

Lack of Resources, Gender Blindness, and Competitive Skill Training Programs for Women: Research on the Chinese Mongolian Women's Livelihood Transformation and Resource Acquisition for Re-Employment Skills

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ABSTRACT. During the process of urbanization in pastoral areas of Inner Mongolia, China, a large number of Mongolian women who were originally engaged in traditional nomadic pastoralism began to make their career move. Some of them are engaged in modern animal husbandry while others are seeking for employment opportunities in industry or service sectors, which not only represents the tendency for the pastoral society to transform itself from nomadic pastoralism into modern animal husbandry, but also demonstrates the internal logic of the industrial transition within the pastoral society. The above changes require traditional workers to acquire new employment skills. For Mongolian women in pastoral areas, they need to obtain employment skill trainings such as modern management knowledge or scientific breeding techniques. In addition, pastoral women who are not working in the pastoral sector are mainly engaged in secondary and tertiary industries and therefore need to receive trainings for providing services, such as catering operations or housekeeping. The main channels for Mongolian women to obtain employment skill trainings include government departments, employers, professional cooperatives and various industry associations, vocational technical schools, and social training institutions. These institutions provide single and fixed skill trainings. The dilemma behind such diversified demand for receiving employment skills and relatively single-sourced supply of employment skill trainings is the overall shortage of skill training resources, gender blindness in skill training, and the potential double oppression of ethnicity and gender in the training market.

KEYWORDS: Livelihood transformation, Mongolian women, Employment training

1. Introduction

In the urbanization of pastoral areas in Inner Mongolia, herdsmen engaged in the livelihood of traditional nomadic pastoralism are facing the reality of changing employment modes. The specific performance of which is as follows: on the one hand, some herdsmen abandon the original way of life and enter the city seeking for employment; on the other hand, others begin to manage modern farming industry. However, the lack of necessary employment skill trainings not only makes it difficult for the herdsmen to enter the city to achieve stable employment, but also makes it difficult for the herdsmen who stay in the pastoral area to adapt to modern animal husbandry operations. Therefore, the pursuit of obtaining employment skill trainings has become the new demand for pastoral workers to adapt to urbanization.

From a gender perspective [1], there is a serious imbalance in employment skill training resources between men and women [2]. In specific, the tension between the diversified demands of employment skill training for women in pastoral areas and the homogenization of women's employment skill training access is expanding [3]. The underlying reasons are the overall shortage of skill training resources, gender blindness [4] in skill trainings, and the potential double squeeze of ethnicity and gender in the training market [5].

2. Diversified Demands and the Current Situation of Women's Skill Trainings in Urad Back Banner

Urad Back Banner is located in the northwest of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, bordering Mongolia in the north. The border is 195.25 kilometers long and covers an area of 25,276 square kilometers. The banner currently governs three towns and two townships where 52 villages are included. At the end of 2011, the total population was 65,500, including 33,500 men and 31,900 women; 34,000 urban residents and 31,400 villagers. Mongolians account for 27% of the entire population [6][7].

Urad Back Banner is one of the counties with the most abundant mineral resources in the autonomous region.

The proven mineral resources include 118 mining sites with 8 categories and 46 varieties, which brings a rapid development of the industrial and mining economy to the banner. From 2007 to 2010, for four consecutive years, the banner was appraised as one of the top 100 counties in general economic competitiveness in western China. From 2009 to 2010, it was also appraised as one of the China's top 100 new energy counties for two consecutive years.

In addition, Urad Back Banner is also one of the main livestock areas in the autonomous region. In 2011, the whole pasture area was 36.5 million acre, of which 25.14 million acre was available. At the end of 2010, the annual animal husbandry was 579,000, including 22,000 large animals (3,130 cows and 16,793 camels), 555,000 small animals, and 2,212 live pigs. At the same time, Urad Back Banner is rich in tourism resources, which also brings a rapid development of pastoral tourism and grassland cultural tourism to the banner.

As far as the women in the pastoral areas of Urad Back Banner are concerned, "promoting the integration with urbanization and urban-rural development" means that they will face the reality of abandoning traditional nomadic pastoralism to enter local industrial and mining enterprises to work or turning to engage in modern animal husbandry operations. Whether they are employed in the city or engaged in new animal husbandry activities, participation in employment skill trainings is particularly important for them.

