Political Representation

In this chapter, I will explain the need of the role of public policy for women's substantive political representation in the jurisprudences of the United Nations framework, the Russian Federation and Mongolia.

In general, the whole world is experiencing economic shift from industrial to postindustrial era. Russia is making transition from industrial to postindustrial economic system.²⁵⁶ Although Mongolia does not have many industries, its economy has been already in the postindustrial stage plus Mongolia is on the brink of the threshold of its new mining industry era. Because many unused mineral deposits have been discovered in Mongolia and they are beginning to be used under the contract of the Government of Mongolia or in talks for contracts. Thus both Mongolia and the Russian Federation are at the same stage.

As the majority of the population both in Mongolia and the Russian Federation, if women play more equal role on political representation particularly at decision making levels, they

²⁵⁶ Shvedova, Nadezda. 'Gender Politics in Russia' in Gender Politics in Post-Communist Eurasia ed. by Racioppi, Linda; and See, Katherine O'Sullivan. Michigan State University Press. East Lansing. 2009. p 151.

can substantially contribute to social perspectives those have not been addressed well by men dominating politics.

5.1. The United Nations

The United Nations has been taking lead to empower women by adopting the Millennium Development Goals. The goals are comprehensive by enrolling girls and women equally or more proportionally to educational institutes, improving women's education, skills and literacy rate through schooling. United Nations have encouraged through its various programs in developing countries to enroll women into labor force and support women's labor participation. There have been improvements in the situations. But there are still more to do to make women equal citizens of the other half of the human beings.

5.2. The Russian Federation

“(W)hen women are formally employed, they “have less access to self-employment...[and]...higher chances of moving out of the labor force if they lose their formal job”²⁵⁷ “Women earn less than men across the entire Eurasia region”²⁵⁸ Racioppi and O’Sullivan See implied that there are many factors for the differences of wage between men and women.²⁵⁹ One of their explanation is that “as Shvedova and others suggest for Russia, it

²⁵⁷World Bank. “Enhancing Job Opportunities in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union” World Bank. Nov 2005. p 95 cited in Racioppi, Linda; and See, Katherine O’Sullivan. ‘Gender Politics in Post-Communist Eurasia’ in *Gender Politics in Post-Communist Eurasia* ed. by Racioppi, Linda; and See, Katherine O’Sullivan. Michigan State University Press. East Lansing. 2009. p 17.

²⁵⁸ Racioppi, Linda; and See, Katherine O’Sullivan. ‘Gender Politics in Post-Communist Eurasia’ in *Gender Politics in Post-Communist Eurasia* ed. by Racioppi, Linda; and See, Katherine O’Sullivan. Michigan State University Press. East Lansing. 2009. p 17.

²⁵⁹ Racioppi, Linda; and See, Katherine O’Sullivan. ‘Gender Politics in Post-Communist Eurasia’ in *Gender Politics in Post-Communist Eurasia* ed. by Racioppi, Linda; and See, Katherine O’Sullivan. Michigan State University Press. East Lansing. 2009. p 17.

can be attributed in part to the persistence of gendered occupational segregation in which women are located in jobs that tend to be paid less, regardless of training or skill level.”²⁶⁰

Both in the Russian Federation and Mongolia women are locked in certain occupations more such as teachers or doctors and they have less chance to be at the political representation.

Racioppi and See took an example that “One Russian legislator from St. Petersburg, who was also a member of the Joint Committee on Women’s Affairs and Protection of the Family, Mother and Child, bluntly said in relation to cutbacks in social services: “It is a pity, but in times of crisis we must sacrifice the women and children.”²⁶¹

There are not enough women at decision making levels of the government of the Russian Federation and this hinders the endeavors to create policies that will guarantee women’s rights and support gender equality according to Shvedova’s research on recent Russian politics.²⁶²

The situation has been gradually improving thanks to the Millennium Development Goals which were issued by the most of the United Nations Member States in 2000. However, there has not been substantial change in reality yet. Russia’s public policy role to substantiate women’s political representation and other factors are better than in Mongolia as women’s participation at the level of political representation is higher. However, as a member state of

²⁶⁰ Paci, Pierella. *Gender in Transition*. 12. World Bank. 2002. p 28 cited in Racioppi, Linda; and See, Katherine O’Sullivan. ‘Gender Politics in Post-Communist Eurasia’ in *Gender Politics in Post-Communist Eurasia* ed. by Racioppi, Linda; and See, Katherine O’Sullivan. Michigan State University Press. East Lansing. 2009. p 17.

