



저작자표시-비영리-변경금지 2.0 대한민국

이용자는 아래의 조건을 따르는 경우에 한하여 자유롭게

- 이 저작물을 복제, 배포, 전송, 전시, 공연 및 방송할 수 있습니다.

다음과 같은 조건을 따라야 합니다:



저작자표시. 귀하는 원저작자를 표시하여야 합니다.



비영리. 귀하는 이 저작물을 영리 목적으로 이용할 수 없습니다.



변경금지. 귀하는 이 저작물을 개작, 변형 또는 가공할 수 없습니다.

- 귀하는, 이 저작물의 재이용이나 배포의 경우, 이 저작물에 적용된 이용허락조건을 명확하게 나타내어야 합니다.
- 저작권자로부터 별도의 허가를 받으면 이러한 조건들은 적용되지 않습니다.

저작권법에 따른 이용자의 권리는 위의 내용에 의하여 영향을 받지 않습니다.

이것은 [이용허락규약\(Legal Code\)](#)을 이해하기 쉽게 요약한 것입니다.

[Disclaimer](#)

Master's Thesis of International Studies

**GENDER-RESPONSIVE COVID-19
RECOVERY:**

**- Gender Analyses of Social Protection Responses to COVID-19 in
Mongolia**

**코로나 19 극복을 위한 젠더 수용적 대책:
코로나 19에 대한 사회보호 대책의 젠더적 분석**

August 2023

**Development Cooperation Policy Program
Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University
International Area Studies**

Batchuluun Batsukh

**GENDER-RESPONSIVE COVID-19
RECOVERY:
Gender Analyses of Social Protection Responses to COVID-19
in Mongolia**

A thesis presented

By

Batchuluun Batsukh

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of International Studies

**Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University
Seoul, Korea**

**GENDER-RESPONSIVE COVID-19
RECOVERY:
- Gender Analyses of Social Protection Responses to COVID-19 in
Mongolia**

Park Jeehwan

**Submitting a master's thesis of
International Area Studies**

August 2023

**Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University
International Area Studies**

Batchuluun Batsukh

**Confirming the master's thesis written by
Batchuluun Batsukh
August 2023**

Chair	<u>Kim, Chong-Sup</u>	(Seal)
Vice Chair	<u>Song, Jiyeoun</u>	(Seal)
Examiner	<u>Park, Jeehwan</u>	(Seal)

Abstract

GENDER-RESPONSIVE COVID-19 RECOVERY:

-Gender Analyses of Social Protection Responses to COVID-19 in Mongolia

Batchuluun Batsukh

International Area Studies

Graduate School of International Studies

Seoul National University

The COVID-19 pandemic has not only had devastating effects on health, morbidity, and mortality but also shaken global economies and labor markets. The economic fallout had the reverse effect on gender equality. How have different countries responded to gender and labor inequalities? Which countries introduced gender-responsive measures? Which countries are more active in promoting women's rights during the pandemic? It sufficiently considered women's needs in implementing measures to the pandemic, and what factors made the Mongolian government's measures sufficient or insufficient to meet women's needs. We explore Social Protection Response to the pandemic in Mongolia. While examining which factors contributed to catering to women's needs in a series of responses to the pandemic in the world. We argue that gender-sensitive policy variations across the countries in the context of the pandemic are shaped by the institutional and cultural features besides enabler and equalizer factors of the gender-responsive measures. We found that countries with a smaller gender gap, higher female political participation, strong social protection system, active women's movement, and a higher degree of democracy are more active in promoting women's rights during the pandemic. Income was a major constraint to pandemic policies. Countries with more generous and egalitarian family policies introduced more gender-sensitive measures in general and vexing times. Furthermore, Strong feminist mobilization, women's political participation, and democratization are the main determinants that influence the gender-sensitive policy process. In addition, Pandemic policy responses vary among the countries explained by the institutional and cultural features that shape the policy.

Keywords: pandemic response, social protection, gender equality, welfare state.

Student Number: 2021-23400

Table of Contents

Abstract	4
1. Introduction.....	6
1.1 Research background and literature review	6
1.2 Research goal and questions	7
1.3 Research method and methodology	8
2. Pandemic Responses and Gender in The World	9
2.1 General Description of Pandemic Measures in The World.....	9
2.2 Determinants of gender-sensitive policies	12
3. Pandemic responses and gender in Mongolia.....	19
3.1 General Review of pandemic measures in Mongolia	20
3.2 Gender aspects of pandemic measures in Mongolia.....	25
4. Conclusion	39
References.....	41

1. Introduction

1.1 Research background and literature review

The COVID-19 pandemic has triggered one of the largest economic downturns. Governments responded to the crisis with a series of social, financial, and macroeconomic policies to tackle the economic effects of the crisis. It has not only devastating effects on health, morbidity, and mortality but also shaken global economies and labor markets. The economic fallout had the reverse effect on gender equality. The pandemic has threatened to widen socioeconomic inequality as well. There are some considerations that could harm women's well-being during the pandemic such as less economic access, unpaid care work, sexual exploitation, abuse, harassment, women under-representation, unemployment, and poverty (UNDP, 2022).

The covid-19 pandemic intensified previous challenges, and adverse effects on working women, particularly their work and life balance. A large proportion of women's job loss resulted from the Covid 19 outbreak: While women make up 39 percent of the global employment, they account for 54 percent of all job losses after the outbreak. Women's jobs are 1.8 times more vulnerable than men's occupations to this recession (Anu Madgavkar, 2020). This pandemic is affecting more women-dominated sectors of the economy such as retail, hospitality, healthcare, accommodation, real estate, business activities, and the service sector (ILO, 07, 2020). The extent to which prior recessions have affected more job losses among male-dominated sectors, this time is the opposite – massive job losses observed among women employment (Titan Alon, 2020).

As a result, the pandemic is likely to drive women and girls into poverty: While the poverty rate of men and boys increased from 11.3 percent in 2019 to 12.1 percent in 2021, the rate for women and girls increased from 11.7% to 12.5% for the same period. It could take until 2030 for poverty rates to return to pre-pandemic levels¹. Due to containment measures and school closures, women with children have more care duties and they struggle with life and work balance. Gender-based violence and unpaid care work have increased before the pre-pandemic level (ILO, 2021). These studies suggest that the pandemic widen gender inequality in the labor market. The effect of the pandemic on women's work and life is not equal across countries. Women in some countries are hit harder by the pandemic than those in other countries. Then, we should explore what factors contribute to making such differences.

We consider the welfare state dynamics because they constitute systems of governmental social provisioning that shape the distribution of resources and opportunities (Pierson, 2000). Considering welfare state in terms of state-market-family relation is important to understand policy disparity across the countries in general and pandemic situation. Both Feminist and mainstream scholars go beyond social provisions like welfare,

¹ Cited in Gender equality and Covid-19 special series by IMF. Originated from UN Women, UNDP, and Pardee Center (2020). Estimates and forecasts of extreme poverty by sex and age using the International Futures Model. Technical note.

and social protection schemes protecting the citizen's minimum right from market failure but also family failure (Orloff, 1993, Nino Bariola, Caitlyn Collins, 2021). In that spirit, this research assumes that countries with a smaller gender gap, higher female political participation, strong social protection system, active women's movement, and a higher degree of democracy are more active in promoting women's rights during the pandemic. Countries with more generous and egalitarian family policies introduced more gender-sensitive measures in general and vexing times.

Feminist and mainstream analysts study welfare state in interlocking state-market-family relation because it constitutes systems of governments activities shaping the distribution of resources and opportunities (Pierson, 2000). Social welfare principles, policy provisions, and outcomes of the states interventions were differed from each other. Accordingly, scholars tried to attempt identifying their differences in social provisions, in particularly citizens right in context of state-market-family dimensions and conceptualized the concept of welfare state but also grouped western countries into three categories as Liberal, corporatist, and social democratic (Esping-Andersen).

Social democratic welfare states like Nordic countries have more generous labor and family policies and full responsibility for citizens wellbeing, supporting dual earner and dual caregiver family model where men and women are both likely to work for pay and care for children. They seem to have more strong social provision in the market and family life promoting equality, protecting the people from market failure with social minimum. *Conservative or corporatist welfare states* are considered as traditionally male breadwinner and female caregiver or part-time earner family model tied by social policies to support caregiving. They are more likely to consider citizen wellbeing as the responsibility of the state and employer depends on employment or family position. In turn, *Liberal welfare states* like USA, Canada, Britain and Australia tend to have more targeted or categorized social provisions targeting vulnerable people or driving means-tested to their needs. States regulate with little intention to support caregiving. Dual-earner and women caregiver family model remain the norm. In that sense, we hypothesize that gender-sensitive policy variations across the countries in context of pandemic are shaped by the institutional and cultural features beside enabler and equalizer factors of the gender-responsive measures.

1.2 Research goal and questions

The overall aim of my research is to explore Social Protection Responses to the pandemic in Mongolia. While examining which factors contributed to catering to women's needs in a series of responses to the pandemic in the world, this research aims to illuminate how the Mongolian government has tackled the pandemic.

As the COVID-19 pandemic altered work and citizens' well-being, how have different countries responded to gender and labor inequalities? Investigating pandemic policy responses in various countries is far-reaching in understanding and addressing the medium- and long-term evidence-based and gender-responsive policy action in the context of welfare state dynamics. Which countries introduced gender-responsive measures? Which countries are more

active in promoting women's rights during the pandemic? It sufficiently considered women's needs in implementing measures to the pandemic, and what factors made the Mongolian government's measures sufficient or insufficient to meet women's needs. These policy responses significantly impact working women, families, and other groups that depend on them for a living.

1.3 Research method and methodology

The approach of the study is from a gender perspective, by using governments' pandemic policy responses in context of the pandemic. Thus, this study uses secondary quantitative and qualitative data from international and governmental documents and relevant academic research. This research draws on the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and UN Women COVID-19 Global Gender Response Tracker and secondary data which relies on recent secondary literature, national statistical data, policy documents, and papers of international organizations. COVID-19 Global Gender Response Tracker contains quantitative and qualitative information on labor market and social protection policies introduced between January 2020 and August 2021 for 226 countries and territories. It covers three policy areas that have been significantly affected by the pandemic – violence against women and girls, women economic insecurity, and unpaid care.

In this research, the quantitative analysis is based on descriptive method and collected data from the *UNDP-UNW COVID-19 Global Gender Response Tracker*, by income and regional group and measures type. Linear regression was used to examine the association between government measures and some determinants, using the number of measures introduced by governments as the dependent variable and the Liberal democracy index, share of female seats in parliament, and Feminist mobilization index as independent variables.

Chapter 2 explores pandemic policy responses in detail, by providing an overview of the gender-sensitive measures globally and across regions and determinants of gender-sensitive measures. Chapter 3 examines the ways in which the Mongolian government tackled the pandemic and if these policies were sufficient or insufficient to protect women's needs. Moreover, it considered welfare state ideology in context of state-market-family relations shaping the gendered policy responses.

2. Pandemic Responses and Gender in The World

This unprecedented circumstance in context of pandemic challenged social protection system of the countries. Social Protection measures (SPMs hereafter) play the main role in reducing the socio-economic effects of the pandemic. The major composition of SPMs composed with social assistance programs, social insurance, and social pension. Most governments have expanded their social protection expenditure to promote citizens' well-being while making effort to protecting labor market both supply and demand side. Countries spent average 2% of GDP on SPMs. Most countries have expanded on-going social assistance programs and introduced new programmes. According to the real-time review of countries measures, global social protection expenditure has increased by 247% since December 2020. World average of spending on social protection measures is 3% of global GDP. This expenditure on social protection is 4.5 times higher than the previous economic crisis (2008-09)². High income and upper middle income countries spent most significant amount for social protection, compared to LMI and LICs. Social assistance programs are major measure in global scale accounting 70% out of total SP measures. HIC and UMICs have introduced high amount of social protection measures but also active labor market policies regarding citizens well-being both women and men. They focused on more labor market policies to protect addressing supply and demand side of labor market. It is meant to have strong social protection system. Conversely, Emerging economies adopted more social assistance programs to secure household income and some countries introduced more social assistance policies. Cash transfer measures are dominant, scaled up its coverage in global average by 247%. Universal cash transfers and in-kind programmes are popular among social assistance program.

Governmental social protection programs, on the other hand, have not lived up to their potential as enablers and equalizers. The Global Gender Responsive Tracker shows that social protection and job responses in the majority of nations lacked sufficient measures for the concerns and rights of women. Only 11% of the social protection and labor market policies put in place in response to the pandemic as of April 2022 addressed unpaid care by ensuring paid family leave, shorter or more flexible work hours, emergency childcare services, or financial support for long-term care facilities. Only about 12% of these policies addressed women's economic security. In other words, the majority of National COVID-19 policy responses worldwide continued to be gender-blind, placing women and girls at risk of falling behind.