2.1 Status of Employment Skill Trainings for in-Herding Women

Women who live in the front range of the mountain or those move from the back mountain to the front range are mainly engaged in modern animal husbandry. Compared with traditional nomadic pastoralism, modern animal husbandry, on the one hand, is reflected as its intensive management. Through the combination of planting and breeding, the herdsman's housing, sheds, machinery, silage cellars, biogas tanks, water, electricity, roads, forest fields, wells, canals and other supporting collections are integrated into one body in order to achieve modern model of combining planting and breeding. With the development of modern animal husbandry, women begin to change the original grazing model. For example, there is a woman engaged in corralling Erlang Mountain pure white cashmere goat.

On the other hand, modern animal husbandry highlights the characteristic of farming. Some women have begun to try to breed rex rabbits, pheasants, South African geese, hedgehogs, colorful chickens, ostriches, and sandy land chickens. In addition, modern animal husbandry is more inclined to participate in the market. Therefore, animal husbandry cooperatives and animal husbandry associations have quietly risen in Urad. From 2010 to 2014, Urad Back Banner has established 18 cooperatives related to modern animal husbandry and 6 breeding industry associations, of which 6 professional cooperatives are women's professional cooperatives led by women under the promotion of Women's Federation of the banner. Whether the woman is a member of women's professional cooperative or a member of general livestock cooperative or a breeding association member, joining a cooperative requires women to have certain skills in modern breeding and planting, as well as modern management knowledge in processing, sales, and business operations.

For women living in the front range of the mountain, their employment skill trainings focus on learning new farming and animal husbandry skills, featured farming, facility farming, animal husbandry, and agricultural risk avoidance, etc. In specific, these trainings involve, for example, greenhouse vegetables cultivation, greenhouse nursery, small arch greenhouse vegetables cultivation, mutton sheep breeding, tupping ram breeding, feed processing, use of bio-fertilizer, greenhouse vegetables grafting, no-till farming of the film-covered corn stubble, demonstration of planting bellflower as Chinese herbal medicine, animal and plant disease prevention, agricultural and animal husbandry risk avoidance, insurance policies, product circulation of agricultural and animal husbandry, marketing, and company management.

Meanwhile, women living around the back mountain are mainly engaged in traditional nomadic pastoralism and production. For example, they mainly graze traditional sheep, Erlang Mountain white cashmere goats, and Gobi llamas. Meanwhile, they also feed newly introduced big-tail sheep and hybrid rock sheep. Herdsmen living around the reservoir are also engaged in fish breeding [8]. Herders living along the border dig Cistanche[9]. Herdsmen with wind power and oil development projects in their pasture are engaged in portage[10]. In this way, the skill trainings received by women around the back mountain areas are mainly traditional seed conservation, Erlang Mountain white cashmere goat breeding, Gobi llama conservation and breeding skills, traditional animal husbandry improvement, livestock epidemic prevention and disease prevention, common disease prevention and control, characteristic farming, grassland and woodland protection, haloxylon ammodendron forest protection, herd optimization, folk handicrafts, strange stone management, truck drivers, and livestock subsidy policies, etc.

With the development of tourism and the construction of new pastoral areas, pastoral homestay tour has

rapidly emerged as a new livelihood method for the herders. In-herding women living along the road in front of and behind the mountain or those living around tourist attractions begin to run the business of pastoral tours or ecological pastoral family-homestay recreation. In this way, trainings on grassland special dining, grassland day trips, leisure entertainment and family reception, and formal ceremony begin to be favored.

2.2 Status of Employment Skill Trainings for Non-Herding Women

Those non-herding women in Urad Back Banner are mainly female labor forces transferred out from traditional nomadic pastoralism under the development of urbanization, the journey of ecological migration in pastoral areas, and the tendency of transformation from grazing to farmland. Another part is young women who grew up in pastoral areas but are ready to enter the local cities and towns for employment after studying in cities. Most non-herding women live in Bayinbaolig Town, Hohwendur Town, and Chaogewendul Town located around the front range of the mountain or at the new immigrant settlement communities of the front range of the mountain. Some women who have been transferred out from the traditional nomadic pastoralism are “doing temporary work”[11] while some have entered factories and mines or local shopping malls and restaurants. Meanwhile, many young and middle-aged women have started their own businesses and become businesswomen.