²⁶¹ Racioppi, Linda; and See, Katherine O’Sullivan. *Women’s Activism in Contemporary Russia*. Temple University Press. Philadelphia. 1997. p 47 cited in Racioppi, Linda; and See, Katherine O’Sullivan. ‘Gender Politics in Post-Communist Eurasia’ in *Gender Politics in Post-Communist Eurasia* ed. by Racioppi, Linda; and See, Katherine O’Sullivan. Michigan State University Press. East Lansing. 2009. p 9.

the United Nations, Russia needs equal participation of women at the political representation with the help of introducing more women at public policies' decision making levels.

5.3. Mongolia

In Mongolia there are government policies and political parties' endeavors to involve more women into political representation, but it did not succeed because it was not well received by the public. As a result there are only handful women working on policy making levels of the government and the women can not become enough weight to influence any legislation as there are only 3 female members out of 76 members of the unicameral Parliament of Mongolia at present.

871 thousand out of 1 million 690 thousand²⁶³ people-Mongolia's working age population or 51.6 percent of them were women and out of this 529 thousand out of 1 million 42 thousand²⁶⁴ employed people or 50.8 percent of the employed labor force were female in the end of 2008. 43 thousand out of 91 thousand²⁶⁵ or 47 percent of unemployed people were women according to 2007-2008 survey.²⁶⁶ These show that though less than half of the population of active labor force were women, unemployed women out of unemployed active labor force were less in the country implying that women of the nation are hard working.

²⁶³ Mongolia's National Statistics Office. "4.1. Employment at the end of the year 2008" in *Statistics Compilation 2008*. Ulaanbaatar. 2009.

²⁶⁴ Mongolia's National Statistics Office. "4.1. Employment at the end of the year 2008" in *Statistics Compilation 2008*. National Statistics Office. Ulaanbaatar. 2009.

²⁶⁵ Mongolia's National Statistics Office. "Labor Force Survey. 4.7. Labor Force Status of the Population Aged 15 Years and Over. 2007-2008" in *Statistics Compilation 2008*. National Statistics Office. Ulaanbaatar. 2009.

²⁶⁶ Mongolia's National Statistics Office. "Labor Force Survey. 4.7. Labor Force Status of the Population Aged 15 Years and Over. 2007-2008" in *Statistics Compilation 2008*. National Statistics Office. Ulaanbaatar. 2009.

As the realization of Democratic Party's promise²⁶⁷ during 2004 Parliamentary elections at present each child of Mongolia under age of 18 received monthly small allowance and total of 954,000²⁶⁸ children received the allowance in 2009 thanks to the amendments to Law on Social Welfare.

Mothers those got birth and raised more than five children get quarterly allowances for life according to the 2008 amendment to Law on Increasing State Pension To Award Mothers Those Gave Birth and Raised Many Children. This is another realization of the political parties' promise. The allowance for mothers with many children might be the next cut when there is any necessity to cut the budget.

Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (former communist party) which is the majority at the Parliament at present promised in 2004 Parliamentary elections additional one time allowances of 100,000 tugrugs to every newly born and 500,000 tugrugs to young couples²⁶⁹ for their first marriages and this was implemented until the end of financial year 2009.

The National Development and Innovation Committee of the Government of Mongolia conceded that although up to 65.5 percent of graduates from colleges and universities are women, nonetheless, females are underrepresented on management positions in Mongolia.²⁷⁰ The report noted the necessity of a law on gender equality to provide equality in political, social and economic sectors, and the necessities of advocacy and awareness activities on the

²⁶⁷Nyamjaviin Batbayar (from Democratic Party), Member of Parliament of Mongolia. *Children's Allowance: Introduction*. <http://www.batbayar.com/?p=9> (Accessed Jan 19, 2010).

²⁶⁸Bat, O. 'D.Nyamkhuu, Deputy Minister of Social Protection and Labor: 1.3 Million People Will Be Given 70,000 Tugrugs Each' published in Zuunii medee (Century News) daily newspaper. Jan 19, 2009. <http://news.gogo.mn/r/64930> (Accessed Jan 19, 2010).

²⁶⁹Bat, O. 'D.Nyamkhuu, Deputy Minister of Social Protection and Labor: 1.3 Million People Will Be Given 70,000 Tugrugs Each' published in Zuunii medee (Century News) daily newspaper. Jan 19, 2009. <http://news.gogo.mn/r/64930> (Accessed Jan 19, 2010).

²⁷⁰National Development and Innovation Committee. *The Millennium Development Goals Implementation Third National Report*. Admon Printing, Publishing & More. Ulaanbaatar. 2009. p 44.

significance of creating opportunities for women's influences in decision making.²⁷¹ It is common in Mongolia that some laws have difficulties to be realized in practice due to impracticality. Although I agree with the report on the necessity of the law, I consider that the government should issue and implement a very good mechanism to realize the prospective law. Otherwise, the law will be a good agenda without implementation in future or to be used in twisted ways by only few women those can not represent most women of the country.