2.1 General Description of Pandemic Measures in The World

Gender-sensitive measures to the pandemic identified as countries' responses targeting direct women's economic security, violence against women and girls and unpaid care work that areas severely impacted by the pandemic. These responses divided into four different policy categories (see table 1).

² Ugo Gentilini (WB), Mohamed Almenfi (WB), Pamela Dale (UNICEF), Ana Veronica Lopez (WB), and Usama Zafar (WB), Social Protection and Jobs Responses to COVID-19: A Real-Time Review of Country Measures, "Living paper" version 12 (July 10, 2020)

Table 1. Governments measures by category

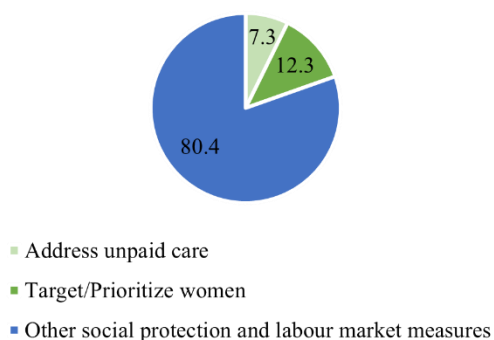
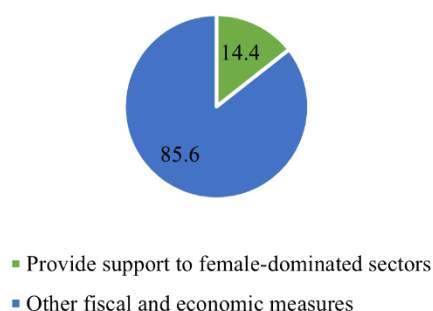
1. Social protection measures (2,223 rows)
2. Labour market measures (876 rows)
3. Fiscal and economic measures (1016 rows)
4. Violence against women measures (853 rows)

1,605 out of all the measures across 196 nations have been designated as the gender-sensitive response, according to the tracker, which lists 226 countries and territories that have implemented 4,968 measures in response to COVID-19. The majority of these initiatives (853 in 163 nations) placed a strong emphasis on combating violence against women and girls (VAWG). Within the responses, there are much less initiatives to improve women's economic security (526) and address unpaid care work (226). Only about 32% of all measurements (4,968) are logged in the tracker as gender-sensitive. Violence against women and girls dominates all gender-sensitive reactions, making up 53% of all responses (see table1).

Table 2. Number of measures by region

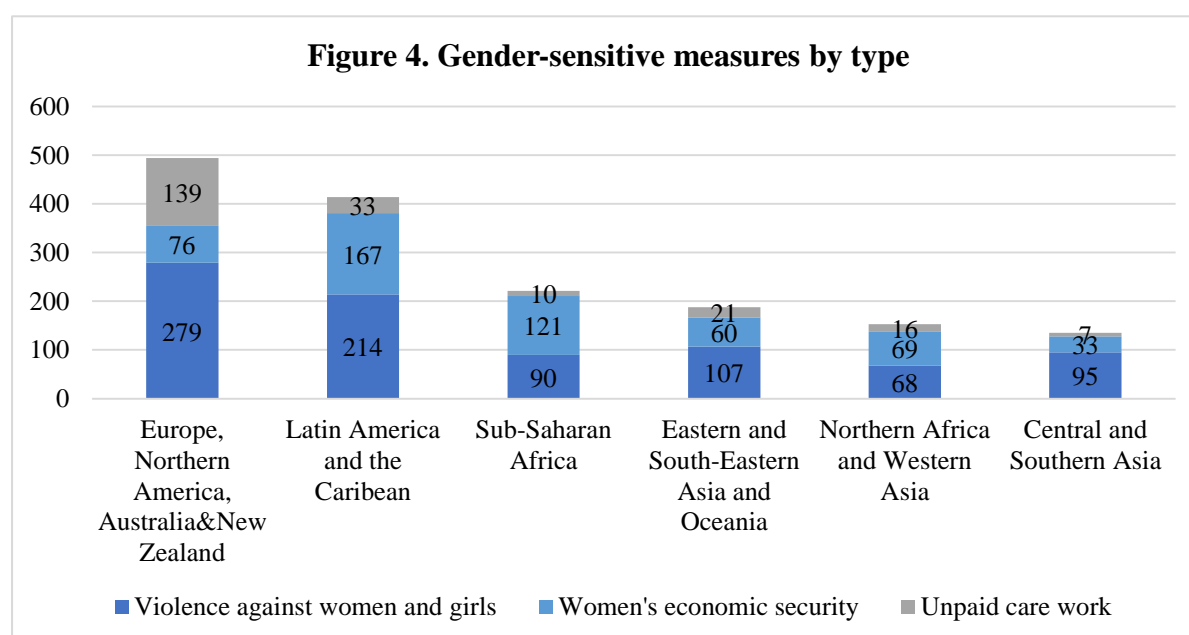
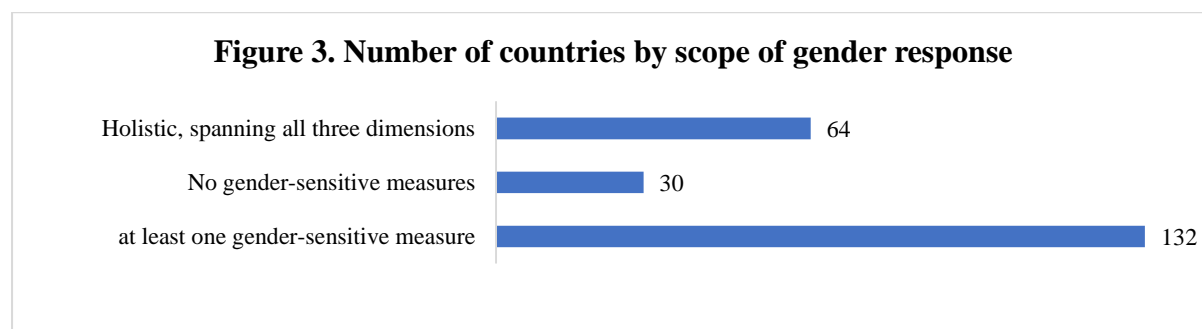
Region	All measures	All gender-sensitive	Unpaid care	VAWG	Women's economic security
Africa	842	270	14	112	144
America	1,265	455	50	227	178
Asia	1,220	360	35	197	128
Europe	1,360	419	113	247	59
Oceania	281	101	14	70	17
Total	4,968	1,605	226	853	526
	%	32.31	14.08	53.15	32.77

European and American regions, followed by Asia, are more active than the other regions for adopting gender sensitive measures. The whole social protection and labor market reaction, on the one hand, and the fiscal and economic response, on the other, continue to only make up a small portion of the measures that target women's economic security and address unpaid care: In response to COVID-19, 3 099 social protection and labor market actions have been taken by 221 nations and territories. However, only 13% of these policies (606) are gender-sensitive with that they focus on the financial stability of women or deal with unpaid care (Figure 1).

Figure 1. The proportion of gender-sensitive measures out of total social protection and labour market**Figure 2. The proportion of gender-sensitive measures out of total fiscal and economic measures**

Similarly, 166 countries and territories have adopted 1016 fiscal and economic measures to help businesses weather the crisis, but only 14.4 percent of these measures (146) aim to strengthen women’s economic security by channeling resources to female dominated sectors (Figure1; 2).

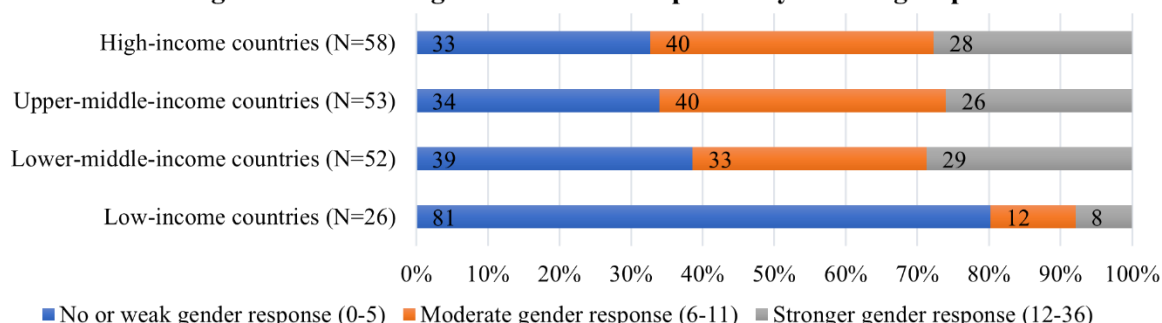
Only 64 countries (28 percent of those analyzed) were registered as a holistic response, with measures that took in place at least one measures in each three dimensions (see Figure 3 and Annex I). Nevertheless, roughly one-eighth of countries analyzed (30 out of 226) no gender-sensitive measures in response to COVID-19.



With a holistic approach, high-income states like Canada, Germany, France, Iceland, and Spain account for about half of the countries (28 out of 64), followed by upper-middle-income nations like Argentina, Jordan, Mongolia, Serbia, and South Africa (23 out of 64). 13 lower-middle-income nations, including Cabo Verde, Egypt, Indonesia, and Uzbekistan, began a comprehensive reaction. This half of respondents who provided a comprehensive response exhibit high wealth and distinctive welfare states. Figure 4 depicts the high-density, three-dimensional gender sensitive measurements that were seen in the Americas and Europe. In that regard, some nations have implemented more gender-sensitive policies than others. However, compared to other governments, certain nations take more proactive steps to protect the well-

being of women. What contributions made that policy division? Which countries adopted more gender-sensitive measures? The next section looks at the factors that contribute to integrating gender into the Covid-19 response.

Figure 5. Pandemic gender-sensitive responses by income group



2.2 Determinants of gender-sensitive policies

2.2.1 Enabling determinants of gender-sensitive policy

In this section, we will examine the factors that contribute to pandemic gender-sensitive policies regarding country features and the government's response to the pandemic in context of welfare state dynamics. We take a look at the three dimensions that might contribute to policy processes in respect of gender-sensitivity: gender ideology in context of welfare states, income, women as a political actor in construction of social policy provisions. Countries' social protection policies differ from each other in terms of social provisions. Scholars grouped these system into three category: Social democratic, Corporatist, Liberal welfare states. This categorization was based on western countries or advanced industrial economies³. These policy variations could be explained by the inter-relations between state-market-family policies but also cultural aspects that influence the gender policy process such as role of women as political actor in infrastructure of welfare provision and religion. Gendered-welfare state ideology can explain the gender responsive policy differences among the countries. The gender sensitive policies shaped by the either gender ideology, cultural infrastructure and enabler and equilizer factors like social coverage, income, role of women's actor in politics and democracy, women's movement. Main determinants that shaped the policy variation is the gendering welfare policy in interlocking state-market-family relation.

High-income countries are more likely to take gender-sensitive measures in context of pandemic. Since the pandemic started, High-income countries have adopted a greater amount of pandemic social protection response than low-income countries. Advanced economies have taken 5 more gender-sensitive measures than the least developed economies. Half of the all countries with a holistic response were in high income countries, particularly they present

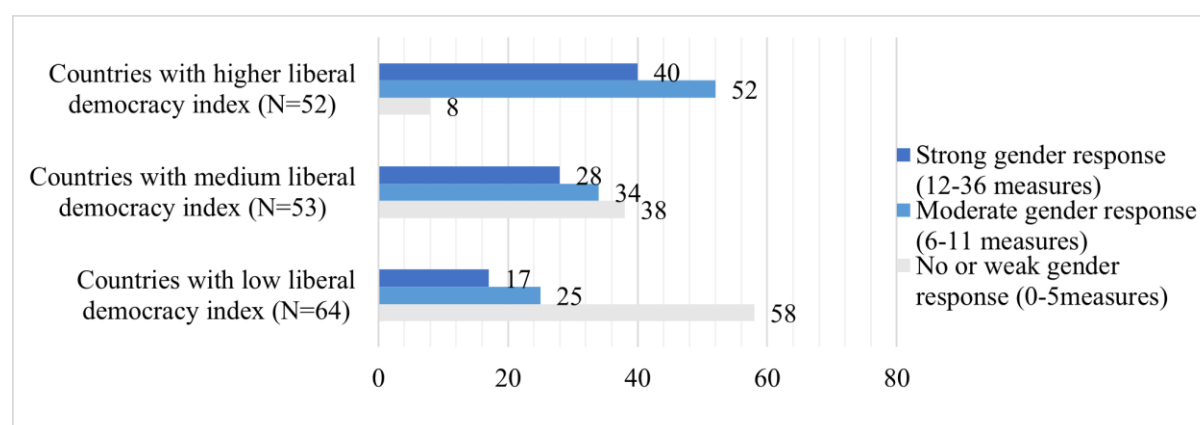
³ Espin-Anderson's typology based on post-industrial countries is the most popular and well-know categorization in comparative welfare state research.

different western welfare states among the high-income groups. Strong density of responses observed in HIC's, followed by UMIC (figure 5).