Compared with in-herding women, non-herding women have more diverse employment ranges, therefore, the skill trainings they have experienced also have diverse characteristics. The employment fields for non-herding women include agricultural and animal husbandry companies/cooperatives. Generally speaking, most middle-aged women work in such companies/cooperatives and are mainly engaged in short-term or temporary work. The employment skill trainings they receive are mainly relatively simple and elementary entry-level skills, such as picking, preservation, meat processing, and related mechanical operations, etc. Besides, some women do clerical work in local factories and mines, such as computer operations, laboratory analysis, chemical analysis, financial accounting, statistics, measurement, budgeting, management, testing, monitoring, etc. There are not many women who have the ability to do such work and most of them are young women. They must have a junior high school degree or above to engage in these work.

For most pastoral women, their employment fields are mainly engaged in catering, room service, cooking and pastry work, housekeeping service, massage and health care, beauty salon, serving as waiters, computer operators, typing copiers, car driver, commodity salesperson, childcare worker, or interior decoration design, web design, marketing, dehydrated vegetable processing, dairy product processing, dairy food and ethnic food production and sale, specialty circulation, ethnic clothing processing, sales, strange stone management. There are still some women working as an agricultural product broker, property manager, and individual self-employment or entrepreneurship, etc. Compared with in-herding women, when engaging in the various types of work mentioned above, non-herding women are more or less required to receive different degrees and forms of relevant employment skill knowledge.

Furthermore, in-herding women often receive relevant employment skill trainings as a family member, pastoral household member, or the member of professional cooperatives/associations. There are few training courses specifically designed for women and the number of women participating in various training courses is comparatively low with men as well. Relatively-speaking, non-herding women generally receive trainings based on the types of work they engaged in. For young women who have just stepped out of school, they are in the stage of preparing for employment. They choose to enter a technical school or training institution to learn a certain professional skill and then seek for the opportunity of employment according to their professional and personal preferences.

Therefore, it is not difficult to conclude from the current status of employment training that the number of employment skill trainings women received is relatively low and most of the employment skill trainings are not specifically designed for women.

3. Homogenized Skill Training Supply Channel and Its Performance

The main channels for women to obtain employment skill trainings in Urad Back Banner are: government departments, employers, cooperatives and industry associations, vocational technical schools, and social training institutions.

3.1 Government Departments

Employment skill training provided by the government departments is the main channel for women in pastoral areas of Urad Back Banner to obtain employment skill trainings. The government departments that provide or organize employment training mainly include the Women's Federation of Urad Back Banner, the Human Resources and Social Security Bureau, the Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Bureau, the Science and Technology Bureau, the Federation of Industry and Commerce, the Agricultural Comprehensive Development Office, the Poverty Alleviation Office, the Disabled Persons' Federation, and the relevant departments of the town/township governments.

The local Women's Federation is a government agency that provides employment training specifically for women. The trainings provided for in-herding women include enrichment training, participation in cooperatives, and breeding technology. Meanwhile, trainings for non-herding women include entrepreneurship training and workers' training. The Women's Federation also provides employment loan guarantees at the same time while providing employment trainings for women. For example, in 2011, the Women's Federation carried out trainings on practical techniques with low technical content and short production cycle or trainings on agricultural new technology that adapts to the transformation of industrial structure for "4050 women", a term used to refer to the women with heavy family burdens and therefore had difficulty going out, in agricultural and pastoral areas. The Women's Federation also relies on local "women's science and technology demonstration bases" and "science and technology guidance centers" to carry out "livestock raising" activities for local women to provide skill trainings on cattle and sheep fattening, forage planting, and livestock product processing.

The Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Bureau, the Science and Technology Bureau, and the Agricultural Development Office of Urad Back Banner mainly provide skill trainings and technology promotion trainings in the breeding industry for in-herding women. In specific, these trainings provided include training in the breeding and breeding industry, new varieties, new technologies, new planting models, and technology application. The number of trainings held by the Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Bureau and the Science and Technology Bureau is large, but the target audience of these training courses is all herdsmen.