In conclusion, if women play more equal role on political representation particularly at decision making levels, they can substantially contribute to social perspectives those have not been addressed well by men dominating politics for most member states of the United Nations, the Russian Federation and Mongolia.

Conclusion

Women do not have equal political representation as a result of many factors including lack of equal political participation, historical political hierarchy of men, lack of women's equal participation in some sectors of labor market, subordination of women to men and jealousy and envy of some other women those already occupy some higher positions than other women. Public policy is one of the most effective ways of liberalizing and achieving women's equal participation in politics which will contribute to advancing public policy for society with women's voices. Because politics is decisive and it can play a vital role for women to realize their position in society. Policy is a result of politics which is the cause.

²⁷¹ Ibid. National Development and Innovation Committee. *The Millennium Development Goals Implementation Third National Report*. p 44.

The much less acceptance of the highest ability or skills of women or the understanding of women saving the world or saving nations than the one of men is connected to the mentality of human beings at the subconscious level. For example, if a man plays a protagonist role of fictional superhero with extraordinary ability as in Hollywood movie “Spiderman”²⁷² (2002), the movie becomes blockbuster success in addition to the movie’s nomination for two Oscars –Annual Awards of the US Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences; and 11 wins and 40 nominations for other awards.²⁷³ In contrast, when a woman plays in the similar protagonist role like in Hollywood movie “Catwoman”²⁷⁴ (2004), the main character played by Oscar winner Halle Berry, the actress won the Worst Actress from Razzie Award²⁷⁵ and the movie in general got five awards including the worst actress and five nominations for awards.²⁷⁶

Whether a movie becomes a blockbuster success or not depends on the audience, whether people watch the movie or not reflect the appreciation of viewers at least the judges of the awards. The skills and performance of the actors and actresses are the key factors, however, how the audience views them are also important factors. As the audience consists of both women and men and the valuation of them on the movie character is skewed depending on the gender of the protagonist that is saving the world. For female protagonists, if the character is portraying a battered woman or someone on low social status, then the movie succeeds more because the audience might be more associating to that movie’s character. Thus, more political representation of women should begin with changing people’s understanding of

²⁷²The Internet Movie Database. *Spider-Man* (2002) <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0145487/> (Accessed Mar 8, 2010).

²⁷³The Internet Movie Database. *Spider-Man* (2002) <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0145487/> (Accessed Mar 8, 2010).

²⁷⁴The Internet Movie Database. *Spider-Man* (2002) Awards. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0327554/awards> (Accessed Mar 8, 2010).

²⁷⁵The Internet Movie Database. *Catwoman* (2004) <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0327554/awards> (Accessed Mar 8, 2010).

²⁷⁶The Internet Movie Database. *Spider-Man* (2002) Awards. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0327554/awards> (Accessed Mar 8, 2010).

women's only association to certain occupations, I think. For this, both women and men need to work towards this particularly in developing countries. For women, we need to show our ability by accomplishments, and raise awareness of women's success by its coverage in news, and for young generations, there can be a school class on gender equality.

By deduction method, from back to the front, women's equality at political representation can be effectively realized by effective role of public policy which can play implicated role towards changing public mentality and achieve the aim.

After becoming with more substantiating representation women can change policies in women dominating sectors with more chances for women to succeed in its administration and furthermore extending to other sectors thus resulting in approach to gender equality implementation.

Finally, substantive gender equality can be achieved on decision making level particularly politics, however it is a long process requiring lots of hard work beginning from educating young children on gender equality to changing mentality with the assistance of the supportive active actions of the United Nations and its member states' national policies. The United Nations, Mongolia, and the Russian Federation are making steps towards these. They need more efforts and initiatives to succeed more.

On the other hand, women need to change their mentality towards what they want from life and try to do their best to achieve their goals in good and just ways. Without inspiration, goals are difficult to achieve. Mass media, literature, culture, technology, science, social tendencies, and public policies can be good parts of igniting and instilling inspiration in

people including girls and women to achieve their goals. With the assistances of all these, women can realize one of their fundamental rights - equality which the United Nations and its member states acknowledged and applauded and philosophers in law such as Habermas highlighted.

Both Mongolia and the Russian Federation and women need to work hand in hand to step up more educated and skilled women with good hearts and souls, and just and fair morale at policy making levels to develop more women empowering laws, regulations and policies and to support families, children, and women and catalyze society with right and good policies like in Finland where both the President and Prime Minister are women at present. United Nations member states can follow examples of Finland and other countries where women are substantially succeeding in participating in developing laws and regulations and decision making through introduction to public policies and on the other hand, substantially contribute to social policies such as education and health policies and politics.

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