Pandemic has challenged unpaid care duties, particularly working women and women with children. In terms of supporting unpaid care work, Figure 5 shows that Europe, Northern America, Australia and New Zealand were considered as strong intensity of responses to address VAGW and women's unpaid care duties compared to other regions because they have the strong social protection system. Measure intensities in LICs (4 gender-sensitive measures per country) compared to other income groups (7-9 gender-sensitive measures per country) were observed as a low density. This indicates that low-income countries had major fiscal constraints to respond to the pandemic overall. In turn, there was a much smaller difference between High income countries, Upper Middle Income Countries, and Low Middle Income Countries. Indeed, USD 695 per capita on social protection policies by September 2020 has been spent in high-income countries, compared to only USD 4 in low-income countries. These high-density responses fall into the category of VAWG and unpaid care work in HICs which result from social protection and labor market policies. While Low-income countries use social assistance instruments, particularly cash transfer programs while HICs use their social safety net and expended economic rescue packages based on social provisions.

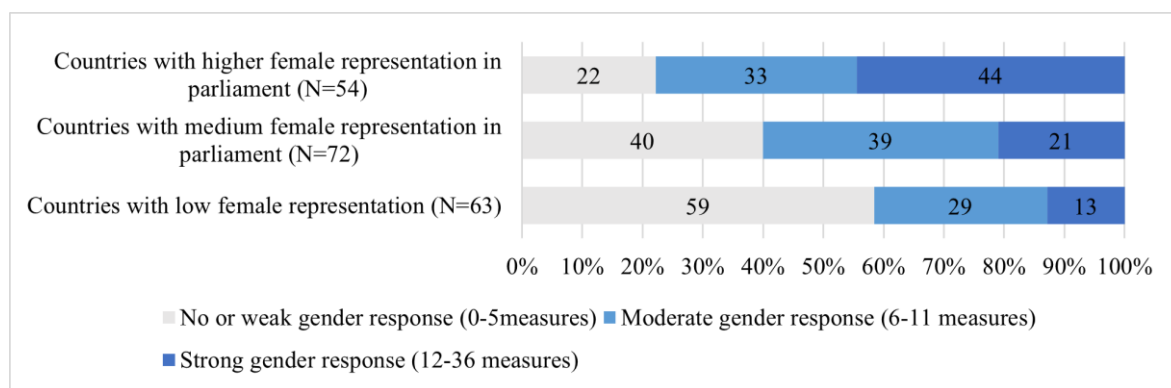
In the middle of the economic crisis, the long-standing institutional and political factors that enabled progress in the policy of gender equality in the previous years progressed to play a significant role. The influence of trade unions and political parties was strengthened by democratization and industrialization. Historically, democratic politics are an enabler of the environment for feminist advocates and advancing gender equality policies in respect of women's employment and unpaid care, and partnering with women's rights organizations. Democratic transformation has made it possible for the advocacy for gender equality to influence policy throughout the regions where feminist movements were crucial in overthrowing authoritarian regimes. This has included creating special institutional structures to promote gender equality, increasing the representation of women in politics, often with the adoption of gender quotas, and increasing the capacity of civil society groups, demands, and accountability of government.

Figure 6. Countries measures by Liberal democracy index



During the pandemic, countries with the greater amount of proportion of women in parliament and other institutional settings are more likely to pay attention to gender mainstreaming in their pandemic policies. Across the countries, Pandemic gender-responsive policies differ significantly from the one another because countries with higher portion of women in decision making level tend to have introducing more gender-sensitive measures. There is a positive association between pandemic gender-sensitive policies and women in the decision-making level. Women at higher positions are more active to call for the gender issues into the recovery plan like Canada's childcare service budget which means women are more sensitive to getting women's needs and voices family-friendly measures into the policy agenda in context of pandemic. Countries with higher women representation in political level have adopted more gender-sensitive measures than those with low representation in high position.

Figure 8. by women representation in parliament



We examined the correlation between some dimensions that might influence the gendered policies. Feminist movement and democracy level has strong correlation with the number of gender-sensitive measures because coefficient for feminist movement index and liberal democracy index are statistically significant at 0.01 percent level. On the other hand, Strong democracy and autonomous feminist mobilization could influence on the policy process that shape gender-sensitivity.

Table 3. Linear regression result

VARIABLES	Number of gender-sensitive measures
Feminist Mobilization Index	2.480*** (0.728)
Constant	5.222*** (1.329)
Observations	106
R-squared	0.091

Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

VARIABLES	Number of gender-sensitive measures
Parliament Seat Held by Women	0.111*** (0.0391)
Constant	5.839*** (0.965)
Observations	166
R-squared	0.046
Liberal Democracy Index	0.0974*** (0.0246)
Constant	5.548*** (0.828)
Observations	148
R-squared	0.102

The pandemic relief policy variations shaped by the country features, institutional arrangements and role of women's mobilization or civil society. Those are the complimentary factors of designing and implementing gender-responsive policy to promote the equality and the collective citizens wellbeing.

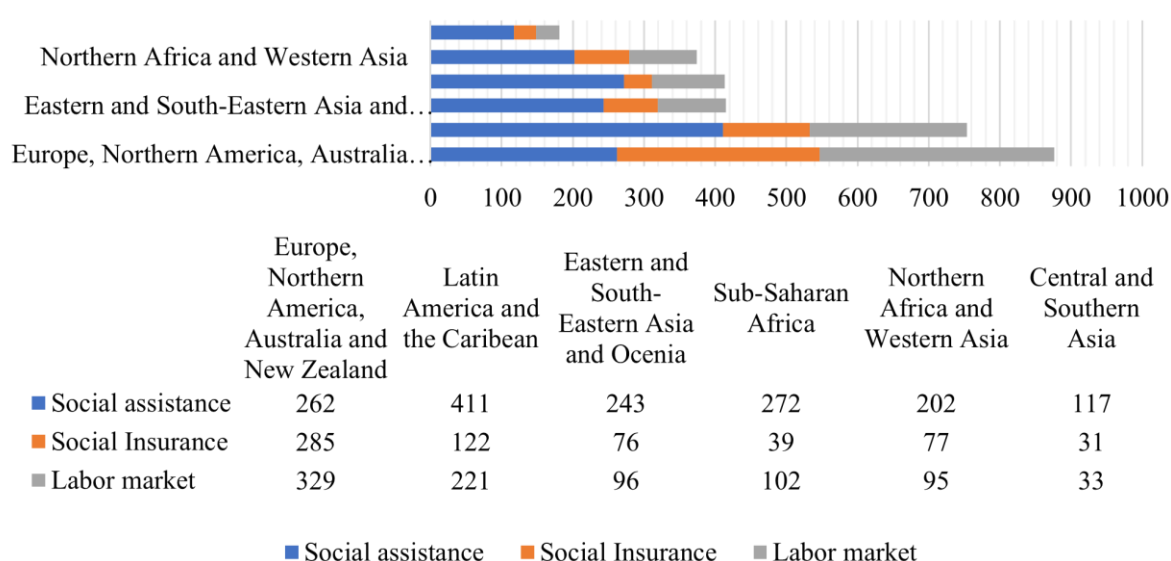
Furthermore, Advanced economies have introduced more active labor market policies. 3,099 social protection and labor-market measures have been implemented globally to shield people from poverty, job losses, and economic downturns. Based on their various institutional capacities and resource levels, the government has embraced both new and existing programs and policies. This pandemic had distinct effects on women and girls than it did on men, gender-responsive policies and a strong social protection system are important factor to protect women's rights and wellbeing.

Governments that had previously included gender-responsive components into public policies and programs could activate and harness it to target women in the context of the crisis scenario. Countries with more robust social welfare and labor market systems were better positioned to respond. Governments undertook an extraordinary global reaction to the economic shock brought on by COVID-19, with a total budgetary spending expected to be at least four times more than that broken during the financial crisis of 2008.

However, there hasn't been much attention paid to women's financial security in business assistance, labor market, or social protection programs—either by depending on female-dominated businesses or occupations, or by targeting or favoring them as recipients. Governments all across the world have put more than a thousand business support programs into place to keep companies afloat. These programs include equity investments, loan guarantees, and tax benefits. Only 14% (146) of these programs, however, expressly targeted fields like social and health care service (including care) or the food and lodging sectors, where women are overrepresented. Similar to this, just 380 of the 3,099 social protection and labor market policies (12%) offered priority to women or professions with a female majority when it came to obtaining cash transfers, salary subsidies, or training.

Countries had quite varied capabilities and institutional arrangements to build on as they hurried to reduce the economic impact of the pandemic. This led to striking differences between countries with high incomes and low income ones in terms of the breadth and makeup of their overall social safety and job responses as well as their capacity to effectively address gender inequality. In terms of the total social protection and job response, North America, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand recorded the most measures with one of the highest measure densities. Considering that social insurance and labor market responses account for 70% of all reactions, this cluster may rely on a wider range of policy instruments. Contrarily, social assistance accounted for about 60% of measures across all other geographical categories, whereas emerging economies mostly depended on it.

Figure 9. Social protection and labor market measures by region



This is primarily as a result of their reliance on broader social protection and labor market instruments, such as unemployment insurance or wage subsidies, which do not specifically target women but typically provide higher levels of support to a larger portion of the general population than the majority of the specific and targeted social assistance measures that predominated the Global South response.

Governments implemented a variety of labor market policies with three main goals in mind to lessen the impact of the pandemic on workers: preventing job loss through economic assistance to stabilize hard-hit industries and salary subsidies to add up for the reduction in working time; helping to protect as well as identifying the greater occupational safety and health risks of the workforce across extra compensation or income growth; and facilitating people's re-entry into the labor force. Only a tiny portion of these policies focused or targeted women or jobs with a female predominance overall.

Given the disproportionate number of job losses and the sluggish employment recovery experienced by women, the lack of gender-sensitive activation strategies are particularly alarming. Short-term employment benefits and salary subsidies were the main focus of efforts to stop employers from firing employees and stop wage losses caused by the temporary decrease in working hours. For the self-employed, many nations have also offered income

replacements. Broad-based employment retention programs, which are mostly seen in high-income nations, also stopped the loss of jobs and income among women.

Furthermore, The policy difference between the countries was interventions addressing unpaid care work which were considered major constraints to return to work after the lockdown. Countries with more generous policy support for equality in labor and family relation like nordic countries - Denmark, Sweden, and Norway have active policies to address women's needs and rights – these countries present the social democratic welfare states. Most of the Nordic countries led to promote gender equality in the world. Those states have full responsibility for citizens wellbeing and strong safety net while they support the dual-earner and dual caregiver family model. Thus, these countries prioritized the policies to support labor-market and family relations.

In case of Denmark (social-democratic welfare state), it is one of the first countries where re-opened schools and care facilities after taken containment measures and the school and care facility closure in a very short-time. They prioritized the policies to ensure work opportunities for both men and women, by re-open the child care facilities in shorter-time because lockdown measures burdened the unpaid care duties and working family with children. In response to the pandemic regarding labor market and economic measures, Denmark introduced most far-reaching economic plans to protect the labor market (Thompson D, 2020). The state distributed up to 90% of wages for private employees and stopped working during the surge of pandemic. It was helped to keep low number of cases. The 4.9% unemployment rate in Denmark, compared to United States (14,8%), was explained by this fiscal and short-time containment responses. Denmark officials noticed that it would be more expensive the reality of both economic and social side of the recession without any interventions because in the latter unemployment host difficulty for society but also for individuals in general and crisis. They have strong labor market policy called flexicurity model - "An integrated approach for promoting both flexibility and security in the labor market," according to the Flexicurity model. It makes an effort to balance the demands of companies for a flexible workforce with those of employees for security, or the assurance that they won't experience extended spells of unemployment. This strategy assisted in keeping the unemployment rate and shielding the labor market from a downturn in the economy. It appears that these types of state social provisions offer more substantial protections against market failure for employers, employees, and families.

Germany (corporatist welfare regime) introduced exemplifier intervention which highlighted on media outlets. They consider job stability at the core of political economy. Federal government expanded Kurzarbeit program which is crisis management tool to protect employers from economic downturn. Government allocated around 60-67% of their work pay for hour not work. This response program tested previous economic recession and at that time they have expanded the fund of *kurzarbeit* program. It helped to keep unemployment rate at around 4 percent. There are some shadow in context of gender disparity. However, they prioritized the labor market stability and spend the resource to keep employment by introducing massive fiscal measures equal to their 2 year national budget. This welfare system is traditionally male dominant society or breadwinner and mother care-giver or part-time earner.