The Human Resources and Social Security Bureau and the Federation of Industry and Commerce of Urad Back Banner mainly provide non-herding women with skill transfer trainings. The Human Resources and Social Security Bureau and the Women's Federation jointly provide employment skill trainings for non-herding women as well. For example, in 2010, the Women's Federation of Urad Back Banner cooperated with the Human Resources and Social Security Bureau to provided 65 sessions of entrepreneurship and re-employment trainings for non-herding women who were transferred out from traditional nomadic pastoralism. There were 2,275 participants joining the sessions. Besides, the Human Resources and Social Security Bureau's skill training is mainly for the unemployed in urban and agricultural/pastoral areas, including a small number of women who are not in herding. Furthermore, the Federation of Industry and Commerce mainly provides business training for individual businessmen. Its target audience is members of privately-owned business/company, therefore, women in pastoral areas can only obtain such training opportunities if they do business and participate in business association organizations.

The Poverty Alleviation Office and the Disabled Persons' Federation are also channels for women in pastoral areas to obtain employment skills. The Poverty Alleviation Office mainly provides skill training "projects" related to poverty alleviation for women from poor families. Meanwhile, the Disabled Persons' Federation provides training for women with disabilities. The number of women in pastoral areas who have received employment skill trainings provided by the Poverty Alleviation Office and the Disabled Persons' Federation is relatively low.

The first-level government agencies in local towns and townships are also auxiliary channels for the local women in pastoral areas to obtain employment skill trainings. For example, Bayinbaolig Town held a total of 12 sessions of technology training courses for farmers and herdsmen in 2011 in order to assist professional cooperatives and big-specialized-households of animal husbandry. More than 2,600 trainees participated in these courses.

The Women's Federation of Bayinbaolig Town and the town government jointly organized 20 sessions of skill training courses for local women, among which 524 female farmers/herdsmen in urban areas received the training. In addition, the Women's Federation and the Employment Bureau of Urad Back Banner jointly organized 13 sessions of entrepreneurship and employment training courses. More than 50 women were trained and 1.09 million Chinese dollars of entrepreneurship loans were issued, benefiting 33 women. Another example is that Bayinqiandamen Township held 18 training courses on meat and sheep breeding technology in 2011, training 1,440 herdsmen.

As one of the channels for providing employment skill trainings, government departments hold a large number of trainings, have relatively sufficient funds, and provide various and flexible forms of training with a

wide range of beneficiaries. Therefore, for women in the pastoral areas of Urad Back Banner, the government department is their main channel for acquiring skill training resources. However, the trainings provided by the government departments generally has stricter approval procedures and therefore only women who meet the training qualifications can participate in.

3.2 Employer

Employers are the most convenient and low-barrier channels for women in pastoral areas to receive skill trainings. For local women, whether it is industrial/mining enterprise, hotel, restaurant, department store, property company, or even individually-owned business/company, as long as the place for recruiting employees is a place for them to receive relevant employment skill trainings. Industrial and mining enterprises, catering industry, and property companies are main places of employment for young local women. For example, the large industrial and mining enterprises in Urad Back Banner, such as Dongshengmiao Mining Company, conduct safety training for new employees. Large industrial and mining companies mainly use written materials, such as "Safety Operation Regulations" and "Compilation of Job Safety Responsibility System", for training. Their training system is relatively complete and conduct continuous training for employees. However, there are very few women in pastoral areas who can obtain such skill trainings.

Large hotels, property companies, and shopping malls are the conventional channels for young pastoral women to obtain employment skill trainings. For instance, local Baoyuan hotels and Cathay supermarkets hold different forms of training for their employees. Small and medium-sized enterprises and smaller employers adopt a more flexible way to provide skill trainings for the employed women. Individually-owned business/company are also a common channel for women in pastoral areas to receive skill trainings. For example, hairdressers, stone shop stores, typing and copy shops provide women with certain skill trainings. Merchants of ethnic clothing stores, Mongolian restaurants, and other merchants provide skill trainings for women by recruiting apprentices and students. These types of trainings are fragmented but for women who have just stepped out of pastoral areas and into towns, this is the most convenient and common channel for them to acquire employment skills.

Individually-owned business/company receive homogenized and follow-up training from higher-level companies or head offices by distributing certain commodities, mainly aiming to improve the operating capacity and scale of individual businesses or to cultivate brands and grasp market demand. For example, in 2011, 13 seed-operating individual businesses in Urad Back Banner received homogenized one-to-one sales training from seed companies. Tobacco Monopoly Bureau and Tobacco Company conducted centralized training for 249 retail customers in Urad Back Banner. The training content included store decoration, cigarette placement, cigarette sales skills, and customer consumption psychology. These trainings are an important training channel for women who do not run business in pastoral areas to continue to acquire specific business skills or acquire initial business skills quickly.