For market and the family relation, women are more likely to weight household care duties than the men (Hipp, Burnin, 2020). They spend more than 100 minutes per day for household work compared to their counterparts. In context of gender issues, school and day care facility closure was one constraint for working women with children because the Federal government allowed to return school only older grades and young children keep at home under supervision of parents.

In contrast, United States (Liberal welfare state) seems to have few policies to support caregiving. For example, United states has few policy to support caregiving and no federal policy to support driving care and job responsibility nor any type of paid-leave system. Its policies are limited by means-tested provisions targeted to poorest people. Some scholars argued that the policies were insufficient to promote gender inequality but also free-market approach to support family have failed (J., 2009). The ideology of individual responsibility widen inequalities regarding gender, class, and racialism. Unpaid leave program introduced were limited their beneficiaries and resources compared to other welfare regimes like Denmark. New Times survey resulted that almost half of Americans have informed little or nothing about benefit except only 13% of respondents got informed enough about the beneficiaries and policies. Working mothers in USA struggled with lack of child care services because schools and day care facilities closed for eight months. It is meant to be social welfare policies differentiated by institutional construction and social provisions. Compared to the gender-sensitive policies among the advanced countries, USA has introduced 3 times higher than the Denmark, 1 times higher than the Germany in number of gender-sensitive measures. In that sense, their policies differed in intersection of state-market-family relations. However, great amount of policy response resulted either the lack of care and employment provisions. On the other hand, institutional features within the different countries explain the policies differences targeting the women's needs and rights. Social Democratic systems have strong social safety net and adequate employment policies compared to liberal systems. In sum, Social democratic welfare system have the strong safety net and more egalitarian-generous welfare provisions that prioritize to provide equal distribution for citizen wellbeing and country feature is dual-earner, dual-caregiver family model. In context of pandemic, Countries with egalitarian policies are more active to promote women's wellbeing because they are more likely to introduce generous and adequate employment and family policies which is prioritized the gendered-policies regarding the state-market-family relation. In other words, Pandemic relief gender-sensitive policies were shaped and designed by the country features in terms of liberal democracy, feminist movement, and female representation.

3. Pandemic responses and gender in Mongolia

Modern welfare system in Mongolia established under the socialist regime was mainly based on Marxist ideas in 20th century. Centrally planned economy's social provision was opposite from the free-market economy where the main regulator for welfare was the state providing full employment, free educational and healthcare services. As result of Democratic revolution, Mongolia followed foot in democratic pathways. In the surge of the social transition early 1990s, new type of welfare state emerged in Mongolia. After that transition, Mongolia experienced severe unemployment, shortage of social assistance but also faced economic difficulties resulted by shutting down the state-owned factories, surging inflation, decreasing household income, and laying off. This change led to poverty and inequality caused by socio-economic shock after the system transition. In terms of welfare provisions, Mongolia chose the concept of liberal social provision which generally refers to education, health, pension, employment, social assistance, social insures and other social services (Gochoosuren, 2013). In Mongolia, therefore, social welfare history is young and at the stage of development because some social policies would be navigated by political promises rather than the theoretical perspectives.

The main objective of welfare programs in Mongolia is to provide social pensions, allowances, and services to those with special needs who are ill, have no family, and are unable to live independently. Programs also provide help to specific family members who depend on social welfare benefits to cover their essential daily expenses. Seven major categories may be used to classify the 72 social welfare programs run by the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection. Since 2010, spending for all programs has grown to reflect demographic trends in a growing population, eliminate poverty, and counteract the effects of inflation on household incomes (ADB report, 2016). The government spends 1.8 percent of GDP, which amounts to 6 percent of total government budget, on social protection programs. It is higher amount of spending compared to same income groups in the world. Everyone was impacted by the shift to a market-oriented economic system, but women experienced greater hardship: "The dual-worker model promoted by the Soviet state was undermined, and defamiliarizing policies associated with it, along with welfare entitlements, were largely dismantled, leaving women with virtually no social safety net" (Dugarova 2019: 388).

Table 4. Demographic Information and Public Policies in Mongolia

Political and cultural infrastructure		
Welfare state model	Liberal	
Parenting culture	Mother caregiver	
Work culture	Dual earner	
Country demographics		
Population	3.3 million	
Employment rate (working-age pop.)		58.80%
Maternal employment rate		49.00%

Poverty rate	27.80%
Family policy provisions	
Public spending, (% GDP)	1.8%
Paid maternity leave	120 days
Paid paternity leave	10 days (minimum)
Paid parental leave	0 days

3.1 General Review of pandemic measures in Mongolia

The State Emergency Committee (SEC) and the Disaster Protection Law were put into place by the Government of Mongolia in early January 2020, a few weeks before WHO announced the COVID-19 pandemic. Under the Disaster Protection Law, which has been in effect since 2017, State Emergency Committee and The National Emergency Management Agency are permitted to direct emergency policies and procedures through the Government of Mongolia and local emergency committees.

The legislative implementation of State Emergency Committee-led preventative measures allowed for an organized and focused administration of COVID-19 emergencies and disasters management. The table summarizes the early measures, which included active surveillance operations including health screening and quarantine control at the airport as well as rail and land crossings.

Table 5. Global and Mongolian actions against the COVID-19 outbreak

	Global situation	Worldwide cases/ deaths	Key actions by the Mongolian Government
Dec 30, 2019–Jan 5, 2020	WHO China country office informed by Chinese authorities about pneumonia of unknown pathogen; global emergency response notes released
Jan 6–12, 2020	China isolates new coronavirus and shares genetic sequence of the COVID-19 virus	..	First public precautions introduced by Ministry of Health on Jan 6, 2020
Jan 13–19, 2020	Thailand and Japan confirm first imported cases	282/NA	Government meetings initiated by Minister of Health, according to emergency preparedness regulations; one-window policy introduced for COVID-19 information
Jan 20–26, 2020	Reported cases continue to rise in China; South Korea confirms first case on Jan 20, 2020	2014/56	Educational institutions at all levels are temporarily closed until March 30, 2020; travel restrictions applied to China
Jan 27–Feb 2, 2020	WHO characterises COVID-19 as a Public Health Emergency of International Concern on Jan 30, 2020; Europe and North America report cases	14 557/305	Initiation of isolation for incoming travellers from countries reported to have cases of the disease. Tsagaan Sar lunar New Year restrictions
Feb 3–9, 2020	China remains the outbreak epicentre with more than 30 000 cases and 700 deaths	37 558/813	Chinese border restrictions tighten. Ban on import of some foods such as poultry and eggs
Feb 10–16, 2020	First case reported in Egypt as first in African continent; global traveller quarantine advice published by WHO	51 857/1669	Tsagaan Sar cancellation officially requested to the National Security Board; Government of Mongolia declares emergency high alert status on Feb 12, 2020; health system preparedness raised, isolation camps set up and widespread public face mask wearing, leading to shortages
Feb 17–23, 2020	Chinese cumulative death count reaches 2000; Iran reports first confirmed case; South Korean cases increase sharply	78 811/2462	Domestic travel ban applied during the Tsagaan Sar (Feb 23–27); disinfection protocols for port trucks and trains are provided. Risk assessment is ordered for all provinces; all religious gatherings are banned
Feb 24–March 3, 2020	Stigmatisation alerted on WHO situation reports; South Korean case number reaches 1000; WHO risk assessment states global and regional risk status to be high	90 869/3112	Flights to and from South Korea and Japan are cancelled until March 2, 2020; travellers at high risk in isolated camps for 2 weeks
March 2–8, 2020	Containment is global top priority; case numbers rise in South Korea, Iran, and European nations	105 586/3584	Extension of domestic travel ban until March 3, 2020; emergency call service established with a 4 digit number
March 9–15, 2020	Global pandemic status declared by WHO on March 11, 2020, and 143 countries report confirmed cases, Europe is epicentre of pandemic	153 517/5735	First laboratory confirmed case detected from a foreign national on March 10, 2020; all possible contacts traced; public businesses except grocery shops and domestic travel between inter-city and provinces closed until March 16, 2020; all international flights, rail, and land travel banned
March 16–April 16, 2020	USA becomes the epicentre of the pandemic; more than 90% of the world's students affected by school closures; China lifts Wuhan lockdown on April 8, 2020	1 051 697/56 986	School closures until September 2020; new resolution with seven measures to protect public health and income; preparation and equipping of a 300-bed emergency hospital

Table: Timeline of global and Mongolian actions against the COVID-19 outbreak

Source: Retrieved from [Ryenchindorj Erkhembayar et., 2020, p. e1236]

Based on SEC risk assessments, the government first imposed travel restrictions in late January 2020 to stop the infection from distributing. Travel restrictions on land, air, and rail have improved security along China's southern border with Mongolia. Government-designated quarantine centers or self-quarantining travelers were required to stay there for 14 to 21 days after returning from high- or low-risk nations.

To ensure the correct determination of case status, all arriving travelers—more than 8000 to date—have each received testing while detained. In terms of community testing, each week, the conventional continuous monitoring system collects about 200 nasopharyngeal tests for COVID-19 screening from patients referred with acute respiratory conditions and influenza-like symptoms.

In Ulaanbaatar, walk-in testing locations have also been made accessible along with random community sampling. By June 1, 2020, Mongolia had conducted 16 474 tests, yielding an overall positive rate of 11.3 percent (1 confirmed case for every 88 tests). However, these results go beyond the WHO's recommended of 10 tests for each confirmed case. On March 16, 2020, the first verified case was reported. The SEC and the National Center for Communicable Diseases tracked down the close contact, but it did not evolve into a cluster. Since it was designated as a cluster in November, the Mongolian government and SEC have been closely monitoring the number of cases. The SEC and the government have enforced constant lockdowns and restrictions on all movements and commercial activity.

When the COVID-19 pandemic began, the government approved the purchase of equipment and the building of a 300-bed hospital, anticipating that the current healthcare system would be unable to handle a large COVID-19 outbreak. Isolation facilities have been set up at private hospitals, holiday camps, hotels, and leisure centers, as well as government hospitals and health resorts, since February.

In addition to travel, all major public activities, including the yearly special occasion of Tsagaan Sar (Mongolia's lunar New Year) in late February, were rejected. This is the most important yearly public holiday, attracting enormous audiences to a variety of public activities and serving as a key commercial occasion for companies and merchants. Families also pay visits to older relatives' homes, participating in a variety of close-contact activities such as cheek kissing. COVID-19 public awareness initiatives were to replace advertising for this national holiday, informing viewers on how to prevent the spread of the virus.

As an initial response to the COVID-19 outbreak, all schools and institutions at all levels across the country were shuttered, and traditional teaching techniques were replaced with online learning methodologies. In January, before there were any confirmed COVID-19 cases in Mongolia, the State Emergency Committee ordered the closure of all kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, colleges, vocational institutes, and libraries. Following that, all public and private educational institutions were closed until March 2, 2020. These regulations were later extended until March 30, 2020, and then again until September 1, 2020.

Distance learning programs for high school students up to the 12th grade were launched via tv channels. Similarly, Tele-classes in main and minority languages have been developed

and broadcast to reach all regions and populations - Mongolian, Kazakh, and Tuva. Similarly, e-learning programs for academic institutions, universities, and colleges were formed, and they were provided access to online relevant content wherever it was available and practical.

Mongolian government introduced 25 measures related to social protection [see table 6]. 7 out of all policies were gender-sensitive measures targeting violence against women and girls [VAWG], women's economic insecurity, and unpaid care. Social assistance, Social Insurance, and Labor market policies were adopted and some ongoing programs were expanded to support household income and protect women's rights during a pandemic. Social assistance programs (11 out of 25 measures) are the most dominant within the categories in terms of pandemic responses. Most of these policies were short-time or one-off interventions except the child money program and food support program.

Table 6. Government pandemic response by type

Policy category by type	Gender-sensitive		
	NO	YES	Total
Economic, financial and fiscal support for businesses and entrepreneurs	6		6
Credit lines or additional liquidity by financial institutions	2		2
Credit/loan deferral, restructuration or renegotiation	1		1
Equity injections: public sector loans to businesses	2		2
Multiple measures	1		1
Labour market	1	2	3
Reduced work time & telework		2	2
Wage subsidy and income replacement for self-employed	1		1
Social protection	11	2	13
Social assistance	9	2	11
Social insurance	2		2
Violence against women		3	3
Strengthening of services		3	3
Total	18	7	25

Social welfare pensions were given to seniors who were not qualified for old-age pensions, disabled people, and children in need of care. This benefit is intended for seniors who do not qualify for a Social Insurance Fund old-age pension, as well as handicapped persons, children who lost a parent who worked as a breadwinner, and single and elderly parents with four or more children. The monthly benefit level before Covid-19 was MNT 188,000. As part of the government's economic response to the Covid-19 outbreak, the payment was increased to MNT 288,000 (about \$101) from the previous amount. According to the original plan, the enhanced amount of allowance was put into effect from May 1 through September 30, 2020. After that, it was extended until January 1 and then again until July 1, both of which fell on the first of the following years.

The government boosted the child money allowance from the pre-Covid sum of MNT 20,000 per month to MNT 100,000 (about \$35) as part of its financial responsibility for the Covid-19 outbreak. Every child in Mongolia under the age of 18 receives a stipend. As per the original plan, the higher amount of allowance was put into effect from April 1 through September 30, 2020. After that, it was extended through January 1 and again through July 1, 2021.

Families with extremely low incomes are helped by the food support program or Food Stamp Program to consume staple items to increase their daily calorie intake. Only one welfare program makes use of proxy means testing to determine which households are the lowest. Needy families receive monthly cash assistance. Prior to the Covid-19 outbreak, the benefit's monthly amounts for adults were MNT 16,000 and those for kids were MNT 8,000. The payout was increased to MNT 32,000.0 (11.2\$) each adult as well as MNT 16,000.0 (\$5.6) per child per month from May 1 to October 1, 2020, as part of the government's economic reaction to the COVID-19 outbreak. As of January 1, 2021, only adults were still eligible for the highest level of benefit. As of January 1, 2021, the increased compensation for adults was decreased to the amount it was previously. Under this program, the pre-Covid benefit levels are still available.

Some utility, housing, and financial support measures have been taken as part of the pandemic fiscal responses. To help firms, people, and enterprises, the government eliminated personal income taxes. The government waived personal income taxes for 526,000 entities and individuals between April 1, 2020, and the end of the year, with the exception of public employees, staff members of state- and municipal-owned enterprises, and companies that have won government contracts. Households were exempt from paying utility bills from December 1, 2020, until July 1, 2021 (for electricity, heating, water consumption, and trash disposal services).

Improved coal briquettes were 50% and another 25% cheaper. Additionally, on April 13, 2020, the Bank of Mongolia suspended principal and interest payments for current borrowers of consumer loans for a period of 12 months. Commercial banks and non-bank financial institutions have approved borrowers' requests to defer loan and interest payments between January 1 and July 1 of 2021 in accordance with the recommendations of the Financial Regulatory Committee. (Enterprises and people.) Commercial banks together reduced interbank transaction charges from 20% to 100% between April 1 and October 1, 2020.

In times of emergency, the government has taken steps to intervene in the labor market, such as reducing work hours, allowing employees to work from home, providing paid time off, offering pay subsidies, and replacing revenue for independent contractors. Modifications to the workday Resolution No.11 of the National Emergency Commission of Mongolia, dated May 5, 2020, directs state and local administrative organizations, businesses, and legal entities to take action by providing paid leave and the ability to work from home to expectant mothers and mothers of children under the age of 12 until May 31, 2020, in an effort to stop the spread of the COVID-19. Every legally recognized organization altered its internal labor laws over the aforementioned period to implement this direction and give women and other workers the

option to work from home, as well as to shorten or alter business hours and make them more flexible. On April 29, 2020, The Mongolian Parliament passed the Law on COVID-19 Prevention, Fight, and Mitigation of its Socioeconomic Impact. According to Article 13.2.5 of the Law, the legal entities are required to keep the employee who is subject to the quarantine and isolation regime in their job or position.

The Unemployment insurance fund was employed by the government to offer cash benefits. The insured who worked in companies (other than state and local government entities and state-owned businesses) for which the sales revenue was decreased by 50% or more during the months of February and March 2020 as compared to the same months in the previous year and which retained their employees, and (ii) the insured who worked in companies that ceased operations as a result of a decision by state authorities or as a result of the impact of those decisions. For independent contractors or staff members who work for an insurance-covered company, this intervention is regarded as a means of replacing their income.

Pandemic relief labor market measures include unpaid care work policies such as the decision made to allow parents to work from home till March 30, 2020. The parent who has children under 12 years old have worked from home. The Government has put the decision into effect in state-owned businesses, ministries, and agencies, and has urged the private sector to do the same for its employees. This decision continued until 2021 for parents who have children aged up to 12. Pandemic Social protection response policies were mostly social assistance programs based on universal and target cash transfer measures.

One-time universal cash transfers were provided as a fiscal rescue package for families and individuals during the lockdown. Each citizen received MNT 300,000 (\$105) in April 2021 to support their family when the country was under lockdown from April 10 to April 25, 2021. (the lockdown was extended until May 8, 2021). If they applied online and registered their local bank account with the E-Mongolia system, people who still live in other countries and possess Mongolian citizenship potentially received the benefits. Universal benefits that apply to everyone are categorized as gender-sensitive benefits.

The monthly livelihood support allowance is given to children under the age of 16 who are permanently in need of care. The pre-Covid benefit level was MNT 188,000.0 per month. As part of the government's financial responses to the Covid-19 outbreak, the payment was raised to MNT 288,000 (about \$101) per year. According to the original proposal, the enhanced amount of allowance was put into effect from May 1 through September 30, 2020. After that, it was extended until January 1, 2021, and then again until July 1, 2021. This measure fell into the unpaid care type and is categorized as a gender-sensitive policy.

3.2 Gender aspects of pandemic measures in Mongolia

The rapid socio-economic impact assessment of COVID-19 in Mongolia⁴ showed the main factor of negative impact on household income caused by the pandemic was unemployment, particularly in the women-dominated sector such as SME, informal, and self-employed sectors. Household income was negatively affected by employment and changes in wages and female-headed household wage income decreased by 29 percent in Mongolia (UNDP, 2020). Women in Mongolia also carry the weight of childcare, care of sick or disabled family members, and home duties due to the closure of kindergartens, schools, and daycare facilities. According to the Time Use Survey⁵, women in Mongolia practice unpaid care work for 273 minutes (or 4.5 hours) per day, which is 2.6 times more than men do. Moreover, domestic violence incidences climbed by 47%, while the number of domestic violence and gender-based violence victims in Mongolia who visited one-stop service centers and shelters increased by 87 percent. These indicate that women have been more negatively impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic than males in terms of their social and economic lives in Mongolia. As a result, progress toward achieving gender equality could potentially step back from recent achievements.

Government adjustment has had complicated and unforeseen effects thus far. Unintentional violations of a child's right to an education, as well as occasional neglect and difficulties fulfilling parental responsibilities, are the main effects of school closures. Homeschooling harms children and teenagers' physical and psychological wellness in addition to these problems. According to UNICEF, most children's safety and welfare may be in danger if schools and kindergartens are closed. Despite these consequences, it also challenged unpaid care works and deepened gender inequality because women and mothers with young children have more caring responsibilities than men.

Pandemic social protection and labor market responses focus on securing household income, supporting enterprises, and stabilizing the labor market. These policies focus on mitigating the socioeconomic impact on household and enterprises. Since the pandemic started, government policies looked gender sensitive but it was insufficient prioritization of labor and family policies in terms of gender perspective because lockdown measures and all levels of school closure for more than 12 months impact women and girl's unpaid care work and young girls' wellbeing. Women are more likely to struggle with work and life balance. However, the government adopted labor market policies shortening work hours, work from home interventions. But it wasn't enough to support women's rights and well-being, especially parents with young children. Children are left at home without any supervision. It increased the risk to children's safety. It implied that gender inequality deepened during the lockdown because the government measures were lack of supporting working women and women with

⁴ UNDP. May 2020. Rapid Socio-Economic impact assessment of COVID-19 prevention measures on vulnerable groups and value chains in Mongolia

⁵ National Statistical Office of Mongolia. Time Use Survey. Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, 2019.

children. Major constraints for working women were the long school and care facilities closure. If the care duty is needed, women should be the first because traditionally dual earner and mother care-giver family model remain the norm.

The government's rapid actions to maintain jobs and prevent income reductions could be attributed to the low unemployment rate in the first half of 2020. However, the implementation of a national lockdown and restrictions on the activities of businesses and organizations resulted in an increase in the unemployment rate by the end of the year.

Another important indicator of the labor market is the number of employees, which increased by around 50.8 thousand from the previous quarter to 1.3 million in 2018, 1.1 million in 2019, and 1.2 million in 2020. It was 1.05 million in the first quarter of 2021 and 1.1 million in the second. Mongolia's labor force participation rate in the second quarter of 2021 is 56.8%.

This indicator was 61.0% in 2018, 60.5% in 2019, and 58.8% in 2020, respectively, which indicates a decrease in the labor force participation rate in recent years. In particular, the labor force participation rate of women is 49% in the second quarter of 2021, which is 16.7% lower than that of men. In Mongolia, there are 917,000 unemployed people as of the second quarter of 2021, of whom 63.2 percent, or 579,500, are women. Because women make up the majority of the population who are not employed, 37.6% of women are retired, 24.1 % are enrolled in college, 17.9 % are caring for children, 3.9 % are disabled, and 2.9 % are caring for sick or old people. The majority of the fall in job orders from the same period last year was due to declines in other service activities, public administration and defense activities, official social security, as well as in the agricultural, forestry, fishing, and hunting sectors.

The government have taken some measures to mitigate pandemic negative impact on business and household. The Bank of Mongolia launched a two-year loan with an interest rate of 10.5% to small and medium enterprises and non-mining exporters using long-term repo financing instruments to reduce the negative impact of the Covid-19 epidemic on the economy. As part of this measure, banks have used the 230 billion MNT repo financing provided in December 2020 to provide new loans and refinance loans to 1,536 companies with a total of about 20,000 employees. In order to improve the impact of long-term repo financing on the economy, the Bank of Mongolia has increased access to small and medium enterprises and increased the maximum loan amount for small and medium enterprises to 3 billion mnt. The government has increased access to small and medium enterprises to 3 billion MNT for small and medium enterprises, individuals and exporters operating in the non-mining sector.

The measures taken against the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic continue to cause difficulties for Mongolia's economy. Women-dominated sector like SMEs are facing problems such as reduced capital turnover, demand and supply, and disruption of supplies and raw materials. Small business owners were unable to make rent payments and loan repayments. In the SME sector, business owners lost their confidence in the future of their business caused by lack of their incomes. However, small and micro (informal) business owners could not benefit from the government's support during the pandemic (tax concessions and financial aid)

particularly women-led business⁶. Utility, housing and financial support measures such as, exemption of the electricity, thermal energy, steam and heating utility bills, clean and wastewater service fees, and general waste service fees have supported all women entrepreneurs and it was accessible to women. Also, the distribution of one-off universal cash transfer has helped informal business women to overcome the pandemic. These measures have supported household income and the women-led businesses.

The financial situation of the household started to worsen directly related to the failure of business activities. As incomes decreased and expenses increased, business owners had difficulty paying their loans and rents. The families of women entrepreneurs were highly dependent on the income of the business. Seventy percent of married women earn half of the household income, and a minority of women reported earning more than their husbands before the pandemic⁷. In general, the decline in business income has had a direct impact on household income. There is a lack of access to information tailored to the needs of women entrepreneurs. According to survey of the Covid-19 impact on women business enterprise, 90 percent of women surveyed don't know how to get information about their industry, and regardless of marital status, disability, business location or industry, there was a significant lack of professional and industry knowledge. Entrepreneurs, regardless of gender, answered that the support provided by the government, financial and non-financial organizations, and SMEs lacks information. 89 percent of respondents said they don't know where to get support. One tenth of entrepreneurs with membership in formal or informal organizations received non-financial support, which suggests that only a small number of entrepreneurs have access to information and assistance.

Most of the entrepreneurs who managed to get support received it through government institutions, incubator centers, professional associations, NGOs and IGOs. In that sense, it can be seen that receiving business support is directly related to the availability of the information sources. The impact of the pandemic was relatively minimal for those working in the official sector, according to the statistical data on the key labor market indicators in Mongolia. This was taken into account since, during the pandemic's 10-month global spread, Mongolia had no confirmed cases and the government's response to preserve the job and income. Informal sector workers left behind and more vulnerable without any fiscal support except one-off cash transfer.

3.3 Reasons for the insufficiency of gender-specific measures?

3.3.1 Welfare state in Mongolian

In context of welfare state dynamics, Mongolian social welfare regime is at the stage of development. It is meant to be young and in-mature of social protection schemes. Countries

⁶ IRIM. Covid-19-Impact-Assessment-on-Micro-and-Small-scale-Women-Business-Enterprises-in-Mongolia. 2021. Ulaanbaatar.