Large-scale employers, such as industrial and mining enterprises, mainly hold training classes, meetings, pre- and post-class trainings, or on-site trainings regularly. These provided trainings generally have continuous characteristics, but the number of pastoral women involved in is limited. The employment skill trainings provided by general employers and individually-owned business/company are often conducted through the adoption of apprenticeship system.

3.3 Cooperatives and Industrial Associations

Farming and animal husbandry cooperatives and ethnic cultural associations are the current emerging civil society organizations in Urad Back Banner. Cooperatives and industrial associations are channels for local professional members or guild members to conduct relevant professional skill trainings. The pastoral women who participate in them can also obtain different trainings as members. Until May 2014, there were 102 professional cooperatives of farmers and herdsmen in Urad Back Banner.

Similar to professional cooperatives, industrial associations are also a channel for women's skill training in Urad Back Banner. The association provides training services, such as production, technology, marketing, information, and technology, for its members. For example, the Folk Art Handicrafts and Strange Stone Association of Urad Back Banner is a wholesale trade organization operating strange stones, ethnic costumes, handicrafts, antiques, root carving, jade, and Cistanche, etc. The association conducts trainings toward its members by gathering strange stone collectors and handicraft makers.

3.4 Vocational Technical Schools and Social Training Institutions

Vocational and technical schools and social training institutions are not only the main channels for young women in Urad Back Banner to receive vocational skill trainings, but also the main channels for them to obtain employment opportunities. Vocational and technical schools are the main channel for students who have not progressed to a higher-level school after graduating from junior high school. Young women can receive professional skill trainings that they are interested in. For example, the local water conservancy technical school mainly trains practical skill workers for local industrial and mining enterprises. In most cases, it is local men who enter the water conservancy school to participate in the training, but there are also a few pastoral girls who obtain such training resources and enter local industrial and mining enterprises to work as a result.

Vocational education centers and vocational middle schools are also channels for local junior high school graduates to obtain employment professional knowledge and employment information. For example, the Vocational Education Center of Hangjin Banner, the Senior Vocational Middle School of Wuyuan County, and the Vocational Education Training Center of Urad Back Banner are the main channels for local pastoral girls to receive professional knowledge. Most of these training schools offer training courses suitable for women in pastoral areas to study and facilitate employment, such as providing training courses on restaurant services, Chinese and Western cooking, Chinese and Western pastry chefs, housekeeping and room service, massage and health care, computer operation, beauty salons, etc.

In some occasions, these vocational technical schools and social training institutions undertake government commissioned training projects. That is, local government agencies outsource the tasks of training transferred labour forces in pastoral areas to the appointed training institutions. Then, once finish the training courses, the herdsmen can obtain the qualification by applying to the local labor department. For female herders who are employed for the first time or do not understand the local labor regulations, they often do not know this training channel.

4. Reasons for Implicit Obstacles to Pastoral Women's Access to Employment Skill Trainings

4.1 The Overall Shortage of Technical Training Resources

With the rapid transformation toward the industrial structure[12], whether it is in-herding women engaged in animal husbandry production or non-herding women who are not engaged in animal husbandry production, the need for learning new knowledge and skills is constantly increasing. However, it causes a realistic problem that there are not many skill training resources to meet their needs. Although local government departments, vocational technical schools, and private social training institutions are actively providing employment training opportunities for local pastoral women, the overall lack of employment skill training resources is the main obstacle for pastoral women to obtain skill trainings.

Taking 2011 as an example, the banner government provided 18 sessions of vocational skill training courses for 1,137 people. In the meantime, 4,111 person of surplus labor transferred out from traditional nomadic pastoralism received the employment training in pastoral areas. In addition, 21 courses related with vocational skills were provided by the Human Resources and Social Security Bureau of the banner, with 1,331 trainees (including 216 college students), including 687 urban unemployed persons and 644 farmers and herdsmen. Furthermore, Industry Federation of the banner held 12 training courses while the Science and Technology Bureau held 68 science and technology training courses, training 5,087 farmers and herdsmen. In these trainings, the proportion of women involved in is not high. In 2011, the Women's Federation of Urad Back Banner and Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Bureau jointly held 75 science and technology training courses. Meanwhile, the Women's Federation held 38 sessions of women's "SYB" entrepreneurship skill training jointly with the Employment Bureau, within which 839 women were trained. Besides, the Women's Federation also held homework service skill training courses with the Hohhot government and the Hohhot Employment Bureau, within which, about 100 women aged 30-50 received relevant skill trainings.