⁷ IRIM. Covid-19-Impact-Assessment-on-Micro-and-Small-scale-Women-Business-Enterprises-in-Mongolia. 2021. Ulaanbaatar.

socio-economic transition affects in social provision. To understand the government approach to the pandemic responses requires understanding that institutional and cultural features of individual country shaped welfare ideology following path-dependent with socialist provisions. I argue here that Mongolian government responses were insufficient to meet with women's needs and rights because of lack systematic development in regard with gendered-welfare ideology, weak feminist and trade union mobilization in context of pandemic, female participation in decision-making level, and less cooperative approaches. Mongolian government approach to the pandemic is more likely to similar with liberal welfare states like USA due to its liberal ideology of welfare state keep the economic oriented or regulate the market-oriented policies instead focusing on universal and egalitarian policies. Institutional and cultural factors played determinant role to adopt the gender-sensitive pandemic responses. High political participation and female mobilization was crucial role to bring the gender into the policy design at governmental level in the world. In case of Mongolia, these determinants were weak. Only NGO co-operated with the government such as the campaign "smart triangle" protecting and preventing domestic violence against women and girl, particularly children. Other unions like labor, trade and feminist movement and female leaders were inefficient to sound – VAWG, economic insecurity and unpaid care work that areas seriously affected by the pandemic. It hindered the female unemployment and economic dependency. While inefficient collective mobilization, women actors made up only 11.5 percent of the state emergency committee. Weak enforcement of gender equality laws and lack of gender quotas at decision-making levels limit women's participation, thereby increasing the risk of neglecting women's diverse needs during the pandemic. Government had been taking respectively long containment and lockdown measures – closures all school, kindergarten, public and private businesses. Some measures were inappropriate and limited citizen right to access social services. Only those who work at civil servant protected their social rights and received more beneficiaries because this sector were more stable and regulated by the state in times of crisis. It is explained by the Mongolian political features shifting from socialist to democratic revolution. There is evident that Mongolian welfare regime is reflection of mixed social policies and welfare scheme which inherited from previous system. Some social programs are universal and egalitarian that maximize the beneficiaries at greater amount such as, child money program which made up one third of social expenditure (Gochoosuren, 2013, Khishigsuren, 2007). Its mixed political features and underdevelopment of social policy limited the capacity of implementing gender-sensitive policy during the pandemic

These cultural and institutional country features have undergirded the policy response to pandemic. The Labor Law stipulates that the employer must pay compensation to the employee during downtime caused by the employee's fault. Although the majority of enterprises have stopped their business operations due to the COVID-19 pandemic, it was not clear whether or not these companies should pay down-turn compensation according to the provisions of the law. In order to clarify this matter from the enterprises, there were no cases of employees being given unemployment benefits for those who started facing financial difficulties even before the emergency. There is a lack of technical assistance for female-owned SMEs, and consultancy services to support the development of business plans and appropriate business models.

Self-employed people whose incomes have decreased or have no income have been facing

difficulty paying loans, social insurance, taxes, and rent. Lockdown measures, the closure of trade and service sectors, where women are mostly employed informally or self-employed, is affecting them badly. Women spend most of the time for unpaid work, which negatively affects their self-care, learning and development. Also, older women are more mobilized to take care of their grandchildren due to the closure of schools and kindergartens. The unequal distribution of housework is directly related to gender stereotypes and societal norms. Household income has decreased but also caring for the elderly, children, and disabled family members, helping with household duties, and providing other psychological support have decreased in the family group.

Increased domestic work for girls and women reduces girls' equal access to education. Girls living in remote areas are more likely to take care of the household duty. It is meant to their study time were limited and it could impact reversely on their future well-being. Students have fewer opportunities to interact with their teachers in person during tele-learning. In addition, the lack of e-learning devices and tools for vulnerable children further increases inequality in education. Most of the teachers have no experience in teaching e-learning, lack of e-learning equipment, and insufficient access to the Internet have reduced the productivity of working from home. Teachers cannot communicate directly with students and their parents. For female teachers, who are the majority of teachers, spending a lot of time on unpaid work at home in addition to teaching is high likely to have a negative effect on the quality of e-learning. Recent study shows that teachers were responsible for all the costs themselves, such as paying for the phone and internet, and buying equipment to work remotely (UNDP, COVID-19 Impact on socio-economic life of Women and Girls in Mongolia., 2021).

Poverty and inequality that existed even before the COVID-19 pandemic adversely impacted on vulnerable groups in society - girls, women, elderly women, migrant women, and especially vulnerable groups living in rural areas. Many of them are at high risk of falling into deep poverty due to unemployment, underutilization of labor and lack of income. Moreover, The pandemic was affecting the food security of many poor households, including women and girls. The COVID-19 pandemic increases the risk of violence against women and girls. Anxiety, frustration and stress levels are rising among single mothers due to household duties and remote work. Disparities in digital access increase inequality in education for vulnerable groups, including children and youth living in rural areas. Remote Children in the regions, rural areas, and rural areas are unable to access educational services due to the lack of smart phones, computers, and insufficient internet. Dropouts from e-learning and lack of regular communication with teachers and peers were common among rural children.

Pastoral households with few livestock and their female family members were more affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. In order to reduce the negative impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, the government has increased livelihood benefits and welfare, which has been able to support vulnerable groups. Recent studies show that the increase of social welfare benefits and food stamp program for single parents with three or more children have reached their rightful owners, especially the poorest and most vulnerable women in society. Child benefits, social insurance benefits, and tax exemptions have directly reached households as income. Household consumption decreased sharply in the first quarter of 2020, but increased in the second and third quarters.

There was a lack of understanding between decision makers and law enforcement agencies at the local and national levels. The respondents reported that the measures taken and the information provided by local and national level decisionmakers and law enforcement agencies were inconsistent. They also doubt whether the measures to reduce the risk of the pandemic, such as conducting tele-classes, discounts and exemptions for enterprises, are effective. Most of the women involved in voluntary and unpaid work are family businesses or the informal sector, whose businesses have been closed due to the lockdown. There is a lack of government policies supporting these informal sectors. Gender inequality in decision-making is stark. Weak enforcement of gender equality laws and lack of gender quotas at decision-making levels limit women's participation, thereby increasing the risk of neglecting women's diverse needs during the pandemic. Of the 26 members of the State Emergency Commission, only 3 or 11.5 percent are women.

The sum of these factors is growing already-existing inequities. Compared to males and dads, women and working moms continue to bear a heavier burden. According to research, women with small children have particularly suffered from the effects of reduced job hours and labor force participation (UNDP, Mongolia, 2021). All families have been harmed by the nation's weaker child care system, but disadvantaged families and families in rural regions are most affected. Due to long-standing structural disparities, working women in fields like education and rural areas have limited access to flexible work hours and telework choices to support caring. Frontline workers were disproportionately affected, increasing their risk of infection and reducing their time available for child care.

In Mongolia, working mothers and single mothers who have children rely on daycare centers and their extended networks to take care of the kids, yet all too frequently they are blocked off from these vital resources because of lockdown regulations. Furthermore, because food insecurity has increased among vulnerable households with children, low-income families that were already having trouble making ends meet before the pandemic are now in an even worse situation.

3.3.2 Female political participation and Liberal Democracy

In context of the pandemic across the world, Countries with higher female political participation, strong autonomous feminist mobilization, high democracy seem to introduce more comprehensive gender-sensitive measures. For Mongolia, Parliament seats held by women is around 13 (17%) out of 76 parliament members in election 2020. It is classified to the analysis of government measures by female representation in parliament, liberal democracy index as a country with medium female representation in parliament ranging 6-11 gender-sensitive measures and classified as country with medium liberal index by 0.49 score.

Mongolia, a member of the United Nations and other international organizations, has made significant efforts to protect women's rights and promote gender equality. National laws and policy initiatives have been updated to reflect these agreements' principles. However, it is

ranked below the global and Asian average in the Global Gender Gap index⁸ for 2021, where it is scored 69th out of 156 nations, and where it is ranked 116th out of 156 nations in the political participation. Women in parliament make up 17.3% of total parliament members, Mongolia is ranked 127th out of 193 nations as of June 2021 according to the Global data on National Parliaments.

Considering the number of candidates for parliament election, Women candidates in rural areas are *comparatively* fewer compared to the candidates in the capital city (Ulaanbaatar). In the last 4 parliamentary elections, a total of 1,814 candidates were nominated, of which 430 or 23.7 percent were women. Out of this, only 18 percent of the candidates in the local constituencies are women, while 30 percent of the candidates in the capital city Ulaanbaatar are women. Number of women working at administration level are insufficient for higher position. Women's representation decreases as they move up the ranks in local self-governing organizations. Women representatives in citizens' Representative Meeting for capital and aimag (province) make up only 15% of Citizens' Representative Meeting. However, the percentage of female representatives in Sum (small administration unit) and District meeting was 27.1 percent in 2016 and 28.62 percent in 2020. In the future, there is a need for political parties to implement policies and programs to increase gender quotas, support female candidates and representatives, and make policies and activities of political parties more gender-sensitive. As of 2021, there are 208,864 civil servants in Mongolia, the majority of which is 61.65 percent are women, but the proportion of women at the decision-making level does not meet the quota specified in the Law on Gender Equality. For example, 23.9 percent of all employees working in political positions and 25.7 percent of all employees working in the positions of top officials of the state administration are women. This is 37.7-35.9 percent lower than the average of women among all government employees⁹.

In context of state parliamentary election, In the 1992, three women members were elected, and women strengthened their representation in politics. Since then, they have been elected and re-elected for 30 years, and now occupy 17 percent of the parliament seats, but it is 7 percent less than the world average. The Law on Elections in 2005 stipulates that "at least 30 percent of the candidates from any party and the coalition must be of one gender." Because, in the previous elections, only two or three women candidates were for every 100 candidates. However, the provision was canceled by the Parliament in 2007 without implementing it at all. Four years after that, in 2011, 11 women members were elected the first time in the 2012 parliamentary elections, when it was enacted that at least 20 percent of party and coalition candidates should be women. However, there is a quota of at least 15% of the members of the government. There are three female ministers in the current cabinet. One of the characteristics of the new government is to increase the representation of women and take responsibility for three major sectors of the state. The fact that 13 (around 17%) female members were elected to the Parliament in 2016 and 2020 is lower than the Asian average of 20 percent and the global

⁸ World Economic Forum. "Global Gender Gap Index 2021".

⁹ Report of The Civil Service Council of Mongolia. 2021

average of 25 percent.

Although Mongolia is implementing phased measures to increase women's participation, the results are still insufficient. During the pandemic, countries with high participation of women played an important role in the inclusion of gender, including the promoting women's rights, and social issues such as family, children, and the elderly in the policy agenda.

The most important thing for voters to understand is that children, families, social welfare, health and human development issues are gender-specific. Only at the decision-making level, the representation of many social groups and the optimal ratio of genders create conditions that are friendly to the lives of citizens.

In the 2012 parliamentary elections, 11 female members representing five political parties were elected. They worked together on the legal projects including combating domestic violence, about childcare services, tobacco control, medical care and services, health insurance, culture, waste, the rights of citizens with disabilities, children's rights child protection, Mongolian language, tenancy act, traffic safety, environment protection, organic food etc.

In 2016-2020, 13 women were elected and they focused on protecting children's rights, combating domestic violence, welfare of teachers and doctors working in education and health sector, reducing air pollution, supporting family clinics, improving access to health care, and increasing women's employment. In 2020-2024 election, 13 women members were elected and they worked together in the revision of the Labor Law to include provisions related to child protection, allowing parents who take care of their children in permanent care to receive certain social services, and supporting the employment of people with disabilities.

In 2021, it was estimated that more than 150,000 two- and three-year-old children did not attend kindergarten, and more than 121,000 women were unable to work due to lack of childcare facilities. A group of women members in the Parliament supported a budget of 2 billion MNT to increase spending on child care services. As part of the "Every Child in Kindergarten" program, kindergarten registration for the 2022-2023 school year using the "E-Mongolia" app enabled more than 140,000 children to register online, and thousands of mothers were able to return to labor market.

Recent study on the barriers to political participation of women and youth based on data collected through multiple channels such as focus group and individual interviews pointed out that Implementation of the "gender quota" set for women to participate in elections is insufficient; The high cost of campaigning is a major financial barrier for women and youth to participate in politics; Fixed notions about the roles of men and women and societal expectations reduce women's political participation; Women and youth prefer not to participate in politics because of the notion that politics is dirty; The internal structure and organization of the political party does not provide sufficient support for the recruitment of women and youth and the development of their leadership skills; The lack of systematic support for voter education contributes to the weak political participation of women and youth.

Former minister of environment and tourism, former parliament member Ms. Oyungerel

said that Initial issue to take a seat in parliament for women in Mongolia is quota system. Whether they could have been worked or not is a secondary issue. When the Democratic Party was in the majority in the Parliament, women were given more opportunities. Even though there were 11 female parliament members, we brought out female chairmen of the standing committee, for example, L. Erdenechimeg, Z. Bayanselenge, etc., as well as established a standing committee in which women make up the majority. Through these, problems were solved when they were raised with the Speaker of the Parliament". She added that it seems that the current parliament has more women members than before, but it is not productive. For example, we were the majority in the Standing Committee on Social Policy, including majority in the Standing Committee on Justice and Environment to the point of boycotting the attendance, if we get the chairman of this standing committee, we can get two of the 11 standing committees, dominate the policies of three standing committees, and participate in one used to adhere to the policy of the standing committee. Now all this is gone, and while there is progress in quantity, there has been a decline in quality. Therefore, there is still a cultural gap between party policies and the few leaderships who hold party policies. It seems that there is a quota, and it seems that women are nominated and elected, but the women who have been elected are somehow blocked from working productively. Such a bandage is visible.

In 2012-2016, the Female parliamentarians formed their own groups and had an absolute majority on the Standing Committee on Social Policy. All women parliament member were allowed to join this standing committee. As soon as it was seen that women can lead the standing committee with policies like this, people began to expect a lot from women. More women than previous were elected to the next parliament, the expectations became that much higher. However, women were not the majority in any standing committee, and women's groups were not established. Even in the current Parliament, there is no standing committee with a female chairman. The requests of women members to join the standing committee were not immediately fulfilled and they were not made into a majority. In this situation, it means that the power of turning the requests from the voters to the female members into government policy is weakened.

Women at ministry level were in charge of Ministry of Health, Ministry of Labor and Social Protection during the pandemic. While government have introduced or expanded the measures to reduce the socioeconomic effect of pandemic. Response to overcome the challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic should be based on the needs of citizens, while ensuring the equality and participation of women and girls, and focusing on empowering them, as well as increasing the participation and representation of women in decision-making level not only for the pandemic, but also for the development of Mongolia.

Looking at the average of the citizens' opinions of the last 4 years of the Democratic Governance Survey¹⁰, the citizens who participated in the survey answered that their confidence for President was 24.5% (4 year average), Confidence for Parliament was 12.2% (4 year average), and Confidence for the Government was 18.9% (4 year average). Compared to

¹⁰ National Statistical Office. Liberal Democracy Survey. 2018-2021.

2018, there is an increase in people's trust in the president, parliament, and government, but in general, public trust in the government is still weak. The women's movement, trade unions, employers' associations, and civil society organizations in Mongolia are still in the development stage, and depending on the characteristics of the old system, their active activities are insufficient in times of crisis. It may be resulted by containment measures and lockdown. However, there were some demonstrations against government and state emergence committee in 2021, caused by violation of human rights especially mother with infant had been transferred to quarantine facility under bad situation. As result of it, Government resigned after this event. Also during the demonstration, Mothers with children expressed they want to return to the work and demand enough child care facilities from government.

In context of democracy, the gender-sensitive policy and citizen's collective well-being are high correlated with strong democracy and autonomous civil society movement. The issue of democracy has been widely studied within the framework of theory, methodology, principles, and ideals developed by Western scientists and international organizations since the 1990s, which chose the path of democratic development. According to the conclusions of researchers within the framework of the basic theory of democracy, within 30 years of Mongolia's democratic development, Mongolia has created a picture of democracy with mixed characteristics that can be attributed to both fake, pretend, elected, and liberal democracy. Rather than good or bad, it is appropriate to consider this as a transition in progress (Chuluunbaatar G et., 2021). On the surface, such as institutions, forms, and structures, it seems to be close to the state of liberal democracy, but the features reflecting the civilization and the quality indicators of the mental and consciousness spheres such as political knowledge, culture, education, psychology, and ethics are considered as a transition in progress.

In Mongolia, according to the democratic Constitution, which conceptually meets the basic ideas of modern parliamentary democracy and common international standards, the political system, elected democracy, and state institutions have been formed and developed, and the political, legal, economic, and social rights of human rights and freedoms have been developed. strengthening mass media, freedom of the press, political education of citizens, and knowledge and culture about democracy, some progress has been made, and civil society is expanding in terms of scale (Chuluunbaatar G et., 2021).

But looking at the quality of democracy, on the one hand, there are some beginnings of progress, and on the other hand, the complex and fragile image continues to be intertwined with the inertia and accumulation of difficulties. Regarding the issue of Mongolia choosing the path of democracy, at the beginning of the 20th century, Mongolia chose to implement the path of representative democracy with a national democratic model suitable for the country's characteristics. We believe that Mongolians "accepted" the modern idea of democracy in the classical sense at the beginning of the 20th century, but in the more specific or liberal sense at the end of this century.

It is not possible to consider the factors influencing the development of democracy within a certain nation without thinking of the people's notion, religion, culture, citizenship, and the national features of the state. On the one hand, it can be considered as a space for the carriers

of the democratic ideals of the people, and on the other hand, it can be considered as a system of macro-social factors that influence the development of democracy. Religion, culture, citizenship, and politics are phenomena and processes that condition each other and develop mutually in the same space or natural-geographical environment, among people of the same race and origin, without a specific sequence of time. The fundamental factors that give rise to the features of Mongolia's development through democracy are related to the historical traditions of the Mongolian state, the national soil of society and citizenship, the uniqueness of religion, culture, and thinking.

In the process of development and formation of representative democracy in Mongolia, problems, and challenges related to policy, law, governance relations, political parties, political relations, and civil society development and citizen participation continue.

Democratic mainstream researchers (Chuluunbaatar G, et.,) have considered challenges and difficulties that affect the democratic development of Mongolia, categorized into two parts: policy environment and legal environment. In terms of the policy environment, the scientific basis is insufficient at all stages of their development, in which, declarative goals are formulated, financial sources, and indicators for monitoring implementation, responsible organizations and institutions are omitted, and participation of professional groups and researchers in the policy environment is not fully ensured, it follows a cycle of the political election, there is no continuity in the year before the election, and there is little confirmation of the calculation, which causes many difficulties in the implementation of the policy.

Regarding the legal environment, there are still some issues that need to be studied and solved at the level of the Constitution during the formation and development of democracy, and these issues are the general basis of the challenges related to the legal environment in the development of democracy. For example, the problem of the electoral system is not clear, there are ambiguous provisions, there is a precedent that the majority party revises the electoral law just before the election, and depending on the electoral system, Article 21-2 of the Constitution "directly elects members". It can be mentioned that the clause is controversial.

The lack of political party formation and non-transparent activities has a negative impact on strengthening the capacity of the state organization, its systems and institutions established by the Constitution, and causes many difficulties. The challenges faced in the reform process in recent years are mainly the political-dependent instability that follows the election cycle, the growth of staff and costs, the inverse relationship of work results, the proliferation of bureaucrats who "carry a bag" instead of being qualified and competent, and it continues to cause problems in governance relations, manifesting itself in major challenges such as corruption, irresponsibility, and anarchy without discipline.

The modern political system of society and the political party and multi-party system, which are the main institutions that create the system, were not created naturally from the beginning, reflecting the real differences of interest and the opinions that follow it, but only the psychological excitement of the society, which demanded radical changes, and the mentality of the excited people. Due to the fact that they were formed by the ideas and initiatives of the

state leaders and active groups, the main political parties have kept their "birthmarks" and are still a test of many difficulties in the development of democracy. As a result of the above-mentioned challenges and difficulties in political parties and political relations, the reality is the anarchy of politics and freedom, the loss of justice, the decline of morals, the process that can be called the paradox of the stratified social structure (no middle layer) exists and continues. The institution that has the most real impact on Mongolian democracy is civil society. Research on civil society is sketchy and just beginning.

In order to reduce the complications and problems arising in the context of civil society organizations and mass media, correct the overlapping, conflicting, and unrelated regulations in terms of policy and law; support civil society activities and citizen participation, and lead citizens to active participation between the state and citizens. It is necessary to implement specific measures such as adding legal regulations that strengthen the feedback loop and are accessible to people, clarifying the structure and composition of civil society, the direction, and scope of activities, and making registration information quick and hassle-free. For a certain nation, civil society should be born and formed by the citizens' own lives, national traditions, and interpersonal relations, and express the picture of the national mentality. In this sense, the challenges and problems directly related to the development of citizens and civil society have continued for many years. For example:

- due to insufficient basic conditions for participation, equal opportunities for participation of every citizen are limited,
- citizens' political awareness is lagging behind, education is thin, access to information resources is not uniform, capacity is not uniform, passivity,
- expand the real opportunities to meet the legitimate needs of all aspects of citizens' participation,
- inculcating the values of democracy in citizens,
- the intelligent (legitimate) need of citizens to protect their rights and interests in government, state and public affairs has not matured, the content, form, and consequences of citizens' participation are poorly coordinated,
- In the psychology of citizens, the inertia of relying on the government, political laziness, and the inertia of preparation is still strong.
- although civil society organizations have increased in number, their coverage of the population is narrow and their activities are weak,
- Challenges still exist today, such as the failure to establish a positive standard for the activities of government organizations that are accountable to citizens and civil society.

For the Mongolian youth, who are the largest population in Mongolia and are the main decisive force in all fields of politics, society, economy, culture, art, and education, the main reason for their alienation from politics and disinterest in politics is related to weakening their trust in political parties and politicians. Electronic technology and social networks are rapidly

developing, and the use and accessibility of them is increasing, and the political and other types of participation of young people are improving.

Today, Mongolia, like more than 210 countries in the world, is affected by the difficulties caused by "Covid-19" pandemic and is facing severe challenges in terms of health, society, economy, politics, spirituality, and psychology. Until now, the measures taken by the government have been aimed at overcoming the difficulties caused by the pandemic as little as possible and protecting the citizens. It can be considered that the capacity of the social-political system, governance relations, and institutions, especially the unique features of state-citizen relations at the regional and national levels, was more clearly revealed during the difficulties caused by the pandemic.

In the future, the problem of what the world and the country will be like during the disaster period and after the disaster is becoming a big issue for independent research. Nowadays, when no one can say how the situation will change in the future, it is clear that it will be a big challenge for any country's government and political system. There is an opportunity to overcome the weaknesses and problems of representative democracy through forms of direct democracy, but the initiatives and attempts to use it are relatively weak.

In the local government system, we have accumulated experience in ensuring citizens' participation in the combined legal environment of representative and direct democracy within the framework of the principle of combining state administration with local self-management.

According to actual experience, citizens' right to information is not effectively implemented in connection with the issue of civil rights, which is the first pillar of the evaluation of the state of democracy in the locality. This is influenced by basic factors such as the lack of dual flow of information in any state-citizen relationship, lack of knowledge, information, understanding, and positive attitude of stakeholders regarding representative democracy and local self-government organizations.

In Mongolia, citizen participation based on direct democracy can be more widely used in the People's Public Meetings. However, the range of problems to be solved at the team and committee level is limited and resources are scarce, which does not allow for effective implementation. According to good local experiences, it is observed that there have been certain changes in the attitude of citizens and government officials regarding citizen participation. By providing citizens with information, listening to their opinions, understanding each other, involving them in activities, and working together, their attitudes have changed significantly, and citizens have become interested in the activities implemented in Sum (cym: small administration unit) and the local area, and there are many examples of cases where they get information in this area and give importance to it. It can be seen from this that it is very important to involve citizens in the activities that the management and employees of government organizations are going to implement, to support the initiatives of citizens to implement them, to create opportunities for citizens to solve problems by themselves, to make joint decisions and implement them together, and to ensure the active participation of citizens.

In order to adopt a new culture of citizen participation in society, on the one hand, it is

important for citizens to have a high level of trust in political institutions in governance, and on the other hand, for citizens to be well aware of what issues and how they can participate, and to be able to implement them in accordance with laws and common moral values.

4. Conclusion

This research explored Social Protection Responses to the pandemic in Mongolia while examining the factors contributed to catering to women's needs in a series of responses to the pandemic in the world. Gender-sensitive policy variations across the countries in context of pandemic are shaped and designed by institutional and cultural features besides enabler and equalizer factors of the gender-responsive measures. Income was the main constraints for implementing the pandemic relief policies because policy response density differed among different income groups. High- and Middle-income groups have adopted high density social protection and labor market responses compared to income groups. Countries with strong social protection system are more active to promote women's needs and right with more generous and egalitarian family policy which shaped by institutional and cultural features.