Although employers, cooperatives, industry associations, and individually-owned business/company are also providing specific skill trainings for women in pastoral areas, they are limited due to the limited funds or high training costs. In fact, the training opportunities provided are still quite limited. In general, local training institutions and vocational/technical schools are too few, and there are certain limitations in training teachers, training contents, and training types. As a result, the overall lack of employment skill training resources as a whole limits women's access to obtain training skills in pastoral areas.

4.2 Gender Blindness in Skill Trainings

The current skill training courses rarely consider the balanced distribution of training resources between men and women. For pastoral women, the current training courses are not reality-orientated, which, on the one hand, is reflected in the fact that the existing training does not consider the demand of the pastoral area, and, on the other hand, highlights the reality that existing training does not consider gender issue. Taking the science and technology training of pastoral women as an example, in the training, there is rarely a separate course being held in pastoral areas and the courses related with the promotion of technology often cover all workers engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry throughout the banner without considering gender issue. However, in the actual investigation, the author found that although such training method for the full coverage of farming and animal husbandry provides a wide range of training, there exists a problem that the training content for planting and grazing is very superficial. In reality, even among pastoral women, including those who live in the front and back mountains, there exists various huge differences in the production and operation of animal husbandry and the demand for the training of required employment skills in different regions. The lack of reality-orientated training is the main factor for pastoral women to fail to have in-depth training resources and unwilling to actively participate in employment skill trainings.

Furthermore, taking the training of non-pastoral women as an example, those non-pastoral trainings provided by the government departments are often integrated into the deployment plan of employment transfer or combined with urban re-employment training projects. Meanwhile, trainings provided by the enterprise or employer are often special trainings for certain types of work. These trainings mentioned above often ignore the characteristics of women engaged in animal husbandry or their cultural/linguistic particularity.

Ignoring pastoral factors, women who participate in trainings face the barrier of language and traditional culture, which affects the quality of their participation and their willingness to participate in trainings. It also limits their ability to exert their potential and advantages in the employment process. For example, there are women who have the advantage of engaging in Mongolian meals and ethnic cultural supplies^[13], but the lack of such professional training forms and contents makes them have to choose apprenticeship as a way to obtain such training skills or give up engaging in such employment opportunities and turn to do temporary work. In addition, compared with rural women, women in pastoral areas receive fewer training opportunities.

Lack of gender perspective is also another obstacle to the current women's participation in employment skill trainings in pastoral areas. Regardless of the training provided by the government or the employment skill trainings obtained through other channels, most of the current trainings are not specifically designed for women. Only the Women's Federation provides trainings specifically for women, but the training provided by the Women's Federation cannot be detailed to take into account of the different groups of women living in different pastoral regions and towns.

4.3 Double Oppression of Ethnicity and Gender in Training Resources

The most fundamental feature of the universal training is to adopt Chinese or Mandarin for communicating[14], so that Mongolian women whose native tongue is Mongolian are weakened in their ethnic identity once they obtain the training resources and thus are squeezed by Han women. In the meantime, the trainings designed for Mongolians in pastoral areas lack a gender perspective. Therefore, a large number of training resources will be possessed by Mongolian men eventually^[15]. When distributing training resources, the dual competition of intra-gender ethnic competition and intra-ethnic gender competition has caused Mongolian women to face a double oppression when attempting to obtain training resources they need.

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- [8] In 2014, there were four fish breeding bases locating around the reservoirs in Hougeqi Town, consisting of Wubaolig Village, Qiandamen Village, Chagangal Village, and Saura Village.
- [9] For women living along the border, Cistanche digging is the main production activity besides animal husbandry. The income of digging Cistanche is one of the important income sources of the current border herdsmen and herdsmen who return to the pastoral areas. Some women would move to their relatives' homes in order to participate in Cistanche digging. Cistanche is currently prohibited by the government and therefore no relevant training activities have been provided.
- [10] Carrying water is the main non-herding income that is gradually formed with the development of mining, oil mining, and wind power construction in the mountainous pastoral areas. It is the nomadic pastoralist's livelihood. Most of the male herdsmen engage in portage while some women also join the portage work, such as driving water or goods.
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