Considering welfare state in terms of state-market-family relation is important to understand policy disparity across the countries in general and pandemic situation. In that spirit, this research found that countries with a smaller gender gap, higher female political participation, strong social protection system, active women's movement, and a higher degree of democracy are more active in promoting women's rights during the pandemic. Countries with more generous and egalitarian family policies introduced more gender-sensitive measures in general and vexing times. Furthermore, Strong feminist movement, women's political participation, and democratization are the main determinants that influence on gender-sensitive policy process. There are high correlation between gender-sensitive policy and feminist movement, democratization. Pandemic policy responses variation among the countries explained by the institutional and cultural frame about labor and family relation. Social democratic welfare system have generous and egalitarian family policies and prioritized the citizens wellbeing and succeeded to mitigating socio-economic impact of pandemic with well developed welfare system and emergency plan. Institutional features in social democratic and corporatist welfare regime have strong safety nets and adequate, efficient employment protection policies already have taken in place, those fare better covered by benefits and protection unlike Liberal welfare regime lack of safety net and pandemic management. Another contribution stand points cultural frame that shaped gender-sensitive policy – breadwinner or mother caregiver family model where women weight more care duties and added responsibilities compared to more gender egalitarian family model remains the norm where first short re-opening school and care facilities was prioritized. In Mongolia, school closure and containment measures took in place for long period. It burdened unpaid care works and women struggled work and life balance. It constrained women employment but also deepened inequality, especially in rural and vulnerable citizens. Social Protection programs were sufficient to secure household income and support citizens but government approach to the pandemic was inadequate and insufficient to meet women's needs in context of gender perspective.

국문 초록

코로나 19 극복을 위한 젠더 수용적 대책: 코로나 19에 대한 사회보장 대책의 젠더적 분석

Batchuluun Batsukh

국제학

서울대학교 국제대학원

COVID-19 팬데믹은 보건, 이환율 및 사망률에 엄청난 영향을 미쳤을 뿐만 아니라 세계 경제와 노동 시장을 뒤흔들었으며 경제적 여파가 젠더 평등에 역효과를 가져왔다. 다른 국가들은 젠더와 노동 불평등에 어떻게 대응해 왔는가? 젠더 대응 조치를 도입한 국가는 어디인가? 팬데믹 기간 동안 여성의 권리 증진에 더 적극적인 국가는 어디인가? 팬데믹에 대한 조치를 시행할 때 여성의 요구를 충분히 고려하여 몽골 정부의 조치가 여성의 요구를 충족시키기에 충분하거나 부족한 요인은 무엇이었는가? 본 연구는 몽골의 코로나 팬데믹 때의 사회적 보장 대응에 대해서 탐구하는 동시에 세계적인 전염병 대유행에 대한 일련의 대응에서 어떤 요인이 여성의 요구에 부응하는 데 기여했는지를 밝히는 것을 목적으로 하였다. 그리고 유행병의 맥락에서 국가 전체에 걸쳐 성별에 민감한 정책 변화가 성별 대응 조치의 조력자 및 이퀄라이저 요소 외에 제도적, 문화적 특징에 의해 형성된다고 주장한다. 본 연구는 젠더 격차가 작고, 여성의 정치 참여도가 높으며, 사회 보장 체계가 강하고, 여성 운동이 활발하며, 민주주의 수준이 높은 국가들이 팬데믹 시기에 여성의 권리 증진에 더 적극적임을 보여주었다. 수입은 전염병 정책의 주요 제약이었다. 더 관대하고 평등주의적인 가족 정책을 가진 국가들은 일반적이고 성가신 시기에 더 성별에 민감한 조치를 도입했다. 또한 강력한 페미니스트 동원, 여성의 정치참여, 민주화 등이 젠더 감수성 있는 정책과정에 영향을 미치는 주요 요인이다. 또한, 팬데믹 정책 대응은 정책을 형성하는 각 국가의 제도적, 문화적 특징에 따라 차이를 보여주고 있다.

주요어: 팬데믹 대응, 사회보장, 젠더 평등, 복지국가.

학번: 2021-23400

References

- ADB, 2016. Social Protection Brief. Social Welfare Support Program in Mongolia.
- ADB, 2022. Building Capacity for an Effective Social Welfare System: Food Stamps and Employment Services Consultant's Report.
- Anu Madgavkar, Olivia White, Mekala Krishnan, Deepa Mahajan, and Xavier Azcue. McKinsey Global Institute. COVID-19 and gender equality: Countering the regressive effects, July 15, 2020. Article. p11.
- Assessment of the Government of Mongolia's Shock-Responsive Vertical Expansion of Social Assistance in Response to Covid-19
- AUDIT: The employment promotion policy did not yield results. <http://eagle.mn/r/106002>.
- Bambra C. Going beyond The three worlds of welfare capitalism: regime theory and public health research. *J Epidemiol Community Health*. 2007 Dec;61(12):1098-102. doi: 10.1136/jech.2007.064295. PMID: 18000134; PMCID: PMC2465657.
- Béland, D, Cantillon, B, Hick, R, Moreira, A. Social policy in the face of a global pandemic: Policy responses to the COVID-19 crisis. *Soc Policy Adm*. 2021; 55: 249– 260. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spol.12718>
- Browne J, Coffey B, Cook K, Meiklejohn S, Palermo C. A guide to policy analysis as a research method. *Health Promot Int*. 2019 Oct 1;34(5):1032-1044. doi: 10.1093/heapro/day052. PMID: 30101276.
- Chiara Piovani, Nursel Aydiner-Avsar (2015) The Gender Impact of Social Protection Policies: A Critical Review of the Evidence, *Review of Political Economy*, 27:3, 410-441, DOI: 10.1080/09538259.2015.1063311
- Debbie Budlender & Rhonda Sharp With Kerri Allen, *How To Do A Gender-Sensitive Budget Analysis: Contemporary Research And Practice*.
- Esping-Andersen G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Princeton University Press.
- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. "The Three Political Economies of the Welfare State." *International Journal of Sociology* 20, no. 3 (1990): 92–123.
- Gentilini, Ugo; Almenfi, Mohamed; Orton, Ian; Dale, Pamela. 2020. Social Protection And Jobs Responses To COVID-19: A Real-Time Review Of Country Measures. World Bank, Washington, DC. © World Bank. <https://Openknowledge.Worldbank.Org/Handle/10986/33635>.
- Gentilini, Ugo; Almenfi, Mohamed; Orton, Ian; Dale, Pamela. Social Protection And Jobs Responses To COVID-19: A Real-Time Review Of Country Measures "Living Paper" Version 12
- Hipp L., Bünning M. (2020). Parenthood as a driver of increased gender inequality during COVID-19? Exploratory evidence from Germany. *European Societies*, 23(Suppl. 1), S658-S673.
- ILO Social Protection Department | Mongolia: Child Money Programme
- Krystal Wilkinson, Alison M. Collins, Marilena Antoniadou. (2022) Family status and changing demands/resources: the overlooked experience of solo-living employees transitioning to homeworking during the Covid-19 pandemic. *The International Journal of*

Human Resource Management 0:0, pages 1-27.

Lauzadyte-Tutliene, A., Balezentis, T., Goculenko, E. (2018). Welfare State in Central and Eastern Europe. *Economics and Sociology*, 11(1), 100-123. doi:10.14254/2071-789X.2018/11-1/7

Law on Labor, www.legalinfo.mn

Ludovico Carraro and Amartuvshin Tserennadmid. Oxford Policy Management. Mongolia: Building Capacity for an Effective Social Welfare System Assessment of the social protection response to COVID-19 in Mongolia. October 2020.

Maja Gavrilovic, Monica Rubio, Francesca Bastagli, Roopa Hinton, Silke Staab, Ruth Graham Goulder, Charlotte Bilo, Ruby Khan, Amber Peterman, Bobo Diallo, Laura Alfers, Aroa Santiago, Zehra Rizvi, Rebecca Holmes, Juan Gonzalo Jaramillo Mejia, And Constanza Tabbush. Gender-responsive social protection post-COVID-19: Investment in gender-responsive social protection systems and evidence is key to a more equal future post-COVID-19. 10 Mar 2022, Vol 375, Issue 6585, pp. 1111-1113, DOI: 10.1126/science.abm5922

Megan O'Donnell, Mayra Buvinic, Shelby Bourgault, And Brian Webster The Gendered Dimensions Of Social Protection In The COVID-19 Context

Megan O'Donnell, Mayra Buvinic, Shelby Bourgault and Brian Webster. Center for Global Development (2021), The Gendered Dimensions of Social Protection in the COVID-19 Context. CGD Brief, April. 2021.

Mongolian National Audit Office. The Implementation and Results of The Policy Taken By The State To Support Employment And Increase Jobs. Audit report 2022.

Norton M. (2014). Classification and coercion: The destruction of piracy in the English maritime system. *American Journal of Sociology*, 119(6), 1537-1575. 10.1086/676041

Olagnier D., Mogensen T. H. (2020). The COVID-19 pandemic in Denmark: Big lessons from a small country. *Cytokine & Growth Factor Reviews*, 53(June), 10-12.

10.1016/j.cytogfr.2020.05.005

Orloff, Ann Shola. "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States." *American Sociological Review* 58, no. 3 (1993): 303–28. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095903>.

Orloff, Ann Shola. "Gendering the Comparative Analysis of Welfare States: An Unfinished Agenda." *Sociological Theory* 27, no. 3 (2009): 317–43. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40376139>.

Pierson P. (2000). Three worlds of welfare state research. *Comparative Political Studies*, 33(6-7), 791-821. 10.1177/001041400003300605

Rose Cook & Damian Grimshaw (2021). A gendered lens on COVID-19 employment and social policies in Europe, *European Societies*, 23:sup1, S215-S227, DOI: 10.1080/14616696.2020.1822538

Rudra, Nita. "Welfare States in Developing Countries: Unique or Universal?" *The Journal of Politics* 69, no. 2 (2007): 378–96. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2508.2007.00538.x>.

S. Laurel Weldon, Kaitlin Kelly-Thompson, Amber Lusvardi, Summer Forester, When And How Does Transnational Feminist Promote Gender Justice? New Measures And Exploratory Findings. March 2020, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, Canada.

Saunes IS, Vrangbæk K, Byrkjeflot H, Jervelund SS, Birk HO, Tynkkynen LK, Keskimäki I, Sigurgeirsdóttir S, Janlöv N, Ramsberg J, Hernández-Quevedo C, Merkur S, Sagan A, Karanikolos M. Nordic responses to Covid-19: Governance and policy measures in the early phases of the pandemic. *Health Policy*. 2022 May;126(5):418-426. doi:

10.1016/j.healthpol.2021.08.011. Epub 2021 Sep 5. PMID: 34629202; PMCID: PMC8418563.

Summer Forester, Kaitlin Kelly-Thompson, Amber Lusvardi, S. Laurel Weldon. *A Global, Comparative Map of Feminist Movements, 1975-2015*.

The Law on Social Welfare of Mongolia, www.legalinfo.mn

Ugo Gentilini, Mohamed Almenfi, John Blomquist, Pamela Dale, Luciana De la Flor Giuffra, Vyjayanti Desai, Maria Belen Fontenez, Guillermo Galicia, Veronica Lopez, Georgina Marin, Ingrid Veronica Mujica, Harish Natarajan, David Newhouse, Robert Palacios, Ana Patricia Quiroz, Claudia Rodriguez Alas, Gayatri Sabharwal, and Michael Weber. *Social Protection and Jobs Responses to COVID-19: A Real-Time Review of Country Measures “Living paper”* version 15, May 14, 2021.

UN Women, 2021. *Women And Girls Left Behind. Glaring Gaps In Pandemic Responses*
UN, *Gender-Responsive Budgeting In Asia And The Pacific Key Concepts And Good Practices*

UNDP and UN Women, *COVID-19 Global Gender Response Tracker. Version 3*.

UNDP, *COVID-19 Global Gender Response Tracker. Methodological Note*

UNICEF, *Gender-Responsive Social Protection During COVID-19: Technical Note*

World Bank Group, 2021. *Mongolia Economic Update from Relief to Recovery*

World Bank Group, 2021. *Taking Stock Of Covid-19 Labor Policy Responses In Developing Countries*.

World Economic Forum, *Global Gender Gap Report 2021*.

Website:

<https://www.sfu.ca/politics/feministmovement/research-briefs.html>

<https://www.norden.org/en/information/social-policy-and-welfare>

<https://hbr.org/2018/05/denmark-has-great-maternity-leave-and-child-care-policies-so-why-arent-more-women-advancing>

<http://www.1212.mn>

<https://covidmongolia.mn/25-0-95-0-0.aspx>

<https://nema.gov.mn/wp-content/uploads/>

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1P2SBnypnXGRJ8j6itPTebtYo_lfhbSB_/view

The IPC-IG Launches an Online Dashboard Of A Mapping On Social Protection Responses To COVID-19 In The Global South | International Policy Centre For Inclusive Growth (IPC-IG)